



Workers' Breadnought

Vol. VII.—No. 6.

SATURDAY, MAY 1st, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

A German Worker's View of the Counter Revolution.

[Extracts from an Esperanto letter dated March 28rd, 1920, by a German mechanic living in Altona, near Hamburg, translated by Mark Starr.]

The counter-revolution of March 18th did not surprise the revolutionary German workers. For a long time, step after step, the reactionaries under the protection of the Social Democratic Government prepared their movement. The former Imperial officers, to whom Noske had entrusted our young republic, influenced the soldiers against the Revolution and with bated breath against Bolshevism. Right well they had succeeded in frightening our bourgeoisie. One

a general strike to save the Republic. The workers were waiting for that hour. They had known that it would come and require their strength. The general strike was everywhere a great success. Kapp and Luttwitz were wholly unable to oppose that movement. All the railways, trams, mines, factories, generating stations, everything rested. The working-class showed to the world its great power. Even the capitalist press confessed it and demanded negotiations with the strikers. The dictatorship of the proletariat was felt by Kapp and his helpers. The barely-saved Noske-Bauer Government which several days before, had proclaimed a general strike and the arming of the workers, already began to fear this dictatorship. It feared to lose the ministerial posts. Immediately it directed the disarming of the workers and gave back the power to the reactionary officers. But the workers did not willingly put away their weapons. With enthusiasm they everywhere fought and yet are fighting for their ideal, the realisation of Socialism, which alone is able to save the international working-class from bondage.

In many towns they elected Workers' Councils, which would neither recognise the Government of Noske-Bauer or Kapp-Luttwitz. But alas! the traitors in several places had done their work. In Liepzig, Dresden, Halle, the neighbourhood of Berlin, and in other places, the Majority-Socialists (to-day more truly the Minority) conspired with the officers to save "democracy" (which means to them well-paid offices) and regrettably the workers were beaten. But joyfully I am able to inform you that in the coal district of Ruhr the mineworkers defeated the reactionary troops, dispersing and capturing them. The whole of the weapons, cannon, etc., are in their hands. Government rests with the Workers' Councils (Soviets) and they wait for other districts to do likewise. Many troops they have driven away into the so-called "occupied zone" of the English, who have captured them. The capitalists warmly desire the English army to occupy the Ruhr district to "liberate" it from Bolshevism. And truly this is what the German working-class fears: the invasion by French, English and Belgian troops of the about-to-be-founded German Soviet Republic.

[Then follows an enumeration of the German workers' demands, including the disarming of reactionaries and the arming of organised workers, punishment of recent Kapp-Luttwitz rebels, socialisation of the key industries, the land and the forests, improvements in food and work conditions, and friendly relations between all peoples.]

The discussion concerning the conditions of the forming of a new government still continue in Berlin. They cannot solve the problem without the agreement of the working-class. But we must expect sharp blows. The reactionaries will agree to none of our demands. The again collected regiments menace us. They will answer to the call.

We must demand from the working-classes of the Entente that they will not stab us in the back. The German reactionaries we know how to conquer, but we fear the foreign ones. What is the English working-class going to do? Will it stop in the background apathetic and indifferent? These grave questions and possibilities frighten us not a little, but they give to the capitalist the hope that they may crush

the German Communists as they did those of Hungary.

[What has happened since the above was written is an all too terrible confirmation of those fears. Allied capitalism has once more conquered, for the time being, the German Workers Revolution.]

A Ship Ice-Bound in the Kara Sea.

A ship ice-bound in the Kara Sea
With eighty souls on board,
Asked Lenin's aid to set her free,
And hew the frozen ford.
The Russians sent a rescue ship
That ploughed the frozen waste,
But pirates met her on the trip,
And brought her back in haste.
Red Russia asked the British lords
And pirates of the sea,
To cut the good ship's captive cords,
That both ships might be free.
An entombed ship in the Kara Sea
With eighty souls on board,
Asked Britain's aid to set her free,
And Britain sent—a sword.

ROMA MAYO.



To-day's Situation.

was able to read in the capitalist papers that the Revolution was the cause of our present misery and that the Independents had caused the defeat of the German armies. One read that the "German Bolsheviks" (the Independents and the Communists) imitating the Russian system, would increase the prevailing misery and terrorise the peaceful middle-class. By these means they prepared, or at least attempted to prepare, public opinion. The failure of the sham Socialist Government and the brutality of Noske towards every progressive and his servility to the reactionary officers made the greatest portion of the working-class hate the Majority-Socialist-Capitalist Government.

This situation the reactionaries thought to use for the Counter-Revolution. By the help of Noske and others, the whole proletariat had been disarmed, for they feared revolution more than reaction. With good hopes the reactionaries started their plan. In the night of March 12th-18th, the "loyal" troops from the camp of Doberitz marched on Berlin. The Berlin troops refused to fight, the Counter-revolutionary troops marched into Berlin without a battle, and the previous despicable Government could do nothing but repeat the running away of Wilhelm II., leaving their posts to Kapp and Co. The "beloved" troops and the "trustworthy" officers, who had so faithfully guarded the Government of Bauer and Noske against the revolutionary workers, now had turned their weapons against their friends.

In the hour of danger these former Socialists remembered the working-class, and called for



Parliamentary Action.

DEPORT DENIKIN.

Denikin is in London working with the Allied capitalists against the Workers' Revolution. Why not deport him as an undesirable alien?

STARVING IN BERMONDSEY.

A young man and woman died of starvation in Bermondsey. The woman gave birth to a still-born child the day before. The man was unemployed. The Board of Guardians had refused to help them, according to the capitalist law. Let us abolish capitalism and its laws.

Under Communism there will be no poverty and unemployment, no rent. Food and necessaries will be free. All will live at an equal economic level.

ROSA LUXEMBURG AND LEO YOGICHES.

From Personal Memories. By L. MARCHLEVSKI (Karski).

Continued.

The War broke out. From the first day Comrade Luxemburg began propaganda against it. She reckoned upon succeeding in uniting a chosen circle of German comrades to the common task. It appeared to her that the first thing necessary was a manifesto, to be signed by personalities popular with the workers, though few in number. Tyszka decided at once that nothing would come of this. Nevertheless, we went on to make the attempt with Rosa. But her invitation called together in her house for the discussion of this question only seven people all told, of whom only two were prominent party members, Mehring and Lentsch. The last promised at first to sign, but afterwards made excuses. The manifesto would only have been signed by Luxemburg, Zetkin and Mehring, which, of course, was unthinkable, and the plan had to be given up. A reader not initiated in German affairs would perhaps ask: "And Liebknecht?" Unfortunately, Liebknecht was still then hesitant, and only some months later resolved to take up the fight against the War.

They saw themselves compelled to decide on a secret activity. Only very few were prepared for this. The circle which devoted themselves to this work consisted of Comrades Luxemburg, Tyszka, Mehring, the married couple, Duncker, Ernst Meyer, Wilhelm Pick, Eberlein, Lange and myself—these were, I think, all. On the "technical" side, Mathilde Jakob and Comrade Jeserskaja helped us. The situation was not very promising; we had at our disposal neither money nor party apparatus, and, moreover, the German comrades did not possess the slightest habit of conspiracy. Still, the thing went forward. Tyszka and Meyer undertook to look after the printing side. Pick, Eberlein and Lange gave us the possibility, through their connections, of distributing literature, but soon it was Tyszka, in the main, who had to accomplish the first and second task. In this way we were able to publish a number of leaflets against the War. Besides, we determined on the publication of a legal journal, *Die Internationale*, but it was at once suppressed after the first number. In February, 1915, the sentence against Rosa Luxemburg was confirmed in the highest Court, and she was put in prison for a year. But she managed, principally through her active and boundlessly devoted friend, Mathilde Jakob, to write leaflets, and a pamphlet under the name of *The Crisis of Social Democracy*, and to get them to us.

She insisted on the pamphlet being published under her name, but we knew that in that case the House of Correction threatened, and we protected her from this. The pamphlet was signed with the pseudonym "Junius."

The time passed, and Rosa appeared again among us. Now, too, Liebknecht was with us, and our activity went on on a large scale. But soon, in June, 1916, Rosa Luxemburg was again "for administrative reasons" put into custody. I, too, then sat in a concentration camp, but I know that Rosa Luxemburg at this time also wrote articles for leaflets, which appeared under the title of *Spartacus Letters*, and I know, further, that the printing and the distribution of these leaflets during that time were, chiefly through the indefatigable energy of Jogiches, excellently organised. In virtue of his extraordinary knack in conspiracy, the German authorities could not succeed in arresting him, and this in spite of the fact that his activity extended over pretty wide circles, and he had to visit numerous meetings, owing to the arrest or absence at the front of nearly all the experienced members of the Spartacus group. The police thus well knew that a mysterious foreigner stood at the head of the group. In the spring of 1918, however, Jogiches was arrested. The efforts which Comrade Joffe made for his liberation had no success, as Jogiches counted as a Swiss citizen (he had, in fact, as early as the year 1896 become naturalised in one of the Cantons, and had lived of late in Berlin under a genuine Swiss passport).

To see Rosa Luxemburg again was never granted me. I arrived in Berlin from Moscow three days after the catastrophe. But the accounts of sharers in the revolutionary fight confirmed what I never doubted, that she, with Karl Liebknecht, was the leading spirit in the Spartacus movement. Her inseparable collaborator in this time also was Jogiches. I met him at work. He had been arrested in the days of the January rising, but had known how to get himself free, and had at once returned to work. The thing was now to concentrate the scattered forces, to form a Central Committee of Spartacus-Communists, and to build up the organisation anew.

Jogiches showed himself here, quite in his element; thanks to his energies, the work was again taken up almost immediately after the catastrophe. In March, his evil destiny overtook him: during the March rising of the Communists he was arrested, and in prison grimly murdered.

COUNTER REVOLUTIONARIES ROB CHURCH.

Sailors arriving in Liverpool on an icebreaker from Archangel report that when the officers and generals of the White Army found that the Army of Yudenitch had vanished before the approaching Reds, they immediately prepared for flight.

Before doing so, they made a systematic search of the houses of peasants and workers, and confiscated everything of value. Peasants and workers who offered any opposition were shot.

The Whites also made a tour of all the churches and stole all the gold vessels and valuable sacred objects they could lay hands on. The loot was then placed on board the icebreaker, the golden ornaments being melted down in order that they might not be recognisable.

A crew was then forced on board under guard of officers with fixed bayonets.

When the icebreaker had left Archangel the workers and peasants fitted out another vessel and went in pursuit to capture it, but the Whites opened fire and the peasants, having neither arms nor ammunition, retired.

The workers then wired from Archangel to Holland, asking the authorities to stop the White ship and recover the stolen goods. The Dutch refused to allow the Whites to land. They proceeded to Norway and thence to Denmark, but both countries turned them away. In Sweden they were allowed to sell the gold and valuables, but not to land.

Eventually they reached Liverpool about eleven days ago. Great Britain has given asylum to the robber counter-revolutionaries. The crew is confined to the ship in order that no information may leak out, but they have managed to send us this account of the icebreaker's strange voyage, and ask us to convey it to British workers in order that they may know what is being done in their name.

ITALIAN PREMIER APPEALS.

Things are moving revolutionwards in Italy. There has been serious fighting in Turin, the storm centre of the revolutionary movement. The great Socialist Party is confessedly out for revolution and has declared that Parliament is no longer to be used by Socialists as a means of securing reforms, but merely as a platform from which revolutionary Socialism may be preached.

The Reformists amongst the Socialist Members of Parliament, led by Turati, Treves, and Modigliani, oppose this doctrine, and have tried to force on the Socialist Party an elaborate programme of reforms. At a recent sitting of the Socialist Parliamentary group discussed a resolution on future Parliamentary policy submitted to it by the joint meeting of the Directing Committee of the Italian Socialist Party and the Directing Committee of the Parliamentary Group held at the beginning of March last.

The *Avanti* reports:—

"The Moderate Party in the Parliamentary Committee attempted to impose an extensive reformist programme on the Group as its future Parliamentary policy, embracing measures dealing with the Peace Treaty, international policy, national and international finance, internal reconstruction, labour and agricultural improvements, disarmament, nationalisation and Socialisation, housing national insurance, education, etc. This programme was vigorously opposed by the revolutionary element in the Group and by the unanimous Direction of the Socialist

Party as tending infallibly to collaboration and even coalition with the bourgeois parties in Parliament. In its place an alternative resolution was proposed and adopted, which first asserted that the main lines of action adopted by the Parliamentary Group must be controlled by the Party Direction, who constituted the interpreters of the will of the Socialist Party as expressed at the Bologna Conference in October, 1918. The Bologna Conference asserted that the action of the Parliamentary Group must be the counterpart of the extra-Parliamentary, i.e., revolutionary, industrial, action of the Socialist Party. It was to be one of destructive criticism and aloofness, conducing to Parliamentary and political crisis, and the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy and Parliamentary institutions. Parliament was also to be considered as a national forum for Communist propaganda. This policy was accepted by the Parliamentary Committee, and on March 22nd submitted to the Group, by whom it was accepted with the barest majority. 86 deputies voted in favour of a motion supporting the policy, 85 voted in favour of an alternative motion proposing a programme of Parliamentary reform. There were 6 abstentions, and of a total of 156, 78 members of the Socialist Parliamentary Group were absent from this important discussion.

"The Reformist Party in the Group is very strong, led by old and experienced Parliamentarians such as Turati, Treves and Modigliani. The critical condition of Italian politics—where the Government boasts the barest majority, and can only continue with the goodwill of its opponents—is a severe temptation for the opportunists. This group is well organised and well led. The revolutionary group, if somewhat stronger numerically, possesses less Parliamentary ability, less force, and is not so well organised. It possesses no outstanding leaders, and, perhaps mistakenly, is inclined to regret it. It makes up in enthusiasm for what it lacks in individual ability, and its strength lies in the fact that it expresses, and has the support of, the Italian masses. Its policy harmonises with the swiftly moving events of Italian proletarian life, which is inclined to relegate reformism to the past and to resort to revolutionary direct action, and to the approaching crisis in Italian politics and industry.

"There is a third party in the Parliamentary Group, consisting, as will be seen, of nearly half the deputies, who are neither one thing nor the other. Fiery revolutionaries at election time, individualists and pacifists afterwards, ignoring both the discipline and policy of the Group.

"A crisis is not unlikely. It is possible that the reformist element will rebel against its own Committee and against the Direction of the Socialist Party. The principle of the Party is solidarity. It attempts to unite all elements of Socialist thought, and resists exclusionist suggestions. Whether this policy can survive a crisis remains to be seen."

The Italian Prime Minister, Nitti, has appealed to the Socialists to help the Government in maintaining order should it be necessary to reduce the bread ration and increase the price.

Treves replied that the tragedy of the situation was that Capitalism was not able to maintain its own, whilst the Socialists did not consider the time ripe to introduce theirs.

The revolutionary Socialists, however, consider the time to be fully ripe. In that difference of opinion lies the difference between the Socialists and Reformists. We shall probably see the Treves Group supporting the Government when the crash comes.

W.S.F. ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

It has been decided to postpone the Annual Conference till the last week-end in June, in the hope that by then it will be possible to place before the membership definite results of the unity negotiations.

WAR WITH MEXICO.

If you want to do your bit to help prevent this next blood-orgy send 2 dollars, American money, for a year's subscription to *Gale's*, the only Radical magazine published in English in Mexico, and read Linn A. E. Gale's brilliant and informing articles on the conspiracy of the American petroleum kings to cause intervention, the growing labour organisations of Mexico, and the rise of the new Communist Party of Mexico.

Remit by bank draft or money order, GALE'S, Box 518, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico. [ADVT.]

SCOTTISH MINING NOTES.

A few months ago, the prominent, statesmanlike officials of the British Miner's Federation asserted positively that they had in their possession a "strategic policy." They considered this assertion a sufficient answer to the criticisms of extremists in their Union. The operation of this "strategic policy" was to result in the creation of a more substantial New World than that promised by another member of the tribe of modern statesmen, who claimed to possess a "Coalition policy." But these policies have much more in common than the fact of their being under the care of statesmen. Another similarity is their aggravation of the evils they were supposed to be certain to cure: Radicals become Coalitionists, Revolutionists become Strategists, the sword of Damocles hanging over the Kaiser and Private Ownership is sheathed in a Paisley shawl, and the Old World housing scandal becomes the New World scandalous housing.

Of course, the two policies do not give exactly similar results; so much is readily granted to the protesting "strategists." The "strategic policy" originated in more statesmanlike brains than did the "Coalition policy." The Coalitionists intended to create divisions in the ranks of the workers, but, owing to ruling-class ignorance of the social forces and to badly-timed attacks on the intelligence of the workers, the result of ruling-class anti-Bolshevik efforts is a tendency towards, not the confusion, but the fusion of the workers.

The superiority of the strategy of the "strategists," and the tactics of the working-class anti-Bolsheviks is shown in the beating up of working-class interest in mythical increases of wages at a time when our rulers do not desire that working-class attention shall be directed towards the efforts being made to crush the workers in other countries, where the masses are making a big effort to secure a real increase in the amount of necessities and luxuries of life allotted to them under capitalism. Thanks to the superhuman labour of super-Socialist super-men, the period has now gone in which the bosses could set one class against another class of workers; no more will the hack journalists get occasion to prostitute their pens in pretending to prove in the popular penny press that is now the miners' "increase," now the railwaymen's "increase," now the transport workers' "increase" in wages that has caused the latest increase in prices. At the same time, gone seems the dangerous tendency of the workers, so pronounced at the close of the Great War, to act together.

The masses were eager to have general strikes at times when such a strike would have killed capitalism, and so have "saved the children" without a fund; but "strategy" said, "Swankey Commission," and Swankey it was. The railwaymen were on strike, but "strategy" did not desire a sectional strike, so the miners and transport workers were forbidden to leave work; beside, Thomas and Cramp had not consulted Smillie and Williams!

The dukes were severely handled by "strategy" during the Swankey Commission, and the Budget faithfully reflects the results of royalty revelations.

Mr. Frank Hodges says, in the course of a free advertisement he writes for a "literary weekly," that this capitalist world is a "particularly dry and sterile world"; presumably any made bearable by a perusal of the "weekly" referred to; but I suggest that a perusal of "strategy" as practised by miners' statesmen, should show him why the eyes of Thomas were wet and the "strategic policy" sterile.

Geddes, no matter how much he may shine in other spheres, will always be remembered as a great expert in the wise use of figures. But a greater than Geddes has arisen. Hodges can out-arithmetic the great arithmetician. The reputation of Hodges leads many workers—especially when disguised as delegates—to renounce their reason when he lets figures fall from him. Some of the Scottish delegates plaintively whine: "We would have supported the South Wales demand, but Mr. Frank Hodges told us that the cost of the production and distribution of coal was 14d. per ton more than the selling price in this country. If anyone but Mr. Frank Hodges had uttered this the delegates would not have believed it!"

At the same Conference Hodges also told the delegates that four-fifths of the coal produced in this country was burnt in this country. 200 million tons of coal are consumed in this country! Four-fifths of this 200 million tons are unscientifically wasted. But what the country needs is "increased production of coal." The miners must therefore be content with a lower standard of life. Between the "directive ability" of the bosses and the "strategic ability" of the Labour leaders, the millennium has certainly arrived!

Most of the members of the Mid and East Lothian Miners' Association received their first intimation of the financial condition of their Union from the local capitalist papers, published on March 31st. The balance sheet has printed across it, the words, "Private, for members only"; but perhaps the local reporters are members of the Miners' Union. Of course, the members of the Executive, in thus cunningly and economically utilising the masters' press for Trade Union purposes, are giving proof of how very wily they can be, at times.

According to this report, the total expenditure was £14,148; the income from contributions was £13,245; thus leaving a deficit on the year's working of £903. A deficit of £903 on a year's transactions in these profiteering days would be a matter for serious consideration in any business managed by the ordinary run of managers, but this "Union" is managed by persons who are cute enough to get the "company report" published without paying advertisement rates. This business is run by shrewd bodies, who, instead

of keeping their strike fund—that which Trade Unionist consider their munitions of war—ready for use, have entrusted it to those persons whom strikers fight. The payment received for giving up their arms would make good a substantial deficit. The deficit would have been much larger if the members had not voluntarily contributed 1/- per week during a local strike, which was lost after being protracted in the usual style over a period of three months.

£14,148 expended and nothing gained; the Union has not even been able to prevent members from being victimised, nor has it been able to secure the County wage for all its members, and it has failed to arouse the interest of even a small percentage of the members in union affairs. Certainly, the "union" has, a part of the great powerful B.M.F., won from the bosses a few substantial "rises"—which will not buy anything, and the union has, as apart of the S.M.W., reduced the working-hours of "firemen" from eight hours to seven hours 38 minutes, though the reduced hours are not in operation yet. The agents are very much concerned about the apathy of the rank and file, but they are not in favour of "wasting money" on printing agendas with explanatory notes to be distributed to the members in the hope of arousing their interest. The agents have lost all hope of getting the members to awaken. This is not to be wondered at when one recognises that the agents have the best of working conditions and they are apathetic, so what hope can there be of arousing the members who have the worst possible working conditions?

R.S.

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

By R.P.

The Wages Question.

Now that the National movement for an increase in wages has ended, the South Walian is again considering the best method of gaining a living wage. Two policies are open. The first is to claim the application of the Conciliation Board agreement of 1915. This, if the present volume and price of export coal were maintained, would entitle the South Wales miners to a substantial increase in wages. Owing to the fact that the Government would be in a position to juggle with the exports of coal and that to bring about the application of this agreement the Left Wing would have to stump the miners on the principle of an increase in wages based upon the selling price of coal, this policy may be disregarded.

The second policy is to demand an increase in wages, on the grounds of maintaining and bettering the pre-war standard of living. This demand, should, of course, be made in consonance with agreed policy of South Wales—an equal flat rate increase of wages. This would arouse the enthusiasm of the lower paid workers, who, generally speaking, are the most reactionary section of the miners. Further, it would reduce the colliers incentive to work, whilst any increase under the Conciliation Board, would be on a percentage basis and would, of course, increase the incentive to production of the colliers and other pieceworkers.

Comrades should keep these points well in view, for, owing to the great shout by the executive as to the amount of money due to South Wales under the Conciliation Board Agreement, it can be taken for granted that every effort will be made by them to force our demands through that channel.

With the increase in the price of commodities that has taken place during the last few weeks, it would seem advisable if the new demands would be for a £2 a week increase, irrespective of the increase recently granted nationally.

Unfortunately, certain unforeseen circumstances have cropped up which will prevent the publication of the rank and file journal that was to have made its bow to an eager public on May day.

The difficulties, we are given to understand, are not altogether unconnected with finance. The promoters of the scheme are, however, too enthusiastic to allow this to be more than a temporary barrier.

Rhondda Teachers.

No agreement has yet been arrived at in the dispute between the Rhondda District Council and the teachers employed by that body. The manner in which the Council has treated the teachers can only be regarded as deplorable, especially in view of the fact that the Labour members are in a large majority on the Council. Not only have they refused to meet the teachers in conference, but they have also appealed to the Lord Mayor of Cardiff to call a conference of all local bodies to discuss ways and means of setting up Whitley Councils for the teachers of South Wales. Owing to the fact that the teachers are breaking the settlement made by their executive, in accordance with the Burnham report, the strike movement will have to be locally maintained. Only 80 teachers, therefore, will strike. These said teachers are all employed in one ward, and all the principal schools of the Rhondda are situated in that ward. The other teachers are at present paying 1/- per week levy, to create a strike fund, and now that the strike notices are becoming effective, there is every possibility of this levy being increased to ensure that those teachers whose duty it is to bear the brunt of the fight shall suffer no financial loss as a consequence thereof. Fortunately, amongst the so-called representatives of Labour on the Council there is a small body of people, seven in number, and led by Mr. A. J. Cook, miners' agent, who have pledged themselves to do what every decent Trade Unionist should do, and support the teachers, even if it means resigning to give the electorate an opportunity to judge the merits of the case.

Vernon Hartshorn's Policy.

There are quite a considerable number of people in the coalfield who believe that Vernon Hartshorn, M.P., has a tendency to the left. His article in the *South Wales Echo* of April 24th, should certainly dispel any such notion. Not only does he profess holy horror of the extreme element who talk of revolution, but he also appears to be extremely anxious that nothing shall be done to alarm the "intellectuals" in the universities and elsewhere, of the Lord Haldane type. Great care should be taken to prove to these people that the Labour Party is composed of sane and sober men. He therefore goes on to state that if the nationalisation of the mining industry is brought about in a decade, the present generation of Labour leaders will have been well repaid.

So antagonistic to the Communist policy are leaders like Hartshorn that one almost wonders why all the capitalists do not join the Labour Party. Nowhere else could a body of people be found who would protect the capitalist interest more devotedly than these men of the Labour caucus, who boast that they are "responsible Labour leaders."

What will Frank Hodges say?

On May Day Frank Hodges is to address two meetings in the Rhondda. In view of the fact that one of the points in the resolutions drawn up by the South Wales Executive, to be submitted to every meeting held under its auspices, has relation to the de-control of the mining industry, his speeches should be full of interest. De-control would mean that the profit on the export of South Wales' coal, that is now used to subsidise the British manufacturers, would find its way to the South Wales coalowners. This position would then open the possibilities of the South Wales miners demanding and obtaining a large increase in wages. Knowing that the control of mines is merely a prop to the tottering capitalist system, the South Wales miners are pressing forward the demand for de-control. This is likely to have another effect also. As I have pointed out in a previous article, it may cause a temporary break away of South Wales from the M.F.G.B.

Hence then Mr. Hodges' opinion upon this matter will be awaited with interest. His action during the recent wage demands has not been entirely forgotten and may lead to interesting incidents.

Progress in Ogmore Vale.

Reports to hand indicate that the spirit of progress is making its presence felt in the Ogmore Vale. An organisation founded upon the right basis—the class struggle—is in process of development there. Untiring energy, coupled with a revolutionary outlook, will inevitably bear fruit, and every reader of the *Dreadnought* will join in congratulating the comrades who are initiating the movement in a Valley that has hitherto been largely reactionary.

To avoid any withdrawal or postponement of the strike notices that have been handed in in support of the Nine Mile Point men, the Unofficial Conference, that met at Porth on April 24th, instructed all delegates present to urge upon the rank and file the need of forcing a special Conference to consider the position. The Executive Committee cannot be accused of being enthusiastic for a strike, and, owing to the fine spirit of independence shown by the men in taking action without consulting their agent, are showing hostility and may compromise at the critical moment.

To stiffen the backs of the Executive and to reaffirm the strike decision, a conference will be demanded and in all possibility, conceded. In no event must the dignity of an agent be allowed to stand in the way of the progress of the rank and file and every member of the Federation should see to it that the men at Nine Mile Point are not further betrayed.

The large number of delegates who were present at the Unofficial Conference augurs well for the future. Nearly every district in South Wales was represented and one can quite conceive of the time coming in the very near future when there will be as many delegates present at the Unofficial as at the Official Conferences. What is of more importance still, possibly, is the great interest taken in the movement in the English and Scottish mining areas. On several important questions affecting miners, the progressive lights in the other areas are looking to the South Wales Unofficial Committee for a lead. Amongst the questions discussed was the present low rate of compensation. A great agitation is to be set on foot for an increase in the compensation rates that will guarantee to an injured man not less that he was earning when fully employed. The same demand is also to be put forward for the widow or dependant of a man who has been killed. These demands are long overdue. The amount paid at present as compensation is a disgrace to a powerful organisation like the miners', who appear, up to now, to have forgotten the worst-treated of all—the ill-paid industrial victims.

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RENEWED WAR WITH RUSSIA.

When the announcement was first made that the Allied Supreme Council had agreed "to permit" trade with Russia through the medium of the Russian Co-operatives, we warned our readers not to trust to the good faith of the British Government and the alliance of capitalist governments to which it belongs.

How necessary was our warning has since been all too fully proved, and every day shows with yet more terrible clearness that there will be no peace with Soviet Russia, no peace with any Communist republic, whilst capitalism rules the powerful nations of the world.

On April 21st Bonar Law admitted in the House of Commons that there have been neither exports nor imports from Soviet Russia as a result of the Supreme Council's "permission" to trade. The negotiations which are supposed to be carried on with a view to trading, but are in reality a fencing match to discover some weakness in the armour of Soviet Russia, are still going on.

When the announcement was made that trade would be opened up with Russia a great "Hands off Russia" agitation was in full swing and it seemed that the workers of this country were gradually uniting in the resolve to down tools on Soviet Russia's behalf.

The beginning of the Russian intervention was viewed by the Labour Movement of this country with utmost apathy. Labour Party representatives were in the Coalition Government at the time, and they joined in hushing up the scandalous proceedings. Kerensky, when he came to ask Allied Capitalism to overthrow Russian Communism, was introduced by Arthur Henderson to the Labour Party Conference in June, 1918. So ignorant were the delegates of the Russian situation that a very storm of cheering greeted the traitor Kerensky.

In June, 1919, the Labour Party Conference, at last waking to the truth, called for a general strike to stop the attack on Soviet Russia, but the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee refused to act and the Labour Party Executive, glad of the excuse to do nothing, allowed the matter to drift.

At the Glasgow Trade Union Congress in September, 1919, the Parliamentary Committee was censured by the delegates for refusing to call a special Congress to discuss the anti-intervention general strike.

A special Trade Union Congress was called for this purpose in December, but the announcement of the Allied Governments' sham proposal that there should be trade with the Russian Co-operatives, and the industriously circulated fable that peace was about to be concluded, made it easy to side track the effort to secure decisive action. The matter was postponed, and at the adjourned Congress in March the question of Russia was not even put on the agenda, and still the story that peace was coming was widely circulated and widely believed. It was pretended in those days that the British Government would interfere no more in Russian affairs, and that a further £15,000,000, to be granted to General Denikin, was the last British money that would be thrown away in supporting Russian re-action.

And now?

Now every day reveals that the British Government is still fighting Soviet Russia.

The British Navy is still bombarding Russian towns and villages in the Black Sea.

Denikin has arrived in this country, and was met on his arrival in London by a representative of the British War Office. On April 20th Winston Churchill told the House of Com-

mons that the functions of the British Military Mission in the Crimea are "to assist in the re-organisation of the Army lately under General Denikin and to keep the new Commander-in-Chief, General Wrangel, informed as to the negotiations which are being prosecuted through the British Foreign Office. Churchill pretended that the British are only engaged in preventing a massacre of the counter-revolutionaries, but everyone knows that the lives of the counter-revolutionaries will be perfectly safe if they will cease to fight.

It was further admitted by Sir J. Craig, on behalf of the War Office, that the British Government has paid for transporting Denikin's army from Novorossisk to the Crimea, and that the British Government has authorised certain supplies of coal to the anti-Bolshevik forces."

On April 22nd, Bonar Law, in reply to questions, stated that the British Government had paid £50,000 to the Russian Red Cross for relief of anti-Bolshevik refugees, and that the British High Commissioner at Constantinople had been authorised to spend £10,000 for the same purpose.

The £26,000,000 which Parliament granted last week for overseas credits will largely be expended in bolstering up small states in opposition to communist Russia.

JAPAN'S WAR ON SOVIET RUSSIA.

On April 21st, it was announced that Japan had declared war on Soviet Russia, and that America had granted Japan a free hand in Siberia. (Probably this in exchange for a promise to give a free hand in Mexico). In the British House of Commons, the Government has been questioned many times regarding the seizure of Vladivostok by Japan, but as Bonar Law hitherto pretended to have no information on the subject, the report that there have been 3,000 Japanese casualties in the contest with the Soviet forces, indicates that the fighting is on a considerable scale.

The Peace negotiations between Poland and Russia, which at one time seemed so promising, have broken down. French officers are with the Polish Army, Britain lends Poland financial aid to keep her in the field, and America is sending munitions to Poland with six year's credit, and free transport.

The negotiations between Russia and Finland have also collapsed. Only with Italy do any peaceful negotiations seem to make progress and in Italy also the influence of British capital will also make itself felt against the Soviets. But Italy herself trembles upon the verge of revolution.

LABOUR DELEGATION TO RUSSIA.

We hope very little from the Labour and I.L.P. delegations of inquiry to Russia.

Not one member of the delegations has taken a strong stand on behalf of Soviet Russia, hitherto though Robert Williams has given the Soviets some verbal support and quite lately, Clifford Allen has desired the I.L.P. to negotiate, but not yet to affiliate with Moscow. Margaret Bondfield is not yet far enough advanced to understand that the League of Nations is a capitalist machinery opposed to Socialism and the emancipation of the working-class. Ethel Snowden has repeatedly declared against the Soviet Revolution. Some of the delegation are really dangerous people, and will only use the fact that they have been to Soviet Russia in the interests of the International Counter-revolution.

THE RUSSIAN CO-OPERATORS REPORT

It was to be expected that the deputation of Russian Co-operators would report against Soviet Russia, and the Soviet Government, knowing the Counter-Revolutionary nature of the "White" Russian co-operators in London, no doubt took precautions to limit the opportunities of these people for plotting and intrigue. The Co-operative delegates complain that they were "isolated from the outside world" and brought under guard to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, where they were kept in isolation. They say they were always attended by two employees of the Commissariat "on whom the duty was laid to be always with the delegates and not to permit their being visited by any persons, except those who had the special permission of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs."

We see no reason to object to such treatment

of the delegates, who went to Soviet Russia as enemies. We know that those who criticise the Workers' Republic, for taking such precautions, would demand them if persons from nations at war with their own country were allowed to visit it during war time.

It is interesting to observe, that having complained of the isolation and constant supervision under which they were kept, these Russian Co-operators proceed to give a report on Russian conditions which they certainly would not have got from visitors approved by the Soviet Government under a censorship such as they describe.

Either the Russian Co-operators have misinformed the public as to their isolated and prisoner-like situation in Russia, or their report on Russian conditions has been manufactured in Britain.

They say that they have obtained opinions "from varied and wide circles of public men" Where did they gather those opinions?

Their report is certainly deliberately coloured by strong political prejudices. Nevertheless, even from their biased story emerge statements which reveal a most healthy growth of Communism in Russia, thus:—

The whole country is in the power of the Communist Party, which continues to carry through measures according to the Programme of the Communist Party. "The former privately owned estates are deserted, although on some of them have been organised the so-called Soviet farms.

"The small industry is under the control of the provincial and district Economic Councils."

The part of the Report dealing with the Co-operatives, which we take from the *Times*, is as follows:—

The actual position of the Co-operative movement is as follows:—The whole country is covered with a network of co-operative unions and consumers' stores. There is not a single village without its consumers' society, especially in Central Russia. By the decree of March 20th, 1919, the consumers' co-operative societies were compulsorily combined into one single co-operative organisation, and amalgamation has been carried through of the workers' co-operative societies with the ordinary co-operative societies. The following are the special provisions of the decree:—

1. Every adult person is obliged to be a registered member of a consumers' co-operative society.

2. The sharp basis of the societies has been abolished, and operations are carried on by means of advances received from the people.

3. The educational and cultural work is handed over to the Departments of National Education, and must be carried on at the expense of the latter according to their estimates and under their supervision and control.

4. The right of being elected and of taking part in the management is not enjoyed by every one; the restrictions are the same as apply to Soviets under the constitution of the Republic.

On January 27th, 1920, a new decree, supplementary to the decree of March 20th, 1919, was issued relating to the co-operative organisations. Under this new decree, all the various separate forms of co-operative organisations, both local and central (credit societies, agricultural societies, producing "artels," and associations of the latter), are abolished and are compelled to amalgamate with the consumers' co-operative organisations, whilst their central organisations are compelled to join the Centro-sojus in the form of special sections of the latter. In order that this fusion of the various forms of co-operative organisations should be carried through with as little disturbance as possible, it is proposed to carry it into effect gradually...

Superficially and numerically, the co-operative organisations have increased very largely, but their quality has been lowered owing to their unnatural growth and to the influx of men, who, in spirit, are foreign to the co-operative movement. The Communist Party has made it a watchword and a duty for its members to enter into the very midst of the co-operative organisations and their work. These strange elements which have entered the co-operative movement are introducing into it the principle and methods of Soviet policy.

The elections of the boards of the co-operative organisations, which were held towards the end of 1919 and in the beginning of 1920, were carried out under great pressure from the local Soviet institutions, whose object was to ensure the predominance of Communists, with the open disregard of the articles of association of the societies, and even with instructions of the People's Commissary of Supply in regard to these elections.

There has been a struggle between the Co-operators and the Communists, the Co-operative Societies and the Soviets. That was inevitable, for co-operative trading after all, for though the shareholders may all be the effort made by the workers under capitalism, to escape, as far as they can, from the capitalists by entering into the field of capitalist trading on their own account. Those who have not assimilated the Communist ideology and cannot conceive of a world without capitalism, turn to co-operation as to capitalism shorn of its evils; but

co-operation cannot sheer away the evils of capitalism: are we not now daily expecting a strike of Co-operative employees, and have we not recently had an extensive lock-out of such workers?

We are surprised to find that George Lansbury so recently returned from Soviet Russia, should appear, in the *Herald*, to be taking the part of the Non-Socialist Russian Co-operators against Soviet Russia. He says:—

A deputation of Russian Co-operators from this country sent to Moscow has returned. Their treatment whilst in Russia was not of a very friendly character: this was due to the suspicion which has been created in the minds of the Soviet Government as to the *bona fides* of the Co-operators outside Russia, and their belief that the attempt to use Co-operative organisation as the channel for trade with Russia was a device to divide the Russian people from the Soviet Government. It is good to know that, in spite of this, the Russian Co-operative Society, as represented by Russians in this country, has now decided to do all in its power to re-establish the ordinary trade relations with that country.

The resolution which the Russian Co-operative Society has passed contains a number of sinister passages. It declares that:—

Russian Co-operation is at present deprived of the fundamental conditions of Co-operative development, viz., of the right of free election of the managing bodies and of freedom of action!

As is the case in the Soviet elections, no one who lives, or tries to live, on accumulated wealth, or the labour of others, is allowed to elect or be elected to the Russian Co-operative Committees.

"The grave situation of the Russian population, as well as economic interests of the whole world demand an unhampered trading relations between Russia and Western Europe, regardless of any political conditions:—

4. To recognise that, considering the present situation of Co-operation in Russia, Co-operative responsibility for the success of future trading relations and barter may be taken, parallel with the process of emancipating Co-operation and enabling it to work in that complex enterprise without being thwarted by obstacles or preconceived ideas from many quarters whatever, and that without an active assistance of Co-operation in that work, the objective conditions seem to preclude any considerable hopes to be entertained as regards the success of a large goods interchange with Russia.

Such phrases as that of "emancipating co-operation" show that the Russian Co-operators in London are not prepared to accept Communism and Soviet rule as a permanent state.

Remember that the Hungarians were induced to abandon the Soviets and to withdraw the Red Army on the promise that peace would be made with a Socialist Government on Parliamentary lines.

Lansbury adds:—

"Speaking solely for myself, I hope that those who are Co-operators and not politicians, whether in or out of Russia, will continue to press for recognition of the fact that international Co-operative trade is the only working-class method by which future wars may be prevented."

Then he goes on to talk about Co-operation in Plymouth where a bitter strike was fought with the Co-operative employers not long ago.

Co-operation within the capitalist system can never emancipate the workers, and those who try to forget the class war, only mislead themselves and others.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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TRADE UNIONS BALLOT BILL.

An agitation has been going on for some time to secure a Government, and, through the Government, a capitalist check on the freedom of the workers to take direct action.

A further stage in this agitation was marked by the passage of the second reading, in the House of Commons on April 23rd, of a Trade Union Ballot Bill, introduced by Mr. Arthur Michael Samuel, a Coalition Unionist. The second reading was carried by 83 votes to 77. The Government declared that it would leave the House free to vote as it pleased on the Bill, but the only Member of the Government who spoke on the Bill, Dr. MacNamara, Minister of Labour, gave it his support. Walter Long, First Lord of the Admiralty, and the only Cabinet Minister who voted in the division, voted for the Bill, as did the Postmaster-General, Albert Illingworth. On the other hand the Irish Attorney-General, Denis Henry, and four Government under-strappers, Frederick Guest, James Parker, Rev. J. Towyn Jones, and Sir William Sutherland voted against the Bill. The balance of Government favour, nevertheless, was heavily on the side of the Bill, and the fact that MacNamara and Long took the trouble to manifest their approval, shows clearly enough that we have not heard the last of this capitalist attempt to destroy the freedom of action of the workers' industrial organisations. When the Government acts, it will probably introduce a measure of its own. This private Members' Bill is a feeler to see how the proposal is accepted.

The measure declares itself to be:—

"A Bill to provide that when a ballot of trade union members is taken on questions relating to strikes, it shall be conducted by independent public officials, and under a system of secrecy."

"In any question relating to a proposal to stop work, or arising out of a stoppage of work," it is proposed that the ballot shall be taken under the supervision of a committee consisting of the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, the Secretary of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and one other person appointed by the Trade Union Congress at its annual general meeting. In addition, there are to be the President of the Board of Trade, the Minister of Labour, and the Registrar of Friendly Societies, who is to be the chairman of the committee.

Officials and other people who intimidate or threaten the voters, destroy ballot papers, or make fraudulent use of them may be sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Penalties are to be imposed on officials or persons concerned in the ballot should they disclose how any person voted.

The committee of seven "shall decide the most convenient arrangements for the prompt and efficient distribution of the ballot papers so that the day and hour when the ballot shall close shall not be less than seven, or more than 14 days after the issue of the ballot papers. The trade unions shall furnish the questions on which they wish to take a ballot when they give notice of their intention to take a ballot under the proposed Act.

The general secretary of the union taking a ballot shall supply the committee with a list of district or branch secretaries or other responsible officials of the union, who will act as returning officers, and will be paid out of public funds and act as independent public officials."

The ballot papers are to be supplied to the voters and returned by post to the committee. "This," said the mover of the Bill, "gives every opportunity of voting secretly to the supine trade unionist." It is the supine trade unionist, not the active class-conscious trade unionist, whose vote the capitalist desires to see recorded.

The ballot papers having been counted, they shall only be disclosed for the examination of the committee. Said Mr. Samuel: "Every possible precaution is adopted to render it impossible for any man to know how another man has voted."

Unused ballot papers are to be sent to the committee in order that no improper use may be made of them.

The Bill does not propose to make the use of this secret ballot machinery compulsory (not yet, at least). It leaves it open to the union to decide whether or not the machinery shall be put into operation; but if the union as a whole decides not to use it, any branch or district may apply for the application of the Bill in its own case.

The Bill is a private Members' Bill and cannot get into the Statute Book unless the Government come to its aid. Therefore a modest thin edge of the wedge attitude is adopted. If the Government take the matter up it will do so on compulsory lines.

Mr. Samuel said that the committee would not decide whether a ballot should be taken, but would only ensure that the ballot should be true and secret, and that the voters should cast a separate vote on each separate question; but is it possible to imagine such a committee arranging for a strike ballot in the event of the Government declaring the strike illegal, as the Government did when the E.T.U. proposed joining the 40 hours strike of February, 1919? Would this committee, with the Minister of Labour, the President of the Board of Trade, and Registrar of Friendly Societies upon it, make arrangements for a strike against which the Government had declared its intent to use "all the resources of the nation," and in the event of which the Government was making arrangements for a military blockade of the affected districts, as was done in prospect of a South Wales miners' strike?

Undoubtedly such a committee would refuse to take steps for the ballot where the Government declared strong opposition to a strike. On the other hand it would endeavour to use its position to weaken the workers' position.

As for the trade unionists on the committee; their plight would be indeed a hopeless one. President Wilson recently threatened some trade union officials with imprisonment unless their members returned to work, and pressure, both subtle and smooth-tongued, and ruthlessly blunt and threatening, would undoubtedly be brought to bear on the trade union officials who were foolish enough to join such a committee.

The promoters of the Bill asserted that in the taking of trade union ballots intimidation and coercion are practiced, that boys under age vote, and that adults can vote several times if they choose. William Brace (Lab.) moved the rejection of the Bill in a singularly weak speech. He complained it would irritate trade unions and that trade union leaders would consider they were "not trusted." He urged that the procedure would be costly, and the committee unable to draw up the ballot papers in a satisfactory way. He also said: "These words (may be) condemn the Bill. It will not work. The trade unions will not use this machinery. If I believed what the hon. Member who proposed and the hon. Member who seconded believe, I should have brought in a Bill making it imperative on trade unions. I should have compelled them to take a ballot under the auspices of Government officials."

Robert Young (Lab., A.S.E.) made similar criticisms and said:

"They evidently do not understand that if this thing is necessary to the nation all that is required is to make it compulsory through an amendment to the Trade Unions Act."

J. R. Clynes took a similar line; "I should have thought that this subject was important enough to cause the Government to have a definite opinion on it, and that we should have heard from the Minister of Labour, at least some few words of definite advice and guidance for Members in view of the terms of this Bill."

"I should have thought the mover would have had the courage of his convictions, and proposed a measure in terms which would have compelled the trade unions to do what he thinks is so essential for the industrial peace of the country."

The indications are that official labour would be disposed to accept without much protest a measure on these lines should the Government choose to take the matter up.

The efficient expert of a great Chicago firm pro the management of a capitalist government is obvious, but Mr. Brace and Mr. Clynes, as usual, repudiated the class war. Can it be that they desire the Government to share their responsibility in keeping the workers under control?

RED GERMANY AND LLOYD GEORGE

Lloyd George has now declared that he has not opposed military measures to force Germany to obey the Peace Treaty. He does not object to the French occupation of further German territory, whether it be by black troops or by white. He only objects to any handicap being placed on the German Government when it is fighting German Communist workers. As he himself has told a French journalist at San Remo:—

"I am only opposed to the use of armed force in a case when Germany finds herself compelled to send troops to a district for the restoration of order. When in 1871 the Commune broke out in Paris the Germans who were then in the vicinity of the French capital, proposed to Themis that they should assist him in restoring order. Themis wisely refused the offer.

"The present situation in the Ruhr is exactly analogous."

Lloyd George's reference to the Paris Commune is most helpful.

I.L.P. pacifists and ex-B.S.P. jingoes to-day express their admiration of the heroic French Communards because the revolutionary effort of the Commune took place a long time ago. No one need fear ostracism for approving it. Lloyd George, who is out to fight Socialism, in an open way, is not under the necessity of splitting hairs, and therefore admits that the French Communards who fought and died before the world was ripe for Socialism were making precisely the same fight in which the German Communists are engaged and in which the Russian Communists have achieved such remarkable successes.

Another rising of German Communist workers is likely to take place soon. It may be precipitated by another militarist coup. Will British workers permit Lloyd George's Government to continue its fight against the Workers' Revolution in Germany?

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Germany.

April 19th. Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (Lib.), asked whether the British Government's representative in Berlin had stated officially that food and raw material would be prevented from entering Germany in the event of a Communist government being set up.

Bonar Law replied that the statement was that "such possibility as might exist of help being afforded by way of food stuffs, raw materials, or credits could be destroyed by violent action from any quarter." Kenworthy asked why the statement was not made at the time of the Kapp-Luttwitz reactionary coup. Bonar Law replied: "It is not usual to make any statement of this kind. It is made now because there were rumours that another Ministry was to be formed."

Bonar Law does not want to be too explicit, but of course it is obvious that it is Communism that the British capitalist Government is out to attack.

April 20th. Kenworthy (Lib.), asked the Prime Minister whether he would deny the statement of Count Reventlow and others on the Continent, that certain British Government representatives promised to support the Kapp military coup, and when the Government will explain to Parliament its recent policy towards Germany.

Bonar Law said the reports in question were untrue, but governments habitually lie about foreign policy, and Lord Kilmarnock's statements at the time of the Kapp coup give the lie to Bonar Law. Law insisted that it is better not to discuss this question. W. Lunn (Lab.) asked whether the Government would lay before the League of Nations a proposal to prohibit the use of Black troops in Europe, and whether the British Government had protested against the use of black troops in Germany. Bonar Law replied "No" to both questions.

Germany to Pay for the War?

April 22nd. Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, admitted that he had made no calculations in his Budget for the payment of indemnities by Germany, and that he had estimated for the payment of the British Army of Occupation in Germany by the British people. Nevertheless, he believes that Germany will be "able to pay substantial contributions when she has settled down"; but Germany never will settle down until after the Workers' Revolution. Nevertheless, those British capitalists who have secured by the War opportunities to exploit the German Colonies, the Polish oil wells, and so on, consider that the War has not been fought in vain.

The British representatives on the Reparation Commission that is deciding how and what Germany shall pay, are Sir John Bradbury, G.C.B., and Sir Hugh Levick, K.B.E.

Bonar Law said steps are to be taken to prevent German War criminals taking refuge in Holland, though the Kaiser has done so. Colonel Lowther (C.U.), asked whether there is to be one law for the Hohenzollerns and another for ordinary War criminals. Kenworthy (Lib.), replied: "Of course there is!"

Russia.

April 19th. Harmsworth, Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office (C.L.), says that no Russians in Britain have been repatriated because the Soviet Government wishes to limit the number to be repatriated to 125 persons selected by the Russian Delegates' Committee, and the British Government refuses to agree to the condition.

The Russian Delegates' Committee tell us that this cannot be correct, since there are 250 political emigrants who wish to return to Russia, and many other Russian subjects who have applied to the Committee.

The Russian Trade Unionists Hoax.

W. Thorne (Lab.) drew attention to the fact that on December 5th four Russian Trade Unionists arrived here to spread information on the effect of Soviet rule on Russian Trade Unionism. The British High Commissioner at Omsk had promised them that they should be received by British Labour organisations. Nevertheless, they were taken first to the War Office, then to the Home Office, and handed over to the reactionary capitalist organisation called "The People's League," which took them about the country to meetings where reactionary speeches were made, which, knowing no English, they could not understand. The Russian Trade Unionists have been prejudiced by their association with the "People's League" and now they are left penniless. Mr. Shortt Home Secretary (C.U.), admitted that the Russians were allowed to come to England on the recommendation of the British authorities in Siberia, that they were given temporary accommodation in the War Office, that they were "assisted" by the "People's League," and that the Foreign Office is "providing for their maintenance" at present, and will either find them suitable work or help them to leave the country if they so desire.

These so-called Trade Unionists were the other day repudiating the "People's League" to which the Government turned them over, and declaring that they disapproved of the attacks on Labour made by the "People's League." Now the Trade Unionists are again in the pay of the Government. If they are free agents they must be very dishonest fellows.

Only after three months, has the British Government at last acceded to the appeals of the Norwegian and Russian Soviet Governments to send to the relief of 80 starving people, icebound on the Russian

ice-breaker, Solovoi. Budimrovitch, the ice-breaker, Cosma Minim, held in a British port, and the only existing ship fit for the difficult task.

The British Government is very keen on rescuing Russians, but only from the Communists!

April 22nd. Bonar Law said that the Soviet Government has not agreed to receive the Commissions proposed to be sent to Russia by the Council of the League of Nations and the Labour section of the League and that the United States refused to be associated with the Commissions.

Ireland.

April 19th. Bonar Law said that the following statement was read to Irish hunger strikers: "You are being released on parole to return to this prison on [the date specified] and we trust to your honour to do so." The Irish Executive does not anticipate the parole of any prisoner will be broken. We, however, do not anticipate that the prisoners will recognise this kind of parole.

Milltown Malbay.

T. P. O'Connor contended that a procession of rejoicing at the release of the Irish hunger strikers was attacked by the police and soldiers. The Irish Attorney-General said that the demonstrators were the first to fire on the forces of "Law and Order." Anyway, three of the demonstrators were killed and ten were wounded.

April 22nd. Unionist Members asked for increased pensions for Irish police because they are having such a hard time with the Irish people!

The Budget.

April 19th.—Austen Chamberlain's budget statement showed that the capitalists are growing more prosperous than ever; Income Tax, Super Tax and Excess Profits Duty all brought in more than was anticipated during the past year, because the capitalists netted more money than even their friends thought possible. The Stamp Duty also brought in more than was expected, because so many new companies were floated and trade in land and other things was so brisk.

The government proposes to pay off the war debt in 26 years and imagines that the workers will continue paying the burden quite patiently for that space of time. The greater proportion of the debtors are the British capitalists and they are drawing heavy interest on their money. J. R. Clynes stated that the interest amounts to £400,000,000 a year.

Colonel Wedgwood (Lab.), complained that the Land Duties are to be abolished, and said that Income Tax, Excess Profits Tax, and the Stamp Duties would immediately be passed on to the consumer. He wanted a capital levy on wealth. The capitalists will, however, secure that all taxation shall be ultimately born by the workers so long as the capitalist system remains. If land is taxed the rents will go up, and whatever expedient, higher taxation of unused land, and so on, may be devised, so long as the capitalist system remains, landowners and all capitalists will adjust their business so that no form of taxation shall make them poorer.

J. R. Clynes.

April 20th. J. R. Clynes (Lab.), began by saying that he agreed with much that had been said by Asquith, who had preceded him, but he thought that Asquith's Government had borrowed too much. In some years of the War it had borrowed as much as 16/- of every £ it spent. The Government had now said it would borrow no more. Clynes said that was because the country would refuse to lend. He asserted that in Britain "we have reached a point in democratic institutions, in Government or out of it, not attained by other countries." It seems to please the vanity of some people to pretend that their country is the most civilised in the world, but Britain cannot claim that position. Clynes went on to say that the Budget would only intensify the race between prices and wages and increase working-class discontent. "Much," he added, "as I dread and dislike it." It would add to "the difficulties arising from these repeated demands that are being made for higher rates of wages." He objected to the increased beer and spirit duties and asked for an improvement in the quality of the drink served to the working-class. He advocated the capital levy and said it could be put on without imposing "real losses on the classes who own and control capital." That is precisely our view! That is why we care nothing for the proposal. Clynes then went on as usual, to advocate "increased production," and said he thought working-men "entirely wrong" to imagine that if they produce more they are only increasing the profit of the employers.

April 21st. Chamberlain agreed to withdraw the proposed extra 20 per cent. on excess profits if the House should decide to impose a levy on War wealth: he recognises that the levy on wealth is not the magic cure-all its pseudo scientific advocates pretend, and that it is only another way of getting as much of their wealth as the capitalists can be induced to surrender.

Chamberlain boasted that a large amount of the National Debt is held by people of very small means, that if he were going to menace that he would sit on the Opposition side of the House for the rest of his life, whoever sat on the Government side. The Government hopes that the shillings of the poor who bought War Loan will safeguard the riches of the great capitalists.

Irish Dockers Boycot Pork.

April 19th. Irish dockers refuse to load pigs or pig products for Britain because of the great increase in price of Irish bacon since control was removed.

Bread Price to Rise Again.

Sir A. Boscawen, Secretary to Ministry of Agriculture, promised the farming interests that if agricultural labourers get the 8/- increase they are demanding wheat prices will be raised.

Stokers at Kew Gardens get £3 9s. 5d. a week; constables, £2 18s. 5d.; watchmen, £3 9s.; labourers, £2 15s., with an increase of 1s. after five years; carters, £2 16s., with an increase of 1/- after five years.

Miner Bleeds to Death.

On March 23rd a collier at Hatfield Main Colliery had his leg cut off above the knee. He bled to death although an infirmary was only eight miles away. He received first-aid treatment within a few minutes, but no doctor came till 4.35 and left the pit in an ambulance at 4.55. The Home Secretary said no further regulations were necessary.

Peace Treaties with Austria and Bulgaria.

The Bill establishing these Treaties gives the Government power to make Orders in Council and to impose penalties for breach of such Order. What the Order is for is not stated, but it may be assumed that it is to provide the Government with another means of punishing its political opponents. It is D.O.R.A. under a new guise, and will be used against the Workers' Revolution.

The same Bill gives the Government power to make such appointments, establish such officers, or do such things as appear to it necessary to carry out the Treaties. Commander Kenworthy moved an amendment to secure that representatives on the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations must be made by Parliament, not by the Government. The amendment was defeated by 40 votes to 168.

Clap-Trap.

J. F. Green, of the National Democratic Party, one of the loudest jingoes in the War, though he used to be called "Peace and Arbitration Green" once upon a time, opposed the amendment; he declared there might be something to be said for it before the War when there were three autocratic military powers in Europe, but now he pretended all the Governments are democratic and represent the people.

Kenworthy (Lib.) and Tom Myers (Lab.), divided the House against the Treaties' Bill as a whole; 26 members voted with them and 156 voted for the Bill. Some of the minority were Liberals; where was the Labour Party?

Family Dies of Starvation.

April 21st. A man and his wife died in Bermondsey Hospital on April 18th, of pneumonia, consequent on starvation. The woman had given birth to a still-born child the previous day. A child of four, also suffering from starvation, is still in the Hospital. Dr. Addison is making enquiries and the Government has been considering Poor Law Reform for several months past.

The Agricultural Wages Board has fixed a minimum wage of 42/- a week for the greater part of England and Wales. In Essex the wage is 42/6 and a strike is anticipated.

Swedish Communists Get 6 Months under D.O.R.A.

Two Swedes were sentenced in Leith to six months' imprisonment under D.O.R.A., for being in possession of pamphlets alleged to advocate Bolshevism. Neil MacLean (Lab.), pointed out that the Swedes knew nothing of D.O.R.A. and had distributed none of the pamphlets; but the Home Secretary will not interfere with the sentence.

Votes for Women.

J. R. Clynes asked the Government to intervene to rescue the Labour Party Representation of the People Bill, which extends votes to women on the same terms as to men. The Committee to which the Bill was referred dropped it on the ground that it had no chance of passing into law. Bonar Law said he had not had time to consider the question, but it was clear that the Government would refuse to act.

More Government Money for the Capitalists.

April 22nd. Sir A. Boscawen reported that the Government has established a beet sugar farm at Kelham, near Newark. A private company has been formed to work the farm. The company then sold back part of the land acquired to the Government for £47,450. Then the Government lent a further £35,000 to provide working capital. The original company then parted with the property to the Home-grown Sugar Company, Ltd., and the Government will advance a further £250,000. The company cannot pay more than five per cent. on the capital till the Government is repaid.

This is another example of jobbery and bolstering up the capitalist system. Gorter, in his basis of Communism explains that the wealth produced by the workers is divided into three parts: A, the wages the workers; B, the profits of the capitalist, on which he lives in luxury; C, the reserve fund of the capitalist: but now we find the Government dipping into the workers' part, B, to add to part C, in order that B may increase more rapidly.

C. B. Stanton, the ex-miners' agent, who defeated the Labour candidate at Merthyr, moved to increase the salaries of M.P.s. He said: "I am appealing to the Government to be fair with us. . . . Some of us have worked for them during the War, have stood by them, have been jeered at and howled down by one-time comrades. We have suffered all these sacrifices and humiliations and not even an O.B.E. has come our way."

Colonel John Ward, a fit companion for Stanton, seconded the plea and asked "those who are wealthy" "to support their poorer brethren."

C.O.'s AND ARMED REVOLUTION.

A lady delegate at the recent Independent Labour Party Conference made some scathing remarks about conscientious objectors who, during the European War, refused to fight Prussian militarism, but who are now advocating armed revolution, and affiliation to the Third (Moscow) International. Owing to the Press giving due publicity to the statement, the lady's sneers now form part of the stock-in-trade of anti-Communists for the purpose of discrediting proletarian, revolutionary propaganda. Such a method of attacking revolutionary principles shows to what lengths some persons are driven in order to defend their clinging to reaction and compromise.

The introduction of conscription for military service on March 2nd, 1916, brought to light the real antagonism that existed between the Government of this country and men who were prepared to resist coercive measures to make them soldiers of the Crown for the purposes of Capitalistic Imperialism.

The Press scribes worked up articles which brought discredit upon these men by making out that the conscientious objectors based their case on an inability to kill. Everything was done to hide their antagonism to the War. Every trick was adopted to make it appear that these anti-militarists were merely skin-savers.

Now, if anybody is really in earnest in wanting to know how a reconciliation can be effected between the position of a man who adopts an attitude of anti-war under Capitalism, but who is prepared to advocate the seizure of arms for revolutionary purposes, then let that person turn to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. For 72 years the Manifesto has been circulating round the globe proclaiming a revolutionary doctrine that will one day free the world. Meantime, proletarians have been studying it and acting on its teaching as far as possible. The European War gave these students their opportunity and, as far as conditions would allow, they showed a practical expression of the slogan: "Workers of the World, Unite."

In showing that solidarity, they came in for a good deal of abuse from those men and women who, up to August, 1914, had talked as though this country did not belong to the people who made it habitable, but who, after August 4th, 1914, suddenly discovered that the workers in this country ought to strain every nerve and make every sacrifice to—win the War!

The situation is still unchanged. Those who showed solidarity in a refusal to take part in a bloody conflict for capitalistic Imperialism are endeavouring to link up with the movement that will overthrow the power of the war mongers. The workers in England must join hands with their brother workers in Russia, and they can do so openly and boldly, and only by showing their adherence to the Third (Moscow) International. Those, however, who prefer to shirk the real issue go on talking about "blood," "revolution," "atrocities," in horrified terms, and hope, by panic, to avert the inevitable. Hesitating at the moment of crisis in August, 1914, they have been floundering ever since. No wonder need be expressed at their using sneers and jibes against men whose one great fault, in their eyes, is that they fought the Imperialists of the country face to face as Karl Liebknecht, greatest of all anti-militarists, urged. The fight has been suspended on the one issue, Imperialism. It has yet to be fought, in this country, on the other issue, Socialism.

SOLDIERS, WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

This is a specimen of the propaganda leaflets distributed by the British Military Mission in Russia:—

Do not believe the Bolsheviks. All that they say is full of lies. They prove this themselves. Where is the peace in Russia which they promised? There is no peace in Russia. Where is the bread? Instead of bread there is famine. Where is the promised freedom? Instead of that there is the oppression of the Soviets. With the exception of what is a small part of the population in comparison with the whole of Russia, the whole people is indignant at the yoke of the Bolsheviks who illegally seized power. The constant revolts of the peasants and workmen throughout Russia prove this. These revolts are cruelly suppressed by the Red Guards and mercenary troops of the Bolsheviks—Letts and Chinese. But this is hidden from you because there is no truth amongst the Bolsheviks, neither have they any conscience. Do not believe that the Whites shoot their prisoners and the inhabitants who come to their side, this is not true. On the contrary everyone sincerely desiring law and order and honest work is welcome. It is not true when they tell you that in the northern province there is famine and the mastership of foreign capital on the contrary here, there is provision for all, and the Allies honestly desire to help in establishing a legal Government and in restoring law and order for which they are giving arms and supplies. The Bolsheviks have seized power in a violent way and only by executions and bayonets do they succeed in keeping power in their hands. But the ring closes ever closer and closer around these plunderers and scoundrels, and the hour of retribution comes ever nearer and nearer. Those who take the sword shall perish by the sword.

Just out.

Price Twopence.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
and Industrial Unionism.
By C. ZINOVIEV
President of the Third International.



Capitalist Diplomacy has made the Peace, and You must Pay the Bill.

INTERNATIONALE.

Long in Her womb were you;
Etna immured you,
Gruesome inured you;
Crude in Her gloom were you,
Hell-glare matured you.
Hail! She has hurled you out!
Lo, now the Giant,
Turbulent, pliant,
Tumbling the world about,
Stamping, defiant,
Trumpetings stuttering,
Rompings growling,
Pompously crowing,
Thunderings muttering,
Thrones overthrowing,
Mice that are white at you,
("Whites," and no error),
Race and are rarer,
Red when the sight of you
Changes to Terror.

Pandects you scramble through,
Gallantries dancing,
Cataphracts glancing,
Ramparts you trample through,
Cavalries prancing.

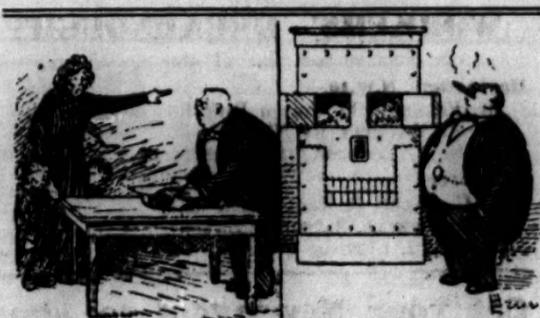
O, vast is the song of you!
Martyrdoms, doubtings,
Marathons, routings,
Rage in the throng of you,
Jericho shoutings.

Red your hozannas be!
Red in Her heyday
Hails She the fray-day,
Barefaced your banners be,
Red be your May-day;
Red as the Sea-of-Red
Rolled back before you,
Red as what tore you,
Crude when the tree-of-red
Crucified bore you. . . .

Dark is the route to you;
Marks it the hawk not,
Homer can talk not,
Mars-men are mute to you:
Lorn ye you talk not:
Blood-kin the Bull of you,
Libra and other,
"Closer than brother,"
Night-blows are full of you,
Son of your Mother.

Ply in The Workery:
Gnome-king will light you
Mine-depths to light you,
Sunrise on Mercury
Somewhere will smite you,
Bury those dead of yours;
Bless what has led you;
Red from what's bled you,
Raise up that head of yours,
Bare, to what made you.

M. P. SHIEL.



Before Reducing the Widow's Leaf, Get at the Sale of the Profiteer.

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Rank and File Movement.

The preliminary agenda for the annual delegate meeting of the union, to take place in Nottingham on the 29th June, has now been published.

The work of the Rank and File Movement for the coming weeks will be concentrated on securing at the Nottingham meeting a code of rules which will throw the Society once more into the control of the members and out of the control of a set of officials, who, as matters stand at present, have usurped power from the membership. I propose then to deal with some of the main points in the agenda week by week.

That the wages of the whole of the chief officials of the Society be paid weekly and be the wage of an L.G.O.C. Bus driver, working a normal week of forty-eight hours, and that the wages of all other full time employees of the society be the similar wage of an L.G.O.C. bus conductor working a similar normal week of forty-eight hours.

This resolution is based on the Marxian dogma "that a man's interests, ideas and outlook, are a reflex of (a) his income, and (b) his manner of getting it."

Change (a), and you at once change a man's class, from the £4 class to the £6 class, from the working class to the lower middle class, where small "investments" may be made, and the man begin to live on the labour of his fellows.

Change (b), and again the man's ideas change. A man who gets his living by manual work has not the same class outlook as he who gets precisely the same income from War Loan Stock, nor has he the same class outlook as he who gets his living by burglary.

In order then as far as possible to prevent the selected officials from rising out of their class and catching middle class ideas, middle class respectability, middle class conservatism, as children catch the measles, it is proposed to fix their income at the level of the member's income.

The L.G.O.C. bus driver and conductor are chosen as they represent perhaps the largest and normal section of members, being not so well off as the cabmen, but somewhat better off than the trammes.

In the case of officials who really have the goal of freedom from wage slavery of their class at heart, we are convinced that they themselves would prefer to remain at the common level, rising with the members. No one would then be able to point the finger of scorn at them with jibes about soft jobs at high screws, and they would remain on terms of real brotherhood, based on economic equality with the rest of the membership.

The general adoption of the principle here put forward, would do more than any other, to transform the unions into virile organisms with power to secure social justice for the working class.

LONDON CO-OPERATORS

AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The London First of May Demonstration Delegation Committee included in the May Day resolution a motion of the W.S.F. sending greetings to the Third International and urging all labour and Socialist organisations to affiliate to it.

The resolution having been adopted and other business also disposed of, it was decided that no further delegate meetings would be necessary. Nevertheless the co-operative societies afterwards induced the committee to call another delegate meeting in order they might move the rejection of the passages dealing with the Third International. The co-operators turned up to this extra delegate meeting and succeeded in getting the references to the Third International deleted.

The committee, on the motion of the W.S.F., seconded by the B.S.P., was instructed to send out through the Press an urgent appeal to the workers to abstain from work on May Day, not only to manifest their general solidarity with labour but also by way of protest against the intervention in Soviet Russia and the attack by Allied capitalism on the German Workers' Revolution.

THOSE IDLE WORKERS!

The efficiency expert of a great Chicago firm produced the following table to prove to the employees that they were under worked:—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Each year has | 365 days. |
| If you sleep 8 hours a day it equals | 122 days. |
| This leaves | 243 days. |
| If you rest 8 hours a day | 122 days. |
| This leaves | 121 days. |
| There are 52 Sundays | 52 days. |
| This leaves | 69 days. |
| If you have Saturday half-holiday | 26 days. |
| This leaves | 43 days. |
| If you have 1½ hours for lunch | 28 days. |
| This leaves | 15 days. |
| Two weeks' vacation | 14 days. |
| This leaves | 1 day. |
| This being Labour Day, no one works ... | 1 day. |
| <i>So you don't work at all.</i> | |
| Some other expert will now figure out that you owe the boss money. | |

Just out. One Half-penny. 2s. 9d. per hundred.

THE SOVIETS OF THE STREET.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

I have been awakened somewhat sternly from my spring dreaming by grave and reverend Labour leaders, whose faces gaze reprovingly at me from "Produce More" posters. I have seen the same stuff handed out in large teaspoonfuls at breakfast time by the *Herald*, and, in consequence, my conscience has smitten me hugely.

The nation is in debt, and only by producing more can we save the Empire from bankruptcy. You will, of course, have heard this sort of news before, Henry, and you may smile somewhat noisily, but I ask you, are we to let our great and glorious Empire drift lethwards to the final and inevitable crash without hitching up our kecks and wading into more work?

The question is not to whom we owe the debt. It may be to Solly Joel and Barney Barnato; it may be to Pierpont Morgan; but the debt is there, and we cannot allow these millionaires to drift sadly towards the Workhouse. To work then, my merry men!

In this sense, then, and being for the moment out of a job, I hid me to the place where from I used to draw the dole. I entered my name on several forms of different colours, and was told there were no vacancies at present, "we are sorry to say, but call again on Monday." I called again on Monday, and was asked to take up a job as a farrier. I pointed out that farriery, or whatever they call it, was not exactly in my line. The clerk looked quite aggrieved, but I had to point out somewhat sorrowfully that I had entered myself as a printer. He had another look down the list and asked whether I thought I could take on night-baking. I thought not. I am not expert at baking nights, and, anyway, it was news to me that nights were baked.

The clerk looked at me suspiciously and told me that there was no occasion for humour. I pointed out that if night baking did not mean baking of nights, then I did not know English. He slammed the book sullenly and told me to call round again in the afternoon.

I felt annoyed. I was anxious to produce more, and help my beloved country out of a hole. I went to the nearest free library, and took up a home course on farriery, or whatever it is farriers do. After two solid hours at it, I refreshed myself with a stale hot cross bun I had saved over from Good Friday, and washed it down at the fountain near the front entrance. Then I applied myself once more to the Employment Bureau, prepared to offer myself as a complete

farrier, home made, almost as good as new.

But the clerk turned me down. The position had been filled. Someone who really understood farriery had been satisfied perhaps. On the other hand, he may have sent a night-baker after the farrier's job. One never knows these clerks. This one applied himself diligently to the list and at last unearthed a printer's job, after several cross-references from printing, letterpress, to typography, applied, and back again. I danced out of the Exchange clutching a green card, or maybe an orange one. It is difficult to keep up with these colours on cards and forms.

I determined to do my duty with the least possible delay, so I jumped on a 'bus and dodged off again before the conductor came round for the fare. Five minutes' walk brought me to the spot, and I was soon in the presence of one of our great men of ability, a captain of industry, who is engaged night and day producing healthful literature for the young, dealing with the geographical aspect of Dead Man's Gulch and the life history of Deadwood Dick.

After the usual preliminaries, he asked me what wages I wanted. I suggested a pound a day. He laughed. He said we could discuss that point later. From my references he judged that I was a skilled man and he was not so niggardly as to quibble about giving a trained man a trained man's wages. In fact, he encouraged them to increase output by paying a premium bonus.

I said I was not used to piecework, and to tell the truth I was not exactly in love with it. He said I should soon get accustomed to it, and I would perhaps be astonished at the amount a really skilled man could earn.

"If I am paid by the piece, then," I suggested, "I can start when I like and leave off when I like?" He laughed again, and said the firm had rules in regard to that. I told him I thought there should be two parties to make such rules. He said all his present workmen had apparently no objection to them. I said that the terms seemed all right and I'd take it on. I would start work at about 10 a.m., and if the afternoon were fine, I would take a trip into the country. I reckoned I would earn enough for my comfort. Also, I would not need to work overtime. I would take holidays occasionally, and would expect to be paid for them; all directors are. Further, I would—

But before I could go any further, I was suddenly dragged outside and told to go home. I don't believe in the "Work More" stunt now.

MORE WAGES WANTED.

Swansea tramway and 'bus workers are demanding £5 a week; Manchester tramway men are striking for 78/- a week, 400 shop assistants at John Lewis and Company's great drapery shop are on strike for better conditions and the recognition of their union. Lancashire cotton operatives are preparing to strike for increased wages. Essex agricultural labourers have rejected a 42/6 weekly minimum and demand 50/-. Every week brings its new crop of strikes for some small increase in wages, some little temporary alleviation of the hard lot of the workers under the terrible pressure of the rising cost of living.

If the workers stand solidly together they win, as a result of each strike, some trifling wage concession of which they are almost immediately robbed by rising prices. When they make any demand larger than usual the employers put up a bigger fight and efforts are made to induce the workers to submit their demands to some sort of arbitration; the present fashion is to get up a commission of enquiry.

The Court of Enquiry into the dockers' claims has pronounced in favour of a daily wage of 16/-, a registration scheme for dockers and their maintenance during unemployment, but all sorts of dangerous conditions regarding output are added.

The miners' experience of the Sankey Commission and its results should prove to us that the findings of such a court of enquiry are not necessarily carried into effect. But in the findings themselves we do not see cause for the rejoicing expressed by the Labour Party's news service. The 16/- daily wage will soon be no better than the present one, for prices continue and will continue rising.

The registration of dockers may prove a dangerous snare. Already the Insurance Act has made easy the victimisation of active men in such trades as shipbuilding and engineering industries, and has thus placed a heavy handicap on the workers' committee movement, which grew so tremendously and wielded so great a power during the war. The registration of dockers will make possible a perfect system of blacklisting and victimisation of dockers. It will make it possible to place the man who is an active trade unionist always at the bottom of the list.

We do not believe that the recommendation to maintain dockers during unemployment will be carried out in any shape or form. But if anything in this direction is done the dockers will have to pay heavily for it in more ways than one.

These commissions of enquiry, by which it is sought to damp down the class war, and about which certain labour leaders are so enthusiastic, make a heavy drain on the funds of the workers' organisations.

The "Labour News Service" says:—
"Trade unions are finding their management funds insufficient for their needs. Big enquiries like the Coal Commission and the Dockers Enquiry demand money for the collection and presentation of evidence. All management and office expenses have risen considerably every day sees the appointment of new committees, etc., on which labour demands representation. For all these reasons it seems not improbable that in the near future there will be another general rise in subscriptions. Most unions raised their subscriptions during the war but not to any very great extent, and already some unions have found it necessary to put on special levies."

Thus the workers are not only obliged to bear the cost of the capitalists and the capitalist Government on their shoulders, but the burden of a great labour bureaucracy engaged in tinkering with evils arising from the capitalist system, hangs like a mill-stone about their necks and is daily growing heavier. These costly sham enquiries into conditions with which both the workers and employers are perfectly familiar, add to the load.

The workers, in their efforts to improve their lot by mere demands for higher wages and shorter hours, which they presently agree to lengthen by working overtime to add to their wages, are like the convict on the treadmill.

There is only one way to secure permanent benefits to the workers; that is to abolish the capitalist system.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

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

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.

Write to the SECRETARY, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone: East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Sunday, May 2nd, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m.
J. Tochetti, Melvina Walker.
Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. David Ramsay, Melvina Walker.
Friday, May 7th, Manor Park Road, Harlesden, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker and others.
Saturday, May 8th. Meetings in Camberwell.

INDOOR.

Friday, April 30th and May 7th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
Sunday, May 2nd, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.
Thursday, May 6th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Thursday, May 27th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Christy and others.

IMPORTANT.

The Workers' Dreadnought has now arranged for press telegrams from all countries. The telegraphic address is "WODREDNORT, BOWROM, LONDON."

Pass the "DREADNOUGHT" on to your Friends.

W.S.F. WHIT MONDAY OUTING

TO

FEDERATION HOUSE

George Lane, South Woodford.

(Book to George Lane Station from Liverpool Street on the Ongar Line, or 10a 'bus from the Monument, down Whitechapel Road and Bow Road).

ENTERTAINMENTS! . . . MUSIC!

Come and enjoy yourselves and support the Movement. Bring all your friends, and apply for tickets early in order to assist the organisers.

Admission - 2/-

(Including Tea and Entertainments.)

Tickets from Miss BUSH, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

THE

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

can be obtained from the following newsagents:—

Harlesden, N.W.10.—
Mr. PALMER, 130, Craven Park Road.
Mr. A. MITCHELL, 64, Nicoll Road.
Mr. M. F. LORNTON, 125, High Street.

Leicester—

W. C. ALLEN, 8, Kent Street.
A. M. SIDWELL, 8, Stanley Street.
F. BELL, 2, Chatham Street.

Get your Newsagent to show a Poster,

Printed by the AGENDA PRESS (T.U.), at 10, Wine Office Court, London, E.C.4., and Published by the WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION, at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.