

Workers' Breadnought

Vol. VII.—No. 13.

SATURDAY, JUNE 19th, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

A Constitution for British Soviets.

POINTS FOR A COMMUNIST PROGRAMME.

The capitalist system must be completely overthrown and replaced by the common ownership and workers' control of the land, the industries of all kinds and all means of production and distribution.

Parliament must be abolished and replaced by a system of Soviets formed by delegates from the industries, the homes, the regiments and the ships.

All Soviet delegates may be changed at any time. They must be instructed by and report to those whom they represent. No person may take part in any Soviet, or may vote for or be elected as a Soviet delegate who lives, or attempts to live on accumulated wealth, by private trading, or the labour of others whom he or she employs for private gain.

Household Soviets.

In order that mothers and those who are organisers of the family life of the community may be adequately represented, and may take their due part in the management of society, a system of household Soviets shall be built up.

Urban Areas.

Every urban district* shall be divided into Household Soviet areas, each of which shall include, as nearly as possible, 250 people.

The women members of these families who are over 20 years of age, and who are mothers and housekeepers, shall form the Household Soviet for the area.

Individual men and women who have no housekeeper to care for them or to represent them may take part in the Household Soviet and may vote on matters connected with household arrangements; matters which are purely the concern of mothers will be left to the mothers. The Household Soviet Areas, if covering 250 people, would produce about 50 members of the Household Soviets, since the average family numbers five. The census of 1911 showed that in England and Wales a population of 36,075,269 gave 8,018,857 families or separate occupiers. The number of separate occupiers and the number of mothers might be somewhat greater under Communism.

Fifty has been tentatively chosen as the unit of the Household Soviet, on the ground that it would be difficult to find meeting places for a larger number of women. In working-class districts there is not one house in every 250 that has a room large enough to contain even 50 women, but all the meetings need not be held simultaneously, and until other premises are provided some of the superfluous chapels, churches and public-houses to be found in every working-class district could be commandeered for this purpose.

The Household Soviet shall elect a secretary and three or more delegates, who shall transact any business or perform any duties allocated to them by the Household Soviet, and shall deal with any emergency business which may arise between its meetings. The Household Soviet may appoint committees and sub-committees.

The Household Soviet shall meet weekly. It may be called together in the interim for urgent business by the delegates.

The Household Soviet shall make rules for its own guidance, and instruct its delegates upon the following matters:—

Furnishings, repairs and decorations required for the houses within its area.

The settlement of additional families or individuals in vacant or partially occupied premises in its area.

The prevention of overcrowding in its area.

Supplies of food and clothing for the inhabitants of its area.

Efficiency of the water supply, lighting, fuel, cleaning and sanitation, removal of refuse, window cleaning, etc.

Bathing and laundry facilities.

Co-operative housekeeping.

Children's nurseries.

Provision of nursing for the sick.

Midwifery and care of pregnant and nursing mothers and all questions affecting mothers, infants, and family matters generally.

Capitalism's Attitude



To Lenin.

To Krasin.

All public or political questions affecting the women who form the Household Soviet of the Area.

The Household Soviet shall elect a delegate to the Household Soviet of the district.

The Household Soviet shall work in conjunction with the Household Soviet for the district or sub-district, and shall refer all matters beyond its competence to the Household Soviet of the district, to one of the Industrial Soviets, to the local Soviet which deals with general political questions, or to any appropriate special committee.

District Household Soviets.

The District Household Soviet shall comprise the delegates of the Household Soviets within its boundaries. It shall carry out the instructions received from the Household Soviets and shall care for all the matters falling within the province of Household Soviets as affecting the district area. Matters which are beyond its competence it shall refer to the Household Soviet of the Town or District Group, etc.

If the existing registration or administrative areas were used in building up the Soviet system, the District Soviets would not be numerically equal in membership. New Soviet Districts could be mapped out with advantage; but if the present registration districts were used, the District Soviets would work out as follows in Poplar, in the five registration districts of Manchester and Salford, and in the six registration districts of Cardiff:—

Poplar.

The population of Poplar at the 1911 census was 162,449, and there were 33,179 families or separate occupiers. Each of these would mean a member of the Household Soviets. Fifty members to each Household Soviet would make 704 Soviet areas. The Poplar

District Household Soviet would therefore consist of 704 members. As the number is rather large Sub-District Household Soviets could be formed in Bow, Bromley and Poplar.

Manchester Registration Districts.

In Manchester the present registration districts and sub-districts and the proposed Household Soviet areas would be roughly as follows:—

	Separate Families or Occupiers.	Probable Number of Soviet Areas.	Delegates to Manchester and Salford Household Soviets.
Chorlton District ...	86209	1724	85
Didsbury Sub-District ...	13891	266	...
Ardwick " ...	41563	831	...
Chorlton-on-Medlock ...	11291	225	...
Hulme " ...	20034	400	...
Manchester District ...	22900	458	29
Ancoats Sub-District ...	8302	166	...
Central " ...	4234	84	...
St. George " ...	10864	207	...
Prestwich District ...	50098	1001	130
Cheetham Sub-District ...	10507	210	...
Prestwich " ...	5378	67	...
Blackley " ...	6728	134	...
Fallowfield " ...	8720	177	...
Newton Heath " ...	8858	177	...
Bradford " ...	11912	238	...
Salford District ...	49924	998	49
Pendleton Sub-District ...	13918	278	...
Broughton " ...	11988	239	...
Greenfield " ...	9587	190	...
Regent Road " ...	14583	291	...
Total delegates to Manchester and Salford Household Soviet	907

Cardiff.

	Separate Families or Occupiers.	Probable Number of Soviet Areas.	Delegates to Cardiff Household Soviet.
Cardiff ...	55148	1102	...
Llandaff ...	5409	108	5
East Cardiff ...	12739	254	19
Central Cardiff ...	11668	133	6
West Cardiff ...	13670	273	13
Penarth ...	3411	68	3
St. Nicholas ...	8251	165	8
Total Delegates to Cardiff Household Soviets	47

Each District Household Soviet shall appoint a secretary and committee of 12 delegates to carry out its instructions and to deal with business arising between its sittings.

The District Household Soviet shall meet fortnightly. It may be called together for any emergency on the request of half the committee or three Household Soviets.

The District Household Soviets shall appoint delegates to the District Soviet which deals with general political questions and public matters.

Household Soviets of Towns.

District or Sub-District Household Soviets which form part of towns with a population of over 50,000, shall send to the Household Soviet of that town one delegate for every 20 Soviet Areas. Thus to the Manchester and Salford Soviet the various sub-districts would send altogether 207 delegates.

The Household Soviets of towns shall appoint delegates to the Town Soviets.

Household Soviet Town and District Groups.

The Household Soviets of urban districts which do not form part of towns, and towns of a population of less than 50,000 shall be grouped, where this can be done with geographical and occupational appropriateness.

* The administrative urban districts and boroughs or the registration districts may be chosen as the basis of organisation, or the new Soviet districts may be created.

These Town and District Groups shall be composed of one delegate for every 20 Soviet Areas or part thereof, and shall consist of not less than 25 and not more than 500 members. If the delegates number less than 25 they must be grouped with the rural Soviets.

These Soviet Groups send delegates to the corresponding general Soviet Group.

Regional Household Soviets.

Regional Household Soviets shall be formed to represent, not county or other existing administrative or registration areas, but the great industrial divisions, i.e.: the South Wales Coalfield, the Black Country, the Lancashire and Cheshire cotton factory areas, etc. The delegates to these regional conferences shall be in the proportion of one to every 100 Household Soviet Areas. Each Regional Household Soviet shall elect a committee of 21.

London.

London shall be treated as one Regional Area, though its boundaries and local division need revision. With rent-free houses and the removal of poverty and its sordid accompaniments there would probably be a re-grouping of London's population. Whilst people would still tend to live at the end of the town where their business lies; whilst workers in the docks would tend to move eastward in order to be near their daily work, none would live in the East End for reasons of poverty, and the East End would lose its present unlovely character. At the same time, free travelling facilities would make it easier for people to live outside the town. The tendency for the dwelling places to be outside the town altogether will be accentuated.

Moreover, each of the various districts will become more and more specialised to a certain industry. The present district boundaries will be altered also. There will be one big dock district and sub-districts. One big Regional Soviet for all the London docks with District and Sub-District Soviets.

The Regional Household Soviets send delegates to the Regional Soviets.

Household Soviets (Rural Areas).

Each village and hamlet shall have its own Household Soviet. If the village be a scattered one, additional Household Soviets may be formed in order that, as far as possible, no house shall be situated at an inconvenient distance from the Soviet meeting place.

Rural District Household Soviets.

Delegates from Rural Household Soviets shall form Rural District Soviets, such Soviets not to number less than 10 or more than 300 delegates.

County Rural Household Soviets.

These Rural District Household Soviets send delegates to the corresponding Rural Soviets.

The Rural District Household Soviets shall be grouped in County Household Soviets, one delegate being allowed for every 50 members of the Rural District Household Soviet or part thereof.

The County Rural Household Soviets send delegates to the Rural County Soviet.

National Council of Household Soviets.

A National Council of Household Soviets shall be formed, the Regional Household Soviets, and County Household Soviets being represented there in the proportion of one delegate for every 500 Household Soviet Areas in its district.

(It should be observed that in 1911 there were 8,018,857 separate occupiers and families in England and Wales.)

If the Scottish Household Soviets desire a separate Scottish Council of Household Soviets this shall be created.

The National Council of Soviets (and the Scottish Household Soviets) send delegates to the National Council of Soviets and the Scottish Council of Soviets.

Industrial Soviets.

The workers in each industry shall prepare and adopt a scheme for the administration of the industry, both locally and nationally, by the workers in the industry, and this scheme shall be submitted for ratification by the National Council of Soviets.

In each industry the following general lines shall be followed:—

In each workshop shall be formed a Workers' Committee, or Soviet, composed of all the workers in the shop, of both sexes, and of all grades. A committee of delegates from each workshop, and as far as may be necessary, from each craft and technical branch, shall be formed in the fac-

tory. Foremen and managers shall be appointed by vote of the workers in the factory, and on the advice of the District, Town, Regional, or National Council for the industry.

District Soviets, and, where necessary, Sub-District Soviets, shall be formed for the industry, and the workers in each factory shall send delegates to the District or Sub-District Soviet.

Regional Soviets and National Soviets shall also be formed for each industry.

The District Soviet for each industry shall be represented on the general Soviet of the district, the various industrial Regional Soviets will be represented on the general Regional Soviet and the National Councils of the industries will be represented on the National Council of Soviets.

National Regional and District Economic Councils, composed of delegates from the various industries and from the general Soviets will be formed in order to co-ordinate the various industrial functions and to overlook questions of distribution and supply. The workers in the distributive trades, into which will be absorbed both the present co-operative employees and the employees of private firms, will, however, undertake the main work of distribution. These workers will have their Soviets like the workers in other industries.

Public Health Soviets.

All persons connected with the care of the sick, surgeons, medical practitioners, nurses, and so on, will form their own industrial Soviets; Soviets of public health shall be formed consisting of one-half delegates of the medical and surgical workers, one-half delegates from the general local Soviet. Public Health Councils will be formed for districts and groups of districts, towns with a population of over 50,000, regions and counties, and also a National Council.

Educational Soviets.

Soviets for the schools, colleges, universities, and other educational institutions will be created. Each educational institution will have its Teachers' Soviet and its Pupils' Soviet. Each school for children under 16 years of age will also hold meetings of parents and teachers, and will elect a council composed of teachers' and parents' representatives, with one representative of the District Soviet and one representative of the District Educational Soviet.

In schools for children between 16 and 18 years of age the pupils may send a representative to the School Council, and in schools and colleges for pupils between 18 and 20 the pupils shall appoint one-fourth of the Council, the parents shall appoint one-fourth and the teachers half; an appropriate number of expert representatives shall be appointed by the District Educational Soviet.

The District Educational Soviets shall be formed equally of teachers' delegates and delegates appointed by the District Soviet. The Regional and National Councils' Educational Soviets shall be formed in the same way.

The teachers will also have their own Divisional, Regional and National Councils, which will appoint delegates to the Educational Soviets of teachers, parents, and pupils. The Teachers' Soviets will also send delegates to the general Divisional, Town, District, and Regional Soviets, and to the National Council of Soviets.

Army Soviets.

The Army, so long as it remains, will have its Soviets organised according to military grouping. As the present forces are disbanded and the Red Army takes their place, Red Army Soviets will be formed.

Sailors and Seamen's Soviets.

The workers of the Navy and Mercantile Marine will also have their Soviets; each ship having its Soviet and its managing committee of delegates representing each department. There will be the Port Soviets and the special Soviets of each port for fishermen, ocean-going sailors, those engaged in coastal traffic, and so on.

Agricultural Soviets.

In each rural district Agricultural Workers' Soviets shall be formed, consisting of one delegate for every 250 agricultural workers in the district. These delegates shall form three-fourths of the Council, the remaining fourth shall be composed of agricultural experts appointed by the County Agricultural Soviet.

County Agricultural Soviets shall be formed of delegates from the District Soviets (two-thirds) and experts appointed by the National Agricul-

tural Soviet (one-third). A National Agricultural Soviet shall be formed.

Agricultural workers in districts which are mainly urban will send delegates to the local Soviets and also to the nearest Rural County Soviet.

Towns which are surrounded by rural areas will send a delegate to the County Agricultural Soviet and the County Agricultural Soviet will send a delegate to the Town Soviet.

The Soviets.

The Soviets, which are the central organs of social administration, the instrument of the proletarian dictatorship against capitalism, are built up from District or Sub-District Soviets of delegates from the Industries, the Home or Household Soviets, the Army and Naval Soviets, and so on.

The District Soviets shall be formed of one delegate for every Industrial Soviet in the area, and from any Soviet of the Army, Navy, or Mercantile Marine that may be situated there, and an additional delegate for every 500 workers in the industry, one delegate for every 300 members of the Household Soviets, a delegate from the Educational Soviet for the district, and one delegate from the District Teachers' Soviet, with an additional delegate for every 300 members of the Teachers' Soviet; also a delegate from the Public Health Soviet and one for every 300 members of the Medical and Surgical Workers' Soviet. The business of the Soviet is to be the co-ordinating link with all other committees, to create any new committees that may be required, and to put into effect the general political policy of the workers.

The District Soviet shall elect a committee of 25 delegates to carry out its instructions. The District Soviet shall meet weekly.

District Soviets which are parts of towns with populations over 50,000 shall send one delegate to the Town Soviet for every 50 of its members.

Soviets of Towns.

The Soviets of towns of a population of more than 50,000 shall be comprised of delegates of District Soviets in the proportion of one delegate to every 50 members of each District Soviet within its area, with one delegate from the local District Industrial, Educational, Public Health, Household, Naval, Seamen's, or Red Army Soviets.

Soviet Town and District Groups.

In towns of less than 50,000 population and urban districts not forming part of towns, the Soviet shall be built up in the same way from the Soviets, one delegate being allowed for every 50 members of the Soviet, and one delegate from the District* industrial, Naval, Military, and Seamen's Soviets formed to cover the group of districts. The Soviet for a group of towns or districts shall consist of not less than 50 and more than 700 members. If the number of delegates is less than 50 the district must be grouped with the Rural Soviets. If it is more than 700 a new group must be formed.

Regional Soviets.

Regional Soviets for the great industrial areas, as indicated for Regional Household Soviets, shall be formed on the basis of the main industrial divisions of the country. Two-thirds of the members of each Regional Soviet shall be delegates from the Soviets of towns with a population of more than 50,000 and district groups, one-third shall be delegates from the Regional Household Soviet and Regional Economic Council, Red Army, Navy and Mercantile Marine Soviets, also from the adjoining Rural County Soviets.

Rural Soviets.

Each village and hamlet shall have its own Soviet, consisting of all the adult members or part thereof.

Delegates in the proportion of one delegate for every 250 members or part thereof, shall form Rural District Soviets. Such Soviets shall not number less than 25 or more than 700 delegates. There shall also be three delegates from the Rural District Household Soviet and three from the Rural District Agricultural Soviet.

County Rural Soviets.

Delegates, in the proportion of one per 100 members or part thereof, from the Rural District Soviets shall form the County Rural Soviets, with six delegates from the County Rural Household Soviet and six from the County Agricultural Soviet.

* This includes teachers and medical and surgical workers hereafter.

National Council of Soviets.

A National Council of Soviets shall be formed. Two-thirds of it shall consist of delegates from the Regional and County Soviets in the proportion of one delegate for every 100,000 of the population, and one-third shall consist of delegates from the National Council of Household Soviets, the National Economic Council, the National Soviets of the main groups of industries, the National Agricultural Council and the National Council of Household Soviets, Public Health and Education. (A similar Council shall be formed for Scotland if so desired.) The National Council of Soviets shall meet every three months and sit as long as may be necessary.

The National Council of Soviets shall elect an executive committee of 300 persons which shall carry out the directions of the National Council of Soviets and appoint the presidents of the National Councils of Household, Industrial, Public Health, Education, Army, Navy, and so on.

It shall also elect the secretaries of such additional national departments as may be necessary—for instance, foreign affairs. An executive committee shall be appointed by the National Executive Committee to work with such secretaries.

The presidents and secretaries of the National Departments shall together form a committee of Peoples' Commissaries. Their president shall be chosen by the National Executive Committee.

E. S. P.

A LETTER FROM THE U.S.A.

By GEORGE HARDY.

Demand for Release of Class-War Prisoners.

The backwash of the capitalist war on the progressive labour unionists in America has begun to swamp the reactionaries in authoritative positions. So great is the demand for the immediate release of all political and industrial class war prisoners, that it actually seems this demand may easily become the basis of the unity of all revolutionary bodies. Even the American Federation of Labour is crying shame on its official machine, which has constantly backed up the mad endeavours of Capitalism to crush revolutionary labour. This agitation has reached in some cases the State Federations.

The State Federation of Labour of Pennsylvania at its annual convention voted to have all the class war prisoners released. The resolution demanding release was backed up by President Maurer, of the Federation. Mr. Maurer is one of the officials who has not succumbed to the intrigue of the Gompers' machine, and stands or falls on the merit of having the courage to say what he believes.

"One Big Union" Conference.

Less than a year ago the workers of the U.S.A. seemed inert. "Impossible to move," said someone. "You will never move the mass," said others. Today Unity Conferences are being held in New York City of all who believe in Industrial Unionism on "One Big Union" lines.

Amalgamated Metal Workers Join the I.W.W.

After many hours of debate in one conference, 600 machinists (or as they are called in Britain, engineers), who belonged to the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, decided to come over in a body to the I.W.W. More conferences are to be held in the various local industrial centres, which promise to solidify the workers into industrial organisations which will have revolutionary aims.

Crimes of the Department of Justice.

Many professional men are joining in the fight against the persecution by the Department of Justice of I.W.W. members and all Reds. Attorney-General Palmer is now confronted by an indictment drawn up by twelve lawyers, charging his office with the brutal treatment of deportees and prisoners of the class war. These charges take the form of beating and clubbing defenseless prisoners, both women and men; the starvation of prisoners, and the refusal of access to the legal advisers of prisoners; chaining of prisoners with their arms above their heads for seven hours a day over a period of many months. One I.W.W. prisoner in Fort Leavenworth (Kansas) has been chained since last November. This prisoner, named McCoshan, is being taken out on bond for fear he will be killed by this inhuman treatment. Department of Justice officials are also charged with the violation of women. These charges against the Department are filed with the Senate Committee, who will hear Palmer's side of the story.

National and International Action.

It was also decided to ask for fraternal delegates from all revolutionary, industrial or syndicalist unions to attend the next I.W.W. Annual Convention, thus giving the world's revolutionary units a real view of the I.W.W. in operation. It was further decided to support and attend an International Conference of revolutionary economic bodies, with a view to taking international action should such a calamity overtake us, as has just passed.

Decreased Production.

Never did U.S.A. look better for united action, although we have a great deal of work to do. The workers are learning to "slow up" on the job; they are taking more holidays; the Boss Class is howling "decreased production"; but the workers remain heedless of their solemn appeals. This year promises to be a banner year for the I.W.W.—a banner year for Freedom.

LENIN'S LETTER.

Brought from Russia by Tom Shaw.

"Everyone should read it. It should be circulated as a political leaflet with the utmost freedom throughout the country, just as if it were a speech by a British Party leader," Winston Churchill in the "Evening News."

Comrades: First of all permit me to thank you for sending your delegation with the object of acquainting itself with Soviet Russia. When your delegation proposed to me to dispatch through its intermediary a letter to the British workers, and perhaps also a proposal to the British Government, I answered that I gratefully accept the first suggestion, but to the Government I must address myself not through the Labour delegation, but directly on behalf of our Government, through Comrade Titcherlin. We have in this way addressed ourselves many times to the British Government with the most formal and solemn proposals to start peace negotiations. These proposals are still being made intermittently by Comrade Litvinoff and Comrade Krassin and all our other representatives. The British Government consistently does not accept our proposals. It is, therefore, not surprising that with the delegation of British workers I should want to speak solely as with a delegation of workers and not in my capacity as a representative of the Government of Soviet Russia, but in the capacity of an ordinary Communist.

I was not surprised to find that the view point of some of the members of your delegation does not coincide with that of the working-class, but coincides with the view point of the bourgeoisie, the class or exploiters. This is because in all capitalist countries the imperialist war has again exposed the inveterate abcess—namely, the desertion of the majority of Parliamentary and trade union leaders of the workers to the camp of the bourgeoisie. Under the oblique pretence of the "defence of the country," actually defending the apollatory interests of one of the two groups of the world bandits, the Anglo-French-American of the German group, they entered into an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; they covered up this treason with sentimental shopkeepers', reformist and pacifist phrases about peaceful evolution, about constitutional measures, about democracy, etc. This was the case in all countries. It is not surprising that this very tendency existing in England has found expression in the exposition of your delegation.

Shaw and Guest, members of your delegation, were obviously surprised and hurt by my statement that England, notwithstanding our peace proposals, notwithstanding the declaration of her Government, continues her intervention, is carrying on a war against us, helping Wrangel in the Crimea and the White Guards in Poland—and they asked me whether I have proofs to this effect, whether I can state how many trains with munitions were delivered by England to Poland, etc.

I replied that for the purpose of getting access to the secret agreement of the British Government it is necessary to overthrow it by revolutionary means and to lay hold of all documents of its foreign policy, as was done by us in 1917.

Every educated person, every one genuinely interested in politics, knew even before the revolution that the Tsar had secret treaties with the robber Governments of England, France, United States, Italy and Japan for the partition of booty about Constantinople, Galicia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc. Only liars and hypocrites (excepting, of course, quite ignorant and illiterate people) could deny this or pretend not to know it. But without revolution we would never be able to get the secret document of the robber Governments of the capitalist class. Those leaders or representatives of the British proletariat—whether they be Parliamentarians, trade unionists, journalists, or other people—who pretend that they are ignorant of the existence of secret treaties of England, France, the United States, Italy, Japan, and Poland for the plundering of other countries, for partition of booty, and who do not carry on a revolutionary struggle for the exposure of such treaties, show thereby needlessly once again that they are faithful servants of the capitalists. We know this long ago. We are exposing this both here and in all other countries of the world. The visit to Russia of a delegation of British workers will accelerate the exposure of such leaders in England as well.

My above-mentioned interview with members of your delegation took place on May 26th. A day later we received radios saying that Bonar Law conceded in the British Parliament that military help was rendered to Poland in October "for the defence against Russia" (of course, only for defence, only in October! In England there are still "influential Labour leaders" helping the capitalists to deceive the workers!) while the periodical the *New Statesman*, one of the most moderate of all moderate among middle-class newspapers or periodicals, wrote about the new tanks being shipped from England to Poland, more powerful than those used during the war against the Germans. Is it possible, then, not to laugh at those "leaders" of the British workers who, with an air of hurt innocence, are asking what "proofs" there are that England is making war on Russia and is helping Poland and the White Guards in Crimea?

Members of the delegation have asked me what I think to be of greater importance, whether the formation in England of a consistent revolutionary Communist Party or immediate help of the working masses in England to the cause of peace with Russia. I replied that the answer to this question depends upon the convictions of those who give the answer. Genuine partisans of the liberation of the workers

from the yoke of capital cannot possibly oppose the foundation of a Communist Party that alone is able to educate the working masses not after the bourgeois and shopkeeper fashion, that alone is able actually to expose, deride, and disgrace "leaders" who are capable of doubting whether England is helping Poland, etc. It need not be apprehended that there will be in England too many Communists as even a small Communist Party is not in existence there. But if anyone persists still in intellectual slavery under the bourgeoisie and still continues to share the middle-class prejudices concerning "democracy" (bourgeois democracy!), pacifism, etc., then, of course, such people could only injure the proletariat to an even greater extent should it occur to them to call themselves Communists and to join the Third International.

Such people are not capable of anything except the adoption of "sweetened resolutions" against intervention, which are made up merely of shopkeepers' phrases. In a certain respect these resolutions are useful inasmuch as the "old leaders" (the partisans of bourgeois democracy, peaceful methods, etc., etc.) will make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the masses, exposing themselves the sooner the more resolutions they pass, which, being empty and non-committal, are unattended by revolutionary action. To every one his due, let the Communists work directly through their Party for the enlightenment of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers. Let those who supported the "defence of the country" during the imperialist war for the partition of the world, who supported the "defence" of the secret treaty of English capitalists with the Tsar for the plundering of Turkey, let those who "are ignorant" of the help to Poland and the White Guards in Russia rendered by Great Britain, let them quicker bring up to a ludicrous figure the number of their "pacifist resolutions." The sooner they will share the fate of Kerensky, the Mensheviks, and social-revolutionists in Russia.

Some of the members of your delegation have asked me with surprise concerning Red Terror, about the lack of the freedom of the Press, about the lack of freedom of assembly, about our persecution of Mensheviks and Menshevik workers, etc. I replied that the real culprits of the Terror are the imperialists of England and her "allies," who have been and are conducting White Terror in Finland and in Hungary, in India and Ireland, who have been and are supporting Yudenitch, Kolchak, Denikin, Pilsudsky, and Wrangel. Our Red Terror is a defence of the working-class against the exploiters, it is the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters with whom the social revolutionists, the Mensheviks and an insignificant number of Menshevik workers ally themselves. The freedom of the Press and assembly in a bourgeois democracy is tantamount to the freedom of the well-to-do to plot against the working people. It means freedom of bribing and buying up newspapers by the capitalists. I have so often explained this in the Press that it is not very entertaining to me to repeat myself.

However, two days after my interview with your delegate, the newspapers published a dispatch saying that in addition to the arrests of Monatte and Lorient in France, Sylvia Pankhurst had been arrested in England. This is the best answer of the British Government to the question which the non-Communist "leaders" of British workers, captivated by bourgeois prejudices, are even afraid to ask—namely, the question, Against which class is the Terror directed? Whether against the oppressed and exploited, or against the oppressors and exploiters; whether it is a question of affording "freedom" to the capitalist to plunder, defraud, stupefy the working people, or whether the working people are to be "free from the yoke of capitalists, speculators, property holders," hundreds of millions of people who are oppressed by Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst represents the interests of British and other capitalists, and it is on this account that she becomes an object of the White Terror, and is deprived of freedom. The same "leaders" of workers who are conducting a non-Communist policy are 99 per cent. representatives of the bourgeoisie, of its deceit, of its prejudices.

In conclusion, I once more thank you, comrades, for sending us your delegation. The fact of its getting acquainted with Soviet Russia, notwithstanding the hostility of many of them towards the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, notwithstanding the fact that it is to an extraordinary extent in the captivity of bourgeois prejudices, will unavoidably result in accelerating the failure of capitalism of the whole world. Yours fraternally,

L. LENIN.

FIREARMS AND IRISH POLICE.

Mr. Walter Long, Minister in charge of the Home Rule Bill, in the House of Commons, on June 3rd, said:—

"There is not a shadow of foundation for that statement [the statement that Irish police are not allowed to shoot], and I do not hesitate to say here, and to say it deliberately, that I am glad to say the police have not only shot, but shot with extremely good effect, and I only hope they will do it again."

This statement was made two days after the Coroner's Jury at Limerick inquiring into the death of James Saunders found the following verdict:—

"That James Saunders met his death by a rifle bullet, fired by the police, and we consider it murder on the part of the police in firing into the street without any provocation on the part of the citizens."

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.
Editor: SYLVIA PARKHURST

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor:
499, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.
TELEPHONE: EAST 1787.

Business Communications to the Manager:
"Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.

SUBSCRIPTION:
THREE MONTHS Post Free 2/3
SIX MONTHS " " 4/6
ONE YEAR " " 8/6

Vol. VII., No. 18. Saturday, June 10, 1920.

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

Will the League of Nations Make War on Soviet Russia?

Soviet forces have entered Persia to protect Persia from subjection to British capitalists and to prevent Persia being used as a base for attacking the Workers' Revolution. The Persians have no reason to love the British Government. When they turned to it for help against the aggression of Czarist Russia in the days of Sir Edward Grey, they discovered that the British Government, although professing friendship, was acting with the Czarism and had arranged to divide the best of Persia into two spheres of influence, the one allotted to Russia, the other to Britain. The neutral zone between the two was later promised to Britain as one of the trophies of the late war.

When the Russian Soviets rose to power they gave back to Persia the freedom of which Czarist Russia had robbed her, but the British Government retained its grip on the rest of Persia, and would have extended it throughout Persia had not the Russian Red Army intervened.

Now it is announced that the Persian Government is appealing to the League of Nations, not against the British Government which has betrayed and exploited Persia, but against the Russian Soviet Government which has proved Persia's only friend.

This appeal to the League of Nations has been arranged in London. Ministers of the Persian Government have been here conferring with the British Cabinet, and the fact that the mailed fist of the British Empire is very large and heavy has been the decisive factor in determining the Persian attitude.

The members of the Persian Government, who probably feel that their very lives are in the power of British militarism, have, in trying to safeguard themselves, betrayed the interests of Persia.

This fact is doubtless realised in Persia, for a revolutionary outbreak has just occurred there. It is reported from Moscow that on June 5th a provisional government was formed in Resht, and that the British abandoned the town without fighting because the Indian troops refused to attack the revolutionaries. Some of the Indian troops are even said to have gone over to them.

Bonar Law, in the House of Commons, on June 9th, denied that there was a revolution in Persia, and stated that the British had voluntarily withdrawn a small garrison from Resht; but the Government very frequently denies unpleasant facts until denial has become useless.

Whether a revolution that will succeed has yet broken out in Persia we do not know, but there is no smoke without fire, and many rumblings precede the storm.

What does the Persian appeal to the League of Nations to intervene between it and Soviet Russia and the decision to summon the League Council to discuss the question portend?

If capitalism were not dependent on the working-class to fight its battles, and if the workers were still wholly unenlightened, war by the League of Nations on Soviet Russia would certainly result. The League of Nations will undoubtedly, and of set purpose, lay down conditions which are impossible for Soviet Russia to accept. It will stigmatise Soviet Russia as the unjust aggressor, of that there can be no doubt. Having decided against Soviet Russia, it would like to coerce her into accepting the decision.

But the League of Nations has no force with which to coerce Russia, and her powerful capitalist opponents who manipulate the League are fully aware that their populations are war-weary, and however energetically they may "boost" the League of Nations, there is at present no sign that the workers will go to war in support of its prestige.

Such capitalist tools as J. N. Barnes and J. R. Clynes, and a number of well-meaning but ignorant sentimentalists are doing their best to alter this situation, and are working hard to popularise the capitalist League of Nations and to create a public opinion in support of furnishing it with an army which will enable the League to oppress whoever dare oppose it.

Clynes, Barnes, and Frank Hodges, of the Miners' Federation, have just been on a deputation to Lloyd George to ask "that the covenant of the League of Nations be amended to allow the appointment of an international police force to enforce the League's decisions where economic boycott fails."

Should this policy succeed, the police force would at once be used to re-enforce the economic boycott by which Soviet Russia is being tortured, as even the Labour delegation has been obliged to admit.

What do the rank and file workers, whose representatives Clynes and Hodges are supposed to be, think of their action?

Oh, get on with the Workers' Revolution! What folly it is to believe that the men who are making war as the Allied Supreme Council will bring peace and justice when they assemble as the Council of the League of Nations!

Labour Delegates' Report.

The report of the British Labour delegates to Russia is a cold and arid document. It carefully refrains from stating either friendliness or hostility to Communism and to the Soviet system. The very refusal to express appreciation is, however, a veiled declaration of hostility. Who is not with us is against us is eternally true.

Nevertheless, the report admits the following facts, which are in themselves a most damning indictment of the brigand policy of the Allied capitalist Government towards Soviet Russia:—

Owing to the War and the blockade, which has cut off soap and medical supplies, epidemics of typhus fever have swept over the country.

But "a great and efficient sanitary organisation has been provided by the Soviet Commissariat of Public Health."

"Every train is provided with a special coach for suspected or actual cases of illness."

Large numbers of hospitals have been created."

"A great sanitary propaganda has been carried out through Soviets and Trade Unions in both towns and villages and these epidemics are now controlled."

Russian people are starving for lack of transport to carry necessities to them. The breakdown of transport "is the direct result of the attacks from without and the fomenting of civil war on Russian territory."

On the defeat of Koltchak, Denikin, and Yudenitch, "advantage was immediately taken of this respite to inaugurate a great effort towards economic reconstruction, backed by a far-reaching and well-conceived educational campaign."

"Perhaps the worst disservice rendered to Russia by the recent renewal of hostilities on the Polish front has been the forcing back of the Russian people, against their will, from the paths of peace into the paths of war. We ourselves have witnessed scores of examples of this baneful process."

"The appeal for creative work is being once more set aside in favour of the appeal to military enthusiasm, while war conditions provide new pretexts for restricting individual liberty and preventing freedom of discussion. These conditions cannot be changed while war continues."

"The present Russian Government has shown its stability by resisting for two and a half years the many efforts made to destroy it."

"It has repeatedly shown its will to peace."

"We can ourselves bear witness to the fact that it has made vigorous efforts to carry on the work of economic reconstruction."

And yet, having subscribed to all this, the British Labour delegates are afraid to commit themselves to approval of the Russian Communist Republic. Tom Shaw has told a representative of the capitalist *Times*, the paper that has more than once advocated the use of military measures towards British workers on strike, that he does not like Bolshevism.

Ben Turner, an I.L.P.er, supposed to be a Socialist, has adopted an air of critical aloofness in discussing our Russian comrades with the capitalist organ. He says they are "trying to jump too far at one stride" and criticises them for not giving the vote to every adult.

If the *Times* has reported him correctly, he has made one unforgivable statement: "There is not the freedom on the industrial side that we have in this country."

Ben Turner is fully aware that working-class industrial freedom in this country is merely the freedom to starve as an alternative to working for someone who employs the worker for his own private profit.

Lenin's letter, which we publish on another page is a very appropriate answer to the dishonest arguments of Shaw and Turner.

We wait with interest the individual testimony which will be given by the delegates returning from Russia, and we note with interest that Lenin draws no distinction between the members of the deputation but castigates the deputation as a unit.

We have just received from Moscow a report stating that on the day commemorating the introduction of the universal military instruction of the proletariat the British trade union delegation reviewed a detachment of proletarian soldiers "and addressed to the crowd a few warm words inspired by the wonderful spectacle." Robert Williams expressed his conviction that with a strength so great and so conscious, the Russian Revolution should not fear any danger. He declared that when the British working-class knows the truth about Russia it will not take long ere the British proletariat will receive representatives of the Russian proletariat in the royal palace in London."

We wait to see how far Robert Williams, when he returns to London, will justify those words not in mere speeches, but in action in the office of the Transport Workers' Federation, in the delegate conference of the official Labour bodies, and when negotiating with the rank and file of the organisation he represents.

Strike at Lever's.

Lever Brothers' workers are on strike for some little improvements in their conditions. Send them a copy of *The Workers' Dreadnought*, from which they may learn that only by the overthrow of capitalism will they cease to be wage slaves.

YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

At the request of numerous organisations and individual comrades the Publication Department of the International of Youth has consented to act as an agent not only for its own publications, but for other literature too. Repeated requests induce us to give the following brief account of our activities.

We are ready to supply pamphlets, periodicals, books, maps and pictures in German, English, French, Italian, or any other language. Not only political writings and periodicals, but also scientific and literary works, poems, and fiction of all kinds.

Thanks to our connections with organisations and publishers of all countries, we are in a position to compile cheaply and rapidly libraries for parties or editorial offices, and to undertake the delivery of archives. We will willingly supply book notices, or written information gratis.

We ask the young organisations of all countries to make the fullest use of this fresh activity of our Publishing Department, and to give it the widest publicity in their journals and in the journals of other parties. It is recommended that an agent be nominated by the young organisation in each country who will collect and forward orders. Literature will be supplied at the cheapest prices, and any profits will be placed at the advantage of countries suffering from a low rate of exchange.

All communications to be addressed to:—

Den Internationalen Jugendverlag, Berlin C.2,

Stralanerstr. 12.

GROWTH OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIETS.

How Many Congresses have been Held?

Millions of workers are to-day taking part in the Russian Soviets, and from their ranks they have produced thousands of capable administrators.

In a third of the Russian territory which comprises 55 District Congresses, that is, 46 per cent. of the District Congresses and 50 per cent. of the Provincial Congresses, these congresses have already been held five or six times. 22 District Congresses and 2 Provincial Congresses have met seven or eight times, and certain congresses have met from nine to fourteen times. 11 Congresses, or ten per cent., have met once only. These congresses cover districts which are near the battle-front and nearly half of them are in the Archangel district. War conditions and the foreign intervention account for these congresses only having met once.

The tables which appear below show the growth in the number of delegates taking part in the Soviet congresses and the increase in the proportion of Communists amongst these delegates.

The first period, October, 1917, to July, 1918, shows the earliest period of Soviet Government. In the second period, July, 1918, to January, 1919, the Soviet work was being carried on almost entirely by the Communist Party. In the third period, January, 1919, to October, 1919, large masses of people, finding themselves outside any party, began to join in the work of Soviet organisation. The Communist Party and its sympathisers form the largest group in the Soviets, and in each succeeding period the size of the other parties decreases.

In the third period, although representatives of the Maximalists appear for the first time in the ranks of the other parties, their number is still further decreased and the proportion of Communists increases, although representatives of the middle-class peasants now come to the congresses.

TABLE I.

Parties of which the Congresses were composed:—
(Percentage given for every figure.)

	Total number of Congresses.	Total number of members of Congresses.	Communists.	Sympathisers with the Communist Party.	Non-Party.	Other Parties.
From October, 1917, to July, 1918.						
Provincial	5	1681	722	103	290	566
			42.7	6.1	17.3	33.7
District	20	1912	836	309	450	317
			43.9	16.2	23.5	16.6
Total number ...	25	3593	1558	412	740	883
			43.4	11.4	20.6	24.6
From July, 1918, to January, 1919.						
Provincial	10	1447	957	353	90	47
			66.1	24.4	6.2	3.3
District	24	3960	1470	1781	505	204
			37.1	44.9	13.0	5.1
Total number ...	34	5407	2427	2134	595	251
			44.9	39.5	11.0	4.6
From January to October, 1919.						
Provincial	12	1780	1045	835	378	22
			58.7	46.9	21.3	1.2
District	68	8679	3447	2276	2732	224
			39.7	26.2	31.5	2.6
Total number ...	80	10459	4492	2611	3110	246
			42.9	24.9	29.8	2.4

Table 2 shows the composition of the executive committees of the Town and District Soviets in October, 1919.

At the last congress, representatives of the middle-class peasants appeared on the executive committees.

The figures showing the educational attainments of the members of the executive committees show fairly accurately the class to which the members of these committees belong. Four-fifths of the members of the committees are drawn from amongst the workers and poor peasants. The intellectuals who have been given a superior education number only four per cent.

TABLE II.

Composition of the Personnel of the Provinces, Towns, and District Soviets, about October, 1919:—
According to Parties.

(Percentage given for every figure.)

Total number of members.	Communists.	Sympathisers.	Social Demo-crats.	Social Revo-lutionaries.	Anarchists.	Non-Party.
Provincial Committees.						
516	456	20	6	—	1	33
	88.1	3.8	1.1	—	—	6.3
Town Committees.						
404	292	28	3	—	—	81
	72.2	7	0.7	—	—	20
District Committees.						
4166	2879	481	30	14	6	776
	69.1	11.1	0.77	0.32	0.1	18.6
Total.						
5086	3627	509	39	14	7	896
	71.3	10	0.8	0.3	0.1	17.5

TABLE II.—(Continued.)

According to length of time in Soviet Institutions and according to education.

(Percentage given for every figure.)

Less than a year.	More than a year.	Not given.	Superior.	Second.	Primary.	At home.	Not given.
Provincial Committees.							
66	309	141	51	118	251	40	56
12.7	59.8	27.3	9.8	22.8	48.6	7.7	10.8
Town Committees.							
47	175	182	35	67	249	34	19
11.7	43.3	45	8.6	16.6	61.7	8.4	4.7
District Committees.							
857	2,313	996	124	605	2,772	406	259
20.5	55.5	23.9	2.9	14.5	60.5	9.7	6.2
Total.							
970	2797	1,319	210	790	3,272	480	334
19.1	55	25.9	4.1	15.5	64.4	9.4	6.6

THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY.

Every effort is being made to prevent the truth about the White Terror in Hungary being known. In proof of this fact the *Revue News Agency* of Vienna cites the following incident:—

The Hungarian Social-Democratic newspaper, *Népszava*, on May 25th announced that the Party had been forced by "compelling circumstances" to close the bureau which it had opened for the legal protection of its own members. The paper also stated that during a search made of its premises by the authorities, the reports, appeals, and other documents in possession of the bureau had been removed.

The newspaper asks its readers not to add their names and addresses to any communication sent to the editor, but to write anonymous letters with a pseudonym and to await the answer in the columns of the papers. Here are some of the answers:—

"Old Worker."—We are unable, for reasons beyond our control, to publish your letter.

"Peter N."—Your M.S. was ready for printing, but for no fault of ours it could not be printed.

"Widow John B."—We are very sorry; we wished to make it public but were prevented by reasons beyond our control."

Under the Nose of the British Labour Delegates.

While Colonel Wedgwood and other delegates of the British Labour Party were actually in Budapest, the *Revue News Agency* reports that members of the notorious officers' organisation, "The Awakening Magyars," carried out a pogrom in the city. The rioters assembled in the Warasiget (the largest park in the city) and went in two large groups in different directions, entering cafes and bullying the guests and assaulting people in the streets. Over a hundred persons were badly wounded. The police arrested eight rioters but released them the same night.

Mutilated Bodies Found Daily.

The *Korrespondenz* West European Correspondence Bureau reports from Vienna, June 5th, a series of terrible atrocities carried out at Kecskemet by the "Awakening Magyars" and officers of General Horthy's National Army. In the River Donan, the bureau states, mutilated bodies are found daily.

Kecskemet and the Murder Wood.

Last Autumn, whilst the Roumanians were still occupying the district, a lieutenant of Hussars, Ivan Hejjas, of the Hungarian National Army, organised a secret council of officers, students, nobles, landowners and rich peasants, and with the support of the police-inspector, Barna, prepared the White Terror. In the night of September 30th, six policemen of Kecskemet were dragged from their homes on an order of Hejjas and Barna and accused of calumniating Barna and stealing from the borough food controller. A week later the bodies of these policemen were found in the neighbouring wood of Orgovany, disembowelled and with the eyes gouged out. Raids by Hejjas and his band followed nightly. In the village of Isaak a tailor named Schmied, and two grocers, Pancel and Beck were arrested and their houses looted. Beck's wife and 17 year old son were shot dead before his eyes. The ears and noses were cut away with bayonets, and after other mutilations they were hanged in the wood of Orgovany. Similar raids were carried out in other villages.

On November 15th, Hejjas issued a proclamation of Horthy promoting Hejjas to the post of Commandant of Kecskemet. The same night, by the orders of Hejjas, 40 citizens were dragged to the wood of Orgovany and murdered there.

The eyes of some of these unfortunate victims were cut out and they were forced, under torture, to eat each others' eyes.

On November 19th, Hejjas carried out a raid on Kecskemet Prison, during which the 150 political prisoners were beaten and 36 of them were led to the courtyard and confessed by the priest who ministered to the Hejjas troops; then they were taken to the wood of Orgovany and murdered in various ways. The victims included Dr. Buday, of the Kecskemet University, a prison warder, a policeman, a nurse, a barrister, and a number of workmen. The following night more prisoners were taken to the wood and murdered.

On November 22nd, a sergeant of Hejjas, Francis Kiss, well known for his cruelty, raided a railway train travelling from Kecskemet to Lajosmizse and took from it six passengers whose murdered bodies were later found in the notorious wood of Orgovany. Since then Francis Kiss has been made chief detective of Kecskemet, and Lieutenant Pataky, who took part in this raid, has become stationmaster.

American Ambassador Intervenes.

In December the relatives of the murdered professor, Buday, called on the American Ambassador in Budapest to intervene. As a result of representations by this ambassador, the Horthy Government sent Chief-Detective Sarkosy to Kecskemet to make inquiries; but on Hejjas warning Sarkosy that he was running the risk of being taken to the wood of Orgovany, he left Kecskemet in haste the day after his arrival. Meanwhile, Nicholas Horthy had honoured Hejjas by a visit to his house and had made a speech praising his patriotic services.

Secrets of the Murder Wood.

A Commission of Justice had begun exhuming the bodies buried in the wood of Orgovany. The post mortem revealed that some of the victims had been buried alive and that in some cases the hands of the victims had been bound together with wire which had been pushed right through the palms. After three days, the exhumations were stopped, about 300 bodies being left still buried in the wood.

The Budapest newspapers now, for the first time, dared to write of the Kecskemet murders, but on December 18th, Hejjas went to Horthy in Budapest, and after the interview called on the editor of the evening paper which had published most about the murders. From that time forth the newspapers wrote no more about the murders.

The Inquiry Stopped.

On February 1st, Minister of Justice Barcs addressed a confidential letter to Horthy regarding the military murders at Kecskemet. Thereafter Barcs was replaced by Ferdinandy, an attorney of Kecskemet, and the proceedings in connection with the murders were entirely stopped.

Another Town to be Made White.

On April 24th, Hejjas and his troops occupied Szolnok, and at once 80 persons were arrested by them on suspicion of being opposed to the Government. Three of these people were murdered on arrest. On April 28th, Horthy assembled the principal officials of Szolnok in the Town Hall and told them that the town was not "White" enough and that he would raise it to the ground unless it would follow the patriotic example of Kecskemet. The same night Hejjas went with his "Awakening Hungarians" (awakening lovers of capitalism) to the Szolnok Prison and dragged out 18 prisoners, who were murdered the following night.

Further reports of the doings of Hejjas in Szolnok are published in the *Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung*. This paper states that the Hejjas troops on April 24th arrested 80 persons, whom they flogged and tortured. An editor, Gesa Hay, a detective, Bela Kiraly, and a locksmith, Zamocky, succumbed to injuries received.

The *Arbeiter Zeitung* reports Hejjas, in addressing the town authorities, as saying: "I am here to express the contempt which Kecskemet feels for Szolnok, which is prepared to sacrifice nothing for the White Army and is not prepared to make an end of the Communists. We will have Szolnok razed to the ground and a White Szolnok built by the Red prisoners if a change does not take place."

The *Arbeiter Zeitung* publishes the following official military report of the fate of the 18 political prisoners the Hejjas troops took from the prison:—

"I have to report that the Red movement among the workers of Szolnok is becoming daily stronger. The movement is controlled from Vienna through the State Attorney of Szolnok, members of the former dictatorship at present in prison there, and suchlike dangerous subjects. In confirmation, papers were found on the occasion of a search of the prison, and the interne, Josef Bujaki, confessed that 'he imprisoned Communists were engaged in organising an uprising, which was being controlled from Vienna and Budapest. A further proof of the existence of such a plot is the fact that the prisoners have fitted their cell doors with locks which prevent the entry of the guard and can only be opened from within (a Communist invention). Captain Emmerich Makay and Ivan Hejjas, on the night of April 28th, seized the dangerous Communists so as to make their participation in the uprising which was planned for May 1st impossible. The prisoners were brought from Szolnok to Abony and handed over to my company. On the following night these Communists attacked the sentries, attempted to get possession of their rifles, and beat them. Medical report is enclosed herewith. Thereupon the guard poured out of the guardhouse and killed the Communists. In order not to disturb the populace I had the bodies buried the very same night."

ANDREAS MOLNAR, First Lieut.

Company Commander.

To the Command of the Royal Hungarian Jäger Regiment.

I certify this copy to be correct,

Budapest, May 20th, 1920.

First Lieut., Ladislav Lackovics.

Relatives of the people who have been murdered in the White Terror have again and again petitioned the British Government to intervene, but the British Government is silent.

The phrase "bloody revolution" has long been common; but now people are coming to realise that they should speak rather of bloody reaction.

All these horrors do not arise from mere murder-lust, though the officers of the White Terror in Hungary seem to have become entirely debased by their hideous task. The fact is that reaction cannot maintain itself in Hungary, which has had a brief experience of partial Communism, except by the harshest methods of coercion.

This reign of terror is kept up in an effort to stay the inevitable march of progress.

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

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

We regret to announce that the writer of our South Wales Notes is obliged to omit his contribution this week on account of illness.

Under the paragraph "Housing Bonds Controversy" in last week's notes it was stated that at a meeting of the Rhondda No. 1 District S.W.M.F., "the Left Wing case was not clearly put." This should have read "most clearly put."

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES. By "A WAGE SLAVE."

The Socialist Conference—the real purpose of which was dealt with in last week's notes—was held, and, as was anticipated, ended in a fiasco. The chairman, for whom everyone of the Left Wing has the highest regard, began by an earnest appeal for unity and ended up by appealing for a full and frank discussion upon it, saying that Mr. Morgan Jones, I.L.P. organiser, would wind up the debate.

The Left Wing, who do not profess to be very far-seeing, were fortunate in that it was daylight. They were consequently able to see the bait, and refused it. They did not object to Mr. Jones winding up, but taking into consideration the chairman's statement that Mr. Jones was a man of wide and varied experience of the psychology of the Socialist movement throughout the country, we thought it would help the discussion if he were to give his opinion first of all.

One of those present read an extract from a circular dealing with the Second International. Mr. Jones replied with extracts from Palm Dutt's book on the Second and Third Internationals, purporting to expose the inaccuracy of our comrade's circular. The essence of Mr. Jones' speech was a sentimental criticism of the circular. He gave no evidence of the wide experience of the present Socialist psychology which he is supposed to enjoy. However, we are confident that the psychological tendency of the thinking section of the various industrial organisations of this country is daily growing more and more opposed to the idea that constitutional political action of the I.L.P. and Labour Party kind, is the only means by which wage-slavery can be abolished. Experience teaches the workers daily that their chief weapon is their economic power, and while there may be some difference still existing as to the use of the political machine, it is as to whether it may be used as a supplement to industrial power. Cold facts have convinced the advanced sections that the boss class is deaf to all sentimental entreaties relating to the uplifting of the masses if it means a diminution of their banking account, though there is nothing they will not do for the workers, except get off their backs.

Football, carnivals and sports, etc., are being encouraged more and more in our industrial districts, South Wales in particular: this is for the purpose of keeping the workers contented with their lot. In the mining districts the colliery officials take a keen interest in them, and whatever differences may arise during the period that is devoted to production of surplus values are soon forgotten in the interest and enthusiasm derived from the various recreations in which they all join issue. As a consequence of all this and other influences, it is only on "measuring day" that the miner can realise his true relation to the boss class. Then he finds all his demands opposed by the officials, and when he asks for three, one is offered. The miner, having given vent to a beautiful mixture of English and Welsh phrases, a compromise is arrived at—"one and a half."

As a result of this experience, that section of the workers who sometimes wear their thinking caps, realise that where they are taken advantage of is in the field of production and not consumption; it is the employer who really robs them, and not so much the grocer and the butcher. Therefore, to meet the boss on the same level, they must organise themselves to the highest degree of perfection; this they can only do as producers. We urge our I.L.P. friends to consider this fact. We appeal to them to discard their political fanaticism, and to help in the perfecting of that economic force which will make the bosses unequal.

A New Organisation.

"The Ogmere Industrial and Social Reform League," the title given to the Left Wing organisation, contains, as one of its functions, the extension of its kind, with a view to linking up with those elements in the surrounding districts who are out to uproot capitalism and not to reform it. With that object in view, last Sunday found us on the mountain top overlooking the Rhondda, greeting comrades from Cwmpark. The meeting was of an introductory nature, each anxious to know what the other had to say. Comrades gave their points of view on the things that matter, minus any bombast and academic display. The Dymore boys keenly appreciated the methods that our Cwmpark comrades have adopted in order to solidify their ranks, hoping that they will soon be in a position to do likewise. It was our first meet, but assuredly it will not be our last. We are anxious to extend such meetings, because in such gatherings you find the workman as he is, minus the artificial pedantic garb which he inclines to wear in conferences. Next time we hope to get an agenda drawn out, so that those who spend the good day inhaling the hilly breeze may be able to rally round and take part in the business if it so pleases them.

PROLETARIAN PARODIES.

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South Wales Socialist Society.

Dear Editor: Comrades W. F. Hay and D. A. Davies having resigned their respective positions of chairman and secretary of the South Wales Unofficial Reform Committee and South Wales Socialist Society, the following *pro tem* appointments have been made: Comrade Arthur Horner (Mardy), to be chairman, and Comrade Charles L. Gibbons (Ferndale), to be secretary of the Unofficial Reform Committee.

A special meeting of the South Wales Socialist Society will be held at Porth, in Morleys Restaurant, on Saturday, June 26th, at 6.30 p.m., to deal with the financial affairs and to discuss the resignation of the officials of that society.

Will all persons desirous of communicating with the Unofficial Reform Committee please do so through me.

I have also been appointed to act as convener of meetings of the South Wales Socialist Society until the appointment of a new secretary to that society, and I herewith request that any communication for that society be forwarded to me. Yours fraternally,

CHARLES L. GIBBONS,
Secretary (*pro tem.*) S.W.U.R.C.

Communist Revolutionary Conference.

It is thought advisable to change the hour of meeting of this Conference to 3 o'clock on Saturday, June 19th, instead of 7.45 p.m., as first advertised.

Letters favourable to this Conference are coming in from many districts. Communist organisations in Sheffield, Manchester, Exeter, Norfolk, Croydon, London, Wales, etc., are sending delegates to the preliminary conference.

THE N.U.R. BETRAYAL.

The No. 1 Central branch of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association has passed the following resolution:—

"That this No. 1 branch of the N.A.F.T.A. views with disgust the attitude of the Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen, led by Mr. Thomas, with reference to conveying munitions of war to Ireland and Poland. This meeting feels that any such attitude by any executive is in direct opposition to any working-class solidarity. This branch further contends that the whole of organised labour is being held up to ridicule by the government and capitalist class of this and every other country, who are interested in the aggressive war against Ireland and Russia."

Optical Trades Union.

J. D. Thorn writes from the N.W. and G.W. Union, 1, Southampton Buildings, to say that a self-governing optical trades section has been formed inside the National Warehouse Workers' Union. The system of shop stewards and workers' committees, he says, has been introduced, and a committee elected by the workers has drawn up a schedule of hours and wages. The section caters for workers of all grades in every branch of the optical industry, including prescriptions, lenses, frames, glazing; spectacle-case making, and so on—manufacturing, wholesale, and retail.

Is India Going Red?

Winston Churchill's violent denunciation of Lenin's letter, the Russian Soviet Republic, Communism and all Communists (including ourselves), indicate that the Government is growing nervous of the growth of Revolutionary Communist feeling in all parts of the Empire. India especially is giving anxiety. Reports are circulated of a big Red Army forming in Turkestan, which would menace British rule in India and throughout the East. The militarists are said to be demanding a larger British Army in India, and it is significant that General Dyer's case is again being reviewed. He has been allowed an opportunity to justify himself to the War Office, and we expect to see him whitewashed and reinstated in order that he may again take part in the protection of British capitalist rule in India and the suppression of rebellious natives by any and every means.

Good News of the Red Armies.

The Red Armies march from victory to victory. They have taken Kieff, and the Polish offensive is largely broken.

IS PIECE-WORK A WISE MOVE?

The "Alliance News," the Temperance organ, says: "Congratulations to Mr. Naylor, the London Society of Compositors' Secretary, on his address at the Industrial League meeting, advocating piece-work. It is certainly a step in the right direction. We should like to hear that he had addressed his own members on the subject."

Thus speaks Comrade Naylor when addressing the bosses.

The London "Typographical Journal," the organ of the London Society of Compositors, records that at the quarterly meeting of the London Society of Compositors, the workers' organisation, it was decided to raise Comrade Naylor's salary as secretary of the organisation from £518 6s. to £700 a year. Comrade Naylor then remarked that he would be able to join the Secretaries' Trade Union without the fear of being called a "blackleg."

Comrade Naylor's advocacy of piecework does not extend to his own case.

If Trade Union secretaries were paid the average wage of the workers in their unions, and under the same conditions, we should see a fine revolutionary spirit amongst them!

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Points from the Nottingham Conference Agenda.

Possibly no item will be so thorny or merit such careful discussion as the amendments for dealing with the benefits of the Union. The benefits are still in pre-war clothes, though how ever 12s. per week strike pay, or 10s. per week accident pay, can be of substantial use to the members in these days of greatly inflated currency is not easily seen. One might have done something with 12s. strike pay in 1914, but to-day it would not meet the rent, let alone feed the family.

The very numerous and confusing scales of contribution are another very fruitful source of separatism that needs to be altered. There are something like sixteen different scales in force for men with precisely identical economic needs and aspirations. An extra penny for death benefit, an extra penny for distress benefit, and sick scales galore. Truly a system born of the official mind, making for red tape and enquiry as to age, etc., precisely like a capitalist institution. Precious little of Brotherhood and Unity is there about such a system.

Another vexed question that will come up will be that of the Union periodical. This Union has been fortunate in possessing its *Record*—possibly the best trade union paper in the country. It has also been extraordinarily fortunate in its choice of Editor Sanders, who has impartially held the scales on the basis of a free platform, to the great edification and education of all concerned. A Union paper controlled exclusively by the official element cuts noice at all, and is never popular. The paper should belong too the members for matters both of a Union interest and a Class interest. It should, above all, provide the platform where Union policies can be fully debated and discussed from all angles, innovations in policy thrashed out, and complaints against the officials properly ventilated, with the safeguard that such officials have equal right of reply, and that principles and not personalities are dealt with.

With a journal fulfilling such functions, the membership can have every confidence that there is little fear of their organisation being nobbled by a gang of place hunters for their personal advantage, as is so notoriously the case with American political machines.

Unfortunately in the past the chief officials of the Union have not seen fit to take the membership into their confidence to any great extent in regard to policy and new developments through the pages of the *Record*. Whether this is due to lack of ability to put a case clearly and succinctly in writing, or whether it is due to overwork, due to bad organisation of work, I do not know, but it is an omission that can be remedied with excellent results to the health of the Society. So far most innovations and new departures come from the energetic and dynamic members of the rank and file, and it can truly be said that the elected "leaders" are pushed from behind, more than they put their intellectual weight in developing the workers' movement for class emancipation.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The War on Soviet Russia.

June 7th.—Viscount Curzon: "Does America stand with us on this question of recognising Soviet Russia?" Lloyd George: "That does not arise out of the question."

Evidently there is something to hide. It is rumoured that if the British secure, either by peaceful or forceful means, the power to exploit the natural resources of Russia, the American Government will object.

Intervention by the League of Nations.

Lord Robert Cecil (C.U.) and Captain Wedgwood Benn (L.) asked whether the Council of the League of Nations has been summoned to consider the question of Russia and Persia.

Lloyd George:—

"A special meeting has been summoned to be held in London on 14th June, in consequence of an application from the Persian Government under Act 11 of the Covenant. The object of the meeting is to consider the situation created by the Bolshevik occupation of Enseli."

Kenworthy (Lib.), asked whether "the whole question of British relationship with Persia will be discussed by the Council at the same time"? Members cried: "Certainly not"; and Lloyd George also indicated that there would be no such discussion.

This is a most serious matter. We may be on the eve of an attack on Soviet Russia by the League of Nations. The Red Army is in Persia to assist the Persian people and to drive out the armies of British Capitalism in the interests of the Persians and of the Workers' Revolution.

Great Britain and Czarist Russia robbed Persia of independence, dividing Persia into two spheres of influence for themselves, with a neutral zone between. Under the Secret War Treaties Britain was given the neutral zone. When the Russian Communists rose to power, and created the Government of the Workers' Soviets, they gave back to Persia the freedom taken from her by Czarist Russia. Now in the guise of "Big Brother" to Persia, as the *Times* puts it, the British are endeavouring to obtain control of the whole of Persia. So much for the pretence of protecting Persia from the Russian Workers' Republic!

Refugees from Russia.

Lieut.-Colonel Burgoyne (C.U.) asked whether the Bolsheviks stripped naked the British men and women who have returned from Russia before releasing them, and whether they were relieved of all their possessions.

Lloyd George said: "They were subjected to a searching examination. . . . They were certainly not all of them relieved of the whole of their possessions. . . . They were not given facilities to bring with them everything which they could have wished."

Black Troops at Batum.

Winston Churchill admitted that reinforcements of French black troops have been sent to Batum. "The French native troops have replaced a similar formation of British troops which was recently withdrawn."

White workers have been used to crush Black workers, and now Black workers seem about to be regarded by Capitalism as the last hope of crushing the International Workers' Revolution. You may expect the Black troops to arrive in Britain before long!

Colonel Gretton moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the Government's negotiations with Krassin. Colonel Gretton demanded more information about the negotiations with the Soviet delegates, and asked whether the Soviet Government is making it a condition of trade relations that British traders shall not enter Russia and that trade shall be carried on through the Russian Government.

Lloyd George asked Gretton to repeat the question, but he did not answer it.

J. H. Thomas makes a poor Speech.

He advocated peace with Russia, saying:

"Whatever may be the objections to Soviet rule or to the Bolsheviks' actions in general, we cannot continue the war that is now proceeding without feeling the effects sooner or later in this country. Personally, I do not believe in the methods of Soviet Russia. I have never hesitated to say so, but I assert that nothing tends to show that we are consolidating Soviet government and strengthening that government than such actions as we have taken in the past. . . . I submit that if we are not to trade officially with Russia because of the Red Terror, there is no justification for trading with Hungary, where there is a White Terror almost as bad as the Red Terror."

When Thomas said that, he knew that he was wronging the Russian Workers' Government, and that whilst there is a horrible White Terror in Hungary, there is no Red Terror in Russia. When Members of Parliament challenged him on account of this statement, he said: "Members of our Party who are strong opponents of Russia and its methods . . . have come back to this country absolutely convinced that nothing of which the Bolsheviks have been accused is equal to the White Terror in Hungary at this moment."

Whose Conditions?

Lieut.-Col. Sir Samuel Hoare (C.U.) was profuse in his praise that Lloyd George had made certain stipulations as conditional to trade with Russia. Do they represent the policy of the Capitalist governments in the negotiations with Russia? He said:

(1) That the Soviet Government must carry out the International obligations entered into by Czarist Russia (this would include financial obligations and the Treaties and understandings by which the weaker nations are exploited).

(2) A political amnesty for all Russians desirous of returning to Russia (a free pardon for Counter-Revolutionaries and a free hand to return to their hostile acts).

(3) A Constituent Assembly instead of the Soviets.

(4) The demobilisation of the Red Army.

As compensation for the last, Hoare suggested that the Polish Army should also be demobilised—as though the Polish Army were the only one which could possibly attack Soviet Russia!

Lloyd George's speech simply amounted to this: Russia has grain, oil, flax and timber; all these are needed in this country. To get them we either trade with Russia or conquer Russia, which would cost hundreds of thousands of lives and £3,000,000,000 or £4,000,000,000. He expressed no friendliness towards Soviet Russia; he feels none. His speech is no guarantee that he is not arranging for another military offensive against Soviet Russia. He said just these things whilst the Polish offensive was being prepared.

O'Grady speaks at Last.

James O'Grady (Labour), who, having carried on negotiations with Litvinoff, might have been expected to contribute earlier to the many discussions on this subject, said it was untrue that Litvinoff drifted from negotiations concerning prisoners into trade propositions. He did not suppose a basketful of surgical instruments could be collected in Russia and there were no anaesthetics: that was the effect of the blockade. He declared that the business men of Britain want to trade with Soviet Russia, and that he is assured so by members of great federations of employers.

He was careful to add: "I do not agree with the Bolshevik political system or the Bolshevik system of Communism," but expressed the view that these systems will be modified.

Polish Claims.

Tom Myers (Lab.) pointed out that the Polish Government is claiming territories beyond those assigned to it by the Peace Conference, and that such territories include areas with populations of 73.2 per cent. Russians, 4.67 per cent. Poles, 13.43 per cent. Jews, and 8.70 per cent. of other races. The Government representative pretended ignorance of the Polish claims.

Russian Loans.

Colonel Malone elicited the statement that the British Government had met claims for interest on the State debt of Russia between the Revolution and March 31st, 1918, a sum of £62,855; but that it had made no payments since that date. Chamberlain said: "The amount advanced constitutes a liability to His Majesty's Government of any future recognised Government of Russia."

Evidently the Government thought the Counter-Revolution had remarkably good prospects at that juncture. Moreover, it doubtless desired to stake out a claim against Soviet Russia.

Churchill further admitted that between July, 1914, and March, 1917, the Government had lent money to Czarist Russia for the same purpose.

Lieut.-Colonel Burgoyne asked whether any of the British refugees from Russia, now housed in Mitcham, Workhouse, having roubles of the Kerensky and Czarist regimes, the Government will advance money against such holdings to start them in business.

Bonar Law said he could not advance public money under such circumstances.

Of course not. Burgoyne, as a Tory, should know that Capitalist governments are only willing to advance money to the very rich!

We warrant the refugees are by this time wishing themselves back in Soviet Russia. We are waiting confidently for some of them to tell us so!

Speaker Refuses Adjournment.

June 10th.—Commander Kenworthy asked leave to move the adjournment of the House to call attention to the advance of General Wrangel in the Crimea, and the British Government's responsibility for it. The Speaker refused leave.

Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

June 11th.—Poland and Czecho-Slovakia are fighting over the oil at Teschen.

Lloyd George said America has been invited to be represented at the Krassin negotiations, but has not replied.

Funds of the Delegation.

Viscount Curzon asked whether the Government knows exactly what funds are at the disposal of the Soviet delegation, whether he has any information as to their source, and how they are spent; and "could the surplus Government occupation at the Hotel Petrograd be devoted to providing for this accommodation?"

What does this mean?

Colonel Malone asked whether British workers will be allowed to leave this country to settle in Soviet Russia.

Lloyd George said: "There are no indications of the least desire of workers to do this."

Lloyd George is wrong!

The Secretary of the League of Nations is paid £10,000 a year.

Destitute Children.

Four children, aged 3, 6, 8 and 11 years were taken to the Whitechapel Workhouse by the police. Their parents are Russians. The father is at Brixton, the mother at Holloway, awaiting deportation. They are to go to Soviet Russia. Meanwhile the local authorities are quarrelling as to who shall pay for keeping the children!

In Soviet Russia everything is free to the children. There are no aliens: everyone who lives and works there is treated as an equal citizen.

Firearms Bill.

This Bill was debated on June 8th and 10th. Its intention is to make it more difficult for civilians to obtain and carry firearms. It is designed with one eye on the criminal and the other on the workers. Only six members voted against the Second Reading.

Employment of Women and Children.

A Bill to give effect to the decisions of the International Labour Conference at Washington was brought in. It is a pettifogging affair. It prevents the employment of children under 14, a provision which is already largely applied, but it extends the hours during which women and young persons may be employed, i.e., any time between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. This innovation was not made in Washington!

Autocracy in the Navy.

June 9th.—To quell unrest and to show that this is really a democratic country, with a democratic Government, a Lower Deck Welfare Committee to discuss the interests of the men in the Navy has recently been permitted. Ex-Colonel Malone now revealed the fact that the men are not allowed to choose their representatives as they please, and not from any depot, but only from the depot nominated by the Admiralty. Doubtless this is to keep out the Reds.

Housing.

Dr. Addison admitted that his Department has paid an average of £564 an acre for land in London to the grasping landlords, and that since the creation of the much-advertised Ministry of Health, local authorities have only submitted improvement schemes for 494 houses on 10½ acres occupied by 2,938 people, and the net result will be improved housing for 2,820 people!

Security for the Labourer.

Much is said of security for the farmer. W. R. Smith the case of a Carmarthen farmer who, after being prosecuted for paying a worker less than the minimum rate, continued to do so, and on being again prosecuted was fined 5s.!

Bread to be Scarcer.

June 7th.—The Argentine Government has prohibited the export of grain. Mr. Houston reminded the Government that means that bread will be scarcer and cost more.

Existing on 12s. a Week.

Old railway guards and porters, after 40 years' service, are entitled to pensions of only 12s. a week, and if they have reached the age of 65 they are liable to be retired on this pension whether they will or not!

Sir Eric Geddes, Minister of Transport, had nothing to say. In the statistics branch of his Department 40 persons are employed, their aggregate salaries amounting to £11,890 per annum.

An International White List.

In order to prevent the Reds from holding international conferences and moving about freely in the work of Revolution, the passport system, which before the war was confined to Russia, is now maintained in all countries. Mr. A. Herbert (C.U.) asked that an international White list of persons guaranteed as beyond suspicion by their respective governments should be compiled. Cecil Harmsworth (C.L.) said the Government would consider the suggestion.

Agricultural Bill.

Sir A. Boscawen, Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, introduced the Agricultural Bill, which is to inaugurate, he said, a permanent agricultural policy. It raises the guaranteed minimum prices of wheat and oats from 45s. and 24s. to 68s. and 46s. a quarter, and arranges that the guaranteed price shall rise and fall with the cost of production. The Bill further provides compensation for disturbance for farmers given notice to quit. The Bill contains some provisions enabling the Government to direct and enforce food production, but these are of little value and will be largely ignored.

A Bar to Nationalisation.

On June 9th Colonel Wedgwood moved the rejection of the Bill. He claimed that it is the beginning of the proprietary owning of the soil by tenant farmers, as it establishes a tenant right, and that it will make the provision of small holdings more difficult.

The Bill certainly erects a new barrier to nationalisation; this does not seem to have been observed by the Labour Party, which is pledged to land nationalisation. W. R. Smith, who spoke for the Labour Party, did not refer to this, and offered only minor criticisms. Wedgwood, in moving the rejection, said: "I only represent a very small minority here: I do not speak even for the Labour Party."

£3,000,000 on Scarlet.

June 8th.—Churchill said that the cost of re-clothing the troops in pre-war uniforms is only £130,000 more this year than that of keeping them in khaki. He declares the "historic uniforms" valuable not only for recruiting, but for the discipline, conduct, and high reputation of British units.

Cost of Administering Pensions.

This was £1,100,000 for the quarter ending March last, i.e. at the rate of £4,400,000 a year. During that quarter there were 106,000 first awards and 280,000 renewals. The cost of administering the pensions awarded or in payment during the quarter (the latter is just an automatic affair) was 6s. 3d. per case.

The scandal of the Pensions administration is a crying one!

The registrars of County Courts who check the statements of applicants for alternative pension are paid 10s. per case.

Under Communism the means of life will be free to all, and the hosts of such uselessly employed officials will be disbanded.

(Continued on page 8, column 3.)

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

The London *Star* (June 10th, 1920) is "glad to learn that the worker is freer in England than in Russia under Lenin." This is after reading an interview with a returned Labour delegate from Russia in the *Times*. Of course the *Star* would be.

But you don't catch the editor of the *Star* going for a job at the docks, even at the docker's 16s. a day.

And further. He says nothing of the lock-out of the Dublin N.U.R. men who wish to decide, as free-born Britons, about handling munitions for Poland—and Ireland. Nor of old man John Lewis and his attempt to smash a girls' trade union. He prefers to beat down each girl's wages individually, although he must know the inevitable consequences of a starvation wage to a girl in this "free country." He just goes home and reads for the umpteenth time of the confirmation of the report, via Timbuctoo, of the nationalisation of women in Russia.

The editor of the *Star* is also against direct action, and gives J. H. Thomas, M.P., a pat on the back for advising the railwaymen to accept what the capitalists offer. [The Secretary of the London Society of Compositors is also now advising the compositors to accept the capitalist terms, as "an instalment of what is due." In neither case do these stick-fast labour leaders mention the fact that labour produces everything and has therefore the first claim on production.]

The *Star* makes the following astounding statement in its issue of June 7th:—

"The authorities who should decide the policy of this country are first the Cabinet, second the House of Commons, and third the electorate; and no small section of the electorate is entitled to use its industrial power to terrorise the Government and to force its will upon the whole nation."

And yet in other pages of the same issue you will find the *Star* attacking Churchill for wanting £3,000,000 in order to clothe the British Army in red and blue. And Churchill is supposed to be in the Cabinet—at least up to the time of this article going to press.

What is the use of blethering about the "dictatorship and tyranny of a few Bolsheviks" when we have here a few men of the Cabinet dictating the policy of this country with the full approval of an alleged "Liberal" organ like the *Star*? The people, this offshoot of the cocoa press says, come third, and if they want to alter the policy of the Cabinet they must wait till this Cabinet dissolves itself—which it is careful not to do in a hurry; at least not until it has some ancient and fishlike smell to trail out, such as boiling the Crown Prince in condemned margarine.

The Government now in power were talking about hanging the Kaiser at the last general election, and it cannot be denied that a lot of rapturous Henry Dubbs voted for

the Government on this account. The people didn't vote in the Government to put 40 per cent. on the rent, or to put up the prices of sugar and bread. It is true that the price of cloves has gone down, but who wants a meal off cloves?

Now supposing the Cabinet did something the *Star* didn't like—such as reducing the wages of editors to a "fodder basis"—what would the *Star* do? It would go bald-headed for direct action.

It is all right to talk of the dictatorship of a few somewhere in Russia, or even amongst the working class. A few appropriate shudders and a drop of ink spilt do no harm. But it doesn't do away with the dictatorship of the Cabinet right here.

And the same thing is in America; everyone knows that President Wilson has more autocratic power than even the late Czar of Russia had. Not long ago a capitalist sheet referred to Colonel House, Wilson's *alter ego*, or other self, as "the President's personal nominee, just as the American Cabinet are his nominees, responsible to the Executive alone, and not to the Legislature." In fact, all Cabinets are pretty much alike.

The plain fact is that if a people has a right to elect its representatives, it has the right to sack them when it is dissatisfied with them. This is of course only if we accept the Parliamentary system, which no enlightened worker does, and this is much the same case even with the mass of unenlightened workers.

Parliament is simply a huge machine for repairing the mistakes it made a year ago, and it goes on like this year after year, changing its mind as it goes along; but always looking after its fast friends, the capitalists, which most of the M's.P. are indeed.

The workers do the world's work, they settle conditions of trade, they try to make their lives tolerable, not only without the aid of Parliament, but in spite of it. But they can never be free to make their day's work an enjoyment so long as they have a pack of 700 busybodies interfering with them and howling "Bolshevism" when the workers tell them to mind their own business.

When the workers adopt Sovietism here, Parliament will have to emigrate to another planet.

LONDON "HANDS OFF RUSSIA COMMITTEE."

(In conjunction with LONDON TRADES COUNCIL).

A MASS DEMONSTRATION

AT

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ON

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At 3.30 p.m. precisely.

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, June 18th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Pyzer, T. Bromage (N.U.R.).

St. Michael's Church, St. Leonard's Rd., Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Janet Grove, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, June 19th. Waterloo Road, near the "Old Vic," 3 p.m. Mrs. Edmunds, Melvina Walker.

Sunday, June 20th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Melvina Walker and others.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. T. Bromage (N.U.R.), Melvina Walker.

Friday, June 25th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop and others. St. Michael's Church, St. Leonard's Rd., Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker and others.

Saturday, June 26th. Meetings in Lewisham.

INDOOR.

Monday, June 21st. 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Educational Class.

Wednesday, June 23rd. 91, Milton Avenue, 8 p.m. See advertisement, Stonebridge Park.

Thursday, June 24th, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class.

Saturday, June 19th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Communist Conference.

STONEBRIDGE W.S.F.

Opening Ceremony of Local Branch

AT

91, Milton Avenue, Stonebridge Park

ON

Wednesday, June 23rd, at 8 p.m.

Doors Open at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

SYLVIA PANKHURST and MELVINA WALKER.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, June 20th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, June 24th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, June 22nd, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Margaret Hodge: "Slavery in Ancient and Modern Times."

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Dancing Class, £4 2s. 7d.; Bow and Poplar Branches, £1 5s. 5d.; Mrs. Edmunds, £1; Mr. and Mrs. Roodzant, 10s.; J. Cooper, 1s. Collections—Osborne Street, £8 5s. 4d.; Trafalgar Square, £4 0s. 4d.; Hammersmith, £1 12s.; Dock Gates, £1 10s. 2d.; Camberwell, 18s. 5d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Miss M. Gliksten, £5; Mrs. Sadd Brown, £4; Miss Udny, £2 14s. 4d.; T. H. Gibson, £2; Chas. Wright, £2 2s.; Mrs. M. Boswell, £2; Nurse Hebbes, £1 10s.; per Miss Wear, £1 5s.; W. Mansell, £1 1s.; Misses Fussell, £1; J. T. Williams, 10s.; Ada Goodall, 10s.; M. S. Turner, 10s.; per Miss Matters, 9s.; Mrs. K. Burberry, 5s.; Eleanor E. White, 5s.; A. M. Goodliffe, 5s.; M. Smith, 5s.; Collections—Poplar Branch, £1 2s. 1d.; Mrs. Howard, 9s. 5d.; Mrs. Barfield, 5s. 2d.; Nurse Clarks, 4s.

DEFENCE FUND.—Miss Stephenson, £5; per Mrs. Walker, 15s.; Mrs. Simpleton, 5s.; per Miss Nathan, 3s.; Charles Mapley, 2s.; A. E. Roberts, 6d.; Anon., 3d.

Comrades are asked to send second-hand clothes and other goods to LUCY BURGIS, 438, Old Ford Road, to sell for our funds.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.—(From page 7.)

Another Deal.

The Government has put £250,000 into a concern called Home Grown Sugar, Ltd. The Government has guaranteed a dividend of 5 per cent. on the 250,000 shares subscribed by the public.

It is our money the Government is spending!

Soviets in Britain.

Mr. Doyle (C.U.) wanted to know how many Soviet Committees have been established in Wales, Scotland, and the industrial centres of England. He asked "if there are very strong bodies of the same at Slough motor depot?" and referred to Harold Burgess as a "Bolshevist agent."

Mr. Shortt, Home Secretary: "There are or were a few extremists employed at Slough." He added that there is no evidence that Burgess is a Bolshevist agent.

Troops in Mesopotamia and Persia.

There are 13,500 British and 66,000 Indian troops in Mesopotamia and North-West Persia. The cost is about £475,000 a week. There is also a force of 9,000 Indian troops in East Persia.

Children's Employment.

Major Edwards (C.L.) complained that children under 12 years of age are employed selling newspapers. T. Griffiths (Labour) complained that the Hastings County Council is making by-laws for the employment of children before school hours.

The income of the parents is too small: therefore they send their children to work. This is one of the effects of the Capitalist system. In Soviet Russia young people are not employed for wages under 20 years of age, and wages will shortly disappear altogether. Already the staple necessities of life are provided free of cost.

"War Wealth" Levy.

Clynes moved a vote of censure on the Government for deciding against the levy on war wealth. His speech might have been made by any Liberal. The motion was defeated by 224 votes to 81.

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