

Workers' Dreadnought



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THE AUTOCRACY OF THE BOILERMAKERS.

By HARRY POLLITT.

The article in the *Dreadnought* of March 13th, entitled "Towards the Communist Party," touches on the very important question of the various rules of the Trade Unions, and I believe that this question should receive the immediate attention of those trade unionists who are out for making their Unions means for obtaining the support of their members for a revolutionary policy.

MILITARISM.



You no longer see its head, but its weight is there.
Drawn by Masereel.

The whole Trade Union machinery is infinitely more cumbersome and reactionary than the Parliamentary procedure at Westminster, and it is high time that the Left Wing comrades considered whether it would not be better to attack the existing system from the inside than to leave the reactionary Trade Union leaders a free hand.

Trades Congress Decision a Vote of Executives.

At the Trade Union Congress, 270 Trade Unions were represented by 800 delegates, and it is certain that not 70 of the Unions had ever consulted their members as to how the delegates should vote, so that the vote against Direct Action was not the vote of the trade unionists of the country, but of the Trade Union leaders. The same leaders, of course, say they are against Bolshevism, because it is not "democratic."

The N.U.R. voted against Direct Action on the decision of the Executive Committee.

The Labourers' Union, represented by Clynes and Thorne, voted against Direct Action, after both these men had recommended their members on the ballot vote not to vote for Direct Action because it would lead to all sorts of trouble, and Parliamentary action would nationalise the mines without any trouble at all.

The Boilermakers' Executive never asked the opinion of its members at all, believing, I suppose, that they are only children in such matters.

The vote of the Textile Unions' representatives was also against Direct Action, and my experience in Lancashire justifies me in declaring that their members would

not be consulted, because I have very rarely known them to hold branch meetings at all, unless some special emergency arose in their own trade.

These examples are typical of the way that the power rests in the hands of the Executive Committees of the Unions, which always take the line of least resistance, and this applies, not only to Trade Congresses, but to the working of the Unions on all matters.

Boilermakers' Union a Close Corporation

The Boilermakers' Union, for example, is one of the oldest in the country, it has a membership of 90,000; it caters only for skilled men; it has a general secretary, assistant secretary, five permanent members of the Executive Committee and nineteen organising delegates, all of whom are elected for three years. None of these positions can be filled by any member with less than ten years membership. The society is split into districts which control the various areas, but no district Committee can spend any money without the sanction of the Executive Committee, nor can it even call an aggregate meeting of its members without applying for permission to the Executive.

Executive Controls Finance and District Meetings.

The Executive has absolute control over all finance, and its members will never countenance an unofficial strike unless their election period is at hand, when they have been known to develop extreme views, which vanish when their seats are re-assured for another three years. At the present time, two members of the Executive have sat on it (in more senses than one) for twenty-three years; they are hopelessly out of touch with modern workshop practice and a drag on the programme of the society.

Executive Refuses to Call a National Conference.

The Boilermakers have never had a rank and file conference. The Executive refuses to call a National Conference, where the questions of policy and our attitude towards important questions can be discussed; it is true that once every five years a General Council meets to revise the rules, but anyone in the Trade Union world knows that all revolutionary suggestions are received with horror by that body and promptly turned down.

The Boilermakers' Journal.

A monthly journal is issued in which are the general secretary's remarks (in John Hill's case, always good and straight), reports of funerals, debt cases, presentations, and other soul-stirring matters of that description; but there is also space reserved for the rank and file to give their views, and if your views coincide with the Executive, you get a good show. If they don't, well, you get edited to such an extent that you can't recognise your own offspring. The writer, for instance, is not allowed to write any more about Russia in the report, because the Executive objects. An article I wrote criticising the Executive and urging the rank and file to call a conference,

was wiped out. Thus one finds it practically impossible to "get a move on," and I would show, in many more ways, how the Executive works in a reactionary manner. What is typical of the Boilermakers, is typical of nearly every big Union in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation.

For Unofficial Vigilance Committees.

The question then arises, how can this be altered? I want to suggest that the time has arrived when Vigilance Committees should be formed in each district by the rebel members of Trade Unions. They could formulate a common policy, expound this policy at their branches, and would thus secure a far greater effect than could be got by different members proposing different policies in branches of the same Union.

Delegates from Unofficial Committees on Workers' Committee.

We all know what good work is being done by the Miners' Unofficial Committees. There is no reason why the same thing should not be done in every other Union. On our Central Workers' Committee you could have one delegate from every unofficial committee in each district, working a common programme, and we should not only be stimulating our comrades in the workshops, but we should be pouring a systematic propaganda into the branches.

I am getting tired of attending conventions and passing sweeping and compre-

THE "HORRORS" OF BOLSHEVISM.



Either work or starve.

hensive resolutions, which every delegate knows full well will have no earthly chance of being put into operation because of the limited influence we possess at the present time, which is largely due, not to lack of enthusiasm, but to lack of co-ordination amongst the Left Wing. By all means let us meet and put the views of the rank and file on record in reference to the important questions of the day, but—
Don't let it stop at that until we meet again!

WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY.

Readers have read many details of the White Terror in Hungary, enough to convince anyone of the vileness of the present regime in Buda-Pest. Socialists have no delight in piling up details of atrocities. But the whole Buda-Pest story is so significant and so enlightening that I am permitting myself to send further particulars which have reached here.

Atrocities are Feature of Horthy Regime.

The significant point about the counter-revolutionary horror in Hungary is not that it is horrible, but that it is an essential part of the Horthy regime. It is the very stuff and fabric of counter-revolution. Without it the economic reaction cannot rule in any country which has a well-developed proletarian movement. Without it, from now on, it will not be able to continue to rule. From now on, in all Eastern Europe (I say nothing about the West), a counter-revolutionary government means a government by terror. There can be no such thing as democratic counter-revolution.

Lloyd George Recognises Horthy Regime

A few days ago Lloyd George announced that the Entente could not deal with Soviet Russia until the latter had adopted the ways of civilised nations, or some such words. On the same day he was dealing with the delegates of the Hungarian Government, accepting them as representatives of the Hungarian people. How was this Government elected?

White Terror in the Elections.

Readers have suspected before this that the famous Hungarian election, which returned only Monarchists to Parliament, was not democratic. But details of the fraud, which have reached here for the first time, should be studied and remembered.

Zoltan Ronai, one of the commissaries of the people under Bela Kun's regime, told the story to the Vienna representative of the Trieste *Lavoratore*. He began by quoting a certain classic sentence: "The elections must be held with impartiality, in perfect liberty and according to democratic principles." It was one of the conditions imposed by the representative of the Entente, Sir George Clerk, for the recognition of the counter-revolutionary government.

The military dictatorship of Horthy began by forbidding the words "Vote for the Socialists" to be printed on any election material. A poster of a child pleading with its mother was prepared by the Socialists, and beneath it the words, "Mama, don't forget to vote for the Socialists." The poster was confiscated by the police, but appeared a few days later on the walls of Buda-Pest with the words: "Mama, don't forget to vote for the Christian Nationalists" (the reactionary party of Minister Friedrich).

Socialist Speakers Assaulted.

The Socialist candidates were not permitted to make election speeches. Julius Batta, secretary of the Miners' Union, went one evening to make a speech in his election district in a near-by town, and was met at the station by Horthy soldiers from Buda-Pest, who beat him so ferociously that he had to return to the city, a sick man. Another Socialist candidate, Paul Hanis, while making an election speech, was pushed from the table on which he was standing by a White Guard officer, and then beaten almost into unconsciousness by the soldiers. He escaped from the meeting and fled in a rowing boat across the Danube, followed by pistol shots, which fortunately missed him.

Entire Meeting Placed Under Arrest.

But this mobbing of individuals was the least of this "impartial, free and democratic" election. Entire Socialist meetings were placed under arrest and led

away to the concentration camps, there to be kept in squalor for days or weeks without so much as an accusation lodged against them. Thus, for example, at a Socialist election meeting in Erzsebetfalva, the soldiers arrested several hundred of the participants, beat them with clubs and sent them to the concentration camp of Hajmasker, where the poor prisoners are huddled together by the thousand under the vilest conditions. This concentration camp, adds Zoltan Ronai, was recently visited by a Government Commissioner, who was able to stand the sight for only a few days. He found that many of the prisoners had been shot under the pretext that they had tried to escape. The new arrivals were received with twenty-five blows of a club if they were unknown. If they were in any way prominent they received fifty. There was not the most elementary hygiene in the camp, and as a result many of the prisoners were covered with filth and sores. Professors, lawyers, and physicians, the Commissioner found, were made to carry manure for their daily task.

It is easy to see that under such conditions men were reticent in offering themselves as candidates, and the electors were even more reticent about going to Socialist meetings. If the Social-Democratic Party had continued its agitation up to election day, the horrors would certainly have been doubled.

Vote Christian Nationalist or Starve!

The fact that these methods, or some of them, were also used against rival Conservative parties, is responsible for the denunciation of the whole election made by the Agrarian Conservative, Rubinek, a member of the Coalition Government. Speaking of the election, he said:—

They used against us the old electoral methods, with corruption and terrorism. To the old methods they added a new one—the threat of starvation. In the electoral college of Ipoly-Szalka whole communes were threatened with the cessation of sugar and grain rations if the electors did not give their votes to the Christian-Nationalist Party. They even made use of the food sent by Holland, threatening to refuse its distribution to intractable voters, and they let it be understood that they would inspect the ballot to learn who had failed to vote for the candidates of the White Terror.

Socialist Parties Dissolved.

Thus, every element in a free election—free speech, free assemblage, and secret voting, was violated by fraud and terror. Everyone who was not an outspoken reactionary and monarchist was in fear for his personal safety. Even to be a neutral was almost as dangerous as to be a Communist. As a result, every member of the new Parliament is a Royalist. The Communist Party was long ago dissolved. Now the Social-Democratic Party, which is extremely moderate, has been dissolved by its leaders "for the good of the proletariat," and the Socialist Press has been suspended.

The five officers who murdered two editors of the Socialist daily in Buda-Pest, have been arrested to preserve appearances. But no proceedings have been undertaken against them. A few days ago, according to a Chicago *Tribune* dispatch, a group of officers called on Horthy and informed him that if he made a single move against the murderers, they would see that he was driven from office. The funeral of these editors was a tremendous demonstration of silent sympathy for the victims of the White Terror. An American commercial motion-picture operator took pictures of this funeral. The pictures were confiscated and destroyed by the Government, which informed him that it did not desire such pictures to be seen in foreign countries.

The duly appointed delegates of the Government thus elected and maintained in power, are treating with the Entente in Paris.

H.K.M.

THE LABOUR PARTY

VERSUS

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Labour Party has just started a new weekly bulletin. The first issue contains a good deal of useful information and many slight expedients for patching up the Capitalist system. We do not want to patch up the Capitalist system; we desire to end it.

The Labour Party and Private Fortunes.

Asquith proposes to tax fortunes made during the War.

The Labour Party proposes a tax on all fortunes over a certain sum.

We Communists wish to abolish all private fortunes, to socialise all wealth, to give equal wages to everyone as a step to abolishing the wage system altogether.

The bulletin defends the Labour Party from the charge that its members do not attend well at the House of Commons: it shows that for every hundred times the Labour members might have voted there they voted forty-five times, whilst all the other parties taken together voted forty times for every hundred times they might have voted. We do not think the Labour Party has anything to boast of in that record. The Capitalists, being in an overwhelming majority, knew it was not necessary to put forward all their strength. But, after all, the Labour Party is quite powerless in the House of Commons; it makes no difference whether its members are there to vote or not. Communists want to replace Parliament by the Soviets.

Railway Nationalisation.

The bulletin shows that during the War the railways, under Government control, made a profit of £245,000,000.

The Government had promised to pay the railway shareholders £250,000,000, and it did so. But why? The railway shareholders had not earned it!

Winston Churchill, on December 4th, 1918, during the general election, said that the Government had decided to nationalise the railways. In the House of Commons, on July 2nd, 1919, Churchill said the Government had not made up its mind about nationalisation, and later, the clauses which would have enabled the Minister of Transport to take over the railways was taken out of the Ways and Communications Bill.

In short, the Government has decided against nationalisation; its Capitalist masters will not allow it to proceed in that direction.

The Labour Party is supposed to be in favour of nationalisation, but when it comes into power it will probably find it cannot nationalise the railways without abolishing the Capitalist system. The Labour Party is not prepared to do that.

We Communists go further than the Labour Party; we mean to smash the Capitalist system. We want the railways to be managed by the railway workers and to belong to the people as a whole. We want the Sovietisation of the railways, the mines, the land and all the industries.

Pensions for Women and Children.

The Labour Party introduced a Bill to give pensions to women and children. It was declared "out of order." Of course it was!

The Bill proposed to give to widows, deserted or separated wives, and women whose husbands are invalids:—

£	s.	d.	
1	16	8	For mother and 1 child.
2	4	2	For mother and 2 children.
2	10	2	For mother and 3 children.
6s. a week for every additional child.			

A woman who has been habitually living as his wife with a man now dead might also have the pension, but not the poor unmarried girl, the father of whose child cannot or will not maintain it.

In several American states before the War, when the cost of living was lower than now, pensions of 10s. a week for each child were given in such cases. Therefore there is nothing very startling in the Labour Party Bill.

We Communists want more than this for mothers and children; we want for every child and for mothers whose time is spent caring for their children, maintenance on the same level as every other member of the community. The mother must have the same wage as everyone else so long as wages exist, and the child the same maintenance grant as every other child until we abolish wages altogether, and we all have what we need when we need it, as will be possible under Communism.

Old Age Pensions.

The Labour Party asks for Old Age Pensions of £1 a week at 65 years. The bulletin says it would be glad to see a Bill for 15s. at 65 years.

We Communists want to ensure that everyone who cannot work on account of old age or illness, shall have the same wage as everyone else until wages are abolished, when the old shall share equally with the young. People should not be forced to work at compulsory labour as they are to-day under economic pressure till 65, but those who like their work go on much later than that when there is no economic pressure. Under Communism we shall have real freedom for all the people.

Health Insurance.

Out of every 100 of the population between 65 and 70 years, only 23 come under the National Health Insurance Act, and only 4 are women.

Sweep away the Capitalist system and all the sick will be cared for as they should be.

THE SOVIETS OF THE STREET.

An Appeal to Working Women. By E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

When peace was declared, a group of working-class mothers in a poor street of East London decided to organise a party for all the children of the street. They wanted the party to be something quite homely, but not one of them had a room large enough for all the children to meet in. Besides that, they wanted all the mothers to share equally in giving the party. Therefore, and because it was gorgeous summer-time, and the mothers were poor and thrifty and did not wish to spend any of the money in paying rent to outsiders, they decided to hold the party in the street. They covered the smoke-begrimed walls of houses with decorations; they placed long tables in the roadway and covered them with all the good things for tea that they could collect for their children.

The peace parties spread from street to street; from district to district throughout London. In all the poor streets the mothers caught up the idea. The Chief of Police prohibited the parties but the mothers still went on with them.

The parties grew more and more magnificent. Sums of £20, £30 and £40 were collected for the tea and materials for decoration in a single street. Elaborate concerts and pageants were organised. Everyone in the street helped. Whoever, amongst the inhabitants, had any skill in cooking, sewing, flower making, sign writing, singing or playing, threw herself or himself into the work which the mothers of the poorest sections of the London working-class were organising.

Parsons, charity organisers, and other middle-class people looked on in amazement. They were outsiders in all this.

The working-class mothers who co-operated in those peace parties will know how to get together and co-operate for other objects as soon as the importance of doing so occurs to them.

Wage Earners' Workshop Committees.

In Britain and in every country where modern industrial conditions exist, the Workers' Nommittee movement has made its appearance. The men and women in the workshops are beginning to organise committees with the object of getting control of the industries in which they work, in order that some day, soon, they will be strong enough to turn out the Capitalists and establish the rule of the working-class.

In Russia, Workers' Committees like these are called Workshop and Factory Soviets, and from them delegates are sent to the Workers' Committees or Soviets for the towns and districts. But to the town and district Soviets there go also representatives of the working women in the houses of the locality.

The Womens' Workshop Committees.

Just as the women in each street got together to organise peace parties, so the working women in Russia co-operate in appointing their delegates to represent them in the Soviets.

The working women in London and every other part of Britain will do the same very soon. The little streets will be grouped for this purpose, so as to bring together a convenient number of women, not too many for all the women to know each other, to be able to discuss things together, and to give instructions to the woman they choose to represent their opinions and wishes on a committee covering a larger district. The woman who is appointed to do this must be instructed by the others and must report to them what she has done. A new delegate can be appointed at any time.

The Soviet Revolution is coming, but the working women ought not to wait until it is here to set up their street committees. These are the workshop committees of the

mothers, for the streets and the houses they live and work in are *their* workshops. They should start the Soviets of the streets as soon as possible.

Organise to Protect Yourself.

Food prices are rising, rents are going up, life is getting harder for poor people. There will probably be a miners' strike soon, and other great strikes are sure to follow. The women will be on the side of the workers against the employers in every struggle; but it is the working-class mother who will have to suffer most from the shortage of necessities that will result from the contest between Capital and Labour.

The women must organise to protect themselves and their families and to help in the general struggle of the working-class to conquer the power of government, and to put an end to wage-slavery and poverty, and the rule of the rich. We shall all suffer during the upheaval; but after the workers have won the victory and a Workers' Communist Republic has been established, we shall find that we have been richly repaid for the effort.

Food Control Ministry Worthless.

We have seen that the Food Controller and all the committees set up by the Ministry of Food have not kept down the food prices. They have worked on the principle that profits must be safeguarded before anything is done to relieve the burden of the working women who cannot make their husband's wages stretch to meet the rising cost of living.

We have seen that, though the Labour Party has got a majority of seats on many of the local councils, the Labour members are unable to keep down the price of food, and that they cannot bring down the rents or produce the houses for working-class families which are lacking, nor can they remedy any of the hardships from which the workers are suffering.

Work out Your Own Salvation.

Indeed, there is no remedy except the abolition of Capitalism. The land, the industries, the food supply, the milk, the trams and 'buses, the houses, everything must belong to the workers, and the workers must manage everything through their own Soviets or Workers' Committees. Only the Workers' Soviets will abolish Capitalism, and put the management of the country and all its wealth into the hands of the workers.

The first thing for working women to do is to organise; to hold their own street meetings and to set up their own Soviets.

Before the War, thousands of working women from East London used to go marching up to Parliament to ask for a vote, and all over the country working women were agitating for it. They hoped the vote would give them the power to abolish the poverty with which they are struggling all their lives. Now they have got the vote; but already they see, if they read of what the workers in other countries are doing, that the class-struggle is something quite different from that which they imagined it to be; they understand as long as the Capitalist system remains, the workers will always be poor and exploited. They see that the workes in Russia, in Germany, and all other countries are discovering that votes for Members of Parliament are useless to the workers because when the workers come into power they do not use Parliament at all, but build up their own workers' committees. They see that the Capitalist class will not allow itself to be voted out of power, that it will fight to protect itself from the workers, and that the workers must prepare themselves to turn out the Capitalist by main force and then take control.

As soon as they understand the position,

the women who were once so eager for the vote will be still more eager to secure the establishment of the Workers' Republic. If we want a big and splendid thing we must be prepared to make great efforts to secure it.

To organise the Soviets of the streets is a big task, but it must be undertaken sooner or later. So let us begin it now. Every woman can take her share in this; every woman can begin to organise the Soviet in her own street and can try to persuade all her friends to join in the workers' revolution.

IRISH COMMUNISTS AND SINN FEIN.

Two Opinions from Ireland.

From the Socialist Party of Ireland.

The secretary of the Cork branch of the Irish Socialist Party writes in reference to our comment that Irish Communists should be building up a Communist movement altogether distinct from the mere nationalism of Sinn Fein, and a class-conscious workers' movement ready to set up the Soviets when the hold of British Imperialism is withdrawn:—

"The Irish Socialist Party makes no apology for its presence on Sinn Fein platforms, or for the individual support it gives Sinn Fein in the fight which is at present waged for Irish freedom. . . .

"Ireland can ill afford divisions in the ranks to-day. We stand and will stand with a united front before the enemy. . . . The Irish people are at war with England, and the whole energies of the race, regardless of class, will be thrown into the struggle. . . ."

The secretary adds that the Socialist Party of Ireland accepts the principles of the Third International. He considers that Irish Labour made a wise decision in choosing to be represented at Berne, because the Irish delegates secured the recognition of the Irish Republic by the Berne Conference.

From the Irish Socialist Party.

Sean McLoughlin, ex-president of the Socialist Party of Ireland, supports our contention:—

"Since the Easter rising in Dublin and the death of James Connolly, the Socialist movement in Ireland has had a very hard time, yet it managed to survive in a humble way until the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia re-awakened interest in Communism. A large meeting was held at the Mansion House, Dublin, which was attended by thousands of people, many of whom had not the faintest idea of what the Bolshevik Revolution meant, but were there because the Revolution in Russia struck a responsive chord in their hearts, and because the Bolsheviks seemed to be out against the War and British Imperialism.

Had the situation been normal, a strong propaganda campaign by the Socialist Party would have brought in many converts, but again the British ruling class intervened, and conscription occupied the minds of the people to the exclusion of anything else. The fight against compulsory service was entered into by every section, Socialist and Sinn Feiners included. The fight was successful, and the Sinn Fein movement reaped the fruits of the success.

"After the conscription scare, the Socialist movement again tried to pick up the threads. It carried on more or less successfully till the question arose of sending delegates to the Second International; then immediately the first rift appeared. Many of the Party members had already a faint suspicion that there was some sort of agreement between the officials of the Transport Workers at Liberty Hall and the Sinn Fein political Party. These officials were, for the most part, leading lights in the Irish Socialist Party, William O'Brien being chairman of the Party and also treasurer of the Transport Union. Cathal O'Shannon, who appeared to be one of the most advanced men in the Irish Socialist movement, was also an official of the Transport Union. These men had been prominent at the meetings held in support of the Bolsheviks. Judge of the consternation in the ranks of the more clear-sighted Socialists when these men plumped for the Second International. O'Shannon had trounced Henderson time and again as a traitor, yet here we had the spectacle of friends of James Connolly sitting at the "Yellow International" side by side with such men as Henderson, Kautsky, and others, who were denouncing the Bolsheviks and the Soviet system.

"In the autumn of 1919, an attempt was made by the younger and more progressive elements to gain control of the Irish Socialist Party. A new policy and programme were formulated, and it was soon decided to affiliate to the Third International. O'Shannon, Johnson, and the others who had supported Berne, now voted for affiliation to Moscow. Despite their voting, they still remained on the list of the Second International."

An Irish Communist Party has now been formed. Its object is to establish a Workers' Republic. McLoughlin adds:—

"The policy to be pursued by the Irish Communists will be based on the conditions that obtain in Ireland, but on a broader basis, and realising the value of solidarity, they intend to try and form some link with their comrades in Great Britain. They have no press, nor will the British authorities allow them to have one. They will thus be compelled to rely on their comrades in Britain for publicity."

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THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

There can be no doubt that both Noske and his reactionary Social-Democratic Government Party, and the Allied Governments were prepared to come to agreements with the Militarist Counter-Revolution in Germany. All that they waited for was to make sure that Kapp's counter-revolutionary stroke would succeed. Lloyd George, in the House of Commons, asserted that the counter-revolution was spreading. The Speaker, of course, instructed by the Government, refused to allow Commander Kenworthy to move the adjournment of the House on the ground that "it must be left to the German Government." He also refused to allow Kenworthy to ask whether the Allies were forewarned of the counter-revolutionary plot. The U.S.A. Government was reported as "watching and waiting." In France, "the balance of opinion" (which means the balance of Capitalist opinion, when, as in this case, it is referred to by the Capitalist press), was reported as opposed to intervention. Lord Kilmarnock, the British representative in Berlin, revealed in his early telegrams that he was distinctly friendly to Kapp.

The Ebert Government, led by Noske, quietly left Berlin and gave the Kapp Government a free hand. Undoubtedly, it negotiated with the Kapp Government for the setting up of a coalition, and undoubtedly the agreement would have been carried through had the Kapp Counter-Revolution caught on. Both the Allied Governments and the reactionary German Social-Democrats are anxious to prevent the spread of Communism and the establishment of the Soviets. They hoped that Kapp's Counter-Revolution would result in uniting the forces of the Militarist landlords and big Capitalists with the small bourgeoisie against the growing power of the workers. The attempt has failed now, but it will certainly be made again. The pretence of opposition to the Militarist Counter-Revolution made by the Ebert Government is most unconvincing. Kapp has been allowed to save his dignity by a voluntary resignation, and the assertion that he has returned the power to the Ebert Government because it has promised to hold elections at an early date. The Baltic troops have been permitted to march from Berlin in good order and with bands playing, after being publicly assured by their commanders that their political objects are but postponed.

Kapp Troops to Fight the Workers.

Noske, who in the reduction of the German Army demanded by the Allies has carefully chosen to disband the soldiers with republican views, and to retain the counter-revolutionary troops, has been deeply involved in the Militarist conspiracy.

He resigned after an attack by Scheidemann, but the Social-Democratic Party refused to accept his resignation, and he withdrew it; his subsequent expulsion from the Ministry, if it is actually accomplished, is due to pressure by the workers. Moreover, it appears that the Kapp troops have not been moved far away, and since their ostensible withdrawal their armoured cars have been used by the Ebert Government

against the workers of Berlin. They marched out of Berlin declaring that they went to fight the Red Armies.

The Ebert Government pretends to denounce Kapp and his colleagues in public, but actually it is working in conjunction with them. Ludendorff and Hindenburg are in touch with both Kapp and Noske, and the Ebert Government has just made general Von Seeckt, who was Mackensen's Chief of Staff in the Great War, Minister of Defence.

The real fight is not between the Noske and the Kapp troops, but between the Noske troops and the armed workers, who have risen at last against the sham democracy which has practiced autocracy and White Terror for twelve months past. Even the Capitalist newspapers admit that.

The attitude of the Allies towards revolution in Germany depends entirely on who it is that makes the revolution. As soon as it was clear that Kapp would fail, the Allies took up a public attitude against the Monarchists with whom they had been plotting: in private they are doubtless as friendly as before. Allied generals hurried to Mayence, and British, American and Belgian troops were concentrated on the Rhine bridge-heads.

It is significant that Marshal Foch advocated the occupation, not of Berlin or any centre where the Monarchist troops were in evidence, but the Ruhr Valley, where from 20,000 to 40,000 armed workmen had seized control.

Allies to Blockade German Workers.

Undoubtedly, the Allies will blockade Germany as long as the Workers' Revolution continues making progress.

U.S. Government Acts Against Soviets.

The American Mission has informed the German Government that the United States will refuse further food supplies if a Soviet Government is established.

Lord Kilmarnock, the British representative, who was so friendly towards Kapp, has publicly announced that, in his view, the granting of supplies of foodstuffs, raw materials and credits is "only possible if constitutional conditions prevail." "There can be no question," he said, "of any such assistance if peace and order are disturbed from any side."

"Daily News" Advocates Action Against Soviets.

That is a declaration of war against the Workers' Revolution. It represents the general Capitalist opinion, both Liberal and Tory. The *Daily News* of March 22nd, in a leading article headed "Reichstag or Soviet?" echoes Lord Kilmarnock:—

The most substantial obstacle to such a development is the belief that it would result in Allied intervention, either military or economic. There is every reason why military action should be deferred as long as possible, for a Government kept in office by Allied troops would be devoid of all prestige and moral authority. The Allies right policy is to make it unmistakably clear to Germany that they are ready to approach her in the reasonable and liberal spirit of their economic memorandum if and when there is a stable government at Berlin for them to deal with. That it is satisfactory to observe is the line they appear to be taking.

Thus, as in the case of the Russian intervention, the Liberals are at one with the Lloyd George Government in their approval.

Labour Party on the Fence.

The Labour Party is, as usual, sitting on the fence. Its press bulletin this week ignores the German situation altogether. Now that the Russian intervention has been defeated, it makes a good election catch-cry: The Labour Party will turn the German intervention to the same use presently! The *Labour Leader* displays woeeful ignorance of the situation. In its leading article of March 18th, it says:—

There is only one policy that can save the democratic revolutions of Central Europe, and that is for the Allied Governments to encourage by deeds the peoples who have overthrown their old Militarist and Monarchist Governments, and to give them every

assistance possible to stabilise their new democratic institutions, and to restore their industrial and economic life.

Does the *Labour Leader* really wish to maintain against the Soviets the bourgeois Parliament of Germany, and to stabilise the economic life of Capitalism against the assault of the Workers' Communist Revolution?

The workers of Germany seem now to be fighting in real earnest for their emancipation; town after town is establishing the Soviets: strong Red armies are growing up, composed both of workmen and soldiers who have left the Government Army.* They are said to have plenty of munitions and big guns, and since the workers at Krupp's and other munition centres are with them, this is doubtless true. The *Times* says: "Apart from the East Prussian braves, the Communist troops appear to be the best in Germany."

The Noske Party, which called the strike to hide its own counter-revolutionary character, has called forth a force that promises to overwhelm it.

A military intervention by the Allies must be expected at any moment: indeed, it has almost certainly begun, and probably it will have been going on some time before the news leaks out. News of the intervention in Russia was at first withheld. The French soldiers will probably be the first to be called; it is hoped that the traditional hatred of Germany will induce them to forget that this is the Workers' Revolution.

Parties in the Revolution.

Capitalist press accounts of the situation in Germany are inclined to be confusing when not deliberately false, and all other news from Germany will presently be cut off if the Revolution continue. It must be remembered that there are three so-called Socialist Parties; at the one extreme, the Social-Democratic Party, the reactionary Party of Noske and Scheidemann; at the other the Communists, who belong to the Third International. Amongst the Communists are two parties, the Central and the Opposition; the stress of revolution has probably re-united them, but hitherto the Opposition was inclined to think the revolution could come sooner than the Central thought possible.

Between the Social-Democrats and the Communists are the Independents, amongst whom the Right Wing veers towards the Social-Democratic Party, and the Left towards the Communists. The Left Wing Independents form a very large party; but their indefinite programme and unstable tactics give cause for anxiety. The press often jumbles all these parties together, giving a most misleading account of them, but it is safe to say that the Communists will not ally themselves with any other party, nor will they participate in any coalition government.

Workers' Delegates Adopt Revolutionary Programme.

On March 18th, a Congress of 400 delegates from Workers' Councils of Saxony and Thuringia met at Chemnitz, and with only two dissentients demanded:—

1. The disarmament and disbandment of the Regular troops, Security Guard and the Volunteers.
2. The formation of Revolutionary Councils of workers and employees.
3. The convocation of a Central Soviet Congress.

These demands are reported by an Exchange telegram; doubtless two others were added:—

1. The arming of the workers.
2. All power to the Soviets.

The fulfilment of this programme is necessary to the Workers' Revolution and the overthrow of Capitalism. It therefore

*To Clifford Allen and others who are worried about the practicability of the armed revolution of the workers, we must here point out that in every country these desertions by soldiers from the Capitalist to the Communist Army will take place when the time is ripe.

forms an essential part of the Communist programme. Meanwhile, an attempt to side-track the Workers' Revolution was being prepared in Berlin.

A Worthless Compromise.

The Berlin Federation of Trade Unions was negotiating with the Ebert Government, and on March 20th the following Convention was signed:—

1. The Government's representatives will intervene with the various political parties in order to reform the State and the Prussian Cabinets. Ministers will be nominated by agreement between the parties and the Trade Unions.
2. Labour organisations will have a decisive influence on these nominations, respecting, however, the rights of Parliament.
3. The punishment of the leaders of the recent *coup de main*, including all officials and Civil servants who supported the Kapp regime.
4. The democratization of all administrations and the dismissal of all who are proved disloyal to the Constitution.
5. The immediate extension of the existing social laws and the framing of new ones, including a more liberal *Beamtenrecht*.
- 6 and 7. The immediate socialisation of all industries ripe for it, and therefore the nationalisation of coal and potash syndicates.
8. The confiscation of agricultural products and of land improperly and unintensively cultivated.
9. The dissolution of the Reichswehr formations as disloyal to the Constitution and their replacement by formations from the workers, artisans, and State teachers.
10. The resignation of Herr Noske and Herr Heine.

The Independents are reported to have favoured this wretched compromise.

The "Daily Herald's" Mistake.

The *Daily Herald* describes the agreement as "an absolute surrender by the Government," and "an absolute victory for the workers won by the general strike."

As a matter of fact, the agreement is quite worthless. It would be most flagrant treason to the workers' cause for any of the revolutionaries to join the present reactionary German Government, or any coalition of any sort with Capitalist or Reformist politicians. The revolutionaries are out for the overthrow of Capitalism and Parliament, and the substitution of Communism and the Soviets. No compromise between Capitalism and Communism can exist. The Ebert Government set out to achieve that impossible compromise and, like all who attempt it, it drifted inevitably towards the right. When a revolutionary situation arises, the political field becomes a pyramid, and everyone must slide down it, either upon the side of Communism and the Soviets, or on that of the Capitalist reaction.

Which side will the *Herald* come down on when the British Revolution appears? The pyramid will provide no convenient fence for it to sit on.

The Ebert Government is now said to have receded from this worthless undertaking on the strength of the Allied promise to blockade the Revolution. But the agreement was never accepted by any genuine revolutionary: the workers ignored it and continued the strike. It was worthless and impossible and could never be carried out.

Now, comrades, we must prepare to resist the Capitalist attack on the German Revolution. Remember that when we have the Soviets in Britain there will be no more war.

THE MURDER OF THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK.

The murder of the Lord Mayor of Cork is another of those indications that prove that the great political and economic changes do not occur without violence even in Britain. In Ireland they have not White Terror but Imperialist Terror.

AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS.

The Dutch police are said to have circularised the police of Europe suggesting an international police force for tracking political "offenders" as well as criminals. The *Daily Express* observes that this would be an amplification of an understanding which exists between the French police and ourselves.

TEACHERS FOR DIRECT ACTION.

The London Teachers' Association has declared for "Direct Action" to secure higher wages. Teachers should know that increases in wages only lead to greater increases in prices and that a change of system offers the only real hope of relief. The L.T.A. should try a course of Marx and Lenin.

CHRISTMAS SCENES IN PETROGRAD.

In the City.

The city is generously planned. The streets are as straight as arrows, spacious, clean; the public squares are adorned with old as well as with modern statues. On the shores of the countless rivers and canals are piled up the palace-terraces, the church-spires, reaching skyward. Proudly, over the towers of the city, waves the dark-red, gold-lettered banner of the Socialist Republic. It is a peculiar and remarkable mixture of old and new, of Asiatic and European culture. The latter predominates in this city, which is not the case in Moscow. In the hotel in which I am quartered, I am given a ration of bread and food-stuffs, and in addition a large paper bag filled with delicate sweets and caramels. "This is our Christmas present," the young lady tells me smilingly.

A Prison.

"Don't be afraid, it will not spoil your holiday pleasure," I was assured by a comrade, the administrative supervisor of the criminal prisons of Petrograd. We are approaching the building. It is a great stone structure outside of the city. Within, there is almost painful cleanliness and order. "Go right into the hall; our festival will begin at once," are the words of welcome of the warden. In a great hall a number of people are already gathered. Downstairs, the employees of the jail, with their wives and children, the latter in their bright, coloured clothes, frolic and jumping about, laughing for joy. Upstairs, on the gallery, are the prisoners. All dressed with cleanliness and care, particularly the women. They look about without fear, their faces do not reveal the gloomy and sullen features of prisoners.

The festival is opened with a speech by one of the officials. He speaks briefly, without oratory, but warmly, pleasantly, strongly. He tells the prisoners that in this new Socialist State, they are no longer outlaws and outcasts of society as they still were yesterday. The Socialist society considers them as persons who have been misled, who have left the right path owing to the pressure of the capitalist system, as fellow-citizens who will soon again take their places in the ranks of the workers, in order to build up by their side a state that is not for the rich, but for the proletariat. The short address is received with great applause by the entire audience.

And then the performance begins—those peculiar, sentimental, Russian songs—instrumental music, balalaika selections, gypsy melodies, dances—for without these the Russians can hardly live—witty couplets, recitations, a rich and varied programme of beautiful and engaging impressions, an unforgettable kaleidoscope of artistic offerings, many of which are perhaps entirely new to some of the prisoners upstairs.

There is nothing propagandistic, nothing forced; just simple, esthetic enjoyment. This enjoyment fills the whole house, and evidences itself in stormy applause. The prisoners laugh with the comedians, they sob and dry their tears when the singer relates the sad lot of lovers. The stage maintained its constant contact with the gallery, and particularly the women, on being encouraged by the manager of the show, related their impressions of each selection after its performance, which again became a source of laughter and joking.

When the hall was again lighted, you looked into nothing but beaming eyes—contented faces on which there was a cast of softness and laughter.

I asked about the performers, many of whom had played excellently, and I was told that all of them were also prisoners. They were amateurs, popular performers, musicians, and the like, many of whom are found among criminals. They are at

present the wards of a penal institution known as a "reformatory," the task of which is to permit those prisoners who show an inclination for such treatment, to serve their time in freer relations, and while performing useful labour. The festival to-day was arranged and executed by a group of such "wards." I later learned that they all had come to this prison to-day without any escort, and all returned punctually to their own place of detention. Thus the Soviet Power is constantly engaged in its creative labour of drawing forth from the depths of the people themselves, the good and the beautiful that is within them.

The Performance of the Children.

We are in the Workers' Palace.

The hall is one of the countless apartments of the former Nobles' Palace, which is adorned with a truly lavish hand. Gold, marble, velvet, silk.

In simple clothes, with cloths round their heads, the Russian proletarian women are to-day sitting together with their happy and noisy children, on the ancient seats of the nobles. At the front of the hall stands a lady, the Commissar for Social Welfare of the Northern Commune, surrounded by a lively crowd of children, all of whom seem to be excellent friends of hers. A number of societies, children's homes, day nurseries, and children's colonies, are represented here. The curtain rises.

It is a revolutionary play. A crowd is moving about vehemently and animatedly on the stage, with red flags flying, battle and victory in progress. The whole splendid drama of the Revolution is presented here on a small scale. And with what ardour, how movingly, how simply all this is presented by the children themselves! When all finally stand in a row at the end, singing the "Internationale," such joy flashes from the eyes of the little victors, such pride, that the whole audience joins in the singing, and this little one-act play becomes a sort of personal experience for all those present.

The second play is a puppet play, presented to an audience of pupils on the stage.

The young actors and actresses excel themselves in this play. You can hardly believe they are children. The comic scenes awaken a laughter that is Homeric, and the puppet play is presented with a precision, a delicacy, and a good taste, such as can be compared only with the distinguished performances of the best stages in this city of the fine arts. One is truly astonished at all this grace, this appreciation for art, this quantity of talent, among these workers' children. It is a veritable artistic feast, this children's performance. The little audience disperses, loud with merriment, beaming, laughing—and passes out through a hall that has been transformed into a grotto. The walls are mirrors and glass decorations, relieved by artificial cliffs, among which little springs are bubbling. The astonished eyes of the children are wide with delight. They behold such miracles for the first time.

Indeed, the impression of the whole occasion is that of a miracle. W.H.

LLOYD GEORGE AND THE MOSLEMS.

Lloyd George, when interviewed by the Indian Caliphate deputation, let in fresh light on his view of self-determination. "It is to be applied," he says, "only to Empires that have forfeited their right to rule;" or let us be frank, are in opposition to Allied capitalism. That, of course, is why it cannot be applied to Ireland! The deputation put it clearly to Lloyd George that their "loyalty" to the British Empire depends on exclusive Moslem control of what they regard as the Holy Places, including Constantinople. Lloyd George refused to re-open the question, which means that there is certain to be trouble in the East.

IF THE "HERALD" HAD HAD IT.

If the *Daily Herald* had really had that paper for printing on, which rumour said the Soviet Government had paid for, we should have thought it the greatest possible compliment and certificate of service to the workers of the World.

TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST PARTY. TRADE UNIONS AND REVOLUTION.

The National Sailors' and Firemen's Union.

The National Sailors' and Firemen's Union registered new rules in March, 1916. Its constitution is therefore more modern than most of the other unions.

Its registered objects restrict it to minor reforms. It is quite possible that if the Union should declare for the nationalisation of shipping, as is proposed by its advance-guard, Havelock Wilson, who is bitterly opposed to any attack, however small, upon the Capitalist structure, would be able to secure that a second Osborne should obtain an injunction to prevent the Union funds being used to fight for nationalisation, on the ground that the attainment of nationalisation is not included in the objects of the Union.

Object 19 in this Union's programme indicates the spirit of those who are active in the organisation:—

To provide an efficient class of men for the Merchantile Marine, and to see that all members of the Union are on board their ships at the time appointed in a fit and proper condition ready for work, and to provide funds for this purpose at the discretion of the Executive Council.

It would be interesting to know whether any of the funds have actually been spent on thus assisting the employers by providing them with an "efficient class of men," and in seeing that these men are on board their ships at the appointed time in a fit and proper condition, ready for work."

Officials Do Not Come Out for Re-Election.

The executive committee wields a tremendous power in this Union. The general president, who is still Havelock Wilson, M.P., C.B.E., and the general secretary, still Wilson's echo, Cathery, "remain in office during the will and pleasure of the majority of the members." They do not, according to the rule book, come out for re-election annually, or even periodically, as is the rule in every organisation which has any claim to be democratic. If only the members would take advantage of it, the annual general meeting has power to call on these officials to resign.

But even where a periodical re-election contradicts the assumption, Trade Unionists have the confirmed general habit of regarding such appointments as made for life. In this Union, where there is no provision for re-election, it is obvious that only an offence like embezzling the funds, or some very tremendous upheaval in the Union could have power to dislodge the officials.

At an Executive Meeting.

An interesting account of a meeting of the Union executive is given in its journal, *The Seaman*, of February 20th. At that meeting, the general president announced that he had asked Lady Burghclere to explain a scheme for a seamen's hospital at Marseilles. The executive decided to grant £3,000 to the hospital. George Lansbury and Ernest Bevin attended to ask the Union to purchase five per cent. debenture stock in the *Daily Herald*, but were told that under rule 21, paragraph 3, the Union could not purchase any debenture stock in a company that had paid no dividends. The general secretary further reported that a Merchant Seamen's War Memorial Society had been formed, because in appealing for funds for the Union's Homes for convalescent and aged seamen, he found it "rather difficult sometimes to get people to subscribe to anything connected with a trade union." Certain public men, such as the Lord Mayor of London, the secretary of King George's Fund for Sailors, and Mr. Henry Radcliffe, who could create public confidence in the society, and subscribers of 50 guineas or £5 a year, would be added to the society." The executive accepted the general president's

report, appointed him the president of the War Memorial Society, and made his son the secretary. Appeals for funds from the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases and from an orthopaedic hospital were also referred to the financial committee, and no doubt, the Union will pay up in due course.

It will be observed that the officials and Executive of this Union ignore as far as they can, its mission as an organ of class-struggle, and conduct it largely on the lines of an ordinary charity organisation.

The report in the *Seaman* shows that most of the ordinary Union business of defending the interests of the workers against the employers, instead of being taken up directly by the executive, was referred to the National Maritime Board, on which the Union and the employers have each a dozen representatives.

The Executive and the Trade Union Congress.

The general secretary reported that the Special Trade Union Congress in December had asked that delegates should come to a further Congress in February or March, "with instructions from their executive committee as to whether their Union would be prepared, if necessary, to take direct action on the matter."

The executive did not comply with the request to instruct its delegates. It passed the following ambiguous resolution, and the journal does not lift the veil so far as to disclose to any member who may chance to read it, what the position of the executive actually is:—

If the Special Trade Union Congress decides that the reply from the Government on the nationalisation of the mines is not satisfactory, and decides to take some further action, which might or might not be direct action, that our position be pointed out and the Executive Council be called together to consider the matter with a view of taking what action they think necessary.

The seafarers' calling renders it peculiarly difficult for large sections of its rank and file to exercise any control over their Union whatsoever. Men on long voyages, or even constantly at sea on short voyages, take no regular part in its proceedings. This fact has doubtless helped the Executive, and especially the general president, to assume and retain autocratic powers.

In spite of Havelock Wilson's reactionary character, the bitter opposition to working-class interests which he displays on most occasions, and his close association with some of the most sordid cliques of Capitalist politicians, he still retains a great measure of popularity in the Seamen's Union. Doubtless this is because its members are largely outside the general current of working-class thought.

At Blackpool, in September, 1918, Havelock Wilson gave a great luncheon with unlimited expensive wines to any of the thousand and more delegates of the Trade Union Congress willing to accept his invitation, to the press, and numbers of Capitalist political hacks and hangers-on. If an official of any other Union had gone so far as that, hosts of its members would have clamoured to know: "Who paid for it?" Whether the answer had been that the Union funds had been used, or that the general president's Capitalist associates had supplied the money, a storm of discontent would have been raised. From the Seamen's Union there came no public protest, yet there are some rebels against the reactionary rule of Wilson even amongst the officials of the Union itself. At a recent general meeting a resolution demanding the nationalisation of shipping was carried; but Havelock Wilson, who opposes nationalisation of any industry in any form, secured that the resolution should be referred to a ballot.

Honorary Members.

The admission of honorary members to the Union, provided for in rule i., section 2, and in rule iv., section 11, gives the Executive a wholly illegitimate means of influence. Rule iv., section 11, states:—

Persons in sympathy with the objects and principles of this Union, as defined in these rules, may be enrolled as honorary members, on the payment of one guinea per annum, subject to the approval of the Executive Council. Honorary members shall not be entitled to any of the benefits of the Union, and with the exception of the honorary members of the Executive Council, as hereinafter provided, they shall take no part in the business of the Union unless they are specially authorised and permitted to do so by the Executive Council.

It should be observed that it is the Executive Council, not the annual general meeting or the branch concerned, which authorises the admission of the honorary members, and it is the Executive Council which decides whether they are to take part in the business of the Union. The honorary members are doubtless brought in mainly as a source of revenue. If these guinea members have any influence, it is likely to be a reactionary one, and their guineas are dearly bought.

Rule xvii., sections 1 and 3, provides that there shall be four honorary members of the Executive Council, who shall be elected by the votes of the delegates at the annual general meeting. It must be remembered that their admission to the membership of the Union must first have been authorised by the Executive Council.

One of the honorary members of the committee was the notorious adventurer, Captain Tupper; he is now a paid organiser of the Union.

For the health of the Union the rules providing for the honorary members and officials should be rescinded. It should be noticed that the trustees are also, in some cases, chosen from amongst the honorary members of the Union.

The Executive has also the power to refuse or expel ordinary members. Rule iv., section 2, gives the Executive power to refuse admission to the Union of "any candidate, providing always that no candidate may be refused admission solely by reason of his age." This rule should be amended so as to make the branch concerned the body which admits the candidate, giving to him and to the branch the right of appeal to the Executive Council, and failing agreement, to the general meeting.

Rule xv. gives the Executive power, if a majority of two-thirds of its members shall so decide, to expel any member taking legal proceedings against the Union, or contravening its rules or "any lawful resolution of the Executive Council." Such expulsion entails the forfeiture of all moneys, benefits, and privileges to which the member would otherwise be entitled. There is no right of appeal from the decision of the Executive.

Here again there should be the right of appeal to the general meeting.

(To be continued.)

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

OBJECT:

To promote the principles of SOCIALISM amongst the young.

For boys and girls, 14 years of age and upwards. Branches in Croydon, Hackney, Stepney, Poplar, Bow, Bethnal Green, Hoxton. All those wishing to become members or interested please communicate with D. BOWMAN, 141, Bow Road, E.

The Young will build the New World, the Workers' World.

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Free copies can be obtained by Comrades willing to display them, from the Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet St., London, E.C.4.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Sharing the Plunder.

March 15th. Lloyd George explained the following division of territory has been made:—

German East Africa	... given to Britain & Belgium
German South-West Africa	... " " British S. Africa
German possessions in Pacific	...
South of Equator except	...
Samoa and Neuviu	... " " British Australia
Neuru	... " " Britain
Samoa	... " " British N. Zealand
German Islands North of Equator	... " " Japan

Coats and Russia.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade stated that Coats', the cotton people, have interests in Russian firms that the Soviets have socialised without paying compensation! Is that why the Coats' firm raised the price of cotton?

Prices to Rise Higher.

McCurdy was impatient with those who complain that 50,000 or 100,000 tons of Government mutton have rotted because there was no cold storage. The worst of it is that Mr. and Mrs. Poor Workman, who are always hungry, have not realised that under Communism they would have had a share of that mutton. The Government spokesman warned us that "we are not at the top of the wave of high prices."

Asquith Wants the Poor to Pay.

Asquith agreed that, while prices have risen 120 per cent in U.S.A., 170 per cent. in Britain, 300 per cent. in France, they will rise higher yet. He said that the remedy is to consume less and produce more. He, in the course of his speech, objected to the subsidising of bread, railways and coal. Like his ex-colleague, McKenna, he believes that the easiest way to reduce consumption is to increase prices. And that system is so comfortable for well-to-do people of Mr. Asquith's class because it is always the poor who go without.

Roberts Defends the Government.

G. Roberts, the Labour Member for Norwich, came out as a defender of the Government and declared that he could say, from personal experience, the Government had done "as much as was possible." The Government was not responsible for high prices: the only remedy was unity at home. While Labour claimed its rights and privileges it must remember its duties and responsibilities and produce more.

That means that Mr. and Mrs. Workmen are to be obedient to their employers and keep their noses fixed to the grindstone.

Congratulations to Clynes and Thomas.

March 16th. There was a sham debate on finance. Sir R. Horne, the Minister of Labour, said that in his opinion the position of the country got better every day. Our works and factories were overwhelmed with orders. He congratulated J. H. Thomas and J. R. Clynes on their efforts to get those troublesome workers to execute them and thereby pile up profits for their betters. Really, this has been a profitable war!

Lloyd George's Sacrifice.

Mr. Hogg (Lib.) said it is "a blot on the financial system of the country" that the Prime Minister only gets £5,000 a year: it was utterly inadequate! Hurry up, Mr. Workman; move a resolution in your Trade Union branch for his wages to be increased? Will you not press for a tax on bread or tobacco to prevent sacrifice such as this. Mr. Hogg tells you that all the Members of the Government are sweating! The Law officers only got a paltry increase from £6,000 and £5,000 a year to £7,000 and £6,000!

The Prince of Wales's Tour.

It will cost £20,000!

"Volunteers."

£407,000 was paid for black-leg emergency transport during the railway strike last autumn.

LLOYD GEORGE AND SOCIALISM.

Lloyd George spoke very truly when he said that the Labour men in the House of Commons do not represent the real Socialist movement, or even that, as yet, much vaguer thing, the Labour movement. Though, of course, unintentionally, he did the workers good service in explaining to them that the Capitalists in the Liberal and Tory Parties are combining against Communism and the workers.

The Labour Party's news service circulates a reply to Lloyd George by "a Labour M.P." It is poor stuff: he dismisses the charge that the Labour Party's programme is Socialism as "mere scare-mongering," and says that what the Prime Minister "exposes and fears in the Labour Party is not its doctrine." That is true, and that is why the workers will finally discard the Labour Party.

U.S. SENATE REJECTS PEACE TREATY.

The United States' Senate has rejected the Peace Treaty. We have not the least regret for this. The Treaty is merely the register of a Capitalist Robbers' peace, and the progress of the Workers' Revolution is already making waste paper of it.

BRITISH DECIDE TO REMAIN AT BATUM.

Lloyd George's Broken Pledge.

A Times correspondent reveals the fact that in spite of Lloyd George's declaration to Parliament that Batum was to be evacuated, the Government has changed its mind and decided to keep a British garrison there.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

The M.F.G.B. Reaction.

The demand of the Rhondda No. 1 District for a conference to consider the position of South Wales in regard to the M.F.G.B. wages demand, resulted in the calling of a Special Conference for March 22nd inst., when it was decided to reject the M.F.G.B. demand and press for £2 a week. It was further decided that South Wales should press for the de-control of the mining industry.

The Rhondda decision was that the South Wales Coalfield should demand the highest possible increase.

As W. F. Hay has clearly shown, the English and Scottish miners would not suffer from this policy, owing to the great demand that exists for coal, even for home consumption.

The only thing that would happen would be the withdrawal of the subsidies and an increase in the price of coal. Owing to the fact that these subsidies are at present, in the main, merely increasing the profits of the great coal-consuming industrial magnate, no great harm would be effected.

South Wales Impatient With M.F.G.B.

Coupled with the turning down by the M.F.G.B. of the South Wales demand for a £2 a week increase, the statement made by the Right Hon. W. Brace as to the rights of the South Wales miners to claim 12s. per day under the Conciliation Board Agreement, is likely to be the last straw that will break the connection of the S.W.M.F. with the M.F.G.B. Owing to the lack of opportunities by the miners in the other Federated Districts to express their opinions and desires, South Wales is continually being held in check. So serious has this become that demands for the complete severance of all ties with the M.F.G.B. have been advanced. The saner policy would appear to be the loosening of the ties somewhat and the granting of autonomy to each district to decide:—

1. What shall be its rate of contribution per member.

2. The wages and conditions of the district.

With the demand by the M.F.G.B. for an increase of 100 per cent in the contributions, the adoption of one of the foregoing policies would seem inevitable.

Left Wing Exposes Nationalisation Stunt.

Believing it within the bounds of possibility that the Trade Union Congress would decide to strike to enforce the nationalisation of the mines, the Left Wing propagandists have, during the last few months, failed to express clearly their true opinions upon nationalisation. Now, however, the situation has altered and audiences are learning more about nationalisation, from the Socialist standpoint, than they ever suspected.

Brace Out-Generals S.W.S.S.

One result of the recent conferences of the South Wales Miners has been to show the rank and file the necessity of finding a method whereby the policies of the various districts can be unified and co-ordinated prior to the holding of conferences. Owing to the different policies pursued by delegates who have the same object in view, the Executive, led by that astute politician, Mr. Brace, has been able to frustrate the endeavours of the progressive section. The hope had been expressed that the S.W.S.S. would serve the purpose of unifying the Left Wing policy. Unfortunately, it failed to do so, and a new organisation must be erected that will serve the required purpose.

Discussions are at present taking place in various parts of the coalfield, and will certainly culminate in an organisation that will, it is to be hoped, meet the situation. Of the various suggestions put forward, the writer is most impressed with the following:—

"1. The organisation should be purely industrial. This would mean that the only topics of discussion within its ranks would be as to the best tactics to be pursued to precipitate the revolution, and the methods of control of the mines once this had taken place. This would provide a platform upon which every really revolutionary miner could stand."

"2. Branches should be formed in every area and appoint a delegate to a District Committee. The areas should be geographical, and so arranged as to form a convenient rallying point for each district. This is necessary owing to the difficulty of travelling in the scattered mining villages. A branch could thus cover four or five official lodges, and in so doing, would function in a very efficient manner, owing to the great similarity of the conditions under which the miners work."

"3. Each district should appoint a delegate to a small central committee, where the desires of all should be as far as possible co-ordinated. In times of sudden crisis it would be the duty of the central committee to give a lead to all the branches. Questions such as changing the rules could, of course, be discussed in detail by every branch, because the date of the annual conference is fixed. In the event of a special conference being called rather suddenly, the machine would have to function from the top down."

"4. Assistance to be given to all other organisations in the various industries of South Wales of a similar nature, and, where necessary, help would be given in the formation of same."

"5. Every effort should also be made to stimulate the growth of similar organisations in every coalfield in Great Britain."

Do Not Look Down on the Other Workers.

During the discussions that have taken place upon the foregoing account, great contempt has been expressed by some rank and filers as to the movement and its forms in the industrial areas outside South Wales. This appears to me to show a great lack of appreciation of the difficult conditions under which revolutionary Socialists have to work in other areas.

With practically all the people in the valleys engaged in mining, and with only one Union catering for an overwhelming majority of these workers, a condition of affairs is attained whereby mass action, the only thing that counts, is easily obtained. To expect, therefore, that the tactics of South Wales should be carried into effect in a situation that is almost the direct opposite to that of South Wales, is rather unreasonable. An article explaining the nature of the conditions prevalent, say in London, would be of undoubted value to the rank and filers of Wales.

Cambrian Miners Win.

The miners of the Cambrian Combine, who struck work in sympathy with the colliery clerks, returned to work on the 17th inst., a settlement having been arrived at that constitutes a victory for the men.

A Victory at Ynysifailo.

The Ynysifailo strike has also been settled under terms that have given the greatest satisfaction to the miners. Rather an unusual feature about this strike was that after the case in dispute (one of victimisation) had been settled, the men continued the strike for several days until after other grievances that had been in long dispute were settled.

The Lady Astor Turns.

The Lady Astor show has visited Cardiff, and, as a free entertainment, can be said to have received a fair reception. The old proverb needs just a little reversing, and it will then describe the position to a nicety. "Once a music-hall artiste, always a music-hall artiste." When people pay to see Charlie Chaplin and his buffoonery it is not surprising that a "circus" that is free, draws attention. [Our South Wales contributor has made a mistake: Lady Astor was not a "Vesta Tilley," though we quite understand his thinking so.—Ed.]

Miners and Clerks Combine.

The result of the Cambrian sympathetic strike has been to speed up the affiliation of the Clerks' Union with the S.W.M.F. and a scheme has this week been ratified by both parties. Step by step circumstances are forcing the craft unions to link up into one strong all-embracing Union.

The Bishop Condemns South Wales.

Highly significant was the speech made by Bishop Owen, of St. David's, at Cardiff, on Monday, 15th inst. "In no part of the British Empire is the door to the Gospel more needed than in the South Wales coalfield. . . . it was a question of two things, religious reform or revolution." Our friend would possibly be shocked if he only knew what a large number of miners are not only convinced, but determined, that it shall be revolution.

To Strike for Russia.

The Rhondda No. 1. District at its last meeting decided to endeavour to persuade the whole of the South Wales coalfield to take a monthly stop turn until all British troops are withdrawn from Russia and Ireland.

At a Business Club.

"Blind Optimism and Misleading Leaders" was the subject of a lecture delivered to the Cardiff Business Club on the evening of the 4th inst., by Mr. A. C. Harrison and a Mr. W. H. Diamond. Speaking on the surplus of imports over exports the speakers emphasised the great need of propaganda amongst the workers, who had not the opportunity or perhaps the inclination to study and ascertain the facts. Whilst they (the business men) clearly understood the position the workers did not. Labour, therefore, to save purchasing commodities abroad, should give up extravagant living, and should also produce more.

Although Labour had not studied the position as it should, there were eminent, well-informed, and intelligent leaders who had grasped the situation, and although it was difficult to get the workers to see things from their point of view, a change was coming over Labour which made the speaker feel optimistic. Evidently the speakers were not aware that thousands of young men to-day are studying the facts as carefully as they are, and are determined that so long as a parasitic class exists in society, production shall be on a downward grade, and the standard of life on an upward one. Criticism of the whole speech can be obtained by substituting the word "of" for "and" in the subject, which would become "Blind Optimism of Misleading Leaders."

Gold and Tin.

The £ sterling having advanced several points owing to a mythical story of shipments of gold, it is positively certain to depreciate owing to lack of shipments of tin-plate. This same should bring joy to the heart of every revolutionary Socialist.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

Blair had just been selling the latest editions of the *Proletariat*, and old Creeps safely out of the way, some of us were going over the principal items.

"I think this here Direct Action is going too far," said Henry. "I believe in constitutional means."

"I don't know what nationalisation is," said young Bert, "but what it says in that there advertisement is my sentiments."

"Fat lot you know about nationalisation, let alone Direct Action," said Blair, coming into the circle; "when the papers are against it, lots of chaps take it the same way."

"When father says 'turn '—' began somebody, when the machineman behind us burst forth into what he believed was melody. He had just read a set of humorous verses in the *Proletariat*, and insisted on declaiming them:—

I'll sing you a song, not so very long,

But a story somewhat new,

Of Henry Dubb, who, whatever the grub,
To his boss was always true;

He swotted away, both night and day—"

"Here, you shut up," interjected young Bert, "or you'll spoil old Creeps' lunch for him, and I can see you getting the bird."

Some began folding up their papers and moving towards their machines. Henry came up to me.

"I've been reading about your Uncle Fitzarthur," he began; "I'm surprised at you. Didn't know you'd a blooming Capitalist in the family."

"The Lord gives us our relations," I said, "but—"

"I know that joke," he interrupted; "Adam told it when he was a policeman; he's a sergeant now. But you don't get out of it that way. Cheek, I calls it; being from a parasite class and here you are robbing a poor workman of a job. Why don't you get back where you belong?"

"Don't be an ass," I remarked. It doesn't matter what class a man comes from—even supposing I do come from the—parasite class, which I don't; so long as he works for his living, he's a worker. Not that I'm particularly fond of being a worker—"

"No," interrupted Henry again, "I notice you Communists always look down on the working class. You're deluded dupes I heard one say."

"Well, you are, aren't you?"

"And slaves, too! Calling names ain't no argument."

"I don't call names," I interjected. It is purely a statement of fact. There's no

getting away from it; but look at the way you are exploited."

"Well, you can't change it all by nationalisation."

"What's your fancy for the Grand National?" asked young Bert, who had just joined us, as if struck by a brilliant idea.

"What does the *Paddock* say about it this afternoon?" began Henry, getting interested. I switched him off.

"Who said I believed in nationalisation?" I demanded.

"Oh, everybody knows you don't go in for sport," said young Bert, whose wits were still raking in the odds on the favourite.

"Blow the Grand National," said Blair, "he was talking about nationalisation. That's your stuff, Henry, you started it. Why don't you give an answer like a man?"

"Well, what was you saying then?" asked Henry, putting down the *Paddock*.

"I said who says I'm for nationalisation?" I reiterated.

"You do," he said, with his eyes on the paper.

"Nothing of the sort," I said, "I'm in favour of socialisation myself."

"And mine's Spoil Five," added young Bert, ingenuously.

"You're spoiling the argument, kid," said Blair. "Get outside."

"Well, what's the difference—socialisation or nationalisation," demanded Henry aggressively. "It's just the same: I don't see that you can change a thing calling it another name. This here advertisement says its plunder, and plunder it is, whatever clothes you put it in."

"What you might call a dark horse," interrupted the sportive Bert.

"Dark horse nothing," said Henry, "it's plunder, as plain as I see it."

"What would you do if a burglar—" I began.

"Oh, we've all heard that before. Keep your conundrums for Christmas. I know all about supposing a man was cast on a desert island; we was talking about plunder."

"You don't suppose the Capitalists made the whole country in six days and rested on the seventh, do you? It stands to reason, then, that if there's any plunder going, it's done on their side."

"Well, what do you mean to do about it? Supposing the revolution comes tomorrow?"

"Never mind about what I'll do. I'll look after that all right," I said. "The question is, what are you going to do?"

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, March 26th, Stockwell Street, Greenwich, 7.30 p.m.
Melvina Walker, Henry Sara.

Saturday, March, 27th, Grove Lane, Camberwell, 3 p.m.
Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.
7 p.m. Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, W. McCartney, Henry Sara.

Sunday, March 21st, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m.
Melvina Walker, W. McCartney.

INDOOR.

Thursday, April 1st, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Mark Starr. Eighth Lecture on Economics: "Review of Course and Its Lessons for Workers."

Friday, April 2nd, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, March 28th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, April 1st, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, March 30th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Miss McCarthy.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION. (Communists)

A new branch of the W.S.F. has just been formed, viz., "Stonebridge (N.W.10) and District." Comrades in the neighbourhood who believe in Sovietism and wish to join should get in touch with the Secretary, H. P. Burgess, 89, Milton Avenue, Stonebridge, N.W.10.

We regret to announce that the Comrades who are preparing the material for our Special "Dreadnought Anniversary" Supplement on the Class Struggle of British Workers during the last six years, have found that the work is taking longer than they anticipated. Therefore we are unavoidably compelled to postpone it until APRIL 17th.

Communism and the Family, by Alexandra Kolontay, Russian Soviet Commissary for Social Welfare.

Price FOURPENCE.

Published by the WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION, 400, OLD FORD ROAD, E. 3.

HANDS OFF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

The following resolution was issued to the Press and other organisations by the Workers' Socialist Federation. It has not appeared in the Capitalist Press:—

"The Executive Committee of the Workers' Socialist Federation draws attention to the situation in Germany and the struggle which is going on between the counter-revolutionaries and the Communist workers. It calls upon the workers of Great Britain and of all other countries to see to it that their Governments do not intervene on the side of counter-revolution, and especially urges the seamen, transport workers and railwaymen to be ready to refuse to handle supplies for counter-revolutionary Germany; and demands that the British Army and Navy shall not be used on the side of reaction."

"It further emphatically protests against the failure of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to give the Congress any information regarding the negotiations that have passed between it and the Government on the question of peace with Soviet Russia, and against the refusal of the Standing Orders Committee to allow delegates to raise this question. It points out that until peace, on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities and no interference in Russia's internal affairs, has been concluded, the danger of capitalist attacks on Soviet Russia will not be over."

A SPECIAL MISSION WEEK FOR COMMUNISM

From SUNDAY, MARCH 28 to SUNDAY, APRIL 4.

NIGHTLY MEETINGS

at the Dock Gates at 7.30.

Among the Speakers will be:

Melvina Walker, Miss Grove, Mr. & Mrs. Edmunds, Harry Pollitt, Henry Sara, Fred Tyler and others.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MASS MEETING

TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

SUNDAY, MARCH 28th at 4 p.m.

To welcome the German Revolution and to Protest Against Allied Blockade.

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