



# Workers' Breadnought

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

## NOTHING DOING AT THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Two hours, half-a-dozen speeches, and the Trade Union Congress had risen. Ostensibly it had decided how the organised workers of Britain shall meet the challenge thrown down to them by the Government in its flat refusal to abolish Capitalism in the mining industry. Ostensibly, the Congress had decided that in this and every other political question, on every question affecting the structure of society and the power—and status of the working-class,

Congress has broken itself of the long-confirmed, and absurd and misleading habit of adopting a compromise resolution accepted by both sides, and in moving which the oratorical stars of both sides loudly beat the big drum of bluff and bombast, and call for the cheers of the unthinking mob.

### J. H. Thomas: Protector of Capitalism.

J. H. Thomas, the chairman of the Congress, declared himself against the use of Direct Action because of the early possibility of a Labour Government, when the Labour Party "would find itself the guardian and protector of the whole community rather than the trustee of a section of the people."

In that sentence is concisely stated the policy of Thomas and of the official Labour Party as a whole. Thomas, who belongs, by the way, to the "Moderate Party," considers that it will be the mission of the Labour Government, when it comes in, to protect the interests of the whole community, the Capitalists included; to follow the policy which the Food Ministry is supposed to pursue, namely, to protect the interests of the consumer, having first safeguarded the profits of the Capitalists. The Communist policy is to starve out the Capitalist, to abolish his profit and to destroy the Capitalist system.

Frank Hodges, who had been chosen to defend Direct Action, did so without full conviction; he said: "I am going to confess that the argument is on the side of political action." But he urged that since the Government was not prepared to act upon the finding of the Coal Commission, the miners, who had been induced to call off their strike by the Government's pledge to obey the findings, had been made the victims of a gigantic political fraud.

Their faith in the Parliamentary institution had therefore been shattered. But he expressly stated that he was not arguing the complete failure of the Parliamentary institutions—only of this Parliament; he was not arguing that the institution might not be improved if it were animated by a working-class spirit. Whatever his private conviction may be, Hodges is evidently not prepared openly to declare himself against bourgeois democracy and Parliamentary Government and for the Soviets, or even for a government by some institution like the Trade Union Congress, which is advocated by a certain school of thought intimately connected with South Wales.

The main argument put forward by Hodges was, not that the Parliamentary institution is essentially unsuited to the needs of the workers, but that a long time may elapse before the Parliamentary majority of the Government can be destroyed. If there were three by-elections a year, and if in every by-election working-class candidates were returned, it would take sixteen and a half years to reduce by a hundred the Government's five hundred majority. He contended further, that the Government might extend its life by means of the Parliament Act and refuse to call a general election; also, that the Liberals and Tories would coalesce against Labour

as they had done in support of Asquith, Palmer, and De Frece.

Thus, instead of taking his stand on the firm ground of the class struggle and the fact that Capitalism cannot be dislodged without a tug-of-war, in which force will be pitted against force and power against power, Hodges put up a rather weak and inconsistent case. One telling thrust he made at certain fire-eating opportunists:—

I have noticed this quaint tendency amongst the workers and some of our leaders—that the more remote a question is from realisation, the more ready we are to fight for it. When it is at our door, as the nationalisation of the mines is, shall we hesitate because it is near?

The domestic consumer is getting his coal at less than the cost of production. The industrial consumer is getting his coal at less than the cost of production.

The only thing that makes that possible is high exports.

If ever exports come down to anything like normal levels, the mining industry will be insolvent.

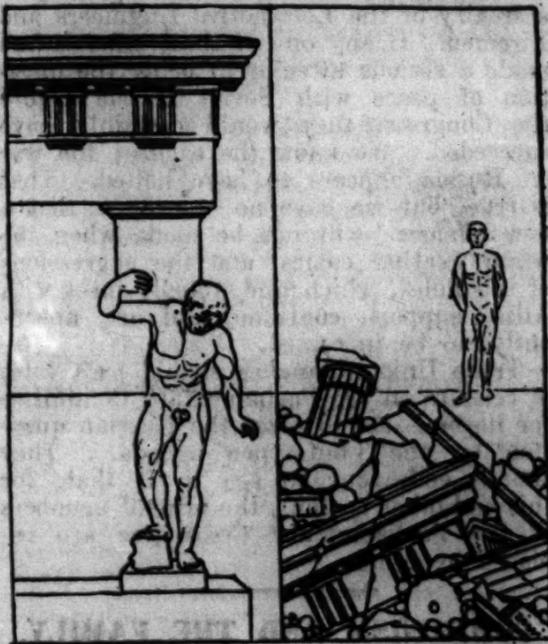
We are engaged in an industry which is marching towards bankruptcy in the strict sense of the term.

We want to put the industry on a sound economic basis, so that other industries can have health and vitality, which they cannot have while the mining industry is conducted as it is.

If Hodges means that he wishes to re-establish the mining industry on a sound economic basis within the Capitalist system, his policy is in direct conflict with Communist policy and with the policy of the rank and file in the coalfield who wish to use the power of the organised workers in the mines, on the side of the forces that are working towards the complete destruction of the Capitalist system. Where does Hodges stand in this struggle? He should make his position clear.

### Tom Shaw's Attempt to Pit Textile Workers Against Colliers.

Tom Shaw, of the Textile Workers, as usual, was on the side of reaction. He declared Direct Action to be "immoral." Appealing to that narrow sectionalism which is a product of the competitive spirit



IF LABOUR WITHDREW ITS SUPPORT.

on every question larger than a mere increase of wages or reduction of hours, the workers are to hold their hands and to abide by whatever decision may be arrived at in Parliament. The issue before the Conference was greater than the pettifogging Sankey Scheme; the conscious workers who are gaining the lead over the masses in the mining industry, are striving for something infinitely larger; their aim is nothing short of the socialisation and workers' control of the mining and every other industry; it entails the overthrow of the Capitalist system itself. The tactical decision before the Congress involved not merely the tactics to be pursued on the mining question; but the tactics to be pursued in all the other great struggles with Capitalism which are before the workers.

### Congress Faces a Straight Issue.

The Capitalist press was jubilant at the result of the Congress: "Direct Action Dead"; "How Direct Action Died," the placards ran. But Direct Action is not dead; it has not even received a check. On the contrary, it has bounded forward into the position of a practical issue, it is no longer a mere debating point. 1,050,000 votes have been cast for it in a Congress largely packed with conservative-minded officials and executive members. 3,870,000 votes have been cast against it; the old traditions die hard. But the "nothing" Trade Congress has been forced to face a clear issue at last. At last the



Rise in Wages.

Rise in Prices.

"The endeavour to make wages catch up with prices is an almost endless race, in which the workers get left further and further behind."—Frank Hodges, at the Special Trade Union Congress, March 11th.

engendered by Capitalism, and of the harsh struggle for existence in a Capitalist world, and which is one of the greatest sources of weakness in the ranks of the working-class, he asked:—

Is there any trade here that has done better in the way of hours and wages than the miners? For the miners to throw in the teeth of cotton and wool—!

But his words were drowned in hostile shouts; he changed the subject, saying that he placed his faith "in the sacred rule of reason, not in brute force." A strange saying indeed, to come from one of the most envenomed jingoes in the Congress! Who that attended the Congress in 1914-15 and '16 can fail to remember Tom Shaw's vengeful outcries?

Robinson, of the Warehouse Workers, said that the members of his Union were in favour of Direct Action and believed that it should be used on the mines question, but they would vote against it because in their opinion, the Trade Union movement has not yet the machinery for a successful general strike.

#### Clynes, the Capitalist Henchman.

J. B. Clynes then made his ordinary speech against the strike proposal: "I oppose Direct Action because it is wrong," he said, and asserted that the man who would most welcome the strike is Lloyd George. Clynes has a habit of running down the workers on these occasions, and he informed the Congress that many miners would travel to London for a cup-tie who would not travel to the ballot box to vote for a Labour candidate. Apparently, it does not occur to Clynes that the fault may lie with Parliament and the Labour Members at Westminster rather than with the miner; and that the miner cannot be blamed for realising that for his journey to London he gains the pleasure of seeing the cup-tie, whilst for his journey to the ballot box he gains nothing.

#### The Troubles of a Labour Government.

"Within the lifetime of most of the men and women present, a Labour Government will be in power; I hope not returned only by working-class votes," Clynes went on. Evidently he does not expect the early victory that some of his Labour colleagues predict. "A Labour Government would be faced," he said, "with all sorts of claims." It might be unable to fulfil some of its promises, "would you then countenance a strike of some large section of the working-class against a Labour Government?" There were shouts of "Yes!" from from the gallery. Clynes answered:—

That kind of proceeding would lead not to law, but to lawlessness. If ever I entertained any feeling of revenge against some of my friends in the Labour movement, it has gone no farther than a desire to see them in positions of responsibility and power in a Labour Government. Then I think they would see that their real troubles had begun, for a Labour Government, in the first few years at least, would find itself beset with all manner of demands it would be impossible to meet.

Precisely; a Labour Government will find itself faced with all manner of demands quite impossible to meet within the Capitalist system. Only a government prepared for a life and death struggle with Capitalism can meet those demands. The Russian Soviet Government has been willing to engage in that struggle; Clynes, Henderson, Snowden, MacDonald, and their colleagues are not willing; they prefer to compromise with the Capitalists and to lend them aid in maintaining Capitalism. This is why the Communist Party must be ready to lead the attack on the coming Labour Government.

We are told that Clynes was congratulated by Lady Astor on his effort in support of bourgeois democracy. Lloyd George was, no doubt, equally pleased with it.

#### Tom Mann's Vivid Sarcasm.

Tom Mann followed with a racy speech. In its own way it was amazingly perfect as a piece of dramatic art, and it brought a vivid warmth and colour into the dull Conference. We do not believe that on any stage in this country anything one half so fine can be heard. Even the most staid and sanctimonious of his opponents, rocked with laughter and beamed with pleasure at his sallies. He told us of J. B. Clynes and a group of other timid

gas-workers, who had tried deputations and resolutions to Parliament without avail, coming to him long ago for help, being advised to use "Trade Union methods," following the advice, getting his assistance as works-gate meetings, and succeeding in their efforts. Then Clynes, the timid gas-worker, becoming the president of the National Union of General Workers; Clynes, with his Biblical knowledge, telling, in order to encourage the gas-workers, of David dancing before the ark, and how the Children of Israel used direct action. Mann contrasted the Clynes of those days with the Clynes of to-day, who wails over the prospect of a general strike, declaring that it will be a case of "Oh! Woe is me, and every man coming to his grave" if Direct Action comes to pass.

Mann pictured the great general strike; Labour marshalling its forces, all sections of workers clamouring to "come out," some sections being told "No; don't come out." No one will say "Down tools" to Brother Clynes; "We'll say to him: 'Go on in that Institution over the way; show that you can do something over there, which some people are beginning to doubt.'"

Mann declared that it was ridiculous for Trade Unionists to come to the Congress saying, "Don't resort to Trade Union action."

He asked: "What are you a Trade Unionist for?"

"Such risks!"

"Of course there are risks: didn't we know it?"

He poured contempt on those who would reject Direct Action and choose indirect action, saying: "Get on the roundabouts then!" And then, somehow, we were on a fair-ground, and there was Tom Mann whirling around, all jovial, waving his hand and crying: "We're still here! Come, bonny Black Bess!"

That picture came and went in a flash; then he was coldly telling the delegates: "You're on the dobbie horses!"

It was the finest piece of acting we ever saw; the funniest speech we ever heard; but yet, in our opinion, the occasion was too serious for it and it left the issue of the day untouched.

#### Mills for a Ballot Vote.

Jack Mills, A.S.E., of Woolwich, who generally seems to be anxious to postpone important action, urged that a ballot vote of the members of all the organisations affiliated to the Trade Union Congress should be taken on the issue. Now that the Congress has voted against the strike, will he proceed to move for that through the A.S.E. Executive, since, as he rightly observed, a large proportion of the delegates had come to the Congress without instructions?

#### The Voting.

The chairman then called for a vote on the action to be taken to compel the Government to nationalise the mines. The result was:—

Political action, in the form of intensive political propaganda in preparation for a general election, 3,732,000 votes for, and 1,015,000 against.

Trade Union action in the form of a general strike, 1,050,000 votes for, and 3,870,000 against.

Then the chairman declared the Conference ended, and the delegates rose to go.

Direct Action was defeated at that Conference, but amongst the rank and file workers it is steadily gaining ground. The decision of the Conference will be reversed before very long.

#### Russia Forgotten.

The Russian question had found no place on the agenda, and no delegate openly attempted to raise it: we learn that some rank and file delegates asked the Standing Orders Committee's permission and were refused. A refusal by the Standing Orders Committee to allow discussion on such a vital issue ought not to have been accepted as final. The matter should have

been raised in open Congress and pressed to the last point. The Parliamentary Committee was instructed by the December Congress to demand the conclusion of Peace with Soviet Russia, and its report should have been made to this Congress.

But we are aware of the difficulties thrown in the way of rank and file delegates at those most undemocratically-managed institutions—the great Official Labour Congresses. Those who are most to blame for the omission to bring the Russian question before the Congress are firstly, the Parliamentary Committee itself, and secondly, the people in prominent official positions in the Labour world who have accepted office on the "Hands Off Russia" Committee, and, thereby, have pledged themselves to support the struggle against the intervention. These men include A. A. Purcell, a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and therefore one who shares direct responsibility for the omission from the agenda; C. T. Cramp, president of the N.U.R.; John Hill, general secretary of the Boilermakers'; Alexander Gossip, general secretary of the Furnishing Trade's Association; Tom Mann, general secretary of the A.S.E., and John Bromley, general secretary of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. If any one of these officials had made a serious attempt to bring the question of peace with Soviet Russia before the Congress, they would certainly have succeeded. We know the excuse; the war on Russia appears to have halted. That is true, but we have no assurance that a new offensive will not be made when the warm weather comes, and the aggressions of the Poles, which undoubtedly meet with Allied support, continue, and are, apparently, to be increased.

Trade Union branches should pass votes of censure on the Parliamentary Committee for its omission to place the Russian question on the Conference agenda. They should endeavour to see to it that, for this and other reasons, the present members of the Parliamentary Committee are replaced by others.

#### COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY.

We hear much of the Proletarian Dictatorship of the Soviet system, the successes of the Red Army, and the fight to exterminate capitalism in Russia, but little of the home life in the Communist Republic. Women, especially, are eager to know how Communism affects the home and the family. Therefore, the admirable pamphlet by Alexandra Kolontay, Russian Soviet Commissary for Social Welfare, entitled *Communism and the Family*, which is just published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, will be read with special interest. Kolontay shows how the family, from the early genetic period, and on through capitalism has been steadily evolving towards Communism. At one time the housewife and the family produced, within the home, all that the family required. Then the factory came to supersede the household production, and gradually the housewife was herself driven by economic pressure to leave the home and work in the factory, till the family more and more accustomed itself to doing without home life, home work, and home comfort, and the mother and housewife struggled on under an unbearable load, and the children were brought up by the street. From the chaotic misery and discomfort wrought by capitalism, the human race is developing collective housekeeping and community responsibility for the education and upbringing of the children. In Communist Russia the Communist tendency has received tremendous impetus.

Comrades willing to act as agents, and to sell the *Dreadnought*, to display posters and to help to increase the circulation campaign, should write to the Manager, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

## THE RANK AND FILE CONGRESS.

For the first time in the history of the Labour movement a rank and file Conference met simultaneously with the official Trade Union Congress, in order to focus in the eyes of the great masses the opposing policy of the revolutionary Communists, side by side with that of the old fashioned trade unionists, whose vision does not extend beyond some more or less timid attempt to palliate and patch up the capitalist system in which the worker will ever be the exploited wage slave.

Arthur McManus, the chairman of the N.A.C. of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee movement was the first chairman of the Convention, which met in the Central Hall, Westminster, on the morning of March 10th, the day before the Trade Union Congress. He drew the attention of the delegates to the singular and important nature of the Convention and predicted that it would be the beginning of a new movement of the rank and file throughout the country. There was a tendency in the official Trade Union movement to use the unrest amongst the rank and file workers and to go round making fiery speeches stirring up enthusiasm, but when the moment for action came, to call a halt and to say: let us ask for a Commission of Inquiry. But after the Commission had sat and reported, we always found that if anything were to be accomplished one had got to take the same drastic action that had been necessary before.

### The Mines Resolution.

On the motion of McCracken, of the Yorkshire miners, and Thomas, of the South Wales miners, the following resolution was adopted:—

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

At the same time the Convention recognises that Direct Action should be used to compel the Government to accede to the mine workers' demands.

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

This Convention decides to elect a special Mines' Committee—

- (1) To press forward the strike policy.
- (2) To consult with the unofficial Reform Committee of the miners, with a view to formulating and urging upon the workers a scheme for the sovietisation, or in other words, the workers' control of the mining industry.
- (3) To enlarge the demands of the strike in the direction of the general sovietisation of the land and all industry.

Thomas said that though the keynote of the speeches of the officials was that they desired no revolution in the mining industry, the rank and file in South Wales were out for nothing short of Sovietisation. Hughes, of the South Wales miners, said, "We did not want Sankey or his Commission; we want control from the bottom up. We are determined to make coal absolutely priceless, because we believe that we can attack the capitalist system in that way. We mean to make it impossible for the mines to go on till the capitalists hand them over. It is estimated that the profit made on coal would allow of the employers paying us 8/- a week more. We are out for an immediate increase of £2 a week."

### Russia.

A resolution was adopted demanding peace with Soviet Russia and calling for a "down tools" policy to enforce this, also demanding an explanation by the Parliamentary Committee as to why the question of the Intervention in Russia found no place on the agenda of the Special Congress, also demanding a full account of the conversations which have taken place between the Parliamentary Committee and the Government on this question, and asking whether a pledge has been obtained to conclude an immediate peace with Soviet Russia.

The resolution was supported by a representative of the National Union of Ex-Service Men. A delegate from the iron moulders said that his union had officially declared for the down tools policy and promised to endeavour to get an explanation from the Parliamentary Committee. Cook, of the South Wales miners, promised to make the same attempt.

### The Soviets.

The following resolution was then adopted:—

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

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

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

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

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

Willie Gallacher, of the Scottish Workers' Committee, speaking in support of it, said that the strikes on the Clyde had been mostly unofficial and therefore without strike pay. When the people were without food they were starved into submission. Therefore whilst they were building up Workshop Committees they were also finding it necessary to build up committees outside which could ensure the food supplies of the workers. It was the business of these Social Committees to find out where the food was and how to get it.

### Action to Build Up the Soviets.

On the motion of the Central London Committee of Shop Stewards it was decided that the delegates should meet on the following Friday and form themselves into groups represent-

**This week's instalment of our series of articles on Trade Unions, their Rules, structure and part in the Revolutionary struggle, is held over until next week, owing to pressure of space.**

ing their various localities in order to discuss how best to set about the formation of Soviets in all parts of the country.

The committee called for by the mines resolution to organise support for the miners in other districts was then elected; it included the following persons: Tom Dingley, Willie Gallacher, Hughes, McCracken, Arthur McManus, J. Muir, Sylvia Pankhurst, Harry Pollit, Pendry, David Ramsey, Watkins.

The Convention then adjourned till the following evening, when it would have an opportunity to consider the findings of the Trade Union Congress and to proceed with its own agenda.

### The Second Session.

McManus having had to leave early, Comrade Keeley had taken the chair during the greater part of Wednesday's Session. When the Convention met again on Thursday evening, Willie Gallacher undertook this duty. He said that no one would be surprised at the action of the Trade Union Congress that day.

The Irish situation was then discussed and a resolution affirming Ireland's right to independence and calling for a joint conference of the Irish and British rank and file to consider what British workers can do to help Irish workers in their struggle was adopted unanimously. Similar resolutions on India and Egypt were also carried and resolutions declaring that Parliament must be replaced by the Soviets and that the hardships arising from the high cost of living, unemployment and other evils can only be ended by the abolition of capitalism.

### The Third International and the Labour Party.

The following resolution on the Two Internationals and the Labour Party was carried, with one dissident:—

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

the Second International, and from the Labour Party, and their affiliation to the Third International.

### Workers for Soviet Russia.

On the motion of the Tooting B.S.P. it was resolved to elect a committee to arrange to obtain the necessary facilities for workers who desire to go to Soviet Russia to help with the work of reconstruction there and whose work may be needed in Russia, and also to arrange for a rank and file deputation to visit Soviet Russia in order to make a report to the workers of this country.

Franklin, toolmakers, T. Kime, Workers' Committee, Harry Pallitt, boilermakers, Norah Smyth, W.S.F., Jack Tanner, Workers' Committee, David Ramsay, Workers' Committee, F. Willis, B.S.P., were elected to form the Committee.

Jack Wills, of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, pointed out that every member of the official Labour deputation that is going to Russia has declared himself in strong and definite opposition to the Soviets.

### White Terror in America.

Comrade McAlpine, of the American Communist Labour Party, tendered fraternal greetings from American comrades, and told how possession of a member's card in the Communist Party, the Communist Labour Party, or the I.W.W., renders the holder liable to imprisonment in the United States, whilst comrades have been sentenced to imprisonment for 10, 20 and 30 years for the crime of being Communists. The clubbing and shooting of the Reds is a common practice of the American authorities, and many comrades had been lynched. A resolution conveying fraternal greetings to the American comrades was adopted.

### Third Session.

The Conference met again on Friday, March 12th, to consider the mines situation.

Thomas, of the South Wales Miners, then explained that the official delegate conference of the miners had recommended that the miners demand an increased wage of 3/- a shift and 1/6 a shift for boys under 16 years; also that it recommended the taking of a ballot vote on the question of a strike for nationalisation. Whatever wage demand were put forward by the miners at this juncture, Thomas said, could only be obtained by a strike. The members of the South Wales Miners' Federation had been consulted, and they had demanded an increase of £2 a week. The membership of the other sections of the M.F.G.B. had not been consulted, and a protest ought to be made against the decision of the official conference being arrived at without consulting the members.

### Solidarity with the Miners.

The following resolution was adopted:—

This rank and file convention condemns the cowardice of the Trade Union Congress for its refusal to adopt direct action on the miners' question. It recognises that the decision to adhere to Parliamentary methods will settle nothing.

It calls on the workers in all other industries to show solidarity with the miners in their expected strike. The convention pledges itself to support the miners in their demand for an immediate increase of £2 a week, and in their struggle for the Sovietisation of their industry. A vigorous propaganda for the Sovietisation of all industries and of the land should be carried on amongst all sections of workers. Rank and file conferences should be held in every industry to formulate schemes for workers' control, which should be printed and circulated as has been done by the unofficial element amongst the South Wales miners.

Tromans (South Wales Miners) said it would be necessary to make propaganda amongst the South Wales Railwaymen in order to secure their support for the miners. As a railwayman he was employed hauling coal during the last strike, and he realised that he and his comrades were potential blacklegs.

### Hungary.

It was resolved that:—

This rank-and-file convention expresses solidarity with the persecuted Communist workers of Hungary, and condemns the White Terror instituted by the present Government of Hungary and condoned by the British and other Allied Missions in Budapest. It further calls on the British Government to follow the example of the Italian Government, which, under the pressure of the Socialist workers of Italy, has instructed its Embassy in Vienna to intervene on behalf of the Hungarian Socialists.

(Continued on page 9, col. 1.)

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**GERMAN COUNTER-REVOLUTION.****Will it Precipitate the Coming of the Soviets?**

It is a mistake to generalise too far, yet the sudden collapse of the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske Government and its flight and abandonment of power, recalls the fact that Kerensky, before his overthrow by the Bolsheviks, was involved in Korniloff's attempt to bring about a counter-revolution. Kerensky was plotting with Korniloff because Russia's desperate economic position, and, arising from it, the state of Russian popular unrest were such that Kerensky saw himself faced with the choice, either of conceding all the Bolshevik demands, and inaugurating a regime of Communism, or, on the other hand, of throwing in his lot with the Czarist reaction. As the situation shifted, the masses of workers and soldiers were ceasing to give their support to Kerensky; he had either to act so as to re-capture their favour, or to find other supporters. He endeavoured to succeed in the latter course by plotting with Korniloff, but the Korniloff plot was exposed to the Petrograd workers, Kerensky was forced to repudiate Korniloff, and the workers rose and seized the power.

Whether the Noske-Scheidemann Cabinet has, or has not been implicated in the counter-revolution that has apparently swept them from power, undoubtedly the same forces have been operating in Germany as were at work in Russia during the Kerensky period. The mild Labour Party reformism and compromises have proved quite ineffectual, and the working masses, at last realising the need for fundamental measures of Communism, have withdrawn their support. Deserted by the main force which sustained it formerly, the Social Democratic Government has grown, therefore, too weak to maintain itself.

At the time of writing there is not enough evidence to show how far the Social Democratic Government connived at the counter-revolution.

It is significant that although the Government was fore-warned, it offered no resistance to the mutineers. On the evening of Friday, March 12th, the counter-revolutionary troops were marching towards Berlin, Noske called out troops ostensibly to defend the city. Barbed wire fences, machine guns, and other implements of war were prepared. But the Government troops were "finally withdrawn, and disbanded at 4 a.m. to avert bloodshed." Before the counter-revolutionaries had arrived Noske's own troops had occupied the Ministry of Defence buildings as counter-revolutionaries and the bulk of them are supposed to have joined the anti-government forces. As the mutineers approached, representatives of the Government were sent to negotiate with them, and during the night the Government left Berlin.

General von Luettwitz, now Commander-in-Chief, under the counter-revolutionary Government, was commander of the first group of the Reichswehr, or Empire Defence force, and, for the last twelve months Noske's right-hand man in suppressing the working class. Captain Pabst, who is prominent among the mutineers, took a leading part in suppressing the Spartacist movement last year, and was concerned in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

A Reuter telegram states that Herr Schiffer, Minister of Justice in the late Government, and Herr Albert, Under-Secretary, received the new

Government when it came to take the reins. *The Times* reports that Ernst, the police president under the late Government, declared that he would remain at his post to preserve order.

All this seems consistent with the theory either that the Ebert Government is working hand-in-hand with the mutineers, or that it plotted with them up to a certain point, and was betrayed by its confederates at the last moment.

It is difficult to believe that the Ebert-Noske-Scheidemann Government, which took such violent and foul measures against the Communists, whom it feared would wrest the power from it, would have submitted to so ignominious a dismissal by the militarists without even a shot being fired.

**Are the Allies in the Plot?**

How far the Allied Governments and Allied Military Commanders are implicated in the counter-revolution is yet unknown, but they have received it most complacently, and show signs that they will not intervene against the reactionary government, which has been established by force, provided it agrees to carry out the Versailles Treaty, as it has already promised. We suspect that the Allies will even go so far as to modify the Treaty in order to bolster up the counter-revolution.

But now comes news that the Ebert Government has formed a Coalition with the counter-revolutionaries.

François Cruey, in *L'Humanité*, moreover, confirms our view that Noske at any rate in the Ebert Government was an accomplice in the plot. He says on the authority of a Berlin comrade that during the last few months Noske had been favourable to its preparation. He gave the conspirators permission to organise themselves as the "Party of Order" with special permits to carry arms. He adds that Berlin has known for some time that Marshall von Hindenburg had gone to the ex-Kaiser to obtain his permission to become a candidate for the Presidency of the German Republic and that Noske had assented to the step.

**Counter-Revolutionaries Recognised by the Allies.**

A Reuter message of March 14th states that the Entente Commission in Berlin has decided to recognise the Government of the mutineers; not the Coalition that has since been formed. This Government will be still more counter-revolutionary than that of Noske and Scheidemann. Unless the workers' Revolution comes very soon the old regime will shortly be back again in its old place. There was no question on this occasion of waiting to see whether the Government had the majority of the nation behind it!

The British Capitalist Press widely reported that Lord Kilmarnock, the British Government's representative in Berlin, had received assurances that the Versailles Treaty would be carried out. Millerand, the French Premier, drew up a note to the Italian and British Governments, expressing the view that the change of Government in Germany did not concern the Allies. The French militarists are said to agree that "Germany has the right to choose the Government she wishes." It was not so with Soviet Russia!

**A Compact Against Soviet Russia.**

The sympathies of Allied Capitalism, as was inevitable, and has been clearly proved, are with counter-revolution in every country. The counter-revolution has doubtless secured an added cordiality by means of a pledge of hostility towards Soviet Russia. Indeed, it is only too probable that a military offensive has been promised. On March 13th, on the eve of taking the power, Dr. Kapp, the head of the counter-revolutionary government, issued a proclamation containing these passages:—

"Away with the Government of which Ebert is the leading spirit. . . . The Government is not capable of warding off Bolshevism, which is threatening from the East."

Von Luettwitz, in a newspaper interview, said:—

"We consider it an urgent necessity to take action to protect Europe against the danger from the East. England is doing nothing, and can do nothing, to stop the advance of Bolshevism. Prussia must

take a hand. . . . We must have many more than the 100,000 men permitted to Germany by the Entente as an army. How shall we be able to combat Bolshevism with that handful?"

It is certain that the Versailles demand for the reduction of the German Army to 100,000 has been postponed by the Allied Governments with the deliberate purpose of aiding the German reaction to suppress the workers of Germany and Russia. According to an Exchange telegram General Von Luettwitz has stated that he regards an offensive against Russia as "within the possibilities of the situation."

After the fall of Vladivostok to the Revolution documents were found proving that an Alliance had been made between Koltchak and the German militarists through the agency of General Mannerheim.

**Omens of White Terror.**

The counter-revolutionaries declare that their Government is not reactionary and promise freedom, but these passages from their proclamations show that the revolts into which spread of want is driving the workers will be met by White Terror:—

"Germany can only escape external and internal collapse by a strong State power being established.

"Strikes and sabotage will be vigorously suppressed. To strike is treason against the Fatherland.

"Attempts to separate from the Empire will be dealt with by courts martial as high treason. Any opposition to the new order will be unsparingly put down.

Von Luettwitz, the new Commander-in-Chief, has told a Press representative:—

"If the workers do not come to their senses, we must intervene with crocodile tears and pop-guns."

**The General Strike Proclamation.**

Members of the old Government, Ebert, Noske, Schlicke, Schmidt, David Muller, and Otto Wels, who was Police President of Berlin when the Spartacists were murdered, have issued on behalf of the old Social Democratic Party, an appeal to the workers to strike against the military counter-revolution. The workers are urged:—

"Use every means to destroy this return of bloody reaction. Strike, cease to work, throttle this military dictatorship! Fight with all means for the preservation of the Republic. . . . Paralyse all economic life. . . . Not a hand must be moved.

A general strike along the entire lines. Proletarians, unite!"

The members of the late Government, who issued this proclamation, had been occupied ever since they came into power, in suppressing all strikes and in shooting down any proletarians who showed signs of uniting against capitalism which the Social Democratic Government absolutely failed to suppress or limit.

Now that another set of capitalist henchmen has displaced Ebert's Government, the members of that Government call on the proletarians they have spurned to fight in their defence.

The Ebert Government has throughout resorted to such blackguardly tactics that we do not know whether this proclamation may not be merely a ruse to induce the workers to a premature rising against the militarist revolution in order to provide an excuse for inaugurating the White Terror. In Munich the officials of the Ebert Government actually set up the "Red Republic" with this object. Then they cleared out to organise the White Army that would presently march in to crush their creation, and to victimise the Independent Social Democrats and Communists who had remained behind.

**Slavery or the Soviets?**

When the German masses rise again, as they rose in 1918 in overwhelming numbers, when they again re-take the Power of Government they will not again hand it over to the Reformists but will retain it and administer it through their own Soviets. It is probable that the counter-revolution, with its menace of renewed White Terror, its second revelation of the fact that constituted authority can be swiftly overturned, will precipitate another proletarian revolution in Germany. If not, a very dismal period of reaction is before the German workers; but we believe that the revolutionary movement will now gain a new impetus.

# THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AT AMSTERDAM.

## FOREWORD

### By the Executive Committee of the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International.

In the month of November, 1919, Comrade Rutgers came from Russia with a mandate from the Executive of the Third International to establish a sub-bureau at Amsterdam, the members of which were designated by the Executive. The principal duties of the bureau were to be as follows:—

1. To establish a centre for Communist propaganda and to publish a journal and literature in three languages.

2. To enter into relationship with the various Communist groups and parties of Western Europe and of America.

3. To organise an International Communist Conference with the shortest possible delay.

The German Communist Party, having also announced the proposal for arranging an International Communist Conference, organised the West European Secretariat, and invited the Communist parties to assemble in Germany during the latter half of January. The provisional Bureau at Amsterdam decided to take part in the conference, and prepared resolutions, etc., which were sent to Berlin.

From the middle of January, delegates from America and England began to arrive in Holland, and since no communication was received from Germany, where a state of siege had been declared, the provisional Bureau in Amsterdam decided to take advantage of the presence of the English and American comrades to precipitate a conference at Amsterdam, for which preparations had already been made by visits of Dutch comrades to England, Switzerland, Belgium and France.

A courier was sent to the comrades in Germany, begging them to come as soon as possible. Only one delegate of the opposition in the German Communist Party arrived towards the beginning of the Conference, which opened on the 3rd of February. The other German delegates arrived eight days late. The Conference was opened by the delegates from the various English Communist groups, by the American delegates and the Dutch delegates; but was also attended by two delegates from a Belgian Communist group, by a comrade who had taken part in the Hungarian Revolution, by a representative of the revolutionary movement in the Dutch Indies, and by a Chinese comrade; the three last, however, had no mandates.

Towards the end of the Conference, delegates arrived from Switzerland, but too late to take part in the regular discussions.

The first sitting was held on February 3rd. After an inaugural address by Comrade Rutgers, a standing committee was nominated, and an agenda drawn up. On the morning of the 4th the work of the Conference recommenced. The first subject of discussion was an appeal to the workers to support Soviet Russia. The discussion was animated and lasted the whole of that day and the next. Two main tendencies manifested themselves: the one strove to demonstrate that a true mass movement in favour of Russia could not be obtained, except by introducing the revolutionary leaven into every large economic strike, and by convincing the masses in every country that its fate was indissolubly bound up with that of the Russian Republic; and the other demanded that the Conference should give the word for an international strike on behalf of Russia without delay. Those who expressed this opinion had no illusions as to the probable success of such an appeal, but they considered it the first duty of Communist groups to educate the working-classes in the direction of international united action. After an exhaustive discussion—which dealt, among other things, with the dangers which would result to the Russian Republic if the blockade were raised not as the result of pressure of the masses, but by the action of capitalist governments—a commission was nominated to draw up a resolution embodying the various tendencies of the discussion, which resolution was accepted unanimously.

Meanwhile, the Conference proceeded to discuss two other points on the agenda: the creation of a Communist Bureau for Western Europe, America, etc., and the unification of the various Communist groups existing in the several countries. As to the first of these points, the situation was rendered rather delicate by the absence of the comrades representing the West European Secretariat established in Germany. It was, however, finally decided to create a Bureau at Amsterdam for propaganda purposes, and for drawing together the Communist groups in Western Europe and America; agreement was reached as to the organisation and functions of this Bureau. By reserving to the Secretariat established in Germany relations with the various countries in Central and South-East Europe, it was hoped to avoid all conflict between the two organs of the Third International. The motion for the creation of the Bureau at Amsterdam was also unanimously accepted.

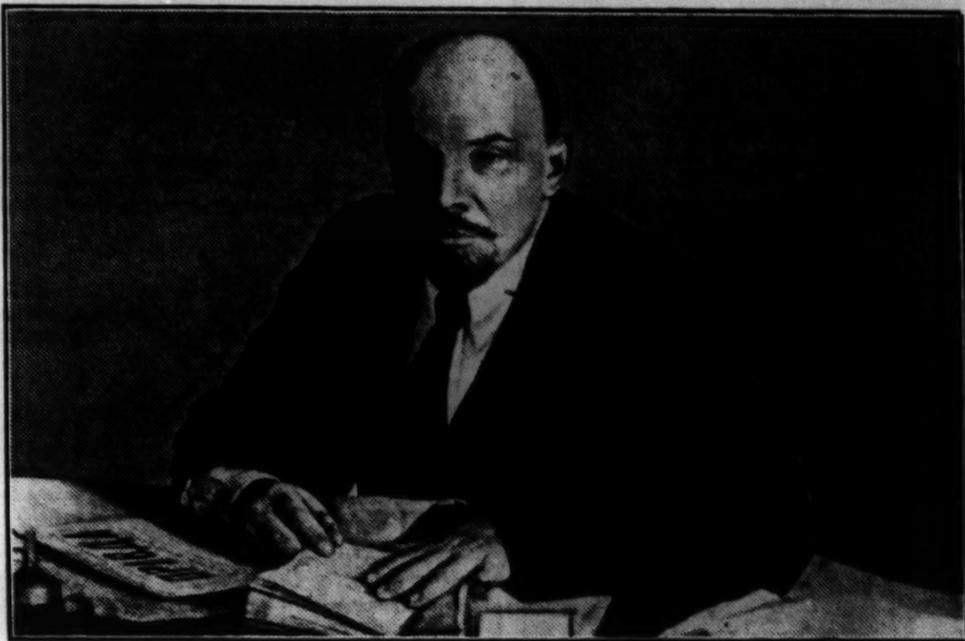
Not so, however, when it came to the resolution concerning the basis for the unification of the various Communist groups in each country. The obligation formerly inscribed in the resolution to cease all relationship with parties affiliated directly, or indirectly, with the Social-Patriotic International, raised serious objections on the part of the delegates from one of the English parties (the B.S.P.). They

expressed their apprehension that such a measure, by making it impossible for the English Communist Party now being formed, to affiliate with the Labour Party, would isolate it completely, and would prevent it becoming a living force in the political struggles of the country. The delegates of the other English organisations by no means shared these fears;

and try, meanwhile, to avoid mutual conflict.

2. At the end of three months a new International Communist Conference shall take place, which, it is hoped, will possess the necessary authority for a more definite International Bureau.

In view of the limited composition of the Amsterdam Conference, and of its premature conclusion



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they declared, on the contrary, that Communist unity could not be obtained in their country, except by a complete rupture with the Labour Party.

After the vote on unification, the Conference passed to the discussions of resolutions on Trade Unionism, brought forward and brilliantly defended by the American comrade, L. Fraina. Comrade Bouman, one of the principal leaders of the Dutch Independent unions was present at this sitting and took part in the discussion. The big capitalist daily of Amsterdam, the *Handelsblad*, later made use of this incident in its "revelations of the secret Communist Conference," and pretended that the general transport strike in the ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam was instigated, and the strikers supported by, "Russian gold." These stupid accusations were unfortunately taken up by *Het Volk*, the organ of the Social-Democrats, in order to isolate the independent unions participating in the strike.

After four days of quiet work the Conference was obliged to quit the place where the sittings had been held and take refuge with a comrade. Several delegates had observed that they were being regularly followed by detectives, and it was decided that the position of their delegates who were not in possession of regular passports, made a change of venue necessary in order to throw the police off the track. On Sunday, February 8th, a Swiss comrade arrived with the news that several delegates from Germany were expecting to cross the Dutch frontier in two or three days. It was decided to adjourn the sittings until the 11th. Unfortunately, the change did not succeed in throwing the police off the track; several comrades were arrested, taken to the police-station and searched; others only escaped a more serious fate by leaving the country; a Belgian delegate was detained for twenty hours and then expelled. The Party's lack of experience concerning illegal action as well as other circumstances, was responsible for the failure to take certain necessary precautions, which might have made it possible to bring the Conference to a successful conclusion.

Under the circumstances, it was thought impossible to recommence the sittings. Several of the German delegates were pursued by the Noske regime; delegates from North America and Switzerland were followed up by their "democratic governments." To be handed over to the latter by the Dutch Government might have earned them long years of imprisonment. One dared not expose them to such a danger by bringing them to Amsterdam. The members of the Executive of the Bureau, together with an English delegate and the American delegate, succeeded in holding several conversations with the comrades from Germany, among whom were two delegates from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, a delegate from the West European Secretariat and from the Russian Communist Party, and one from the Young Socialists' International. The discussion was limited to the nomination of the Amsterdam Bureau, which the comrades in question could not accept in its present form. The discussion was carried on for hours without reaching agreement. Finally, the following decisions were arrived at:—

1. The Secretariat and the Bureau would continue their respective propaganda for three months,

owing to the activities of the police, which prevented the participation of comrades from Germany, the subjects and resolutions adopted can only be of provisional interest for the Communist International. They, however, have a relative value, as indicative of the tendency of the evolution of Communist thought, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon countries; further, they may, and should, serve as material for the next International Conference.

These reservations made, we cannot believe that the work of the Conference was in vain: on the contrary, we are convinced that it will be of value in estimating the international mass movement in favour of Soviet Russia; it will draw together the advanced groups in the various countries, and help towards their unification into Communist parties based on the general principles and tactics suggested by the Conference. These results we consider to be precious.

### Resolution on the Setting Up of the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau.

An International Bureau has been established in Amsterdam as a sub-bureau of the Executive Committee, Moscow.

The Bureau consists of delegates of the countries affiliated to Moscow, each country sending one delegate, designated by the Communist Party affiliated to Moscow existing in that country. If the several parties and groups of a country cannot agree as to the choice of a delegate, each party will have the right to designate a delegate, and the vote of the country will be divided amongst its delegates.

The Bureau will meet, if possible, every three months. A quorum will be considered to be present if out of the four countries, England, Germany, France and Italy, three are represented; it being allowed, however, that in lieu of any one of these three, two of the other countries will suffice; countries represented by members of the Executive Committee to be excluded. The Executive Committee shall consist of three members, who must reside permanently in Holland. One of these three shall be representative of the Dutch Communist Party in the Bureau. Comrade S. J. Rutgers and Comrade H. Roland Holst are appointed as the two other members of the Executive.

The Executive Committee executes the resolutions voted by the Bureau in its sessions, and the commissions it receives from Moscow, with which, if possible, it maintains a direct communication. Communication with the members of the Bureau by means of letters or couriers will be maintained as far as possible. In case of necessity, resolutions may be voted in this same way. So long as France and Germany are not yet affiliated, two of the four countries mentioned above will be sufficient for a quorum. When circumstances render it imperative, or when a meeting proves impossible, the Executive Committee may take independent action: as many delegates as possible having been previously consulted.

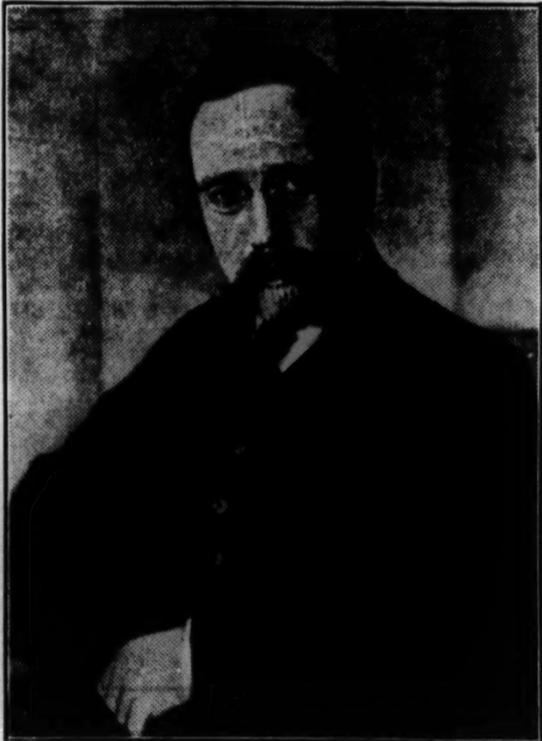
### An American Sub-Bureau.

The Communist Party of America is commissioned to take measures for the formation of a sub-bureau for Northern and Southern America, and for the organisation of a pan-American Conference, for which

the preparations made hitherto in Mexico are to be utilised. This Bureau will probably elect Mexico for its residence.

#### West European Secretariat.

The West European Secretariat in Berlin will be requested to constitute itself as a Secretariat for Central Europe, consisting of delegates of Germany, the countries formerly constituting the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Balkan States, and Poland. The Central European Secretariat will maintain com-



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(President of the Moscow Soviet.)

munications with these countries as well as with Moscow and with Amsterdam, and form a subdivision of the Amsterdam Bureau. On its own account it will only issue such manifestoes and appeals as concern Central Europe. For the publication of general manifestoes it will act in concert with Amsterdam. The arrangements for International Conferences it will likewise require to be made in concert with Amsterdam.

The publishing of the Russian correspondence, of books and pamphlets translated from the Russian, and of the new edition of the Communist International, in three languages will take place, as far as possible, in Berlin, under the responsibility of the representatives of the Third International for Germany, and with the co-operation of the Central European Secretariat and of the Amsterdam Bureau.

The Amsterdam Bureau issues a bulletin in three languages, organises a Press Bureau with an information service and archives, arranges international conferences and congresses, and executes the resolutions voted.

International appeals, proclamations and actions proceed from the Amsterdam Bureau solely. This entire resolution bears a provisional character, until an International Congress decide upon it, or until circumstances change by the establishment of free communication with Moscow.

It is resolved that the various countries shall contribute towards the support of the Bureau.

If necessary, a charge will be made for the service, archives, etc., a decision about such matters will have to be taken within the next few months. Co-operation is requested in building up the archives.

#### Resolution on Soviet Russia.

A revolutionary action of the workers to force International Capital to make peace with Russia is a necessary condition to save Soviet-Russia and to hasten the world revolution.

To further this action, the Communists of all lands must utilise every strike movement, every mass demonstration:—

Firstly, to place this aspect of their responsibilities to the Russian Revolution before the workers.

Secondly, to convince them that their interests are identical with those of Soviet Russia.

Thirdly, to develop a strong feeling of revolutionary solidarity and revolutionary action the world over.

As the pressure of the workers upon the Governments increases, the tendency is for the capitalist governments to propose a compromise peace, with the object of disintegrating Soviet Russia from within. The latest proposal to take up commercial relations through reactionary representatives of pre-revolutionary co-operative societies that have since been merged into the Soviet organisations, aims at separating the peasants from the workers, and destroying the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade.

Under the cloak of such manoeuvres a great military offensive is being prepared, which must be prevented at all costs.

It is therefore essential that this International Bureau take immediate steps to prepare an international demonstration-strike against intervention in Soviet Russia. Such a strike not alone to demand the ending of the blockade and intervention in Soviet Russia, but to include political and economic demands adapted to the revolutionary requirements of the conditions prevailing in each nation. This demonstration to be supplemented by coercive strikes as the workers gain strength for such further action. Special attention must be paid to the expedition and transport of war materials and equipment, propaganda being carried on, to withhold labour in such services.

The appeal to the workers for international strike action must not be made exclusively through the bureaucracy of the trade unions, but emphasis must be placed upon the masses in the unions, upon extra union mass organs, and the creation of such organs if necessary.

When the revolution again arises in Germany, or in any other country, the forces of the international proletariat (especially the transport workers in Britain, America, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland) must be prepared for a general strike the moment the capitalist powers attempt intervention. The Bureau is to take immediate steps for organising this action in time to prevent the workers being again forstalled by the governments.

1. Unions are necessary organisations in the economic struggle of the workers against their employers, since, in spite of their limitations, the Unions are meant for resisting, and often improving, the most inhuman conditions of labour. Nor are the Unions transitory in character, since they can, particularly as Industrial Unions, become active means of revolutionary struggle, and a factor in the Communist reconstruction of society.

2. The Trade Unions, persisting in the defensive struggle against Capitalism, do not materially improve labour conditions; the rise of wages is, in general, exceeded by the rise of prices; while the policy of compromise, wage agreements and industrial peace weakens the fighting spirit of the workers.

3. The Trade Unions arose during the epoch of small industry, and with its consequent division of the workers into crafts or trades. The artisan conception prevailed that a worker's craft or skill was a form of property, developing a property and bourgeois ideology; and this, together with the circumstance that Trade Unionism acquired power during a period of intense national economic development (1870-1900), produced the concept of limiting the proletarian struggle within the limits of capitalism and the nation.

4. Trade Unionism represented (and still largely represents) the upper layers of the working-class, excluding the bulk of the unskilled workers; and where these workers are organised in Trade Unions, they are dominated by the concepts and practice of the upper layers—the "aristocracy of labour."

5. The development of Imperialism merges the Trade Unions definitely in capitalism, the upper layers of the working-class being bribed with a "share" in the profits of Imperialism by means of slightly higher wages, steady employment and labour legislation.

The "aristocracy of Labour," dominant in Trade Unionism accepts Imperialism, uses the Unions to assist Capitalism in "stabilising" Labour in industry, and becomes the source of the corrupt ideology of Social-Imperialism. The decisive factor in the collapse of the old International was the immersion of Socialism in Trade Unionism, with its practice of Social-Imperialism, petty bourgeois democracy, and its fundamental counter-revolutionary tendency.

6. Trade Unionism (as typically expressed in the American Federation of Labour) is impotent to improve materially conditions of Labour, or to conquer power, since the division of the workers into craft or trade organisations splits them into innumerable unions, each antagonistic to the other, making hopeless the struggle against concentrated Capitalism, which largely expropriates the worker of his skill, eliminates the craft divisions of small industry, and brings masses of the proletariat together regardless of particular occupational functions. The general mass strike alone is capable of decisive action against concentrated Capitalism; but Trade Unionism, in form and spirit, is antagonistic to the mass strike.

7. Trade Unionism comes to realise its economic impotence, and proceeds to Parliamentary action, which, represented by Labourism (as typically expressed in the British Labour Party), is as impotent as Trade Unionism to accomplish fundamental conquests, since Labourism necessarily accepts the dominant Union concepts and practice. Labourism unites with petty bourgeois democracy against the proletarian revolution—that petty bourgeois democracy which is seduced by Imperialism.

8. The governmental form of expression of Labourism is State Capitalism, the merger in the State of the Capitalists, the small bourgeoisie, and the upper layers of the working-class dominant in the Trade Unions; the State is used to regulate equally industry and labour, for purposes of Imperialism, the proletarian masses being compelled to accept this arrangement by means of deception and force.

9. The tendency is for Labourism and Socialism to unite (either formally or by means of Trade Union domination of the Socialist Party) each necessarily accepting Social-Imperialism, since their

activity is limited within the limits of Capitalism and the nation; and, under the ascendancy of monopoly and finance, Capital, the "prosperity" of a nation depends on Imperialism.

10. Labourism becomes the final bulwark of defence of Capitalism against the on-coming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a merciless struggle against Labourism is imperative. But while, politically, Labourism expresses itself as State Capitalism and petty bourgeois democracy, its animating impulse and force is in Trade Unionism. The struggle against this form of Unionism, accordingly, is an inseparable phase of the struggle against Labourism, proceeding:—

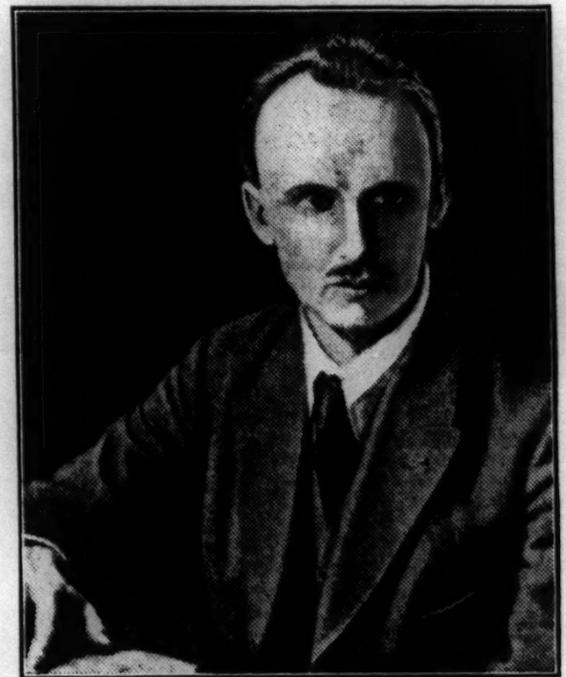
(a) In general by means of agitation by the Communist Party to drive the Unions to more revolutionary action;

(b) By encouraging every movement in the Unions that tends to break the permanency of the bureaucracy, and placing control in the masses by means of delegates being subject directly to instructions and recall.

(c) By the formation of organisations such as the Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees, economic Workers' Councils and direct branches of the Communist Party in the shops, mills and mines, which are not alone means for moving the masses and the Unions to more revolutionary action, but which at the moment of crisis may develop the Soviets.

(d) By endeavouring to transform the Trade Unions into Industrial Unions, that is, a unionism in form paralleling the economic integration of modern capitalism, and in spirit, animated by the struggle for political power and economic mastery.

11. The agitation for, and construction of, Industrial Unions provides, in an immediate and practical way, the opportunity to articulate and mobilise



**N. BUKHARIN**

(Editor of the Moscow "Pravda.")

the militant spirit of discontent developing in the old unions, to carry on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucracy and the "aristocracy of Labour." Industrial Unionism, moreover, provides the opportunity of calling to action the unorganised unskilled workers, and to release the unskilled organised in the Trade Unions from their bondage to the reactionary upper layers of the working-class.

The struggle for the revolutionary Industrial Unionism is a factor in the development of Communist theory, and for the grasping of the power.

12. Unionism trades and industrial must not limit itself to economic strikes but must acquire the concept and practice of the general political strike—co-operate with the Communist Party to develop the general mass struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois State. The concept that Industrial Unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of Capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer Utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be organised in Industrial Unions under Capitalism: economic conditions interfere; the upper layers of the working-class, being the impulse of Labourism, will necessarily reject revolutionary Industrial Unionism; while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under Capitalism must in their Industrial Unions acquire the experience and technic of management of industry, "growing into" the new society by the Industrial Unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the proposals of Parliamentary Socialism—that the working-class must gradually "grow into" Socialism by acquiring experience of State affairs and "absorbing" control of the bourgeois State. Each concept, in its own

way, rejects the fundamental problem of the revolutionary conquest of State power.

14. The conquest of the power of the State is the objective of the revolutionary proletariat. Neither the Parliaments nor the Industrial Unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the Soviets; mass action to rally the workers, organised and unorganised, in the open revolutionary struggle for power; the Soviets to constitute the mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian State, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes, not a struggle for Industrial Unions, but for the construction of Soviets.

15. After the conquest of political power and under the protection of the Soviet Dictatorship, Industrial Unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a Communist basis; and the stronger the Industrial Unions, the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship; is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush Capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the government of Soviets functions geographically and politically; but alongside of itself it constructs a central administration of industry—wholly economic in character, equally in representation and functions, perfecting the organism of proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organised producers.

**Communist Unity and Separation of Communists from the Social Patriotic Parties.**

1. The Social-Patriots and Opportunists, particularly when catering to the "Left" tendency, constitute a most dangerous enemy of the proletarian revolution.

2. To associate or co-operate with these corrupt and counter-revolutionary elements means seriously hampering the development of the conscious Communist movement. Rigorous separation of the Communists from the Social-Patriots is absolutely necessary.

3. The toleration of opportunist or social-patriotic elements in a Communist Party on the plea of unity, means violation of the only unity promoting the revolution—unity, consisting, not merely in formal acceptance of general principles, but agreement on fundamental action.

4. It is necessary that Communist groups still in the old reformist and opportunist parties (even if these repudiate the Second International) should sever their compromising relations and unite in the Communist Party (or form a Communist Party if necessary).

5. Unity depends upon local conditions; but must be animated not alone by formal acceptance of Communist theory, but uncompromising emphasis on the revolutionary practice developing out of that theory. In general, the fundamental considerations in establishing unity are:—

- (a) The uncompromising class struggle of the proletariat—no compromise with the bourgeois or social-patriotic parties, with parties affiliated with the Second International, or with the agents of capitalism in the Labour movement.
- (b) Mass action of the proletariat as the means for the conquest of power, the Communist Party as the conscious and directive force in the development of this mass action.
- (c) Dictatorship of the proletariat (and consequent repudiation of bourgeois democracy).
- (d) The Soviet system as the necessary form of the proletarian democracy.

Section (a) was added to clause 5 upon the motion of Anton Pannekoek, and accepted by the proposer of the resolution.

**AN EXPLANATORY NOTE.**

The Bureau in Holland will shortly issue a condensed report of the discussion which took place on these resolutions. As this is not yet to hand, we add the following brief notes as a guide to those who are studying the resolutions. The report of the Dutch Bureau we shall publish when it is received.

**Representation of Parties and Countries.**

It was decided that only parties which have affiliated to the Third International might be represented and vote in the Conference and be represented on the Bureau of the Third International which it was proposed to form in Holland. For the purposes of that particular Conference it was decided to give three votes to each country to be equally divided amongst the parties affiliated to the Third International in that country.

**Soviet Russia.**

Sylvia Pankhurst (W.S.F. Britain) moved that preparations be made for an international general strike in defence of Soviet Russia. Herman Gorter (Communist Party)

seconded the proposition, adding with the consent of the mover, that such a strike should also be prepared in defence of the German Revolution when it rises again. After a long discussion the motion was referred to a committee, which was instructed to draft a strike manifesto, and consisted of Louis Fraina (American Communist Party) Herman Gorter (Dutch Communist Party), Hodgson (British Socialist Party), Roland Holst (Dutch Communist Party), J. T. Murphy (British Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement) and Sylvia Pankhurst (British Workers Socialist Federation). This manifesto appears herewith, and the Committee of the Amsterdam Bureau was instructed to get to work on the matter without delay.

**Workers' Committees and Other Industrial Bodies.**

There was a long debate on the question of the admission of Workshop Committees and other industrial bodies in Germany, Britain and other countries to the Bureau. It was pointed out that such bodies had been invited to the First Congress of the Third International in Moscow, but it had been decided that representation on the Executive must be confined to bodies whose members were definitely pledged to the principles of the Third International as a condition of membership, and whose only object was the attainment of those principles. It was pointed out that the All-Russian Central Council of Industrial Unions invites all the economic organisations of the workers to an International Conference to form a new Industrial International.

It was further urged that the Workers' Committees are the Soviets in embryo; and that the Soviets could not be affiliated to the Third International, since they are open to all workers, whilst the Third International is a distinctly Communist organisation, and is restricted to those holding Communist views, its mission being to convert the Soviets to Communism. Just in the same way, the Workshop Committees seek to organise every worker in the shop and do not exclude those who are not yet Communists. As the situation becomes revolutionary, the mass of the workers will flock into the Workers' Committees or Soviets, a large proportion of them not being fully Communist. In this way Kersensky became the spokesman of the Russian Soviets, but the development of the economic situation and the Bolshevik propaganda brought the majority of opinion round to support the Bolshevik Party.

On the question of whether the Workers' Committees should form part of the political Communist organisation called the Third International, or should belong to the Industrial International, the voting was as follows:—

Workers' Committees to be admitted to Political Third International.	Workers' Committees to be in Industrial International.
Britain—	
Murphy, Workers' Committee ... 1	Pankhurst, W.S.F. ... 1
Willis, B.S.P. ... 1	Willis, B.S.P. ... 1
America—	
	Fraina (Communist Party) ... 3
Germany—	
Stuker (Communist Party Opposition) 3	
Holland ... 3	
Belgium—	
Communist Party ... 3	
Shop Stewards in Political Third International ... 10½	Shop Stewards in Industrial International 4½

This decision being at variance with that taken at Moscow, and as so few countries were represented it was decided to circularise all the organisations affiliated to the Third International, and also the Moscow Executive, in order that the views of the Third International as a whole might be ascertained on this question before any permanent arrangement should be made.

**Separation of the Communists from the Social Patriots.**

The resolution on Communist unity and the separation of the Communists from the Social-Patriotic Parties was moved by Louis Fraina, of the American Communist Party. Clause (a) of section 5 being added by Anton Pannekoek, of the Dutch Communist Party. Comrade Wynkoop, the chairman of the Conference, stated that if this resolution was adopted, no Communist Party could affiliate to the Amsterdam sub-Bureau of the Third International which remained affiliated to the British Labour Party.

The voting on this resolution was as follows:—

For the Resolution.	Against the Resolution.
Fraina, American Communist Party ... 3	
Germany, Stuker Communist Party Opposition ... 3	
Holland, Dutch Communist Party ... 2	
Britain, Pankhurst, W.S.F. ... 1	Britain, Hodgson and Willis, B.S.P. ... 1
Murphy, Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees ... 1	
Belgium ... 3	
13	2

**Communist Unity Negotiations.**

On Saturday, March 13th, another unity conference was held. The delegates were:—W.S.F., Mrs. Lauritsen, Sylvia Pankhurst, and Norah Smyth; the B.S.P., F. Willis, Hodgson, and Peet; S.L.P., Taylor, Mitchell, and Smyth; South Wales Socialist Society, F. and G. Phippen, and Ness Edwards. This was the first time that the S.L.P. had sent official delegates to the unity negotiations. Hodgson explained that the B.S.P. executive had dropped the proposal to ballot the membership of the Communist Party on the subject of affiliation to the Labour Party, though the B.S.P. view was unchanged, and it would reserve its right to work for affiliation within the new Party; also it would make it a condition that the branches of the Communist Party have complete freedom to affiliate to the local Labour Parties if they choose. Hodgson asked the S.L.P. opinion of this proposal, but Mitchell (S.L.P.) replied that as the S.L.P. delegates were newcomers, they would prefer to hear the views of the other Societies first. The W.S.F. was then asked its opinion. Sylvia Pankhurst replied for the delegation that the proposal appeared unsatisfactory for two reasons: firstly, that as soon as the new party were formed, the contest regarding affiliation to the Labour Party would begin, and a split would probably result; secondly, that the Party must have a uniform policy with regard to affiliation to the local Labour Parties. It would never do to have the Communist Party affiliated to the Labour Party in one borough, and fighting it in the next. The W.S.F. considered it should be laid down from the start that there should be no affiliation to the Labour Party. She read the resolution dealing with this point passed at the Amsterdam meeting of the Third International, and said that that resolution was in accord with the views of the W.S.F.

Hodgson (B.S.P.) replied that the Amsterdam resolution was passed only by the Amsterdam sub-bureau, and that the meeting was not widely representative. The B.S.P. would submit to the authority of the Executive of the Third International in Moscow.

Mitchell (S.L.P.) replied that the point in regard to the Amsterdam resolution was not who had passed it, but whether it was scientific; he contended that it was. He declared that until the question of the Labour Party were disposed of there could be no unity. He moved that the delegates report back to their organisations. This was agreed to.

There was some slight discussion of the questions of Parliamentary action, and the relationship of the Communist Party to the industrial organisations and to industrial action. Nothing definite was arrived at on either point.

**W. F. Watson and the "Dreadnought"**

We are asked whether W. F. Watson is contributing to the columns of the *Workers' Dreadnought*. The answer is, no. The last contribution from Watson we published appeared on March 8th, 1919. This was one of a series of notes on workshop affairs which began on March 9th, 1918. Watson contributed these notes, as we understood, on behalf of the London Workers' Committee, of which he was an official, and in the first issue of the paper in which they appeared he made an appeal to all Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees to send in notes, and said: "It is our intention to make the *Dreadnought* the medium for nationally co-ordinating the movement." We understood he was acting purely as an official of the Workers' Committee movement. W. F. Watson never had any business or editorial connection with the paper beyond that of contributing Workshop Notes on behalf of the London Workers' Committee.

## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

### Shall Mutton Rot?

March 8th. Mr. McCurdy, Food Minister, said "the Government is not in a position to come to a decision" as to whether it is better for it to sell imported mutton, bought during the War, at a loss than to let it rot. At present it will be sold at 9d. per lb.

### Coats Again!

Mr. Bridgeman said "there are great difficulties in the way" of making Coats, the cotton people, disgorge their excessive profits.

### War Bread Once More!

Lloyd George said that not only is the price of bread to be raised on April 12th, but the extraction to be obtained from the wheat ground is to be raised from 77 to 80 per cent. We are moving steadily back to bread of war quality, but at more than war price!

### Cost of Coal Control.

The Coal Controllers' staff costs £550,000 a year!

### Constantinople War.

Lloyd George said "instructions for immediate and drastic action" have been sent by France, Italy and Britain to the High Commissioners, "but it would be inexpedient to reveal the character of those instructions."

More secret diplomacy.

### Canals.

The Government is subsidising the canals in order that the profits of their owners may be assured!

The Prime Minister said that any statement on the resumption of trade with Russia would be premature; but in the case of issuing passports, "great care will have to be exercised." In other words, only those likely to see what the Government wishes to be seen will be favoured!

### Costly Diplomacy.

The salary and allowances of the post of British Ambassador to Washington were announced to be: salary, £2,500; entertainment allowance, £17,500 per year! This "allowance" is to be a permanent institution.

Hurry up with that propaganda for equal wages, please!

### Poland and Britain.

Lloyd George was asked whether British Government is interesting itself in the outrageous annexationist territorial claims Poland is making on Soviet Russia. Lloyd George replied: "Any settlement affecting the peace of Europe is naturally of interest to His Majesty's Government."

Of course, as we have said, Poland's aggression is backed by Britain!

### Censorship Still.

Mr. Bonar Law stated that: "The Marconi Company for a long time past have been instructed to refrain from communicating with Russian Bolshevik stations except upon the instructions of a Government Department. The matter is at present under consideration by the Government." This is how the truth is kept out of Britain!

### Passports.

The Government spokesman revealed the fact that the Government is determined to maintain the passport and visé system. Passports to Russia cannot be granted until "diplomatic relations with Russia" are resumed.

### British Dyes.

The Government invested £1,700,000 of public money in the British Dye Stuffs Corporation during the War. Mr. Bridgeman said other Capitalist firms are also being helped.

March 9th. Churchill said that officers who served with Denikin are to get the British Medal and the Victory Medal.

### Russia Still Blockaded.

Sir H. Greenwood said that Irkutsk has been recaptured from the Soviets by a remnant of Koltchak's army. Seminoff is in control of Chita, a Zemstvo Government is in control of Vladivostok. "But the present insecurity of the position and the difficulties of communication do not lend themselves to the promotion of trade."

That means facilities are only to be given for trading with counter-revolutionaries. What could be clearer proof that the blockade still continues?

### Back to the Land?

Sir A. Griffiths Boscawen, for the Board of Agriculture, seemed highly pleased that out of 31,000 ex-Service men who have applied for small holdings, 4,334 have actually been settled on farms and small holdings.

### Somaliland.

The Colonial Service estimates include £50,000 for "very successful operations in Somaliland."

Commander Kenworthy (L.), opposed the vote on the grounds that the war in Somaliland was carried on without either the knowledge or consent of Parliament. But if the Government had consulted the present Parliament it would undoubtedly have got a majority for any enterprise under the cloak of the "defence of the Empire"!

Such costly attacks on weaker peoples are but everyday incidents of the Capitalist regime.

### Sir Eric Geddes at Golf!

When the vote for the Ministry of Transport came on, it was revealed that Sir Eric Geddes, the Minister, was golfing not far from London, having been ordered by his medical adviser to take a little recreation. Mr. Hogge (Lib.), said that a contract had been made to pay £50,000 to the Minister of Transport when the railways were nationalised; the money had been paid, but the railways were not nationalised, and the Minister had not made up his mind whether to advise nationalisation or not. Mr. Stevens (C.U.), said that Sir Eric Geddes is playing "ca' canny," and that the first thing he did on returning from active service was to secure that his dividends from the North-Eastern Railway Company should be paid.

Meanwhile, the transport is in a state of chaos, and the Transport Ministry costs £181,061 a year! Ten members of the staff get more than £2,000 a year, but charwomen get only 14s. a week and a war bonus, and coal porters 29s a week.

### Execution in Hungary.

March 11th. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, when questioned about the wholesale hangings by the Hungarian Government, observed that "the trials were conducted in open court with every fairness and in strict accordance with the law." Can he maintain that the brutalities committed in the woods near Buda Pest, and the recent torture and drowning in the Danube of two famous Socialists were done in "strict accordance with the law"? What humbug! Mr. Lloyd George then went on to explain that "the Hungarian Government are, on the whole, maintaining order well, and are in no way indulging in political persecutions." In short, the British Government condones the most heinous crimes of the White Terror in Hungary!

### Russian Co-Operators.

Maxim Litvinoff, appointed the chief Russian co-operator by the Soviet Government, is to be debarred from coming to this country; and that, indeed, because of the "incidents which arose in 1918." (We shall see!)

### An Afterthought.

For more than two years the Government and the Press have vied with one another in damning the Bolshevik Government on account of its atrocities. Now, Mr. Lloyd George says the Government is not in a position to "issue an authentic statement." What about the White Book, vouched for by anonymous "eye-witnesses"? If the Government had any sense of decency it would state openly that all its anti-Bolshevik propaganda was a "tissue of lies."

### Only Waiting to Pounce.

"Any community which is attacked inside its legitimate frontiers by Soviet Russia," the Prime Minister admitted, will receive every possible support from the Allies!

### The Price of Peace.

£503,368 were spent on the British Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

### D.O.R.A. Still Active.

Alderman William O'Brien, Secretary to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, has been deported from Ireland, and interned in Wormwood Scrubs "as a person suspected of having acted, and having been about to act, in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, and the defence of the Realm."

### Air Estimate.

£4,661,000 and £2,005,000 were voted for the expenses in connection with the Air Force during the coming year. Nothing like disarmament here.

### Sinister Enquiries in Russia.

Commission Appointed by the League of Nations by the International Labour Bureau.

The League of Nations and the International Labour Bureau established by the League are each to send a Commission of Inquiry to Soviet Russia; that is to say, if Soviet Russia will receive them.

The Council of the League of Nations is willing that Press representatives should accompany the Commission. The Commission to determine "the number and character of the Press representatives." No chance for the *Workers' Dreadnought* to send a truth-telling representative along with the Commission, you may be sure! The International Labour Bureau (indeed, what a title to name that institution by!) will propose for nomination two members, an employer of labour and a worker.

These commissions are sent out in the interests of Allied Capitalism—to search out the flaws in Soviet Russia's Army, and to report against the Soviet system. This we know in advance.

## A Three Months Subscription for 2/3.

In order to save expense to Comrades, both in town and country, who cannot obtain the "Dreadnought" from a neighbouring newsagent, we have decided to reduce the rates for future subscriptions and to send the paper **POST FREE** to any address in the United Kingdom for

2/3 for **THREE** months,

4/6 for **SIX** months,

and 8/6 for a **YEAR'S** subscription.

## THE TASK OF EX-SERVICE MEN.

Even before the War, it was apparent to every observer that the rising tide of working-class consciousness and working-class power was becoming a serious menace to the continuance of the Capitalist system. The workers of Britain, like the workers of half the world, were coming to realise that there could be no salvation for them except through the destruction of the privileged class, which owned and controlled the industrial machine. And they were coming to realise that they had the power to destroy it.

Then came the War. Our friends the enemy made a serious miscalculation. They seem to have forgotten that even a war must end, and to have failed to take into account the tremendous reaction against them which must inevitably follow. Nevertheless, the owning, controlling and employing class did make one final effort to turn the War to lasting good account for themselves, even after it was over. Seven millions of the workers had been fooled or forced into the Navy or Army. For a time they had been taken out of the ranks of the industrial workers and used for another purpose. The vested interests thus saw a chance—their last chance after the War was over—of saving the system. They saw that if they could get these seven millions soldiers to organise themselves as a class apart, outside the ranks of all their fellow-workers, they would be able to use them as tools against the organised workers, would be able to play them off against Labour, and so to "divide and conquer" once again. The result was the formation of such organisations as the Comrades of the Great War and the Federation of Discharged Soldiers.

But very soon the mass of the ex-Service men began to see through the game. Very soon they came to recognise that, even if they did not organise in definitely and openly anti-Labour bodies, still they could be made use of quite as effectively by the Capitalists. It is not necessary for a body of men to be openly anti-Labour in order to play into the hands of the master class: it is quite sufficient if it declares itself merely non-Labour.

The National Union of Ex-Service Men is an organisation which is definitely pledged to the workers' movement. Although it is doing the ordinary work which all the other ex-Service men's organisations are doing—getting pension cases settled, pressing for better treatment for the disabled, and so forth—it does not, by any means, stop at that. It is not out merely for the amelioration of the condition of the ex-Service and other workers within the limits of the present system: it is out, quite frankly and quite uncompromisingly, to destroy the system itself. The members of the Union recognise that it is pure waste of time and energy for them to attempt to persuade the master-class to grant them various minor concessions. They are out for the *whole thing*. We of the Union do not aim at getting small concessions from this Government department or that—knowing that anything we might get them to give us with one hand they would at once be able to take back with the other. On the contrary, we recognise that in the destruction of the entire Capitalist system is the only hope of the ex-Service workers, as it is of all the other workers in the land. The Ex-Service Men's is therefore standing by Labour—though, in saying that, I do not mean that we are tied to the tails of the present "leaders" who do not lead, or that we are committed to using the present machinery which seems to have become obsolete and useless.

There are other sides to the activities of the Union. We are developing very strongly our international side. The National Union is affiliated to the International Bureau of ex-Service men's organ-

isations, and is to be represented at the forthcoming Conference of ex-soldiers' bodies in France, Germany, Austria, Italy and half-a-dozen other countries. At that Conference, the National Union is to move some resolutions which even readers of the *Dreadnought* may find somewhat startling.

At the present time, whilst this Union is increasing in membership, the so-called non-party ex-Service men's organisations are no longer growing: the great mass of the ex-Service workers are coming to their senses. They are coming to realise that they are workers—primarily and essentially workers; and that by organising outside the workers' movement they are simply playing into the hands of the master class. They are coming to realise that by allowing themselves to be beguiled into joining these so-called "independent" bodies of ex-Service men, they were merely allowing themselves to be used as tools by the militarists-capitalists. They are coming to understand that mere reforms in the present system are worth nothing, and that their only hope lies in the abolition of the whole system which is founded upon wage-slavery and Capitalist exploitation.

All enquiries regarding the National Union of Ex-Service Men should be addressed to the general secretary, Town Hall Chambers, Stratford, London, E.

**THE RANK AND FILE CONGRESS.**

(Continued from page 3.)

On a motion by Pendry (Bermondsey, Tool-makers), the convention declared for:—

"(a) Complete dictatorship of industrial conditions by those—the rank and file—who perform the industrial operations.

"(b) Complete subjection of all office-holders (large, small and in between) to the actual members of the rank and file of the working class.

"(c) Total destruction of the existing ineffective and worn-out Trade Union machinery, or the existing cloak of present-day scabbery, nick-named Trade Union Constitutionalism, to be substituted by the most efficient class-machinery, to be determined by the shop-steward movement proper, counteracting that narrow-minded Trade-Union-Society-Stewardism which, whilst trading as Shop Stewardism, is actually shop prostitution.

"(d) Destruction of representation based upon Society branches, or geographical areas, to be substituted by workshop representation, subject to twenty-four hours' recall, failing mandatory instructions."

**Social Soviets.**

On Friday afternoon, March 12th, delegates to the Rank and File Convention met at the International Socialist Club, in order to consider the best practical and immediate steps for giving effect to the Soviet resolution. As the result of a careful discussion, it was agreed that, while the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards' organisations, organising the workers industrially where they work, form the most vital method of industrial preparation for the coming revolutionary crisis, these bodies need to be supplemented by the organisation of revolutionists socially where they live.

The functions of this second type of organisation, that which organises revolutionists where they live, will above all be

(1) To group and concentrate revolutionary opinion, and to provide a field for the activities, not only of revolutionary industrial workers, but also of revolutionists who for one reason or another cannot directly share in the industrial struggle. This applies especially to women in the home, etc.;

(2) To collect local information as to food supply, transport, etc. This information will be essential to the workers in a revolutionary crisis;

(3) To propagate the soviet idea, and in every possible way to assist in the formation and development of Shop Stewards' Committees and Workers' Committees.

After a number of alternative proposals had been discussed, the name of *Social Soviet* was chosen.

Secretaries *pro tem.* were chosen representing all parts of England and Wales, and a general secretary was provisionally appointed. All those desirous to carry out the idea in their respective localities should communicate with this comrade:—

J. Thurgood,  
Station Approach,  
Ashford,  
Middlesex.

What our Scottish comrades term Social Committees are actively at work in many areas. There is good reason to hope that the Scottish Committees will link up with the kindred movement now started in England and Wales, and that the Social Committees will recognise the advisability of changing their name to Social Soviets.

**SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.**

**Miners Support Clerks.**

Cambria, Redivus! The strike notices of the clerks employed by the Cambrian Combine terminated on Friday last, 12th March. The decision to strike was arrived at owing to the refusal of the coal-owners to grade and pay their clerical staff correctly. The miners employed by the Company upon hearing the decision of the clerks, held pit-head meetings at the various collieries, and decided to down tools forthwith in sympathy with their fellow-workers.

Again we have an example of the rank-and-file consolidating their ranks, whilst the executives are miles behind, discussing the best method of doing what we have already accomplished. In all, well over 15,000 men are at present on strike.

**South Wales Conference on Nationalisation.**

At the adjourned conference of the S.W.M.F. held on the 8th inst., discussion opened on the supplementary agenda.

After guarantees had been demanded by the rank and file, and given by the Executive, that the question of nationalisation should not be allowed to interfere with the immediate pressing home of the demand for an increase in wages, the vote was taken, and resulted in an overwhelming majority in favour of direct action to secure nationalisation.

**Demand of £2 a week increase.**

As foretold in these columns the Executive was not prepared to support the demands of the left wing for an immediate increase of 7/- a day, but rather desired to go in for a much smaller uniform increase for the whole of the miners of Great Britain. Quite a large number of miners seem to have lost sight of the revolutionary possibilities that would be engendered by a strike of the South Wales miners, and for purely sentimental reasons were prepared to accept a lower increase that would cover the M.F.G.B. In spite of this fact, and of the whole weight of the Executive being used against it, it was decided by a majority to press forward the demand for an increase of £2 per week.

**Another Solidarity Strike.**

Upon the occasion of the recent Rhondda strike, the workmen at the Ynysifiso pits decided to allow all the craftsmen to work. The craftsmen therefore presented themselves for work on the Monday morning. One of these men, a fairly active member of the lodge, was refused work by the manager. A claim was therefore entered by the lodge for the payment by the manager of the turn lost by this individual. Three weeks having passed, and no result obtained by negotiations, the workmen held a pit head meeting on the morning of the 13th inst. and decided to down tools forthwith.

**Rhondda Demands Special Conference.**

At a meeting of miners in the Rhondda No. 1 District on Monday, 15th March, it was decided to bring pressure to bear on the South Wales Executive to force it to call a special conference of the South Wales coalfield to decide what action to take in view of the M.F.G.B. decision regarding the wages' increase. It was further decided to take no immediate action in support of the Cambrian miners who are still on strike, in view of the following facts:—

(1) The executive of the S.W.M.F. is to discuss the position on Monday, 15th March, and may decide that action be taken by the whole of South Wales, in which case work would automatically cease.

(2) The Colliery Clerks' Guild has itself decided to take action on Friday next failing a settlement of the clerk's grievances at the Cambrian.

**Why Has Smillie Resigned?**

Many strange rumours concerning the reported resignation of Mr. Smillie are being circulated in South Wales. The one most generally believed by the boys who are opposed to Smillie's moderate I.L.P.ism is as follows:—Bob, believing as he did in nationalisation, and here let me state that Smillie is credited with more honesty of purpose than any other I.L.P.er, held up all other legitimate demands of the miners hoping to make one great push for nationalisation. One mistake, however, he made, and that was to credit his colleagues with honesty, and upon finding for himself their baseness, the shock was a little too severe. If the foregoing is the true explanation then Mr. Smillie should come back a rabid revolutionary.

**No More Tram Chalking.**

It has long been customary for a collier to mark with chalk every tram of coal he fills. Not only did he mark it with his own particular number, but he also marked the total number of trams he had filled. Thus, the first tram Monday morning would be numbered 1, or if there were any number of trams filled by the collier on the previous Saturday, but not taken to the pit top, he would include those, and number his first tram for that week 2 or 3, as the case might be.

With the abolition of the checkweighers the need of keeping tally of the number of trams filled each week passed away, and, in consequence, a number of colliers in the pits where they have dispensed with the services of the checkweighers, have refused to "mark the middle number"

This action can only be judged as another step towards the complete abolition of piecework, and with it the need for chalking trams. In view of the expressed hostility of the management to this new step, interesting developments can be expected.

In regard to the men who refused to "race" their trams it was decided that those working on the minimum should be reimbursed by the Fed-

eration for loss of wages incurred through their non "racing" of the trams.

**An Advertising Stunt.**

A scheme to prevent profiteering is being very well placed before the South Wales miners. The idea seems to be to buy direct (through an agent) from the manufacturers. In theory this sounds good, but does not seem to work out so well in practice. Large decreases in the cost of goods are promised, but when one consults the price lists the amount of benefit, in the form of reduced prices, seems to have greatly diminished. One of the pioneers of the scheme has described it as "Bolshevism," but surely he cannot have been a subscriber to the *WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT*, or he would have known that Bolshevism is infinitely greater than any such pettifogging capitalist scheme.

**Watering the Stock.**

The "precarious and difficult" position of the South Wales coal-owners has been clearly illustrated this week by the reported decisions of two of the largest colliery companies in Wales. The Ocean Coal and Wilson's, Ltd., has decided that £2,000,000 of its reserve shall be capitalised, and distributed in the proportion of two £1 shares for every five £1 shares held. It has further decided to increase the share-capital to the tune of several million pounds.

To manifest the interest the company takes in the welfare of its employees, it was decided that 250,000 £1 shares should be issued only to employees, subject, of course, to the directors' approval of the workmen investing. If in a year's time the output and price of coal has not increased enough to pay as large a dividend upon the watered stock as has been paid upon the original capital, one can anticipate that columns upon columns of the gutter press will be filled with warnings of the impending bankruptcy of the coal industry, and on the general laziness of the miners! The Fernhill Collieries, Ltd., have also decided to capitalise reserves. The immediate amount to be £150,000, and this is to be distributed in the form of 8 per cent. cumulative participating preference shares of £1 each, to be distributed on the basis of 3 of the new shares to every holder of 2 ordinary shares.

**M.F.G.B. compromises on 18/.**

The M.F.G.B. Conference having only decided in favour of putting forward a demand for 18/- a week increase, the South Wales miners should see to it that a special conference is again called to pledge South Wales to fight for the larger increase, irrespective of what the M.F.G.B. may do. Many comrades have expressed disgust with a certain Labour daily that characterised the demands of the M.F.G.B. Conference as big, when they are actually less than half what South Wales has demanded.

**C. B. Acts for Swansea.**

Some of the good folk of Swansea and other parts of South Wales are greatly perturbed over the immorality of the girls in the neighbourhood of the docks. Special laws have been passed to check this and breaches of the said laws are being severely punished. The bigots who have been responsible for these "preventative" measures have evidently yet to learn that 90 per cent. of these cases are caused entirely through the economic situation of the people concerned.

To alter these things radically one must first destroy the driving force—economic necessity; and to do this it becomes necessary to destroy the present economic system.

**The M.F.G.B. and the Power of the Purse.**

It was further decided to instruct delegates to vote against paying increased contributions to the M.F.G.B. The Executive of the South Wales miners has lately developed the trick of referring all revolutionary proposals to the M.F.G.B., knowing that body will kill them. The decision not to pay increased contributions may therefore be good because one condition of affiliation to the M.F.G.B. is that all districts shall pay the increased contributions. The S.W.M. Federation, being an organ through which the rank and file can fairly well express their opinions, is to-day far in advance of any other district. The M.F.G.B. is therefore retarding the progress of the South Wales miners. Welsh coal, being the main export coal, the South Wales miners are to-day in the fortunate position of being able to fight alone and to fight successfully.

**Cruelty to Children.**

The evils attendant upon the present system were clearly shown to Conference in the appeal for assistance from the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In Bolshevik Russia there is no need for appeals of this sort, the children being the first charge of the nation. Conference granted £75, making a total of £100 with the £25 previously granted by the Executive.

**Two Solutions for High Prices.**

The Lord Mayor of Cardiff has set himself to solve the problem of high prices. The solution, as expounded by his Worship, is as follows:—

- "Spend less, save more, work harder.
- "Stock our shops with goods.
- "Fill our ships with cargoes."
- This was the civic programme.
- As an alternative I should like to submit the following to the workers:—
- Demand more wages.
- Work less and thus smash the capitalist system.
- Control the means of production.
- This is the revolutionary programme.

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

When all other things are beginning to move several rungs up the ladder, it is interesting to note that the price of brains is coming down. Says Mr. Frederic Harrison, an old and rusty—pardon! trusty veteran of Labour's progress: "Neither I nor my family belong to the employer class; we are merely brain workers."

And the mere brain working of Mr. Frederic Harrison has produced something cheap and nasty, as perpend:—

You know—at least, your leaders know—that all Europe is on the edge of an awful smash, and may involve our country in its ruin. If universal nationalisation is to be secured at once, how do you propose to compensate Capitalists? You don't intend to plunder their property, as Lenin and Trotsky do, though a miner M.P. proposed so doing. How is the forthcoming Labour Budget going to find another £8,000,000? Is it to be more paper money, and the loaf to go up to 2s.? It will hurt you more than me.

Observe the delicate shudder of our friend Frederic at the mere mention of plunder, which he himself puts in type by itself. This is reserved solely for the poor Capitalists, or, as he puts it, "the employer class." The prospect of bread at 2s. the loaf won't hurt him as much as it hurts us, so there is no shuddering business at this point.

He does not mention the price of wool, or the price of cotton; he does not mention Bonar Law's shipping dividends, which Bonar told us he only accepted with a black look—and perhaps a Harrisonian shudder. Frederic has no bones left to shake when it comes to compensating the widows of miners who got blown to pieces or buried under debris in the depths, finding more plunder for the employer class. He doesn't feel a sudden sinking at the knees thinking of the seamen torpedoed and hoisted into eternity, earning more plunder of a different kind for Bonar Law and his friends. But to rob the poor, kind-hearted, wing-sprouting Capitalist—Oh! Boy, my hankercher.

"When we come to what is called Direct Action," proceeds Frederic, "that is terrorism—to pass from rotten economics to a dastardly crime." I hope, Henry, that makes you feel bad—especially after being clubbed and smashed by mounted police on Westminster Bridge. Why didn't you stop the Cossacks and explain to them in a Frederic Harrison tone of voice that terrorism is a dastardly crime? It would have soothed the police perhaps.

Plunder, terrorism. Big bogey words to frighten babies. And all about nationalisation. Where has Frederic been living to imagine that the workers care a rattlesnake's snarl whether the Capitalist gets compensated or not? The miners' economics are not so rotten as to imagine they believe in not only taking back their goods from the burglar, but giving him compensation. They will be able to reassure Frederic on this point, however. The Capitalists will be compensated with several kicks, which will be stronger than the Harrisonese language.

Nationalisation, pish! The leaders may believe in some such tosh, but the rank and file don't want the mines merely for the nation; they want the whole country, lock, stock and barrel, bag and baggage, and nothing less. The leaders know it, and they are trying to palm off their indecent rubbish, what time Liberty Leagues, Bogey boodlers, and Frederic Harrison scream in press and poster to divert energy from the real struggle. And it is with great rejoicing and extra heavy type that Fleet Street announces that Direct Action is dead, to the tune of Mr. Thomas' song, "It would inevitably mean bloodshed; political action has not yet failed."

Political action has not yet failed! "All through the last half-century," yelps Frederic, "I fought for shorter hours (a seven hour day)." He and his "comrades" worked "nobly, with lawful, moral and wise methods"—and the result is that the employers are howling for the abolition of the eight hour day, which the miners got by Direct Action—or "terrorism," as Frederic puts it.

Clynes echoes the Harrisonese language when he says: "Force, as it is now proposed to employ it, is not a British characteristic. It is a Prussian characteristic." Does he imagine the miners have an armoury of Lewis guns and Mills grenades in their hip pockets, or barrels full of mustard gas (special Dublin blend)?

But perhaps there is some point in it after all when he says that the adoption of Direct Action would indefinitely set back the possibility of a Labour Government. There goes 3,870,000 votes against Direct Action, and for a nice cushy job at Westminster.

## THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

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

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### LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Saturday, March 20th, Waterloo Road, near "Old Vic," 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker.  
7 p.m. Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.  
Sunday, March 21st, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.  
Friday, March 26th, Whitburn Road, Lewisham, 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.  
Saturday, March, 27th, Meetings in Hammersmith.

### INDOOR.

Sunday, March 21st, 20, Railway Street, 6.30 p.m. "At Home." (See advertisement.)  
Monday, March 22nd, 20, Railway Street, 7.30 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m., Reading Circle.  
Thursday, March 25th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Mark Starr. Seventh Lecture on Economics: "Modern Tendencies. Concentration of Power. Effects of Machinery. Scientific Management."

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.  
Sunday, March 21st, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder.  
Thursday, March 25th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Street, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.  
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.  
Tuesday, March 23rd, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Fix.  
EAST HAM LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.  
Tuesday, March 23rd, Old Public Offices, Wakefield Road, 8 p.m. Melvina Walker.

### POPLAR W.S.F. AT HOME,

AT  
20, RAILWAY STREET.

ON  
SUNDAY, MARCH 21st, at 6.30 p.m.

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Speeches by SYLVIA PANKHURST and MARK STARR.  
Members and Friends Welcome.

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(The Hobo Society.)

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28, EAST ROAD, CITY ROAD, N.

THURSDAY, MARCH 25th, 7.30 till 11 p.m.  
Programmes 2s., from Henderson's, 66, Charing Cross Road; Co-Op. Store, 86, Rochester Row, S.W., and at door.

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of the Founding of  
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