

# Workers' Breadnought



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## ROSA LUXEMBURG AND LEO YOGICHES.

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

In devoting this article to the memory of Comrades Luxemburg and Jogiches, I couple their names, not only because a common fate overtook them—the martyr's death at the hand of the emissaries of German Social-betrayers mad with rage—but because these two eminent people were intimately connected by thirty years of friendship and common toil.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in 1870, in the Polish townlet of Samostj, in a once well-to-do, but afterwards impoverished, Jewish family. At the beginning of the eighties the family migrated to Warsaw, and Rosa entered the Gymnasium for girls. Of her family life she retained the heartiest memories. Rosa's mother was an educated woman. She loved to read with the children the works of Polish and German poets, and the sensitive Rosa, who passionately loved poetry, began under the influence of this reading to write poems herself. She was especially fond of Mitzkevitski: afterwards, in her literary activity, there is scarcely to be found a Polish article without quotations from his poems. The family had often to suffer want, and not seldom had even the bed to be taken to the usurer to be pawned for a few roubles, but that did not call forth bitterness and degradation, as often happens. I remember how Rosa would tell how she once lit the lamp with a scrap of paper, and later it appeared that it was the last money in the house, which her father had earned with pain; the old man did not punish his daughter, but, after he had recovered from the first shock, comforted her with pleasantries about her costly match. This happy atmosphere contributed, without doubt, to the spiritual development of the future champion of freedom.

Her mental abilities were remarkable, and at once declared themselves in her school. Rosa passed brilliantly through the Gymnasium, and the gold medal was not given her only because her "political reliability" was already doubted by the lady principal.

The suspicion was well-founded: our gymnasium scholar belonged to a circle of Socialist young people, in which pamphlets edited by the Party "proletariat" were read, and all were enthusiastic for activity among the workers. The gendarmes were not asleep, and soon (1888) the eighteen-year-old "confederate" had to flee abroad.

Her flight was probably arranged by the best conspirator of the Party at that time, Comrade Kasprkak, who was hanged later on.

Luxemburg came to Zurich. She lived there in the family of a German emigrant, the Social-Democratic publicist, Doctor Karl Lübeck. He was married to a Polish lady, and Rosa felt herself as if at home in this family. Lübeck was a man of large mind and immense learning, but very ill. He had had a stroke. Between him and the young student the friendliest relations developed; she wrote from his dictation articles with which the sick man earned his bread, and would converse for hours with him; he guided her affairs. Without doubt, Comrade Luxemburg owed much in these first years of her student career to this rare man.

In 1891, Luxemburg became acquainted with Jogiches. About his first years I know nothing: so far as I can learn, the other comrades who have worked with him for years know nothing either. From this can be seen that Jogiches avoided speaking about



The Boxing Match is interesting, but beware of the String Puller!

himself, and initiated nobody into his personal affairs. Perhaps there are friends who more closely know him: these will give some account of the childhood and youth of this fighter.

I tell you what I succeeded in learning: Leo Jogiches was born in 1867, in Wilna, in a very rich Jewish family. He began to take part very early in the revolutionary movement, and was arrested in 1888 by the Wilna gendarmes "on account of the active propaganda of ideas detrimental to the State among the workers." He was condemned to four years' imprisonment, and placed under police supervision. In order not to be subjected to military service, he fled abroad in 1890. Arrived in Switzerland, he got into relationship with Plechanov, but differences of opinion soon arose between them. That was a time when very unpleasant conditions reigned in Russian Social-Democratic circles. In Russia the movement was just beginning in the Emigration,\* Plechanov acted just as seemed good to him. Whoever did not stand well with him personally, was declared anathema by him, and people contested with him the right to call himself a Social-Democrat. Comrade Jogiches was not one of the submissive ones, and declined to submit himself to such a regime. Soon, other members of the Emigration united themselves

\*The "Emigration" consisted of the Socialist exiles and emigrants from Russia.

with him, and resolved to carry on independently. The most burning question was the question of revolutionary publishing: the youth of the Emigration and workers' circles in Russia naturally needed literature. Jogiches had at his disposal pretty considerable means, and proceeded, after getting a group of collaborators (Kritshevski Riasanov, Parvus) to start the "Social-Democratic Library." Here at once came to light his organising powers. He himself did not write, yet was a model editor, accurate to pedantry; the little books of the library were edited with distinction, and the question of transport was well managed.

Whilst he was occupied with publishing, Jogiches was also busy with the completion of his scientific studies. He possessed eminent mental abilities; he made himself rapidly conversant with the most intricate questions, had at his disposal an extraordinary memory, and distinguished himself by the breadth of his reading.

And in especial, Comrade "Grosowski" (he then appeared under this pseudonym), knew how to give excellent counsel to the Party publicists; when he had once conceived an interest in a question, he could develop the most fundamental and successful plan for its working-out; but to write himself, even when it was a question of a simple newspaper article, was difficult to him. He was conscious of this, and only extreme necessity could compel him to take up a pen.

And so Jogiches, after making the acquaintance of Rosa Luxemburg, came to conceive an interest in the questions of Polish Socialism, which at that time were stirring her. He learned the Polish language, which till then he had not known; learned it so thoroughly, that, later on as editor of Polish journals, he corrected with great zeal the Russianisms of Polish comrades in the articles; soon he gave up all participation in the Russian movement, and devoted all his powers to the Polish Social-Democratic movement.

The questions of Polish Socialism were at that time extremely complicated and interesting. The Revolutionary Socialist movement, which had found its expression in the Party "Proletariat," with Ludvig Varinski and Kunitzki at its head, passed through a severe crisis at the end of the eighties. The Party had concentrated its forces on the Terror, and was not competent to organise the worker-masses, who instinctively were in favour of a purely industrial fight, in consequence of the very rapid development of Capitalism in Poland. In Warsaw, the "Workers' Association" had been formed, whose aim was to guide the strike movement, and which, at the same time, carried on Marxist propaganda, as far as its powers went. Meantime, revolution occurred in the Party "Proletariat": under the influence of the universal flaming up of the nationalist aspirations in Europe at that time, leading astray the mass movement of the workers, the Emigrant circles, which stood at the head of the Party, had allowed themselves to become penetrated with the tendency toward a combination of Socialism with Patriotism. Po-



land—as the publicists of this tendency maintained—has outrun Russia in industrial development, Russia, under whose political yoke Poland lies, and therefore the effort of the Polish proletariat to free Poland, and to found an independent Polish State, has the object of paving the way to Socialism. This tendency led to the founding of the Polish Socialist Party (P.S.P.).

In Poland this tendency was fought by the Workers' Association, and in the Emigration, especially in Zurich, a group of young people strove to oppose to it general Marxist lines of thought. To this group belonged our comrade Wesselovski, who was grimly murdered by the Polish gendarmes; to it belonged students, who later on forsook the ranks of revolutionary fighters, but have distinguished themselves in other fields (among others, one of the most eminent poets of modern Poland, Vatzlav Berent).

The theoretical founding of Polish Marxism, of the Polish Social-Democratic movement fell to Rosa Luxemburg; and her active, self-sacrificing collaborator in this field was Comrade Jogiches—"Grosowski."

The thesis which lay at the bottom of the new tendency were the following: In enslaved Poland, Capitalism develops hand-in-hand with the Capitalism of Russia, Germany and Austria; necessarily, there arises from this the closest connection between the bourgeoisie of the Polish provinces, and the bourgeoisie of these ruling States; the class war in Poland accentuates itself, and makes a national rising against the national enslavement impossible. The task of the Polish proletariat consists in a common fight, together with the Russian, German and Austrian workers, against the Capitalist order; this fight is as well political as economic, and is to be fought according to the political conditions operating in each of these lands, and therefore the closest connection with the Russian, German and Austrian Socialist Parties is necessary; therewith autonomy naturally remains guaranteed to afford the possibility of satisfying the cultural interests of the Polish proletariat.

Only a universal revolution which destroys the Capitalist order, which annihilates the world-dominance of Capital, will lead to the liberation of all peoples, among them the Polish, too; so long as the Capitalist order reigns, the setting-up of an independent Polish State is impossible. Hence the fight is not for an independent Capitalist Poland, but the fight is for the overthrow of Capitalist states in general; and this is the task of the Polish proletariat.\*

All this seems incontestable to-day; but then enormous efforts had to be made to break a road for these ideas. Rosa Luxemburg at once exhibited eminent talents as a publicist, and brilliant theoretical capacities, and we willingly recognised her as our theoretical leader. Comrade Jogiches was her practical assistant, though at that time only intimates knew of this role.

Soon the new tendency had to carry the first fight into a wider arena. In the autumn of 1891, the Workers' Association was scattered by the Russian gendarmerie; almost all its leaders were arrested. But, none the less, the May-day demonstration of 1892 took on a great expansion, and showed that the mass movement of the workers had become decisive in the public life of Poland.

In the year 1893, the possibility presented itself of renewing and extending our revolutionary activity in the country. One of the most active organisers was Comrade Vesselovski. The workers from the "Association," and those remaining over from the Party "Proletariat," joined the new organisation. We determined to call ourselves "Social Democracy of the Kingdom

of Poland." This term, which sounds queer to many (what connection is there between Socialism and "Kingdom"?), was chosen with a quite definite object; it expressed that we, in accordance with our theory, wished to set up an organisation on a well-defined territory, and, indeed in that part of Poland where the proletariat has to fight hand-in-hand with the Russian proletariat. Precisely in that year an International Socialist Congress was called in Zurich; we resolved to appear before the proletariat of the whole world. The Warsaw workers made me their mandatory; the foreign groups gave their mandate to Rosa Luxemburg and Comrade Warshawski. Against us a furious campaign was opened by the leaders of the B.S.P., a campaign in which the meanest weapons were employed, since they brought against Comrade Warshawski the charge which they knew to be false—that he was a Russian agent. As there were people among them who had long had good relations with the leaders of the International, with Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and others, it was easy to them to represent things in such a light as to make us seem a lot of intriguers who were destroying the unity of Polish Socialism. In spite of the dazzling speech of Rosa Luxemburg, who disproved this lie, the Congress resolved not to recognise her mandate and that of Comrade Warshawski. Plechanov played, on this occasion, a not very handsome role: he was well acquainted with Polish affairs, and a word from this popular man in the International would have sufficed to unveil the intrigue, but he preferred to be silent, and stated later that it would have been unseemly of him "to stand up against the opinion of the old Engels." Unfortunately, such incidents arose later not seldom in the International: things were decided there pretty frequently according to the sympathies and antipathies of popular leaders. We had suffered a defeat, yet interest had been awakened in the questions of Polish Socialism in the International, and the opportunity was presented to us of airing these questions in the French and German press. Again this task fell mainly to Rosa Luxemburg.

The working out of the questions of the Polish Labour movement went forward, and the movement grew stronger. Rosa Luxemburg attended High School lectures during these years, and in 1897 wrote a dazzling dissertation for the Doctorate on the theme: "The development of Polish Industry." In the Seminary she distinguished herself, not only by profound knowledge, but by her brilliant dialectics, which she exhibited in frequent discussions with the Professor of National Economy, Julius Wolf, a declared opponent of Marxism. We had good sport: I led the worthy Professor to the subject, a thorny one for him, and then proved to him, with all the weapons of Marxism, that on these subjects he understood absolutely nothing. One must do the University of Zurich the justice to say that the Faculty, in spite of our attitude, made no kind of difficulty for either of us in obtaining the degree of doctor.

(To be continued.)

#### The Rise in the Cost of Living.

Britain—From July, 1914 to 1st March, 1920, 130 per cent. rise on food, fuel, light, clothing, rent and sundries.

France—From July, 1914, to February, 1920, in Paris a rise of 197 per cent., and in other towns, 220 per cent. rise on food, fuel and lighting.

Italy—From first half 1914 to February, 1920, in Rome, rise of 193 per cent. and 282 per cent. in other towns, on food, fuel, light, clothing, rent and sundries.

United States—From July, 1914, to February, 1920, a rise of 96 per cent. on food only, general cost of living 83 per cent. up.

Belgium—From April, 1914, to January, 1920, a rise of 296 per cent. on food and fuel.

Denmark—From July, 1914, to January, 1920, 142 per cent. on light, clothing, etc.

Norway—From July, 1914, to December, 1919, rise of 201 per cent. on food, fuel, light and clothing.

Sweden—159 per cent. rise on same articles between July, 1914, and December, 1919.

Germany—356 per cent. rise on food from July, 1910, to December, 1919.

## THE EASTER CONFERENCES.

### The Unity Negotiations.

This week's *Call* publishes an account of the Communist Unity negotiations, in which it is stated that the W.S.F. is "violently anti-Parliamentarian and anti-Trade Union." This does not express the position correctly.

We of the W.S.F. regard Parliament as the instrument of government moulded and suited to the Capitalist system: the Soviets, by which it will be replaced, we believe to be the administrative machinery appropriate to Communism. Therefore, we are emphatically anti-Parliamentarian.

As to the question of using Parliamentary action in the struggle for Communism, we agree with Lenin that this is not a matter of principle, but of tactics, always provided, of course, that Parliamentary action by Communists is used in a revolutionary manner. At the present stage in this country, we think more can be achieved for the revolution by standing altogether aloof from Parliamentary action, than by participation in it. Yet we did not make this an insuperable barrier to unity.

The question as to how Parliamentary action should be used, if used at all by Communists, was not discussed at the Unity Conference, nor does it seem to have been discussed at the B.S.P. Conference. Therefore, we do not know whether the B.S.P. accepts the view that Communists should not use Parliamentary action for the purpose of securing reforms or ameliorating the Capitalist system, but purely as a platform for propaganda, attack and obstruction.

With regard to the Trade Union question, the W.S.F. recognises the urgent need for transforming the structure of the Workers' Industrial organisations, not only from Trade to Industrial Unions, but also to Sovietise their structure, in order that they may be readily controlled by the rank and file. The W.S.F. recognises the importance of the rebel rank and file movements within the various industries, both on the lines of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee movement, and of the Unofficial Reform movements amongst the South Wales miners, the Vehicle Workers, and others. The W.S.F. recognises that the Workers' Committees are the forerunners of the Soviets and the Economic Councils of Communism.

The W.S.F. has several times found its views to be in conflict with those of B.S.P. delegates in regard to the relationship of the Communist Party to the industrial organisations and to industrial mass action. We of the W.S.F. adopt the position laid down by Zinoviev in his *Communist Party and Industrial Unionism*.\* This is, that the Communist Party should define the tactics of the class struggle on the industrial, as on all fields of action. Says Zinoviev:—

Even amongst the more hopeful section of the old International the opinion was prevalent that the Communist Party should control the political side . . . from the revolutionary Marxian view-point, the Communist Party is the ultimate re-union of all phases of the struggle by the working-class for freedom from the Capitalist yoke. The Communist Party makes use of a whole arsenal of arms to win this fight.

Such organisations as the Unofficial Reform Committees of South Wales, in so far as they are animated by Communism, are playing the part of the Communist Party: they are laying down the tactics and the objects of the workers' struggle, and they are endeavouring to force their policy on the Industrial Unions. When the moment of revolution arrives, if the official machine does not take revolutionary action, and almost certainly it will not (Germany and our own experiences are teaching us that), the Unofficial movement which, whatever it calls itself, will be ful-

\*Irish Communists should observe this.—Editor, *Workers' Dreadnought*.

\**Workers' Dreadnought*, January 10th, and 31st. Pamphlet now in the press.



filling the functions of the Communist Party, will take the action that is required. Probably the Revolution will begin with industrial action; first a strike, then a seizure of industrial machinery. Certainly, if industrial action be the appropriate action, the Communist Party will strive to use it.

#### THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL and the I.L.P.

The I.L.P. Conference has rejected the proposal to affiliate to the Third International; it has decided to withdraw from the Second International, and to invite the Swiss Party to attempt to arrange a single re-constructed International—a half-way-house International.

This is precisely the action we expected the I.L.P. to take. In any case, the I.L.P. could not have been admitted to the Third International, whilst it retains its present leadership, nor until it has decided to accept the principles on which the Third International is based.

The I.L.P. majority wants to get Socialism without force: and, apparently, it would rather do without Socialism and endure the regime of Capitalism maintained by force than employ force to overthrow it.

Ethel Snowden, poor Ethel Snowden, impotently, refusing to face the facts, said she would not agree to the defence of a Socialist State by force, because she wanted disarmament. Hungary disarming her Red soldiers, and now, scourged by the White Terror, followed through practical weakness, the policy Mrs. Snowden would choose. Red Russia, triumphant, raised her heroic Red Army and followed the policy Mrs. Snowden condemns.

Philip Snowden and Ramsey MacDonald, as was expected, spoke against affiliation to the Third International, which they oppose, not only because they oppose violence, but also because they do not like the thorough-going Communism for which the Third International stands. Snowden, in last week's *Labour Leader*, was attacking Lenin as the man who had destroyed a Parliament and had attacked the Co-operative Societies. To Snowden, Parliament is better than the Soviets, and he fails to see that the Co-operatives, with their dividends and their private trading, can no longer exist under Socialism.

C. H. Norman is reported as saying that "more favourable circumstances for the sudden establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat never existed than at the time of the railway strike last year. We give Norman the benefit of the doubt. We hope he did not say it, for such talk can only mislead ignorant people and comrades abroad. The masses were by no means prepared to set up a dictatorship at any time last year. There is a great deal of hard educational work to be done before we shall be ready for that, comrades, and economic pressure was not then (and is not yet) by any means strong enough to cause a spontaneous rising. The demands of the railwaymen were by no means revolutionary. Let us keep our heads cool and realise that revolution is not a mere matter of bluff and big talk, but a serious business.

#### The B.S.P. Conference.

The B.S.P. Conference, of course had more of the flavour of class war and the Revolution than the I.L.P. Conference. Nevertheless, some resolutions, which would seem quite fundamental to a revolutionary policy, seem to have been rejected; for instance:—

In the opinion of the Conference, the present condition of the world is such that if Trade Unions were to unite in joining all striking forces at one time instead of striking individually, there is every prospect of a successful overthrow of the wage system with less suffering and expenditure.

We are aware that the Trade Unions are not prepared to strike for the overthrow of the wage system, but until they or

at any rate, substantial masses of the workers, are so prepared, we do not know how the Revolution can come about. Certainly, combined action of the workers in all industries, as a class, is the thing to aim at, even though the Revolution may come before all the workers have arrived at that point of solidarity.

The following resolution was also defeated, because the B.S.P. desires to remain in the Labour Party, and the Labour Party only recognises the label: "Labour Candidate":—

The time is ripe when all candidates should stand as Socialists based on the class war, and in so far as the Labour Party hinders us in putting forward our Socialist principles, we shall withdraw our affiliation from the Labour Party.

The first half of the resolution, declaring that candidates should run as Socialists, was defeated by 48 votes to 26.

It was then decided that the question of affiliation to the Labour Party should be left over until Socialist unity is settled. We regret this as we should have liked to know definitely how far the B.S.P. membership has progressed beyond the state of adherence to the Labour Party. But we are fairly safe in assuming that the 48 votes represent those who support affiliation to the Labour Party, whilst the 26 votes represent those who are prepared to advance beyond it. It seems, therefore, that a third of the B.S.P. membership may be ripe for membership of the Communist Party. We wish that the resolutions had been of a more testing quality, in order that we might have had a surer gauge of B.S.P. opinion.

#### Joy in the Woods.

There is joy in the woods just now,  
The leaves are whispers of song,  
And the birds make mirth on the bough  
And music the whole day long.  
And God! to dwell in the town  
In these springlike summer days,  
On my brow an unfading frown  
And hate in my heart always—  
A machine out of gear, aye, tired,  
Yet forced to go on—for I'm hired.  
Just forced to go on through fear,  
For every day I must eat  
And find ugly clothes to wear,  
And bad shoes to hurt my feet  
And a shelter for work-drugged sleep!  
A mere drudge! but what can one do?  
A man that's a man cannot weep!  
Suicide? A quitter? Oh, no!  
But a slave should never grow tired,  
Whom the masters have kindly hired.  
But oh! for the woods, the flowers  
Of natural, sweet perfume,  
The heartening, summer showers  
And the smiling shrubs in bloom,  
Dust-free, dew-tinted at morn,  
The fresh and life-giving air,  
The billowing waves of corn  
And the birds' notes rich and clear:—  
For a man-machine toil-tired  
May crave beauty too—though he's hired.  
HUGH HOPE.

#### POLISH WORKERS APPEAL.

Polish Socialists have issued an appeal, declaring that thousands of their comrades have been thrown into prison, and numbers are on hunger strike. In October, 8,000 agricultural workers on strike were flung into prison.

They appeal to comrades in other countries to prevent the transport of munitions for the criminal Polish war against Soviet Russia which is devastating Poland and keeping it in the clutches of a military dictatorship.

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#### The Hungarian Murder Government.

An appeal has been issued in Vienna against the Murder Government which now rules in Hungary. It is signed by some of the most eminent Austrian scientists—among them Dr. Siegmund Freud, Dr. Max Adler, Dr. Julius Gans-Ludassy, president of the Vienna Press Association, Professor Emil Reich, Dr. Edmund Wongraf, presiding officer of the Vienna Journalists' and Authors' Association—as well as by officers of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party now in Vienna. The appeal says:—

"There is a land in Europe where organised political murder flourishes, where hate and revenge rage, where the horde of innocent victims who have been executed is simply no longer to be numbered.

"This land is Hungary.

"Woe to him, who, on behalf of law and order, opposes this regime of murder! He is pitilessly murdered, like the editor of *Nepszava*, Bela Somogyi. He is treated like the unhappy secretary of the Social-Democratic Party, Cservenka, who appeared before the military authority upon summons, and since then has never been seen again.

"But why name these victims? Hundreds and hundreds of nameless have shared the fate of these two.

"In Budapest and in the provinces, in Trans-Danubia, in the notorious forest of Kecskeket, in Waitzen, everywhere and anywhere, the bloody traces of the hangman's work have been found—the hanged, the dismembered, those shot and those tortured to death. Not one of the massacred stood before a judge, was heard in his own defence, or was even formally accused; many, on the other hand, were smuggled away from their legal judges, out the jails where they were being investigated, and were murdered.

"All this goes unpunished. Not one of the murderers, who, as every child knows, go around in organised bands, has been identified or arrested, to say nothing of being punished. (This seems to dispose of the news report that several officers had been arrested by the Government, though not prosecuted, for Bela Somogyi's murder.) All the world knows them, but before all the world they go free and unmolested.

"Does this world know what the Hungarian internment camps are? Each of them is a Czar's Siberia transplanted to Central Europe. Fearful are the sufferings of the unhappy persons who enter them. They are innocent, for the very decree which makes internment one of the processes of government, declares shamelessly: 'Those shall be interned against whom no lawful ground exists for judicial process, but who nevertheless, are suspected of being Communists.' In other words, those whom the officers suspect of being Communists, are deported to forced labour, that is, condemned to slow death.

"And all this goes on in the midst of the civilised world, under the eyes of the military and political representatives of the great, victorious civilised states!"

Emanuel Buchinger, former editor of the *Nepszava*, who is now in Berlin to avoid assassination, is authority for the statement that the number of working-men now in Hungarian prison camps is between thirty and forty thousand. He denies the statement made by the Horthy Government, that the number of Socialists in Hungary is insignificant, and points to the tremendous demonstration which took place at Bela Somogyi's funeral, when 200,000 working men and women took occasion to show their political sympathies. Buchinger also denies the report that the Social-Democratic Party in Hungary has ceased to exist, or that its newspapers have been suspended by the Party committee. The Party, he says, will continue to fight against reaction, in every way possible to it. The workmen, he asserts, remain true to the Socialist idea, and the attempts of the Christian Nationalist Party to form yellow Labour Unions has had no success.

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## WILL ALLIED WORKERS CRUSH GERMAN REVOLUTION?

The German Monarchists attempted an armed counter-revolution under Kapp, with Hindenburg and Ludendorff pulling the strings.

The British and other Allied governments were aware of the intended stroke and approved it. When Kapp seized Berlin the British and other Allied governments showed themselves entirely friendly to him and to his reactionary troops.

The German Government (or a part of it) was also in the plot: it was willing to come to an agreement with the Monarchists, because it was losing the support of the workers and saw that it must either combine with reaction or see Germany pass into the hands of the Communists.

The German Government ran away; but made a show of appealing to the workers to resist Kapp, which was necessary to save the face of the Government. The workers rose and overthrew Kapp, but also demanded the dismissal of the arch-plotter and renegade, Noske and of the Government itself. The advance guard rallied to the programme of Communism and prepared to fight for a Red Republic. Strong Red armies arose and city after city declared for the Soviets. In the Ruhr mining area the power of the Soviets was complete.

### Allies Blockade Communist Workers.

Britain, America and the other Allies now threatened Germany with starvation, declaring the renewal of the blockade until the Communists should be subdued, and all possibility of a Soviet Government ended.

### False Promises to Procure Workers Surrender.

Meanwhile, the German Government was changed to another of precisely the same calibre, and promises of reform were made to the workers. They were assured that they would not be punished if they would cease fighting and surrender their arms. Hunger and the menace of Allied attack by the blockade, and perhaps by armed intervention, induced a surrender on the strength of these promises by some, but we think not by all the Reds.

### White Terror Follows.

As was to be expected, the German Government was false to its pledges. As the Red troops retired, the White Terror fell on the people. Government troops advanced in breach of the agreement, Red soldiers who gave up their arms were murdered.

### Reactionary Trade Union Leaders and Government.

The Government acted with the more ruthlessness and the greater sense of impunity because the reactionary Trade Union leaders publicly offered it their support against the Communists, the all-German Trade Union Council Executive and the Social Democratic Party Executive denouncing the revolutionary workers and promising aid against them.

This fact is one that should be noticed very carefully by British workers, for British Trade Union officials belong to precisely the same reactionary school.

## Troops in the Neutral Zone.

The German Government from the first received the assistance of the Kapp troops, to whom it pretended opposition. In spite of the Government pladge to the workers not to advance there, Government troops were sent into the Ruhr area to attack, disarm and massacre the Reds, although this area is within the neutral zone, into which, under the terms of the Peace Treaty, German troops may not go.

## The French Occupation.

There has been much ostentatious fuss about this question, much false information has been circulated; and now French troops have marched into the neutral zone to occupy Frankfurt Darmstadt, and other German towns. The French are said to be appealing to Britain to help them in this new advance and further occupation of German territory. There can be no doubt that the French are acting by agreement with the British Government.

## Attempt to Mislead Allied Workers.

Efforts are being made to represent the French intervention in Germany as being purely against reactionary Monarchist militarism; something that will be to the advantage of the Reds, and will protect them from massacre by the reactionaries.

By the pretence that the intervention is to help the German fellow-worker, it is hoped to still the conscience of the Allied proletarian soldier, to undermine his loathing of further warfare, and his growing desire for international solidarity.

Doubtless the French Imperialists will not hesitate to secure further territory and other advantages from Germany, if these can be obtained without too much difficulty. Doubtless they would be only too willing to add the present German neutral zone to France, especially since it is a rich industrial area.

## Allies are Combining to Attack Reds.

It would, however be the extreme of folly to imagine that Foch and his armies have gone to Germany to aid or protect the Communist workers. On the contrary, the French officers will undoubtedly join with German Capitalism in its efforts to crush the German workers. Over the bodies of murdered Communists Foch and the German generals will fraternise.

Whilst the I.L.P. leaders are intoxicating themselves with pacifist oratory, the Capitalism of Britain, France, America, Germany, and the other countries is working to crush out the workers' Communist Revolution.

## The Allies Will Fail.

Nevertheless, world Capitalism will surely over-reach itself. The French occupation of Germany will assuredly hasten the coming of the German Communist Republic.

## Intervention Will Accelerate Communism

As yet, the Communists are still a minority amongst the German workers; but, just as the Allied intervention accelerated the growth of Communism in Russia, so will it do in Germany.

The complete cynicism of the international Capitalist politicians, their absolute lack of patriotism, their utter selfishness and disregard of human welfare, will be strikingly revealed to the German workers by the combined attack of the lately warring Capitalists upon the working-class.

The spectacle of German Capitalists combining with their late enemies to fight the German workers will convey an unmistakable lesson. Meanwhile, the economic ruin into which the War has plunged the Central Empires will make even more necessary Communism, which opens the only way to social salvation.

## Allies Take Big Risk.

The Allied politicians are not fools; they recognise the fact that an attack by foreign

troops upon the German Red Army will tend to bring the workers of all Germany rallying to the Red standard. The fact that France, has nevertheless marched into Germany is a proof that the strength of German Communism is much feared by the Allies, and that they are taking a desperate risk in the hope of crushing Communism altogether before it grows any stronger. They see that German Capitalism, with the help of the small forces to which the Peace Treaty limits Germany, cannot hold down German Communism. They fear that even if Germany were allowed a big army, that army, instead of crushing Bolshevism, would itself become Bolshevik. Moreover, if Germany were allowed a big army, Germany would not submit to unlimited turning of to put down this outburst, of Communism the Allied economic screw.

Therefore the Allies intend themselves in Germany and any other outburst that may follow. Eventually they will fail. How soon depends on the Allied workers.

## Will the Allied Workers Help the German Communists.

Will the Allied workers refuse to go to Germany? Will those who are there refuse to fight the German Communists? Will the Allied workers refuse to man or load ships carrying Allied munitions to Germany or to make munitions for the counter-revolution? These are the questions on which the early success of the German Communist Republic depends.

Oh, you who are pacifists and abhor bloodshed, will you not strike a blow against the Capitalist White Terror; against the desperate attempt of world Capitalism to stay the processes of evolution and to smother in mud and blood the inevitable rise of a nobler civilisation?

## The Japanese Take Vladivostok.

It is reported that the Japanese have fought their way into Vladivostok and captured it from the Soviets. We hope that the news may be false. Nevertheless, such attacks are to be expected, so long as Capitalism survives it will fight Communism. The Russian Soviet Republic will not be allowed to remain in peace till it is ringed round by the Soviet Republics of the world.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.



The new W.S.F. Membership Card will bear the above appropriate design.

The Executive has decided to issue an Annual Card and to charge 1/- for it in lieu of the Annual 1/- Headquarters' Fee.

## Railwaymen's Stay-In Strike.

The South Wales Press has appeared to be shocked at what has been termed the "stay in" strike of some of the South Wales railway men. The idea seems to be to work strictly to rules and regulations. This is said to cause great congestion. In this step, however, the railwaymen are merely following the miners, who have passed beyond regulations and have developed the "ca-canny" system to a fine art, for it appears that there is very little difference between the "stay in" and the "ca-canny" strike.



## TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

## TRADE UNIONS AND REVOLUTION.

We have already begun an examination of the rules, structure and constitution of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union. The seafaring industry lends itself very readily to organisation on the industrial basis and the Union rules actually permit of its enrolling practically all sections of workers within the industry.

## Members of Various Classes Enrolled Under Various Conditions.

Rule iv. sets forth the various classes of workers who may join the Sailors' and Firemen's Union.

Sailors showing three years' service are to be enrolled in the Union as "able seamen," and to pay 6d. a week; engineers, stewards, ordinary seamen and boys are to pay 3d., and receive half-benefits; firemen, trimmers, cooks, stewards, stewardesses, carpenters, fishermen and men usually employed in working by vessels in port, or getting them ready for sea are eligible as shore members. Some sea-going members pay 8d., others 6d.; shore members pay 4d. The benefits vary according to the amount of the subscription.

All these variations should be swept away. There should be a uniform subscription and uniform benefits; and efforts should be made to combine every worker in the sea-faring industry in one industrial union. At present, though the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union is supposed to enrol cooks, stewards and stewardesses, there is also a special Union for them, which, in 1916, had 18,150 members, the National Union of Ships' Stewards, Butchers and Bakers. Of course, these workers ought all to be enrolled in the industrial union for seafaring workers, though we are not surprised that, under present conditions, they prefer to organise outside the Sailors' and Firemen's reactionary Union. We should like to see the British Seafarers' Union grow till it should absorb all the members of Havelock Wilson's Union: indeed, any change would be welcome which would show that the seafarers had passed the stage of ignorance which has caused them to tolerate their present reactionary officials.

The membership of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union is declared at 83,950; that of the British Seafarers' Union at 10,025.

Rule iv. should be entirely re-drafted, and might read in this way:—

All seafaring men and women, and those employed on inland waters, and those employed in getting vessels ready for sea, seamen, fishermen, engineers, stewards, stewardesses, ships' cooks, butchers and bakers, are eligible as members of this Union. The branch to which a candidate applies for membership shall decide whether he or she is a *bona fide* worker in the seafaring industry. An appeal from the decision of the branch may be made to the Executive Council, and from thence, by the branch or candidate, to the general meeting.

## Ship Committees and the Sovietisation of the Union.

The structure of the Union is on old-fashioned lines. Solid organisation of the workers on each ship is even more than usually essential to workers who may be isolated from the rest of the world for several weeks at a time, and who are, moreover, placed under special disciplinary regulations, and liable to imprisonment for absence or refusal to obey orders. Nevertheless, the formation of Workers' Ship Committees finds no place in the Union rule book, though some attempts have been made in that direction, apart from the Executive Council. Workers' Ship Committees should be formed with stewards from each department on board. The Ship Committees should send delegates to Port Committees, the Port Committees to District Committees, the District Committees to a National Committee. Port meetings might also be necessary on many occasions. Resolu-

tions to re-model the structure of the Union on these lines should be pressed forward within the Union.

## The Present Structure of the Union Branches and Districts and General Meetings.

The members of the Union are organised in branches and districts. The branches are situated in port towns. There are 18 in England, 12 in Scotland, 9 in Ireland, 1 in the Isle of Man, and two foreign branches, at New York and Rotterdam. There are 8 districts.

## Representation at General Meetings.

Rule vi. deals with the annual general meeting and special general meetings. Delegates to the general meetings are to be elected by the members resident in the various districts. The Executive Council is given power to define the district areas and to declare what number and proportion of delegates each district shall have. The Executive may also decide what proportion of the delegation shall be officers of the Union, but the proportion may not be more than fifty per cent.

These things should not be left to the Executive. The general meeting should approve the district areas and the representation of each area should be according to its membership. Each district should freely elect its representatives without interference from the Executive. Officials should on no account be elected as delegates to the general meetings. They should be present only in an advisory capacity. The following new clause should be moved in substitution for rule xvi., 1:—

The annual general meeting shall decide the district areas and the representation to be given to each district.

No official of the Union shall be elected as a district representative. Officials of the Union shall be present at the general meetings in an advisory capacity only, and may not vote.

## Rules Can Only be Changed Every Two Years.

The rules of the union can only be changed by a majority vote of the members attending alternate annual general meetings: that places a heavy drag on progress within the Union. The revolution may come and go but the Seamen's Union cannot be hurried. The resolutions for changing the rules must come up through the branches and must reach the general secretary at least two months before the annual general meeting. A resolution of this kind, if carried and finally placed on the rule book, would help to speed up matters:—

The rules of the Union may be changed at any annual general meeting or special general meeting.

## Election and Recall of Officers and Committee.

The general president, general secretary, trustees and Executive are elected by the annual general meeting.

But the general president, general secretary and general treasurer, do not come out for re-election. They "remain in office during the will and pleasure of the majority of the members."

The annual general meeting, or a special general meeting may remove any of these officers, and a special general meeting may remove any member of the Executive or any trustee.

These useful provisions are actually in the existing rules; but the power of recall by means of a special general meeting is vitiated by the fact that a special meeting has only power to transact business stated on the convening notice, and the Executive alone decides whether to call a special general meeting. Of course, the Executive and officers would not convene a meeting to bring about their own recall.

Rule xvi., 2 and 3, should be amended so as to enable ten per cent. of the branches to compel the Executive to call a special general meeting within the time specified on the requisition, and to give general meet-

ings the power to bring emergency matter on to the agenda by a majority vote of the delegates present.

## Remove Wilson and Cathery.

A resolution for the removal from office of the present general president, general treasurer and general secretary should also be moved at the next meeting. Should the motion to remove Havelock Wilson fail to carry, a resolution should be moved that no officer of the Union shall be also a Member of Parliament. Such a provision already operates in some other Unions, and it would immediately remove Havelock Wilson from office.

The annual general meeting also has power to remove from office any branch or district secretary. An extensive weeding out would be advisable.

## Half the Executive Consists of Officials and Honorary Members.

In addition to the elected members of the Executive Committee, three district secretaries are placed upon it in rotation. Thus, these three district secretaries, the three officers, four trustees and four honorary members combine to make the membership of the Executive not coming from the workers in the industry, numerically equal to the fourteen elected representatives, and some, at least, of the fourteen elected representatives are, probably, officials!

A new rule, declaring that no official may be a member of the Executive, but that the officials may be called to the committee in an advisory capacity only, should be moved in substitution for rule xvii., 1.

The district secretaries are appointed by the Executive Council: they should be elected by the districts. Rule xvii. should be amended to that effect.

The Executive meetings are held only quarterly, but the president or secretary may summon special meetings. The president or secretary may also issue a round robin to the members on any subject. The result of such a test of opinion as declared by him has "equal force with a resolution carried at a meeting of the Executive Council." Such a provision lends itself to abuse and manipulation by the officer concerned. It occurs in rule xvii., 2, and should be rescinded; but, as a matter of fact, it is practically a dead letter at present.

The Executive Council has power to reverse the decision of any local meeting of members or district committee.

## The General President.

The general president is a very powerful person. He conducts all correspondence relating to the policy of the Union, is responsible for the opening of new branches and closing of non-paying branches, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. He has power to appoint officers to new branches, and he may dismiss or suspend branch or district officers, though they have the right to appeal to the Executive.

Thus it will be seen that the rules make it very easy for the general president to become as he has done, the autocrat of the Union.

It is always very difficult for an Executive to reverse the decision of its president once that decision has been actually made; yet had the question of dismissing or suspending an official been laid before the Executive before the step had actually been taken, the Executive might, perhaps, have decided otherwise. In the case of appointments also: if the president has chosen an official, it is difficult for the Executive to alter the decision.

## Stopping Branch Propaganda.

The branches are held down very strictly in the matter of finance: they may on no account indulge in any propaganda or educational ventures without the sanction of the Executive. All moneys, after paying rent, salaries and the necessary postage



and telegrams, must be sent to the general secretary week by week. If a branch should fail to do this, the finance committee of the Executive may take legal proceedings against it; and if a branch should refuse to obey the orders of the Executive Council it must forfeit any money or properties to which it is entitled and be suspended from taking part in the business of the Union. All the members of the branch suffer correspondingly. They lose the benefits to which they are entitled. Rule xxiii, which deals with these matters, should be amended so as to provide that a fixed proportion of the members' contributions shall go to the Executive, the remainder being left to the branch, together with any other funds which it may collect. No branch or branch officers should be suspended without the right of appeal to a general meeting.

#### Branches May Not Circularise Each Other.

Rule xxvi., section 6, is one of the worst in the rule book; it lays down that: "No branch shall issue or entertain any circular or address relating to the Union in general, or any branch thereof, unless such circular or address is sanctioned by the Executive Council."

This rule precludes any agitation for reform within the Union. A motion to rescind it should at once be tabled, and the present rule should be broken systematically.

Branch officers and delegates are elected annually. Rules xxii. and xxiii. should be amended so that they may be subject at any time to recall by those who have appointed them.

#### Registered Objects.

The *Seamen*, in its leading article of March 19th, said:—

Shorter hours for sailors will not harm, but will benefit the shipping industry, and in the end it comes to the point that the shipowner must be saved despite himself.

This phase is entirely in keeping with the registered objects of the Union as set

forth in rule iii. These objects include those usual to Trade Unions, and the securing of such reforms as a compulsory manning scale for all vessels, the revision of the Load Line Act, greater stability in the construction of ships, sanitary forecables, and so on.

#### Seamen Enslaved.

No reference is made to the oppressive conditions which the Merchant Shipping Act lays upon seamen. Conditions which seriously limit the freedom of seafarers and make them subject to a discipline such as is only applied in the Army, the Navy, and to prisoners and slaves. The Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, Part II., contains the following provisions, all of which should be fought:—

#### Part II., Clause 106 (a)—

The Board of Guardians or other persons in any Poor Law Union may put out and bind as apprentice to the sea service, any boy who, or whose parent, is receiving relief in the Union, and who has attained the age of twelve years, and is of sufficient health and strength, and consents to be bound.

Clause 107 declares that two justices shall ascertain that the boy has consented to be bound; but how a little Poor Law Institution boy is to find courage to defy the officials of that Institution by refusing to be bound, is not explained.

Clause 113, Section 2a, which deals with the agreements between the ship's master and the crew, stipulates that the agreement shall state, but only as far as practicable, the duration of the intended voyage or engagement, and the places, if any, to which the voyage is not to extend. Nevertheless, whilst the terms of the engagement may thus be very vague, the seamen and apprentices may be punished for desertion should they decide to leave the ship before the engagement is at an end. Clause 221 provides that for deserting the ship a seaman or apprentice shall be liable to forfeit all the effects he leaves on board, and all the wages due to him, and, if he should happen to

be abroad, all the wages he may earn in any other ship till his next return to the United Kingdom. Also, he shall be liable to pay the wages of any substitute engaged to replace him at a higher rate than his own wage; and, furthermore, he shall be liable to twelve weeks imprisonment. If he is absent without leave and the offence does not amount to desertion, he shall forfeit two days' pay, and six days' pay for every twenty-four hours' absence, and, except in the United Kingdom, he shall be further liable to ten weeks' imprisonment, with or without hard labour.

If a seaman or apprentice should desert or be absent without leave in the United Kingdom, he can be forcibly conveyed on board ship by his employers, with or without the assistance of the police, and the Act directs the police to give what aid may be necessary.

The seaman or apprentice has the right to ask to be first taken before a Court of Law. If the employers are found by the Court to have acted improperly, they may be fined £20; but we must remember that the Law Courts are run to bolster up the Capitalist system.

Clause 225, section 1, (a), (b), (c) and (e), provide that if a seaman or apprentice should quit the ship without leave after its arrival in port, he shall be liable to forfeit a month's pay; should he disobey a "lawful command," he shall be liable to forfeit two days' pay and to suffer four weeks imprisonment; if he is guilty of continued disobedience, he shall be imprisoned for twelve weeks and forfeit six days' pay or the cost of hiring a substitute; if he should "combine with any of the crew to disobey" lawful commands, or to neglect duty, or to impede the navigation of the ship or the progress of the voyage, "he shall be liable to imprisonment for twelve weeks."

(To be continued.)

## SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

### Miners Strike for Doctor.

An injunction was obtained against a Dr. Millor, of Mardy preventing him from practising. The miners at Mardy, wishing to employ him under their Medical Scheme, struck work on March 29th as a protest. Hostile demonstrations were also made outside the house of the doctor who had obtained the injunction. To those people who have not yet realised the futility of running candidates for the local administrative bodies, etc., the results of the election of a District Councillor at Mardy, on the same date as the strike commenced, should be of educational value. The candidates were clearly from two different classes. The one, a prominent and active worker in the Federation Lodge, the other a highly placed colliery official. Yet the people who struck again a Law Court order at the same time returned a colliery official to represent them on the Council. This example surely shows that industrial action, whilst being the best, is also the quickest method to obtain the realisation of our ideas.

### Doctors Use Direct Action.

Failing to obtain certain desired concessions from the workmen who employ them, the Ebbw Vale doctors decided to resort to direct action, to start from 12 p.m. on March 31st. Mass meetings of the miners were then held and considering the doctors' demands unjustified and that it would not be to the best interest of the miners to work without being assured of medical attention if injured, a down tools policy was agreed to. Thus we have the rather unique experience of 10,000 miners striking to break a strike of the professional class. In view of the possibilities of sabotage by the doctors during a revolutionary period much useful experience should be gained by the Ebbw Vale miners in their present fight.

### 10,000 Sirhowy Valley Colliers Strike.

At the Nine Mile Point Colliery a few weeks ago the management refused to pay two men the minimum wage. From the action of the management the men also fear that an attempt is being made to break down a custom of "daily contract" that has been in vogue at the colliery for a large number of years. Although the actual amount of money concerned in the dispute is small, the men, realising that a vital principle was at stake, decided to down tools forthwith. From 1,700 the number of strikers has gradually grown until at present over 10,000 are on strike. With the exception of a few collieries, where the men must be, mentally, still in the Middle Ages, the whole of the Sirhowy Valley is on stop. The position of the strikers was also

considered at the S.W.M.F. Conference on April 1st, when it was decided to adjourn Conference to give the Executive an opportunity to see what could be done. The adjourned Conference is to be held on April 10th and the agendas issued up to time of writing are as follows:—

"To further consider and decide whether a general stoppage of the whole of the collieries shall take place in support of the workmen of the Nine Mile Point Colliery."

Unless the dispute is satisfactorily settled, another 'lightning strike' of the South Wales coalfield seems very probable.

#### Why Not the One Big Issue?

The large number of sporadic sectional strikes that have occurred here show clearly the fine fighting mettle of the South Wales miner. Whilst undoubtedly every strike has been to remove a serious grievance one cannot help wishing that the miners would be sufficiently alert to co-ordinate all these efforts and make one grand stand together to remove the cause of practically every grievance—capitalism.

#### Frank Hodges Condemned.

On Thursday, April 1st the South Wales miners met in conference to receive the report of the M.F.G.B. increased wages negotiations. So much were the delegates impressed by the reactionary efforts of Frank Hodges and some of the English delegates that it appears they lost sight of the issues confronting them in the disgust that the report engendered. Brace seems to have become a hero, but comrades should remember his well-known love of dodging a fight, and should be very suspicious of him even though he adopted a fighting policy when there was no danger of a fight taking place. As a consequence of this slip by the delegates, the desire of large numbers of the rank and file for a ballot on the £2 issue was but weakly voiced at conference. Some of the Left Wing spokesmen, when tackled on their laxity, say they believe it possible to secure a two-thirds majority in favour of striking if South Wales participates in the ballot. Further, they believe that once a strike is started the Welsh miners will not return to work until the £2 per week increase has been granted.

This appears to be weak reasoning. Firstly, because the cost of living is so much less in some of the English coalfields, and as a consequence the 12/- per week offered by the Government is likely to be grabbed at. Then in the event of the two-thirds majority not being secured the action of the South Wales miners will be restricted because they have participated in the ballot. In the event of a strike taking place, the extension of its basis would be rigidly opposed by the Executive Council, which

on the whole cannot be said to be very keen about the £2 per week increase.

#### Do Not Postpone the Fight.

Postponement of a fight is an opportunist tactic and should be rigidly opposed by every miner who has a revolutionary outlook. The time is ripe for a strike and the South Wales miners should see to it that the fruit that may be obtained is plucked now.

#### Strike Before Capitalism Recovers.

If the capitalist system is allowed in any measure to recover from the effects of the war, a serious position is likely to confront the miners. The majority of the new ships being built are made to consume oil fuel whilst new coalfields are being developed with feverish haste in every part of the globe. All this points to a day when the demand for Welsh coal will be small, and with the arrival of that day the power of the miners will be consequently diminished.

Comrades, now is the appointed hour; be not weak in your hour of strength, but use your power to render powerless for ever the class that, if allowed to establish its position, will show no mercy to you.

#### Amendments to Rules Barred!

Forms to be filled in with resolutions to be submitted to the annual conference have already been issued to the lodges. With it, however, has come a reservation from the General Secretary that no amendments to rules will be accepted. This has caused no little surprise amongst the rank and file as the Annual Conference has always been regarded as the time for amendments of rules. Rule 51 states that no rule can be amended except by permission of Annual Conference or a Conference called for that special purpose.

#### Park and Dare Lodges Act.

Lodges would be well advised to follow the lead of the Park and Dare Lodges who have notified the General Secretary that unless the embargo upon amendments to rules is lifted they have no intention of participating in the Annual Conference.

#### Rhondda Teachers Threaten Strike.

The teachers of the Rhondda Valley are again restive and are threatening to strike unless higher wages are conceded. This seems to be rather a topsy-turvy business considering that labour has a clear majority on the Council. The Rhondda teachers have on a previous occasion tasted the sweets of a strike; the plan on this occasion seems to be to keep a particular section or ward out. This the teachers would be successfully able to manage even if the strike is not recognised by the Executive of the N.U.T. The strike situation is being well developed and shows great ingenuity on the part of the organisers.



## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

### Ireland and the Labour Party.

On March 29th Clynes made a long, vague speech on Ireland. Apparently, though he is careful not to be explicit, he and the Labour Party are advocating a measure on the lines of the old pre-war Home Rule Act which, having been suspended during the war, will come into force if not repealed after the conclusion of peace. Clynes definitely stated that Ireland must remain in the British Empire, and apparently he would give Britain the right to determine what Ireland's financial contribution to the Empire should be. National Defence, the Army, Navy and foreign relations would be reserved to the Imperial Parliament. Do foreign relations include customs and excise duties? If so, apparently Asquith goes further than Clynes. Clynes also suggested the summoning of an Irish Constituent Assembly elected by proportional representation to draft an Irish constitution, it being understood that Ireland is to remain within the Empire and defence and foreign relations being reserved to the Imperial Parliament. Clynes dismissed the Sinn Feiners as "a negligible quantity of irreconcilable extremists," whose influence would be gone if British coercion should cease.

Clynes is wrong. Sinn Feinism will continue giving trouble to British Governments till either Ireland gets independence or the Communist revolution comes. Sinn Feinism grew from a fragile to a powerful growth because considerable sections of people in Ireland wanted to be out of Britain's war; and the desire to be out of paying for Britain's war and its results cannot fail to continue growing. Capitalism is sick and its ailments will grow as its final end approaches. The Irish middle class, who are the mainstay of Sinn Fein will suffer with the poorer middle-class of all countries in this period of great social change. The Irish middle-class are told by Sinn Fein to attribute all ills to the British connection and to those who are not prepared for Communism the idea that all will be well when Ireland has freed herself from Britain is an alluring one.

On March 30th Asquith declared that he considered himself pledged to one effective legislature for the whole of Ireland with an Irish Executive dependent on that legislature "subject to all necessary safeguards for Imperial supremacy on the one side and for the protection of the rights, interests and susceptibilities of the Irish [the Ulster] minority on the other."

Asquith has never scrupled to break his pledges when convenient, so this declaration can only be held to stand good for the moment. He added a new declaration that went further than anything he has said on Ireland before; it was that the Irish Parliament should have the power to levy customs, excise and income-tax duties. Does Mr. Asquith mean to give to Ireland the right to enter into engagements with foreign powers on fiscal questions? It would be interesting to know.

Bonar Law reminded Asquith that he was in power during Easter Week, 1916, when the present acute trouble in Ireland began. Asquith had spoken with approval of Sir Horace Plunkett's Dominion Home Rule proposals, but Law insisted that Asquith was not prepared to give Ireland Dominion Home Rule, for Dominion Home Rule gives control of the fighting forces, the amounts the Dominions will contribute to the general security of the Empire and of their whole destinies. But Asquith desired to reserve the armed forces and to decide how much Ireland should contribute. Bonar Law said, moreover, that Dominion Home Rule gave the right to leave the Empire at will. Australia and Canada would not be detained if they chose to go out. Therefore, to give Dominion Home Rule was to be prepared to give an Irish Republic. Asquith shook his head, but Law insisted: "His speech commits him inevitably to that if his speech is sincere." Law made the same point, but with greater justification against the Labour Party. He said of Clynes: "I have rarely listened to a speech from any body so disappointing. He talks about self-determination as if he were living in the world with his eyes shut and knew nothing of the facts of the situation. When he talks of self-determination I put it to his party and say openly: Do they mean what their language implies? Do they mean that if the elected representatives of Ireland want a Republic they will give them a Republic?"

Members cried: "Answer," but the Labour Party made no response then. Later Stephen Walsh answered the question presumably for the Party:—

"The question was put specifically to my hon. friend (Mr. Clynes): Would we set up an Irish Republic? It was said that self-determination logically involved setting up an Irish Republic; that De Valera and his people would be certain to get a large majority, and that the first thing they would do would be to proclaim that part of Ireland under their control a Republic.

"I wonder whether such a question really was necessary. Every Member in this House has sworn allegiance to the British Throne. Many of us have given continuously the deepest proof which was in our power to give of attachment to the Throne and the British Constitution. . . . Can we not ask the whole people themselves to form a constituent assembly? The Imperial Forces will not be disbanded. Our ships will still be navigating the ocean. Ten men armed to the teeth will always beat one unarmed man in his shirt. The British Empire will not be destroyed while the constituent assembly is being elected, but if you do give the whole people the opportunity of saying what they desire, at least you will have complied with that which is the very essence of democracy. . . . If we do say to this people. . .

come together from your own assembly and hammer out in that assembly the means whereby under the British Crown you can have the completest management of your own affairs."

There, quite clearly put, is the policy of the British Labour Party towards Ireland. Moreover, let British workers understand this fully; the Labour Executive and Members of Parliament advocate just the same methods for dealing with British labour. Walsh, in the same speech, spoke as one of the Trade Union officials with whom, for 25 years, employers had refused to negotiate. He said: "The people who condemned us in all the moods and tenses gradually gave us a little audience. We were kindly in our relations with them and they were equally generous in their relations with us. We found that many things about which we had fought disappeared like mist before the rising sun when we came together, and we found also that neither side was as bad as it was painted. This is the typical Trade Union leader's attitude of today!"

The Labour Party is determined to sit on the fence regarding Ireland. On March 29th Clynes had said: We are not the Government; it is not our business to make constructive proposals, but to criticise yours. Stephen Walsh had spoken too plainly for the Labour diplomatists. Adamson was therefore put up to confuse the issues. He said that the Labour Party had been asked what it meant by "self determination," but it wanted to know what the Prime Minister meant by it. Lloyd George retorted it did not mean that countries that had been working together for hundreds of years could set up a separate Republic. Self determination must be exercised within the limits of "common sense and tradition." The Labour Members were not satisfied with that; they wanted Lloyd George to cover them by saying that a limited form of Home Rule is "self determination." Then when heckled on the elections they would answer, like parrots: "We want what Lloyd George calls self determination." But Lloyd George refused to oblige the Labour Party. After considerable play with vague and meaningless phrases Adamson finally declared that the Labour Party had decided what to do about Ireland. He put forward as a "personal suggestion" which had not yet come before the Party either for acceptance or rejection, the same proposals that Clynes had made: A Home Rule Act with protection of minorities, Defence and Sovereign Relations reserved to the Imperial Parliament, or an Irish Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution, the same subjects being reserved.

### Slavery in British Colony.

It was pointed out that boys and girls are publicly bought and sold in Hong Kong. The first enactment passed when Hong Kong became British was an anti-slavery Bill, but it was disallowed by the Imperial Government on the ground that Imperial Statutes already prohibited slavery.

Colonel Amery, for the Government, stated that the said boys and girls are not bought but "adopted" for domestic service" in return for a lump sum. Let him tell that story to the marines! The General Federation of Trade Unions had been promised by the Colonial Office that the matter would be looked into if the Federation would not make it public property. Colonel Amery now protested that there was no desire for concealment and said: If the girls were used for immoral purposes the Courts could watch over them. "We could not know what is going on in these matters unless some hon. Members look up these questions."

### Lord Leverhulme and His Island.

During the war it was announced that Lord Leverhulme, the soap-boiler, had bought the island of Lewis and the capitalist Press reported that his Lordship had been graciously pleased to approve the manners and appearance of the people of Lewis. Lord Leverhulme had not bought the island as a commercial venture; oh no, no; he desired only to find a spot where he might rest away from the madding crowd. Evidently Lord Leverhulme cannot endure the sight of land he does not own, so, taking a fancy to the island, he must needs buy it. Whilst Lord Leverhulme was buying the island many of its inhabitants were away at the war, gulled by the fantastic delusion that they were fighting for their native land. Before the war began there was a scheme on foot to provide small holdings in Lewis; one farm had been scheduled for this purpose by the Board of Agriculture and another was under consideration. When the Lewis men came back from the war they found the smallholdings scheme abandoned. As the Secretary for Scotland stated, in answer to a question, on March 24th: "The purchase of the Lewis by Lord Leverhulme and the developments contemplated by him have made a change in the situation of which it has been necessary to take account."

After protests, agitation and negotiation the Lewis men took to seizing land and were summoned to appear before the High Court at Edinburgh on April 1st.

Neil McLean raised this question on the adjournment of the House, the only opportunity Members have of raising urgent business, but it was observed that not 40 Members were present, and the House was therefore counted out after he had uttered a few sentences.

Neil McLean again raised the question on March 31st, and again the House was counted out.

The Lewis islanders have shown their good sense in seizing the land: when will the other workers follow?

### Anomalies of the Representative System.

MARCH 29TH.—On the score of economy Lieut.-Colonel Guinness (C.U.) asked the Government to give up the system of making up two registers of Parliamentary voters a year as directed by the last Franchise Bill and to return to the one register a year plan which disfranchised those people who had moved their homes within the year. Mr. Baldwin, answering for the Government, said: "We are endeavouring to go in the direction of that economy," and explained that the thing might be done by an amendment to the present Representation of the People Bill. Mr. Hogge (L.) revealed the fact that a wife who has been a Parliamentary voter is disfranchised when her husband dies, even though she stays on in the same house and is made to re-qualify as a voter for that house. It was pointed out that in the Wrekin Bye-election, ballot papers were spoilt because the presiding officers had failed to mark them with the official stamp. The Ministry of Health has the duty of stamping the papers. Dr. Addison said the Government hoped that the duty of stamping the ballot papers would be properly allocated presently, but when asked "to whom?" he was unable to answer. Evidently the Ministry of Health is not given enough money to keep its staff employed in looking after the health of the people so it does odd jobs to keep its clerks employed.

### Kaiser to be Let Off.

Since the Dutch refuse to hand over the Kaiser Bottomley asked whether he could be impeached in his absence. Lloyd George said that would be "futile."

We always said the Allied Governments would make up their quarrel with the Kaiser, and join with him in suppressing the workers. The British Government undoubtedly connived at the Kapp plot which was to restore the Kaiserdome in Germany.

### Passports.

Sir H. Brittain, Lieut.-Colonel Murray and Mr. G. Terrel, all belonging to the capitalist parties, complained that the passport and visa system is still in force, and asked the Government to make representations to other Governments with a view to abolishing the system. The passport system, which used to be considerably purely a Caesarian measure, is now kept going solely to handicap the spread of the Workers' Revolution, and to prevent news coming from Soviet Russia, and other centres of revolt. The Labour Members seem to have nothing to say on this question. They are afraid to support the Workers' Revolution.

### Land for Ex-Service Men.

Captain Brown asked about land for ex-service men in Durham. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture said that the County Council had only been able to provide a small holding to one ex-service man, but it had just bought 2,010 acres of land. Captain Brown retorted that this was mainly improved moorland and unsuitable. Some day the ex-service men will seize the land as the Lewis Islanders have done and join in abolishing landlordism and capitalism.

### Starving the "Paupers."

Attention was drawn to the refusal of the Ministry of Health to let the Southwark Guardians give a supper of rice to the workhouse inmates, this being the only meal between tea and breakfast. Dr. Addison said he had not personally known of the refusal, but the rice should be allowed.

The Ministry of Health seems to be even more stingy than the old Local Government Board. This is how the great reconstruction schemes of capitalist Governments end.

### Sugar.

Sir H. Greene pointed out that though there was supposed to be a scarcity of sugar and many people were unable to get their full ration, the shortage at once disappeared when the price of sugar went up. He asked for an inquiry, but James Parker, a Lord of the Treasury and renegade ex-I.L.P. and Labour man, refused an inquiry.

### Irish Teachers' Civil Rights.

On behalf of the Government it was stated that Irish teachers may not be magistrates, even out of school hours, because doing so "tends to impair the usefulness of a teacher by placing him in a position which may bring him into conflict with local parties." Democracy!

### A Waste of Money.

The legal costs of preventing Mrs. Bamberger from getting a divorce were £980. Most of this is likely to fall on the taxpayers. But why should you and I have to help pay for this? Under Communism when people want a divorce they will have it granted on application, and as the community will provide for all children no one will bother about it.

MARCH 30TH.—Mr. Harmsworth, on behalf of the Government, stated that it is proposed to send more Allied missions to Vienna at Austrian expense to supervise the demobilisation of the Austrian Army and Navy. Mr. Bromfield said, seeing that Austria is near bankruptcy and starvation such expenses should not be piled on. Mr. Harmsworth said in view of the important and valuable work done by these officials it is to Austria's advantage to retain them. This work, he said, is "organising transport and supplies," but of course it is to defeat the workers' revolution and look after Allied capitalist interests.



## BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

"What I want to know," asked Henry, after he had exhausted all details of Mary Pickford's latest "is exactly what you are a-going to do when the Revolution busts?"

"It depends on how the Revolution comes," said I.

"Of course, but supposing?" he urged.

"I thought you objected to any supposing business," I remarked severely. Last time you made quite a speech about it."

"Well, what if I did?" replied he; let bygones be bygones and don't be so thundering sarcastic. As I was saying, supposing—"

"Supposing what?" I demanded, determined to nail him down somewhere; to get something I could put my teeth into.

"Well, supposing the Revolution has come, according to programme, and you Communists go on the ran-dan, what do you mean to do about it?"

"Come and have a drink," said young Bert, sailing in unasked.

I gazed at him sternly, and then turned to Henry. "That is exactly what I'd like you to answer for me," I said.

"Now you're talking: I don't mind if I do. Come along; but who pays?"

"You misunderstand me," I said. "What I was referring to was your question."

"Why not answer it then?" he demanded, glaring at me.

The matter was getting a bit mixed. Of course, young Bert must put his foot in. How is a man to answer idiotic questions if they are made more idiotic by young Berts? I told Henry he could hop it and have his drink and come back sober.

And now we are on the subject, what precisely do we mean to do if and when the Revolution arrives? Of course, there are lots of people who may go and have a drink to celebrate it. And then? I remember a man once tried to involve me in an argument as to whether there would be beer under Communism.

"If people are willing to make beer, well then, I suppose there will be beer," was my reply.

"And supposing there won't?"

"Well, there won't then," I said simply.

"Now, you don't call that fair, do you? Here's a man wants a drink, but where is he to get it from? And you don't pretend that under Communism there will be more freedom."

"Precisely," I answered. "When I said there would be freedom I did not mean free beer."

"No more you did," said he, waxing warm. "A fine state of things, I call it. It is easy to talk fair about what advantages we'll have under Communism, but I knew there was a catch in it," he said indignantly. "I'm against Communism."

I told him I didn't suppose it would upset Communists much. There are all sorts of cases made out against Communism on the no-beer principle. I recollect a man seriously writing to a Socialist paper saying he was against Communism because, under the present system, a man had a better chance of enjoying the embraces of a strange woman. He said that nowadays a working-man, no matter how ill-looking, could save up enough money to afford a doubtful evening's amusement (?) in a flat, whereas under Communism he would have to go without a woman altogether. His case was that, wages and money being abolished, men would attract women by their looks or whatever physical or mental attractions they had; the plain, ordinary man would then be frozen out by this kind of competition.

Which, as Charlie Chaplin has it, is absurd. But it is not surprising that a man with such a mind should not be able to obtain love freely. Women don't go by money, or good looks or fine clothes; but whatever they do go by, they certainly don't go by such trash as the foregoing. A man who wants a woman merely for her physical attractions is bound to get what he deserves.

Decidedly, Communism doesn't mean free beer or free vice. It is, of course, possible that the first days of the Revolution some of the community will celebrate it by all sorts of excesses, and there will be things done of which we would not care to speak. But we do not need to fear a continuity of it. The workers must use their utmost solidarity and co-operation to prevent it. A wrong should be prevented or remedied on the spot by those interested in it. There must be no waiting for the "copper" to come. We have been brought up to wait for the policeman like good citizens; and in doing so we have abdicated the sovereignty of the people.

When the Revolution comes, there is but one thing to do. We must be men. The dictatorship of the proletariat, like a good many other things, starts at home.

## UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS. Rank and File Movement.

At the meeting on Tuesday, March 30th, at Chandos Hall, a question was asked as to how many replies had been received to the recent circular of the movement recommending Branches to form their Branch Committees on the Road Steward Principle, each member being responsible for and to the drivers or conductors electing him, and removable at the desire of the Section. The reply was that up to the present four branches had replied, generally in a favourable tone. Attention was drawn to the wretched organisation prevalent among the London Tram Branches where sometimes ten or twelve members of a Branch of six hundred attend meetings, non-members abound, and coherence and job control are entirely lacking. If the responsible officials are unable to devise machinery to improve this state of things, it is surely up to the live members themselves, in their own interest, to get a move on in the direction of Mass Solidarity, and they cannot do better than set to work on Road Steward lines.

A discussion on the new heavy "K" type buses of the L.G.O.C. then took place, and the Secretary recommended that the Battersea resolution for the A.D.M. be supported, namely, that men working these buses should have a proportionately shorter working day rather than a proportionately greater wage, due to the heavier work involved.

The prompt action of the Executive Council of the Union in obeying the mandate of the members by issuing strike notices was favourably commented upon, and members expressed the hope that the Executive would always be as prompt on receiving a mandate from the membership. Brother Cherry gave a very lucid exposition of the motives and aims of the Combine and the Union in reference to the present position.

The Record, the official organ of the Union was severely criticised, it being alleged that many self-appointed officials were using it to "dig themselves in," and that by supporting it and boosting its circulation we should be strengthening the chances of return of these same officials whenever a democratic post ballot election came to be held. This question was held in abeyance for the moment.

Meetings open to all members of U.V.W. every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m., Chandos Hall, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C. Come and learn what the other Branches are doing and thinking. E.T.W.

## THE "DREADNOUGHT" AND THE L.C.C.

We understand that the L.C.C. now directs that a copy of each issue of every periodical sold in L.C.C. parks shall be sent to the Chief Officer of the Parks Department twenty-four hours after the first sale. We are putting the said Chief Officer on our free list, so that organisations desiring to sell the "Dreadnought" in the L.C.C. parks need have no hesitation in doing so.

## THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

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

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

### LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, April 9th, The Square, Woolwich, 12 (noon). Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, April 10th, Lewisham Market Place, 3 p.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

Whitburn Road, Lewisham, 7 p.m. Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, W. McCartney and others.

Sunday, April 11th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. P. A. Edmunds, Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Fred Tyler, Melvina Walker.

Friday, April 16th, Beckton Road, Canning Town, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker and others.

Saturday, April 17th. Meetings in Poplar.

### INDOOR.

Monday, April 12th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting.

Friday, April 16th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.

Correction—Poplar Town Hall Meeting will be held on Sunday, April 18th, at 8 p.m. and not on April 11th as announced last week.

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, April 11th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, April 15th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

### WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, April 13th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Edmunds.

### W.S.F. PUBLIC MEETING

on SUNDAY, APRIL 18th, at 8 p.m.

(Doors open at 7.30 p.m.)

### POPLAR TOWN HALL

(Newby Place, near Poplar Station)

Speakers:

SYLVIA PANKHURST, on GREAT BRITAIN.

Commander H. GRENFELL, R.N.

(Naval Attaché in Petrograd, 1912-17),

on RUSSIA.

CONOR HAYES, on IRELAND.

CHAIR . . . . HARRY POLLITT.

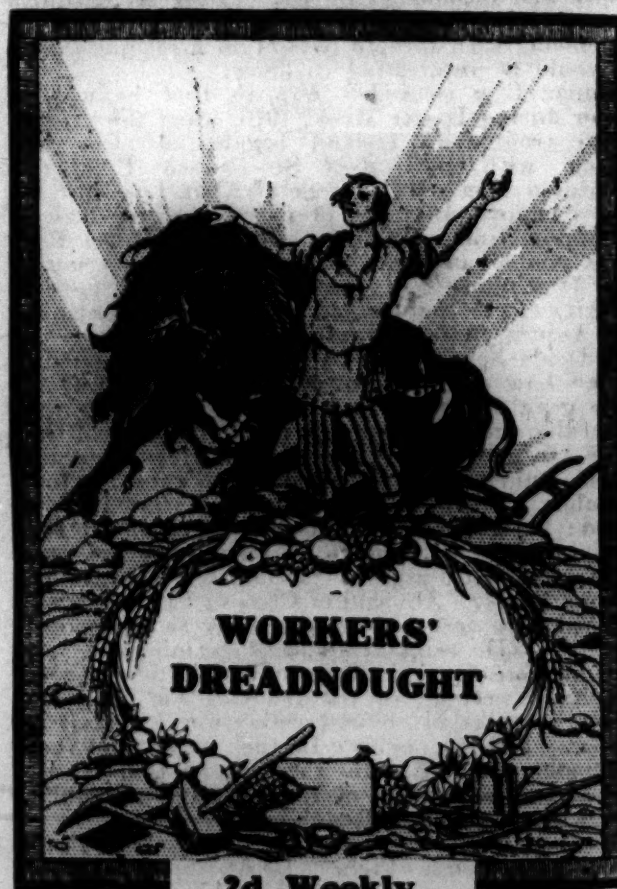
Irish Songs by CEDAR PAUL.

Admission Free.

Silver Collection.

### W.S.F. ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Annual Conference will take place on Whit-Sunday and Monday, May 23rd and 24th. In connection with the Conference there will be an At Home at Federation House, George Lane, Woodford, near Epping Forest. Hospitality will be arranged for provincial members. All particulars from the Hospitality Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, E. 3.



Posters and Collecting Cards for the "Dreadnought" Development Fund with the above design, may be obtained from the "Dreadnought" Manager, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4. Comrades are urged to apply for them.

BOARD RESIDENCE with comrades wanted in London.—Apply Box 10, "Workers' Dreadnought."

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