

# Workers' Breadnought

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## KEIR HARDIE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

John B. Askew, in the *Call*, referring to an appreciation of Keir Hardie which has appeared in the *Räte-Korrespondenz*, an organ of the German Communist Party, says that Keir Hardie, "the man who set out to found an Independent Labour Party, and yet was resolutely determined to ignore the class struggle or the Marxist theories, which alone could give such a party a firm foundation, presents a contradiction which is none too easy to unravel."

Strange that Keir Hardie's real opinions should be so little known by British Socialists. We have before us a pamphlet containing reprints of three articles written by Keir Hardie in 1910, and entitled: "Karl Marx: The Man and His Message."\* This pamphlet shows how absurd are the stories that Keir Hardie ignored or was opposed to the Marxian doctrine, or, as we have sometimes seen it said, he had never read a line of Marx. The fact is that Keir Hardie was much too big a man to make a parade of knowledge. But here are some extracts from Keir Hardie's pamphlet:—

Marx had by this time broken with the past in regard to both religion and politics, and had already entered upon that career which was destined so mightily to influence the course of history, and which will continue to be felt so long as the race endures.

Because this man, despite the most tempting offers, refused to prostitute his talents in the service of the ruling cast, he was hounded as a felon, and branded as an enemy of the race.

The last quarter of the Eighteenth, and the first half of the Nineteenth Century were stirring times. Revolution, grim and bloody, stalked abroad all over Europe. Feudalism was in its death-throes. The middle, or capitalist class, was fighting for power, and on its side, naturally, the working class rallied. In the closing years of the French Revolution, over the atrocities of which so many crocodile tears have been shed by smug, callous, hypocrites, and when it was over, one fair land had set its face sunward. But it was a middle-class triumph. . . . Everywhere on the Continent the revolutionary movement had a political objective. Commercialism and feudalism were at grips for the control of the state.

Here, at home, the middle-class also had its political movement, but, owing to the more developed state of the capitalist system, there was also, and concurrently, a very definite movement of the working-class. The workmen realised that they were being ground to dust by the unregulated operation of a competitive system, over which they had no control, and so trade unionism had, early in the Nineteenth Century, already taken a firm hold. There were Luddite riots and outrages in Yorkshire, bread riots in Scotland, and similar outbreaks elsewhere.

A revolutionary outbreak occurred in Paris, in December, 1847, which was continued through January and crowned with final success in February. . . . Given this example, the revolutionary forces of Germany and Austria followed suit, and Vienna, Cologne, and other cities were soon in the hands of the insurgents. Nowhere in the volume before us does Mr. Spargo touch such height of graphic descriptive power as in his blood-stirring accounts of the glorious happenings of those momentous days, when Kings and Emperors were compelled to pay homage to our common manhood, alive and dead. The spirit of revolt swept across the English Channel, and for a time it almost looked as though the hour of a British Republic had struck.

When the news came that the Paris workmen were behind the barricades, it sent a thrill through these islands.

Four days later Trafalgar Square was packed by a mob of London citizens. . . . rioting took place in various provincial cities. Thousands of hunger-maddened unemployed operatives marched through the streets of Glasgow, sacking shops and singing Chartist songs, and shouting, "Bread or

Revolution." The troops were called out and several persons shot down in the streets. . . . There were riots also in England.

It is astounding to think that all this happened in England only 62 years ago. . . .



ROSA LUXEMBURG.

Marx had not only been a keen observer of the risings, but had also been an active participant, first in Paris, and then in Cologne. He, however, was not under any illusion as to what was happening. He knew that, so soon as the demands of the capitalist class were met, and themselves established in power, they would turn upon and rend the working-class if it attempted to carry the Revolution forward in its own interest. But he knew also, that the experience thus gained would be invaluable in guiding the workers into a genuine movement of their own, without which, he realised, their own freedom could never be won.

### Hardie's Concise Statement of Belief in the Class Struggle.

The above passages, written in review of Spargo's *Life of Marx*, are typical of Keir Hardie's thought, for on the one hand he was by no means the tame, sentimental pacifist that some would make him out to be, and, on the other hand, he was always most emphatic on the importance of an independent working-class movement, the ideal to which his whole life was devoted. But now we have, quite concisely put Hardie's opinion of Marx:—

. . . . The famous Communist Manifesto, the most fateful document ever written in the whole history of the working-class movement. It was the birth certificate of the modern Socialist movement. It had a two-fold purpose—to define clearly the nature of the struggle in which the Communists were engaged on behalf of the working-class—and the attitude of the League to the working-class movement outside its own ranks.

Marx's real title to greatness, and certainly his greatest claim upon the gratitude of the working-class, rests upon his discovery—for such it practically was—of the truth that history is but the record of class struggles, and that they are always the outcome of the economic system of the time resisting a change which its own workings has made inevitable. This is what has come to be known as the Economic or Materialist interpretation of history. All that means is this: that Marx

supplied the same explanation of human progress in civilisation and towards freedom, which Darwin subsequently did of the evolution of animal and plant life towards the stage of perfection now attained. The existence of a ruling class is only a proof of a successful revolutionary struggle waged by that class at some former period of its history. With each succeeding class struggle the bounds of human freedom have been enlarged until, with the advent of the capitalist system of wealth production, we have society, in the main, divided into two great antagonistic classes—the owners of property and the producers of property.

Socialism will abolish the landlord class, the capitalist class, and the working-class. That is revolution; that the working-class, by its actions, will one day abolish class distinctions.

And it was the inspired version of Karl Marx which first formulated as a cold, scientific fact, the inevitable coming of that glorious time. Little wonder that his memory is a consecrated treasure enshrined in the hearts of millions of the best men and women of all lands.

That Keir Hardie endorsed the class struggle from a theoretical standpoint cannot be denied by any who will take the trouble to study his actual writings; the extracts we have quoted prove it and are typical of the rest. His realisation of the class struggle was, moreover, his guiding rule of conduct. In the House of Commons he was alone, ringed round by a barrier of reserve impassable by any of the bourgeois members whom he regarded as his political and class enemies. He associated with no one at Westminster till the Labour Members came there to join him.

He had conceived the Labour Party as a sturdy, determined body of fighters, irreconcilably hostile to both the capitalist parties, attacking the employing class in Parliament as though engaged in a strike and giving no quarter. Though he knew that at least the majority of the men chosen as Labour's Parliamentary representatives were not class conscious Socialists, yet he thought they would keep together as a class, and that the Parliamentary conflict would increase their fighting spirit. He was often bitterly disappointed. Soon after the opening of the Session the new Party gave a dinner at the House to celebrate its victory. Already the Labour Members had begun to fraternise with the Liberals and Tories, and to show a desire to win their praise for being moderate and level-headed. Already J. R. MacDonald was earning the reputation of being "always on the doorstep of Cabinet Ministers." At that first dinner Hardie voiced his disapproval. He declared that he wanted to form an "anti-guzzling league" and that the Labour Members should not accept the hospitality of the capitalist representatives whose only desire was to neutralise the hostility of the Labour Members in order to undermine their fighting qualities and influence with the workers outside. "We are only guys to them," he said. We well remember his words.

Hardie was often reproached, by those who were impatient with the Labour Party's opportunism, for giving way to the reactionaries in the Party. As a matter of fact he was dominated by the determination to be loyal to the Labour Party because he regarded it as the Party of the working class. He was always anxious to show a united front to the capitalist class, and having fought reaction in the Party Executive, he usually accepted the decision of the majority without making any public criticism of the reactionaries who so often gained the day. He was, as we think, handicapped by an overwhelming desire to keep the Party together, and in this cause suffered much unhappiness. He chafed under the Party discipline; but submitted to it from a sense of loyalty and in the belief that in the end Socialism would win the Party.



Askew says that Hardie "always had to cave in to MacDonald's greater knowledge." The statement is absolutely incorrect. MacDonald, the reformist-opportunist, had the majority of the Party with him; for the majority was not Socialist. Keir Hardie, the class-conscious Socialist, had either to split the Party or wait and work in patience saying, as he so often did: "Our day will come."

Keir Hardie was always distrustful of middle-class people who offered to join the I.L.P., though he did not wish to bar them out if they were really convinced Socialists. He thought it healthiest for a Socialist Party to be mainly composed of the working class. Some of those middle-class people who have recently joined the I.L.P. and the Labour Party had actually approached Keir Hardie with a view to joining the I.L.P. in the days of the Labour Party's first successes. His answer was in each case something like this: "Stay in the Liberal Party; that is where you belong. You are dissatisfied with the Liberal Party on this or that question, just now, but you are not a Socialist, and you would be out of your element with us." He constantly endeavoured to keep the Labour Party and the I.L.P. away from co-operation with the bourgeoisie on any pretext. He would not accept membership of any of those composite committees of labour and bourgeois representatives which in this country are habitually formed to push reforms, or to repeal injustices. He rarely consented even to speak for such bodies. The suffrage movement was the only non-Socialist non-working class movement with which he was ever actively associated, and even in that case he never joined a suffrage organisation or sat on a suffrage committee. He was opposed, for instance, to the I.L.P. association with the W.D.C.

#### Keir Hardie's Defence of the Labour and Socialist Alliance.

This pamphlet on Marx contains, like so many of Hardie's writings, a defence of the Labour Party; and a plea that though not yet a class-conscious Socialist organisation, it would become so. He says:—

"The Trade Union movement is the real movement of the working class, and the I.L.P. is the advanced wing. . . . that was what Marx intended the Socialist section of the working-class to be. . . . He did not ask the working-class to unite as class-conscious Socialists, but only as working men. He knew the class-consciousness would come in good time."

Hardie's view was bitterly attacked by the B.S.P., which on this question has now come round to his standpoint, for it declares in defence of its affiliation to the Labour Party, that the Party is "the mass organisation of the working class."

But since the creation of the Labour Party new horizons have appeared. The workers' committees have proved in this country that in times of crisis they can become a power able to act more swiftly, more decisively, than the Trade Union organisations. Both Russia and Germany have shown us that these Committees are the mass organisations which will be the rallying centre and administrative machinery of the Revolution. We have entered the Revolutionary epoch. Has it occurred to the B.S.P. members that perhaps Keir Hardie was right in holding to the Labour Party in his generation, whilst they are mistaken in doing so in theirs?

Hardie seems, on the whole, to have been of opinion that Socialism would be achieved by means of the Labour Party securing a Parliamentary majority, and then taking over "by degrees" the instruments of production. Whether he regarded this merely as a preliminary to more revolutionary happenings; whether he believed that a violent clash with the capitalists might, or would, result from this; or whether he thought that the entire change from capitalism to Socialism would take place peacefully, I do not know. He did not think that a revolution of a small conscious minority at the head of unconscious masses could succeed; but it is quite certain that he had no theoretical shrinking from a violent seizure of power by the proletariat, on pacifist, or democratic grounds. The possibility of success was his only pre-occupation on this question.

It must be remembered that Keir Hardie died before the Russian Revolution, that he lived in

the period of stagnant reformism, and died during the early clash of the great war, when the working-class movement of Europe was submerged in a riot of patriotism, and no glimmer of international solidarity showed on the horizon. His hope that the great war might be postponed till the international general strike of the workers could prevent it had been dashed to the ground. He had worked for this strike both nationally and in the International.

As to the future, he believed that society would pass through State Socialism to Communism.

Some may argue that his conception of the coming passage from Capitalism to Socialism was Utopian, that he under-rated the strength of the capitalist system, that perhaps he failed to realise that the workers could never overthrow it except under the pressure of an overwhelming economic necessity. His theoretical conceptions may easily be misrepresented, because he lived too strenuous a life of practical labour for the working-class movement to write more than short pamphlets and articles. But whatever may be said of him as a theorist, it is absurd to say he was not class-conscious. The extreme poverty of his early life had bitten deeply into his mind, and was never forgotten. His earliest conscious memory was that of his mother's tears falling on his face. The home of his grandparents was so poor that they could not afford any light, and sat in the dark after sunset. As a little child he stood with his mother and her younger children in the road with their household goods piled up beside them, and saw the coal-owner who had evicted them come riding up, and tell his mother that she could re-enter the cottage if her husband would apologise for his part in a strike. His mother answered: 'Nay, nay, he'll n'ere do that!'

When he was only eight years of age Hardie was called before the well-spread breakfast table of his master, a baker, and dismissed, without wages, for being unpunctual, after he had sat up all night waiting on his mother. A baby was born in the early morning. Hardie's stepfather was away looking for work, and there was no food in the house save a little flour and water.

#### Askew's Complaint.

Askew complains that the article in the *Raete Korrespondenz* above referred to is unsigned. He objects to some of the views expressed and claims that:—

"When members of British organisations find it their duty to attack other organisations in the organs of the International, they should, at least, do so under their own names."

As a matter of fact the editor of the *Raete Korrespondenz* suppresses the names of its correspondents because the *Raete Korrespondenz* is published illegally, on account of the White Terror. We are able to explain that the article in the *Raete Korrespondenz* has been compiled and greatly condensed from the notes invited by the editor of the paper. Some errors have evidently been made in the translation which the editor of the *Korrespondenz* has used. Many other subjects and Societies were treated in the notes more than those which the editor of the *Raete Korrespondenz* has selected. Therefore, the original proportions of the subjects have not been maintained. This is unimportant, but it will probably excite the criticism of critically disposed persons.

Comrade Askew complains that the article in the *Raete Korrespondenz* says:—

"It would seem that the B.S.P. is now becoming as reformist as the I.L.P."

But this part of the notes, in the original, was referring to events before the war. In a general statement that the whole British Socialist movement then displayed little Socialism and much reformism, it was stated that the B.S.P. was then drifting in the same direction.

If Comrade Askew disputes this, we challenge a critical examination of the files of *Justice*, the election addresses of any S.S.P.ers, who were candidates for Parliament, and the local governing bodies at that period, the record of Colonel Will Thorne, the one member of the B.S.P. in Parliament, and the attitude of the B.S.P. towards his Parliamentary tactics before the war.

#### Produce the 1919 Election Addresses.

With regard to the controversy that is also raging around the question of Parliamentary action, the running of Communists as Labour candidates, and whether the B.S.P. at present occupies a position to the right or to the left of the Communist Parties, we challenge the production of the election addresses of the B.S.P. candidates in the 1919 General Election, and any reports of their speeches that may be extant. B.S.P. members have volunteered to us the statement that if the election addresses of the B.S.P. candidates at the next election are to be like the addresses issued by the B.S.P. candidates in the last election, they hope the B.S.P. will run no more candidates.

#### SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

On February 28th a great Albert Hall meeting was cheering the Russian Communist Revolution, demanding peace with Soviet Russia, and calling on the workers "to enforce this demand by the unreserved use of their political and industrial power."

Was it merely letting off steam and having an evening's amusement, or was the resolution really meant? Did the speakers, and especially Tom Mann and Robert Williams, the two trade union officials, mean to follow their words with deeds? Mann and Williams should have something to say about peace with Soviet Russia at the Special Trade Union Congress which is to meet on March 11th.

The Russian question was before the December Trade Union Congress. The position was then uncertain and unsatisfactory, and the question was referred with the mines question to this further special Congress in the New Year. But now that the Congress is summoned, the Russian question finds no place on the agenda.

The only excuse for its omission could be that the Government had given strong and acceptable guarantees to make an immediate peace with Soviet Russia on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, and no interference in Russia's internal affairs.

If the Parliamentary Committee has not secured such guarantees, a deputation should at once be appointed to wait on the Prime Minister demanding them, and the conference should remain in session until the deputation has secured an answer. If the answer be peace, well and good. If not, then Labour should make that threatened "unreserved use of its industrial power." The only honest policy would be "Down Tools." Tom Mann and Robert Williams are pledged by their Albert Hall speeches to lead the way.

The Parliamentary Committee, taking heed of the censure passed upon it at Glasgow for infringing the rights of the rank and file, has thrown the responsibility for deciding what to do about the mines question upon the delegates to the Special Congress. The Committee submits two plain propositions for compelling the Government to adopt Nationalisation:—

"(a) Trade union action in the form of a general strike.

"(b) Political action in the form of intensive political propaganda in preparation for a general election.

"In the event of (a) being carried the necessary steps will be taken to give effect to it, in accordance with the constitution of each union."

Lloyd George is trying to bluff the workers into inaction by his challenging assumption of contempt for anything they may do, and his sharp refusal to make concessions. The Trade Union Parliamentary Committee is bluffing the delegates by its pretence of impartially leaving it to them to decide. At the first sign that the resolution may be carried, all the forces of the P.C. will be mobilised against it; and all sorts of obstacles will be discovered, in the shape of trade union rules and constitutions. The carrying of a strike resolution by the Trade Union Congress would be by no means a sure guarantee that the first political general strike ever known in Britain would actually take place. It would be necessary to elect a determined strike committee, and that committee would have a hard struggle to assure action.

The Prime Minister is bluffing; the reactionaries on the P.C. are bluffing; the Conference will show whether others have also been bluffing;



the direct actionists like Smillie and Williams, and the delegates who have cheered their professions of readiness for this strike.

The issue before the Congress is only the Nationalisation of the mines. If a general strike should come, that issue must be enlarged.

The watchwords of the Communists should be, not Nationalisation, but Socialisation and workers' control; not compensation to the capitalist, but the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The workers in other industries must be urged to come into line with the miners, the dockers, the seamen, the cotton operatives, the engineers, and so on. In every industry there is beginning to be a demand for Socialisation and workers' control. The demand should be urgently pressed forward now. In every trade union branch resolutions calling for Socialisation and workers' control of the industry should be carried and sent through to other branches and to the divisional and national secretaries. Communist literature should be circulated in every branch and in every workshop. Every worker should see that in the shop, or at the works gate, or wherever his or her fellow workers can be got together, a meeting on Socialisation should be held and the case put for the overthrow of capitalism and for the Soviets in Britain.

## THE LABOUR PARTY POLICY.

The Labour Party News Bureau says that in the Paisley election "Mr. Asquith adopted an attitude on the question of Russia and the revision of the Peace Treaty which is practically identical with that of the Labour Party."

We always said it was an anti-Socialist policy.

Commenting on the fact that the Government has decided to invite the League of Nations to send a Commission of Investigators to inquire into the conditions in Russia, the Labour Party News Service says:—

"Whatever truth there may be in the allegations of Bolshevik excesses, it is beyond question a good deal of fantastic nonsense has been indulged in; and an inquiry under the auspices of the League of Nations should do much to assist the various Governments and peoples to understand the true facts of the case."

Arthur Henderson, J. H. Thomas, and other pillars of the Labour Party, are responsible for some of the "fantastic nonsense" which has been told about "Bolshevik excesses." The Labour Party officials still evidently believe the capitalist League of Nations is likely to make an impartial investigation. They do not seem to have discovered that one of the main objects of the League is to oppose the workers' revolution.

The News Service says:—"The nation will hardly be satisfied with peace estimates of 125 million pounds, which are several times greater than those introduced when Europe was arming itself to the teeth under the fear of German militarism, which has since been destroyed and discredited. But so long as Mr. Churchill remains at the War Office there seems to be little prospect of any substantial change. His mind seems already to be envisaging new wars in Asiatic and European plebiscitary areas, and, of course, we must be ready for such emergencies. This after his Russian disaster."

Notice that the Labour Party officials still maintain the old fable that the war of capitalist rivalries was a war against German militarism. Notice also that they make this question of British military aggression a mere personal affair of Churchill; instead of realising that militarism is essential to the capitalist Empire of which they are still proud.

The Labour Party has a special committee of its own which is discussing the question, not of reducing but of democratising the Army. We learn that one of the ex-service representatives on this committee suggested that the only effective way of democratising the Army would be to make military service really voluntary by allowing the soldiers to leave the army at will, just as a worker may leave any other situation. The majority of the Labour Party's special committee was of opinion that such an extreme proposal would destroy discipline in the Army!

Alas! alas! the Labour Party has not yet begun to realise the Class War!

The Labour Party has decided to oppose the Government's Irish Bill, but the amendment which the Party has tabled consists of purely destructive criticism, and makes no alternative suggestion. It is: "That this House cannot consent to the Second Reading of a Bill which would divide the Irish nation in a manner repugnant to the wishes of the great majority of the Irish people, which would foster and accentuate religious animosities between sections of the Irish people and which would not lead to a settlement of the Irish problem."

If you have trouble in getting this paper every week please give a standing order for it to your Newsagent.

## A Collier's Daughter on the Ideal Home.

### A Socialist Agitation Medium.

The *Daily Mail* "Ideal Home" Exhibition at Olympia was of great interest to working women. It would have earned its cost as a Socialist agitation medium if we had had a body of Socialist agitators there to place the possibilities of our age which it revealed in the true light. But there were no Socialist agitators there and very few working women.

The Exhibition was merely another entertainment for the leisured class, in the same category as charity bazaars, flag days, the Trafalgar Square "Flower Fair," and so on. It provided the idle well-to-do with another topic of conversation, to add to the weather, the selfishness of their servants and the working class in general.

We workers are their chief subject of talk nowadays, you know; they are terrified lest we should realise the possibilities of the twentieth century and "go Bolshevik."

I should have liked my collier relatives in Yorkshire to visit the "Ideal Home." They are housed in a village owned by the colliery company. The streets of houses there are packed together like sardines in a box, without a scrap of garden, or even a back yard to oneself. We call the place "packies puzzle." A few yards in front of every house door is a dry earth closet, or privy. This is the children's playground, and as you walk through the streets you see little boys and girls swinging to a rope fastened to the beam of the closet-door. You will not be surprised to hear that there is a higher children's death-rate in this colliery village even than in Sheffield.

My own health was ruined when I was a tiny child by the heaps of filth which then lay in front of every door in the village (except those of the colliery officials, of course). The heaps of filth are still there. I thought of them as I saw the crowd of well-dressed people sauntering around and making what they thought to be witty remarks about the number of bedrooms in the model cottages for the working class, and gaily giving an order for some trifle at £50 or £100 that took their fancy.

### All the Marble is not in Cemeteries.

I was glad to discover that all the marble is not in cemeteries, and that some is used for making mantel-pieces. In the colliery houses our mantel-pieces were of rough bricks, plastered over, and painted an ugly drab, like all the doors and windows. The colliery company accepted the lowest tender for painting the whole village.

### The Colliers' Bath.

In the "Ideal Homes" there were delightful white porcelain baths, but these, of course, were not intended for colliers. Our men have to bathe (!) the best way they can, with the bowl on the sink to wash head and shoulders, then with the bowl on the floor they sit, partly dressed, on a chair, and wash first one leg and then the other, to get enough coal black off to get between the sheets.

### Labour-Saving Devices.

I saw at the exhibition many coal and labour-saving fireplaces. I was glad to see them, because coal is dug at so great a cost to the miners that it is absolutely immoral to waste it. The work entailed to a busy housewife in taking up ashes and dusting the room, is an extra burden to be added to her labour of cooking, washing, nursing, and general cleaning. Many of the grates were both pretty and useful. Sitting-room fireplaces had ovens, and hot-water cylinders tucked away in unexpected places.

### Jerry-Built Model Villages.

The model houses suggested for workers in the Midlands looked pretty enough, but I wondered how they would be built. Visiting a friend at a model village near Doncaster a short time ago, I was admiring the house and talking enthusiastically about the model villages, when my friend interrupted, "You can hear the people next door think." The walls were so thin!

In the "Ideal Homes" I saw nice white-tiled sinks. In our colliery houses we have rough

stone sinks to which the coal-dirt sticks like glue, so that after the men have washed, we have to scrub it hard and then stone it.

### An Artisan's Home or a Week-end Cottage.

I asked the girl in charge of the "Artisan's Home" at the exhibition whom she would call an artisan.

She gave me the dictionary definition, "One skilled with his hands."

But I persisted: "To what sort of worker would it apply?"

She said: "I can only give you the dictionary explanation."

"An engineer?" I suggested.

"Oh, yes!" she jumped at that.

I thought of the members of the A.S.E. I know, and the sort of places they are living in, and asked the price.

She said, "£460."

I asked the rent.

She said: "Oh, 10/- or 15/- a week."

"Do you mean to tell me that capitalists are investing their money in houses like that for the working class?" I asked her.

"They are being built all over the country," she assured me.

I noticed the furniture. It was quite luxurious. I asked: "Is that for the artisan?"

"As a matter of fact," she answered, "the house has been furnished as a gentleman's week-end cottage on the river, or in the country, to show that it would be suitable for this purpose."

An artisan's "ideal home" had been turned into a gentleman's week-end cottage. It has often been done in actual fact, when workers' homes happen to have anything of the ideal about them. Go down into Sussex; you will find many lovely old cottages that have been bought up, renovated, and enlarged, to serve as holiday play-houses for the well-to-do, whilst the labouring people are unable to marry for lack of house-room.

Think of the number of working folk in London who are eating, sleeping, being born and dying in one-roomed homes, whilst our gentlemen have week-end cottages!

### Toys for My Lady.

I went in to the Electric House, thinking that there I should find the real labour-saving devices that I and every working woman need. I found electric hair-wavers for my lady's dressing-table, and an electric massage apparatus for smoothing out the wrinkles in her face. My lord could turn a switch whilst in bed and find his shaving water ready to use when he arises.

Either my lord or my lady could turn a switch, and water in a kettle on a table near the bed would soon be boiled to make the morning cup of tea. But my lord and my lady do not need this; they have servants to wait on them. Why was there nothing of this kind in the model homes for the working class? There were electric switches that would heat the kitchen stove and each and all the rooms in the house before one came down to them. These are the things working women need and must have!

### Things Working Women Must Have.

I remember the struggles my father had when he was short of time in the morning, and the fire would not go, and he wanted a cup of tea before going down the pit. For 45 years my grandmother has had to get up at 4.30 each morning to break up the fire, and make the tea for the men going to work.

Think what an electric switch would be worth at 4.30 in the morning!

Think what an advantage it would be to my lord and lady to be obliged to get out of bed in the cold morning to break up the fire, and make a cup of tea, just to experience to a very slight extent the inconvenience that is the daily lot of the working class!

Suppose we change houses with them—but I must not talk like this—it is Bolshevism, and as any member of the leisured class will tell you, the horrors of Bolshevism are too dreadful even to contemplate!

MAY EDMUNDS.



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**A REPLY TO PHILIP SNOWDEN.**

Philip Snowden and some others object to our description of the British Labour Party as a "social-patriotic, working-class party of bourgeois outlook." They appear to imagine that a working-class party cannot have a bourgeois ideology; but the capitalist class has been most successful, and nowhere more successful than in this country, in impregnating the minds of the workers with its own views. At the conference of the Third International in December, the delegate from Russia, who had been a Soviet Commissary, reported that even after the Communist Revolution and the establishment of the proletarian power, the working class still retained the bourgeois ideology, and it was necessary to conquer that obstacle to Communism after having achieved the material victory. The second task was the more difficult.

The B.S.P., which desires to remain in the Labour Party, is, of course, quite correct in saying that already a new spirit is beginning to show itself in the trade and industrial unions, and that eventually the unions must, and will, be won for Communism. In that we entirely agree. The unions will have a great part to play in building up the Communist society, after the Revolution also, and there is no work more valuable than that of rebuilding the structure of the unions, welding the various crafts into industrial unions, and changing the rules, in order that the unions may be responsive to the will of the active rank and file, and be brought into harmony with the Soviet structure.

Our comrades of the B.S.P., who urge us to remember that "all institutions and organisations of human society are in a state of process," must remember that their argument can be applied to Parliament itself, as well as to the Noske-Scheidemann Party of Germany, and the other Social Patriotic Parties from which they admit the Communist parties should break away. But we advise these comrades to remember that the British Labour movement is itself in "a state of process," that new combinations may be formed and old combinations broken up. The miners were late in joining the Labour Party; they may be early in breaking away from it. The rank and file conference which will meet simultaneously with the trade union congress on March 11th, has not received much attention from the B.S.P.; but it may be the forerunner of a new policy. Has the B.S.P. observed that the Building Workers' Industrial Union has definitely allied itself with the Shop Stewards movement?

**Snowden's Fear of the Red Army.**

Philip Snowden is one of those who remains unaffected by the revolutionary Socialist spirit which is arising in the Labour movement; he remains a complete reformist. He "will not quarrel" with the proposal to take, by taxation, 25 per cent. out of war profits, "because," he says, "the machinery which will have to be set up for levying such a tax can be used later to secure a further proportion of it." Thus he is quite content to patch up the capitalist system; he has no vision of the possibility of sweeping it right away and of confiscating for ever the private fortunes he proposes to tax.

Snowden tries to deter Socialists from adherence to the Third International by reminding them that its basis is the proletarian dictatorship, the arming of the proletariat, the formation of the Red Army, and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. We ask Snowden whether he thinks that Soviet Russia could have maintained herself against the aggressions of Britain

and the other capitalist powers if those three measures of defence had not been taken. Snowden was against the capitalist war between the Central Empires and the Allies, but he did not vote against the war credits. He asked for peace by negotiation; he did not urge that Britain and the Allies should lay down their arms unconditionally and allow those with whom they were fighting to invade their territories without let or hindrance.

But even if Snowden had adopted a completely non-resistant view regarding the contest between the great capitalist empires, the position is surely very different where the contest between capitalism and Communism is concerned. When capitalism is abolished the Red Armies will no longer be needed; but in the struggle to abolish capitalism we know that the capitalists will use force, and that the workers must either meet it, or allow the capitalist system to be maintained.

To prove this we need not cite alone the capitalist attack on Soviet Russia, or the White Terror in Germany, Hungary, Finland, Roumania, and other Continental countries; we can find all the proof that we need in America and Britain. The American White Terror, as it operates against both the economic and political struggle of the workers, is as robust and terrible as any in Europe. Even here in Britain—what happened at Featherstone? What happened at Tonypandy? What preparations were made by the Government at the time of the railway strike last year? What preparations are being made now in case of a mines Nationalisation strike? If the violence of the capitalists seems less ferocious in Britain than elsewhere, it is only because the British capitalists still believe their dominion quite secure. Should they feel it to be threatened seriously they would act precisely as their Continental friends have done.

**Snowden Prepared to Save Capitalism.**

But arguments of this kind cannot appeal to Snowden, because he does not wish to destroy the capitalist system. He quotes with approval the memorial addressed to the Prime Minister by a number of men who have been attached to the British anti-Bolshevik missions in Russia. These people are appealing for peace with Soviet Russia, but on the ground that it is necessary in order to prevent the establishment of Communism elsewhere and to safeguard British capitalist markets. The memorialists urge that if Russian supplies do not come westward, there will be famine, "disorder, and probably outbreaks of the kind which marked the earlier phases of Bolshevism in Russia." They add "that the Russian Government, if still at war with the world, would overlook so fair an opportunity of extending its principles is hardly to be supposed. Its natural policy would be to intervene, on the side of the revolution everywhere."

Snowden does not quote that last sentence in the *Labour Leader*; perhaps he thinks it a little too strong to put before the members of the I.L.P. who are turning rebelliously towards the Third International. But he endorsed the memorialists' fear of the "outbreaks of the kind which marked the earlier phases of Bolshevism in Russia." Those outbreaks were of course the seizure of the power of Government by the proletariat and the steps necessary to accomplish that splendid achievement. Snowden realises, like the memorialists, that the capitalist system of the world is threatened. They openly desire the preservation of the capitalist system. Snowden, on the other hand, is termed a Socialist. But that is a mistake; he, too, desires to preserve the capitalist system. He states so explicitly, thus (the italics are ours):—

"Lloyd George himself must realise the wisdom and necessity of the course recommended by these memorialists. He must know that the economic condition of Central Europe threatens to bring to the ground the whole economic system of the world. There is no alternative policy to the course suggested by the memorialists."

The "whole economic system of the world" is the capitalists' system. Every convinced Socialist must desire to see it come crashing to the ground never to be repaired. But Snowden does not; he wishes it to be saved.

**ASQUITH'S RETURN.**

Asquith has been welcomed "home" by the Speaker, landed by the capitalist Press, ragged by the students. The *Sunday Pictorial* says he is looked to with hope because he stands "against Nationalisation" of the mining or any other industry. That is of course the reason why he has received this great Press-made reception. To the workers Asquith's return to Parliament is of no importance. He has always been a political opportunist, used as a tool by capitalist interests. So long as their power remains those interests will always find a politician to serve them; whether the tool be Asquith or another matters not very much.

But it appears that some people in the I.L.P. are actually afraid that Asquith, the capitalist, will prove a dangerous rival to the Labour Party.

Really what foolish things appear in the *Labour Leader*! Anyone would suppose that Parliament were a sort of impartial debating society! Some people object to our criticisms of the Labour Party, but read this from the *Labour Leader*:—

"It is difficult to state the blunt fact about Mr. Adamson, the chairman. . . . He empties the House when he speaks, and he is a standing joke to the occupants of the Press Gallery. I hesitate to write these things, but the truth is, the prospects of the Party are being seriously harmed by its inadequate leadership. So long as Sir Donald Maclean remains the head of the Free Liberal Group the mediocre leadership of the Labour Party does not suffer much in comparison; Sir Donald is as weak as Mr. Adamson is clumsy, but if to-morrow's result should bring Mr. Asquith back, Labour's claim to be the Official Opposition will be simply ignored. . . ."

The blunt fact is that the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party are both following a Liberal policy; therefore it is possible to make such comparisons as this made by the snob who writes in the *Labour Leader*.

**THE ALLIES AND RUSSIA.**

The statement of Government policy given by Bonar Law is, of course, anything but frank. It could not be, since the Government is desperately casting about for a sure means to overturn the Soviets. For the present the border States of Russia are not advised to continue the war. But the Allies cannot enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government "until they have arrived at the conviction that Bolshevist horrors have come to an end, and that the Government of Moscow is ready to conform its methods of diplomatic conduct to those of all civilised Governments."

Those phrases simply mean till Communism is abolished. It is understood that it would not do for the Government to speak quite plainly; the British people would have to throw up the political sponge if it publicly admitted the actual fact in face of the British people. But it was not necessary to add a gratuitous impertinence towards Comrade Litvinoff and those who acted for the Soviets in Switzerland, by asserting that the British and Swiss Governments were "compelled to expel" them "because they had abused their privileges."

Soviet Russia's magnanimous guarantee to safeguard the personal safety of those who have been fighting against her, and permission to depart from Russia immediately on the sole condition of immediate voluntary surrender are in striking contrast to the vengeful treatment by the Allied Governments of those whom they have vanquished. Bonar Law should have blushed for shame when he read out the libel that the methods of Soviet Russia are not those of "civilised" Governments.

**The Sixth Anniversary  
of the Founding of****THE "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT."**

27th MARCH.

The Issue for that date will contain a Special Supplement devoted to the Class Struggle of British Workers during those six years.

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## THE RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE.

The Special Trade Union Congress meets in London on Thursday, March 11th, and on the 10th, and every evening during the Special Congress, a Rank and File Conference, summoned by the National Committee of Workers' Committees, the London Workers' Committee, the Scottish Workers' Committee, and the unofficial Reform Committee of the South Wales Coalfield will also meet.

This conference will be presided over by Vehicle Workers, and Jock Muir, E.T.U. by Tom Mann, A.S.E., Geo. Sanders,

The following emergency resolutions will be placed before the Conference:—

This Convention calls for an explanation by the Parliamentary Committee as to why the question of the intervention in Russia finds no place on the agenda of the Special Congress. It calls for a full account of the conversations which have taken place between the Parliamentary Committee and the Government on this question, and asks whether a pledge has been obtained to conclude an immediate Peace with Soviet Russia.

This Convention recognises that no scheme of nationalisation will be of any temporary or permanent benefit to the workers which does not remove the capitalist class from power, and calls upon the workers to prepare industrial machinery to take control of the means of production and distribution, independently of capitalism.

At the same time, the Convention recognises that the challenge of the Government on mines nationalisation is one that should be met, and that Direct Action should be used to compel the Government to accede to the mine workers' demands.

This Convention therefore calls upon the Trade Union Congress to take steps to bring about a general strike to wrest the mines from the capitalists.

The Convention decides to elect a special Mines' Committee:—

- (1.) To press forward the strike policy.
- (2.) To consult with the Unofficial Reform Committee of the miners, with a view to formulating and urging upon the miners a scheme for the Socialisation and Workers' Control of the mining industry.
- (3.) To enlarge the demands of the strike in the direction of the general Socialisation of the land and all industry.

The following agenda will then be proceeded with and may be added to, in order to discuss points raised by the delegates on matters arising at the official Congress.

### Solidarity with Soviet Russia.

I.—This Convention of British Workers sends greetings to the Russian Soviet Republic, and expresses its enthusiastic admiration for the great constructive work of Communism achieved by the Soviets. The Convention congratulates the Red Army on its splendid fight against the united attacks of the capitalist governments, and proclaims its solidarity with the Workers' Soviet Republic of Russia, and with all the workers of the world, struggling for the overthrow of international capitalism.

### Intervention in Russia. — The General Strike.

II.—This Convention deplores the long toleration by the British workers of the attack which the capitalist forces of the world are making on Soviet Russia.

It now urges the Delegates at the Trade Union Congress to declare for the use of the industrial organisations to force the Government, by means of the General Strike, to stop all forms of intervention—whether by land or air forces, by the Navy, by the blockade, by financing the enemies of the Soviets, or by the use of the League of Nations, or conquered or weaker states—and immediately to remove all barriers to trade with Russia, and establish Peace with Soviet Russia on the basis of No-Annexations, No-Indemnities, the right of the peoples to Self-Determination, and of non-interference in Russia's internal affairs.

(In the case of an adverse decision by the Trade Union Congress, it will become the duty of the unofficial Convention to decide its policy, and Societies are asked to instruct their Delegates in that sense.)

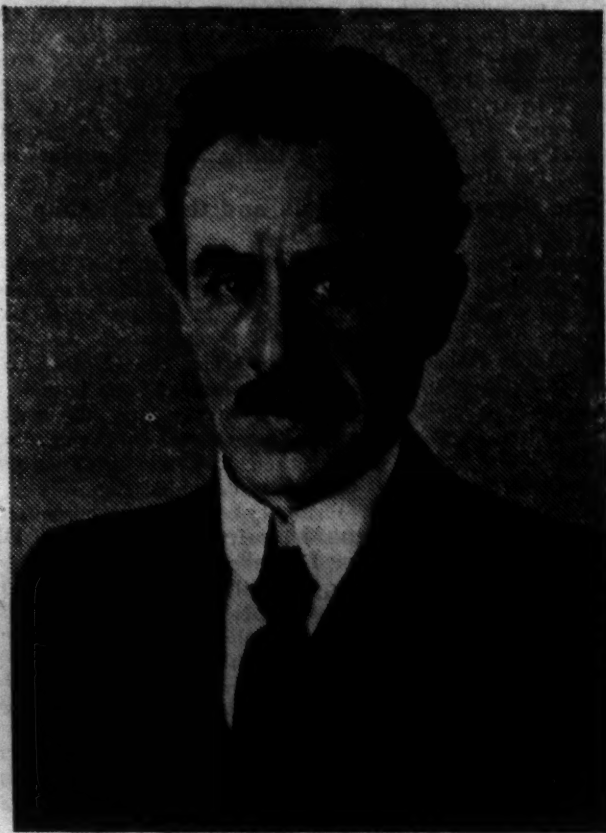
### Ireland.

III.—This Convention demands immediate and complete Independence for Ireland, and the withdrawal of British troops from that country. It calls for a special Conference of Irish and British Labour Representatives, to decide what action British Labour can take to assist the Irish workers in their struggle for emancipation.

### India and Egypt.

IV.—This Convention sends cordial greetings to its fellow-workers in Egypt and India, and demands the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, and the restoration of Independence to that country: It protests against the outrages perpetrated on the Indian people who demonstrated against the oppressive Rowlatt Acts. It demands the Independence and self-government of the Indian people, and the emancipation of coloured workers equally with those of other lands.

It condemns that Imperialism which would keep the Eastern and coloured workers in subjection, and which confines its professed aspirations to the welfare of "white-manity," ignoring humanity, which embraces the peoples of every colour, race and creed.



LEO YOGICHES.

A Russian Pole who was, with Rosa Luxemburg, the founder of the Polish Social-Democratic Party, and remained its ablest organiser. He was also the organising head of the German Communist Party, whilst Rosa Luxemburg was its political leader. He was responsible, especially, for the organisation of the revolutionary propaganda carried on in the German Army, both before and after the German Revolution of November, 1918. His work was only known to the Party officials and the members who came in touch with him. In the early part of 1919, when the clash took place between the Noske troops and the revolutionary proletariat, and Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered, Leo Yogiches was, to outward appearances, working quietly as a carpenter. But his zeal and capacity as an organiser were known to the renegade Social-Democrats of the Scheidemann-Noske Government, and they were convinced of his revolutionary activities, though they could not prove them.

Soldiers were therefore sent to arrest him, and he was murdered by them outside the Court where his case should have been tried. No Inquiry was held; no one was punished for his murder.

### Evils of Capitalism.

V.—This Convention recognises that no expedients for the limitation of profiteering, joint control by workers and employers, or such devices as the capital levy can emancipate the workers from poverty, unemployment and exploitation, and that to emancipate the working-class, the entire capitalist structure must be overthrown and replaced by a Communist form of society.

### Nationalisation.

VI.—This Convention recognises that no scheme of nationalisation will be of any temporary or permanent benefit to the workers which does not remove the capitalist class from power, and calls upon the workers to prepare industrial machinery to take control of the means of production and distribution, independently of capitalism.

### The High Cost of Living.

VII.—This Convention recognises that the high cost of living, which is causing untold misery to the workers of this and every other country, is the natural result of the World-War of capitalist rivalries, and the attacks which are now being made on Soviet Russia, the granary of Europe. Nevertheless, the existence of hungry people in a world of plenty is no novelty, but is a feature of the capitalist system, both in peace and war. It therefore urges the workers to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, and to form Workers' Committees capable of dealing with social administration on the workers' behalf.

### Unemployment.

VIII.—This Convention points out that whilst unemployment is chronic under capitalism, and is now acute in every capitalist country, in Soviet Russia, under the fertile influence of Communism, there is no unemployment; on the contrary, there is work for an unlimited supply of workers.

### Parliament and the Soviets.

IX.—This Convention declares that the Parliamentary and Local Government system existing in this country to-day was built up to meet the requirements of the capitalist system, and for the legislative and administrative suppression of the working-class, and that the Soviets (or Workers' Committees) are the organisations that the workers of all countries are choosing for themselves, as the natural machinery to be used for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and for the administration of a Communist Republic.

### The Soviets.

X.—This Convention, recognising that Social and Industrial Service will be the basis of future society, calls upon the workers to prepare for the creation of Soviets, consisting of:—

- 1.—Delegates from all kinds of industrial workers, elected on the workshop basis.
- 2.—Delegates from the land workers.
- 3.—Delegates from villages and hamlets in areas where the population, for technical reasons, cannot be divided for purposes of representation on industrial lines.
- 4.—Delegates of women not industrially employed, appointed to represent the area in which they live, by the women of those localities.

All representatives to be instructed by those they represent, and subject to recall at any time.

No representation to be given to those who live by employing others for private gain or on accumulated wealth.

Economic Soviets to consist of representatives of the above groups, with the addition of advisory representatives of Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and Technical Staffs.

### Proposed New Trade Union Council.

XI.—This Convention accepts, as a cardinal principle of industrial organisations control of administration from the lowest grade upward, i.e., by the rank and file; and is therefore opposed to the creation of a General Staff until the existing organisations have been re-organised on the lines of this principle.

Whilst insisting that every industry should be represented in any General Council, the Convention points out that to secure this adequately, means, in many industries, the re-shaping of the whole of the Trade Union machinery at present catering for those industries.

This Convention, therefore, calls on the workers in each industry to see to it that, either by amalgamating the various existing Unions, or whatever may be the speediest and most effective method, an industrial union shall be established which shall admit all the workers in the industry, regardless of sex, craft or grade, and shall be built up on the basis of workshop delegates, subject to recall by those who elect them.

This Convention urges that Industrial Congresses should at once be summoned in each industry to prepare the machinery for putting this principle into effect.

### White Guards.

XII.—This Convention calls the attention of organised Labour to the fact that the Government has organised "Citizen Guards" to oppose the workers, and urges that steps be taken to deal with this situation thus created.

### The Third International.

XIII.—This Convention greets the Third (Communist) International inaugurated in Moscow, and calls upon all workers' organisations here represented to adopt the Communist platform, and to link up with the Third International. It urges the representative delegates here present to secure the withdrawal of their organisations from the Second International, and their affiliation to the Third International.

## Rank & File Convention

To be held on

MARCH 10th, at 11 a.m.,

AND THE

Evenings of March 11th and 12th,

AT THE

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER.

TOM MANN, A.S.E.,

GEO. SANDERS Licenced V.W.

and T. MUIR, E.T.U.

will take the Chair at the different Sessions.

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.



## INTERNATIONAL NEWS. By L.J.S.

### Bulgarian Communism.

According to a correspondent writing from Bulgaria to *La Vie Ouvrière*, Bulgarian Capitalism is undermined and trembling. The general strike, economic and political at the same time, of the railways, the postal, telegraphic and telephone services and tramways, declared on December 25th and 26th, and carried out with fine solidarity and determination, further increased the confusion of our dismayed Capitalists. In the despair of its dying moments, Capitalism has declared the Communists to be outlaws. Strikers have been mobilised and the police authorities have set out to hunt the workers in the streets, in the Labour halls, and even in their own homes.

"Martial law has been proclaimed and carried out with unprecedented severity.

"The written constitution no longer exists. Liberty of the press, of speech, and of meeting are suppressed. The knout governs the country. The Communist Members of Parliament are being arrested without the law of Parliamentary immunity having first been revoked. Some have been smitten to death in prison. Communal Councillors are being arrested in the middle of a session of their councils, such as comrade Monstroukoff and the mayor of a village near Bourgas.

"However, in spite of persecution, the forces of the Bulgarian Communist Revolution are growing every day."

### The Success of the Soviets.

In an article in *Pravda*, of 22nd October, 1919, which has just reached us, Lenin describes the situation of the Communist Party at that period. It will be remembered that the attacks of Denikin and Yudenitch upon the Bolsheviks were then meeting with extraordinary success. Lenin, referring to the special liability of Moscow at such a moment to alarmist rumour and seditious activities, as being the place where the commercial capitalists, exploiting classes, together with the functionaries of the old regime were concentrated, says:—

"Nevertheless, the proletarian masses, in spite of the well-known successes of Denikin, knowing the dangers and difficulties which the same Communist brought with it at such a moment, has furnished thousands upon thousands of new adherents to the Communist Party. The success of the Soviets and the success of our Party are truly remarkable. This success proves beyond doubt . . . that in the depths of proletarian life, among the lower representatives of the working masses is the surest source of the force and vigour of the Soviets. The dictatorship of the proletariat has proved its moral sway over the masses. The power of the sympathy extended by the workers and peasants towards their advance guard, has of itself been capable of miracles . . . miracles, that in spite of temporary checks, will lead infallibly to the triumph of the Soviet Republic all over the world."

Writing further of the employment of the 13,000 new Communist adherents in Moscow, Lenin says: "Capitalism strangled a mass of talent among the workers and peasants, talents which perished under the yoke of poverty and the unnatural indignities inflicted on the human person. Our task now is to dislodge these talents and to give them an outlet. There is for them large scope in the control of Soviet institutions. . . ." The conqueror in war is he with whom remains the greatest reserves; the most numerous sources of energy. Of these we possess more than the Whites, more than the Anglo-French imperialism, that colossus with fist of clay. We possess more, because we can draw and will draw more deeply for a longer period on the reserves of energy in the workers and peasants, in the classes that have been oppressed by Capitalism, and which in all countries comprise the overwhelming majority of the population. . . . It is for this reason that certain and inevitable victory is assured to the universal power of the Soviets.

### Suppression of the German Revolutionary Press.

*Spartak's* the German Communist paper, which is published illegally now that the Communist papers have been suppressed, reports that the printers' and book-publishers' unions in Leipzig, Halle, and other German towns are threatening to strike in protest against the suppression of the revolutionary press. The transport workers of Berlin, on January 21st, passed a resolution to the same effect. They threaten to refuse to handle productions of the bourgeois press as long as the prohibition continues, and have instructed their leaders to consult with the printers' and publishers' trade unions with a view to common action in this direction.

### Fruitless Journey of Huysmans.

*Avanti* reports a projected mission of Huysman to the Social-Democrats of Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest, where he will urge the advantages of the Second International. The report says that the Social-Democrats of Central Europe are awaiting with anxiety the result of the French Socialist Congress at Strassbourg, on which the success of Huysman's mission will also depend.

### The Housing Problem in Italy.

The Italian Government, to meet the housing crisis, has resorted to the expedient of appointing High Commissioners for Housing in all the large towns, with dictatorial powers. Bologna is famous as the Red city in Italy, where the Socialists hold

power, and the Commissioner for Bologna is a Socialist, Perelli. This Commission proceed to apply Bolshevik principles, and issued an ordinance to the effect (i) nobody is to occupy more than two rooms; (ii) nobody shall have two domiciles; (iii) nobody without occupation shall reside in Bologna, and so forth. The Government has now issued instructions to the police not to enforce the Commissioner's decrees. His Majesty's police are thus instructed to oppose His Majesty's Commissioner. The Italian workers are in no mood to put up with this sort of thing; their Revolution is not far distant.

### The German Communists and the Workshop Councils.

The *Räte Korrespondenz* states that the Executive of the German Communist Party has circulated its members as to the attitude to be adopted towards the workshop councils recently set up by law. It says that the struggle against the Capitalists and the Government must be carried on outside the new law and against it wherever and as long as possible; but where the means to this end do not exist or have failed, then the struggle must be transferred to the workshop councils themselves. Wherever the old revolutionary workshop councils still exist and have the majority of the manual and professional workers behind them, they should be continued at all costs, and their influence upon control and production developed.

Where such revolutionary councils do not exist, but would receive support from the majority of the employees, elections for such revolutionary councils should be proceeded with at once. Should any such council be suppressed, then the workers should proceed to elect a council within the meaning of the law, but every effort should be made by revolutionary propaganda to defeat the law.

Where a revolutionary council would not receive the support of the majority of employees, the members of the Communist Party should seek election on the legal councils, and strive to extend their scope towards the absolute control of industry, and to make them instruments in the fight for Communism. The Executive advises that in no way should the Communists boycott these legally-instituted workshop councils. Attempts should be made to unite the councils of each locality and district in joint conferences. These joint conferences will probably be regarded as illegal, and attempts made to suppress them, but they should be persisted in. They should be made centres for Communist propaganda and activity. By law, the manual and professional workers of an industry are kept separated. Attempts should be made to unite them on common elected bodies, and community of interest should be insisted on. Finally, the Executive insists upon the extreme importance of extending these councils to rural districts in the form of agrarian councils of peasants and peasant-proprietors.

### American Socialist Party.

The American Socialist Party has held a referendum on the question of affiliation to the Third International, and by 3,475 to 1,444 votes has decided to do so, not so much because it supports the Moscow programme and methods, but because (a) Moscow is doing something which is really challenging world imperialism, (b) Moscow is threatened by the combined Capitalist Powers of the world simply because it is proletarian, (c) under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist Republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come.

We do not think the Third International can accept so half-hearted an affiliation.

The Communist Party and the Communist Labour Party of America are already affiliated to the Third International.

### The Russian Communist Party.

At the first conference of the Third International in Moscow last year, Zinoviev reported that at the time of the October Revolution the Communist Party numbered only 10,000 members. Now, on the eve of its eighth congress, it numbered 500,000. The number would have been much greater, but care had had to be taken to exclude opportunists and place-hunters, and to admit only genuine Communists. The mass of the party was working-class. "Intellectuals" formed but a small proportion of its membership.

The Russian industrial unions played a great part in the 1904-5 Revolution, and now fight side by side with the Soviets. There are 3,500,000 members in the unions. Only a minority desire the unions to be independent and neutral towards the Communists. A fairly strong section desires the unions to become definitely part of the machinery of the Soviet State; indeed, the unions already function in this way. Questions of wages and piece-rates, workers' insurance, and so on are formally decided by the Council of People's Commissaries, but the last word is with the industrial unions.

The Co-operative Societies number 25,000, with 2,000,000 members of the urban working-class societies and 10,000,000 members of the urban and rural societies, including the families, 50,000,000 individuals are embraced by them.

It is difficult to say precisely how many people are organised in the Soviets, but the number is growing. In Petrograd there are more than 650,000 Soviet electors, that is nine-tenths of the population, and two-thirds of the electors exercised the vote in the

last election. Petrograd is typical of the other towns, and more than 100,000,000 Soviet electors have made use of their electoral rights.

The Communist Party has 35 newspapers, and there are more than 100 Soviet newspapers.

### The German Independents.

The West European Secretariat of the Third International has issued a statement explaining that on December 13th the Executive of the German Independent Socialist Party addressed a letter to the Secretariat of the Third International in Germany informing the Secretariat of the decision of the I.S.P. conference in Leipzig, and inviting the Third International to send representatives to a conference with all Socialist parties, at which the formation of a new International would be considered. The West European Secretariat observes that as the result of the struggle waged for the last year by the workers in the I.S.P. with their opportunist leaders, the I.S.P. at Leipzig accepted the principle of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. But the opportunist leaders have no intention to submit to this decision, and the rank and file played into their hands by rejecting a resolution that the proletariat will have to reply with force to force used by the bourgeoisie. The Third International rightly comments that "a dictatorship denied the use of force is like a knife without blade or handle." The I.S.P. Congress did not state how the party differs from the programme of the Third International either in principle or tactics, the only reason given for not joining it were offended Party dignity and fear of dictatorship from Moscow. The Third International Secretariat claims that if the I.S.P. executive has any proposals to make to the Third International regarding programme or tactics, it should do so openly in order that an open answer may be given as these questions should not be decided by a caucus of leaders. The Secretariat states that the I.S.P. has not said what other parties are to be invited to the proposed international congress; it declares that it refuses to meet the German-Austrian, Swedish and Dutch Social Democrats, the French Socialist Party, and the English I.L.P. The English I.L.P., it says, is reformist, and denies the dictatorship of the proletariat; discussion with it "could lead to nothing." When there are signs that "the revolutionary French workers are prepared to force their leaders to cease vacillating, and to take the path of the new revolutionary struggle, the moment for the Communist International to negotiate with the French Socialists will have come."

### Propaganda for Agrarian Councils in Germany.

The *Räte Korrespondenz*, February 6th, states that the German Communist Party is organising an energetic propaganda amongst the farm labourers and small farmers for the formation of peasant proprietors' and farm workers' councils, in order to place the control of food supplies to the towns and the fixing of food prices in the hands of the peasants and peasant proprietors. The shortage of food in the towns is becoming daily more critical. Profiteering and smuggling increase the evil, whilst industrial monopolies and profiteering, together with the ever-decreasing value of the currency make the food producer more loth to part with his products to the towns.

### American Railwaymen.

In August, President Wilson promised the 2,000,000 railway workers who demanded increased wages, that the Government would reduce the cost of living. He told them that they could not have increased wages, and must wait for the prices to go down. The railwaymen now say: "What are you going to do about your promise that we should have a living wage, since our wages will not buy more, nor even as much, as they did last August; what are you going to give us to make up what we have lost by our waiting?"

The American Government is faced with a dilemma; and speculation is rife as to whether Wilson will hand the railways, which have been in Government hands since the war, back to the railway companies to avoid the importunities of the railwaymen, or whether he will raise railway rates to cover the wages increase. Either course will give trouble, and a blank refusal to the railway men will mean a strike.

The *New Majority* says that the railway companies will be bankrupt in six months if the railways are returned to them without a 2,000,000,000 dols. guarantee of increased revenue at the hands of Congress. Congress dare not give that guarantee to the railroads.

The railway workers have been demanding nationalisation and joint control.

### December Meeting of the Third International.

In our account of the Russian situation given in our special supplement of January 31st, page 2, column 3, it is stated that the Soviet Government is supported by the proletariat, the middle and poor peasants, and by the somewhat richer peasants.

As a matter of fact, the somewhat richer peasants cannot be counted as amongst the staunch supporters of the Soviet Government.

W. L. Brusse, of Rotterdam, writes to make a correction also in the Dutch report. He says that Comrade Henrietta Roland Holst remained in the old reformed Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party (S.D.A.P.) until 1912, when she left, followed by a few of those who had sustained her policy in 1919, and who would, as he thinks, have followed her had she left the Party at that time. She did not join the new Party, the Social Democratic Party (now the Communist Party) till 1916.



## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

### Geddes Excuses Coats.

February 23rd.—The bankruptcy of the Capitalist system was glaringly apparent when Sir A. Geddes excused the profiteering of Messrs. Coats on the ground that profits made through the export trade were useful, because the taxation on these profits helped the country. As manufacturers can make profits by exporting goods, it seems that the home prices are being allowed to rise. If not these patriotic manufacturers "might cut off the home trade," and what would be the position then, Sir A. Geddes asked helplessly. Conversations are to take place between "the Allies and other countries" to see if they "can find a way out of it." There is no way "out" save Communism.

### The War Lords.

The outstanding points in Mr. Churchill's speech were not the amount of money required for the Army Estimates, or the number of men to constitute the new Army, but rather the great pleasure evident in describing the wonderful progress made in perfecting tanks! The Indians may now hope to have them used against them, as the engines in the new types exercise a "refrigerating effect." Churchill boasted hypocritically that England is the only victorious country that is abolishing conscription, but gloated over "our" readiness for the next war, saying:—"If all goes well, for a supreme emergency, such as occurred in August, 1914, we shall be able to provide, complete in all details, one cavalry division, and six divisions of regular troops immediately, and in the course of the following two months one Yeomanry Division and fourteen divisions of the Territorial Army, all complete in equipment for war service."

Ben Snoor (Lab.) asked whether the tragedy of the last five years had been forgotten; but words were no reply to a speech of such monstrosity.

### Arm n' an Eep Blics.

February 24th.—It was announced that the Allied Powers have decided to recognise the Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the Erivan Republic of Armenia, and that the agreement for the exchange of British and Russian prisoners is completed.

### More Trouble!

A probable potato shortage was announced.

### Drink Restrictions.

A motion to remove all war restrictions from the Liquor Trade was introduced by Sir J. D. Rees,

but no decision was arrived at. It gave Viscountess Astor an opportunity to make her maiden speech. She showed a complete realisation of the fact that drink restrictions are made to apply, not to the people she associates with, but to "the working man," and the women in "the slums." But there is no glimmering of a thought in her mind that there is something wrong with a world that holds such class distinctions, and that the slums might in another social order be swept away.

### Black Sea Blockade.

February 25th.—Mr. Long said the orders to be issued to British officers regarding merchant ships under the Soviet flag proceeding to sea for purposes of trade is "under consideration." He added "there are conditions in the Black Sea which make it impossible to remove the blockade immediately."

### Unemployment.

The Government unemployment Bill would give men 15/- a week, women 12/-, boys 7/6, and girls 6/- a week. Men would pay 3d. a week, women 2d., boys 2d., girls 1d.

J. R. Clynes (Lab.) made a slavish speech thanking Sir R. Horne for his great sympathy for the dread workers have of unemployment, and promising the Bill a "friendly passage" through the House. He said the Bill "is likely to go far to relieve the poverty and distress that would otherwise occur." He disclaimed the idea that the employer is the workers' enemy, or should be condemned. He explained "without any wish to offend," as he carefully added, that "whilst the poor man pays his shilling to his club for essentials, the rich man pays his guineas to his club for reasons of pleasure and convenience, which I do not question at all."

Do you not, Mr. Clynes? The workers, in increasing numbers, strongly question these differences.

### Miners Reject the Scheme.

Mr. Spencer (Lab., Broxtowe) announced that the Miners' Federation rejects the scheme. They say the Bill is one to dress up unemployment. They declare they will have nothing to do with it, and will resist if the forces of the State are used to compel them to accept its provisions.

### Carpenters and Joiners Also Reject.

The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Cabinet makers, and Joiners also says it refuses to administer Part II. of the National Insurance Act on the

old terms, and that it will not administer the new Bill if it becomes law, because the financial terms are such that the administration of State benefit means, and would mean, an actual loss to the general funds of the body undertaking to administer. Things are getting livelier; the Revolution is drawing nearer!

### Government Defeat.

On a motion to increase the pensions of all police officers and men retired before April 1st, 1919, the House decided against the Government, and the voting was 123 to 57. A straw blowing in the wind, but a very little straw.

### High Food Prices.

February 26th.—It was arranged in October to send another 5,000 or 6,000 tons of flour to Denikin. The Czechs may get out of Russia in April.

Sir A. Geddes stated that the rise in prices was "the inevitable outward and visible sign of the national poverty resulting from the war. He did not think the Government should attempt to regulate prices and profits at each stage of production. He wants the profiteers in each industry to regulate their own affairs. He believes they are deeply impressed "by the need that prices shall not rise so high!" They do not show it!

Great excitement was displayed because some Russians have managed to get into Britain, "the land of the free!"

### Constantinople.

There was a wrangle over Turkey between Lloyd George and Lord Robert Cecil, both of whom have more than once made quite opposite declarations on this subject. Lloyd George taunted Cecil with changing his views when out of office. Cecil, of course, replied that that is a practice of Lloyd George. Lloyd George said that the Turks are to remain in Constantinople because trouble might be caused in India if they were turned out. Adamson, speaking for the Labour Party, said that Constantinople, the straits, and the hinterland should be handed over to the League of Nations.

The League of Nations is a menace to the workers' revolution, the Labour Party should know that. The Party quite forgot its professed faith in the principle of the self-determination of peoples!

### On the Same Terms as Men.

February 27th.—A Labour Party Bill to give votes to women on the same terms as men, and to make the municipal vote residential, like the Parliamentary, and to abolish the second vote for business premises, was given a Second Reading.

## SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

### "Snap Strikes."

During the War, the Coal Controller issued orders to all colliery managers to the effect that stoppages of work should be avoided at all costs. Being opportunists (in the literal sense of the word), the miners took immediate advantage of this. "Snap strikes" therefore became usual and frequent occurrences. In this way, quite a large number of concessions were wrung from the Capitalists.

With the termination of the War, however, rather a different condition of things seemed to prevail. The "snap strike" was discarded, and even the most fearless agitators seemed to have become convinced that its utility as a weapon had diminished greatly.

The recent Rhondda strike and its effects have forced most comrades seriously to reconsider the question, and the spontaneous strike is likely to loom large in the tactics of the future. When one considers that a strike of 40,000 men was sufficiently important to close the export business of coal, then the strike of a 1,000 miners will be important enough to settle in a satisfactory way most of the local colliery grievances. This seems to be sound reasoning, and should bring great prestige to those people who have consistently advocated an attacking policy, irrespective of conditions, believing that when the workers are not so engaged, the Capitalists are.

### A Rhondda Labour Paper.

The adjourned conference of the No. 1 and 2 Districts of the South Wales Miners, to consider the floating of a Labour paper, was held on the 27th ult., at Porth. Diversity of opinion being again expressed on the Executive scheme, a committee of six was appointed to act as a propaganda committee to popularise and arouse enthusiasm for a Rhondda Labour paper.

The true position of affairs was neatly summed up by a member of the propaganda committee, when he tersely remarked: "The paper is dead, and we have been appointed its bearers to give it a decent burial." Comrades who desire the introduction of such a paper may be confident that as foreshadowed in a previous article—a rank and file newspaper will shortly be born in the Rhondda. Before another official conference is called, the rank and file paper will have become an accomplished fact.

### Equal Wages.

The S.W.M.F. Conference, which commences its first sitting on March 1st, is likely to last several days. In view of the approaching termination of the Wages Agreement, a new charter is to be drawn

up. Unification of wages and elimination of grades seems to be one of the chief aims of the miners. Whereas the Executive recommends three grades, the Left Wing intends to fight hard for one.

### "The Cost of Living" Fight.

Again the Executive desire to protest against the high cost of living, whilst the rank and file are determined to make an immediate fight for an increase in wages which will give them an equivalent to their pre-war standard. This is computed to be an increase of 7s. per day. Feeling is running high in South Wales on this question, and a strike decision could easily be obtained.

### To Smash Capitalism.

Coal being an important factor in the exchange rate, a strike in South Wales, the export centre, would bring the £ down to breaking point. If the opinions of the rank and file leaders are correct, the hammer that can smash the capitalist system of these Islands, lies in the hands of the South Wales miners.

### Executive and Men Who Refused to "Race" Trams.

One item in the agenda will also provide the necessary opportunity to the delegates to tweek the nose of the Executive for their shabby treatment of the men who refused to "race" their trams.

### Miners Demand £1. 7s. 6d. a Day.

Propagandists should note that the flat rate being pressed for by the rank and file of the miners is £1 7s. 6d. a day, inclusive of the prospective 7s. a day.

Next week a full report of the Conference, as it affects the Socialist movement, will be given.

### Socialist Children's Concerts.

Quite a good move has been made at Ton Petre, where the children are being organised most successfully. Two very enjoyable concerts were rendered at the Workmen's Hall by these children on the 22nd ult. Every song and every piece of recitation conveyed in a clear and distinct manner a lesson in Socialism. The evening collection alone amounted to over £10. Already a large number of requests have been made to the organisers, who are women, to give performances in various parts of Wales.

### Why the Business Men are On the Councils.

That business men do not make efforts to capture the Councils and other administrative offices for any altruistic motive is clearly shown by what occurred at a meeting of the Cardiff Corporation held on February 26th. The Corporation seemed

to be of unanimous opinion that a new dock should be built to meet the growing needs of the City of Cardiff. To the ordinary individual, the next step would be to start building it. This, however, the Corporation, having at heart the interests of the people they represented, could not do. Quoth the Lord Mayor: "In my judgment, this is essentially a matter for private enterprise; immediately private enterprise is shown in this direction the Corporation will give it its unanimous blessing." Another member declared that if a man put money down he should be assured of his income. How much longer is the fraternity of parasites to fatten on our backs?

Wake up! Cardiff workers. Your comrades in the "Hills" are almost ready.

### Direct Action Wins.

The farmers who supply South Wales, and the middlemen who purchase their milk, have come to terms, and so the milk strike is ended. Whilst failing to obtain the price they demanded, the farmers have had fairly substantial increases on the price paid to them for milk.

### Work or Leisure.

In an article entitled "Dangers in Cutting down Coal Exports," Mr. Finlay A. Gibson, secretary of the South Wales Coal-owners Association, gives us an important insight into the workings of the capitalist mind. "At the present moment," he writes, "the supply of rolling stock and the congested condition of the railways render it impossible to keep collieries regularly employed without the aid of a large export trade. The miners will at once protest against any system which will deprive them of regular employment. It was the evil of irregular employment a year or two ago which accounted for the agitation of the men for a five-day week. There is the danger that that agitation may be revived."

Can Mr. Gibson be right when he says, in effect, that it is work the workers require to keep them satisfied. No! It is not so. To-day, the evidences are clear that it is leisure the workers want, and intend to get in ever-increasing quantity.

## EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

### Trafalgar Square Demonstration.

### "INCREASED OUTPUT"

Sunday, March 7th, 3 p.m.

Speakers will include: Walter Ponder, Melvina Walker, Harry Pollitt, George Sanders, W. Gladly, Sam Bradley, Tom Dingley, Percy Kealey, Vic Beacham and others.

Come In Your Thousands!



## BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

My uncle Fitzarthur—but then you may not have heard of him before. However, an undiscovered genius sewing his own buttons with tenpenny thread in a garret has to have uncles. Or, if he hasn't uncles, his genius enables him to invent them. Speaking for myself, my favourite uncle is Uncle Fitzarthur.

He is immensely profit-lined, of course, with fat, podgy hands and an equatorial waistcoat. He took hold of me the other day, and put a bundle of podginess in my hand, lean and muscular, as you may guess, and said in a sea-chanty voice that he had become a convert to Bolshevism. I rolled up the tenpenny reel of thread and locked it up in the ice safe. He chanted:—

"Yes, my boy, I am glad to own up when I find I am wrong. It never struck me in that light before. But take my word for it, if there is a more thorough-going Bolshie than your uncle Fitzarthur, I'd like to see him, that's all."

I suggested that he hardly looked like a Bolshevik.

"Ah, things are not always what they seem, my lad. When you are as old as I am—"

"I shall have to buy my clothes by the yard," I ventured, "and at 3,200 per cent."

"Ha, ha, ha!" he bellowed, giving me a dig in the ribs that made my dinner grow pale. "You will have your joke; but as I was saying—"

"You a Bolshevik! Oh, Uncle Fitz!"

"Yes, honest Injun! That fellow Lansbury—"

"What's he done to you, Uncle?"

"He's opened my eyes, he has. Good old George, with his mutton-chop whiskers, but then, as I said, you cannot always go by appearances."

I did not quite grasp the connection between mutton-chop whiskers and Bolshevism, but one has to go slow with one's uncles. I went slow with Fitzy.

"That cable of his from Moscow was an eye-opener, my boy, although I had been keeping my eye on *The Herald* for some time, and quite a sensible paper in its way it is too."

This is a great compliment from Uncle Fitz, for you must know he is one of those clever capitalist fellows. He makes money on all sorts of goods without ever seeing them. All you have to do is to advertise for what you want, say engineering details and machines to exploit the slate in

Soviet Russia, and Uncle Fitz will spot you before you can say "Cock-a-doodle-doo." He rings up a man he knows has the goods and gets his price; then he puts on just a bit for himself, and offers you the goods. Smart chap is Uncle Fitzy. He went on—

"And the more I look at it, the more its editorial staff strikes me as being moderate and sensible. Lansbury says, almost the first words he can get across the wireless: 'Arrived here to-day; churches all open; people going in and out; magnificent shrine in Kremlin being visited as of old.' That tells you all about the *Herald* before you read any further. Give me a religious-noticing man every time."

Uncle Fitzarthur thumped one hand inside the other, and I wondered if the explosion would reach to the magnificent shrine in the Kremlin.

"Look, my lad, at last Tuesday's *Herald*, and don't tell me that paper isn't awake to the problems that confront this country. Let me read to you, young man, something that will improve your mind better than the literary stuff you fill your waste-paper basket with." And he burst into a fresh sea-chanty to the following effect:—

"Britain too late? U.S. traders already busy. Will British traders be too late in the Russian market? This is the most vital economic question of the day. In Great Britain there is no one empowered to make trading arrangements with Soviet Russia. The prize is to the swift. At present we lag behind—and shut our eyes to the greatest remedy for the exchange crisis which the world situation affords."

"There, young fellow, is business acumen for you. Fancy seeing it in a Labour paper. But in future I shall know better."

And Uncle Fitzarthur engaged his throat in a series of apoplectic chuckles, which must have been heard at the *Herald* offices. I am sure they will be glad to have such a clever man as Uncle Fitzarthur as a reader.

He offered me a cigar as he went, but I declined it. The most vital economic of the day with me is how to exist on an unemployed donation which I don't get. And cigars are rather apt to upset my dinner—when I chance to get one. You see, I am not such a clever man as my Uncle Fitzarthur.

The *Herald* is a great paper, Henry. It is a good name, the *Herald*. But the "herald" of what?

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### LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Saturday, March 6th, Morpeth Street, Green Street, 3 p.m.  
Melvina Walker, A. Haddock.  
St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 7 p.m. Melvina Walker,  
Miss Grove, P. A. Edmunds.  
Sunday, March 7th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m.  
Melvina Walker, and others.  
Friday, March 12th, The Square, Woolwich, 12 (noon).  
Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.  
Saturday, March 13th. Meetings in Bow.

### INDOOR.

Sunday, March 7th, 400, Old Ford Road, at 7 p.m.  
D. E. Maguire. (See advertisement.)  
Monday, March 8th, 20, Railway Street, 7.30 p.m. Poplar  
W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m., Reading Circle.  
Thursday, March 11th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Mark  
Starr. Fifth Lecture on Economics: "Capital. Early  
Forms. Its Source. Its Purpose of Profit Making  
and How Profits are Made."  
Friday, March 12th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m.  
Dancing.

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.  
Sunday, March 7th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter  
Ponder and others.  
Tuesday, March 9th, Queens Road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m.  
Walter Ponder and others.  
Thursday, March 11th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m.  
Business Meeting.

### WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, March 9th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road,  
3 p.m. Mrs. Edmunds.

### EAST HAM LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, March 9th, Old Public Offices, Wakefield Road,  
8 p.m. Olive Beamish.

### W.S.F. PUBLIC MEETING

AT  
400, OLD FORD ROAD,  
on SUNDAY, MARCH 7th, at 7 p.m.

D. E. MAGUIRE,

"War and Finance."

Chair: P. A. EDMUNDS.

Questions and discussion invited.

Silver Collection.

Admission Free.

### W.S.F. PUBLIC MEETING, BOW BATH HALL.

Sunday, March 14th, 7.30 p.m.

(Door open at 7 p.m.)

SYLVIA PANKHURST, MELVINA WALKER,  
J. TOCHATTI and others.

Admission Free. Questions. Silver Collection.

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