J. H. Thomas opposes Labour Railway Directors.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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WHITE TERROR IN ENGLAND.

A SUNDERLAND SENSATION

American and Continental Methods Introduced into England—Unemployed Leader Assaulted and Arrested on False Charge—An Important Case!

The case of Comrade James Lenagh, the Secretary of the Sunderland Unemployed Committee, is so remarkable, and, indeed, so terrible, that, lest we should be accused of bias, we prefer to give the story in the words of the local capitalist Daily, the *Sunderland Daily Echo*:—

James Lenagh (37), who has figured in Sunderland recently as the leader of the unemployed, was charged at the police court this afternoon before Ald. Bruce (presiding), Ald. E. H. Brown, and Messrs. T. Hughes, W. Armstrong, and H. Bainbridge, with being drunk and disorderly and with assaulting Sergt. Pickering.

Mr. T. Marshall defended, and the charges were denied. At the request of Mr. Marshall, all the witnesses were ordered out of court until required.

Sergt. Pickering said that last night he was on duty in High Street West, near to the Liverpool House drapery establishment. He saw the prisoner coming down the High Street, and he was staggering, throwing his right arm about, and shouting. Witness stopped him, and told him to go home quietly. The accused replied: "I know you, you big ——!" and kicked him on the right shin, and also struck him on the chest. He closed with the prisoner, and there ensued a struggle, which lasted about ten minutes. Lenagh was very violent. With the assistance of other officers, prisoner was conveyed to the West Wear Street Stat'on. Lenagh was violent on the way to the station and in the office.

By Mr. Marshall: The accused and witness were alone at the time of the occurrence. The first thing he said to him was: "Go home quietly!" Witness considered he was drunk because of staggering and throwing his arms about. Prisoner refused to go away, and never attempted to cross the road. When taken into custody, prisoner endeavoured to wrench h'mself free. Witness was in plain clothes at the time, and did not say he was a policeman when Lenagh said he knew him. He denied having bee "shadowing" prisoner since last Friday night. There were two policemen on the other side of the road at the time, but he (witness) did not know they were there. There was no arrangement among them with regard to Lenagh. Witness was one of the officers who took h'm to the station.

Mr. Marshali: Was he badly treated by the officers there?

Witness: No, sir. He was very violent there.

Mr. Marshall: Did he not ask for a doctor?

Witness: He never asked for a doctor to be sent for when in the charge office. I don't know if he asked anyone there.

Policemen's Evidence.

P.C. McManns said he was on duty with P.C. Younger in High Street West, last night, when he saw a large crowd near the top of Williams Street. A civilian came up and said, "I think there is one of your fellows in trouble." Going to the scene, they found Lenagh resisting Sergt. Pickering very violently. He was drunk, and kicked all the way to the police station. No more force was used than was necessary to get defendant to the station.

Replying to Mr .Marshall, witness said defendant was so drunk and troublesome that they had to put him in the cell at once. He was not helplessly drunk, but violently drunk. He did not ask for a doctor.

P.C. Younger corroborated and denied that more force than was necessary was used. Lenagh did not ask for doctor in his hearing.

P.C. Bailes, who took the charge against the prisoner, gave evidence that Lenagh was drunk. Asked by Mr. Marshall what made him come to that conclusion, witness said he could smell the drink, and Lenagh rolled about all over the place. He was excited, but witness was certain he was not mistaking the condition of excitement for drunkenness. He could smell the drink very strongly, and could smell it again when he went to visit Lenagh in his cell. Witness did not hear him ask for a doctor.

Inspector Allinson said he went to prisoner's cell to read the charge over to him. He found he was drunk and leaning against the wall of his cell. No request was made for a doctor.

Asked by Mr. Marshall what evidence there was that Lenagh was drunk, witness replied that he smelt of drink and he was leaning against the wall, and afterwards staggered to the lavatory. It was not beer, but spirits of which he smelt.

Case for the Defence.

For the defence, Mr. Marshall said his case was an absolute denial. He was in a difficulty, because he did not like having to traverse the evidence that had been given, but there were two perfectly respectable and reputable witnesses who would say that the accused could not possibly have been drunk, as alleged. According to them, Lenagh went with a man named Joseph Bernstein to the house of Joseph Taylor, 19, Violet Cottages, Fulwell, yesterday afternoon. They had tea there with Taylor, and spent the evening with gramophone music and reading. Supper was partaken of, and during the evening Lenagh had half a bottle of beer, Taylor having the other half. There was no other intoxicating liquor consumed in the house. Bernstein was a teetotaler and had a bottle of lemonade. Later in the evening, Bernstein and Lenagh left the house for their homes, and on reaching the High Street end of Norfolk Street, the former left him and went along that street. There was no call made on the road home and no liquor taken. Consequently, Lenagh could not be drunk, as alleged. There were many extraneous circumstances, into which he would not now enter, beyond saying that his client had been engaged lately in certain movements in the town, but was entitled to a fair hearing and just consideration of the evidence of his witnesses. Their evidence would be that at the time, Lenagh was "solid and sober." Just after the two had separated, Lenagh was walking quietly down the street when he was attacked by two policemen. He tried to get away by crossing the road, but found two others there. There was no doubt the man was roughly treated, and he (Mr. Marshall) had seen some severe marks on his legs. He was sure the Bench would give the evidence very careful consideration.

Ald. Bruce: If he has any objection to us sitting he can say so.

Mr. Marshall: No, he has no objection, but he feels he is in a very difficult position.

Lenagh then entered the witness-box, affirming instead of taking the oath in the usual way. He said that yesterday afternoon at half-past two, he, along with the rest of his friends on the Unemployment Committee, went to the Unemployment Committee room and he there wrote a letter to the Mayor. With Mr. Bernstein, he went to the Town Hall and delivered the letter. From there they went to Mr. Taylor's.

"I may say," continued Lenagh, "from Friday afternoon, owing to certain things that happend, I did expect to be arrested, but not for what I am arrested now. I expected to be arrested for telling people to go into the street, but that is a different thing."

Mr. Marshall: Keep yourself to this charge.

Continuing, Lenagh said they arrived at Taylor's house at a quarter past five, and they had tea about 20 minutes past six. They sat on had readings and gramophone music, and about nine o'clock they were going home, when Mr. Taylor sent out and got one bottle of beer and a bottle of ginger. Mr. Taylor and he had the bottle of beer, and the lady and Mr. Bernstein had the bottle of ginger. They remained there till a quarter past ten and then they left and went towards home. At the corner of Norfolk Street, Mr. Bernstein went another way, and he (Lenagh) was just going along—swinging along quickly—when all of a sudden he got a box on the face—the magistrates could see the swelling on his face yet. He naturally wondered what it was, and jumped to one side, and when he saw two big men standing, he thought he was going to be arrested for another thing, and he rushed across the street, but he was held. There were four policemen, and he was taken to the police station. When he arrived at the station, he asked what the charge was, and he was hammered and kicked all over the place. He asked them to send for a doctor, but every request he made was refused. He was then pushed into his cell. He could show the Bench his leg and his body where it was bruised black and blue. His arms were twisted all round. All the officers who came in were in plain clothes and could not tell which was an inspector. When he asked where the lavatory was, instead of staggering to it, he was pushed into it.

In reply to a question by the Chairman as to which officer refused to send for a doctor, Lenagh said he could not distinguish him. He was not drunk, as he had not any money with which to get drunk. He could not get drunk on 15s. a week.

Joseph Bernstein said Lenagh and himself had an invitation to go to tea to Taylor's house. They had some music, and after supper they walked home. There was only one bottle of beer consumed, and that was shared between Lenagh and Taylor. He would swear that Lenagh never had more drink than that, and was quite sober when they left Taylor's house in Violet Cottages.

Supt. Ruddick: Yuo have had an interview with Lenagh in the cell this morning?—Yes.

He sent for you?—Yes.

Joseph Taylor, 19 Violet Cottages, said he had been employed by the Sunderland Shipbuilding Company for 12 years as a joiner. Prisoner was an old friend of his, and as he had not seen him for a year, and had read what was happening in the papers, he thought Lenagh was in need, so invited him to his house. He did not have any more drink than half a bottle of beer.

Supt. Ruddick: Did you see Bernstein this morning before you came to court?—Yes.

The Chairman: Did you arrange what evidence had to be given?—No.

The Decision.

The Chairman said that the Bench had given careful consideration to what had beeen said both for and against the man, and the evidence that had been given by two civilians was such that they found it difficult to believe that the man was drunk. It was quite possible that the man might have been very excited, and the feeling of the Bench was that the case should be dismissed. That course would, therefore, be taken.

A man who attempted to applaud was stopped.

Outside the court a crowd of people waited until Lenagh left the building, and, on his appearance, he was warmly congratulated by his friends.

Comrade Bernstein, who sends us the above cutting from a local paper, corroborates the story and gives further details. The curious thing is, that he was writing to us whilst waiting for Tom Lenagh to call at his house, and he was telling us that he would ask Lenagh to give us a report of the Unemployed Committee's activities. He broke off the letter on Lenagh's arrival, saying that the latter was in a hurry to go to Taylor's,

Continued on page 6.

BOTTOM DOG: IF YOU AND YOUR KING PRACTICED ECONOMY LIKE I DO THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR ECONOMY.

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MAX HAVELAAR.

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

(Continued from last issue.)

The Controller Verbrugge was a good man. When you saw him sitting there in his blue cloth dress coat, embroidered with oak and orange branches on collar and cuffs, you could not have found a better type of the Dutchman in India, who, by the way, is quite different from the Dutchman in Holland. Slow as long as there was nothing to be done, far from that fussiness which in Europe is mistaken for zeal, but zealous where business required attention; plain, but cordial to those around him.

He was sitting in the middle of the *pendoppo*, near the table, covered with a white cloth and well furnished with viands. Rather impatiently, from time to time, he asked the *mandoor* (the chief police official), if there was nothing to be seen.

Twenty or thirty Javanese servants, *mantries* and overseers, squatted on the ground; numbers of others ran in and out, and others of different rank held the horses outside, or rode about on horseback.

The Regent of Lebak himself, Radeen Adhipatti Karta, Natta, Negara, sat facing him. The Regent was an intelligent old man; he could speak on many subjects with sense and judgment, and one had only to look at him, to be convinced that most of the Europeans he came in contact with, had more to learn from him, than he from them. His clear, dark eyes contradicted by their fire the weariness of his features and his grey hairs.

Verbrugge began with an observation on the weather and the rain:

"Yes, Mr. Controller, it is the rainy season."

Then again there was silence. The Regent beckoned with a scarcely visible motion of the head, to one of the servants who sat squatting at the entrance of the *pendoppo*. A little boy, splendidly dressed in a blue velvet jacket and white trousers, with a golden girdle confining his magnificent *sarong** round his waist, and on his head, the pretty *Kain Kapala*,† under which his black eyes peeped forth so roguishly, crept squatting to the feet of the Regent, put down the gold box which contained the *sirie*,‡ the lime, the *pinang*, the *gambier*,** and the tobacco, made his *slamat* by raising both hands put together to his forehead, as he bowed low, and then offered the precious box to his master.

Verbrugge asked the *mandoor* again, if he saw nothing coming?

"I do not see anything from the Pandaglang side, Mr. Controller; but yonder, on the other side, there is somebody on horseback—it is the Commandant."

"To be sure, Dongso," said Verbrugge, looking outside; "he went hunting early this morning. Ho! Duclari—Duclari——."

"He hears you, sir; he is coming this way. His boy rides after him."

"Hold the Commandant's horse," said Mr. Verbrugge to one of the servants. "Good morning, Mr. Duclari, are you wet? What have you killed? Come in."

A strong man about thirty years of age, of military appearance, entered the *pendoppo*. It was Lieutenant Duclari, Commandant of the small garrison of Rankas-Betong; Verbrugge and he were familiar friends.

Duclari addressed the Regent:

"Does the Adhipatti know that the Controller is acquainted with the new Assistant Resident?"

"I don't know him," said Verbrugge. "I only told you that I had heard a good deal about him."

"It is not necessary to see a person in order to know him—doesn't the Adhipatti agree with me?"

The Adhipatti at that moment wanted to call a servant. Some time elapsed before he could say he agreed with the Commandant, but still it was often necessary to see a person before you could judge of him.

Duclari continued his conversation with Verbrugge in Dutch, which the Regent did not know:

"With regard to Havelaar, you need no personal acquaintance; he is a fool."

"I did not say so, Duclari."

"No, but I say it, after all you have told me of him. I call anyone who jumps into the water to save a dog from the sharks a fool."

"Yes, it was foolish, but—it was witty——."

"Yes, but a young man may not be witty at the expense of a General."

"You must bear in mind he was very young—it was fourteen years ago—he was only twenty then; and he was always the champion of the weak."

"Let everyone *fight* for himself, if fighting there must be. As for me, I think that a duel is seldom necessary; if necessary, I accept it; but—to make a custom of it—I'd rather not. I hope he is changed in that respect."

"Of course; there is no doubt of that. He is now so much older; has long been a married man; he is Assistant Resident. Moreover I have always heard that his heart is good, and that he has a strong sense of justice."

"Then he is needed in Lebak—something happened this morning that— Do you think the Regent understands us?"

"I do not think so, but show me something out of your game bag; then he will think that is what we are talking about."

Duclari took his bag and pulled out two woodcocks, handling them as he told Verbrugge he had been followed by a Javanese, who asked him whether he could not do something to lighten the load under which the population groaned.

"That means much," said Duclari. "I have been long enough in the Residency of Batum to know what is going on here; but that a common Javanese, generally so circumspect and reserved in what concerns the chiefs, should make such a request to one who has nothing to do with it, surprises me."

"And what did you answer, Duclari?"

"That he must go to you, or to the new Assistant Resident."

"There they come," said the servant Dongso, suddenly.

All stood up; and Duclari, not wishing to appear that he had come to the frontiers to welcome the Assistant Resident, his superior in rank, but not in command, rode off, followed by his servant.

The Adhipatti and Verbrugge, standing at the entrance of the *pendoppo*, saw a travelling carriage approaching, dragged by four horses, covered with mud, near the little bamboo building.

A gentleman stepped out. Like most Europeans in India, he was very pale. His fine features bore witness of intellectual development; but there was something cold in his glance that made one think of a table of logarithms. One could not help thinking that the very large thin nose on that face was annoyed because there was so little stir.

He politely offered his hand to a lady, to help her in getting out, and after he had taken from a gentleman, who was still in the coach, a child, a little fair boy of about three years old, they entered the *pendoppo*. Then that gentleman himself alighted, and anyone acquainted with Java would immediately observe that he waited at the carriage door to assist an old Javanese *baboe* (nursemaid). Meanwhile, three servants delivered themselves out of the little leather cupboard that was stuck to the back of the coach, like a young oyster on an old one.

The gentleman who had first alighted, offered his hand to the Regent and to Verbrugge. By their attitude you could see they were aware of the presence of an important personage. It was the Resident of of Bantam, the great province of which Lebak is an Assistant Residency. The Resident of Bantam spoke as if there stood after each word a period, or even a long pause, like the silence which follows "Amen" after a long prayer.

Max Havelaar and his wife were the two persons who had alighted from the carriage after the Resident, with their child and the *baboe*. Madam Havelaar was not beautiful; but had, in language and look, something very charming, and nothing of that stiffness and unpleasantness of snobbish respectability, which thinks it must torment itself and others with "constraint," in order to be considered *distingué*. In her dress she was an example of simplicity. She had a noble soul, and certainly he must be blind who did not think her face very beautiful, when that soul could be read in it.

Havelaar was about thirty-five years of age, slender and active. Except his very short and expressive upper lip, and his large pale blue eyes, which, if he was in a calm humour, had something dream-like, but which flashed fire if he were animated with a grand idea, there was nothing particular in his appearance. His light hair hung flat. He was full of contradictions; sharp as a lancet, tender as a girl, he always was the first to feel the wound which his bitter words had inflicted, and he suffered more than the wounded. He was quick of comprehension; grasped immediately the highest and most intricate matter, liked to amuse himself with the solution of difficult questions, and to such pursuits would devote all pains, study and exertion. Yet often he did not understand the most simple thing which a child could have explained to him. Full of love for truth and justice, he often neglected his most simple and nearest obligations to remedy an injustice which lay higher, or further, or deeper, and which allured him more, perhaps, by the greater exertion of the struggle it involved. He was affable and polite in his manners. He had experienced much, had suffered shipwreck more than once, had been through fire, insurrection, assassination, war, duels, luxury, hunger, cholera, love and "loves." He had travelled in many countries.

The Resident of Bantam introduced the Regent and the Controller to the new Assistant Resident. Havelaar courteously saluted these functionaries, and with grave affability, he rebuked the Regent's too great civility, which had brought him, in such weather, to the confines of his district.

"Indeed, Mr. Adhipatti, I am angry with you for having given yourself so much trouble on my account." He persuaded the Adhipatti to join him in the carriage on his homeward journey, to avoid needless riding on horseback through the mud.

* * *

When Havelaar had taken the oaths of installation at the palace of the Regent, and had been presented to the chiefs, he requested the Controller to invite the chiefs, who were at Rankas-Betong, to wait there till next day for a Council he intended to convene.

Everyone expected an address from the Resident; it was not quite certain whether Havelaar himself would say anything to the chiefs; but you ought to have seen him on such occasions, to conceive how he grew excited, and spoke as an Apostle and a seer. His harangue to the chiefs of Lebak was delivered in Malay, which added greatly to its effect. He said, after the first salutation: "I have obtained information about your district, and seen there is much good in Bantam-Kidool; there are rice-fields in the valleys, rice-fields in the mountain, and your people desire to live in peace, and not to invade the districts inhabited by others. I discover that your population is poor. Chiefs of Lebak, there is much to be done in your district. Tell me, is not the labourer poor? Does not your paddy often ripen for those who did not plant it? Are there not many wrongs in your country? Is not the number of your children small? Is there no shame in your souls when visitors ask: 'Where are the villages, and where are the husbandmen?' And why do I not hear the *gamlang*,†† which speaks joy out of a mouth of brass, nor the stamping of paddy by your daughters? Is there no bitterness in seeing the mountains that have no water on their sides, and the plains where the buffalo never drew the plough? Many men who were born here have left this country. Why do they seek to labour far from the place where they buried their parents? Over there to the North West, over the sea, are many who have left Lebak to wander in foreign countries with *kris*‡‡ and *klewang*,‡‡ and gun. And there they die miserably; for the Government has power to vanquish the rebels."

Havelaar had ordered, by a sign, the customary tea and sweetmeats, but few of the chiefs partook of the refreshments. What must the chiefs have thought of his knowing already that so many had left Lebak with bitterness in their hearts, of his knowing how many families had emigrated to neighbouring countries to avoid the poverty that reigned here, and that there were so many Bantammers amongst the bands in revolt against the Dutch Government?

Havelaar continued:

"Chiefs of Lebak! We are all as in the service of the King of Holland, but he, who is just and desires that we should perform our duties, is far from here.

"The Governor-General at Buitenzorg* desires that everyone should do his duty, but he, no more than the King, can see where injustice has been done, for the injustice is far from him.

"The Resident of Serang, who is Lord of the Residency of Bantam, desires that justice shall be done, but where injustice has been done, he lives far from it, and whoever does wickedly, hides himself from his face, because he fears punishment. And Mr. Adhipatti, who is Regent of South Bantam, wills also that there shall be no infamy in that country. And I, the Assistant Resident: I, too, yesterday took the oath to do my duty.

"We all wish to do our duty; but if there be any amongst us who sell the Right for gain, who shall punish him?

"I wish to live on good terms with you. Everyone who has erred may reckon on a lenient sentence from me, for, as I err so often myself, I shall not be severe. Only where negligence becomes a custom I shall oppose it. Of faults of a more grave kind, tyranny and extortion, I do not speak; such a thing shall not happen. Is it not so, Regent?"

"No, no, Mr. Assistant Resident, such a thing shall not happen in Lebak."

The chiefs, bowing low, prepared to return to their homes. Verbrugge, too, was about to leave, but Havelaar said:

"Come, Verbrugge, don't go home yet. Come, a glass of Madeira!"

They sat there together with the Regent for some time. Then, all of a sudden, the Regent asked whether the money which was to the credit of the tax-gatherer's credit could not be paid at once?

"Certainly not!" said Verbrugge. "Mr. Adhipatti knows that this cannot be done till the accounts have been verified."

But Havelaar said: "Come, Verbrugge, don't let us be troublesome. We will pay now; the account will certainly be approved," and he called for a clerk from the office.

"But, Mr. Havelaar, it must not be! The tax-gatherer's account is under examination at Serang—suppose there be anything wanting?"

"Then I will make it good," Havelaar said.

Verbrugge did not understand this great consideration for the tax-gatherer.

The clerk soon returned with some papers. Havelaar signed his name and ordered payment to be hastened, whilst the Regent left, satisfied.

(Continued in our next issue.)

* A piece of white linen. The Javanese women draw figures on such *sarongs* to express their thoughts—*Sarong*, a kind of petticoat. † A sort of turban.
‡ Betel. ** *Pinang, gambier*—different spices.
†† Musical instrument. ‡‡ Indian weapons.
* Near Batavia.

AN AMERICAN ON H.M.H.—*Continued from Page 5*

Mr. Hyndman says that Lenin is not "a powerful writer." I do not know whether he is or not, but certain English versions of pamphlets alleged to be his are so mightily powerful that I recommend them to Mr. Hyndman as models; they may improve his style and his logic. We have to read of Russia in a language not her own, though her learned leaders seem to be polyglots and able to speak to us in our language. In our own language, we, as historians, should always try to get up a good bibliography and dig out a little information before we write. Mr. Hyndman's book is dated September, 1920, less than a year ago, after many books by Englishmen and Americans for and against Russia had been published. Mr. Hyndman's bibliographic note is as follows: "The best books on Bolshevism have been published in the United States. They are 'Bolshevism' and 'The Greatest Failure in All History,' both by John Spargo (Harper Brothers, New York), also 'Sovietism,' by English Walling, containing a very full collection of official Bolshevik documents. The case for the Bolshevik Dictatorship has been stated in England by Eden and Cedar Paul, 'Creative Revolution: a Study in Communist Ergatocrasy' (Allen and Unwin, London), and in R. W. Postgate's 'The Bolshevik Theory' (Grant Richards, Ltd., London)." Only five books! And the best books are those by Messrs. Spargo and Walling!

JAPAN'S POSITION IN THE COMING WORLD'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

A Report sent by the well-known Japanese Communist SEN KATAYAMA to the Commintern Third Congress in Moscow.

(Continued from last issue.)

The Imperialism and Capitalism of Japan are new. Japan learned them from the West long after the revolution of 1868. The Old history of Japan tells that many centuries ago, an Empress of Japan invaded Korea and made the country a tributary; but this can hardly be called an act of Imperialism, in the sense of the word now used. A little more than three centuries ago, Toyotomi, after subjugating the whole of Japan, wanted still greater fame as a warrior, and therefore invaded Korea. He also attempted to invade China, but in the latter attempt, miserably failed. This cannot be called Japan's Imperialism, because it was merely undertaken by Toyotomi's personal ambition.

The Japan of the three centuries ending with the revolution of 1868, was certainly not imperialist or capitalist. After the reign of Toyotomi, Japan, for about three centuries, shut all her doors and neither let any foreigner come in, nor any of her own subjects go out of the country. She was compelled to open her doors, by the American cannons, some sixty years ago. Then she really started to learn Western manners, including, of course, Imperialism and Capitalism.

Japan's Imperialism began its career at the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese war of 1894-5. Until that time Japan was suffering under the yoke of foreign countries. The yoke of seventeen nations which was put on the neck of Japan was invented by an American, the American Minister to Japan—Mr. Townsend Harris—the name of the yoke is "Extra-Territoriality." By this yoke Japan has to maintain within her own territory—namely, at her five principal treaty ports—seventeen independent nations, with seventeen different laws, customs, and legal courts respectively.

Any citizen of those seventeen nations or the treaty Powers, may beat, kill, or rob the Japanese. He is not tried by the Japanese Court according to Japanese laws. Japan cannot try the murderer or punish him, because he is a citizen of one of those seventeen nations. He is formally tried by his own Consul, who is not a judge, of course, and may have no legal idea at all. As a matter of fact, he is usually set free. Not only that, but the Japan of those days had no autonomy with regard to her foreign trade. She could not levy customs duty on imported goods of more than five per cent. *ad valorem*. The *vox populi* of Japan, up to the time of the war with China, was the revision of that obnoxious treaty—the foreign yoke. There was, as far as I know, neither a desire nor a hope for Imperialism in Japan.

I give the facts rather more minutely than I should, because I want to remind my comrades that exactly the same state of things is existent in China to-day. The Russian Soviet Republic's citizens in China are the only citizens of foreign Powers who are prevented from doing whatever they like in the vast Chinese territory. This is one of the results of Imperialism in China. The Chinese proletariat should be interested in the destruction of Imperialism, not only that of Japan, but also that of America and England.

As a result of victory in war, Japan got the Treaties revised, first with Great Britain, then with other nations. Japan took Liaoyang Peninsula from China as a war prize, but was compelled to return it by the combined pressure of the Kaiser and the Czar. China, before the war with Japan, was a sleeping giant. Her navy was built under a German General, Von Hannecken. It was then the mightiest navy in the Far East, whilst Japan's navy was a child's toy. China's population was ten times larger than that of Japan; whilst her territory was twenty times that of Japan.

An English farmer told me, while I was travelling through Yorkshire in the summer of 1894, that Japan must have gone crazy, to fight against China.

In spite of the predictions of the English farmer, Japan won the battle, and for the first time in her history conceived a desire for Imperialism and Capitalism. Now she has both, together with the hatred of the entire world. The world-wide cry of the anti-Japanese is the reward of Japan's Imperialism. Fortunately, the Japanese proletariat has been lately finding out the curse of Imperialism and is trying to destroy it.

The first war of Japan's Imperialism was tried with Czarist Russia in 1904-5. Seven prominent Professors of the Tokyo Imperial University were punished by the authorities, because they published their Imperialist opinion that Japan should occupy the East of Lake Baikal. Perhaps that was the first utterance of Japanese Imperialists of a rather extreme type. At that time, people in general considered them as "jingo" fanatics.

That war gave the Japanese comrades the first supreme chance to make anti-war propaganda, and to get into touch with the Russian comrades. The Japanese comrades greeted the Russian comrades, saying:—

"Dear Comrades.—Your Government and ours have plunged into war, in order to satisfy their Imperialist desires; but to us there is no barrier of race, territory or nationality. We are comrades, brothers and sisters, and have no reason to fight each other. Our militarism and our so-called patriotism are your enemy—not the Japanese people. We feel that your people feel the same towards us. Indeed, it is patriotism and militarism that are our common enemies; nay, all the Socialists in the world look up on them as common enemies. We Socialists must fight bravely against them. The best and most important opportunity for us is now. We believe that you will not let this opportunity pass."

To the above greetings, the Russians answered:—

"Amidst the "jingoistic" chorus of both countries, the voices of Japanese comrades sound as a herald from that better world, which, though it only exists to-day in the minds of the class-conscious proletariat, will become a reality to-morrow! We do not know when that "to-morrow" will come, but we Social Democrats, the world over, are all working to bring it nearer and nearer. To-day we are digging a grave for the present miserable social order. We are organising the forces which will finally bury it."

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 brought upon the the proletariat of victorious Japan nothing but curses, general misery, the burden of heavy taxes, the degradation of morality, and the supremacy of militarism. Our proletariat has learned the bitterest experiences from the victorious war. Living became more difficult than before the war; the Japanese Government became more oppressive, and the Labour movement was almost entirely crushed; above all, militarism became a still more oppressive and heavy burden on the proletariat. This was the actual state of things when the war of 1914-18 began.

No wonder that the Japanese people took no interest in the war of 1914-18 and were more interested in the Russian revolutions that overthrew first a Czar, and then Capitalism, and with it militarism. With the miserable fall of the Kaiser and his "invincible" army, which had been the idols of the Japanese Imperialists, the Japanese people utterly lost confidence in militarism.

Yet there is no weakening of militarism in Japan. Far from it! The European war made Japan a lending, instead of a borrowing country, as she was before the war. The war industry of Japan infinitely strengthened Japanese militarism materially and financially. Expansion of armament has been the order of the day. The Imperialist gang of Japan is well satisfied with the results of the late war, at least, financially. They have been able to increase the army and navy, as they had hoped for a century.

All this is only on the surface; the Japanese Imperialists are terror-stricken by the changed attitude of the people since the war. Not only are the people becoming markedly averse to militarism, but the Military Academy and Naval School and Colleges are having great difficulty in recruiting new students, though previously they had to raise the standard of the entrance examination, in order to ward off too many students.

Barrack life was never popular among the proletarian youth. This unpopularity of military education among the youths of the well-to-do classes is not the only fact that has worried the Imperialists of Japan. The young and promising military officers are also beginning to quit the professiog. The necessary cannon fodder can be got by compulsory conscription, but the officers come from the upper layer of society, so they had never thought of getting the officers by any compulsion. However, unable to check young officers leaving the Army and Navy, the military authorities hastily made a rule to the effect that any officer leaving his profession without an approved reason, would lose all military rank and honours, together with his pension. Even with such a rigid, arbitrary rule, they hardly checked young officers from leaving their posts in both Army and Navy.

Militarism, and consequently Imperialism, has lost all its former fervour. This is true, at least, psychologically.

The chief reason for the expansion of Japanese armaments was apparently external, but a careful study of the international situation shows that, insignificant as Japan's military and naval equipment is, compared with either England or America numerically, it yet became a terror of the capitalist world. Why? Because the Western world cannot ignore the military and naval power and strength of Japan. Japan is the strongest Power in the Far East at the present moment. Given a free hand, Japan's military and naval equipment can easily crush all the Liberal and Radical movements in the Far East without the least difficulty. This fact alone is the great menace to the cause of our movement. If we consider still further that this fact is coupled with the most avaricious ambition of the Japanese Imperialists, which controls the destiny of seventy million people who can can easily be made cannon fodder in the time of war, and in peace can be exploited for war preparations, we must realise that Japanese Imperialism is the greatest menace to the Communist movement in the Far East.

But will the destruction of Japanese Imperialism by some other Imperialism, say, American or English, make our Communist movement any easier? No, it means the domination of the Far East either by American or by English Imperialism instead of by Japanese. It may satisfy Gompers and the American Federation of Labour and those who believe in the White domination of the world, but the proletariat of all the countries concerned in this destruction will not be benefited. No, our position should not be that of a fisherman who watches the quarrel between the kingfisher and the clam, looking only to his profit; we must destroy the Imperialism of Japan, as well as that of others, with our own methods and our own forces, namely, the proletarian revolutionary forces of the entire world.

The Japanese proletariat is rapidly awakening and becoming class-conscious. It began to wake up at the time of the great rice riots of August, 1918. Then there were hardly any Labour organisations to speak of except the "yellow" Yu-Ai-Kai, and the Printers' Union. But to-day there are three to four hundred thousand organised workers, many of them class conscious. Until recently, the Yu-Ai-Kai was considered to be a "yellow" organisation; but since the beginning of the present year, the Left Wing, that favours the Third International, has dominated the entire organisation, and it is rapidly becoming Red. In spite of the prohibitive laws against the Labour movement and against the Labour Unions, the Japanese workers are steadily gaining ground. Our Labour organisations are mostly organised on industrial lines. Strikes are becoming more and more frequent and revolutionary. Their chief aim is the destruction of Capitalism, as was expressed by a resolution passed at an unemployed mass meeting called by the Federation of the Labour Unions of Osaka and its vicinity, last autumn.

On December 10th, 1920, after four months' propaganda to form a Socialist League, promoted by thirty well-known comrades, the formal organisation of the League was to take place at Tokyo. Knowing, however, the intention of the police authorities, the promoters of the League, by their tact and wisdom, converted the preliminary meeting held on December 9th into a regular meeting and passed the constitution and bye-yaws of the Socialist League. Thus they skilfully evaded the Czar-like police authorities, and the Socialist League was duly organised again after its suppression,(which happened it, the Spring of 1907), a lapse of fourteen years. The Socialist League was formed, with a membership of over a thousand. The League was intended to be quite moderate in tone and activity, so that it might exist legally as a general propaganda organ; the comrades who organised it, intending to pick out from it a few radical members for special work. The Manifesto of the League was worded to evade the police censorship, which is always severe and often cruel. It said:—

"We aim at destroying the present capitalist system from its very foundations.

"We intend to destroy bourgeois civilisation, its various institutions, organisations, customs, thought, art, etc., that are accessory to the capitalist system.

"We, in order to create a true living that is appropriate to mankind, intend to realise a society that has neither rich nor poor, is without classes, and in which all shall be assured of food, clothes; all dwelling, by their own labour.

"We adopt every effective means of fighting against the capitalist system and its accessory organisations.

"We believe that an important and real power is in the workers, and shall strive for their awakening, organisation, and discipline.

"Thus, combining the proletariat of Japan and its accessories, we shall advance without stopping, boldly and courageously, toward the new society, new organisation, and new civilisation of the proletariat!"

The Socialist League holds its public meetings, openly advertised, in spite of all. It is reported to be growing steadily in membership and its influence. The last I heard of its membership was a little over 3,000. Behind the open forum, a compact, well-disciplined, underground party is in process of formation, and we, the Communists in America, are in direct touch with them.

The destruction of Imperialism in any country must be the direct work of the proletariat of that particular country, led by the Communist Party appointed by the Communist International. Otherwise it would be almost impossible in a country like Japan, which is under a powerful, though decaying, Imperialism supported by Capitalism, nationally and internationally.

With the subjugation of Japanese Imperialism and its capitalism, the social revolution in the Far East will be an accomplished fact. As soon as the Far East is ours, British Imperialism is bound to go to pieces. With British Imperialism dead and buried, American Imperialism will not last long.

Long live the Workers' Soviet Russian Republic!
Long live the Third Communist International!
Long live the coming World's Social Revolution!

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ROBERT WILLIAMS AND BLACK FRIDAY

Robert Williams contributes a curious apologia for Black Friday, to the August issue of the *Labour Monthly*. He says " the Triple Alliance is irretrievably broken . . . the Triple Alliance is dead! Long live International Working-Class Solidarity!"

The concluding phrase is very proper; but why have smashed up the Triple Alliance, about which Robert Williams and his friends have said so many big and fine things, not long ago?

Robert Williams infers that the failure of the Triple Alliance to act on Black Friday, was the death-blow to the Alliance. He does not definitely explain the failure to act, with which he appears to have been in agreement; but, again, one is led to infer that to act would have been too risky and unpleasant. He says:—

"We knew that at any time a Triple Alliance contest against all the resources of the State would be an 'even' chance, but that on a falling market, with some million and a half unemployed, the odds were against us."

He adds:—

"After a long drawn-out mining dispute, when a resumption takes place, the problem of reinstatement does not arise, the men automatically proceeding to their work; but in the case especially of a Transport Dispute . . . reinstatement is the most difficult problem that concerns us everywhere."

How can Mr. Williams say this? Where is he living that he does not hear the cry of victimisation, unemployment, failure to secure reinstatement, that arises now so bitterly from workless miners in the coalfields?

Williams puts forward the petty excuse, for the failure to act, that, as parties to the Triple Alliance, the miners will not take strike action without a ballot of their members, that being laid down in their constitution, whilst the railwaymen and transport workers can act without taking a ballot. He says, that when the Alliance constitution was drawn up, the Miners' Federation tried to impose its ballot system on the other two constituent bodies; but a compromise was arranged, allowing that each of the constituent bodies should decide whether to engage in joint action, " by such methods as the constitution of each organisation provides."

Instead of abiding by this compromise, he seems to think that the railwaymen and transport workers have a legitimate reason for backing out of all sympathetic action, because their constitutions allow them to strike without a ballot, and that of the miners does not. He says that either the miners must change their constitution, or the other organisations be " entitled to take a ballot as to whether joint action should be taken with the miners."

Surely they are so entitled, and, if they were not, it would be for themselves, and not the miners, to change their constitution.

But what ignoble quibbling! Does Williams not himself say that the attempt of the miners to impose the ballot " almost torpedoed the Triple Alliance "?

Has he not advocated strike action without waiting for the ballot, in the interests of Labour's mobility in the class struggle? Does it really matter, in the interests of the entire working class and Labour's solidarity, whether the conditions on which strike action is declared are more arduous for one industry or another, so long as they can all be mustered for joint action when the crisis comes?

Seeing that the miners, who are slow to move, had moved, was it not to be counted a fortunate thing that the other Unions were able to move quickly in joint action?

Granted that when the railwaymen were on strike, the miners' constitution impeded sympathetic action: did Robert Williams do anything to hasten the action of the miners, or did he try to confine and speedily shut down the railway dispute? Is it not well-known that he took the latter course?

In the interests of the working class, in the interests of Socialism and the Revolution, to which, even in this *Labour Monthly* article, Robert Williams expresses devotion, was it not important for the working class to put up a solid fight in sympathy with the miners; was it not important to bring the Triple Alliance into action?

If, as we believe, even Robert Williams must answer Yes to those questions, the futility of such excuses is apparent.

Another excuse made by Robert Williams is " the Triple Alliance could never be held to be a revolutionary organisation. From the period of its inception in 1914, it has been frankly a reformist body."

Certainly, we have said that many times; but Williams has always denied it: he has hitherto spoken, with much bombast and bluff, of the great things that the Triple Alliance would do. Even in this very article he does not refrain from his old boasting though he begins on a sober note. He goes on to tell us that " many leaders of the Soviet Government he met in Russia were convinced that the action of the Triple Alliance, by its strike threat (oh, those strike threats!), and in holding up munitions of war, had saved the situation."

Did the Alliance hold up munitions of war, quite completely; did it? Let Mr. Williams give us some concrete facts about that. We have not forgotten how when certain London railwaymen refused to handle " White " munitions, the N.U.R. Executive ordered them back to their task. The *Jolly George* refusal was a spontaneous action of the men on the job remember. It was not organised by the Triple Alliance

Williams continues:—

"The Triple Alliance was responsible . . . for preventing the importation of coloured indentured labour into this country. . . . The Triple Alliance was successful in the joint economic movement which secured an all-round reduction of hours of labour for Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport Workers. . . ."

Yes, it may be; all things by the threat of a great nation-paralysing strike by the Triple Alliance; by bluff, by threats; but when the time came for fulfilment, the bubble burst—the Triple Alliance would not act. Everyone knows that, so long as its present Executive is in power it will not act. Therefore, no one cares any more for the Triple Alliance. As Robert Williams tell us, it is dead.

Robert Williams admits mistakes were made; he would have done things differently, or would do things differently now, were the time to be lived through again. We all feel that, after a great failure. We all must sympathise with the bitter after-regrets which torture those who were responsible. But has Williams learnt by the failure? Alas, no; for even now his regrets are not for the failure to act, but for not having bluffed again:—

" Had the Miners' Federation gone to Lloyd George, who was just as scared as we were, in the forenoon of that important Friday when the Triple Alliance strike was *in potentia*, the Miners would have made a a settlement wherein the Government would have given such assistance to the Mining Industry as would have been requisite to maintain wages up to the cost of living figures."

No, Mr. Williams; you misread the situation: it was more serious; it *is* more serious, than that.

But you call yourself a revolutionary. Why are you always playing for peace?

One shrewd cut only, makes Robert Williams, and that is against G. D. H. Cole, who criticised the Triple Alliance policy in the same magazine last month.

Williams says, acidly: " The Triple Alliance showed sufficient insight to keep away from the National Joint Industrial Council, of which, if my memory serves me well, Mr. Cole consented to act as Secretary."

Yes, G. D. H. Cole has made some grave mistakes and still, Fabian-like, is apt to make them. That is why we were surprised to find the *Labour Monthly*, which he edits, puffed by that particularly exclusive organ, *The Communist*

UNEMPLOYED: OLD FORD TO SHEFIELD

Last week a woodyard was burnt down in Old Ford. This week a riot in Sheffield. Such incidents do not provide work for the unemployed; but are you surprised that the unemployed have grown angry and desperate? It is hard to starve in a land of plenty. It is unjust that the workers should be forced to do it. The local capitalist paper, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, accuses the Sheffield police of inaction, showing " great deference " towards the demonstrators, and of failure to protect adequately the premises of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* also complains that the trams were stopped " because the running of tramcars past the Town Hall disturbed the orators."

Evidently the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* considers there is too much sympathy with the unemployed amongst the employees of certain official departments. This is important and interesting to us all—a straw blowing which may show the direction of the coming storm.

Last week, as always, our comment was that no palliative reforms, only the replacing of capitalism by Communism, will put an end to unemployment. A worker thereupon called at the " Dreadnought " Office and asked how that can be since there is famine in Russia.

Of course, our reply is the well-known one, that the outbreak of famine in one part of Russia or another is chronic, but accelerated this year by the excessive drought. That the famines are caused by the primitive methods of cultivation still employed in Russia. Old wooden ploughs, such as have been in use for hundreds of years, do not make furrows deep enough to save the corn from being withered in dry weather; artificial irrigation is not as yet forthcoming were necessary. The war and the blockade have heightened the difficulty of overcoming the causes of the recurrent famines which have ravaged the population of Russia from time immemorial.

IRELAND.

We predicted that the present Irish negotiations would produce no settlement, and our prediction is about to be verified.

It seems too unbearably terrible that the murder gangs will again be at work in Ireland, that the homes will be burnt and the people killed as before. But it seems that this is to happen, and the truce will but have embittered the fight.

The situation is indeed heartrending, the more so to those who realise that the winning of Independence for Ireland will not mean the emancipation of her masses; that the class struggle will still have to be fought amid the disillusion that mere independence from Britain must inevitably bring to those who want to see the world made a better place for the ordinary person to live in. And yet the Irish fight is historically important, because it is one of the forces tending to the destruction of the British Empire, an important bulwark of the capitalist system.

Will Ireland secure Independence from England this side of the Revolution? The question is very doubtful. Certainly the British people are not yet stirred enough to force the Government to grant it.

The terms the Government is offering to Ireland will not be accepted by Sinn Fein, because they deny the very points which are most cherished by the economic interests behind Sinn Fein.

The Tariff Question.

The British terms lay down that there shall be no protective duties between Britain and Ireland.

Sinn Fein is anxious to build a tariff wall round Ireland for the fostering of Irish industries which it declares have been destroyed by British competition. Sinn Fein desires to force the Irish people to buy goods manufactured in Ireland by making their imported competitors prohibitively expensive.

The War Debt.

This proposition does not appeal to Communists, but to the Irish manufacturer, or would-be manufacturer, it is a sound one: the British terms knock the proposition on the head.

The British Government's terms insist upon the Irish bearing a share of Britain's War Debt.

The desire of escaping this burden is, of course, one of the spurs to the independence movement. To a nation setting out to build itself anew the importance of securing freedom from such trammels is obvious.

The Army, Navy and Air Force.

Ireland, even though nominally given complete freedom from Britain, because of her relative weakness, would still remain under the domination of Britain's naval and military power unless she entered into an alliance with another strong Power, or the great Powers made a pact concerning her. Independence is denied by the Government's terms, and it is made clear that the British navy and air force remain in control whilst Ireland's own territorial force is to be limited, not to give too much trouble to Britain's soldiers, should they be rushed across.

The Ulster Separation.

Those who are desirous of making Ireland a nation naturally desire to maintain industrial Ulster as part of Ireland. This Lloyd George's terms deny.

Indeed, there could be no reason why Sinn Fein, having made the stand that it has, should accept the terms unless it were a question of pure exhaustion.

Naturally Sinn Fein has rejected the terms, and the fight goes sadly on.

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AWAKENING OF THE AGRICULTURAL WORKER

By T. G. HIGDON.

[Comrade Tom Higdon, and Mrs. Higdon are well-known in connection with the Burston School Strike. As everyone knows, the strike took place because the Higdons were agitating amongst the agricultural labourers, forming a Union amongst them, and because they and the labourers were elected to the Parish Council, the Parson and the farmers losing their seats.

T. G. Higdon is Treasurer of the Agricultural Labourers' Union.]

One can hardly realise that the agricultural worker of to-day is the same sleepy creature of, say, ten years ago. Types of the old, dormant labourer, of course, remain; but, for the most part, his sons are wide awake to-day, and even the old man himself wants to know where he is, and the time of the clock every time he wakes up.

The amount of his wages, for one thing (prices aside), is a wonder to him. This is not because it is really a large sum, it is only a 46/- minimum at present, and will shortly be reduced to 42/- by the recent decision of the Wages Board It is because of the smallness of his wages in days gone by, when they were only ten, or twelve, or fourteen " bob " a week. War wages, or what not, he could never have believed that he would ever reach such a " high " figure as that which now obtains.

The cost of living could be what it would in the old war days, or in the days of the Corn Laws, but the agricultural labourers' wages did not rise, as witness the " hungry 'forties."

Remember, the Tolpuddle martyrs were arrested, shackled, imprisoned, and transported for trying to get up a Union with a view to raising their wages above seven shillings a week. It was conspiracy, declared the Authorities! Well, if it was conspiracy, then it was conspiracy a year or two back, when I went into Dorsetshire on my holidays and called aloud to the villagers of Tolpuddle to come out under the Martyr's Tree and again make their attempt, as their forefathers had done. It was conspiracy, too, when it was my happy lot to initiate a branch of the National Union of Agricultural Workers there that night. To-day there is a flourishing branch at Tolpuddle, and the whole of Dorset is well organised —while the South Norfolk labourers have returned George Edwards to represent them in Parliament. The Burston School Strike, in Mr. Edwards' constituency, is a further awakening of the agricultural workers of Norfolk—the premier county of the Union's activities—while the national character of the Union is well established throughout the country.

More startling and less believable still to the Hodge we used to know would have been the annuncement that he would live to see his hours reduced—from anything up to a hundred, or more—down to the present maximum of 50 in summer, and 48 in winter, with overtime rates of 1/1 per hour on weekdays, and 1/3½ per hour on Sundays. Had he not always religiously kept holy the Sabbath Day, by refusing to sell his labour, choosing rather to give it away?

A good cartoon picturing the surprise and incredulity of dear old Hodge, dead half a dozen years ago or so, on coming to life and being told what has happened, would be worth the artist's while.

And the best of it is that the labourers have accomplished this themselves, through their own organisations and by the re-quickening of the revolutionary spirit of their forefathers of the days of John Ball, Wat Tyler, Kett. James Hammet, Geogre Loveless, and Thomas Brine.

Without the revival of this spirit and the cultivation of an aptitude for organising, the Agricultural Wages Board would have resulted in nothing more nor less than a modern " Statute of Labourers," to keep wages down and to prevent them from rising, through scarcity of labour during the war, as happened after the " Black Death," when the labourers were soon reduced again to slavery.

The intelligence and calibre of the labourer have been tested severely during the period of the operation of the Wages Board and Committees, and he has shown himself, in a large measure, able to control them by sending his own capable representatives there.

That is the real and only reason why the Government has resolved to abolish the Wages Board. Hodge has been too much " all there " this time.

But let the Government abolish the Wages Board, it cannot make much difference in the long run. It may cause some temporary setbacks in the way of wage-cuts, as in some other industries, but if the labourer retains his latent aptitude for organising and the spirit of revolt which has arisen in his breast, he will soon find a better and more effective instrument for expressing his hopes and aspirations and for accomplishing his end than the Wages Board.

From the latest reports of the Union, there is every sign, numerical and financial, that he is realising that sense of self-reliance and responsibility that the moment requires, and that he will " play up " to it.

The abolition of all land monopolies by private landlords and capitalists with free access to the land for the landworker, with a view to its full cultivation and greater production, the benefits of which all may share, are some of the things aimed at.

Some of us realise that Agriculture is not merely an industry; but that the land is a Communal inheritance, and will be a common possession some day, which shall be the bed-rock and basis of the Britain that is to be—and of the New World—in which

> " A hundred nations (shall) declare that there shall be
> Pity and Peace and Love among the Good and Free."—(*Shelley.*)

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF H. M. HYNDMAN.

JOHN MACY (In the "Freeman")

If Mr. Hyndman were a writer of editorials for the New York *Times* or a college professor of economics (and he is eminently qualified to be either), it would not be worth while to quarrel with him; but for a generation he has been a leading spokesman for the Social Democrats of England, and his words have the authority of age, experience and position, every authority indeed except that of wisdom. It is, therefore, the critic's duty to expose Mr. Hyndman's fallacies, in order to get underneath the follies of the individual to the social and historical errors in which he is rooted and on which he stands like a blighted tree. In spite of its somewhat pompous spread of learning and appearance of stout English oak, Mr. Hyndman's book, from the title to the last paragraph, is a shell full of decay and corruption. For his title, Mr. Hyndman thanks a friend, which is like thanking the man at the next desk for lending you a rubber-stamp. "The Evolution of Revolution!" How many times in trying to explain to a complacent liberal the A B C of what revolution means, I have been effectively, desperately silenced, by that horrible pun! In the last half of the last century the word "evolution" became a king's crown and a scholar's gown to any rickety idea that could don it or sneak under it. The only other word that equalled it in specious dignity was "scientific," and Mr. Hyndman, by the way, dedicates his book to "My Comrades of the Old Social-Democratic Federation: the Pioneers of Scientific Socialism in Great Britain."

Mr. Hyndman's book is devoted to the development of three propositions: (1) that throughout history there have been many several kinds of slavery and many revolts against it, mostly unsuccessful; (2) that the Social-Democratic Federation of England laid down the right rules for revolution with grateful regard for what other times and other nations had taught the English Social Democrats; (3) that the Russian Revolution, not that of the wise Kerensky, but the present one of the wicked Lenin, did not happen according to the rules laid down by the Social-Democratic Federation of Great Britain, and therefore cannot be what it is, because it ought not to be what it is according to the Marquis-of-Hyndman rules. Of these three propositions the first is more or less certain and the other two are—nonsense. Even the first proposition is not worked out with precision, insight, general accuracy. But, after all, accuracy in detail does not matter so much, since details are always in dispute or lost so that the most patient historian can not get at them. Mr. Hyndman's erratum-note is pathetic. He "wishes to correct the statement in which he reports Cicero as having strangled Cataline. It was Cataline's associates and friends who were strangled. Cataline died in battle." The great erratum of Mr. Hyndman, however, is squinting at history, deliberately preparing all the ages of man so that they shall lead up to the grand climax, which includes a Hyndman solo on an improved Marx mechanistic pianola with a *vox Britannica* modulating device—the climax of the appearance of the Social-Democratic Federation, followed by the anti-climax of getting the reliable London bobbies to clear the hall of the outrageous Russians who broke in and spoiled the party.

Mr. Hyndman's chronology is the more puzzling because one of the principles he insists on is that no social movement can cheat the clock. The reason that the slave-revolts in Rome failed, was not so much that the slaves were beaten as that the inexorable old clock, which is not only the recording instrument of evolution, but its master in control of the whole works, put up its hands and ticked: "Nay, Spartacus, nay!" I know that clocks were not invented until some time later in Germany, but a little anachronism is quite appropriate in a discussion of Mr. Hyndman's book. Mr. Hyndman says of the French Revolution: "Economic and social causes work slowly forward to their inevitable end, regardless of the persons engaged in consciously . . . This teaching of history becomes monotonous in its iteration." But the pendulum goes on oscillating, through 'forty-eight and 'seventy-one with their rigid calendar-mathematics, through the British Chartist movement and the subsequent "period of apathy," until finally we, the Social Democrats, arrive. We, also, are inevitable—slaves of the clock. We are the true children of relentless and fulfilling time. But what is the matter with the lock? Other fellows are here, too, confound them! Now, in 1880. . . . That is where the clock should have stopped and then it would have lived up to its historical reputation for regularity. Who spoiled that wonderful clock? The Independent-Labourt party stuck a finger into it and so "has done much to retard the spread of socialism." Not Marx, to whom we all bow, but Engels, his "evil genius" (*sic*), and the fools who will not understand what Marx really means, have shifted the dial until we do not know whether it is three-quarters past one century or one-quarter past the next. But the arch-destroyer of time is that domoniac relativist Lenin—Lenin and his accomplice, Germany, and the syndicalists, the anarchists, the direct-actionists, the whole gang of bunglers that have smashed our best British chronometer.

So Mr. Hyndman blunders into the present time and utterly misconceives it. . . . If the Social Democrats of Germany were wrong in upholding the Government in 1914, then the Socialists of other countries who did not uphold their Governments should not be treated with scorn by this Englishman for their "ecstasy of pacifism." It cannot possibly be true, even if the Bolshevik leaders are villians and monsters, that they "have ruthlessly endeavoured to establish a servile State with capitalism more dominant than ever." It is inanity to say that Russia "has no political history." Russia has a political history, long, dark, and intricate, and the man who could make a statement like that is the last man in the world to understand the recent political history of Russia or of any other country. If it is true that "peace, in fact, can only be made certain by the determination of the peoples themselves to resist, by pressure at home, all attempts of the governing class in any country to enter upon hostilities," then it is disingenuous to call the "pacifism" of many of the French socialist leaders "unfortunate." If it is true that in 1910 and 1911 "economic and social conditions were" "ripe" "for complete change," then whatever revolution has taken place in Russia since 1911 cannot be "untimely."

If it is true that "men could only understand and take advantage of the opportunities afforded them by the inevitable growth of economic forces," then it cannot be true that "had Nicholas II. thrown off the influence of his half-insane Tsarina and his bigoted men of God, and taken the advice of statesmen and members of his own family, he might, as Louis XVI. could have done when Turgot and Malesherbes were in power, quite possibly have helped forward a peaceful and beneficial revolution." If it is true that "the fetishism of money and the worship of individualism are dying down inevitably," then it cannot be true that "while the philanthropists of capitalism have been philanthropising, their fellow-capitalists have been appropriating." If it is true that "the process of historic evolution, slow or fast, cannot be overleapt by the most relentless fanatic, least of all in an empire such as that of Russia" (why does evolution evolve more or less in one place than in another?); and if it is true that "the vast movements of world-wide civilisation develop themselves under conditions which take much less account of the greatest individuals," then why back down and confess, apropos of Lenin, that "the individual here and there does count in human affairs, nevertheless?" If this man, Lenin, is "perhaps not even a man of high intelligence," why endow him with "some inscrutable hypnotic power?" In other words, why talk of "miracles" in order to square yourself with 1880, in the evry act of accusing Lenin of being a man with certain misconceived theories which "go wrong, as it was inevitable they should?"

CHANGE YOUR LEADERS!

How Trade Unionists may use their Union Rules to Expel Reactionary Leaders.

By RED INTERNATIONA

II.

The Derbyshire Miners' Association Again.

In the "Workers' Dreadnought" of July 30th I gave an outline of the constitution of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, and showed how the rules might be amended to give the membership more power in electing the executive and officials.

I shall now review the position of the union in relation to the M.F.G.B., the Triple Alliance, the Trade Union Congress, and Labour Party. Many of the remarks which I shall have to make will apply with force to other unions also.

First of all, be it remembered, that so apathetic have the members of this organisation been that their executive members have become practically permanent; the membership has not had the energy necessary to secure any change.

The Executive is supposed to consider resolutions sent in by the districts, and also to introduce what business it thinks fit. Generally speaking, the Executive makes its own policy in all things; then asks the membership for support, which is granted without question.

Rotating Delegates.

The lodges in rotation appoint delegates to all conferences at which the council decides to be represented. This includes the M.F.G.B., of course, Labour Party, and Trade Union Congresses.

To the Miners' Federation of Great Britain Conferences the Derbyshire miners send three delegates from the lodges, as well as two permanent officials and the President and Vice-President alternately.

These delegates are only given mandates on the Resolutions sent in from Derbyshire; they use their discretion on other matters.

As the lodge delegates to the conferences are sent by the lodges in turn, there is no continuity in the representation. The same subject may be discussed by two or more conferences; the Derbyshire delegates being changed each time, and these delegates do not represent the union, they represent their particular lodges. If it is the turn of a reactionary lodge in a backward district to send a delegate, the delegate will vote for reaction; if it is the turn of a lively, forward lodge, the delegate will vote for a more advanced policy.

The delegates who rejected the owners' terms in the last dispute were not those who were in attendance when the terms were accepted. The dispute, in fact, can have two national conferences of a very different character so far as the representatives of the Derbyshire miners are concerned.

This should be altered by an amendment to Rule 73 of the Association's constitution as follows:—

Delete the words—

"Lodges in rotation shall appoint delegates to all conferences that the council decides to be represented at."

And substitute—

"All delegates to conferences shall be nominated by the lodges and the list of nominations shall be sent to the lodges, and the delegates shall be elected at council meetings by lodge delegates on the instructions of their lodges. Officials and executive members may be delegates to conferences, but only if nominated by a lodge and elected by lodge delegates at council meetings like the ordinary members. The delegate council, or, in case of emergency, the lodges by postal vote, shall decide at what conferences the Association shall be represented."

Resolutions for M.F.G.B. Conference.

Resolutions for the M.F.G.B. Conference may come from the council or the Executive of the Derbyshire Miners' Association. Derbyshire lodges sent into their council meeting five resolutions for the last M.F.G.B. Conference. The Derbyshire Association is, however, only allowed to table three resolutions in one year for the M.F.G.B. discussion. The resolutions sent in by lodges, and rejected by the council meeting, were for:—

(1) A Federation fighting fund.

(2) A Federation Journal.

Those sent in by the lodges and accepted by the council for tabling at M.F.G.B. Conference, were for:—

(1) Six shifts pay for five days' work.

(2) The abolition of the contract system.

(3) State control of hospitals.

These resolutions show that the membership is, as yet, mainly Reformist in opinion, that it has as yet no conception of the working class joining as a concerted body in the class struggle. The members voted for six shifts pay for five days' work because they saw in it an immediate gain, and did not contemplate the fact that they are opposed by a united capitalism which manipulates the rise and fall in the cost of living. They voted for the abolition of the contract system as a pressing evil under which they suffer; but their minds did not extend to the idea of abolishing the wage slavery system. They voted for State control of hospitals, because, as miners, they are always liable to accident, and have a daily interest in receiving better hospital accommodation and treatment.

On the other hand, they were not interested in a federation fighting fund, which would enable them to put up a stronger national struggle against the employers. They failed to realise that even the resolutions they chose to adopt are but waste paper without fighting power behind them, and that the fight to secure such reforms would be greater than a mere local one.

They were not interested in a national journal by which they might educate themselves and weld themselves more firmly together nationaliy.

The membership of the Derbyshire Miners' Association is therefore not highly advanced in its views. Nevertheless, the membership is potentially further advanced than its leaders; the membership, however ignorant and backward, is suffering under the oppressions of the capitalists; the leaders are largely emancipated from that position, and since they were not originally of revolutionary fibre, and Communist belief in most cases, they, therefore, inevitably drift rightward. Where the leadership is staunchly Communist and revolutionary, the power of immediately influencing policy by the rank and file may often prove a danger. Where the leadership is reactionary, the only chance to obtain progress is by a constitution giving opportunity to the waves of mass feeling to bring a speedy pressure to bear upon the driving wheel as they arise.

That is why it is so important, either to democratise the machinery of the industrial organisations, or to break away from them.

Resolutions at Labour Party Conferences.

The Agenda of Labour Party Conferences does not come before the lodges. A resolution demanding this should be tabled for next council meeting. Moreover, lodges should write to their own E.C. asking for this Agenda meanwhile, and should send resolutions for it to be brought up at their council meeting. If the Agenda is not obtainable from the Derbyshire Miners' E.C., and, in any case as an extra precaution, lodges should also apply for it to the Secretary of the Labour Party. The same steps should be taken regarding the Trade Union Congress.

At present the delegates from the lodges receive no mandate on the resolutions for these conferences, because as the Agendas are not before them they cannot instruct the delegates. The delegates vote for M.F.G.B. resolutions and do as they please on other questions: in fact, they are practically uninstructed free lances.

The Derbyshire Labour Party, however, discusses the Labour Party Conference Agenda, and as the miners have delegates there, they are perhaps, to a certain extent, influenced by its decisions.

The Triple Alliance Executive.

The miners' representatives on the Executive of the Triple Alliance are elected by the National Conference of the M.F.G.B. The rank and file have no part in their choice. The question of who the miners' delegates are to vote for ought to be discussed by the lodges, but it is not.

Triple Alliance Conference.

The executive members of the M.F.G.B. attend the Triple Alliance Conferences by virtue of office. Such "outside offices," as they are called by the members, are monopolised at present by the officials and executive members of the various districts.

The Reds should select their candidates and fight for the right to push them through lodge meetings to delegate council meetings, and from thence to the offices they wish their candidates to occupy.

Resolutions to Triple Alliance Conference.

These are sent in by the M.F.G.B. Executive, and the miners in the lodges do not even know what they are till a report is circulated about eight months later. No printed report has yet appeared of the deliberations in connection with the recent great Lock-out.

Delegates to Trade Union Congress.

All that has been done with regard to the M.F.G.B. representation applies also to the Trade Union Congress, and the subject is regarded with complete indifference by the lodges. The Reds should get their lodges to nominate Red representatives for M.F.G.B. Executive and T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee, and send these forward to be discussed at the next council meeting. They should have it out, fairly and squarely, as to whether this is to be a matter for arrangement by the officials or not.

The Labour Party Executive.

Lodges can nominate the representatives to be put forward on behalf of the miners for the Labour Party Executive, and a vote on this question may be taken through the districts, but the question as to whether the Derbyshire Miners' shall go for J. H. Thomas, James Sexton, Tom Shaw or other representatives of other industries is not voted on; delegates get instructions as to the miners' representative, but no further. The Reds in the lodges should send in resolutions for the next conference that delegates should be instructed as to how they should vote on all candidates for Labour Party E.C. and Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. The Reds should also formulate a list of candidates, get these candidates nominated by as many lodges as possible, and try to secure that the lodges shall vote for them.

Resolutions for D.M.A. Conference.

The resolutions for the Derbyshire Miners' Association's own conferences are sent in by the lodges and, if the executive thinks well, it circulates the resolutions to the branches. It is of course impossible for branches to instruct their delegates on resolutions they have not seen. All resolutions and amendments should be printed and circulated to branches. A resolution to this effect should be put in the Rules which are very sketchy and imperfect at present. Indeed, it is time the organisation drew up a complete set of new rules. The Reds should get a committee of their own to work on this at once.

Cresswell, by the way (the place where the election of the "Dreadnought" was fined £50 and contested under D.O.R.A., and where the miners most splendidly rallied to her defence), has a Vigilance Committee that is trying to wake things up. Cresswell is not alone.

The whole question is at present chaotic.

A resolution to the following effect would help to put the matter of resolutions into concrete shape:—

"All resolutions for D.M.A. Conferences from lodges must be embodied in a preliminary agenda and circulated to lodges for amendment. Amendments and resolutions must be circulated to branches as a final agenda.

"Lodges may send resolutions and amendments to the executive for Labour Party, Trade Union Congress, M.F.G.B. and Triple Alliance congresses. These must be circulated to lodges in order that they may be voted upon at D.M.A. Council or by postal vote of lodges in case of emergency. Agendas of Labour Party, Trade Union Congress, M.F.G.B. and Triple Alliance Congresses must be circulated to lodges in order that they may instruct their delegates thereon. Such agendas must be discussed at D.M.A. Delegates' Council Meetings specially summoned for that purpose."

The restriction on the number of resolutions sent in to the M.F.G.B., which is a handicap to progress, should be abolished. A resolution to this effect should be put forward.

TWILIGHT OF STORM.

Rush up the sky, ye clouds of night
Ye warriors of the storm!
Fly with the wind of the sea,
Fly with pennons of grey outflung
To the wide sweep of the boundless dome,
The pageant place of all the tempests
Time has loosed upon our world.

Race with the death of the day, ye clouds
Heralds of the hurricane to come,
Van of the turmoil and the strife
Waged and to be while yet suns swing
In ordered paths around yet other suns.

Look on this tumult, ye warrior lords,
Ye crowned and yet uncrowned kings,
Ye princelings of the mart and State,
Ye indolent and slothful ones,
Let this stupendous peep-show of the skies
Be a symbolic warning that ye may,
If fortune smiles, escape the horror of the day
That else will be another Twilight of the Gods.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

South Casco, Maine, U.S.A.

WHITE TERROR IN ENGLAND—*Continued from p*

and that he had persuaded Bernstein to accompany him. In concluding his letter, Bernstein explains its postponement. He says that he and Lenagh left Taylor's at 10.20 p.m., and walked home as far as their ways lay together, and that Lenagh had hardly gone ten yards after quitting him, before his encounter with the four police-men, who were in plain clothes.

The case is so glaring, that no comment can be strong enough for it. It was even too glaring for a Bench of capitalist magistrates. Lenagh was so obviously attacked for his activities on behalf of the unemployed, that even the magistrates felt obliged to let him off. We must, however, warn our readers that if the methods used in this case represent the official policy of the Government, magistrates will presently be found who will fall into line and readily square the matter with their consciences in some way or other.

This is a very important case which should by no means be allowed to pass unnoticed.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the chief object of which is the protection of young girls, passed another stage.

The problem has its roots in economic conditions.

Women in the Civil Service.

Major Hills moved a resolution that women shall hold posts in the civil service under the same conditions as men after a transition period of two years, and: "provided that arrangements in hand for the exclusion of ex-service men on special terms be not prevented or delayed."

Sir R. Horne, for the Government, moved an amendment to put the matter of for three years and then to add the following phrase:—

"Provided that the allocation by the Civil Service Commission of such candidates as qualify at the examination shall be made with due regard to the requirements of the situation to be filled."

This further clause knocked the bottom out of Major Hills's proposition:—

"Having regard to the present financial position of the country this House cannot commit itself to any increase in the Civil Service salaries involved in the payment of women in all cases at the same rates as men, but the question of the remuneration of women as compared with men shall be reviewed after a period not exceeding three years."

On this subject provided opportunity for a long debate and much effort to curry favour with women electors. Mr. Smith said he had been a pioneer in advocating equal pay for men and women and women factory inspectors.

Sir Frederick Banbury (C.U.) said that on the London, Northern Railway, of which he is Chairman, women "do very well for 4 or 3 hours, but after that they seem to get confused and cannot keep their attention concentrated."

He said that he had had a circular from the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, which was affiliated to the Trade Union Congress, saying that women ought to replace men in the Civil Service with a view of the need for National Economy, and that £1,500,000 could be saved by employing them instead of Grade I. men. These dear ladies state that their members do not mind being replaced by service men.

What a funny standpoint for a Trade Union to take. The Trade Union Congress and the members of the organisation should have a straight talk with the girls who send out such circulars. The class struggle evidently is not taken into account by the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries.

The "Worker."

Mr. F. Hall (C.U.) said that the National Workers' Committee and the Scottish "Worker" are subsidised by Russian Bolshevik money. He said that an article by Tom Barker in the "Worker" was seditious, and declared that Barker is an alien and not an American. He called on the Government to deport such "undesirable aliens out of the country."

Prosecuting the Ex-Soldier.

Mr. Thomas Flowers was sentenced to a month's imprisonment because, having been granted 26s. a week, which was doubled on condition that he took further hospital treatment, he left the hospital unconcluded after nine operations, and continued to draw pension for some weeks.

The Government's Railway Bill—Thomas again Defends Railway Directors—A Duel between Thomas and Barnes.

The Government Bill amalgamates several railway companies. It limits, by agreement with the railway companies, of course, the number of people who are to sit on the railway boards. Within those limits, put in, it appears, purely as a matter of form, the railway companies are to decide how many directors there shall be as well as to appoint what directors they choose.

George Barnes, the renegade Labourist, moved an amendment to enable the workers to elect seven directors, whether the Board is to number 21, or more, as in some cases. Barnes said that he would have been content with a smaller number, but he chose seven because that number had been suggested by Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, the energetic and meritorious Liberal member for Central Hull.

Mr. Barnes declared that he was anxious to establish the principle of joint control of industry by the workers and the employers. He said that J. H. Thomas would oppose his amendment on the ground that it would upset an arrangement come to between the railway companies and the N.U.R. officials out-side. J. H. Thomas in the main, of course. He considered the bargain an exceedingly bad one. The Minister of Transport had told the House that the Government had submitted to the employers and workers the framework of a Bill giving the workers joint control. This proposal, Barnes asserted:—

"Was eliminated by the workmen in consideration of getting a quid pro quo *in the shape of a National Wages Board."* On that strictly sectional or technical aspect of the matter I submit that it is a bad one, because they have not a National Wages Board except in so far as the other side allow them to have that Wages Board. The Bill authorises either side to give twelve months' notice, and on the giving of that notice the National Wages Board ceases to exist. The Wages Board may cease to exist on the very day that the amalgamation schemes come to operate . . . I submit that the hon. Member for Derby has made a bad bargain. He has given up something and got nothing, or very little, in return."

Barnes added that—

"Thomas and his friends had 'closed the avenue to one of the finest opportunities that has been presented to the workmen in his time."

Will Railway Wages Board Disappear?

Barnes further asserted that one of the railway managers had said in a committee in the House of Commons that the managers regarded the Wages Board as purely temporary.

Sir George Younger, on behalf of the railway interests, afterwards stated, in reply to Barnes, that this remark by a railway manager was "unfortunate," but that is no guarantee that it is not an accurate one.

Thomas Defends himself.

Thomas replied to Barnes that to impose joint control by Act of Parliament would not bring about "that good feeling between employers and employés that we all desire." It was no use, he said, seeking to impose on employers conditions which they "absolutely refuse to accept." Sir Frederick Banbury, one of the railway directors with whom Barnes sought to hitch the N.U.R. up as directors, had said, protested Barnes:—

"He will not have us—he will have nothing to do with us whatever. . . . If the railway directors had welcomed the innovation, of course we should have jumped at it, but what earthly good is it to say by Act of Parliament to them: 'you must have these men as directors and then assume that all is going to work smoothly.' It is going to do nothing of the kind, and instead of making a bad bargain I say we have done quite the contrary. A body of 500 men is not an easy body to control. It is a fairly formidable body, and a body containing various opinions . . . ."

That was a broad hint by Thomas that the railway capitalists would not like the railway workers sitting as co-directors with them, and that they ought to be deeply grateful to Thomas for keeping the workers so thoroughly in order. He said there is unanimity between the general managers and the N.U.R. officials on a working scheme for eliminating disputes.

The agreement we made was made on the understanding that we should not go on with this particular proposal. If he divides on this Amendment I shall go into the Lobby against it.

For this, Thomas said, he would be attacked outside, and he pleaded with Barnes to withdraw the Amendment, which Barnes finally did.

Our View.

We do not believe in schemes of joint control between workers and employers: we do not believe they are workable unless the workers in jointly controlled works accept the conditions prevailing in industry outside. In that case the workers cannot benefit much, if at all, from joint control.

Moreover, and this is the chief objection to joint control, the workers in that case abandon the class struggle. If they continue the class struggle they cannot accept joint control with the employer in carrying on his business.

Those who are looking forward to the abolition of capitalism must oppose joint control, because it takes the workers who co-operate in it out of the class struggle.

The Position of J. H. Thomas.

J. H. Thomas supports joint control, his reason being that he desires to damp down the class struggle. He believes in "joint control," so he says, but he does not wish to have it forced on the railway companies against their will, even though the Government may be willing to do so. Therefore he accepts a Wages Board and an informal conciliation scheme in the interests of brotherly love between employer and employed— that, at least, is what he gives out to the world as his motive. Having made a bargain with the railway companies for something less, he will even go so far as to oppose joint control if Parliament attempt to make it law. Oh, honourable Thomas! But is that really the position? We think not.

Is the Government Willing to give Joint Control?...

Would the Government have persevered with the joint control scheme in defiance of the railway companies, had the N.U.R. desired it?

Certainly not. The Government would not force anything in opposition to any great capitalist interest, because the workers wanted it. The Government is the creature of the great capitalist interests? it exists to work for them.

The Government's dallying with joint control and other such ideas took place during the war period when labour was shorter than the demand for it, when the temper of the workers seemed militant when some people thought the influence of the Russian Revolution had a greater grip on the workers of this country than was actually the case.

If industrial unrest became so great as to endanger profits, it might be worth capitalists while to temporise with labour—at any rate, to talk of temporising gave such apostles of industrial peace as Thomas the chance to tell the workers that their policy was bringing results.

The oft-repeated failure of the great industrial organisations to carry out their strike threats, the loss of the railway strikes and the coal lock-out, the trade depression, the vast unemployment, have changed the picture. No need for conciliation now, say the capitalists. So conciliation is gradually discarded.

But perhaps the capitalists are over-reaching themselves. Let us hope so.

FOREIGN NOTES.

How German Government helps in lowering Wages.

The German Government has issued the following order, which is contained in the *Reichs-arbeitsblatt* of June 30th: "Not only may no employment pay be given to workers who were employed in an industry wholly or in part closed in consequence of a strike or lock-out, but it is also to be withheld from those persons who are thrown out of work in consequence of a strike breaking out in another industry or in another industry suspended by reason of a lock-out; so long as the strike or lock-out is the preponderating cause of the unemployment."—*Kommunistischer Gewerkschafter*, July 23rd.

[This will spread to Britain next.]

White Terror in Belgrade.

"Many of the prisoners are forced to fantastic confessions by the following methods of examination. The suspect is hung up in a chimney by the legs, head downwards, and fire lighted under his head. And a day later the government press is full of new sensational discoveries which the government had already prepared beiforehand, and which are necessary for the carrying out of the White Terror."

In Belgrade alone there are 14,000 arrested.—*Die Rote Fahne*, Aug. 3rd.

German Agricultural Labourers.

A conference of German land-workers and small peasantry—held in Berlin—resolved that:—

"In order to meet the dangers which threaten the proletariat in general and the agricultural proletariat in particular, the agricultural workers must resolutely take up the fight to destroy the power of capital and Junkerdom. The Conference warns the agricultural workers that the leaders of the D.L.V. show no will to fight. The bureaucratic tendency of the D.L.V. purposely hampers the revolutionising of the Union, and hence the class-war on the land, which must be carried on by the land-workers, in close association with the town proletariat, for the overthrow of the bankrupt capitalist and Junker system."

—*Kommunistischer Gewerkschafter*, June 18.

Compulsory Labour Proposal.

Beidermann, at the Hamburg Conference called by the A.D.G.B., July 10:—

"It is thought that, in place of the former two years' compulsory military service, there should be a similar duty to labour-service. *It is clear to all that, in the two years' military service, we have lost a valuable piece of education.* The idea of a service owing to the community has fallen into decay. There is no more feeling amongst our young people of any responsibility towards the community. . . . *And therefore the idea of one year's compulsory labour for young people from* 19 *to* 21 *is altogether congenial to me.*

"The idea of a ninth and tenth working hour has been put forward by the economists in connection with the rendering of the compulsory labour year. We may deprecate this method and yet we shall be forced to employ it, because, in the fulfilment of peace obligations, this current of ideas plays an enormous part. . . . We shall not be able simply to stand on one side. We forced the signature of the Treaty, we are therefore under an obligation to assist on our part, as much as possible, in shouldering the burden. Labour can only do this by giving more work. It implies that *the workers, as the real base of economics, must bear the load.*"

—*Der Kommunistischer Gewerkschafter*, Berlin.

Russian Famine.

Tchitcherine, through *Rosta*, Soviet Russia's official news agency, appeals to Labour organisations to unite internationally to create relief committees for sending food and medicine to Soviet Russia. In ten provinces 41,000,000 million poods of grain are needed at once, and 15,000,000 million poods of seed before September 15th. *Rosta* states that no disorder has occurred in the famine areas. Delegates are being sent to Europe from the Famine Relief Committee, the Central Trade Union Council and the Central Co-operative Union.

Equal Economic Status coming at Last.

Twenty Moscow factories employing 100,000 workers were, on August 1st, put on a new collective remuneration system. The system is that the State pays to the factory money and kind wages as a collective body in accordance with its general efficiency. This is divided equally amongst the workers and employees by a Wage Committee.

SPICE.

Imaginative Tom: If we was rich we'd have a boat, and I'd learn to row it. Daddy would teach me.

Daddy: Chuck that, my boy. No use sayin', "If we was rich." You want to go along bein' rich, do you, and leavin' the comrades to go on slummin' it while you're rowin' round a-lookin' for waterlilies, as if you was the Duke o' Westminster hisself. Say, when we get Communism.

* * *

Everyone else's wages are going down, but the King is getting an increase.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

John MacDonald (New Zealand) writes: "New Zealand factory-made butter is preserved with boracic acid: all butter from the factories sold retail here has on the printed wrapper, 'Preservatised by 2 oz. per lb. with boracic acid.' Export butter is preserved to the same extent. Owing to length of distance of New Zealand to save cost and substitute for salt, which is a healthy method, boracic acid is used, which stops the digestive juices from functioning. Medical authorities declare it to be harmful and productive of mal-nutrition. The U.S.A. Government refuses to permit the import of New Zealand butter because it contains boracic acid."

[Or is not this to protect the American producer from New Zealand competition.—ED., "Workers' Dreadnought."]

"Why should the British worker consume a product that America with all its corruption and ruthlessness decides is not fit for human consumption?"

[Because it pays Big Business that he should.—ED.]

"The farming and merchant class in New Zealand are now cutting down wages and altering hours as fast as they can. The country has a large unemployed section, and worse to follow?"

R. G. writes: "I am only a youngster, and have learnt more through the "Dreadnought" than any other paper. I should like you some time to run a series of articles on the S.L.P., the W.I.I.U. and the Workers' Committee Movement, and the C.P., showing where their methods differ. Unfortunately this branch of the C.P. thinks too much of Parliamentarism. The Labour candidate got a big vote here last election. The C.P. thinks it has a large backing, but it is nearly all 'hot air,' steady plodding and educational work is needed, not election stunts. Wishing you and the paper every success in the fight."

[Many thanks; bearing your points in mind.—ED.]

RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS AND ANARCHISTS.

Dear Editor,—In your issue of August 6th, under the heading of "The Grief and Glory of Russia," Henry Sara writes:—

"Several capitalist newspapers have from time to time given considerable sympathy—and space—to the tales of Bolshevik tyranny towards the Anarchist movement in Moscow. A forged statement is in circulation, bearing signatures of prominent Anarchists like Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Shapiro."

I presume that Mr. Sara is referring to the letter to Lenin and the principal ruling bodies in Russia, which appeared in "Freedom" (June issue). This letter reached us by means of the underground route which our comrades in Russia are compelled to use, and we have every confidence in its authenticity. Mr. Sara does not give a scrap of evidence in favour of this statement that it is a forgery. But there is one means of testing it which is open to him, as he is *persona grata* at Moscow. Let him send a copy of "Freedom," in which the letter appears, to A. Shapiro or Emma Goldman, and ask them whether the letter is genuine. We promise to print their reply in "Freedom," but stipulate that the reply shall be in their own handwriting. As our letters to Moscow are lost on the way, and "Freedom" meets with the same fate, we must rely on Mr. Sara's good offices. We challenge his statement, and ask him to supply the proof of it.

Yours, etc.,
THOMAS H. KEELL,
Editor, "Freedom."

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE v. LABOUR PARTY.

E. W. Wagstaff writes to complain that the Hampstead Labour Party refused a room to the Hampstead Young Workers' League because the Executive of the Labour Party objected to the "Left Wing" speeches of the Young Workers' deputation. He wants comrades to get busy.

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F. Haughton (4, Station Road, Winchmore Hill, N.E. 1).—Thanks for your kind promise to act as agent for us at the beginning of September. We send you a show card to help your sales.

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RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Communist International, published in Moscow (German edition), contains a report of the III. Congress of Comintern. Articles by A. Ronmer, J. Friis, Zinoviev, Lenin, E. Varga, F. Kapelusch, O. W. Kuusinen, Tom Barker, Trotski, Lutatscharski, W. B. Haywood, Sen Katayama and others. A photograph of Comrade Sylt on his deathbed.

The Plebs, August.

Unemployment and Industrial Insurance. By D. H. Cole. Labour Publishing Company. 6d.

The American Empire. Scott Nearing Rand School, U.S.A. 50 cents.

EXCHANGES.

Papers exchanging with the "Workers' Dreadnought" should be sent to 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

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