



Workers' Breadnought

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THE IDEAL OF ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

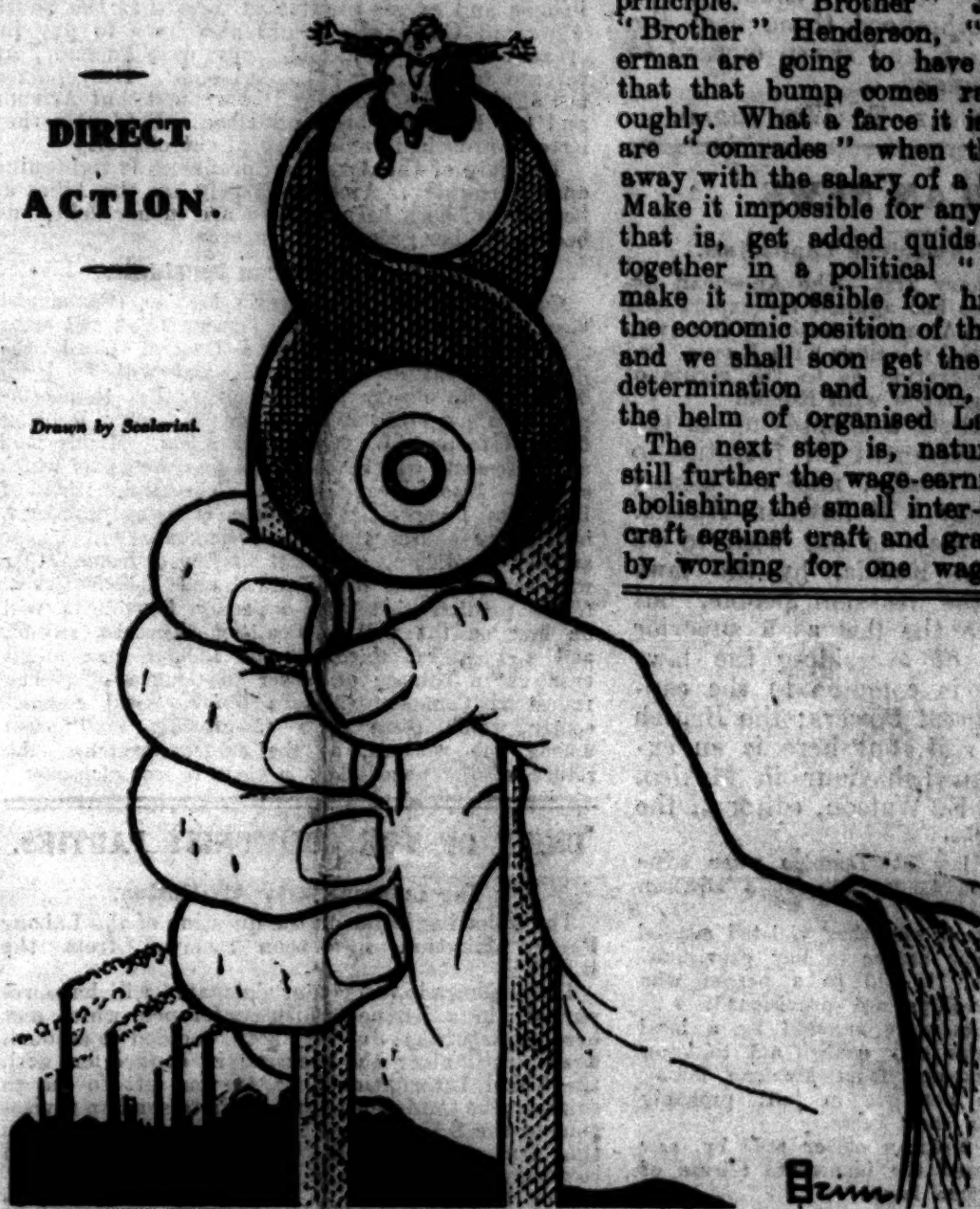
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—such were the watchwords of the French Revolution. But, to-day, these are not enough. "There is no equality whilst the woman of the people drags herself hungry before the doors of the rich. The old equality meant political equality. It was a mirage and a shadow; a worthless reflection of the true substance of economic equality. Of what use "one man, one vote" when one of the men has twenty shirts, and the other but a single ragged one. Of what use "one man, one vote," when one man has a mansion in Holland Park and a country house, and the other has a garret in White-chapel. Of what use "one man, one vote," when one of the men has ease, leisure, culture, and comfort, and the other has grinding and perpetual toil to keep up a bare subsistence. Yet men have fought and struggled for decades for this mirage and shadow of political equality. To-day we see the beginning of the struggle for the ideal of the *real* equality, where the equality is to be manifest, not in votes, but in material necessities of life.

Men are not equal; they are vastly unequal, both physically and as regards emotional and mental equipment. They are vastly different as regards development and strength of character—in qualities of determination and will, of discrimination and dispassion; in control of speech, thought and action men differ greatly, but they are equal in one respect—that *they have all the same equal need in the economic sphere.* They have all the same need of bread and butter, boots and clothing, of housing, and even the same needs of education, love, and all that makes for development and growth of personality, be it lowly or advanced. The new ideal of economic equality for which our comrades in Russia are striving to-day, meets that equality of economic need—and therefore that ideal is sound. There can be no real brotherhood unless that brotherhood is brought down to function in material things. If a man is your brother he should certainly share with yourself equally. If men are brothers the world over, and humanity is one great family of brothers, then it is essential that that brotherhood should start at rock bottom and translate itself into material things. It is no good the duchess saying to the street girl: "You are my sister, and to show my sisterhood I propose that we shall be equal in having one vote each." That is not sisterhood. If sisterhood means anything, it means it is to start in dresses and food and housing—just as it does with the sisters of one family, and just as it must do with the spiritual sisters of the great family of humanity. The duchess in Park Lane and the street girl in Hoxton with one vote each is not sisterhood. It is a travesty and mockery of sisterhood.

It is necessary to face boldly the practical development of this ideal as to how it will work out. "What!" the duchess will exclaim, "Is the street girl to have exactly the same silk dresses and gold-worked ball-room slippers as I have?" The reply is "Yes, precisely; either both or neither,

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See Our
Announcement
on Page 3.

providing, of course, that each is rendering the necessary quota of service to the common good." "And," will say our Duke of Sutherland, "is the landless farm labourer to have precisely the same access to the land as I have?" The reply is "Yes, precisely, assuming, of course, that both the duke and the labourer are rendering their necessary quota of daily toil to the common good." As to how it will work out in actual practice is certainly speculative as to details. Whether money will be abolished and daily "work cards" issued which must be worked off, and in return ration cards for food, boots, clothing, and an exchangeable value card for luxuries, at this stage we do not know. Probably it will start in this fashion, as I understand it is starting in Soviet Russia.

Among the organised proletariat we can get to work fashioning this ideal without delay. I have, myself, launched a campaign for bringing all the salaries of all officials in the various trade unions precisely to the level of the normal worker in the unions. I believe this "economic equality" will do more to sweep organised Labour clear of grafters and misleaders, bleeders and selfish climbers, and transform the trade union movement into a healthy, vitalised organism than any other suggestion yet put forward. The shop steward movement already adheres to this

principle. "Brother" Jimmy Thomas, "Brother" Henderson, "Brother" Bow-erman are going to have a bump. See that that bump comes rapidly and thoroughly. What a farce it is pretending they are "comrades" when they are walking away with the salary of a Cabinet Minister. Make it impossible for any man to "graft" that is, get added quids by all hanging together in a political "graft" machine, make it impossible for him to rise above the economic position of the normal worker, and we shall soon get the right men, with determination and vision, and idealism at the helm of organised Labour.

The next step is, naturally, to solidify still further the wage-earning proletariat by abolishing the small inter-class struggles of craft against craft and grade against grade, by working for one wage for all wage-

earners*. Why one wage for dockers and one for miners; why one wage for vehicle workers and another for municipal workers? Each has precisely the same economic necessity, the same need for clothes and boots and food. Clerks' children have not smaller stomachs than dustmen's children. They do not wear out boots less quickly. Then make the brotherhood of the wage workers a reality by insisting on the principle of economic equality amongst them. It may be argued that miners' work is nastier and more dangerous than the work of dustmen. This is probably true. The correct tactic then, is, surely, to introduce the principle of the adjustable day, which is bound up with the ideal of economic equality. Adjust downwards, from an eight hour maximum, according to the hardness and danger of the work. Say: the miners, a five hour day; the moulders, a six hour day; the vehicle workers, a seven hour day; and the shop assistants, an eight hour day; but for miner, moulder, vehicle worker and shop assistant, precisely the same economic reward. The whole matter can be very simply elaborated and adjusted.

*One wage for all wage-earners is not enough. There must be one economic and social status for all, and the capitalist system must be completely abolished. Until the capitalist system is abolished, the ideals expressed in this article can never be realised.—EDITOR, *Workers' Breadnought*.]

It is interesting to speculate what would be the results of the ideal of economic equality in practice. It might be that when all potential workers were mobilised for the common good, that a four hour day would be found the normal in place of the eight hour day of to-day. What is to prevent a man working a six hour day for two years, and then taking a whole year's holiday, to be spent in travel in Italy?

I am convinced this reality is not so distant as it seems to many.

To sum up then, let us crystallise our theories into a concrete goal, and let this goal be economic equality. Let us banish for ever as a shadow and an unreality the old shibboleth of political equality. Proclaim the gospel of economic equality, and hence of true brotherhood throughout the organised proletariat, and sweep onward to the Soviets of England.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

AMERICAN NEWS.

The Menace of American Capitalism.

Washington, February 21st.—The American Association of Commerce has applied for export and import permits for all American business firms who wish to have commercial relations with Russia, and demands a clear declaration as to the rights of Americans concerning trade with Russia.

American capitalists are applying to the United States' Government for facilities to trade with Soviet Russia, and are asking what "rights" they will have in Russia. That means that they do not wish to be governed, when in Russia, by the laws which apply to the Russian people, but to be placed above the law as a superior race. The habit of overriding the laws of weaker peoples is common to the capitalists of all the great Powers; the British are just like the rest, but here is an example of American behaviour in Mexico, quoted by Thomas E. Watson, editor of the *Columbia Sentinel*:—

There was martial law at Tampico when some American marines came ashore without a Mexican permit.

The afterthought reason why they violated martial law was that they came ashore to buy provisions. That's a fishy story, if told to a person who knows how our battle-ships are provisioned.

The American marines were arrested by a local Mexican officer, who was silly enough not to know that Americans are exempt from Mexican law.

These marines were not put in jail; probably there was no room for them there.

Anyway, a superior Mexican officer rode by, saw the situation and ordered the immediate release of these violators of Mexican law.

But Admiral Mayo was not to be appeased by a prompt release of his law-breaking marines; the prompt apology offered did not lessen the fierce Admiral's blood-pressure.

No less would pacify him than that the Mexicans run up an American flag and fire a cannon salute to it.

The dismayed Mexicans tried to explain to irate Mayo that they had no American flag, no pole that would come up to Mayo's demands, no cannon, and no powder worth mentioning.

But Mayo blustered to this Administration, and, to the stupefaction of mankind, we went to war with Mexico because of a refusal to shoot off a few shots in "honour of the flag."

Then we seized Vera Cruz, shot up the poor old town, killed a number of Mexicans, who hadn't heard of the incident at Tampico, and began to collect the custom house duties.

It was supposed that General Funston had been sent into Mexico to get the salute, dead or alive, but he never got it.

Was it not a war on Mexico without adequate cause when this Administration invaded the country, seized its principal sea-port, shot down non-combatants at their home windows, on their balconies and in their streets?

This is the sort of menace Soviet Russia will have to fear unless the Red Army is strong enough to deal with the capitalists from the great Powers, who now propose to trade with Soviet Russia and to take up concessions there.

The Grip of Profiteers.

Basil M. Manley, of the American War Labour Board, has revealed the fact that mining profits during the war ranged as high as 7,856 per cent. Nearly half the mines paid profits equal to their entire capital stock, and one mine paid profits equal to 78 times its capitalisation. One steel manufacturer's profits reached 290,999. This company had a capital stock of 5,000 dol., and in 1917

reported to the Treasury a net income of 14,549,952 dol. After paying excess profits its income still amounted to 212,584 per cent. on its capital stock.

Basil Manley had good reason to think that the United States Steel Corporation had concealed 323,000,000 dol. of its income from the Treasury Department. He asked permission to see the Company's return in order that the facts might be verified, but permission was refused. Meat packers made profits ranging up to 4,244 per cent, fruit and vegetable canners 3,032 per cent., woollen mills 1,770 per cent., furniture makers 3,295 per cent., clothing and dry goods stores 9,826 per cent., building contractors made up to 1,390 per cent.

Manley further states that Armour and Co., the great beef company, sent its lawyer to the Federal Trade Commissioner, J. Franklin Fort, in Chicago, and asked him to use his influence with the other Federal Trade Commissioners to induce them to recall their demand for a sworn statement of Armour's South American subsidiary companies. The reason given was that Armour had concealed 8,000,000 dol., on which they would have to pay income and excess profits tax, and that the South American Companies would also have to pay increased taxes if their real profits were known. Fort refused to connive at the deception. He reported the affair to the Treasury Department, but Armour and Co. have not been punished. Evidently they have approached some more pliant official.

The grip of the American profiteers is tightening on this country. America largely has the Allies at her mercy, both because they are in her debt, and because of her great food resources.

The Next American President.

Gale's Magazine, published in Mexico, (Communist views), says that the Dupont Powder Trust and other corporations propose to make General Wood the next President of the U.S.A., and will flood the country with money and newspaper lies to accomplish this purpose. A big "news" agency is being financed to push Wood and Militarism. Highly-paid advertisements will be doled out to newspapers which support Wood's candidature. The nomination of Bryan as Democratic candidate is being discussed, but *Gale's* thinks that the Democrats will choose another candidate, and that Bryan or some other will run on a Coalition-Radical and Labour ticket. *Gale's* predicts that a re-actionary Republican will be first on the poll, a Coalition-Labourist second, and a Democrat third. "The Labour men might even get a balance of power in Congress." "The Industrial Communists," says *Gale's*, "will complacently watch these signs of growing intelligence among the workers, as the surgeon watches the return of the unconscious patient to consciousness."

UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

The Labour Party Affiliation.

The following letter on the question of the Labour Party affiliation has been received from the B.S.P.:—

Dear Comrade,—As your delegates will have reported, the adjourned unity conference, which met here on Saturday, January 24th, decided to adjourn again until after the meeting in connection with the Third International. It was left to me to summon the Conference, and again to send an invitation to the S.L.P. Executive. In accordance with this arrangement, I am convening the adjourned conference to meet here on Saturday afternoon, March 13th, at 3.30 p.m., when I trust it will be convenient for the delegates from the W.S.F. to attend. In the meantime the matter of the unity negotiations was under the consideration of our Executive at their meeting in London last week-end. Our delegates reported the proceedings of the last conference, stating that the S.L.P. Executive had decided not to take further part in the proceedings, because their ballot had rejected the proposal regarding the referendum of the new Party as to its relations with the Labour Party, and the indisposition of the W.S.F. and the S.W.S.S. delegates to proceed further in view of the absence of official representatives of the S.L.P.

The Executive Committee of the B.S.P. adhere to the views their delegates have expressed as to the relations of the Communist Party to the Labour Party and the industrial organisation of the working class.

Nevertheless, they feel that this question, important though it is, is secondary to the need for uniting in one Communist Party all those organisations in this country that adhere to the Third International, and accept the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the working class; for this reason they are prepared to make a further concession in order to carry the negotiations with the other bodies to a successful issue, and have instructed me to express their willingness to withdraw that clause in the original unity recommendations, referring to a referendum three months after the formation of a Communist Party on the question of relations with the Labour Party. This offer of the B.S.P. Executive is, of course, made without prejudice to their freedom inside the Communist Party to advocate affiliation to the Labour Party and to submit a full statement of their views on this question to the Central Executive Committee of the Third International at Petrograd.

The Soviets in Britain.

Comrades willing to display a striking *Dreadnought* poster advocating the Soviets in Britain, should apply for copies to 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

COMMUNISM IN JUGOSLAVIA.

(By our own Correspondent.)

The following summary of the state of the Communist movement in "the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes"—commonly known as Jugo-Slavia—may be as surprising to some readers as it was to the writer when it was told to him. The account is doubtless very imperfect, and it may be that the comrades who related it were over optimistic in their estimates of the strength of the movement. But substantially, the account is correct.

It is surprising, because the impression has been abroad that the Jugo-Slav Communist movement was among the weakest in all eastern Europe. We knew, of course, of the existence of the Serbian Communist Party, allied with the Third International. But we had understood that the reactionary Serbian monarchy had been successful in repressing it by terror. We had heard of commotion in Belgrade last spring, but heard, also, of wholesale arrests of the Communist leaders of it. Finally, we have heard much, too much, from the three "Socialists" in the Serbian Government, without knowing how infinitesimal was their support among the working-class.

The following account was gathered from Communist leaders in Spalato, the capital of that half of Dalmatia which is not occupied by the Italians. Spalato is a city of some 27,000 inhabitants, many of whom are engaged in the large cement industry, which, in normal times, flourishes in this region. The workers are organised "industrially" in nineteen unions. The leaders claim that in most of these unions the organisation approaches one hundred per cent, in spite of the unemployment and high prices, which make the payment of union dues difficult. In the Union Federation there are 3,400 members—a good percentage. Also among the peasants, the Communist movement has made a good beginning. The Communist Peasant Union numbers 600 members, representing 8,000 workers.

These organisations are Communist to a man. They all support the Third International, and look for a speedy revolution and the establishment of a Soviet regime. Rival workers' organisations practically do not exist. The "Christian Workers' Union" (Catholic) is only a name. The patriotic *Societa Unione e Lavoro*, which is the Italian workers' club in Spalato, holds its members because of its benefit system, but does not prevent their belonging to the Communist organisation. The Dalmatian leaders were insistent in their assurances that the situation was similar in all other parts of the new kingdom, except, perhaps, in Croatia.

The organised workers have formed their Soviet system, which they claim is already functioning completely, and is, in fact, a "State within the State" of the Serbian monarchy. There are, in Spalato, three parallel Soviets, which, together, form the central Soviet of Dalmatia. The industrial Soviet is composed of the president and secretary of each of the nineteen unions. The political Soviet is composed of five members appointed by the executive committee of the Communist Party for Dalmatia. The peasants' Soviet is composed of twelve members, elected from their respective districts. Each city, too, has its local Soviet.

The same organisation exists throughout the rest of the kingdom, and culminates in the Central Soviet of Belgrade. This is composed of 62 members, 31 political, elected by the various branches of the Communist Party, and 31 industrial, elected by the district Soviets. The work of the Soviet system at present is chiefly agitational. But the leaders (at least, those in Dalmatia) consider themselves prepared to take over the government whenever the proper moment arrives.

Of the strength of the organisation throughout Jugo-Slavia in general, the leaders speak with greatest confidence. Three-quarters of Belgrade, they claim, including all the *intelligentsia*, is firmly Communist. Forty-eight thousand out of the 70,000 inhabitants of Sarajevo, likewise; two-thirds of Knin, and so on. What is of greatest importance is that all the railway, post and telegraph workers are organised and are solidly Communist.

The patriotic Social-Democratic Party, which is allied with the Second International and has three of its members in the Government, has most of its strength in Croatia. The Communist leaders claim it has fewer than 5,000 members, as against 150,000 in the Communist Party. The relative strength of the two organisations can be judged by the fact that the Communists have three daily papers and thirteen weekly or semi-weekly; whereas the Social-Democratic have only four papers, none of them even weekly.

The Jugo-Slav Communists are not abstentionists. They take substantially the same ground as the Italian Socialist Party, and are preparing vigorously for the coming election. However, they place as little ultimate faith in Parliament as any abstentionist.

They, of course, play no part in the present Parliamentary situation, since there has been no election since the Communist Party was organised last April. The present Parliament dates from pre-Communist days. The Communists have had their trial of strength with the Government, however.

At the time of the General Congress in Belgrade last April, the Government thought to make a final coup by arresting all the prominent Communists, including the three recognised leaders, Dr. Topalovich, Professor Markovich and Mr. Phillipovich. The workers responded with a general strike which paralysed Belgrade and other cities, and forced the release of all the arrested comrades. Since that time—in Dalmatia, at least—the Communist organisation has been permitted to work openly and unhindered.

The spirit animating the Communist Party was demonstrated at the April Congress. Each of the provincial sections—those of Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Croatia—had been asked to submit a programme and constitution for the proposed party. Those of the first three provinces were substantially the same, all drafted after the constitution of the Russian Communists. Only Croatia proposed a more moderate programme. And since that time, the Communist minority in Croatia has gained the upper hand too.

The Serbian Communists do not intend to commit the mistake of the Hungarians and make an isolated revolution which can be crushed at leisure by the international militia. They feel the need of acting in unison with their comrades in other Balkan countries. Bulgaria, it is well known, is prepared to declare the revolution at the drop of the hat, and Jugo-Slavia, it appears, will go with her. But the hat, in all probability, must drop first in Roumania.

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS. By L.J.S.

White Guards.

The *Sunday Evening Telegram* (29/2/20) publishes a telegram from Copenhagen which sheds some light on the recruitment of anti-Bolshevik legions. It seems that a recruiting office was founded in Copenhagen last October by a Captain Palludan, who was acting as representative of the Kolitchak Government. He enrolled young men—on false pretences, it would seem, although the telegram does not state so—and when on board the steamer which was to take them to Russia, they were informed that they were now under military control, and Captain Palludan furnished them with a contract to sign, stating that they were willing to do service in the Russian White Army, fighting against the Bolsheviks. They were compelled to obey, or else they would have been punished as deserters. The brave and gallant captain appears to have made tracks for home as soon as the Red Army began its northward successes, and he left his gallant Danes stranded in Archangel. The Copenhagen telegram tells us that about thirty-two Danes are now left there, and five of them are reported to have been immediately polished off by the Bolsheviks. The telegram goes on pathetically:—

"The fate of the others cannot yet be determined; they, too, may be killed by the Bolsheviks; or perhaps they have fled from Archangel and are now trying to reach the Norwegian frontier. If the latter is the case, they are now straggling through the white desert of the snowy Far North, where they will, in all probability, suffer death from cold and starvation."

It certainly looks like it, for coal does not make a good diet, even for starving Danes. However, we may turn to the happier case of Captain Palludan. The Danish press is demanding that he should be called upon to surrender himself and be punished according to the Danish law, which forbids recruiting of any kind for foreign countries.

But Captain Palludan, the telegram adds, intends to make himself scarce if the order for his arrest is put in motion—and the country he has in mind is this tight little island, "where he considers that he will not be surrendered to the Danish authorities." And now the telegram suggests that it is up to Litvinoff to cable to Archangel to save the lives of the remaining Danes. It would be more exciting to send Captain Palludan there; he would be sure of a warm welcome from his gallant little band.

Roumania and the Third International.

The Roumanian Socialist Party is discussing adherence to the Third International. One section in the party, embracing most of the members of the Old Kingdom, Bessarabia and part of Transylvania, is for immediate adherence to the Third International. Another section desires, like Longuet, to re-construct the International; yet another desires a reconciliation of the two Internationals. The bourgeoisie is alarmed at the revolutionary tendency of the movement, and the Government threatens most serious coercion should the party adhere to the Third International. One hundred thousand people are now being prosecuted or are condemned for political offences. Socialist papers are prohibited in Bessarabia and part of Transylvania. Many Socialists have been murdered.

Pierre Pascal is another member of the French Military Mission to Russia, who, like Sadoul, has thrown in his lot with the Soviets.

An Australian Revolutionary Party.

L'Humanité reports the formation at Klagenfurt, on February 23rd, of a new Austrian revolutionary party of landless peasants and workers, including former prisoners of war. The party organ is called *The Hammer and Plough*. The programme includes the socialisation of estates and industries without compensation.

Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

The Russian press reports that a Ukrainian Soviet Republic has been constituted in the Ukrainian territory occupied by the Red Troops, which will enter into an alliance with Russia. The President of the Republic is Petrowski.

A Canadian Coercion Act.

Various coercive war emergency powers acquired by the Canadian Government expired on January 31st, but some sinister additions to the criminal code of Canada were made last July, which are to remain permanent. These provide that anyone who prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, posts, or causes to be posted in Canada, or imports into Canada, any book, newspaper, pamphlet, picture, paper, card, letter, writing, or document of any kind, in which is advocated or defended, and anyone who in any manner advocates or defends the use, or threat, without authority of law, of force, violence or terrorism, to person or property as a means of accomplishing any governmental, industrial, or economic change, shall be liable to imprisonment for from one to twenty years.

Under this Act a number of people have had their houses raided for illegal literature, and some have been sent to prison for long terms.

Mexican Communist Party and Mexican I.W.W.

The Left Wing of the Mexican Socialist Party formed a Communist Party some time ago. The secretary is George Burredda. The Right Wing has now also called itself the Communist Party.

The I.W.W. has just set up a Mexican Administration. The chairman is Angel Bernal.

In the Mines of Mexico.

The Communist Party of America is appealing for a general strike in the event of war with Mexico. The United States' Government seems, for the time being, to have abandoned the project. Mexico is endeavouring to nationalise its oil and mineral wealth, which has fallen into the hands of private capitalists, mainly Americans. Hence the constant agitation by British capitalists for America to annex Mexico and make it safe for capitalism. Mexican workers are employed in the mines run by American capitalists for the equivalent of 1s. 8d. per day. There are no safety devices of any kind in these mines, but there is a Roman Catholic altar below in order that the Mexicans may pray for other help!

Bureau of the Third International.

The Executive Committee of the Third International in Moscow invited a group of Dutch comrades to form a provisional Bureau in Amsterdam for the circulation of news. This Bureau was approved by the Conference which met recently in Amsterdam, and will issue a bi-monthly bulletin in French, English, and German, and will collect information regarding the Communist movement in various countries and collect all the Communist literature published since the World-War. The secretary of the Dutch Bureau is Henrietta Roland Holst.

The first issue of the bulletin, which is published at 23, Leidschestraat, contains the resolutions laid by the Dutch Bureau before the Third International Conference, recently held in Amsterdam, a survey of the tendencies in the Labour movement at the commencement of the year 1920, by H. Roland Holst, and an article on the differences in the German Communist Party.

West European Secretariat.

A West European Secretariat of the Third International was established in Germany last December. This Bureau republishes the Moscow Communist International and much other literature.

Poland and Soviet Russia.

L'Humanité, February 23rd, reports that a document has been circulated amongst the members of the Polish Diet by those who control the Polish Army stating that "the military situation is not such that Poland should make peace. On the contrary the Polish Armies can beat the Bolsheviks when, how and where they please." It is urged that Russia is in process of dissolution; that Germany wishes to derive its future power from Russia and that "Poland alone can effect the re-birth of Eastern Europe." If Poland is to make peace, it is said, this must only be on condition that the Ukraine, Letland, Georgia, and all the States which have sprung up, and will spring up in the former territories of Russia, shall be "liberated from the Red Imperialism."

The Polish Press declares that peace with Russia will mean higher prices, as the Bolsheviks will buy up all the produce, and demobilisation will be out of the question as the "Bolshevik peril will remain."

Lenin and the "Fourth" International.

Supporters of Longuet's policy of a reconstructed or Fourth International, have lately been busily claiming Lenin as a fellow "opportunist." A radio message from Moscow to the Social Democrat of February 23rd, give Lenin's real views as published in *The Communist International*. In that article Lenin states that the compulsion of working class feeling is causing the centre parties in the International Socialist movement to hesitate between the social traitors and the Communists, and to save themselves from oblivion by means of a formal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and adherence to the Third International. Lenin sees in this tactic of the opportunists a serious danger for the working class, because the dictatorship of the proletariat is a serious business; it can only be established by those who are willing to recognise it in practice and action, as well as on paper. He declares it impossible to be at the same time a supporter of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to play with Albert Thomas, Sembat, and Bracke.

The acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean that you are to fling yourself heedlessly into unconsidered action, and to make trouble, spectacles, and tumults without regard to existing circumstances. Acceptance of the proletarian dictatorship means the daily revelation of the character of the European war just concluded, and the impossibility of a new war if the workers will organise the proletarian dictatorship. It means revealing the treacherous attitude of the old social democracy during the war, and cutting off all connection with the traitors. It means going down to the level of the masses, and there assuming the struggle for the abolition of capitalism instead of struggling merely to improve the condition of the workers under capitalism.

These fundamental principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin declares, are not realised by Longuet and his friends. Therefore, their acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is merely an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the workers. The same thing happened when the Hungarian Social Democrats accepted the programme of the Communists. The Hungarian Revolution failed because the Hungarian Social Democracy, having accepted the dictatorship on paper, hindered the Government of Bela Kun when it tried to put the dictatorship into practice. As a result of their policy thousands of Hungarian Communists have been tortured to death.

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THE I.L.P. AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

The I.L.P. executive has issued another "Memorandum to members" because, as the memorandum states, it has been requested to set forth "the salient facts of the international position." Having studied the document, we must say that it is by no means an adequate response to the requests for information which the I.L.P. members have made to their N.A.C.

The document leads off with an inaccurate and grossly inadequate statement on the First International and, as is typical of the I.L.P. executive, it altogether ignores the fact that the persecution by the reactionary forces largely caused the collapse of the First International.

The statement on the Second International excuses the failure of that body to attempt to meet or to take any "kind of Socialist action during the capitalist war by saying that meeting was "found to be impossible," not, as is the fact, because the Executive was Social-patriotic, and betrayed its Socialism, but because it was "purely Belgian." The document continues: "But we must not forget that had a conference been summoned, it is improbable that the Governments would have allowed it to meet." A weaker defence was never made.

"Partial meetings were held in London where only Allied Socialists were represented," adds the statement; it fails to admit that these meetings were dominated by reactionary nationalism. The Labour and Socialist Conference of September 17th to 20th, 1918, was packed by the British Labour Party, which wielded an absolute majority of votes in the conference till the French threatened to leave. That conference set the hall mark of its assent upon the Allied invasion of Soviet Russia. It rejected the Austrian Peace Note, and pledged itself to support the Allied Government in a fight to a finish against the Central Powers. It adopted President Wilson's fourteen points as the policy of Allied Labour and Socialism, thus placing itself in line with the Allied Governments, which read what they pleased into President Wilson's points. The Conference further, abandoned all effort to secure a meeting of the International, and again flouted the German Socialists. The I.L.P. memorandum says nothing of all this.

The I.L.P. Executive realises that the Berne Conference, of which its representatives, J. R. MacDonald, Ethel Snowden, and Margaret Bondfield wrote and spoke so enthusiastically at the time, and in which these I.L.P.ers by no means occupied an extreme left position, can no longer be defended, its Social-Patriotic and bourgeois political character having been widely exposed, and even admitted, by Longuet and other French Centrists.

The I.L.P. Executive takes refuge in the statement that the Berne conference was "not a properly convened conference of the International," "but stood all by itself."

The main criticism of the Third International by the I.L.P. executive rests firstly on the statement that the parties summoned to it were small. But such a criticism is valueless; parties must be judged by their principles, not by their size; the I.L.P. is itself a small party. The second criticism is that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat means using force in defending Communism, the disarming of the bourgeoisie, and the arming of the working class. Of course that is so during the transition period in which the struggle to destroy capitalism is taking place.

The document concludes by advocating what it describes as "A consultation of the Left," not to form any new International, but to consider if the divisions can be overcome, and to

formulate a basis truly international, upon which the national sections of Socialism can co-operate."

In reply to this we must point out that this so-called "consultation of the Left" will not be a consultation of the Left, but of the Centre, for the Left will not be there.

Neither the Russian Communists nor any other party affiliated to the Third International will join that Conference. Such Communist Parties having accepted, as fundamental, the programme adopted at Moscow and based on the Soviets and the Proletarian Dictatorship, from which the I.L.P. Executive dissents, have no desire to join another International, they confidently await the gathering to the Communist standard of the great masses of the world proletariat. The Communist Parties will never return, either to the Second International, or to any half-way house.

The I.L.P. Executive, in this manifesto, has revealed itself to be still further to the right than the French Centrists and the Swiss Majority, who have definitely left the Second International, and are seeking to make a half-way house between it and the Third. The I.L.P. Executive, as the memorandum shows, is not even yet prepared to leave the Second International, and is only striving to bring back to it those who have broken away.

A REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL?

Rumours of a Bolshevik revolution in Portugal have been abroad for some days.

La Feuille of March 6th reported:—

"Paris, March 5th (Havas).—From Madrid comes the news that the railway and postal and telegraph workers' strike has stopped all communication between Spain and Portugal. The last travellers to arrive by motor car from Portugal state that the Bolshevik movement which has broken out has triumphed at Lisbon and Oporto, where a Soviet Republic has been declared."

It is certainly significant that the strike of the Government employees and the railwaymen should have resulted in the fall of the Government and that the new Government at once granted the workers' demands.

THE UPRISING OF THE EAST.

The Japanese Government is faced with great popular uprisings. Though the struggle ostensibly is concentrated around a mere franchise Bill, even in the far East it is no longer possible for any serious mass struggle to take place without Communist issues being raised.

THE TURKISH POWDER MAGAZINE.

But a few days ago Lloyd George was declaring that Constantinople must be left to the Turks, and a motley assemblage of people, from Lord Bryce and Lord Robert Cecil, to J. H. Thomas, and Mr. Hyndman, were complaining of his decision and crying out for the Turks to be sent, bag and baggage, out of Europe. And now, helter skelter, on top of the other announcements, comes the news of what at present looks like a new war with Turkey; the Turks and the French have been fighting at Marash. The Turkish War Office is preparing for mobilisation against the Allied Peace Terms; the British threaten to occupy Constantinople, and India is aflame. The Bengal Caliph Conference has declared that if the Caliph's dominions are not kept intact as they were before the war, the Mahomedans will withdraw their loyalty to the British Empire.

The Conference has sent a message to the Viceroy and King-Emperor that it will sever all connections with the British Government if Mahomedan feeling be not respected, and all who fail to comply with this edict will be socially ostracised. Hindu co-operation is expected. British goods are to be boycotted.

If there comes a great mass uprising of all classes in the East, the Western armies will be powerless to cope with it. The British Empire in India and the East might well be swept away.

The workers need not fear such a contingency; they have nothing to lose by the break up of the Empire. Indeed, the great Empires, and to-day that of Britain is the greatest, are the strongest bulwark against the spread of the workers' revolution which will usher Communism into the world. The break up of the British Empire would mean the early triumph of the workers' revolution.

THE "MAN IN POSSESSION".

Mr. W. S. McAdoo, a former Secretary of the U.S.A. Treasury, has sponsored a suggestion which had already enjoyed great popularity in aggressive American capitalist circles. It is that Britain should sell the West Indies to the U.S.A. in order to pay off her war debts. Mr. McAdoo says that America wants the debt liquidated quickly, and that as the British Empire comprises one-sixth of the world's land surface, and Britain is loaded with debt, all surplus British capital can be employed in India and the self-governing Dominions. America, on the other hand, has become "the leading economic Power in the world." And as the Americans have developed the Panama Canal and own a Navy and merchant marine, the British West Indies are important to them.

America is threatening to apply to the British Imperialists some of the treatment they have meted out to weaker nations.

LIBERALS AND TORIES UNITE.

A new Coalition between the Liberals and Tories against the Labour Party is now being discussed. Asquith's return was due to such a Coalition, and now it is expected to come into force at Stockport. Lord Haldane still advocates a Liberal-Labour Coalition. Haldane is more far-seeing; he realises that the workers are turning away from the capitalist-political combination and therefore wishes to introduce the old combination in a new disguise.

SNOWDEN AND COMMUNIST CONSCRIPTION.

Philip Snowden, in the *Labour Leader*, of March 4th, has another bitter attack on the Russian Workers' Soviet Republic. As a comrade observed, "he would learn more than he appears to know about Bolshevism by a careful study of the capitalist Press." Snowden makes this strange admission: "As opponents of conscription we never denied the right of the State to exact service from citizens which was deemed necessary for the salvation of the country." Thus Snowden allows that a capitalist Government has the right to force the workers to do what it deems necessary for the salvation of the country, which to a capitalist Government means the preservation of capitalism and its capitalist interests. Snowden also says: "A revolution no more than a war, can be carried through by the strict observance of democratic principles and constitutional practice. I always admitted during the controversy about military conscription in this country that accepting a certain foreign policy and given certain military conditions, military conscription was inevitable and justifiable."

Snowden seems to forget that the Allied Capitalist Powers have been making war all this time on Soviet Russia, and that Soviet Russia has never ceased to propose peace. Conscription in Russia is no longer required for crushing the internal counter-revolution—even Winston Churchill has admitted that it was the Allies who made possible the so-called "Russian" counter-revolutionary armies. Snowden seems incapable of understanding that there is a great difference between the case of the workers imposing obligations upon themselves in order that they may vanquish the attack of International Capitalism upon their Communist Republic, and that of a Government controlled by the employing classes conscripting the workers to pile up profits for private employers in the course of a war to enrich the employing class.

Snowden's version of the Soviet decrees is a garbled one.

KUUSINEN NOT MURDERED.

O. V. Kuusinen, the Finnish Communist, has not been murdered, as was widely reported. He is now in Stockholm. As a matter of fact, the Finnish Government offered a reward of 50,000 marks for his body, alive or dead. Someone has cheated the Government by killing the wrong man.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The advance-guard of the British Socialist movement has thrown in its lot with the Third International. The Centre and Right Wing are showing a decided drift leftward. The question whether to abandon the reformist Second International and take a plunge into the genuine revolutionary Socialism of the Third, is being debated in every I.L.P. and Trade Union branch, and wherever the workers are gathered together. Next week we shall publish the Official Report of the Third International Congress at Amsterdam. You will need extra copies of that week's issue: order them now.

This supplement can only be got out at a loss. Therefore, send a donation to cover the extra cost of printing and paper.

TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Trade Unions and the Communist Party.

Communists do not consider the function of the workers' industrial organisations to be merely that of securing increased wages, reduced hours of employment, and other ameliorations of the lot of the worker within the capitalist system. Communists regard the industrial organisations as essential factors in the struggle of the workers to overthrow the capitalist system, and in carrying on the industrial work of the community after the Revolution has placed the working-class in power.

Nevertheless, in considering the part which the industrial organisations will play in the revolutionary struggle for Communism, and, afterwards, in the management of the Communist society, one basic fact must always be remembered, namely: that the industrial organisations enrol every worker in the industry, regardless of the workers' political views. Therefore, whilst (in this and every other country), it is undoubtedly true that a general working-class consciousness is steadily being developed within the unions, and that a Communist revolution cannot proceed until that development has reached an advanced stage, sharp and decisive thought and action is less possible to such organisations than to a body of workers who have banded themselves together for a definite political objective. Thus, even in the Russian Soviets, we find the Communist Party acting as the driving force, both before and after the proletarian seizure of Power. It is highly significant that in November, 1917, it was the Communist Party which actually seized the power in the name of the proletariat, and presented it to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. It must be remembered that, broadly speaking, the Soviets are the creation and typical organisation of the masses, whilst the Trade Unions are the organisations of the aristocracy of Labour, which is raised above the masses by its members having served an apprenticeship and acquired some technical skill. The unskilled labourers' unions and the industrial unions (again speaking broadly), stand midway between the craft unions and the Soviets. They are not under the complete control of the masses as the Soviets are, because the structure of the unions is bureaucratic, and inevitably creates an official class not completely at one with the men and women in the workshops, and because of the period in which the union officials came into the movement.

The demand now growing up in South Wales, which is being opposed by the official element, for the payment of an equal wage to all grades of mining workers, and the practice actually enforced in some American unions, that the union officials shall receive the wage of the lowest-paid worker on the job, are instances of the conflict of feeling between the workers and their union bureaucracy.

Though it was the Bolshevik Party that, with the aid of the Petrograd Soviets, seized the Power for the Russian proletariat; yet, even in Russia, where the industrial unions had not hitherto, been by any means so great and powerful a force as they are in this country, the industrial unions built up to fight the private employer have remained in being after the disappearance of the employing class, and are becoming part of the administrative machinery of the Workers' Republic.

Will the Unions be Transformed?

Under capitalism, we have, in each industry, the employers on the one hand, and on the other, the workers and the trade unions; the two last not complete numerical equivalents. Still less, on account of the bureaucratic structure and craft basis of the unions, are they equivalents in interests and ideology. Under Communism, these factions will be replaced by the workers

in the industry, with their productive, distributive, educational, research and experimental departments. How far in this country the present existing unions will be merged in that structure or become that structure; how far they will survive with an unbroken record of development beyond the Revolution; whether they will expand and become, with their membership and administrative, the whole industrial machinery under Communism; or whether they will be thrust aside and displaced by new forces, will depend upon the capacity of the unions to adapt themselves to changing conditions, and, above all, upon their power to make themselves the complete equivalent of the workers in the industry. If the existing unions are to survive, they must not only weld the various craft unions still existing within a number of basic industries into industrial unions, but they must re-construct themselves on the workers' committee basis.

In Russia, at the time of the February Revolution, many of the unions were still erected on the craft basis with bureaucratic constitutions. Whilst Kerensky was in power a transformation movement set in. Craft unions were merged into industrial unions. Workers' committees were built up as an organic part of their structure. The change continued spreading from industry to industry after the Bolshevik Revolution gave the Soviets the power.

With the change in structure a change in ideology was also spreading. Many unions were hostile to the proletarian dictatorship and the principle of all-power to the Soviets. Gradually they have been coming into line. Gradually the idea that the unions should hold aloof from, and remain critically independent of the Soviet Government, has been giving place to the view that they should become a part of the machinery of the Soviet State.

The official or unofficial part that the unions will play in the British Revolution depends largely upon the length of time that will elapse before the Revolution arrives, and on the progress made in rebuilding the union structure and constitution, in changing the personnel of their officials and executives, and the growth and coherence of the insurgent forces, which exist amongst the workers in every industry.

These insurgent workers are the creators of any changes that are being brought about within the unions; it is they who are fighting the battle with the capitalist, and who, under the pressure of that struggle, are daily realising the inadequacy of the unions as fighting organs.

The unions, with all their narrow conservatism, have maintained themselves against the competition of the workers' committees, although the workers' committee movement has a strong appeal to the workers of to-day. The unions have maintained themselves because of their accumulated funds, because the workers need the friendly benefits and strike pay in their daily struggle, because trade unionism has become a habit and a respectable, old-established institution, because the masses of the organised workers have not yet with sufficient vigour and consciousness desired a higher form of organisation: but the unions as we know them to-day will be certainly superseded or transformed.

The trade and industrial unions have been developed by the workers in their struggle with the capitalists. In Soviet Russia they have been preserved like the co-operatives, as part of the machinery of the Soviet State. The Co-operatives were accepted as a necessary evil, and in order that they might be absorbed and disappear, they were accepted because they were so strong that it was necessary to win them, and because their machinery could not be discarded in a land of little organisation and

much chaos. But the fact that the Co-operatives had to be brought in was a sign that the Soviets were not all-powerful, and the Communists, when they brought in the Co-operatives, laid on themselves the duty to secure, that the Co-operatives should be merged in the Soviets and altogether disappear as a separate structure.

The same thing is true of the unions. If they are brought into the Soviet structure they must be completely at one with it. The Russian Co-operatives were at first a hostile force, attacking the Communist revolution: unless the British unions have become "Sovietised" before the Communist revolution, they also will be hostile to it, and to the revolutionary Soviets, which will be its organ.

It is important to notice that, here in Britain, which has been long industrialised, the changes, which in Russia began after the first revolution, are already taking place. The workers' committees are now struggling into being in spite of capitalism and the trade union bureaucracy. In South Wales this is happening within the Miners' Union structure. In Glasgow, Sheffield and Manchester the rebels are working largely from outside.

Just as the industrial workers in this country have anticipated the Revolution in beginning to build up industrial Soviets, I believe that in this country great sections of the revolutionary workers will turn absolutely away from Parliamentarianism before Parliament is abolished, and the final struggle with capitalism is brought about.

Union Rules and Registration.

The rules and structure of the unions to-day unfits them for revolutionary action. We do not suggest that the rules and structure cannot be re-made, but, if it is done, the struggle will be hard and every step will be bitterly fought, innumerable obstacles will have to be overcome.

Various Acts of Parliament have given the unions a legal status, ended their liability to be prosecuted for "restraint of trade," and limited the financial liability of their trustees to the funds actually received by the union. In passing these Acts, Parliament has, at the same time, endeavoured to draw the teeth of the unions to keep them as far as possible to the business of providing friendly benefits for their members, and to supervise and inspect all their doings.

With these objects it was enacted that the rules of the unions should be registered, and that full records of their income and expenditure should be submitted each year to the Registrar. The Trade Union Act of 1871 contains the following provisions:—

If any one of the purposes of such trade union be unlawful, such registration shall be void.—(Clause 6.)

It shall be lawful for any trade union registered under this Act, to purchase, or take up a lease, in the names of the trustees for the time being, of such union, any land not exceeding one acre.

Evidently the framers of the Act were afraid that trade unions might go into farming, building, or some other productive work on their own account:—

Every trade union registered under this Act shall have a registered office, to which all communications and notices may be addressed; if any trade union under this Act is in operation for seven days, without having such an office, such trade union and every officer thereof shall each incur a penalty not exceeding five pounds for every day which it is so in operation.—(Clause 15.)

An application to register the trade union and printed copies of the rules, together with a list of the titles and names of the officers, shall be sent to the Registrar under this Act.—(Clause 13, subsection 1.)

*The Labour Party, being dominated by the unions, is handicapped by the same causes. Should a very large growth in the individual membership which was added to the Labour Party constitution in June, 1918, displace the numerical preponderance of the unions, it must not be assumed that the Labour Party would thereby move necessarily towards the left. The individual members are admitted to the Party largely on the basis of a mild reformist programme, and the indications are that they will be largely members of the poorer middle class unprepared for Communism for some time to come.

Where a trade union applying to be registered has been in operation for more than a year before the date of such application, there shall be delivered to the Registrar, before the registry thereof, a general statement of the receipts, funds, effects, and expenditure of such trade union, in the same form and showing the same particulars, as if it were the annual general statement required, as hereinafter mentioned, to be transmitted annually to the Registrar.—(Clause 13, subsection 1.)

A general statement of the receipts, funds, effects, and expenditure of every trade union registered under this Act shall be transmitted to the Registrar before the first day of June in every year, and shall show fully the assets and liabilities, the date, and the receipts and expenditure during the year preceding the date to which it is made out, of the trade union; and shall show separately the expenditure in respect of the several objects of the trade union, and shall be prepared and made out up to such date, in such form, and shall comprise such particulars as the Registrar may from time to time require.

Together with such general statement there shall be sent to the Registrar, a copy of all alterations of rules and new rules and changes of officers made during the year preceding the date up to which the general statement is made out, and a copy of the rules of the trade union as they exist at that date.

Every trade union which fails to comply with, or acts in contravention of this section, and also every officer of the trade union so failing, shall each be liable to a penalty not exceeding five pounds for such offence.

Every person who wilfully makes or orders to be made, any false entry in, or any omission from, any such general statement, or in, or from the return of such copies of rules or alterations of rules, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds for each offence.—(Clause 16.)

The Registrars shall lay before Parliament annual reports with respect to the matters transacted by such Registrars in pursuance of this Act.—(Clause 17.)

The Trade Union Act of 1876, clause 8, provides that the registration of a trade union may be withdrawn, if any of its objects have become unlawful, or if it has violated any of the provisions of the Trade Union Acts. The trade union will then "absolutely cease to enjoy any of the privileges of a registered trade union," but any liability it incurred as a registered trade union may still be enforced.

Clause 9 of the same Act excludes workers under sixteen years from membership of a trade union, and workers under twenty-one years from being members of the management committee, or holding office as treasurer or trustee.

Clause 15 of the Act of 1876 directs that the officials responsible for sending rules and other material to the Registrar, or, failing such officials, every member of the management committee of the union shall be liable to a penalty of from one to five pounds if they omit to send the documents, and to a like penalty during each week in which the omission continues.

The action may be brought by any assistant Registrar of Friendly Societies, "or any person aggrieved."

The Trade Union Act of 1913, clause 2, provides:—

The Registrar of Friendly Societies shall not register any combination as a trade union unless, in his opinion, having regard to the constitution of the combination, the principal objects of the combination are statutory objects, and may withdraw the certificate of registration of any registered trade union if the constitution of the union has been altered in such a manner that, in his opinion, the principal objects of the union are no longer statutory objects, or if, in his opinion, the principal objects for which the union is actually carried on are not statutory objects.

The last phrase is exceedingly interesting, the more so as it was passed so recently as 1913.

Clause 3 of the same Act allows the grant of certificates that they are trade unions within the meaning of the Act to unregistered trade unions, provided the Registrar is satisfied that their objects are statutory.

As is well known, this Act also regulates the conditions under which the trade unions may spend money in running or supporting candidates for public office, or holding political meetings, or distributing political literature, making it a condition that such expenditure shall come out of a separate political fund, only to be set up if a majority of the members votes for it, and contributions to which shall not be a condition of membership of the union.

The Act of 1876 declared that before trade unions could amalgamate, the consent of two-thirds of the membership must be obtained. In 1917, the Trade Union Amalgamation Act altered this provision, making it possible for unions to amalgamate on a ballot being taken, in which the votes of at least 50 per cent. of the members entitled to vote have been cast, and in which, of the votes recorded, there is a majority of at least 20 per cent. for the amalgamation.

Provisions such as this constantly delay the progress of reform in the trade unions, because the trade union membership is largely an inactive one.

It might be thought that the registration of trade union rules is a mere matter of form, but this is by no means the case. The Registrar frequently objects to rules that are submitted to him.

Trade Union Rules in Australia.

Tom Walsh, secretary of the Australian Seamen's Union, points out in an article published in the journal of his Union, that in Australia, whilst the unions must send their rules to the Registrar within fourteen days, the Registrar cannot reject or amend them. Nevertheless, the Registrar, or "any organisation or person interested," may apply to the Arbitration Court, and if the Court considers the rules no longer comply with the prescribed conditions, or that they have not been observed, or that reasonable facilities are not provided for admitting new members, or unreasonable conditions are imposed on the members, the Court may, "if in its discretion it thinks fit, order the registration to be cancelled."

The Australian Seamen's Union is a vigorous fighting organisation. Tom Walsh and others of its officials were recently imprisoned on account of a seamen's strike, and Walsh says that an attempt has already been made by opponents of the Union to get its registration cancelled, but when it was found that the Union did not intend to defend its registration, the application was withdrawn. Tom Walsh adds:—

When will unions cease to have anything to do with the Court in any way whatsoever? Twenty years ago the present scribe told several trade unionists that the day would come in this country when the employers would be fighting tooth and nail to force the workers into the Court, and when, on the other hand, the workers would be fighting just as hard to keep outside it.

It is curious that in a country like Britain, where there are five-and-a-half million trade unionists, and where the Labour Party has had, for fourteen years, a large contingent in Parliament, the unions should still be meekly submitting their rules to the Registrar, and bowing to his dictates without even a verbal protest being raised.

When the political general strike approaches the moment of fulfilment, the trade union rules and the impossibility of altering them at short notice will be seized upon by the re-actionaries in the unions as a very formidable, very convenient barrier to action.

When the workers are really in revolutionary spirits, neither rules nor officials will stand in their way; but, undoubtedly, the reactionary rules are a stiff handicap to the progress of gradually reforming the unions, and a fruitful source of delay.

In the Boilermakers' Society, for instance, candidates for the post of general secretary must be first-class members of fifteen years' standing; candidates for the executive must be members of ten years' standing; candidates for the general council must have been in the Society for ten years, and candidates for the district committees, for five years. All suggestions for the alteration of, or addition to the rules must be submitted to the general council for consideration, and must receive the sanction of the council before the members can vote on them.

Next week, we shall examine the more important rules of the Seamen's Union and

show how, if feeling is ripe within the Union, they might be amended to enable the rank and file to secure some measure of control over the machinery. We shall give the views on this question of some of the members of the Seamen's Union. We shall examine in due course, also, the rules of the Boilermakers', the A.S.E. and other Unions, giving the views of the rank and file workers in each case.

(To be continued next week.)

THE STRASBOURG CONFERENCE.

The most important question before the Congress of the French Socialist Party at Strasbourg was the relationship of the Party to the Second, the Third, and the problematical Fourth International.

The resolution adopted by a majority of the delegates, and introduced by the diplomatic Longuet and his group, is calculated to throw up a veritable cloud of dust, which may cause a good many people to suffer from uncertainty of vision regarding the issues involved. It commits the French Party to the following points:—

1. The French Party must leave the Second International.
2. But the re-grouping of Socialist-Revolutionary forces is necessary.
3. The fundamental declarations of the Moscow International are not in contradiction to the essential principles of Socialism.
 - (a) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is as the basis of every revolutionary conception.
 - (b) The Workers' and Peasants' Councils are as circumstances have proved, one of the forms which can give effect to the exercise of power by the Proletariat.
4. But the French Socialist Party also thinks that the Socialist Parties of Western and Central Europe should work with the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies, and that the adaptation of these organisations should constitute one of the essential means of this transformation.
5. The Parties that decide to re-group themselves should condemn all collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and especially with Government Coalition.
6. The French Party accepts the proposal of the German Independents to unite all the elements of the Second International which remain faithful to the class war.
7. The French Party desires to show active sympathy with the Russian Revolution and to remain in close solidarity with the workers of America and England.
8. The French Party is to retain contact with the national sections of the Western Parties, to enter into negotiations with the Third International without delay, and to come to an agreement with the German Independents and the Swiss and Italian Socialist Parties to call a conference with the aim of joining all the Parties resolved to act on the basis of the traditional principles of Socialism.

This resolution does not mean a complete union with the Third International and acceptance of its principles. It is merely a composite half-way house that is aimed at. The speeches of those who supported the resolution revealed that fact very clearly. Faure, one of the committee responsible for the resolution, and generally considered further to the left than Longuet, opposed the Second International, but declared himself unwilling to go to Moscow under present circumstances. Longuet clearly showed that he does not wish to cut himself off from the Social-Patriots by declaring that an adequate International could not be formed without the British Labour Party, the German Independents, the Swiss, Swedish and Dutch Social-Democrats—the essence of Socialism was to be found in Socialist unity.

Renaudel, who supported the motion to adhere to the Second International, which was defeated by an enormous majority, declared that the proposed conference would end in the Third International and Bolshevism, and that Bolshevism represented the negation of national defence; and that according to Lenin, the first duty of Bolshevism is to help to defeat one's own country.

Renaudel, like the other Social-Patriots, refuses to see that defeat in a capitalist war may be the cause of the proletarian revolution, and that the downfall of the capitalist government is the necessary prelude to Socialism.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

MARCH 1ST.—Dr. Addison said the Government had not made up its mind whether to continue the Rent Act, which expires on June 30th, or to let rents soar after that date.

FACTORY HOURS.—The Home Office defeated an amendment to terminate the war exemption of factories from limitation of hours under the Factory Acts. Colonel Penry Williams objected to women and children being employed between 6 and 10 p.m. Major Baird (for the Government) said to shorten hours would throw out of work 20,000 women and young persons and a number of young men! Another Government lie!

AGENTS OF FOREIGN POWERS.—The continuance of D.O.R.A. and other war legislation was debated. It was revealed that Regulation 18a, "Prohibition on communication with agents of foreign powers," originally applied to agents of four nations only, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey. Within the last few months it has been extended to agents of 40 to 50 other nations, neutral and Allied.

Of course this regulation is designed to combat Bolshevism.

Brigadier-General Cockerill urged that such regulations should be made permanent and incorporated in the Official Secrets Act.

British Still Fighting with Denikin.

MARCH 2ND.—Churchill stated that on January 10th 394 British officers and 1,529 of other ranks are serving in the British Military Mission with General Denikin. This includes 39 officers and 291 of other ranks in the Air Force. Denikin has been made a K.C.B.

Ex-Service Men.

The conflict between the ex-service men and the police at Westminster Bridge on March 1st arose, according to the Home Secretary, because there is an Order which dictates that processions may not approach the House whilst it is in session. We know that old Order! Asquith arrived at Westminster in procession the other day, but Asquith is a capitalist politician and these were only poor working men thrown out of a job!

£220,000 was voted for the expenses of the Paris "Peace" (?) Conference delegates. Bonar Law said 600 persons had to be accommodated. That is over £366 per head! This sum is purely for accommodation; travelling expenses, salaries, etc., are not included!

A Coalition Member moved that railwaymen's

pensions should be increased to meet the cost of living. Mr. Neal, for the Ministry of Transport, said the Government could take no responsibility for that.

Farmers' Profits: Bread Up!

MARCH 3RD. There was a long wrangle in the interests of the farmers on the question of the Government control of food-stuffs. Sir A. Griffiths Boscowan, on behalf of the Board of Agriculture, declared that control is helping to keep up the prices, and promised that it will soon come to an end. He also promised that the Government would introduce a Bill to guarantee still higher wheat prices to the farmers than those provided in the Corn Production Act, 1917. That means either another rise in the price of bread, or a subsidy by the Government (which ultimately means the people) to keep down the price.

Evading the Tax.

Mr. Baldwin, for the Treasury, admitted that large amounts escape the Inland Revenue Department: his remedy was more buildings and a larger staff; ours is, scrap the whole capitalist system.

Complaint was made that houses are being sold to speculating syndicates, hardship being thus caused to the tenants, and that the rents of London flats have risen from £150 to £250 a year. Dr. Addison divulged the fact that from the end of the War to January, 560 houses had been built, of which 309 were in London: 992 houses were in the final stage of completion. The average cost was £757 per house, exclusive of the cost of land and road and sewer making. The rents were from 7s. to 20s. a week. So this is the sort of thing we are to get from the Government's great reconstruction schemes. Building at this rate does not keep pace with the annual requirements of the country on the pre-war basis.

Convenient Scruples.

Questioned regarding the murder of Bela Somogyi, the editor of a Hungarian Social-Democratic newspaper, Colonel Sir H. Greenwood replied on the Government's behalf that it had urged the Hungarian Government to punish the murderers, but "His Majesty's Government would, however, hardly feel justified in protesting against the Hungarian people's right to choose any such regime as they prefer, provided that there is no restoration of the Haps-

burg dynasty. . . . Yet the British Government assisted at the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Government, and has been using British men and money to fight Soviet Russia.

Fighting the Soviets.

Mr. Walter Long admitted that, since the Armistice, £10,000 worth of victualling stores, £10,955 worth of naval stores (oil fuel), and £448,418 worth of ordnance stores have been sent to Russian men-of-war.

No Increased War Pensions.

MARCH 4TH. The Minister of Pensions declared that there could be no increase in dependants' allowances.

British Military Aid (?)

Lloyd George said that an Anglo-Persian Military Commission is at Terheran, and a uniform force is to be created. Of course, this means British domination in Persia, and the effort to prevent an alliance between Soviet Russia and Persia.

Suspicious Dealings.

The British lent public money to the Cellulose Company during the War, and now, instead of getting the money back, it has taken shares in the Company. Mr. Chamberlain refused to submit the arrangement to Parliament. Mr. Remer said the Cellulose family was on the Admiralty black list during the War. Shares in this Company rose during the War from 6d. to £161.

Sugar.

MARCH 4TH.—Lloyd George, "As regards sugar, there is at present no congestion."

J. Sexton, "Men are walking on sugar and making it into molasses because of the congestion."

Lloyd George, "There is a good deal of congestion."

D.O.R.A. Extended.

The War Emergency Laws Continuance Bill was carried by 153 votes to 40. Many Members became excited about Ireland, and rightly so, but all the British Isles are alike still kept under the War Emergency Laws.

Solidarity of the Landlords.

MARCH 5TH. Mr. Holmes, on behalf of the Labour Party, introduced a Bill to fix the purchase price of land at its value as stated by the owner for taxation during the previous three years. Of course, this is only a mild reformist measure such as Lloyd George would have supported a few years ago; but it was opposed by the Government and defeated. Only 34 members voted for it.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R.P.

South Wales Miners' Federation Conference and Equal Wages.

When the agenda for the S.W.M.F. Conference was sent out to the lodges, the only amendments to the Executive schemes contained therein were those which accepted, by their very nature, the three grades of work desired by the Executive Council. Consequently a large number of lodges did not discuss the advisability of having one uniform rate of wages for the whole coalfield. Nevertheless a strong demand was put forward for the abolition of the different grades. The reactionary element trotted out the old puerile argument about the unfairness of a man who had only worked 24 hours in the mine being paid the same wages as a man who had worked say 24 years. Such arguments were summarily dealt with by the progressive section at Conference. They asked what matters it if a man has been farming all his life previous to coming to the coalfield? He has been doing useful productive work, and having arrived in the coalfield is compelled to purchase in the same shops as the men born in the area. Such a fine case was put up by the Left Wing that many delegates stated that had their lodges only known that the question of a uniform wage would be raised, they felt confident they would have been instructed to support, but being tied down to items on the agenda, they would have to vote against the uniform flat rate.

Under these conditions the vote was then taken. On a show of hands the executive scheme of three grades was reported carried by five votes.

Two Grades at Present.

Then came the discussion on the amendments which dealt with the rates of pay to be demanded for the various grades and the inclusion or exclusion of different existing grades in the prospective new grades. The executive recommendations were 8/-, 7/-, and 6/- per day on the 1915 standard plus bonus and war wages, etc. The Conference finally accepted the highest standard rate paid at any particular colliery with 50 per cent. merged or added.

In sorting out the various grades the Left Wing turned the tables on the Executive in a really brilliant manner. When discussion was started as to who should be in the Third Grade it was found that every class of worker had been included in the first two. Two grades of labour will, therefore, be the demand of the S.W.M.F. When one considers that there are at present 50 different grades, and each one with a different wage, it can be safely said that the resolution of conference signifies progress.

Nationalisation: The Executive's Trick.

The next item on the agenda was: To consider the position of the nationalisation of the mines upon a report by the members of the M.F.G.B. Executive Committee. One remarkable fact seemed to be outstanding in the report, and it is the apparent acceptance of nationalisation as being merely one

alternative, the other being an increase in wages. Knowing the intolerable conditions under which miners are to-day existing, owing to the high cost of living, it seems to be a trick on the part of the Executive members to escape their responsibilities on the nationalisation issue. They know that the miner must have an immediate increase in wages, and having threatened to fight and not having sufficient stamina, they desire to play off nationalisation against an increase in wages, and so make action for nationalisation impossible. This course was in direct opposition to the desires of the rank and file, who whilst not accepting either the Sankey or Straker schemes, are quite prepared to support strike action for either, knowing the revolutionary possibilities contained in a general strike.

Shall there be a Strike?

At this stage a supplementary agenda was introduced into the discussion. This agenda contained two resolutions passed at the M.F.G.B. Conference, and read as follows:—

(1) "That we ask our delegates to come to our Preliminary Conference instructed to say whether or not we should propose at the Special Trades Union Congress a General Trade Union Strike in the event of the Government continuing to refuse to nationalise the mines."

"In case the Congress agrees to this proposal each Trade Union represented be instructed at once to take the necessary steps to ascertain the views of its members for and against a strike."

(2) To receive a report from the Executive Committee on the negotiations with the Government in regard to a reduction in the price of industrial coal, or, alternatively, an increase in wages.

In regard to item No. 2 it appears to be the policy of the Executive to play off the M.F.G.B. against the demands of the South Wales rank and file. It is argued that although the profits made in the South Wales area would justify the demand for 7/- a day increase by the miners, the "surplus" profits for the mining industry of Great Britain as a whole would only allow for something near a 1/- a day to the miners of Great Britain. South Wales miners are not to be thus balked, however, for to them it is a matter of complete indifference whether an increase in wages comes from "surplus" profits, or even from the capital. If the capitalists cannot make the industry pay a decent living wage then the best thing is for them to abdicate in favour of the workers, who can.

The Supplementary Agenda not having been discussed by the lodges, it was decided, after two days' sitting, to adjourn Conference until the 8th instant to give them the chance to do so.

More "Snap" Strikes.

That the lessons of the recent Rhondda strike have been understood by the South Wales miners

has been clearly manifested during the last week. No less than four "snap" strikes have taken place. Two of these were in the Rhondda and arose out of disputes between the hauliers and the colliery managers. Another took place at the Craig Pit, Merthyr, and concerns the victimisation of an official. The support accorded by the workers to this official, who had previously shown himself worthy of it by joining the local branch of the S.W.M.F., should act as an inducement to other officials to link up with the workers in their fight against the common foe. Action of this sort that does more to solidify the workers in the different unions, than dozens of meetings between the various executives. Whilst the executives only concern themselves with schemes that allow them to retain their well-paid positions, the rank and file are only concerned with maintaining an unbroken front in their attempts to overthrow capitalism.

Miners Down Tools Against Eviction.

Up to the time of writing the Craig pit dispute had not been settled. The fourth case of spontaneous striking, whilst not being a direct clash with the colliery owners, again showed the solidarity of the workers of South Wales. A miner having been evicted from his dwelling-place, his comrades downed tools immediately upon seeing the sorry plight he was in.

Steel Workers' Strike.

The steelworkers' strike is another striking example of the growing impatience of the worker with all methods of arbitration, etc., that delay the claiming of his right. The Conciliation Board having refused to grant an increase in wages to the steelworkers, they very wisely decided to down tools forthwith. Of course, the officials of their Union came along and advised them to work a month's (28 days) notice. At a conference of delegates held on Friday 5th inst., it was decided by a small majority to adopt this course. The 28 days to be considered as having started on the 1st instant, when the men first struck. The owners, however, refuse to accept this point, and consequently the men remain on strike. This will absolutely stop in the course of a couple of days the whole of the great Welsh tinplate industry. As practically the whole of the tinplate is manufactured for export, a lengthy strike is bound to affect the rate of exchange.

Coal Exporters' Difficulty.

A special meeting of the District Coal and Coke Supplies Committee for Wales and Monmouthshire was held at Cardiff last week, to discuss the position arising out of the Order giving priority of coal supplies for inland and domestic purposes. Realising the "extremely difficult position" of the coal exporters, it was decided to make representations to the Coal Controller. Bunker coal is expected to rise another 5/-, making the price 155/- per ton. To sell commodities in the cheaper market is no doubt an "extremely difficult position."

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MÖTLER.

I am one of the pro-prolet-proletariat. There, I have got it out, anyway. Hope the spelling is good. A proletarian, no, a proletarian is one who has nothing to lose but his chains and has no brains to lose. He works with his hands. His only commodity is labour power (see Marx, cap. 51, sec. vii.). And them's my sentiments.

At present I have lashings of labour power to hire out for the getting of surplus value; but let no Capitalist come round in too much of a hurry, for this proletarian is of the particular kind. There being only about 560,999 competing with me in the labour market, I am able to dictate my own terms; and this is the kind of dictatorship of the proletariat I believe in.

Believe me, I am having a good time. Yes, sir, I get up at the same time as society people do; which is when the real proletarian gingerly fishes some jam sandwiches out of last night's paper. Whilst he is eating with one hand, and keeping the other on the look-out for the gaffer, I am descending from the realms of Orpheus—or is it Morphium?

Of course, people will say that this kind of thing hardly impresses anyone with a ferocious desire to be up and doing. I shall be told that the early bird catches the worm. But supposing the worm doesn't get up till 10 a.m.? And that is precisely my case. What do I gain by getting up early? Just think of the gas for the fire and cooking I save. And by starting my first meal rather nearer dinner hour (proletarian time) I save the expense of breakfast.

And besides, the Labour Employment Bureaus, or whatever their latest name is, don't open till nine. And further, if I am referred to a job and go there early, what do I find? I find I have to wait till ten or thereabouts, until the managing director's breakfast is settled. Just as soon as the capitalist mends his ways, so shall I mine.

Why don't I answer advertisements then? Because one rode a horse and the other rhododendron. In other words, stamps cost

money; not that I have no money; to tell you a dark secret, I have been doing a bit of quiet burglary in the neighbourhood. But do not tell the police. They would only make another of their famous baton charges, and these are worse than the charges of the grocer and the baker.

I did once think of forming myself into a deputation and a procession with a band in front. But I do not read my newspapers in vain. If about 8,000 men can be beaten at a game of tag by 200 mounted police, I am not hankering for a medal to show my bravery at the Battle of Westminster Bridge, or the retreat to Beresford Square. No, sir; for me the quiet pastoral life. I can always enjoy my adventures best with my eyes shut and my head propped with a pillow, not with an extra long baton supplied specially to mounted police.

Somehow, I and the police never did agree. There were some people who cheered when the police asked for a rise and threatened to do dreadful things if they didn't get it. But, once a policeman, always a policeman. Those people who thought the police were coming round to the side of Labour soon found they were jolly well mistaken; for whilst the police were still talking biggity about themselves and their union, they were still herding the people along, and, incidentally, chasing ex-Service men in a game of touch wood. Even Labour began to think so much at the time that the secretary of the Police Union wrote and said it was all a mistake.

Of course it was. It is so easy to swipe a man one on the William and Mary, and then say it was all a mistake. It is a pleasant sort of game for the police. I am not prejudiced against the police; but I am not in love with them either. When a policeman joins up he knows what is expected of him. And he acts accordingly. I've had some.

If I were out of work ten times, I'd give the police force a miss every time. I'm not very particular as to the job I get, otherwise. I simply want something

not too exhausting, and at least three-punten. I want a sort of interesting job where there is no gaffer to come round and ask what you are waiting for. Somehow, gaffers and I do not agree. I once answered that historic question by saying I was waiting for some such sort of question. And he told me he thought the best place for me to wait was outside.

I want to be able to get off when I don't feel as if I could last much longer; and if it was the wrong sort of weather to remain at work, but jolly good to lie down on Parliament Hill and watch the gaffies and the aeroplanes cavorting in the blue. And maybe write poetry. You see, I don't want much. Not really much. That is, three-punten. I have not a wife who wants a little bill like this—which I have culled from my favourite Sunday newspaper:—

	£ s. d.
5 Nightdresses at 17s. 11d. each	5 7 6
6 pairs Lawn Combs at 17s. 9d. pair	5 6 6
6 Camisoles at 6s. 11d. each	2 1 6
3 White Lace Petticoats at 18s. 9d. each	2 16 3
1 Black Satin-faced Petticoat	0 10 9
3 Spun Silk Vests at 10s. 6d. each	1 11 6
1 Rose-pink Quilted Silk Dressing Gown	1 9 6
3 Pairs of Pure Silk Stockings at 8s. 6d. pair	1 5 6
3 Pairs of Artificial Silk Stockings at 4s. 6d. pair	0 13 6
3 pairs of Sports Ribbed Stockings at 6s. 11d. pair	1 0 9
1 Navy Coating Serge Costume	6 6 0
1 Putty Gabardine Costume	9 9 0
3 Crepe-de-Chine Blouses at £1 1s. 9d. each	3 5 3
1 Silk Stockinette Frock	8 18 6
1 Navy Taffeta Frock	5 15 6
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1 Charmeuse Wedding Dress	10 10 0
4 Hats at 25s. 9d.	5 3 0
4 pairs Shoes at £1 9s. 9d.	5 19 0
2 pairs Satin Shoes at 39s.	3 18 0
	489 16 3

No, ma'am; it may be the ladies privilege to ask at Leap Year. Most certainly; but it is a man's privilege to say "No." A girl who wants a mere eighty-nine pounds for a trousseau is giving herself away too cheaply. My future will plunge recklessly to ninety pounds.

And, meantime, pending a kind-hearted capitalist, I am learning to play "Bridge." But not Westminster Bridge, I thank you kindly.

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, March 12th, Monier Road, corner of Wyke Road, 7 p.m. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, March 13th, "Salmon & Ball," Bethnal Green, 8 p.m. Melvina Walker, Henry Sara.

St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 7 p.m. Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds, A. Haddock.

Sunday, March 14th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Melvina Walker, Harry Pollitt.

Tuesday, March 16th, Stockwell Street, Greenwich, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker, Henry Sara.

Saturday, March 13th. Meetings in Waterloo Road.

INDOOR.

Sunday, March 14th, Bow Baths Hall, 7.30 p.m. Public Meeting. (See advertisement.)

Monday, March 15th, 20, Railway Street, 7.30 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m., Reading Circle.

Wednesday, March 17th, 400, Old Ford Road, at 8 p.m. General Members' Meeting.

Thursday, March 18th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Mark Starr. Sixth Lecture on Economics: "Wages. Day-work and Piecework. Nominal, Real and Relative. Theories of Wages. Vicious Circle Fallacy."

Friday, March 19th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, March 14th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, March 16th, Queens Road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m. Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, March 18th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, March 16th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Rev. Humphrey Chalmers: "New Testament and Revolution."

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

Sunday, March 14th, 8 p.m.

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COUNCILLOR J. GAUDIN, Labour Party,

JAMES H. MATSON, W.S.F.

Doors Open 7.30 p.m. Commence 8 p.m.

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