

Workers' Breadnought

VOL. VII.—No. 9.

SATURDAY, MAY 29th, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Irish Workers Seize 13 Creameries. Workers control 97 per cent. of Butter Supplies.

Limerick workers have seized 13 creameries, hitherto owned by the big Cleeve Trust. The workers are now controlling 97 per cent. of the butter industry. We have received the following communication from the "Soviet" creameries.

Dear Comrade:

Workers took charge of 13 creameries (Cleeve's), and ordered managers to remain away, which they did. We have established workers' control and have taken 97 per cent. of the supply, Sunday and normal.



CAPITALISTS DON'T NEED ANY PARLIAMENTARY SOCIALISTS TO-DAY.

"Could there ever be a revolution in an 'I'll need you down to the bottom of the sea' world, where the class of your kind is dominant."

We are facing markets for butter. If you can take any quantities in your area you will help us considerably. Terms are, cash by wire, on receipt of butter. Minimum quantity, 50 lbs. Take your part in organising a market for this. Press reports are going out to America, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy. We intend to shatter the foundations of boss control, by demonstrating working-class ability to control industry. Do your best to get orders for best quality butter at present market price, state whether you want it for storage and for what period.

Emphasise to all comrades that electoral successes are by no means more important than the success of this challenge to capitalist control of our means of life and liberty.

Yours with Communist greetings.

J. O'HAGAN.

C/o. T. O'DWYER.

(Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).
Knocklong Soviet Creameries.

It will be remembered, that a year ago, Limerick was convulsed by a general strike which broke out amongst the workers because it was sought to impose military permits upon them. The Strikes Committee, which was called the Limerick Soviet, was in complete control of the town during the strike. The Soviet had reached the stage of fixing prices and printing its own money, but the strike came to an end before the Soviet money was put into circulation.

After the general strike was over, the Limerick workers vigorously applied themselves to improving their very wretched wage conditions. They flocked into the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and in every branch of industry wage demands were made, which, if not conceded, were followed up by strikes. Amongst the workers who struck, were the employees of the Cleeve Trust, The Condensed Milk Company of Ireland, Ltd., as it is called. The wages paid by this firm ranged from 24/- to 35/- a week. After a strike of seven weeks, the wages were raised to from 35/- to 45/-.

In April of this year, the Cleeve workers demanded a minimum of 55/- a week. The firm failed to agree, the workers in Knocklong, Ballinamona, Ballylanders, Knockanon, Elton, Kiltely, Knockaney, Kilbreedy, Ballinagately Hospital and Gormanstown therefore downed tools on May 15th, for one day, then seized the creameries and established control by a committee of workers drawn from each department of the business.

The name Condensed Milk Company of Ireland has been torn from the doors and may be seen lying on the scrap heap; the name Knocklong Soviet Creameries has been painted in its place.

The Cleeve Company now sent an offer of peace to the workers' committees, but the offer was rejected, the workers being determined to remain in control, and to spread working-class control throughout the farms, industries, and transport of Ireland. At one creamery, an old man and boy who were employed there, were turned away and the manager locked up the place, refusing to allow work to continue; the old man and boy, however, broke their way in, accepted supplies, and continued production under their own control, having received a wire that the workers were doing this in the parent creamery, eight miles away.

The number of workers in the "Soviet" creameries is 70. The milk comes from 870 farmers, who have between 5,000 and 6,000 cows, and an output of one ton to two tons of butter per day, according to the season.

The workers propose to work the creameries on new lines, to make use of various valuable by-products, and to reduce the hours of labour, starting later and finishing earlier.

It may be that the British military and police will swoop down on the Soviet creameries and re-establish the capitalists. But whether this should happen or not, the workers cannot fail to gain most valuable experience by their period of control.

Now, comrades, join in sending orders for 50 lbs. of butter, and be sure to send your money with the order. We do not know whether the Limerick comrades will be able to supply you all, but you can show your solidarity by giving them the opportunity. When will the British workers take similar steps?

A Message From Harold Burgess.

Do not mind me at all. Push and advertise Communism for all you are worth.

Some day they will be sorry for putting a good man in prison for Communism, which is my religion and life, as it is the life and religion of all, who know how many millions of splendid and sincere men and women to-day.

"Imprison him!" Yes, in your funk. You are getting terribly afraid of us. Imprison him for 20 years, if you wish. He will not mind. While he is "resting," a thousand others will spring up to take his place.

Communism must win. Nothing can stop it. It is the wave, the huge, world big, tidal wave of freedom, which will swamp and blot out for ever the vileness and corruption of capitalism and wage slavery.

HAROLD BURGESS.

TO NEWSAGENTS

Any newsagent or other seller of the "Breadnought" unable to get posters of the "Breadnought" should write to the "Breadnought" office at 182, Fleet Street, London, E.C., stating the number required, in which case posters will be supplied direct.

HAROLD BURGESS.

The Russian Bolsheviks and the Labour Delegates in Russia.

Many people are declaring themselves Bolsheviks to-day, and many are saying they desire the Workers' Revolution. One man, Harold Burgess, has tried to do something to prepare for that revolution. He has endeavoured to make a beginning, with propaganda that shall have as its objective, not mere talk, resolutions, public meetings and election contests, but revolutionary action. He has tried to make a beginning in preparing not only revolutionary propaganda, but action itself.

Some people will say that Burgess has been foolish, because he has been betrayed, either deliberately or otherwise, by the men he trusted, and who professed to be his comrades in the Communist struggle.

We do not know whether to believe that the soldiers who gave evidence against Comrade Burgess were the dishonest tricksters they made themselves out to be, tricksters who pretended to be revolutionary comrades merely for money and beer, or whether, having been discovered by the authorities, they concocted their story in the hope of saving themselves from punishment.

In either case, the part they played was not a noble one. They are to be tried by court-martial; if the result of the trial is made known, it may possibly throw light on the question, as to whether or not these soldiers were the victims of others whom they trusted, and of the Army espionage system.

Comrade Burgess has been sent to prison for six months, because some soldiers betrayed his confidence; such a mishap is not likely to befall the comrades whose revolutionary sentiments carry them no further than words.

Burgess was not content with lip service to the cause of the Workers' Revolution; he has taken literally to heart the teachings of our Russian Comrades.

"The Seal of Liberty is a rifle in the hands of a worker," says a Bolshevik message from Moscow, quoted in the Times of May 22nd. The Wireless Press, on May 21st, issued this passage, written by Steklov, the Editor of the Moscow Izvestia:—



Drawn by ROBERT MINON.

VOLUNTARY CONSCRIPTION.

Without rifles and machine guns, the workers would never have obtained their liberty; would never have been able to defend it. . . . A people cannot be free without arms. That is why the exploiters always took arms away from the masses. That is why the masses have now taken up arms against their ancient oppressors.

. . . In order to be prepared to ward off the blows which at all times may fall upon Soviet Russia, we must be possessed of colossal reserves of armed and trained forces.

Such words have been the inspiration of Harold Burgess. Is he to be condemned by those who applaud them?

Soviet Russia has been established, and is now maintained by the efforts of masses of workers, imbued with the spirit that has animated Harold (Continued column 1, page 2.)

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

Burgess, and now it has at last become the fashion for respectable British Labour Leaders to visit Soviet Russia, and to make congratulatory addresses upon the Workers' Revolution.

Addressing the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, the Council of Russian Trade Unions and other Russian organisations, A. A. Purcell, who is a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and has gone to Russia as one of its delegates, is reported by the *Times*, on the authority of the Moscow wireless as follows:—

Purcell (Trades Union Congress), stated that the lies of the yellow *bourgeoisie* Press were spread merely with the object of killing the revolutionary movement which was growing among the working classes. "When we return to England, we shall tell the workers what is taking place in Russia, and how the Russian proletariat are building up their life so that they may strive to attain the same ideal which the Russian proletariat is struggling for."

That Purcell, in his position of official delegate from the Trade Union Congress, should have spoken thus is most interesting. The Labour Leaders fell easy victims to the Press agitation, and the prevailing atmosphere during the war, and completely losing their balance, they outdid the capitalists in Jingo pseudo-patriotism. It would seem that the susceptibility of the British Labour Leaders to any prevailing atmosphere is now operating strongly in Purcell's case.

But will the impression last? Will Purcell come back to England, prepared to do his part in bringing about the British Workers' Revolution, and in establishing the Soviets in our own country? Or is this talk of revolution merely to please the Russians, and will the enthusiasm that prompted it wane and vanish as the shores of Great Britain are reached?

In the meantime, it may be that in this country we shall test the Bolshevism of our Comrades by the simple question: What is your opinion of the case of Harold Burgess?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Swedish Trade with Russia.

The Russian representatives in Sweden who are supposed to represent the Co-operatives may use telegraph ciphers, send and receive diplomatic correspondence by courier in bags not exceeding 6lbs. in weight, and they may have rights of extrajurisdiction. Their number may not exceed 15. They must be commercial experts and approved by the Swedish Government, and Russia must admit a similar number of Swedish delegates under like conditions.

Wanted to Buy Arms.

"The Times" reports that a Russian, Victor Smyrnoff, was sent to prison for three months for proposing to buy fire-arms from a sailor on a Russian steamer in Liverpool, on the ground that he wanted the arms for the Workers' Revolution in Britain.

The Struggle for Kieff.

Kieff, which is now subjected to violent attack by the Poles, has changed hands many times since the Russian Revolution. The town has been captured ten times by anti-Bolshevik troops during that period: (1) In October, 1917, Kerensky's Government captured Kieff from the Bolsheviks; (2) on December 2 the Ukrainians, Vinchevsky and Hroshevsky, drove out Kerensky; (3) in January, 1918, the Bolsheviks, after a two weeks' bombardment of the city, captured it back from the Ukrainians; (4) in February, 1918, the Germans drove out the Bolsheviks; (5) in April, 1918, Hetman Skoropadsky crushed the Sichovniki (a Ukrainian military organisation); (6) in November, 1918, Petlura, with the Sichovniki, conquered the Hetman; (7) in January, 1919, the Bolsheviks drove out Petlura; (8) in August, 1919, Denikin took possession of the city; (9) Denikin drove back the Galician Ukrainians from near Kieff; (10) in October, Denikin was defending the city, but the Bolsheviks captured it in December.

Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia.

Czecho-Slovaks are refusing, according to a Moscow radio on May 11th, to be repatriated. Fifteen hundred of them have formed a Communist detachment at Irkutsk.

ANOTHER OUT-OF-WORK TRAGEDY.

Joseph Anthony Laurie, a fitter, aged 30, of Tilery near Stockton-on-Tees, cut his throat and that of his wife and child because he could get no work, and had had none for 18 months. The wife died; the man is charged with murder and attempted suicide. Under Communism everyone will be assured of the necessities of life.

THE HUNGARIAN WORKING CLASS UNDER THE WHITE TERROR. By BELA KUN.

(Continued from last week.)

The more the classes employing coercion against the Communists become narrowed down the greater is the use made of such political weapons, and the more the edge of the political weapon becomes blunted, the more the murderous weapons of the White Terror are resorted to. The industrial and agricultural workers bear the brunt of the Terror, for by their suppression the big industrialists and financiers are compensated for the otherwise anti-capitalist policy of the present dictatorship.

The Changed Outlook of the Working Classes.

The four and a half months of Proletarian Dictatorship accomplished much in strengthening the revolutionary outlook of the working classes, but, as the collapse of the Soviets showed, it was not able to accomplish enough. The work was hindered by the sabotage of the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union bureaucracy, and also by the limited powers of the Communist Party.

No better proof of the sabotage of the Social Democrats can be given than the fact that in every sitting of the Workers' Councils the Communists had to insist that the expropriation of the means of production, although a very radical step, had not put an end to the bourgeoisie. We were not able sufficiently to combat an agitation which was carried on for the protection of the bourgeoisie, and lead to the strengthening of the bourgeois counter-revolutionary forces, and to weaken the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat.

The really conscious Communists formed only a small section of the working class, and even they were not very able propagandists and organisers. The Condition of the Hungarian...2 Dreadnought. The old, trained Social Democratic Party and Trade Union bureaucracy often took up the cudgels publicly against the young, enthusiastic, but inexperienced Communist agitators. Because of our tactical errors—of which, however, in my opinion the mere coalition with the Social Democrats was not one, because of the lack of experience of the greater part of the Communist leaders, the well-trained members of the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union bureaucrats succeeded in obtaining important positions, which they used to sabotage the decrees of the Dictatorship and to prevent the work of revolutionising the masses. It was just as Marx observed with reference to the Commune: "As far as they were able they hindered the action of the working class, just as they had hindered the development of every earlier revolution. They are an unavoidable evil. Given time they can be shaken off; but it was just time that the Commune lacked."

The Commune was an isolated revolution, the Hungarian Revolution was one in the long chain of international revolutions.

What we did not succeed in doing at the time of the Dictatorship, the White Terror did for us. It revolutionised the outlook of the working classes, and it "shook off" the "unavoidable evil"—sabotaging leaders.

The collapse of the Dictatorship was accompanied by an indisposition for further activity on the part of the working classes, such as Marx says characterises the conclusion of every bourgeois revolution. It was a proof that the Revolution had not struck deep enough. But it had struck deep enough to make this indisposition only a temporary phenomenon that persisted only with a portion of the de-classed bourgeois intelligentsia. This indisposition was artificially exaggerated by the Social Democratic Party, which proceeded to vilify the Dictatorship; but, even so, they did not manage to retain the support of the masses. The workers turned for the time being from Communism, but they did not lend themselves to the reconstruction of Social Democracy. A very small section of the proletariat, in common with the rabble, formed themselves into a pogrom-making army under the banner of Christian Socialism. But the masses of the workers, growing daily more revolutionary, although politically unorganised, are steadily opposing themselves to the Social Democratic Party and to the Trade Union bureaucrats.

The number of Social Democratic workers in Hungary is insignificant. The complete collapse of industrialism and the enormous extent of unemployment (out of one hundred thousand railwaymen, only 21 thousand are at work) has considerably worsened the position of the workers. The effect of this on the mentality of the working class is specially to be noticed in a lack of self-confidence. Nevertheless, the worker interested in politics is quite free from all illusions concerning bourgeois democracy, and the non-political worker has been rendered incapable of accepting the doctrines of the Social Democrats by the influence of the Proletarian Dictatorship and the events that followed it.

The economic enactments of the Proletarian Dictatorship were annulled by the Social Democrats, but the economic policy of the White Terror played havoc with the feeble, half-hearted social and political enactments of the November revolution of 1918. The miners have literally been chained to the mines, the right to dissolve agreements have been removed, and the strike is considered as treason to the fatherland. Nevertheless the idea of restoring bourgeois democracy never occurs to the masses of the workers. The idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat alone falls on fruitful ground.

A most important indication of the changed mentality of the workers is their attitude towards the question of force and the use of arms. It was comprehensible that after the war a certain mood of pacifism should prevail, a certain horror of the use of arms, and this lasted during the whole period of the Workers' Dictatorship. Now, however, the contrary is the case. A frame of mind is prevalent, which is entirely free from sentimentality, and expects emancipation by the use of armed force. One reason for this is the fact that, in spite of the faults of the revolutionary, Communist organisation, the influence of the Trade Unions is steadily on the decline. This mental transformation is proceeding side by side with the repressive White Terror, and there is no disposition on the part of the workers to resume the detailed struggle for the attainment of social and political palliative. The memory of the Workers' Dictatorship, the hope of its restoration by armed force, is being carefully and secretly cherished by the workers, in spite of the White Terror.

The reluctance to work which displayed itself during the Revolution as a form of war fatigue, is now the consequence of an almost deliberate intention. It is a form of *mass sabotage*, by which large sections of the working class are deliberately working to prevent the restoration of capitalism. In the large industries only the scum of the workers are now employed. The rest have been turned on the streets. The workers can only be kept working after a fashion by the armed intervention of the Brachialgewalt.

A discouraging sign is the wholesale declassment of the working classes. Unemployment, persecution, and emigration has not only lowered the standard of life, it has also lowered the moral level so necessary for revolutionary discipline. It is noteworthy that it is among the aristocrats of labour, the workers in the highly developed industries, that this process of declassment and reduction to an unorganised rabble is most observable. Unemployment is greatest here, and here are to be found the greatest number of backsliders. Corresponding with this economic readjustment that has almost entirely disabled the large industries, the revolutionary outlook is to be found at its strongest among the workers in the medium-sized factories. In general, however, it may be said that the declassment of the aristocrats of labour is being counter-balanced by difference in the levels of revolutionary outlook in the various sections of the working class.

One result of the changes in political outlook taking place under the White Terror is that the spirit of self-sacrifice among individuals, which, on account of the ease with which the Dictatorship was established, was so lacking amongst the Hungarian working class, is becoming strengthened; instances of this daily are increasing.

The Condition of the Working Class Movement.

In consequence of the White Terror there is in Hungary no organised working class movement at the present time. The Social Democratic Party in the pay of Horthy, which pretends to be a mass party and aims at mass organisation, has less right to be regarded as an organised political party than the Communist Party, the slightest signs of life in which is followed by the bloodiest persecutions. With the exception of the most reactionary section of the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union bureaucracy, which openly puts itself at the service of the monarchist counter-revolution, every leader of the Hungarian working class movement was compelled to take refuge abroad. This was true even of "labour leaders" of the type of Peidl, Garami, and Buchinger, who had never "compromised" themselves under the Dictatorship, and who, after its fall, had helped the White Terror into the saddle by means of the congress resolution, in which they declared in the name of the Social Democratic Party that "the guilty must be punished."

After the collapse of the Dictatorship, the Party that had been fused together on March 21st, suffered an immediate split. The Social Democratic leaders, who had obtained absolution by a temporary residence under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and in the Third International, immediately proceeded under the leadership of Boehms, Weltners and Kunis, to repudiate their brief revolutionary past. In the Viennese Hungarian weekly and in the press of the Austrian Social Democrats, with which they collaborated, they proclaimed their remorseful return to the bosom of the Second International. Not content even with this they joined in the chorus of calumny against the Dictatorship by flinging abuse at the Communists, who were languishing in the prisons and internment camps of the White Terror.

The Left Wing of the Social Democratic Party (Landler, Vargler, etc.) remained true to the Communist Party.

(To be continued.)

Comrades are asked to sell the "Dreadnought" on commission at meetings of all kinds in their districts.

Apply: THE MANAGER,

152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

THE BASIS OF COMMUNISM.

By HERMAN GORTER.

(Continued).

All Communism teaches is this: the big trade is becoming predominant, and gradually, as far as the power of production is concerned, it has come greatly to surpass the small trade.

The only arguments the Anarchists and Liberal-Democrats can find against this first great foundation of Communism, which is that: Labour becomes more and more concentrated in the big enterprises," is either to bring forward elements that are of small significance for society at large, or to misrepresent the doctrines of Communism.

We have not yet here completely demonstrated this first foundation of Socialism. Other phenomena prove it more, perhaps even more clearly than those we have cited, for instance, State and Municipal enterprises.

Entire branches of industry are annexed by the State and the Municipality. The State has ship-yards, arsenals, workshops, post and telegraphy offices, beside departments of all branches of administration, the departments of buildings roads, railways, and so on. The State employs tens and hundreds of thousands of workers in concentrated enterprises.

A city like Amsterdam has the administration of gas, waterworks, cleaning, fire-brigade, public safety, the telephone, the tramways, abattoirs, as well as the electricity for motive power, lighting and heating. All this which used to be small trade, carried on by private individuals, now concentrated into Municipal service. Other cities go even farther, including even the laundry works in the public services.

Here again, thousands of workers, thousands of mechanical horse-power are concentrated into immense enterprises.

And next to all this, we see the biggest kind of trade-concentration the world has ever seen: the syndicate, the cartel, the trust.

Capitalists unite in a joint fixing of prices; a common establishing of bureaux of sale: a syndicate.

Capitalists unite to obtain a joint production or their separate, not yet united factories. They decide about the quantities that each shall produce, to avoid over-production: a cartel.

Capitalists unite into one body, either of their free will, or on compulsion. Factories of the same product are united into one company, with one capital, under one direction. Competition is done away with, tens of gigantic concerns make up one monstrous concern: a trust.

First, on a national, then on an international basis, entire industries or transport concerns are thus transformed into monopolies, and dominate an entire country, a continent, the world.

We give a few examples here:—

A few years ago, we find in America, the following monopolies:—

The sugar trust	90% of the entire production.
The tin-plate trust	90% "
The whisky trust	95% "
The oil trust	84% "
The sugar-refinery trust	80% "
The bituminous coal trust	100% "
The paper trust	70% "
The sewing cotton trust	70% "
The salt trust	90% "
The starch trust	90% "
The window-pane trust	72% "

Hundreds of trusts exist openly, and in almost all branches of big industry.

The Steel Trust works, with a capital of two thousand, five hundred millions. As a proof of how in England also, the trust-system is making its way, we quote the following statement: Macroty, in his latest work about the trust movement in England, gives a list of 26 of the principal iron and steel firms, with a joint capital of over £47,000,000. These firms are all closely connected with each other. The heads of the various enterprises addressed to their shareholders, a circular of April 1912, with which they explained this: "The keen competition in commerce has convinced your directors that a unity of interests is urgent"; and in another circular, they said: "Several of the directors . . . are at the same time directors of or shareholders and partners in other important companies or firms on the East or West coast, in which they are interested for considerable sums, often preponderatingly."

As an example of international syndicates, we give the following fact, that a contract was made between the rail-manufacturers in Great Britain, Belgium, Germany and France. To every country was assigned its own region, the minimum price for the export was appointed, and this was proportionally divided. England about 58 per cent., Germany about 29 per cent., Belgium about 19 per cent., and France about 6 per cent. In July of the same year, the United States likewise joined this international syndicate.

Moreover, in September, 1905, a syndicate was formed to take in both the English and German screw manufacturers. They then pledged themselves no longer to take any orders from each other's country.

In Germany, in 1912, there were over 400 cartels and syndicates, which covered the principal industries. One of the most known among these is the famous Coal-syndicate.

In the same year, 1912, England had trusts for: the manufacturing of portland-cement, in the steel industry, the manufacture of spirit, the wallpaper-mills (where the trusts already controlled 98 per cent. of the production), in the saltworks, the fine-cotton mills, the sewing-cotton and thread factories, the bleaching and dyeing factories, the printed-cotton manufacture, the locomotive-works, the whisky-distilleries, the soda, and tobacco factories, etc., etc.

Thus the period of monopolistic capital had come also in England, the land of the big industry, the land of free trade, which ever seemed impervious.

The big trusts penetrate all countries; we name for Holland, the Steamship trust, the International Glass trust, the Cement-syndicate, the Royal Oil Company, etc., etc.

They penetrate in every branch and especially banking.

This is very clearly demonstrated by Germany. In 1888, the banks had a capital of 1,422 marks, in 1908, of 4672 millions.

In 1888, the profit amounted to 145 million marks, in 1908, to 611 millions.

But in 1906, the nine credit-banks of Berlin (Germany has 169 of these banks), already controlled 80 per cent. of the total German Banking capital. In 1907, these banks controlled 82 per cent., in 1908, 83 per cent. Thus a small group of bank directors in Berlin control the entire industrial life of Germany. One of the directors, Mr. Bleichröder openly recognised this not long ago.**

Not only do the various industries converge more and more towards one central point, but the entire circle of one industry is well nigh becoming one single centre, one whole, outside which nothing remains.

The prediction by Marx, that the mammoth enterprises will swallow the smaller ones, is becoming a reality.

What does all this mean? This immense change, which now we view only from the outside as yet, but which shortly we shall consider from that of the working proletariat, under an altogether different aspect. How can its meaning be expressed in one short and clear formula, which may be clearly intelligible to every worker?

The following formula expresses it: *Labour* is becoming more and more *Socialistic*.

What does the word *Socialist* mean? It is derived from the Latin word *SOCIUS*, meaning "ally," or "comrade." *Social* means "of good fellowship," or "as comrades." *Socialist* something or some one inclined to fellowship.

A *Socialist* commonwealth would be a community where all members were comrades or fellows of one another.

* We remind our readers of the fact that all these figures date from before the world-war. During and since the war the forming of trusts has increased to such an extent, that to-day well-nigh the entire banking system and industry are governed by trusts in all the big, and in many of the small countries.

** We purposely left these figures as they were, in the last edition (of 1912) of this brochure. They demonstrate how in those years already Capitalism developed towards Imperialism, the world-war, and the revolution, the growth of which is represented in the present series of brochures.

Socialistic labour means: labour that is carried out on a basis of fraternity and fellowship.

Well then, we declare, Communism declares, that labour is becoming Socialistic.

Is that not correct; the absolute truth? Is not the labour of a thousand men in a factory, the 40,000 workers of Krupp, the hundreds of thousands employed by the railway or postal service, a labour of comradeship, a Socialist labour? Does not the labour of these many workers fit together, is it not organised, will not the whole effort fail if only a small portion present a hitch?

And more than that, do not the various branches of industry more and more fit into one another? Has not labour been divided according to a plan, not in one factory only, but in a series of factories? Has not the entire productive community become more and more one workshop, with an infinitely refined, and ever more refined division of labour? How many phases must the one pass through, in how many workshops is it wrought, before it becomes the fine instrument, or the huge, mighty, but accurate machine? And how very closely the transport, the production and distribution are linked together! How they are interwoven!

The factory is a place for joint labour; the trust is a gigantic whole, where labour is organised socialistically, on a basis of comradeship, where each individual depends on the collectivity and the collectivity on each individual. It is more and more Socialist.

Formerly labour was carried on on a small scale. It was individual and individualistic. Every worker produced separately, and one worker often produced the entire product. The cartwright constructed the carriage, he painted and varnished it, and he also lined it with leather and tapestry.

This has changed for all trades. Without a division of labour and a gigantic co-operation nothing can be achieved.

Labour is, or is fast becoming, Socialist. The true Socialist trade and industry, the big industry, is rapidly developing.

Two things only are not Socialist as yet, the ownership and distribution. Those are yet organised in the old way. Labour has become Socialist, ownership of the means of production and the distribution of the products are as yet individualistic. The thousand workers yet produce for the one owner, as it was in the days when the latter employed but one or two hands.

It is the task of the workers to reorganise private property and distribution in accordance with labour. It is the task of the workers, now that labour, the real foundation of society, has become Socialist, to reorganise the distribution and ownership so that these also shall be Socialist, that is to say, on a basis of comradeship, of true Socialism.

The development of this Socialist labour, as we have already seen, is growing so rapidly, that the time of that revolution can no longer be far off.

ESTHONIA'S MIDDLE-CLASS GOVERNMENT.

"Daily Herald's" Appeal.

The "Daily Herald" reports that a Labour crisis is developing in Esthonia, and its special correspondent, George Young, says:—

The Middle-class Government badly wants our advice and assistance. But we refuse recognition. Why? Because it means renouncing a certain combination against Russia.

We are glad that the British Government does not assist such Middle-class Capitalist Governments, whatever may be its motive for refusal. As Communists, we wish to see all such governments ruined and replaced by Soviets.

HAROLD BURGESS DEFENCE FUND.

Comrades are asked to send donations towards the legal expenses incurred in defending Comrade Harold Burgess.

BUYING UP ENGLAND.

"England is changing hands," says "The Times," recording the sale of the southern slopes of Mount Snowden and also 11 miles of Somerset land and other sales. When will England belong to the whole people?

SUGAR.

It will take two or three years to make up the world sugar shortage, says Hoover, the American food controller.

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May 20, 1920.

SOUTH WALES MINERS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.**An Important Development.****Miners' Federation Refuses to Buy Housing Bonds.**

In our South Wales Notes three highly-important developments in the policy of the South Wales miners in local government affairs are chronicled. The first of these is the refusal of the South Wales Miners' Federation to invest in Housing Bonds, though the coalowners had promised to take up Housing Bonds if the Miners' Federation would do the same. The Federation's refusal was, of course, induced by the Left Wing of the rank and file, which is constantly growing in power. The refusal means that the miners will give no assistance in maintaining capitalist government, even if by so doing they may slightly palliate their own conditions under capitalism.

Miners' Conflict with Labour Councillor who Resigns.

Amongst the lodges of the Miners' Federation active in the anti-Housing Bonds campaign, was the Ferndale Lodge, which runs its own candidates for the local governing bodies, and had actually two representatives on the Rhondda District Council.

These councillors were called on to subscribe to the policy of the Ferndale Lodge, but refused to do so; one of them, named Williams, announced that he would resign his seat; the other decided to ignore the wishes of the lodge.

For Labour councillors to act in opposition to the policy of the organisation which sponsored them is no new development; but we believe that this is the first instance in which a Labour councillor has resigned as a result of such a difference of opinion. The incident shows that the Ferndale miners are gaining a powerful grip of the situation.

Trades' Council Demands the District Council Agenda for consideration.

An even more important demand has emanated from Porth. The Porth Trades and Labour Council (pressing its point on the ground that the Rhondda District Council contains a Labour majority) has demanded that the agenda of the Rhondda District Council shall be submitted in advance to all the Trades and Labour Councils within its area. The object of this demand is that the Trades Councils may consider the agenda and instruct their representatives as to what action they shall take and how they shall vote.

The Labour members of the Rhondda Council have opposed the demand which they stigmatise as an attempt by a minority to influence the councillors.

The intention of the Porth Trades Council, which has put forward the demand, is to make the Labour councillors the delegates of the Trades Council, and to keep them strictly under its control. The members of the Soviets are delegates of those who appoint them, and are instructed by their constituents and subject to their recall. In attempting to make delegates of the councillors, the Trades Council is attempting, as far as it can, to Sovietise the District Council. The Labour Councillors are resisting the demand, but the revolutionary Left Wing of the Miners' Federation, which is responsible for this demand, will not relinquish the struggle for control.

This is another instance of the fact that, both consciously and unconsciously, the British working-class is developing towards Communism and the Soviets. It is another proof that the Soviets are not a mere Russian creation, unsuited to Western conditions.

This fight to control the Labour councillors is only a little phase in the great struggle, but it may have far-reaching educational effects: we should like to see the Porth example followed in every district.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE CONTINUITY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

The Labour Party, except for the brief period when it was more or less under the influence of Keir Hardie, has continually thrown in its lot with capitalist Britain in matters of foreign policy. It has offered some minor criticisms, as is the custom of all politicians who are out of office, but broadly speaking, it has identified itself with what is called the "national policy," which is, of course, the policy of the capitalists who control the nation. Throughout the War with the Central Empires, the Labour Party supported the national policy, and even when the War against Soviet Russia began, that support was continued. Of late the Labour Party has criticised the British attack on Soviet Russia and it now criticises the Government for its part in Poland's war on the Soviet Republic. But there has hitherto been no certain indication that the criticisms of the Labour Party are any more serious than the criticisms of the Liberal Party in this regard. On the contrary, a manifesto just issued by those whom J. R. Clynes describes as "representing the more moderate section of the Labour movement," indicates that these signatories still cling to the doctrine that British foreign policy shall be continuous, and that successive governments, even Labour governments, must be bound by the commitments of their predecessors. The signatories to the manifesto declare that, it is true, that they do not believe the Labour Party will regard itself as bound by the Government's anti-Soviet undertakings; but the manner of their statement shows that they regard the ignoring of such commitments as a very extreme step, and that instead of there being a general understanding that Labour will overthrow all the capitalist government's undertakings, the policy of the signatories is that such undertakings shall be fulfilled, as a rule.

The men who have signed this manifesto do not by any means, all belong to the Right Wing of the Labour Party. C. T. Cramp, for instance, is regarded as a member of the Left. The signatories are: T. Ashton, Fred Bramley, C. T. Cramp, F. W. Goldstone, John Hill, John McGurk, E. G. Poulton, A. Wilkie, M.P., W. Brace, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., Will Crooks, M.P., F. Hall, M.P., J. W. Ogden, M.P., R. Shirkie, R. Young, M.P. The concluding passages of the manifesto, which contains some of the points to which we refer, is as follows:—

"We do not believe that the Labour Party, if it should come to power, or wield a determining influence during the next year or two, will regard itself as bound by these military and defence of the general policy in foreign affairs to diplomatic commitments, made in secret, and in which the Party is pledged. It may be possible for the powerful autocracy which at present in Paris manages the affairs of Europe to begin a new war; but since it would be necessarily a long war it will rest with the forces of Labour to see whether it shall be continued."

It must be remembered that the Labour Party is famous for never carrying out its threats. The rank and file Labour Party members regard it as an unquestioned certainty that to put in a Labour Government is to put an end to all the present foreign commitments. But the politicians of the Labour Party have no such intention.

NO MORE WAR?

At Whitsuntide, that very unscientific, mixed, and ill-assorted organisation, the National Federation for Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers and Sailors, held a meeting in the Albert Hall in support of the League of Nations, hoping that that capitalist alliance might put an end to all war. On May 18th, at the Union Jack Club, Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson frankly and truthfully admitted that the late War was not a war to end war, and that there are thirty wars still going on. Here are his words:—

"We have been told that we went into the last war to end war. We did not; we went into it to save our skins. We were told that after the recent war we should have peace, but we have not got it. There

are at the present moment between 20 and 30 wars going on. We were told that the war was to end war, but it was not; it did not, and it could not. I hope you men, to whatever branch of the service you belong, will do all you can to keep fit and ready for the time that is coming. Except in August, 1914, our country and our Empire have never wanted you more. We are living in ticklish and dangerous times, and our command on sea, on land, and in the air is being challenged in various parts of the world. I hope you will carry this warning to you like-away with you from a very old soldier who knows what he is talking about."

The fact is, good soldiers, there will never be an end to capitalist wars until the workers win the class war.

THE RENT BILL.

The Government's new Rent Bill allows landlords to raise rents by 15 per cent. and a further 25 per cent. where tenants are not obliged to do the repairs. He may also raise the rent on account of structural improvements and alterations and to cover any increase in rates.

The 25 per cent. increase will apply practically to all working-class dwellings, for the workers, having no capital to lay out, necessarily rent houses without undertaking to do repairs. In cases where the previous Rent Act did not apply, the 15 per cent. is reduced to 5 per cent. in the first year; but most working-class dwellings will be raised by a full 40 per cent. in addition to increases put on to cover rates and alterations.

A Glasgow Labour and Co-operative Conference has decided to strike against the increases proposed in rent unless these are approved by a general election or a referendum.

We advocate a strike in any case.

Women should at once set to work to convene the Soviets of the Streets, in order to carry the matter through.

DOWN TOOLS TO STOP THE WAR ON RUSSIA.

At last, at very long, long, last, British workers are beginning to refuse to co-operate with capitalism in crushing the Russian Workers' Republic. East India Dock workers who refused to load the "Jolly George" have set the ball rolling.

The Dockers.

Now the Triennial Conference of the Dockers' Union at Plymouth has passed a resolution which ought to mean that members of the Union are instructed to handle no more goods intended for the counter-revolutionaries, but the resolution is less definite than we should like and the Dockers' Executive is both slippery and reactionary. However, let us hope that the rank and file, the people who do the work in the docks, will interpret the resolution in the proper light.

Here is the resolution:—

"That this Triennial Conference makes emphatic protest against the export of arms to Poland and other border States, which enables the junkers of these countries to set the people at war in the interest of their financial paymasters."

"It congratulates our London members in refusing to have their labour prostituted for this purpose, and calls upon the whole of the movement to resist their labour being used to perpetuate these wicked ventures."

"We further demand the abolition of secret diplomacy on the ground that it will be impossible to maintain the peace of the world while the differences between peoples are dealt with behind closed doors, and decisions binding the peoples arrived at without their knowledge and consent."

The N.U.R.

The National Union of Railwaymen's Executive, on May 21st, decided to instruct its members not to handle any material intended to assist Poland against the Russian people.

The Miners.

The Miners' Federation Executive discussed the question also on May 21st, but merely expressed the usual indignation.

A Twenty-four Hours Strike.

The National "Hands Off Russia" Committee asks for a national conference to declare a national "down tools" policy of twenty-four hours to enforce peace with Russia.

We should like to see such a demonstration of working-class solidarity as a national strike,

NEWS FROM MOSCOW.

even if it were only for twenty-four hours, but it is necessary to point out that a twenty-four hours' strike could not enforce peace with Russia. It would merely be a demonstration. A strike that is intended to coerce the Government must continue till the Government actually changes its course, and be held in readiness for subsequent use should the Government change once more.

Had the dockers, the railwaymen and the munition makers acted promptly they would have done much to make the Polish War impossible; but let them carry on and let them extend the withholding of their labour to other fields also. It is not only through Poland that the Government will strike at the Workers' Revolution.

Why should arms and munitions be shipped from this country at all?

Why should we maintain the capitalist system by working for it and submitting to it at all?

THE OIL CONTEST.

Will it Produce an American War?

The present Anglo-Japanese Alliance expires on July 20th. It pledges Japan to attack America should war break out between America and Britain. It is stated that Americans are waiting anxiously to know whether this provision will be renewed. This anxiety is another indication that war between Britain and America is regarded as being by no means out of the question.

As a matter of fact, the American Government, which is preparing to annex Mexico in order to secure the petroleum, coal, and other resources there, is now much disturbed about the British greed for oil and exclusive policy towards other countries, which makes no distinction in favour of the "beloved" American Ally.

The "Central News" reported from Washington on May 17th as follows:—

"President Wilson has transmitted to the Senate, an elaborate report on the world oil situation, received through the State Department. It deals with the British policy in great detail, and is prefaced by the statement that the policy of the British is reported to be to bring about the exclusion of aliens from all participation in the petroleum supply of the Empire, and to endeavour to obtain by the same means control of oil properties in foreign countries.

"There is no distinction between American and other alien interests. Though comprehensive discriminatory powers in particular cases given to officials make discriminatory action possible. The British policy of exclusion is being followed in occupied areas of the Ottoman Empire. The American Government made representations to the British Foreign Office on October 30th last in regard to the Turkish oil situation. At that time an assurance was given to the United States Government that there would be no further discrimination against American interests.

"Senator Phelan has introduced a measure in the Senate creating the United States Oil Corporation to develop new petroleum fields. The corporation would have Government support, although it would be organised as a private company."

Reuter's agent reports from Washington:—

"The Bureau of Mines issues a warning that, owing to the enormous increases in the number of oil-burning ships and automobiles, the consumption of petroleum in the United States is increasing faster than production.

"It is estimated that 40 per cent. of the oil in the United States has been brought to the surface, and only 20 years' supply remains. The Bureau recommends that the oil resources of the world should be developed with sufficient rapidity to keep pace with the increasing demands."

Reuter further reports from Pasadena, California, on May 18th:—

"Mr. Bedford, chairman of the Standard Oil Company, declared that the only way to find relief from the impending acute shortage of oil and petrol in the United States was through an aggressive foreign policy on the part of the United States Government."

"He added in regard to the Mexican fields that President Carranza had consistently discriminated against and had been permitted to discriminate against American oilmen, and the result of this was that practically no oil from Mexico came into the United States last year, in spite of the fact that American holdings in that country were greater than those of the British."

The Standard Oil Company Chairman's advice shows us how very real is the possibility of war with America. It also explains the Mexican position.

THE BLACK TROOPS.

Congratulations to Frau Zeitz, the German Independent Socialist, on having the courage to stand up in the German National Assembly and say during a debate on the Black Troops: "This is only a racial fight against the Blacks. It is the fault of all capitalist governments if the Blacks have remained behind in civilisation. The capitalist colonial policy is one long story of cruelty."

On May 15th the Finnish Labour Party Conference, meeting at Helsingfors, was dissolved by the police because the Party had decided to adhere to the Third International. Ten of the delegates were arrested.

A Moscow radio message received through the Rosta agency reports as follows:—

Tartar Autonomy.

A commission, composed of Staline (People's Commissary of Nationalities), Kamenev, Preobragenski, Vladiminski and Sultan Galiev, proposes the creation of an autonomous Tartar Soviet Republic.

Pacification of the Caucasus.

The commandant of the Caucasian front, in an official communication, states that the last fragments of Denikin's army, in the region of Sochi, have surrendered to the Red troops, to the number of 60,000 men, arms, horses and generals. There are therefore no more organised counter-revolutionary troops in the Caucasus. As soon as the brigand bands of Koura and Oulagi are disposed of, the fighting on the Caucasian front will cease. Our troops are ardently longing to go to the aid of the armies fighting against the Polish White Guards.

The first congress of the populations of the mountain districts, which took place at Datalpachenskaya in the Caucasus, terminated by a resolution expressing fidelity to the Soviet Republic of Great Russia, liberator of the workers of the Caucasus.

The Japanese in Siberia.

The Labour journal of the Communists reproduces information relative to the Japanese troops in Siberia, furnished by the Czech doctor, Reichel, who happened to be in Eastern Siberia during January and February last. The demoralisation of the Japanese troops is an incontestable fact. During his stay in Vladivostok the doctor witnessed the disobedience of 3,000 Japanese soldiers, who were to be sent into Siberia. One of the companies went so far as to tear off its epaulettes and replace them with red ribands. During the evening the doctor was arrested by a Japanese sentinel who, taking him for a Russian, showed him a red riband and declared himself to be a Bolshevik. Antagonism exists between the Japanese and the Americans, and between the Czechs and the Japanese. The Czechs remaining in Siberia are notoriously Sovietist. Many of them refused to submit to the evacuation. Thus at Irkutsk, 1,500 Czechs formed a Communist detachment. The Chinese troops, who are instructed after the European model and admirably equipped, are full of hate against the Japanese.

The Brusilov Conference.

The constitution of a conference, presided over by the famous conqueror of the Austrian armies, Brusilov, has created profound sensation in Russian circles. "Izvestia" publishes a letter in which the old strategist, who so distinguished himself in the imperialist war, offered his services as chief of the general staff:—

"I have been reading in the press of the last few days of the Polish offensive, the object of which is, doubtless, to seize all the provinces which formed part of the Polish kingdom before 1772, and perhaps more. If these suppositions are correct, the disquietude of the Government, to be perceived from the daily press, is easily understood. In these circumstances, it would appear to me advisable to summon a conference of statesmen and militarists, in order to examine the situation and to take measures to resist the invader. The first of these measures should be an appeal to patriots for the formation of an army. Our people must be given to understand that the old government committed a great fault in subjecting a fraternal population for centuries to the domination of force. Liberated Russia was justified in releasing a former subject people from their chains. But having liberated the Polish people, and having permitted them to decide their future for themselves, and to organize themselves as they think fit, free Russia has the right to expect the same treatment. The Polish invasion of territories which have always belonged to orthodox Russia must be forcibly resisted. In my opinion, the conference should be presided over by the commander-in-chief, and its function should be the supply of troops, food, and munitions. . . . The conference must not be executive. . . . and indeed, the task of elaborating the plan of operations belongs to the commander-in-chief and his general staff, and to no other person. Instructions issued from any college whatsoever should be regarded as a criminal interference with the authority of the commander-in-chief and his essential rights and duties. The execution of the plan of campaign necessarily belongs to whomever is responsible for it. The truth of this you will understand as well as I do, and it would be a poor commander who permitted his executive power to be assumed by any other person."

Russia and Poland.

In "Izvestia," Stiecklov remarks on the silence of the San Remo conference on the question of Russia. It is very probable that the Entente wished to await the result of the Polish offensive. But it is also very probable that the offensive itself is the result of the attitude of the Entente towards Soviet Russia. The allied imperialists have never ceased to incite Poland and the other small States against her. "But, whatever its motives are, the Entente is losing its time. If it hopes that in two months Soviet Russia will be more ready to yield to its demands it is cruelly deceiving itself. It will never obtain more advantageous conditions than the Soviet Republic is offering at the present moment. On the contrary, when it has crushed its last enemy, the Polish counter-revolution, Soviet Russia will present a still firmer front."

Pilsudski's Error.

In "Pravda," Bopodnikof writes: "The fatal error of the Polish bourgeoisie consists in the fact that it has mistaken Soviet Russia's desire for peace, and the burning ardour of its popular masses for work and economic re-construction as a sign of weakness and exhaustion. The republic of workers and peasants has changed its armies of the west and south into labour armies. The Communist Party at its last congress drew the attention of the whole population to the question of labour. The Polish White Guards, after protracted diplomatic juggleries, at last decided to throw off the mask. They began their offensive in the belief that our armies were either demobilised, or safely out of the way in Siberia or in the Caucasus, and that we were tied hand and foot by our economic crisis. Marshal Pilsudski decides that the moment is favourable and rushes headlong forward. It is the task of the Soviet Republic to make the Polish bourgeoisie understand how profoundly mistaken it was, not by a process of logical reasoning, but by mercilessly crushing the efforts of the Marshal. The Soviet Republic will know how to prove to all who are in need of proof that it has sufficient resources to fight on two fronts and at the same time restore the economic life of its gigantic territories; defend the east and the south against its white enemies, and at the same time maintain full security on the western front. Pilsudski's adventure is partly the result of the adventurous policy of the Entente, and partly the result of the greedy adventurism of the Polish ruling classes. The latter wish to rid themselves both of the alleged menace of Bolshevism and of the domination of the Entente. The Polish bourgeoisie are trembling at the two prospects, either to be the slave of triumphant Entente imperialists, or to have for ever under their noses the sight of the victorious Communist revolution. It wished to avoid both the one and the other, but it will be obliged to drink both cups. The present slight triumphs will be followed by a military catastrophe which will herald the victory of the workers and peasants. The Marshal Pilsudski and the Polish bourgeoisie will then have leisure to appreciate the consequences of their irreparable error."

Moscow Soviet Meeting.

At the Grand Theatre on May 5th the Moscow Soviet held a solemn meeting on the subject of the situation on the Polish front, at which were present delegates from the factory committees, members of the bureaux of candidates, and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Communists Mobilise.

The Communist Party has decreed the mobilisation of Communists for the western front. The Communists of Moscow and Petrograd are already en route for the armies.

Trotsky Appeals to Railwaymen.

Trotsky, functioning as People's Commissary for Ways and Communications, has circularised all railwaymen, asking them to collaborate in all efforts to obtain a victory over the Poles. Every blow of the hammer-well applied is a blow at the enemy. Every additional locomotive sent to the front hastens the victory.

Forward Workers of Russia!

Trotsky has sent a proclamation to all the citizens of Soviet territory: "The marauder is in our house. He has already penetrated into the anti-chamber of our Soviet palace and he seeks to penetrate further. White Russia and Lithuania encircle the sister Soviet republics of Great Russia and of the Ukraine. The Polish White Guards, profiting by the fact that our forces were engaged in the struggle against Koltchak and Denikin, invaded the young republics, overthrew the powers of the workers, and installed the dictatorship of proprietors and capitalists. The Polish Government is now attacking the Ukrainian wing of the Soviet mansion. The bourgeois of Warsaw, villainous menials of the Entente, oppressors of the workers and peasants of Russia, now wish to reign in the Ukraine. They are ready to transfer the land of the peasants to the Polish seigneurs, and to sell the property of the Ukrainian moujik on the Paris Stock Exchange. Further, they threaten to penetrate into Great Russia and to seize its territories at Smolensk. Intoxicated by the aid sent them by the pillagers of the world, having lost all sense of justice, the thievish nobles wish to treat the Russian workers as beasts of burden in their own house. They will not succeed. Forward, workers of Russia! Forward, honest citizens! The thief is in our Soviet house. Our house must be the dwelling of the free worker, a temple sacred to solidarity." "ROSTA."

MORE C.I.D.'s.

One hundred more detectives are to be employed also additional fast police motors. The "Daily Herald" informs its readers that these measures are "for the protection of the public" against "the crime wave." We Communists do not take kindly to the enlargement of the C.I.D. force. General Horwood, the new Chief Commissioner of Police, has also informed the "Herald" that "the Continental system of installing a concierge or watchman who scrutinises all callers to the particular flat or building of which he is in charge has been put forward as a temporary expedient which might have good results." This is a hateful and dangerous system of spying which should be fought, not welcomed. Having suffered six police visitations in eight days, the W.S.P. has no enthusiasm for such "protection"!

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The War on Soviet Russia.

May 17th.—Bonar Law evaded questions on trade with Russia and refused, on the Government's behalf, to publish the Foreign Office and War Office despatches to Russia and Instructions to British military Missions.

Munitions for Poland.

Sir R. Horne, President of the Board of Trade, admitted that an export licence was granted to the owners of the Walford Line, Limited, for the munitions of war which were to be loaded aboard the "Jolly George."

Kenworthy (Lib.): "Was this going on Government account, or on private account?"

Sir R. Horne: "On account of the Polish Military Mission."

Sir D. MacLean (Lib.): "Is it the British Military Mission in Poland or is it the Mission of Poland in England?"

Sir R. Horne: "I am afraid I have not got details of the transaction before me."

Mr. Shortt: "What firm manufactured these munitions?"

Sir R. Horne: "I am afraid I have not got that information either."

In reply to further questions, Bonar Law said:—"In October of last year, when it was feared that the Russian Border States would be attacked by the Soviet Government, a request was addressed by the Polish Government for assistance in their military equipment. In consequence of our commitments elsewhere, the British Government were unable to give any financial assistance, but they offered to supply a certain quantity of surplus stores on condition that the cost of moving them, as well as the arrangements for transport, should be undertaken by the Polish Government. This offer was accepted, and, in consequence of this gift, the material in question became the property of the Polish Government, and part of it is now being shipped by that Government. Beyond this no assistance has been, or is being given, to the Polish Government."

Japan and Siberia.

May 18th.—Harmsworth, the convenient Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, answered vaguely enquiries as to what Japan is doing in Siberia. His most definite statement was: "Owing to collisions between Japanese and Russians, Japanese troops have been sent to reinforce their garrison in Eastern Siberia. In certain towns the Japanese military are in partial control. The Zemstvo Government, however, is still in power in Vladivostok."

Poland and the Ukraine.

Bonar Law said he did not know whether a convention signed between Poland and the Ukraine on a basis of joint action against the Bolsheviks gives to Poland an outlet in the Black Sea and virtual control of the railroads through the wheat country in return for military support for Ukrainian land-lords and capitalists for ten years.

Of course Bonar Law knows the facts; his refusal to answer means that the statement is true.

Poland and East Galicia.

Bonar Law also said he did not know whether Poland had made a Treaty with the Border States of Russia from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, by which the Poles are to have East Galicia.

Again, of course, the statement is true: that is why Bonar Law refused an answer.

The British Military Mission in Poland costs, according to the War Office, £12,000 a year.

Evacuating Russians.

May 19th.—Walter Long stated that during February and up to March 25th, British ships evacuated 10,000 "refugees" and 3,000 sick and wounded from Novorovsk. On March 26th and 27th British ships evacuated 8,000 troops and 2,000 sick and wounded. From March 25th to 28th, over 60,000 persons were evacuated on Russian ships.

Law said the work of saving refugees and assisting the transport of General Denikin's army was "splendidly performed."

Kenworthy asked whether any of the so-called "refugees" had formed a fresh army under General Wrangel, but the speaker said notice must be given of that question.

Another Revelation.

Walter Long said there are two British Naval Missions against the Soviets: one is in the Crimea to advise the British Military Mission; the other is in Poland, advising the Polish Government. "There is no intention of withdrawing them," he said.

Bonar Law said the Poles had asked the advice of the British Government as to whether they should make peace with Soviet Russia and that the Government said: "It is a question of responsibility which must devolve upon you, not on us."

That is a bad admission, but what conditions did the British Government add?

Captain Wedgewood Benn said that the Polish Prime Minister asserts that "the Entente Powers consider the Polish offensive a necessary measure." Bonar Law refused to admit the imputation, but we believe it.

Armenia and Russia.

Bonar Law said that on May 4th three delegates from the Russian Soviet Government went to Vladikavkas to discuss Soviet recognition of Armenian independence.

Russian Refugee Stories.

May 20th.—The British refugees returning from Russia look remarkably fat and well in most cases. Nevertheless, many of them consider it to be their duty to be martyrs. Bonar Law announced that the Government has formed a committee to collect their

statements. The committee is to consist of Lord Emmott, Sir E. Hume Williams, M.P.—and William Brace, M.P. So Brace is to put the Labour Party hall-mark on these malicious yarns!

What do the South Wales miners think of it? Did the Labour Party officially approve it?

The Foreign Affairs Debate.

May 20th.—On the adjournment for Whitsuntide, the promised foreign affairs debate took place. It was a poor performance.

Lieut.-Col. Guinness, on the Government's behalf, said the Polish war could not be referred to the League of Nations because the League has no force to back its decisions at present, for neither France, Italy, nor Britain, could at present raise troops for a big campaign in Central Europe.

Kenworthy opposes the Polish War, but he makes it plain that he is no Bolshevik. He said he has enough confidence in the British to believe they can resist Soviet propaganda.

He protested that the Government saved General Wrangel from the Red Army, by telling the Soviets that trade negotiations would depend on their sparing him; then aided Wrangel to advance by the support of British guns.

J. R. Clynes joined the cry for the intervention of the League of Nations, saying that he knows of no other machinery to keep the peace and that the League would be required "whether the States be capitalist or Socialist."

We are quite convinced that Clynes has never been converted to genuine Socialism.

Guinness had opened the Government's defence by asserting that the Poles had done everything possible to secure peace, but Soviet Russia had repulsed all advances. Bonar Law dropped that claim, but said the British Government is not responsible for the war, though Lloyd George had said:—

"If the Poles made a sincere attempt to make an equitable peace, and if the Bolsheviks either refused or having made peace, proceeded to repudiate it, Great Britain would feel bound to assist Poland to the best of its power."

"He was sure it would be possible for both the French and British Governments to arouse their people, exhausted as they were by a five years' war, to make fresh efforts if Poland had made a sincere attempt to make peace on fair terms and the Bolsheviks rejected it, and attacked Poland instead."

Neil MacLean said he was against the Soviet Government discriminating against delegates from the League of Nations, and against discrimination by the British Government against any Russian delegates. He seems to pride himself on being impartial!

He demanded that Poland should be told to submit its claim to the League of Nations and that the Soviet Government should also be told to submit its claim to the League.

Does he not realise that Communist Russia cannot get justice in a capitalist league?

The Labour leaders and semi-Socialist sentimentalists who refuse to recognise that the international class war is in progress are doing all that can be done to popularise the policy of intervention by the League of Nations in the affairs of Soviet Russia.

This criminally idiotic policy shows no sign of succeeding because the Allied peoples are war-weary and the governments are afraid to incur further heavy debts.

Food Prices.

May 17th.—Dr. Macnamara gave the following estimate of the increase of prices from the pre-War standard to May, 1920: beef, 112 per cent.; bacon, 170 per cent.; bread, 116 per cent.; sugar, 387 per cent.; milk, 158 per cent.; butter, 151 per cent.; cheese, 136 per cent.; eggs, 174 per cent.; margarine, 96 per cent.; macaroni, 162 per cent.; tea, 90 per cent.; potatoes, 196 per cent.

Navy Estimates.

£7,864,300 was voted for feeding and clothing the Navy. This is a mere nothing in naval expenditure.

Irish Bill.

May 18th.—Long speeches on Ireland. Three divisions in which the Government scored large majorities.

J. R. Clynes announced that the Labour Party would not vote against the Bill in all divisions, but he criticised it on purely Asquithian lines and avoided the question of Irish independence.

Allied Debts and Spoils.

Austen Chamberlain said the French War debt to Britain is about £5,000,000,000. In regard to Germany's indemnities he said that the cost of the Army of Occupation came first, then any sums allowed to Germany for maintenance and food and raw material; "but there shall be no question of priorities among the Allies in regard to the distribution of the sums which are available in payment of reparation."

Members wanted to know what happened at Lympe, Chamberlain said: "There was no new arrangement made at Lympe."

He also denied the press stories of what happened at Folkestone.

The Irish Bill Again.

The Irish Bill went on a few stages further.

Irish Land Seizures.

May 20th.—The following figures were given of Sinn

Fein land seizures:—			
Galway East	48	8,349	
Galway West	27	3,150	
Leitrim	—	—	
Roscommon	7	5,847	
Sligo	7	794	
Total	89	18,640	

WHALING IN SOUTH GEORGIA.

Deportation of Workers.

Tom Barker Exposes Colonial Office Lie.

In the House of Commons on 17th May, Lieut.-Colonel Amery, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, in reply to a question, said: "The whaling companies using South Georgia hold leases of land for whaling purposes, granted by the Government of the Falkland Islands for terms of 21 years, running from various dates between 1906 and 1911. Each company has the right to employ from two to four steam whalers. The magistrate has occasionally given assistance in the settlement of labour disputes, but beyond this the Colonial Government has not intervened directly in matters of wages or conditions of labour. I understand conditions of labour are in every way satisfactory."

It appears that when the question was first put, the Colonial Office declared that there was no South Georgia in the British Empire, and it was quite a surprise to them to find after a search of the map that South Georgia was one of the Falkland Islands. This incident throws a vivid light on the way in which British Colonies are governed from Westminster.

The "assistance" given by the British police magistrate, and the labour conditions which Colonel Amery described as "in every way satisfactory," are exposed by Tom Barker, a secretary of the Transport Workers' organisation, of Buenos Aires.

Comrade Barker tells us that after a recent strike of the workers at the island whaling stations had been settled in favour of the workers, and the agreement signed by the employers and the Police Magistrate, and stamped with a police stamp, a British cruiser arrived. The Police Magistrate then said: "I have got the whip in hand now, and I am going to use it!"

The agreement signed by the employers and the magistrate was accordingly revoked, whereat the workers again went on strike.

The authorities retorted by deporting numbers of men.

The leaders were first fined £5 in English money for striking, then fined half all the arrears of wages that had been accumulating for them during the whole time they had been working on the island, in some cases for periods of four, five and six years. One man, for instance, had to forfeit 197 pounds, worth £60 in English money, as well as the £5. Some of the men were cheated in regard to the percentages owing to them. Some were given no account of wages at all and no money, but were just dragged on board ship with their passports marked: "Deported from South Georgia, Binne, Police Magistrate." Some men were defrauded of literally thousands of pounds.

They landed in Buenos Aires and so came in touch with the organisation to which Comrade Barker belongs.

They reported not only that the whaling companies had broken its agreement with them and defrauded them of their wages, but that the companies were flagrantly breaking their agreements with the Government. The companies are pledged by their agreements to use the whole of each whale they catch—not merely to use the most profitable parts and throw the rest away. The object of this provision is of course to prevent the wasting of whales, which are a valuable property of the island which belongs to the British nation. A whale is worth anything from £2,000 to £5,000. As a result of the wasteful havoc amongst the whales wrought by the whaling companies, the whales are rapidly growing more scarce. The deported men stated that when they left South Georgia no fewer than 30 partly used whales were moored to the shore, some of them having been tied up there 24 days, and being now quite unfit for use. Under ordinary conditions only two whales a day can be cut up by the workers. The practice of the whaling companies is to cut up the parts which yield the most oil, and then on dark nights to let the rest of the carcass go drifting out to sea.

HUNGARIAN WHITE TERROR.

Armed Forces Exclude Students.

Budapest University, under the control of the Students' armed forces, has excluded all Socialist and Jewish students. There are 3,000 members of the Students' armed forces, who are each paid 1,200 kronen a month.

Troops Surround Parliament.

On April 15th it was stated in the Hungarian National Assembly that the troops who had surrounded it and prevented many members, including the Finance Minister, from entering, had done so in "well meaning though exaggerated zeal."

A Gallant Murderer.

Az Ember (Man), the weekly organ of the Social Democrats, in its issue of April 18th, reported the disappearance of 20 members of the Social Democratic Party who had been taken from their homes by military officers. The same paper reports that Count Jankovich-Besau introduced his aide-de-camp to the Archduke Joseph, Governor Horthy, their wives and other guests, saying: "One of my most gallant officers, I could not tell how many Jews and Communists he has put to death with his own hands."

The Labour paper, the *Kaschan Worker*, records that the Rabbi of Karczag who tried to send details of local atrocities to the Entente Missions in Budapest was arrested by a lieutenant named Kovacs and killed the same day in the school.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

HOUSING.

Important Developments.

The housing shortage is acute in South Wales. For several months the various local bodies have been in communication with the Government in the hope that once the Government had approved their schemes, it would finance them. Well over a year ago, however, a committee of experts appointed to go into the matter reported to the Government that it could not undertake the cost of building the houses the country needs. So the farce went on until, being unable to further delay matters the Government informed the various local bodies that it would not find the money and suggested to them that they should float Housing Loans in their various localities.

Housing Loans Won't Float.

One or two councils in the South Wales area have made an attempt to raise loans, but, as was only to be expected, they have failed. With the high rates of interest paid in the various industrial concerns, it was not to be expected that people with money to invest would place it in Housing Bonds with the comparatively low rate of interest offered and the knowledge that such stock is certain to depreciate in value.

Rhondda Housing Bonds.

Undeterred by the examples of other councils, the Rhondda Council drew up its scheme of Bonds. The coal-owners' representatives on the Council offered to lend a certain portion subject to the Miners' Federation also lending a portion. A deputation was therefore selected to interview the Executive Council of the S.W.M.F.

The Rank and file Contest with the Labour Councillors.

In the interval the rank and file began to move, and at Ferndale, where the local lodge of the S.W.M.F. runs its own candidates for the local administrative Councils, large meetings were held and resolutions were passed protesting against the whole scheme of Housing Bonds. It was decided to ask the Executive Council not to invest any of the funds in any such scheme.

This brought the Labourer Councillors who had been run by this lodge out on the warpath. One of these Councillors ignored the men he was supposed to represent; another, objecting to be a delegate only, resigned.

The Executive Council of the S.W.M.F., having met and decided not to purchase Housing Bonds, it can now be safely assumed that the Rhondda scheme now only requires a burial.

Comrades who understand the position should keep this failure, by a Labour majority in a capitalist system, well in the public eye, and, exploiting the situation, should point out how any real improvement in the life of the worker must be preceded by the Workers' Revolution. When the letter of resignation, sent by Mr. Williams of Ferndale, was read at the Rhondda Council meeting, loud were the lamentations by the Labour members. That a member of the working-class section of an electorate should be called to "dictate" to their credited representatives what action he should take on any question, seemed to these "Labour Democrats" to be the height of impudence. No doubt they saw in this a sign of the early termination of their careers as dictators and local gods. It was unanimously decided to ask Mr. Williams to reconsider his decision.

"Representatives?"

Those members of the Council who have vehemently protested that they have no desire to become leaders of the workers, but merely representatives, should have some little difficulty in explaining their attitude on this question.

Porth Trades Council Demands Rhondda Council Agenda.

Another indication of the clear-cut difference between Labour policy and Communism, was given at the same meeting of the Council, when consideration (?) was given to a request forwarded by the Porth Trades and Labour Council, asking the Council to submit the agendas of the Council to the Trades and Labour Councils for their consideration. In view of the fact that the Council is composed of a Labour majority, and that the Trades and Labour Councils are the organs that run those men, the request made was a very reasonable one. This again the Labour members declared to be an attempt by the minority to influence the Councillors.

Communists Turning from Bourgeois Elections.

Large numbers of people are already suspicious of the nett gain achieved by sending men to the Local Government Bodies, and in view of the dictatorial attitude now being adopted by the Rhondda Council, the Labour candidates are likely to find at this next election that those who were lately their most energetic supporters, have grown absolutely indifferent to the elections.

The Labour Party policy cannot satisfy the yearnings of the Communist. In housing, education, or freedom of expression in matters politic or social, the only remedy is to be found in a complete overthrow of the present system of production and distribution, and the substitution of Communism.

Nine Mile Point and Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen.

As everyone knows, the Nine Mile Point men were forced by circumstances to strike unofficially and

were then betrayed by their agent, and partly through this were again betrayed by Conference. At Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen the men were also compelled to strike unofficially. Having been idle for three weeks they made application to the E.C. for strike pay. When asked for a report upon the strike, their District Agent admitted that the men had struck without consulting him, but he argued: "You cannot expect men to suffer continuously the impositions of the coal-owners without striking back. Therefore I support these men in the action they have taken." This influenced the Executive into granting the demand for strike pay. Let us hope further that the moral of this story will not be lost upon the betrayer of the Nine Mile Point men.

The South Wales "Echo" Mistaken.

Judging from the leading article in the South Wales "Echo" of May 21st, the editor of that paper is very ignorant of the true position of the movement in the coal-mining valleys of Wales. He takes to task the Secretary of the British Empire Union, because he makes certain allegations concerning South Wales. The Secretary of the B.E.U. must be a reader of the "Workers' Dreadnought," for the statements made by him have only been made public through the columns of this paper. The editor of the South Wales "Echo" can be assured that the statements he complains of are true. Should he have any desire to understand the revolutionary movement in South Wales, he would be well advised to follow the example of the B.E.U. Secretary.

Mountain Study Classes.

With the Whitsun holidays most of the study circles and classes will be drawing to a close for the season. This is not altogether desirable, and comrades should organise Mountain Study Classes. On the mountain top the atmospheric conditions are likely to assist in the understanding of the problems that present themselves to the Communist student. These classes have been held in past years in some areas and have invariably proved a great success.

Actions speak louder than words: were it not for this fact, one would be inclined to believe that Bolshevism had made another convert. At a meeting of the South Wales Conciliation Board for the Mining Industry, the coal-owners complained bitterly of the breaking of agreements by the workmen. In reply, the Right Hon. W. Brace, M.P., informed the Board that "if agreements were never broken there would be no progress."

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By TOM KINSEY.

Wyndham Colliery workmen, having received three months' notice from their doctor, are endeavouring to launch a scheme whereby they will have full control over their doctors in the future. In most parts of the coalfield the workmen have no voice directly or indirectly in the selection of a doctor, and whenever signing a contract of employment at a colliery, he automatically signs for a doctor about whom he knows nothing whatever. The doctor is paid on the poundage system, in this case 2d. out of every £ in wages paid to the workmen, for family attendance, besides what he receives as a panel doctor. The quality and standard of administration and treatment given as compared with the income received is seriously inefficient, and it is time the workers aroused themselves to grapple with this question with the same spirit and determination that is shown in regard to their conditions of employment.

The Mass Meeting.

In connection with the Wyndham Colliery workers' scheme, a mass meeting was held under the joint auspices of the various lodges on Sunday, May 16th, with a view to extending it throughout the valley.

After explanatory statements, a good discussion followed. Those in opposition did not confine themselves to the scheme, but wandered away to irrelevant issues. One poor soul, seemed quite perplexed as to what would happen to the other doctors if the scheme extended, and suggested amongst other things that they should be consulted upon it, and if they approved all well and good, otherwise we should have due regard to their position. Such reasoning indicates a type of mind that is seriously defective in the understanding of realities. Can the idea be entertained that a doctor, whose income now runs into thousands, will submit without opposition to a scheme whereby his salary will be in hundreds?

Another point with the opposition was "That the doctors will tolerate no interference with their profession from a body of workmen." So there we have it! Shall the workers control for the doctors? That is exactly where the essence of the opposition exists. And it may also be stated that is exactly the point which the advanced elements support. We believe that if it were wise to co-operate in providing the cash, it is also wise to co-operate in administering it. That idea is not confined to our relation with the doctor, but is extended to all spheres of life; we are out for the control and administration of all that concerns our daily existence. The

decision of the Wyndham workers' scheme was overwhelmingly in favour.

A Revelation.

One of the Wyndham workmen stated that their medical committee had, twelve months ago, asked for a joint meeting of the three medical committees with the object of discussing the advisability of a new Medical Aid Scheme. To this request no reply had been received. Two members of the Ogmere Medical Committee then rose, protesting that this was the first they had heard of the matter. One of these two members informed some of us later that the Ogmere Medical Committee is continuously ignored by its Secretary, who, by the way, is Mr. D. J. Thomas, our so-called Miners' Examiner. Last January he was instructed to draw out a balance-sheet of the Society's accounts, and to call a meeting of its subscribers for to discuss the balance-sheet; but for some reason he has ignored these instructions. The Committee also decided to pay over a sum of money to the Ambulance Car Fund. That again has not been done. These things the workers do not know. It may be safely stated that there "is no one who panders more to public opinion than this gentleman. During the war he would not commit himself one way or the other upon it, but he associated himself with everything that was popular in the way of helping our boys to endure the hell they went to in the interest of Capitalism, although avoiding it himself. On one occasion, after promising to take the chair of an I.L.P. meeting, he refused to do so when it became clear that there might be organised opposition. When at another meeting the speaker was of national repute, and no opposition threatened, our friend was on the platform moving a resolution of protest against the increased cost of living. Therefore, you Ogmorites, you must measure the pelf and place hunters, not merely by their statements, but by their actions.

We are probably up against a fight, we must pull our coats off and see to it that the new Medical Scheme is made a huge success. The influence of D. J. Thomas will weigh heavily on one side or the other. But mark these words: our friend will be a spectator of the fight until he is assured of its popularity, but, eventually, he will emerge on the side of the strong. Comrades, grit and determination will win; see to it that it is yours!

SCOTTISH MINING NOTES.

The capitalist owners of a provincial paper printed recently a short article expressing sentiments intended to be severely critical of the speech of a Scottish miners' agent, in which the agent had advocated "working-class action to secure rent-free houses for workers." The writer of the castigating comments seemed to have been at great pains to find words to express adequately how very, very absurd the proposal appeared to him.

"Rent-free houses for workers is not a business proposition. It would not pay," is the conclusion he arrives at. That is a conclusion which must be elaborated before poverty-stricken readers can appreciate its obvious perils for the investing public. But to the capitalistically-minded to prove that a scheme will not pay dividends, is to damn it. Such persons prefer "wealth for investors" to "health and happiness for all."

People afflicted with minds in bondage to capitalist prejudices, to class snobbery and to competitive methods cannot see the force of arguments based on the principles of equality and mutual aid, which aim at health and happiness, instead of at profits. They cannot differentiate between anti-social grab-all-you-can actions, and social take-what-you-need actions.

It would be illogical to expect logical reasoning from persons who are blessed with such a large share of "original, environmental sin" as to consider the capitalist system of society a logical system. The capitalist system is that system under which we see the illogical spectacle of a people possessed of a machinery, powerful enough to enable them to produce a superabundance of everything they need, contenting themselves with a worrying, haunted-by-poverty scramble for sustenance, or a degrading, haunted-by-Bolsheviks scramble for profits.

Social labour, equal to one man's labour, for twenty months, is sufficient to erect a house with all modern conveniences. Certain persons are maintained by the community without producing anything in return. If these persons were to begin producing, their maintenance would cost the community no more than at present, and the articles produced by those who were previously parasites could be given away free (as far as the labour entailed in them was concerned) without raising the cost of living, or anyone having to work harder for a smaller return.

If the parasites were conscripted and compelled to produce houses or building materials, or other articles to exchange for building material, at the end of twenty months the community could give to as many workers as there were drones conscripted a rent-free house.

There are enough "gentlemen of no occupation" in any capitalist country to provide a house for every worker in that country. Upper class support of the Military Service Act proves that the drones would not object to conscription, and upper-class workers during the last railway-strike proved that the drones want to work. To make the scheme talked of as "practical politics" only requires the British Dictatorship of the Workers.

R. SELKIRK.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

At present, as some wit has said, there is a Peace on. But it is not expected to last long. Something or other is bound to happen. And then there will be, not Peace, but pieces.

Sir Henry Wilson, one of our boss militarists, has been getting it off his mind at the Union Jack Club. Says Sir Henry: "We were told that after the recent war, we should have peace, but we had not got it. There were, at the present moment, between 20 and 30 wars going on. We were told that the war was to end war, but it was not, it did not, it could not." He hoped men would do all they could to keep fit and ready for "the time that is coming."

What is "the time that is coming?" Well, polish your monocle for the following item, Henry, and give your thought-box a rattle:—

"A war with U.S. Regarded as possible in Washington. Japanese Alliance. The most intense interest is felt in political circles here in the negotiations to renew the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Senate and the State Department observe with uneasiness that if the agreement has been renewed without further modification, Japan will be pledged to attack America, should hostilities arise between America and Great Britain. The very fact that such uneasiness over the alliance exists, shows that war with Great Britain and Japan is regarded as an event which, if not probable, is at least possible."

Is that, Henry, the good time that is coming? Or is it this, from the *Evening Standard* of 20th May:—

"The news of the Bolshevik invasion of Persia has not come in the nature of a surprise to official and diplomatic circles in London. But what is the British policy? That must be settled—and settled quickly."

It will occur to you, Henry, that somewhere in Persia are oil-fields "belonging" to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in which the British Government is supposed to have shares. And as the *Star* of May 18th says, "Britain is out for oil control."

The last war was an "Engineers' War"—a War of Coal and Iron. The Allies got the Coal and Iron: Germany got the Coal-scuttle.

But, is that the "time that is coming?" Do the symptoms seem to suggest that this is the "Day"? Or we turn to the Lord Chancellor (Ex-Galloper Smith, of Carson's Army) and read:—

"Questioned on Ireland, in the House of Lords, he said that it was the policy of the Government, whether the struggle were short or long, to employ the whole available forces and resources of these islands in order to restore law and order in Ireland, and render utterly impossible the campaign with the object of secession. If the existing military forces of this country were insufficient, they would as little hesitate to ask the country to increase those forces, as they hesitated in the crisis of the last war. (Hear, hear.)"

It is a pity conscription came to an end on April 30th last. But here comes Winnie Churchill with his nice new red coats for the "Volunteers." Perhaps he is looking forward and getting ready for the "time that is coming." He is going to spend £3,000,000 on these red coats. Allowing £2 per coat, that is 1,000,000 soldiers. Where are they going, I wonder?

Perhaps an answer may be found in what Lord Inchcape says in the *Evening Standard* of May 20th:—

"The war against Germany is over. The war at home has little more than begun."

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

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

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, May 28th, Manor Park Road, Harlesden, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, May 29th, Canal Head (off Rye Lane), Peckham, 3 p.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker, Minnie Birch.

7 p.m. Janet Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, May 30th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m.

Melvina Walker, R. Bishop.

Trafalgar Square, 4 p.m. (see advertisement).

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Pyzer, Melvina Walker.

Thursday, June 3rd, Cobden Statue (near Mornington Crescent), 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara, B. Colonna.

Friday, June 4th, Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop and others.

Saturday, June 5th. Meetings in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

Monday, May 31st, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Business Meeting.

Thursday, June 3rd, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class. Melvina Walker.

Friday, May 28th and June 4th. 400, Old Ford Road, 7-10 p.m. Dancing.

Friday, June 4th. Camberwell Club and Institute, 16, Peckham Road (see advertisement).

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, May 30th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, June 3rd, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, June 1st, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Christy and others.

HANDS OFF GERMANY COMMITTEE.

Sunday, May 29th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 7.30 p.m. Colonna, Rosenberg, Cohen.

To Cheer
HAROLD BURGESS

MEETING

Outside Pentonville Prison,

THURSDAY, MAY 27th, 8 p.m.

W.S.F. PUBLIC MEETING

IN THE
Camberwell Labour Club and Institute,
16, PECKHAM ROAD,
Near Camberwell Green.

On Friday, June 4th, at 7.30 p.m.

Doors Open at 7 p.m.

Chair: MELVINA WALKER.

Speakers: SYLVIA PANKHURST and others.

Admission Free. Silver Collection.

W.S.F. MEETING

IN
TRAFALGAR SQUARE
On Sunday, May 30th

At 4 p.m.

TO DISCUSS

"The Present Situation at Home and Abroad."

Speakers:

TOM BARKER.

VICTOR BEACHAM.

MINNIE BIRCH.

SYLVIA PANKHURST.

HENRY SARA.

MELVINA WALKER.

NORD WILGRIS.

And Others.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

can be obtained from the following newsagents:—

Harlesden, N.W.10.—

Mr. PALMER, 130, Craven Park Road.

Mr. KENNIS, 89, High Street.

Mr. THORNTON, 125, High Street.

Mr. H. GOODE, 140, Minet Avenue.

Mr. A. MITCHELL, 64, Nicoll Road.

Leicester—

W. C. ALLEN, 8, Kent Street.

A. M. SIDWELL, 8, Stanley Street.

F. BELL, 2, Chatham Street.

Paddington, W.2.

CORNER, 98, Harrow Road, Paddington, W.2.

Stonebridge Park, N.W.10.

SPENCER, 81, Hillside.

Willesden, N.W.10.

LAMBARD, 746, Harrow Road.

Willesden Green, N.W.10.

ELLIOTT, 304, High Road.

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Rank and File Movement.

Points from the Nottingham Conference Agenda.

ITEM.—That this Union arrange for scholarships in a Labour College, the same to be thrown open for competition to all members of the U.V.W.

There is every prospect of this item of the agenda meeting with unanimous support, as it has also the official support of the Executive Council, who have tabled a resolution themselves: "That 3d. per member per annum be paid as affiliation fees to the Central Labour College." In view of the fact that the United Vehicle Workers is close on 120,000 strong and promises well to reach the 200,000 mark as the premier union for road transport employees in the near future, it will be seen the C.L.C. stands to gain substantially. Members everywhere realise the need for independent working class education as they know that false economics are taught in the capitalist educational institutions and Universities. The members acutely realise the need, for those most fitted of their number, to have a specialised education in that great branch of knowledge concerning the class position, and so that these members when trained can hand their knowledge on again through the medium of Social Science Classes, Industrial History Classes, and Economics Classes throughout the Union. The working class point of view is the only right point of view for the workers, and that point of view is never taught by bodies functioning under a capitalist Board of Education.

ITEM.—That the 1st of May be regarded as a general holiday for all Road Transport Workers.

This item also has been tabled by the Executive Council, and it gives evidence of a class-consciousness in demanding the "workers' day" as a national holiday, that official bodies are not usually credited with. There is little doubt but that the rank and file will wholeheartedly and loyally support this lead given by the Official element, and we may hope, then, that by next May Day not a wheel will be turning on the streets, at least so far as buses, trams, cabs, and commercial vehicles are concerned. Perambulators and prison vans we leave to other people.

ITEM.—That this A.G.M. do order that nominations be called for for the whole of the E.C. and official positions, owing to the unsatisfactory manner in which allocation to positions took place. Chief officials by national ballot, district officials by district ballot, and E.C. by the various sections.

Trade Unionists everywhere will be astounded to learn that the present E.C. were elected by lodge block vote ballot, where ten or fifteen men could cast a vote of, in some cases, fifteen hundred. Also that the E.C. were, although set up on a district principle, voted for by block vote nationally—the result of of course being that the nominees of the official caucus had no difficulty in securing election by a block vote from branches hundreds of miles away, who had never seen or heard of the persons they were voting for. Such a travesty of the elementary principles of democracy would be hard to believe, but it is nevertheless true. It is practically certain that the meeting will alter this outrageous state of affairs and arrange that every member who wishes to vote shall have the chance to vote, and districts and sections shall themselves vote their own nominees. E. T. W.

THE DOCKERS' CONFERENCE.

Will British Labour Act in Defence of Ireland?

The Irish Dockers have at last decided to refuse to unload munitions shipped to Ireland for use against the Irish people by the British army of occupation. The news that the step has only just been taken recalls us with a shock to the knowledge that all this time Irish workers have been helping the British Government to keep them in subjection. It is therefore not surprising to learn that the Dockers on this side of the water are still only considering whether they will continue helping to send the means to crush their fellow workers over there.

The Dockers' Triennial Conference at Plymouth has ended in oratorical gas so far as the Irish question is concerned.

Those mis-leaders, Tillett and Sexton, though both Irishmen, are most anxious that Labour shall take no action to embarrass the Government on this or any other question. The Dockers' Conference, at their suggestion, has passed a silly resolution calling for a six months' armistice in Ireland—an impossible suggestion, and one that would settle nothing. The resolution asked that the British Labour Party should be represented at the armistice—a suggestion which will hardly commend itself to the Irish, as the Labour Party leaders are opposed to the creation of an Irish Republic.

The Charlatan who continually drinks not wisely but too well, in moving a resolution on the League of Nations, said: "I hope that in future great democracies will not be led and misled by those engines of public opinion—Press, Pulpit, and Platform—all terrible in their effect when used in such malicious manner."

But who was it that, not content with platforms only, appeared with German trophies on the music-hall stage?

The Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen decided on May 21st to ask for a full delegate meeting of the Triple Alliance at the earliest possible moment to go into the whole question of the state of Ireland.

We regret to say that we do not believe this means business.

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