Parliament as we see it.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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PRISON LIFE.

Monstrous Sentences Crush the Poor.

Prison will break the Health of Communist Fighters

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

Most Prisoners are Victims of Economic Pressure

Prisons and all the legal apparatus of which they are part form one of the great bulwarks of the capitalist system. The "Have Nots," buffeted and often submerged in the harsh struggle for existence, would be apt to break out and seize for themselves the means of life which they see in abundance about them, but for the penal machinery of coercion and terrorism. Under the overwhelming pressure of circumstances, whether isolated, occasional, or chronic, people defy the punitive machinery of capitalist oppression, and, choosing what seems to them the lesser evil, take the risk of any punishment that may follow.

The great mass of prisoners are in prison for economic reasons. That fact is patent to the most case-hardened observer.

Do People go into Prison for Warmth and Shelter?

When one deplores the health-wrecking conditions of prison life, people who know something of present-day social conditions and who regard these conditions as permanent and inevitable, reply that if prison life were improved, the poor would rather be in prison than out. Therefore they would have no fear of breaking the law and crime would become rampant. It is pointed out that prisons are more crowded in winter than in summer as an evidence that, even under the present harsh conditions, the poor go into prison for warmth and shelter. What a scandalous state of affairs! How the rich should blush to know that their wealth is built on such a foundation!

Prison officials say that old women tell them they prefer a cell in prison to the workhouse ward, and, that bad as food is in prison, it is worse in some workhouses.

As I have said, it is rumoured that a committee is sitting in the Home Office to consider the cutting out of the reforms introduced into the prison system. Probably the Home Office anticipates that unemployment and hard times will drive increasing numbers of people into the desperate courses which lead to prison.

Those who fear that people may come to like being in prison if they are confined under healthy conditions, appear to forget that even the unfortunate people who break the law are human beings and suffer from being cut off from their friends and relatives, and from all freedom and power to exercise initiative.

Making the Prisoners Ill.

It is not only cruel, but utterly foolish to confine people under conditions which must inevitably make them ill. If a person could not earn what is called an "honest living" before going to gaol, how is it possible for that person to do so with the stigma of imprisonment and in broken health?

The practice of punishing through the dietary makes prisoners ill, and as this practice is continued in modified form in the hospital, it hinders their cure. The doctors are dosing the prisoners with medicine when what is urgently required is a changed diet and fresh air and exercise. One of my fellow prisoners told me that

LL. G.: "We are not out to starve you, but if you don't swallow this, we shall have to take it away."

she was taking aperient medicines three times a day!

Prisoners who grumble and insist may secure little ameliorations of the hospital diet. Those who do not complain are often more seriously ill and are yet left on the ordinary scale. "Do you get enough to eat?" I asked a young mother three weeks after the birth of her child. "I worry them till I do" she answered. When I left hospital only two prisoners were having eggs: a girl who had been more than once on hunger strike as a protest against her treatment, and an old woman seriously ill.

One petty and unnecessary deprivation imposed on prisoners is the refusal to allow tooth powder. On entering prison I had petitioned for political rights under Rule 243a. Until a reply was received from the Home Office, the Governor allowed me to retain my own clothes and my tooth powder. When the clothes were taken from me the tooth powder was left, and when this was finished, I asked for some more as a matter of course, for I thought that the provision of tooth powder was one of the reforms introduced since I had been in prison before. I learnt afterwards that my tooth powder was causing quite a sensation in the prison, and many of my fellow captives told me that I was the only woman in Holloway using tooth powder. But they expressed no jealousy. Their attitude was that of the thief crucified beside Christ, who protested: "This man has done nothing amiss."

Monstrous Sentences.

When one is in prison one is day by day appalled by the terrible sentences imposed for most trivial offences.

A young married woman at Christmas time went to work in the house of people newly moved into the district in order to earn a little extra money to prepare clothing for her baby to be born in the Spring. An extra hand was called for and she induced her young sister, an assistant nurse in a public institution, to give up her Christmas holiday to assist. The mistress gave this young woman a bundle of old garments to be used as cleaning rags in the house. Amongst these clothes were four little baby's vests, shrunken and old. The careful mother thought it a pity to tear them up for cleaning rags and took them home, to mend them for her expected baby. The mistress having flung them out as cleaning rags, she did not think it worth while to ask if she might have them. Months later a woman with whom she had a quarrel told the mistress that the vests had been taken, and the mistress put the matter in the hands of the police. The woman and her sister were each sentenced to a month's imprisonment in the Third Division. The expectant mother was let out just in time to reach home before the birth of her child. How will that child be affected by the mental suffering which its mother so unjustly endured? Magistrates give really monstrous sentences for stealing. One girl had eight months for stealing a little trumpery gold ring, a woman had six weeks for stealing an overcoat, another had twelve months for £5, another six months for some sheets, which she took from her employer and pawned—she said because her wages were not paid to her. Prisoners tell each other the truth about the reasons for which they have been sent to prison, because their offences are stated on the cards which are on their cell doors.

Many old women were in prison for begging. One of these ancient creatures imagined herself to be rich, thinking she had an income of several thousand a year and a quantity of house property in Wales.

One day in the exercise yard I saw a poor, old toothless woman with parchment face, hobbling painfully along with a stick, and supported by an officer. I was told that she was suffering from frost-bitten feet. Doubtless the trouble was caused by sleeping out on cold winter nights. Her offence was supposed to be prostitution!

Borstal Girls in Holloway.

I do not think the public is aware that young girls who are sent to the Borstal juvenile prison are brought to Holloway for a time before going there, though one of the principal objects of Borstal is supposed to be to keep the young first offenders away from the old offenders. In the exercise yard these young creatures walk apart from the other prisoners, but they converse with them through the cell windows, and when they are washing up their crocks or going to and from chapel. In the exercise yard the Second and Third Division prisoners are kept rigorously apart. It is ludicrous to see the ostentatious separation of women at exercise who will presently go in and occupy the same ward, where they will sit and talk together all day. The rule is that prisoners may not talk to each other, but this is a rule that cannot be enforced and the officials only check talking when it becomes too loud.

Let the Officials eat with the Prisoners.

I often asked the officials why the cooking was so bad, and why the food was of

such a very poor quality. I should like to know where Holloway Prison does its shopping and who is to blame for allowing it to be so badly served. If the governor, the doctors, and the lady superintendent were to partake of the same meals as the prisoners, there would certainly be either an immediate and drastic improvement, or a strike of officials.

The prison reformers should certainly advocate the provision of meals for inmates and all officials in a common room.

Who is making Money out of it?

Who is making money out of supplying bad food to the prisoners? Every prisoner wants to know that. It is not by accident that the food is so persistently bad. One prisoner, who ascribed the chronic and acute indigestion from which she suffered to the prison food, applied to see the visiting Justices in order that she might submit her complaint to them. As she was too ill to go to them, the nine of them filed into her cell, but if any slight improvement resulted from the interview, it soon disappeared.

Medicine in Lieu of Food.

Whilst the health of prisoners is declining for lack of digestible food, the doctors prescribe mouth washes, cough lozenges, and medicines of all kinds. Strong aperient medicines give temporary relief but increase the evil. If a prisoner says: "Give me some fruit to eat: give me food I can digest and more exercise, then I shall not require all this medicine," the doctor smiles an awkward embarrassed smile. He knows the prisoner is right. He makes an evasive reply. "Are you a householder?" one of the doctors asked me on one such occasion, and when I answered in the affirmative, he told me that just as one flushes out the drains of the house with water, so one may cure the ills which afflict the human body by drinking water. But human bodies, unfortunately, are not so simply dealt with as drain-pipes. So the prisoner's health is broken down and the last things ordered, the thing ordered only as a final resort when things have become really serious is an amelioration of the diet.

The Visiting Magistrates are supposed to protect the interests of the prisoners. This function they do not perform. When Mrs. Bramwell Booth, a newly-appointed Justice, came to my cell on two occasions, she asked no questions about my treatment but merely desired to pray with me, and this was the experience of other prisoners. The Magistrates impose punishments on the prisoners reported for misconduct.

A Twelve-and-a-Half Hour Working Day.

The working day for Holloway prisoners is from 6.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. In the old days work ceased at 4 p.m. supper time, but now the prisoners must sew in their cells till 7 o'clock. If they go to bed before that time the beds are put out in the corridor till 7, and they are punished for breaking the rules. A mother of ten children, the youngest of whom was with her in prison, told me that she had a great wish to read the books supplied to her from the prison library. Her life outside was one of struggle and continuous toil, which left her no time for reading. In spite of the hardships of prison life and the anxiety entailed by separation from her children, she would have enjoyed the opportunity for reading which the bare, lonely cell might have given her; but after sewing for twelve-and-a-half hours, her eyes were too tired for reading, and on Sundays she was given the task of mending the children. The women prisoners make all the clothing and bed linen used in the women's prisons, shirts, sheets, etc. for the men's prisons, mail bags and pads for the post office, and so on. They also wash clothing and bed linen, etc., for the prisons and towels for Government departments. It is because the doctors cannot pass enough women for laundry work to cope with this volume of washing that the prisoners are kept without changes of clothes. Some prisoners wash their undergarments in their cells and are thus often obliged to put them on before they are dry. Washing clothes in the cells is against the rules, but is connived at because the laundry staff is inadequate.

The Holloway Babies.

The prison diet for the babies who have been weaned consists of bread and milk twice a day and alternately gravy and potatoes, or milk puddings which are slightly sweetened. Occasionally one of the officers gives the children a piece of chocolate or a biscuit; but that she does on her own initiative and out of her own earnings, and such little luxuries do not form part of the official dietary. I do not know whether the prison commissioners would approve such little acts of kindness if they came to their ears. The children's clothes are harsh and ugly. Their underclothes are largely made up of odd scraps left over from the women's clothing. I have seen women with tiny babies a few weeks old wiping their infants' tender little noses with the thick blue dusters supplied as handkerchiefs to the adult prisoners.

The babies come out in the exercise yard and all through the winter they were kept under a veranda paved with stone flags and with two steps down on to the path below. These two steps were a perpetual source of nerve-strain for the officer and prisoner in charge of the children, for the little toddlers were always running to the edge, and two pairs of hands and eyes are not always enough to prevent accidents. The children's clothing was not warm enough for them to be out long on cold days, and sometimes their little limbs were covered by knickers, but often in cold and damp weather the tiny boys and girls were without this protection. The officer would say: "If I haven't got the clothes to put on them, I can't help it." The same remark applied when a little fellow was toddling about on the wet grass in February with bare toes poking through his slippers. But Mrs. Snowden says this country has nothing to learn from Soviet Russia. Oh! dear, dear!

Muddling through.

His Majesty's Government just muddles through at Holloway prison. When buckets, brooms and other household utensils are worn out they have to be sent over to the stores department before others can be issued in their places. We used to see the handcart piled high with broken crockery and old iron, dragged over from the hospital to the store rooms by the feeble old woman who worked as stoker and porter. Then the cart would come back, just as it went, with the answer that there were no new stores to be had.

Prison Reform.

Several of my fellow prisoners urged me to agitate for improved prison conditions. I always answered that under Communism there would soon be no occasion for prisons, and that prisons will always remain and always be places of sorrow and ill-health so long as the capitalist system remains.

Every Communist knows this is true. Magistrates and judges are the representatives of the ruling classes, the "Haves," who administer the instruments of coercion which keep down the exploited "Have Nots" and maintain them in subjection. To prevent the "Have Nots" from breaking through the legal ring fence which debars them from the enjoyment of plenty, the representatives of the law deal out vengeance. "It is bad enough to shut us up without making us ill" say the prisoners; but the ruling classes do not think so. Moreover to keep the prisoners under healthy and beneficial conditions would be costly, and the ruling classes do not wish to spend more money than they can help on those who have broken the laws which are made to safeguard the privileges of the possessing classes.

There are several prison reform societies, but not one of them has a programme of reform drastic enough to make any substantial difference to prison life.

Such reforms as the following would ameliorate prison conditions, and I recommend them to the attention of prison reformers; but we Communists must concentrate on the abolition of the causes which produce economic crime:—

All prisoners to be supplied with writing materials, encouraged to use them, and allowed to preserve and take out with them anything that they may write.

Prisoners to be allowed to write and receive letters from their friends as often as they choose, and to receive weekly visits. The present notepaper with its page of printed regulations to be abolished. Plain notepaper with or without the address of the prison to be supplied as the prisoner desires it.

The "General Search," which is carried on fortnightly, to be abolished.

Hospital prisoners and all prisoners confined in cells during the day to have exercise twice a day.

Meals to be taken in a common dining room (there are buildings which could be used for this purpose). The officials to partake of the same meals. Food to be wholesome and ample, and no attempt made to punish through the dietary.

Clothing to approximate to the clothing worn by average people outside prison, and to be arranged in sizes, instead of being served out haphazard as at present, prisoners constantly having to return garments that are grotesquely too small or two large.

The prison library to be reinforced, and prisoners to be allowed as many books as they can read.

No prisoner to work more than six hours a day. Sewing and other work to be done under proper teaching and supervision, so that the prisoner may learn to work efficiently, if unable to do so on admission.

Prisoners to be given facilities for learning languages, shorthand, etc., which will assist them in after life.

Prisoners to be paid for their work in prison at Trade Union rates, in order that they may have money to re-start life with on quitting the prison; prisoners who are too ill to work to be paid the average wage earned in the prison.

Prisoners to be given facilities for seeing relatives who are seriously ill.

Prisoners who are ill to be removed to hospital or convalescent homes.

Political Prisoners.

The question of political prisoners is a very urgent and pressing one. Our comrades are being arrested in large numbers. Shall we tamely submit to the breaking down of their health, to the waste of their fruitful energy, their mental productivity which the present regulations entail?

We must see to it that political treatment is secured for our political prisoners. The Revolution, the propagation of Communist thought and action claim our first activities, but we must not neglect the duty of preserving the energies of our soldiers in prison as far as we can. As for the liberty-loving Reformers, their duty to secure political rights for political prisoners is clear.

Political prisoners should, of course, be allowed—

To have writing materials and permission to write and preserve or send out from the prison what they please.

To carry on their profession whilst in prison.

To receive visits from their friends without restraint, and to write and receive as many letters as they please.

To wear their own clothes.

To receive their own food.

To receive books and newspapers as they please.

To have suitable grounds set apart for their exercise and to exercise there as often and as long as they choose.

To be exempt from all prison work.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Two hundred London unemployed are preparing to march to Brighton, where it is hoped they will receive permission to send a deputation to the Labour Party Conference.

CHRISTIAN GEORGYEVICH RAKOVSKY.

(Comrade Rakovsky occupies in Ukraine a position corresponding to that of Lenin in Russia. Its natural resources and the fertility of its land, make Ukraine, with its more than 35 million inhabitants, one of the most important parts of the Soviet Federation.)

The present leader of the Communist reconstruction in Ukraine, the head of the People's Commissars, Christian Georgyevich Rakovsky, was born on September 1, 1873, in a little Bulgarian town, Kotel. He belongs to the very old Rakovsky family known in the history of the Balkan revolutionary struggles, a family which from the beginning of the nineteenth century played an important role in the revolutionary movement of the Balkans in general, and in Bulgaria particularly. He early showed the heritage of his revolutionary family traditions. As a youngster, while in the sixth class of gymnasium he was expelled for distributing Socialist propaganda, and organising revolutionary circles.

In 1890, Rakovsky, unable to finish his studies, went to Geneva Switzerland. Here he immediately entered into the Russian Social Democratic organisation, at the head of which at that time were Plekhanov, Sazulich and Azelrod. Through Plekhanov, he familiarised himself with the international Labour movement.

For seven years Rakovsky, thanks to governmental persecution, spent his time wandering between the universities of Switzerland, Germany, and France. In 1892 he was arrested by the authorities of Geneva for an attempt against one of the Russian agents provocateurs. He was expelled by the Berlin police for his participation in the German Labour movement and in the Russian Social Democratic movement. Finally the French Government permitted him to study there, but only under very strict police surveillance.

While working in Russian, German, French, Swiss, and other organisations, Rakovsky did not forget his native country. He published in Geneva a Bulgarian paper "Social Democrat," and directed the Socialist papers in Bulgaria itself.

After having completed his studies in the Medical Faculty in 1897, Rakovsky wrote a brilliant doctor's dissertation which gives a Marxian explanation of criminality and degeneration, a work which has been translated into Russian. Upon his return to Bulgaria, there began a struggle against Russian Czarism. Rakovsky organised throughout the whole country a great number of meetings, started a campaign in the press, and published a big historical work under the title "On Russian Policy in the East." In view of the fact that the country where his family was living was occupied by the Roumanians he was mobilised for military service, where he continued Socialist propaganda.

In 1900 Rakovsky went to Russia. He was immediately arrested and expelled through Reval to Germany, where he completed his well known work "Present Day France," published under the pseudonym Insarov. In order to get in touch with the French Labour movement, Rakovsky entered the juridical faculty of the University of Paris; but within a year he returned to Russia and again was compelled to leave the country. The years 1900-1903 Rakovsky spent writing for the Russian Marxian review, "Novoye Slovo," and other papers. In 1904 began the so-called "Roumanian period," when he reorganised the Socialist Party in Roumania, which had been liquidated by Social Democratic intellectuals.

There now began a violent persecution by the Roumanian authorities and bourgeoisie, and in 1907 Rakovsky was arrested following the peasant uprisings. He was deprived of his political rights, and entrance to Roumania was forbidden him. The whole organised Roumanian proletariat rose in his support and he returned to Roumania to arouse public opinion by bringing his case before the courts; but the Roumanian Government did not give him this opportunity and tried to send him over the border again. The border countries refused to receive the revolutionist who at that time was already known to the entire Western European proletariat, and the Roumanian Government, to solve this problem, was on the point of shooting him. This brought about an uprising of the workers in Bucharest, which ended with a bloody conflict in which more than fifty workers and policemen were victims. An attempt to remove Rakovsky from Bucharest was foiled by the workers who tore up the rails. The Government, powerless itself, asked Rakovsky to exert his influence on the workers, and agreed to return all his rights. This was done in 1912; it was a brilliant victory for the Labour party over the Roumanian oligarchy.

During his "Roumanian period," Rakovsky renewed his close relations with the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1905 he went on the mutinous warship "Prince Potemkin" and influenced the insurgent sailors not to surrender and to go instead to the aid of the striking workers at Batum. Later Rakovsky went to the relief of the insurgents who remained in Roumania, thus bringing upon himself new persecutions. Compelled to leave the country in 1907 he renewed his relations with the Western revolutionary movement. He also returned again to Bulgaria, where he founded the paper "Forward."

During the great war the Roumanian Government shamefully persecuted Rakovsky, as well as the Socialist Press. There were arrests and armed police attacks, in one of which Rakovsky was wounded.

The Russian Government was watching the July manifestations in Galatz. In a telegram of June 17, 1916, the Russian envoy Poklevsky informed his government as follows:—

"For the happenings in Galatz the Roumanian Government has removed from his post the Prefect Gussy. It transferred the prosecuting attorney and indicted Rakovsky and the chief Syndicalist sponsors of the manifestations. The latter have convoked numerous meetings protesting against bloodshed in Galatz andi n general against the war."

These manifestations were so powerful and threatening that the Roumanian Government was compelled to release Rakovsky as well as other prisoners. When with Roumania's declaration of war the workers were mobilised, the Government again arrested Comrade Rakovsky.

These activities and especially the Zimmerwald conference, initiation of which Rakovsky shared with Lenin and Trotsky, stirred against him violent attacks of the European imperialist press of all countries, particularly of France, Italy and Russia. Thanks to the Russian Revolution on May 1, 1917, when the Russian garrison of the city of Jassy freed the political prisoners under the eyes of the Roumanian king and his spies, Rakovsky again was released from prison.

The Russian envoy Masslov in a secret telegram reported thus: "Yesterday on May 1 there took place in Jassy a meeting of the Russian garrison; those participating in the manifestation proceeded in an orderly fashion through the streets, the participants bearing red flags on which were inscriptions in Russian and Roumanian. During the manifestation the troops gathered upon the square to which they brought in an automobile, the Roumanian Socialist Rakovsky who had just been released and who in a short speech greeted the soldiers. Rakovsky was answered in French by the Russian non-commissioned officer Giller, who concgluded his speech with the wish that the same fate might overtake the Roumanian king that had befallen the Russian Czar, and that in the Balkans there should be formed, as soon as possible, a federation of democratic republics. Rakovsky was then brought to safety. In his conversation with me the Roumanian minister expressed his regret and accused his policemen for not executing the order concerning the removal of Rakovsky before the manifestation of May 1." It must be added that this shameful action did not succeed, owing to the fact that Rakovsky fell "gravely ill" in time.

From this moment there began the Russian-Ukrainian period of the activity of Rakovsky. After coming to Odessa he organised a great number of meetings, gatherings, and lectures, in which he advocated his slogan "Down with the War," thus bringing upon himself persecutions and attacks from the Provisional Government as well as from the social-patriotic press, and very quickly after his arrival in Petrograd he was entered on the list of the "twelve" whose arrest was asked by Burtsev as well as by the Roumanian Government. As revealed in a secret note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tereschenko, and in a telegram of Kerensky of August 30 to the General Staff, every effort was made to put an end to the activities of Rakovsky. General Lukomsky, at the time of the revolt of Kornilov gave an order to arrest him but this did not succeed owing to the liquidation of the Kornilov attempt. After learning of this order Rakovsky went to Kronstadt.

At the time of the November Revolution Rakovsky was in Stockholm, from which place he sent his greetings and support of the revolution. Upon his return to Russia, he was ordered to Odessa and Sebastopol with a body of sailors for the liquidation of the counter-revolution in Roumania and in Ukraine. Following his return to Moscow Comrade Rakovsky appeared again in Ukraine together with Comrade Manuilsky in the role of the head of the peace delegation. This activity of Rakovsky is known to everybody.

After the conclusion of the negotiations Comrade Rakovsky was delegated as a member of the Russian Soviet Embasy to Germany. He returned to Germany later in behalf of the Central Executive Committee, together with Comrades Joffe, Radek, Bukharin, Ignatov, Marchlewski, but he was arrested in Vilna and forced back to Russia. In January, 1919, according to the decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Rakovsky was called back and at the Third Congress of the Ukrainian Soviets confirmed as head of the Soviet of People's Commissars. When the Soviet power returned after the crushing of Denikin, Comrade Rakovsky became again the head of the Soviet of People's Commissars, being at the same time the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and member of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

A REMARKABLE CONFERENCE.

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI.

Moscow (end of April).—Moscow has just witnessed a remarkable event, which is a fresh stage in the history of the international Communist movement: a conference of Communist Eastern women.

Forty-five women delegates, active workers in the women's sections, organisers of the broad masses of women of the Turkish and mountain races. All the Republics and provinces of the East were represented. The women of Nirgis, Bashkir, Sardi, women delegates of the Tartar Republic of Crimea, Oset, Usbetshk, and the women of other Eastern races for the first time sent their delegates to an All-Russian Conference.

The conference of Communist women of the East was rich in events, and most successful. Although many comrades, especially the delegates of the nomad races, had not only left their countries for the first time, but also took part for the first time in an All-Russian assembly, their appearance had in itself a well-considered and important character, to which fact it may be ascribed that in the plan of work devised by the central women's section for the provinces, many important practical proposals and hints could be introduced. In spite of racial differences amongst which maay be noted a certain national feeling, yet the spirit of Internationalism was hovering over the conference.

The programme of the conference included a general report, the economic and legal position of woman in the East, the questions of organisation, agitation and propaganda, the position of women in the home and of their unions, and the question of an All-Russian Women's Congress of Eastern peoples. Although the work in those distant provinces was begun relatively late, the results were very good. In order to prepare for the All-Russian Congress, corresponding congresses and conferences were held in eight republics and in all provinces of Soviet Russia which are inhabited by Turks and mountain peoples, and, according to this plan, the work is being done in Azerbaidshan, Turkestan, in the province of Bashkira, in far Siberia, and in the Tartar Republic.

The magic wand of revolution awakened the masses of Eastern women, who had been passive for centuries, and now they are already fighting no more for the right to unveil their faces, but for full and complete emancipation of women.

The pressure towards Moscow is so strong, that at the consultation the average for delegation for the Congress in June was obliged to be very particularly reckoned out in order not to have thousands instead of the necessary hundred of women delegates.

The following most important rules were laid down for the method of work amongst the women of the East. To begin with, the workers in house industry, and wage earners generally, to attract them into the movement, they are to unity in Soviet hotels, the attention of the party and of the women's sections is to be drawn to the question of personal and marital emancipation of women, and the cultural level of the masses of women is to be raised. The clubs which represent at the same time the elementary schools for adult women, and are extended to creches and eating-houses, are a telling proof of what the Soviet power gives to the woman, if she, as a matter of course, advances to emancipation. Favourable results were also obtained from the praiseworthy attempt in the province of Bashkir to send women delegates to the people's court to protect the legal and marital interests of women.

For the nomad peoples travelling clubs, with winter and summer tents, are being provided. The purely educative work includes training the Eastern women in Soviet work, in the work of Trade Unionism and of the party.

The duty also of the women's sections was not forgotten, namely, to bring before the party the questions and tasks of the complete emancipation of women. The conference expressed itself clearly on this point and show the centres of the provinces the necessity to impress on the Communists the recognition of the practical equalisation of the sexes.

The conference was conducted in the Turkish and Russian languages. Even the unknown tongue sounded familiar and pleasant when uttered by inspired speakers clad in their national dress, especially when accompanied by youthful fire and indomitable faith in their cause.

The first All-Russian Conference of Communist women is one link more in the chain of solidarity, which is holding together the proletariat of East and West in the fight for the world-dictatorship of the proletariat.

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THE WAR ON THE WORKERS.

Renewed Intervention in Russia. The Battle on the Home Front extends. A Death Blow to the old Trade Unionism. Fight on for Communism.

It was not funny when the Crown Prince of Japan came to London and was photographed and headlined with the British Royal family. It was not funny; the Japanese Prince had come here on serious business: the business of checking the spread of Communism throughout the world; the business of protecting Capitalism, and preventing the rise of the working class to international power.

Do you not remember, Comrades, that when the intervention of this and the other Capitalist powers against the Russian Workers' Soviet Republic began in the summer of 1918, Prince Arthur of Connaught was out in Japan presenting a field-marshal's baton to the Mikado? That was a part of the outward ceremony which marked the conclusion of the agreement that Japan should join the other Capitalist Powers against Soviet Russia. Japan's part in the then attack on Soviet Russia was not perhaps so large as the other Capitalist governments would have desired. Every Capitalist Power is moved by the incentive to rally to the support of World Capitalism whenever and wherever it is endangered; but each of the Capitalist Powers expects to reap a special advantage for itself in return for the part it bears in the common struggle. They are all greedy and jealous rivals, though they hang together against the international working class, and perhaps the other Powers did not allow Japanese Capitalism as large a share of the spoils as it demanded when the last intervention took place.

The meeting of King Edward VII. with the Russian Czar some years ago was the prelude to the alliance of the British Government with the Russian Czar; the visit of Prince Arthur of Connaught to the Mikado was the prelude to the intervention of the Capitalist Powers against Soviet Russia; and now the visit of the Crown Prince of Japan to the Royalty and Government of this country has been the prelude to a new attack by Japan upon Soviet Russia.

The Secret Attack: Press Silence.

But the Press reports nothing of this attack by Japan; "The Times," the "Manchester Guardian," and the rest even the enterprising evening papers, publish not a line upon the subject. Only the "Daily Herald" on June 6th disclosed the fact that Japan had seized Vladivostok, and had installed the Russian reactionary General Kappel in power there, and that the well-known Czarist Generals Wrangel and Semenoff were to join in a new invasion of Siberia along Wrangel's old front.

One might have thought that the "Herald" had made a mistake about the matter, but the "Herald" correspondent's telegram is confirmed by a note from Tchitcherin to the Entente Governments protesting against the Japanese attack and accusing the Entente Powers of responsibility for it. No, there is no mistake, Comrades, either about the attack, or about the responsibility of this Government and its allies, although the "Herald" of June 7th declares that "mischief-making Japan" is playing a "lone hand," to which Britain gives "no countenance."

The First Intervention was also concealed and denied.

Do you not remember, Comrades, that the first intervention against the Russian Workers' Republic, which lasted so long and proved so serious, began in just this way, shrouded in mystery, unreported by the Press, hedged by official denials. The treaties and understandings that lead to the great World War, were also screened by a series of such denials extending over a period of years.

This new intervention is a breach of the Trade Agreement between Lloyd George's Government and Soviet Russia, which Krassin and his colleagues long and patiently negotiated. But is anyone so credulous, after all the experience of broken pledges that we have had, as to believe that the Trade Agreement would be allowed to stand in the way of any move that the Capitalist Governments might wish to make against World Communism and its representative, the Soviet Government? The hatred of the Allied Powers against the Soviet Government is intensified at this moment by successful negotiations which Soviet Russia has been conducting with Persia and other States where Western Capitalism desires to dominate.

The Russian Trade Agreement, as the "Russian Press Review" points out can never mean very much unless Soviet Russia is able, not merely to import but also to export produce to other countries. Our export from Soviet Russia is not practical until the Soviet Government has been recognised by the other Powers. Whilst this remains undone, says the Press Review, the cargoes which Russia might export abroad, might be confiscated by law, on the declaration of any former manufacturer that this cargo belongs to him. At the present moment there are four law suits in process."

The International Civil War.

This new intervention against Soviet Russia has been timed at a moment when the class-struggle is being pressed very hardly against the workers of this country. We used to talk of a strike against the Russian intervention; but to-day we are faced with a lock-out by the employers, which is spreading like a plague from trade to trade. The British working class is at grips with a crisis in the class war on the home front, and so serious is the position that anything that may happen outside the country seems remote, almost academic.

But remember that the class war is international: the workers of all lands are engaged in the same struggle. Our Capitalist rulers make their warplans against the workers on an international basis. And this is one of the reasons why they have just made such a fierce attack upon the Communist Party, which is a part of the Third International. That attack coincides with the renewed intervention in Russia and the onslaught which Capitalism is making here in Britain upon the workers in this country.

The Home Front.

We always told you, brothers and sisters of the working class; we always told you, Trade Unionist comrades, that our Capitalist rulers would make the workers pay for the Capitalist war. The capitalists would endeavour to make every man, woman and young person in the working class work harder and longer, and live more poorly than before. The capitalists told you, on the other hand, that the war was a war for freedom, that it was ushering in a great period of Social Reform, that wages would henceforth be higher, hours of labour shorter, and that housing, education, and all the good things of life would be dealt out to the workers in more abundant measure because of the great war and the glorious victory of the Allies.

And now, whilst the cost of living is still up, they are forcing down your wages, and starving you into submission; and you are afraid, desperately afraid, for trade is slack, and every man and woman worker is dogged by the spectre of unemployment.

The Bankruptcy of the old Trade Unionism.

The old Trade Unionism is bankrupt; it cannot protect you, Comrades. The powerful Miners' Federation of Great Britain is already beaten: its struggle, if it continues to fight alone, as it has done hitherto, is absolutely hopeless. We have always disagreed with the old Trade Union leaders; we have attacked them because they have played into the hands of the employing class, have helped the employers to rivet the chains of subjection upon the workers, and have fought, both publicly and privately, against united action by the workers. Thus they have helped the employers to defeat the workers in separate sections. We have attacked the old Trade Unionists for the gross and criminal betrayal of the workers, of which again and again they have been guilty; yet now, in this dark hour, when their tactics have produced the inevitable defeat, the inevitable hunger and suffering which have fallen upon the miners, and will fall, alas, upon the workers in industry after industry, we cannot altogether refrain from pitying even these false and treacherous leaders, the old Trade Unionists. These proud men who have ridden the tide of popularity cheered by the mob, praised by the organs of Capitalism, enjoying ample salaries, provided by the weekly self-denial of great masses of workers, now see the citadel of their power and authority rocking like a house of cards. It must have been a pathetic sight to see Stephen Walsh, who has lately flouted the working class almost as scornfully as do the peers of the realm, marching with his colleagues to try to prevent the hunger-driven masses from returning to work at the Wigan outcrops; hooted by starving women and children and threatened with physical violence by desperate men. We have been long accustomed to see such Labour Leaders as Stephen Walsh crushing strikes, quelling rebellions against the capitalist, ordering their members back to work and refusing them strike pay. But now to save the very existence of the Unions that form the substance of the Labour Leaders' power, these same leaders are forced to beg the workers to stand firm against the employer.

The Miners were beaten in this fight the day the Transport Workers refused to join them in their stand against the wage reduction. Now Capital attacks the wages of each body of workers in turn. The Engineers are to be locked out till they agree to accept lower wages; the cotton operatives and the woolen operatives are faced with the same ultimatum. This is but the beginning. Before the railway men come to fight the reduction which it is proposed to impose also on them, by the end of the summer, Capitalism calculates that the miners will be already beaten to subjection.

And this present attack on wages, which will certainly spread to every section of workers, is only the first stage in the struggle to reduce the working-class standard of life. Wages will again be reduced ere long; and the cost of living will not fall in proportion; rather will it rise. Are you not to have an increase of rent presently?

To Communism.

Yet all this is no reason for despair. On the contrary we must see that the trade depression, the unemployment, the failure of the old Trade Unionism to protect the interests of organised labour, all these factors will prepare the world for the effort necessary to end the present system. Capitalism will only be overthrown when it becomes acutely intolerable. We must not expect to pass into Communism without the hardships attendant on the great change.

We must not despond because this or that step is lost; but concentrate on the spread of Communist ideals and preparation for the great change.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

CORONATION OF DIMITRE ROMANOFF IN ORGESCH, BAVARIA.

After the Russian monarchists had taken part in the funeral of the late ex-Empress Augusta Victoria, after they had expressed their sympathy in the name of the exiled Romanoff Dynasty, with their Hohonzollern fellow sufferers, and had denounced the solidarity of international counter-revolution, they are now getting their forces together in Bavaria. Under the protection of Orgesch they are preparing to carry out a grand programme—the restoration of the Romanoff autocracy in Russia.

With this end in view the various monarchist groups have sunk their differences. For instance the so-called Belgrade centre healed by Wrangel and the Berlin centre have one common aim—to wave the flag of the Romanoffs from the Kremlin.

They have selected the pogrom hero, Dimitre Romanoff, to succeed Nicholas II. His candidature was ratified in February at Berlin, and now he is to be anointed with holy oil. The coronation of Dimitre Romanoff, by the grace of God, will take place in Bavaria. His adherents will rally themselves until they have subdued the Russian proletarians and royalists.

The Wilhelmist hordes will, of course, take part in the ceremony, to support their Russian fellow sufferers and prepare for the time when they will restore their Wilhelm to his own by coup d'etat.

The counter-revolutionists will give each other aid.

Before his expulsion from Austria, Charles Hapsburg, in a letter to the Roumanian king, uttered prophetic admonition: "This is a time when kings must hang together. Since that time, both the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns, the Kolchaks and the Kapps, the Hapsburg Dynasty made an attempt to regain the throne. A short time ago Charles Hapsburg was in Hungary. The old motto took on a modified form in view of international counter-revolution. "This is a time when the exiled monarchs must hang together and form a union of unemployed dynasties.

A CIVIL LIBERTY VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

Ramsay Macdonald, who used to imagine he is a Socialist is revealed as one of the most faithful upholders of the old bourgeois politics and of the world of yesterday. He writes in the Scottish "Forward":—

"Perhaps our bench has been so long out of practice in dealing with constitutional liberty, that Sir Basil Thompson and his tool, the Home Secretary, have stolen a march upon it, but one of these days they will come up against a magistrate or a judge who will remember the faith who begat them and the traditions and functions of their office. In the meantime, if the Parliamentary Labour Party as a whole will not on its own initiative, a Civil Liberty Vigilance Committee should be at once constituted by the Labour, Liberal, and Unionist Members who have any genius for politics left."

Ramsay Macdonald and his colleagues the Snowdens, who are opposed to anything new, and desire to preserve the world unchanged, would do well to concentrate on preserving the civil liberties which were won by our forefathers, in order that those who are fighting to carry civilisation a step further may benefit by them. We are amused at Macdonald's description of "Labour, Liberal and Unionist M.P.'s who have any genius for politics left." That phrase shows us the man as he is. He concludes with an attack on the Russian Soviet Republic. Oh, I.L.P.-ers, where are you wandering?

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OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER

An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

(Continued.)

Comrade, there was a time when also your movement of the Bolsheviste was small and insignificant. It was because it was small, and voluntarily remained so for a long time, that it kept itself pure. And through this, and this exclusively, it became powerful. We also want to proceed in this way.

This is a question of the utmost importance. Not only the West-European, but also the Russian revolution depends upon this. Beware, Comrade! You know that Napoleon, in trying to spread modern capitalism over Europe, was finally wrecked, and had to make way for reaction, when he had arrived there; where there was not only too much of the middle ages, but especially too little capitalism as yet.

These, your minor assertions, are not true. I will now proceed to the bigger ones, to the most important of all you say: that now the time has come without propaganda to win the millions for "pure" Communism, through the opportunistic policy you describe. Comrade, even if you were right in the small matters, if the Communist Parties here were actually strong enough, this would be utterly wrong from beginning to end. Pure propaganda for the new Communism, as I have often said already, will be necessary here in Western Europe, from the beginning of the revolution to the very end. Because (this point is of such importance that it has to be constantly repeated) it is the workers, the workers alone, who must bring Communism. Of other classes they have nothing to expect, in any considerable measure, until the revolution be finished.

You say (page 73): That period of the revolution has set in in which we have the avant-garde, and in which (1) all class-powers that are against us have become sufficiently disarranged, have fought sufficiently amongst themselves, have been sufficiently weakened by the struggle that surpasses their strength; (2) all wavering, undecided elements, the small bourgeoisie, the small-bourgeois democracy, have been sufficiently unmasked before the people, have exposed themselves sufficiently through their bankruptcy.

Well, Comrade, this is Russian. In the Russian Government body, which was rotten through and through, these were the conditions for the revolution.

In the modern, really great-capitalistic States, however, the conditions will be altogether different. The big-bourgeois parties will stand together in opposition to Communism, they will not get disarranged, and the small-bourgeoisie will stand by them. Not in an absolute sense, of course, but to such an extent that it has to determine our tactics.

Character of Western Europe Revolution.

In Western Europe we must expect a revolution that is a tenacious struggle on either side, with a firm organisation on the part of the bourgeoisie and the small-bourgeoisie. The immense organisations of capitalism and of the workers prove this.

These, therefore, we have to organise likewise with the very best weapons, the best form of organisation, the best and strongest methods of fighting (not with weak ones).

It is here, and not in Russia, that the real struggle between capital and labour will be fought. Because here is the real capital.

Comrade, if you think that (from a tendency for theoretic purity), I exaggerate, just look at Germany. There you have an utterly bankrupt, almost desperate State. But all classes, alike big- and small-bourgeois, as well as the peasant-classes, stand firmly united against Communism. Thus it will be everywhere with us.

It is true that quite at the close of the development of the revolution, when the most terrible crisis breaks out, when we shall be quite near to the victory, the unity of the bourgeois classes will perhaps disappear, and that some of the small bourgeois and peasants will come to us. But what good is that to us? We must determine our tactics for the beginning and the course of the revolution.

Because this is so, and has to be so (through the class relations and more even the relations of production), the proletariat stands alone.

Because it stands alone, it can only triumph, if spiritually it gains immensely in strength.

And as it can triumph only thus, the propaganda of "pure" Communism is needed here until the very end (quite contrary to Russia).

Without this propaganda the West-European and consequently also the Russian proletariat, the world-proletariat, is lost.

And the same holds good for the Executive in Moscow.

Whilst I wrote these last pages, the news came that the International had adopted your tactics and those of the Executive. The West-European delegates have let themselves be dazzled by the brilliance of the Russian revolution. All right, we will take up the fight in the Third International.

We, Comrade, your old friends Pannekoek, Roland Holst, Rutgers and myself, truer than which you cannot have them, on hearing of your West-European tactics, have asked ourselves what could be the cause of them. The opinions differed greatly. The one said: the economic condition of Russia is so bad, that, above all, in needs peace. For that reason Comrade Lenin wants to gather around him as much power as possible: the Independents, Labour Party, etc., that they may help him to obtain peace. The other said: he wishes to hasten the universal, European revolution. Therefore millions have to join. That is the reason of his opportunism.

I myself believe, as I have said before, that you misunderstand the European conditions, the state of things.

However this may be, Comrade, and from what motives you may act, you will suffer the most terrible defeat, and you will lead the proletariat into the most terrible defeat, if you go on with these tactics.

For if you wish to save Russia, the Russian revolution, by means of these tactics, you collect also the non-Communist elements. You join these to us, the real Communists, whilst as yet we do not even have a firm kernel! With this medley of dead Trade Unions, with a mass of half or quarter Communists, in which a good kernel is lacking, you wish to fight against the most highly organised capital of the world, which has all the non-proletarian classes on its side. It goes without saying that in the battle this medley will fall to pieces, and that the great mass will take flight.

Why German Workers must not be defeated.

Comrade, a crushing defeat of the German proletariat for instance, is the signal for a general attack on Russia.

If you wish to make the revolution here, with this hodge-podge of Labour Party and Independents, French Centre and Italian Party, etc., and with these Trade Unions, the outcome cannot be otherwise.

The governments will not even fear such an opportunistic lot.

If, however, you form internally firm, radical groups, firm (though small) parties, then the governments will fear these parties, as only these carry away the masses in great deeds in the revolution—as the Spartacus League has proved in the beginning—then the governments will have to release Russia, and finally, when the parties will thus, through these "pure" tactics, have grown powerful, the victory will be ours. These our "Left" tactics, therefore, are the best; nay the only ones that bring salvation for us and for Russia alike.

Your tactics on the other hand are Russian. They were excellent in a country where an army of millions of poor peasants stood ready, and where there was a wavering, desperate middle class. Here they are no good.

I finally must refute your assertion and that of many of your associates, upon which I have already touched in the third chapter: that the revolution in Western Europe can only begin after the lower, the democratic layers of capitalism have been sufficiently shaken, neutralised or won.

This assertion also, in one of the most weighty questions of the revolution, proves once more that you consider all things from a purely East-European point of view. And this assertion is wrong.

For the proletariat in Germany and England is so numerous, so powerful through its organisation, that it can make the revolution, its beginning and development also without, and in opposition to all these classes. And that it even must make the revolution, driven by sufferings in Germany.

And it can do so, if only it follows the right tactics, if only it founds its organisation on a craft basis, and rejects parliamentarism; if only it strengthens the workers in this way!

We of the Left Wing, therefore, choose our tactics not only for the reason mentioned above, but especially also because the West-European proletariat, and in the first place the German and English proletariat, by itself alone, if only it grows conscious and united, is so immensely strong, that it can win in this simple manner. The Russian proletariat had to take roundabout ways, being too weak by itself, and it has done so brilliantly, in a manner far surpassing all that the world-proletariat has ever yet achieved. But the West-European proletariat can triumph by the straight, clear road.

Thus also this assertion of yours has been refuted.

There remains one argument as yet to be refuted, one which I have read over and over again with the "Right" Communists, which I heard from the Russian Trade Union leader, Losofski, and which is to be found also with you: "The crisis will drive the masses to Communism, even if we retain the bad Trade Unions and parliamentarism." This is a very weak argument. For we have no idea how big the crisis is going to be. Will it be as deep in England and France as it is now in Germany? Secondly, this argument (the "mechanical argument of the Third International"), has proved how weak it is during the last six years. In Germany the misery during the last war-years was terrible. The revolution did not break out. It was terrible in 1918 and 1919. The revolution did not triumph. The crisis in Hungary, Austria, the Balkans, and Poland is terrible. The revolution did not come, or did not win, not even when the Russian armies were quite near. But in the third place the argument turns against yourself, for if the crisis should bring about the revolution in any case, the better "Left" tactics might be just as well adopted.

The examples of Germany, Hungary, Bavaria, Austria, Poland, and the Balkans, however, all prove that crisis and misery do not suffice. The most terrible economic crisis is there, and yet the revolution does not break out. There must be another cause yet, which brings about the revolution, and which, if it does not work, causes the delay, or the collapse of the revolution. This cause is the spirit of the masses. And it is your tactics, Comrade, which fail sufficiently to awaken the spirit of the masses in Western Europe, which does not sufficiently strengthen it, which leaves it as it was. In the course of this writing I have pointed out that the banking-capital, the trusts, the monopolies, and the West-European and North-American State formed by them, and dependent on them, as they are, unite all bourgeois classes, big as well as small, into one whole against the revolution.

But this force, uniting society and the State against the revolution, goes further yet. The banking-capital has organised the working class itself in a past period, in the period of evolution, against the revolution: educating, uniting and organising them. And in what way? In the Trade Unions (Syndicalist as well as free), and in the social-democratic parties. By forcing them to fight for reforms only, capital turned these Trade Unions and Labour Parties into counter-revolutionary forces for the maintenance of the State and society. Trade Unions and Labour Parties, through the great-capital, became the support of capital. As, however, these organisations consist of workers, and of almost the majority of workers, and as the revolution cannot be made without the workers, these organisations must be destroyed first, if the revolution is to succeed. And how are they to be destroyed? By changing their spirit. And their spirit can only be changed by rendering the spirit of the members independent in the utmost degree. And this can be done only by replacing the Trade Unions by industrial unions and workers' unions, and by abolishing parliamentarism in the Labour parties. And this your tactics prevent.

It is true that the German, French, Italian capitalism are bankrupt. Or rather: these capitalist States are bankrupt. The capitalists themselves, their economic and political organisations, maintain themselves and their profits, dividends and new capital are even enormous. Only, however, through an extension of the paper-circulation by the State. If the German, French, and Italian States fall, the capitalists go down likewise.

Crisis is nearing.

The crisis approaches with an iron necessity. If the prices rise, the strike-waves rise also; if they fall, the army of the unemployed increases. Misery is spreading all over Europe, and hunger is approaching. Moreover, the world is full of new fuel. The conflict, the new revolution, is drawing near. But how will it end? Capitalism is powerful as yet. Germany, Italy, France, Eastern Europe are not the world yet. And in Western Europe, in North America, in the British Dominions, for some time to come, capitalism will hold together all the classes against the proletariat. The issue therefore to a very great extent depends depends on our tactics and on our organisations. And your tactics are wrong.

Here in Western-Europe there are only one kind of tactics: those of the Left Wing, that tell the truth to the proletariat, and do not blind it with illusions. Those that, even though it may take a long time, forge the only strong weapons—the industrial organisations (uniting these into one whole), and the originally small, but pure and firm kernels, the Communist parties. Those tactics, moreover, that spread these organisations over the entire proletariat.

This has to be thus, not because we of the Left Wing wish it, but because the relations of production, the class-relations demand it.

At the conclusion of my expositions, I will draw them up in a concise survey, so that the worker may see everything clearly for himself.

In the first place, I imagine, there follows from it a clear image of the causes of our tactics (a clear survey of the motives of our tactics), and the tactics themselves: The banking-capital domin-

ates the entire world. Ideologically and materially it retains the gigantic proletariat in the deepest slavery, and unites all bourgeois classes. Consequently the gigantic masses must needs rise and proceed to act for themselves. This is only possible through industrial organisations and abolition of parliamentarism in the revolution.

Secondly, I will summarise the tactics of the Left Wing, and those of the Third International in a few phrases, so that the difference between your tactics and those of the Third International on the one hand, and those of the Left Wing on the other, become clearly and absolutely evident, and so that the workers, if your tactics, as they probably will, lead to the greatest debacle, may not loose courage, but may see there are other tactics yet.

The Third International believes that the West-European revolution will proceed together according to the laws and tactics of the Russian revolution.

The Left Wing believes that the West-European revolution will make and follow its own laws.

The Third International believes that the West-European revolution will be able to make compromises and leagues with small-bourgeois and small-peasant, and even with big-bourgeois parties.

The Left Wing believes that this is impossible.

The Third International believes that in Western Europe during the revolution there will be "rifts" and scissions between the bourgeois, small-bourgeois and small-peasant parties.

The Left Wing believes that the bourgeois and small-bourgeois parties will form one united front until the end of the revolution.

The Third International under-estimates the power of the West-European capital and the North-American capital.

The Left Wing conforms its tactics to this great power.

The Third International does not recognise the power of the banking-capital, the great-capital, uniting all bourgeois classes.

The Left Wing on the contrary builds its tactics on the uniting power.

As the Third International does not believe in the fact that in Western Europe the proletariat will stand alone, it neglects the mental development of this proletariat; which in every respect is deeply entangled in the bourgeois ideology as yet; and chooses tactics which leave the slavery and subjection to bourgeois ideas unmolested, intact.

Left-Winger to free Workers' Minds.

The Left Wing chooses its tactics in such a way that in the first place the mind of the workers is made free.

As the Third International does not found its tactics on the freeing of the mind, nor on the unity of all bourgeois and small-bourgeois parties, but on compromises and "rifts"; it leaves the old Trade Unions intact, trying to join them to the Third International.

As the Left Wing strives above all for the freeing of the mind, and believes in the unity of the bourgeois parties, it realises that the Trade Unions must be destroyed, and that the proletariat needs better weapons.

The same motives induce the Third International to maintain parliamentarism.

The same motives also induce the Left Wing to abolish parliamentarism.

The Third International leaves the condition of slavery such as it was in the Second.

The Left Wing wishes to change it from below upward; it seizes the evil at the root.

As the Third International does not believe that in the first place the freeing of the minds is needed in Western Europe, nor that all bourgeois parties will be one in the revolution, it collects masses around it, without inquiring whether they are really Communist, without determining its tactics, on the supposition that they are such—as long as they have the masses.

The Left Wing wishes in all countries to form parties, consisting exclusively of Communists, and determines its tactics accordingly. Through the example of these originally small parties, the majority of the proletariat, the masses therefore, will be brought to Communism.

To the Third International, therefore, the masses in Western Europe are a means.

To the Left Wing they are the aim.

Through these tactics (which were quite right in Russia), the Third International employs leader-politics.

The Left Wing, on the other hand, employs mass-politics.

Through these tactics the Third International is leading not only the West-European, but also the Russian revolution to its ruins.

The Left Wing, on the other hand, through its tactics leads the world-proletariat towards the victory.

And, finally, I will gather my statements in a few theses, so that the workers who must work for themselves, to gain a clear insight into these tactics, may have them before their eyes in a concise, surveyable form. They have to be read, of course, in the light of the preceding expositions.

1. The tactics of the West-European revolution must differ from those of the Russian revolution.

2. For here the proletariat stands alone.

3. Here the proletariat must make the revolution all by itself, against all other classes.

4. The importance of the proletarian masses, therefore, is relatively greater, that of the leaders smaller than in Russia.

5. Here the proletariat must consequently have the very best weapons for the revolution.

6. The Trade Unions being insufficient weapons, they must be replaced or changed into industrial organisations, that are united into one league.

7. As the proletariat must make the revolution all alone, without help, it has to rise very high, morally as well as spiritually. It is better therefore not to use parliamentarism in the revolution.

Marx had learnt from the Paris Commune that the proletariat cannot use or take over the bourgeois State for the revolution. Thus the "Left Wing" has learnt from the Russian, German, Hungarian, from the World-Revolution, that the proletariat cannot use the old Socialist parties, nor the old Trade Unions for the revolution.

With fraternal greetings,

H. GORTER.

KRASSIN REPORTS.

On May 5th, Comrade Krassin, on his return to Russia, reported to the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council on the work of the Russian Trade Delegation in England. He stated that the situation has improved. Formerly all the big firms held aloof, but now contracts have been concluded and beans, peas, rice, herrings, etc., are being bought on favourable terms. It is now possible for Russia to buy coal, machinery, aeroplanes and, indeed, anything she wishes. But Russia's future foreign trade depends on how far she will be able not only to IMPORT but also to EXPORT. Says the "Russian Press Review":—

"So far, that is extremely difficult, because for the export of goods it is absolutely necessary to have not only a Trade Agreement but also the recognition of the Soviet Government. The cargoes which Russia might export abroad, might be confiscated by law, on the declaration of any former manufacturer, that this cargo belongs to him. At the present moment there are four law suits in process—i.e., the Fenner timber, the Archangel timber Potash and Gold. The gold law suit will probably be won by Russia, and that will play an important part in the future of foreign trade."

"In connection with export, within the next few months, Russia can export timber, oil, and, in a smaller quantity, flax, hemp and bristle, etc.

"Bearing in mind the development of our trade relations abroad, it is necessary to raise the question of credit. In so far as the English traders are interested in trading with Russia, they will have to open up credit. For the order of machinery, agricultural implements, etc., abroad, the delegation thinks it is absolutely necessary to open credit to the extent of two or three hundred million pounds sterling. The proposition has not yet met with a refusal.

"The question of credit is closely bound with the agreement with France, and with the question of re-payment of the State loans, at least the pre-war loans. To decide that question is not so easy, and we at any rate insist that that question can only be decided at a Peace Conference which will recognise the Soviet Government, and on condition that the repayment of the debt can only take in about ten years' time, when Russia will have passed the economic crisis.

"With regard to the prospects of the relations with other lands, the agreement with Germany is being worked out, negotiations are being carried on with Denmark Norway, and finally with Italy. With regard to France the position is not changed, she permits her merchants to trade with Russia, but will not enter into official negotiations. In the meantime, the French manufacturers are greatly interested in the orders, because they too are going through a heavy crisis.

"It is understood that the question of concessions is of great importance. The desire abroad to gain concessions from Russia is undoubtedly great. The American position is a curious one in such a case. Up to now she was not able to enter into business negotiations with Russia, and at the same time the English have the possibility to take away from America the control over oil, which will play a tremendous part, on the world market. In fact, England has established control over eight-ninths of the whole of the oil procured in the world; even in America, for instance, in the Panama Canal, in Mexico and other places. America then, which is interested to a greater extent in oil fuel, as she has larger numbers of motors, runs the risk of being left in a few years without her own fuel. Baku is of great importance to the Americans, but they show themselves in this matter very undecided. An active interest, too, in concessions is displayed by the English, Dutch and Belgian firms. The Belgians are making business propositions with regard to the concessions on the Eastern half of Starograni field.

"There are proposals by Swedish and Norwegian firms for paper concessions. At the present moment negotiations are going on for the building of a paper factory at Kotlas. We have proposals from the "Minion" firm for building a number of cold storages. We have also a number of minor proposals, for instance from the "Radaway" firm for belting, from "Boure" for the building of a clothes factory in Sakolniky. The business of granting concessions is still in its initial stages, and can only develop towards the end of the summer."

MALATESTA.

"Freedom," in its last issue, printed the following letter of Malatesta to a comrade in London:

"I should like to tell you many, many things but—I do not know to what extent you are acquainted with affairs in Italy. Anyhow, you are aware I am in prison, and am naturally very anxious to have news from the friends I have left in London. Why don't they write to me? I can write but one letter a week and generally I must reserve it for the things concerning my defence, the impending trial. I am allowed to receive letters, and everybody can write to me provided they don't expect to receive an answer.

"I am in very good health, and I await with impatience the day of the trial. Against my will the lawyers and my fellow-prisoners wanted to appeal against the decision which sends us for trial and therefore it makes us lose a lot of time. Anyhow, it is not lost time, BECAUSE I CAN STUDY AND WRITE AND PREPARE A WORK OF SOME IMPORTANCE to publish when I shall come out. I have also permission to read papers but only certain papers. If you send me some good book in English you will give me much pleasure."

Comrade Manoin, who was well-known in Sheffield, writing on May 28th from Mexico City, says:

"After passing the sharp eyes of several doctors, the cross-examination of the British authorities, and other inquisitions which the third-class passengers have to put up with, I embarked on the Royal Holland Line's ss. "Zealandia" and sailed for Mexico on April 1st.

"I found on board a mixed crowd of people from all countries of Europe: Germans, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Austrians, Roumanians, and others. The majority were Jews, refugees from all the countries of Europe, believers in all political creeds: Liberals, Tories, Republicans, Democrats and reactionaries; and veterans of Denikin, Yudenich, and Wrangel. But, I am sorry to say, there were only a few good Socialists amongst them.

"Of course it was impossible for me to keep my mouth shut, so I, and a few German comrades, with the sympathy of the ship's crew, began to preach to them "the true gospel." Even the passengers of the first and second classes became interested in the debates and discussions, and attended them. The reactionary veterans from Russia at first were bold, but soon grew more reserved, and later seemed ashamed and kept timidly together. Some of them even forfeited their passage to Mexico, and disembarked at Cuba, to seek their fortune there.

"After a voyage of twenty-two days, and some days of storm, we arrived safely at Vera Cruz. Here I was surprised by the kindness with which all the passengers were treated by the Mexican officials. First, second and third class passengers were all treated alike. There was no red tape or snobbishness as in England and other so-called civilised countries. We received all the information we wanted, courtesy, and good advice.

"When on the train, our hardships and inconvenience aboard ship were soon a thing of the past. I cannot describe the beauty of the country: hills, mountains, and flowers everywhere. For the first time in my life I was able to recognise and admire the beauty of nature. I spent seven years in England—in "the workshop of the world"—and only now I realise how happy one is as soon as one leaves that workshop.

"When I arrived in Mexico City I was met at the station by some comrades I wrote to from England. It happened that "Mother Jones" arrived here the same day. She introduced me to many friends here.

"The climate is healthy, and the people are good and friendly, even if they are not well dressed. You do not see the degradation and misery on their faces which you see in those of the "slum" dwellers" in England, and other so-called civilised countries.

"Poor and misunderstood Mexicans! Yes, they are primitive, but they have the good will to learn the stranger; they are kind, and, as far as Intelligence goes, I wish that the "educated" British workers had as much sense, and understood their position in the world as well as the average Mexican. Yes, the "educated" and the free and liberty-loving Britisher has a lot to learn from the primitive Mexican. The Capitalist Government do not like the present Mexican system of government, and would like to dictate the Mexican policy.

"On May 1st and 5th I witnessed some Labour demonstrations such as I never saw before. The Mexican workers are determined to get their own land, in order to help them to do so, watch your capitalists, concession- and profit-hunters, who would like to see interference from outside, in order to protect their ill-gotten interests, and wealth which they have secured by fraud and deceit in Mexico."

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Prosecutions.

Mr. Myers (Lab., Spen Valley) asks the Home Secretary how many of the persons arrested under the Emergency Powers Act are members of the Communist Party and how many are members of the Miners' Federation.

Mr. Shortt (Home Secretary) has not details of every case. Charges of disorderly conduct and intimidation are prosecuted by the local police, but Scotland is outside his jurisdiction. Under regulation 19 the Director of Public Prosecutions has prosecuted in 21 cases. In one of these cases the man was a minor. In all cases the "offender" confesses himself a Communist.

Sir C. Yate (Coalition, Melton) desires to know how many persons have been prosecuted in India for seditious utterances in speeches or newspapers during the present year. Mr. Montague has wired for the figures, and will let his hon. and gallant friend know when he receives them.

Glasgow Dockers' Strike.

Col. Maclean (Lab., Govan) asked the Minister of Labour whether an office for the employment of free labour to take the place of Glasgow dock workers in Glasgow had been opened at the Windsor Hotel in that town, which is leased by the Ministry of Labour; and whether that agency is to be considered a Government Department. Sir G. Gilmour (for the Commissioner of Works) said that the office for the employment of free labourers was transferred from the Windsor Hotel on the 24th inst. It is a voluntary organisation, he added, and the enlistment of blacklegs is not part of the work of Government Department.

Imprisonment in Scotland.

Mr. J. W. Raeburn (Coalition, Dumbarton) draws the attention of the Secretary for Scotland to a statement in the Press that John Maclean and Sandy Ross proposed to hunger strike, and that they are receiving special privileges such as food sent in from outside and newspapers, clothes, beds, etc. What is the reason for these special privileges.

Major Steel (Coalition, Ashford) also asks whether it is usual to grant prisoners convicted on similar charges such privileges.

The reply of Mr. Munro is of such importance that we give it in full, as reported in the "Parliamentary Debates," Vol. 142, No. 69 (the italics are ours:—

Mr. Munro: I propose to answer these questions together. My attention has been drawn to a statement in the Press of the nature indicated by my friend the Member for Dumbartonshire (Sir J. Raeburn). Maclean and Ross were convicted of a contravention of No. 19 of the Emergency Regulations, 1921, namely, causing sedition or disaffection. Following the practice in previous cases of this nature, they have been accorded the treatment prescribed in the rules which apply in Scotland to prisoners convicted of sedition. *These rules have Parliamentary authority, and which, so far as the privileges conferred upon such prisoners are concerned, are substantially the same as in England, have been in existence for many years.* The privileges allowed under them to prisoners convicted of sedition are substantially those set out in the questions. I may add that the treatment accorded to these prisoners has nothing whatever to do with any statements or threats made by them, or either of them, before their term of imprisonment began.

The Editor, who was convicted under Regulation 18 of the D.O.R.A., did not get any of these privileges, though she addressed a petition to the Home Office applying for them. Yet a Minister says that the privileges in Scotland are substantially the same as in England, and have been in force for many years.

Bolshevist Propaganda.

Mr. W. de Frece (Coalition, Ashton-under-Lyne) asked the Home Secretary to make a further statement as to the propaganda of a Bolshevist nature in this country. He is also keen to know the funds at the back of it coming from Soviet Russia.

The Home Secretary has nothing to add to a statement made on April 20th.

Lieut.-Colonel Croft (National Party, Bournemouth) knows that for two years large sums came from Scandinavia, and adds: "Is not the country entitled to know?"

The Home Secretary does not seem to agree with him for he does not make any statement.

Colonel Wedgwood desirous of knowing whether the immigration into Palestine has been stopped, and that the Colonial Secretary is not in his place.

"Is he playing polo?" Colonel Wedgwood.

Emergency Powers Act, 1920.

On the Home Secretary moving that the regulations made under the Emergency Powers Act shall cease in force, Neil Maclean moved that Regulation 19 be dropped. In the course of his speech Mr. Maclean drew attention to many important cases. For instance: A man in Liverpool was sentenced to one month's imprisonment and a fine of £50, and the printer £50 for distributing a leaflet called "A Call to Action," issued by the National Workers' Committee (Miners' Section), and with reference to the same leaflet the Stipendiary dismissed the charge.

He also drew attention to the fact that the editor of "Plain English" has accused two Cabinet Ministers of corruption, and that they have declined to act as individuals, and that the Government has also declined to take action. In the case mentioned the man goes scot free, while working men are harried and hounded, and in some cases sent to gaol.

Major W. Morgan (Lab., Rhondda, E.) supported. In his district there have been 500 summonses issued against local leaders and their wives in the last fortnight. In one case as many as 20 summonses have been served on one individual.

T. Shaw (Lab., Preston) also supported the amendment, pointing out that anything in the world can be brought under the wide sweeping statement: "Creating disaffection amongst the civil population."

Mr. Jameson (Coalition, Edinburgh, W.) thinks Regulation 19 should remain. He does not think that there is a peculiar animus on the part of the Government against any class or section of the community. This is his argument: "The first people who were struck at were my poor friend and honourable brother, the Member for East Leyton (Lieut.-Col. Malone) and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. They both belonged to what I suppose would be called the privileged class, and yet both of them were confined to a dungeon cell."

Clynes, Right Hon. (Lab., Platting) thinks that these two cases "are typical of those instances of exceptionally strong and provocative language that can be dealt with by the Government and the Court of Law without such regulations as these."

Clynes says that four lady clerks at the offices of "The Communist" had their homes visited, rooms explored, and the members of the families catechised on their opinions. There have been, says Clynes, out of 51 arrests during this year, four acquittals, 32 have been sentenced to imprisonment (in seven cases hard labour), and in 25 cases there have been Second Division sentences. In 14 cases fines ranging from £100 too £20 have been inflicted.

He gives the terms of the document a Labour Press has been asked to sign:—

"In future the Company shall not print or distribute any literature for any persons, whether the Communist Party or others, who are known to hold such views and objects as are expressed in the literature which is the subject of the proceedings above mentioned, and which are in advocacy of revolutionary violence, sedition, and disaffection."

Wignall (Lab., Forest of Dean) also thinks that there is no longer necessity for such regulations. On the Friday (when the Triple Alliance should have come to the assistance of the miners) says Wignall, "everybody in the House was in a state of mental excitement. There was more chasing and running to the tape that afternoon than I have ever known. The House was held up for hours and everybody was anxious to know what the decision was."

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (Lib., Hull, Central) thinks that men are now prosecuted for their opinions. "It is sufficient to say if a man is arrested and brought before the authorities that he is a Communist, to get a very stiff sentence." "If I were a Revolutionary Communist I would support the present Government through thick and thin . . . from the Machiavellian standpoint that it would bring about disruption quicker than anything else."

Lord R. Cecil does not believe that there is a "gigantic, secret conspiracy, financed by foreign money, which is going to upset the British Constitution."

Lawson (Lab., Chester-le-Street) wonders whether the Government had "got the wind up" when it asked for these regulations.

"Coming from a Northern mining area to the House is like coming to a foreign land. It is out of touch absolutely with the psychology of our people."

Capt. Benn (Lib., Leitch) would like to know how much the Regulations cost the taxpayer.

Dr. Murray (Independent, Western Isles) wonders what would have happened if these Regulations had been in force 10 years ago, when the present Prime Minister visited Limehouse. The Prime Minister might have been sent to prison and we should have lost the war.

On the question being put, the House divided: Ayes 60, Noes 180.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN JAPAN.

The Socialist movement in Japan has been developing for about thirty years. The Japanese who went to complete their studies in Europe and America became acquainted with Socialist ideas in those countries, and returned home to form smaller Socialist groups at their own universities. These groups finally amalgamated into the Socialist League, which is the centre for the intellectuals of the movement to this day whether Guilt Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, or Anarchists. Their membership is at present about 1,500, but this can give no real idea of the movement, for practically the whole of the youth of Japan is more or less interested in Socialist ideas, only most of them do not dare to express their real views for fear of losing their jobs. The Government is fighting the movement with most repressive measures. The last annual meeting of the League was several times prevented by the police from taking place, and when finally an assembly came together it was immediately dispersed.

The Japanese law allows people to be arrested on the simple ground of suspicion of being Socialists, and to be detained 24 hours in prison in order to "prevent them during that time from doing any mischief." One can imagine that the police would avail themselves of this law as much as possible. If they want to keep anyone in prison for a longer time he is re-arrested the moment that he is released, so the game can be kept up for weeks.

Another characteristic of the Japanese psychology is this: one can criticise capitalist production as much as one likes, but one must not criticise the State. The State is sacred.

This kind of thing, combined with a strict censorship, has sent the movement underground. Even the two or three thousand propaganda brochures published by the League are distributed anonymously.

A yet more important development in the movement is the growth of the Unions, which are becoming more and more revolutionary.

BERTRAND RUSSELL AND SOVIET RUSSIA

Bertrand Russell, in his articles about Soviet Russia, had written in 1920 about the privileges enjoyed by the Communists in Russia. This accusation against the ruling party in the Soviet Republic has since been over and over again repeated by all more or less unfriendly critics. On this head we read in the Moscow "Pravda" of March 22nd, the following:—

"They speak all the time about the privileges of the Communists.

"Such privileges really exist, although the party is conducting an energetic struggle against them and although they cannot in the slightest be compared with the privileges that would be granted to its adherents by any other government.

"But we invite everybody to ponder over the following fact: At the time when there took place the congress of our party, the governing party, there occurred the unfortunate Kronstadt events.

"What did the Congress do?

"It sent a third of its members as simple Red front soldiers to the most dangerous posts. Up to the present it has become known that three of them have been killed and seventeen wounded, but it is possible that the real number of those killed and wounded is by far larger.

"Where and when did any governing party act this way? When and where did anything like this happen in history?

"Anybody who was at Kronstadt can tell how heroically the delegates of the Congress fought there.

"What party has ever thus sent its best sons into the murderous fire?

"Every honest worker should ponder over these facts. The Communists died in the first ranks. Their example was a spur for the others and the Revolution was victorious.

"Glory to the fallen heroes!"

CORRESPONDENCE.

C. A. Dennis (Plymouth).—Glad you are increasing your order for the paper.

S. Bones (Plymouth) writes:—"Congratulations to our old comrade on her release; we all know she will carry on her great endeavour for the workers in spite of the E.P.A., which is throwing hundreds of our comrades in prison for speaking the truth. We shall still strive for the Workers' Republic here in England."

A. D. Moore (Norwich).—Glad you are selling more "Dreadnoughts."

C. B. Warwick.—Thanks. Your articles are always welcome.

Mrs. Sizer.—Glad to hear from you, old comrade.

McE. Marsh (Portsmouth).—Thanks. The "Dreadnought" circulation has gone up with a boom this week.

L. Lamb (Wolverhampton).—Glad you are selling more "Dreadnoughts."

Frank Jones (Newport).—Glad you have trebled your order.

J. Mee (Liverpool).—Glad you are selling more.

J.H. (Southampton) writes, enclosing donation: "I am a ship's slave. I returned home to find strike of stewards, so have been doing my 'little bit' in that. I work for the Red Flag in all the ships I sail on. It is uphill work for one gets little time for reading on ship. I hate ship life and must make my little bit of cash in hand last as long as possible in order to give myself a chance to find something ashore, and if I can only get a chance to do more for the "Dreadnought," I shall not fail to do it—to lose the 'Dreadnought' would be like losing an arm. I hope that by hook or by crook we shall have our helpmate the 'Dreadnought' with us till the slaves understand why they are slaves."

Ada (Paris) writes that her husband had a salary of £1,200 a year from the Colonial Office, and later a pension of £700. She divorced him and neither re-married. At his death the Colonial Office refused her a pension, though she had had an allowance from her husband. She protests that she is unjustly treated.

Many people are under Capitalism. Under Communism she would not want. Soviet Russia, which has not yet arrived at complete Communism, would pension her through its Social Welfare Department. Soviet Russia provides the means of life for all its citizens.

Poplar Comrades.—Thanks for your splendid and never-failing support.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Telegrams from England and Russia.

The Council of Commissaries has authorised the Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs to sign the Anglo-Russian Telegraph convention for the use of the Anglo-Russian cables on the basis of the English proposals.

Direct telephonic communication between Petrograd and Reval is being pushed forward energetically.

Russia's Economic Situation.

Miljutin reported to the All-Russian Conference of the Communist Party that last year Russia's peat production, 100,000,000 poods, was almost equal to pre-war production. The blast furnaces are working for the first time, and will greatly aid production.

200,000 Gold Roubles for the Miners.

The Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress in Moscow voted 200,000 gold roubles to be sent to the British miners on strike. This sum amounts to something over £21,000.

Russian Transport.

The Russian transport crisis is almost over. Oil is now available for locomotives. In January 8,400 wagons were repaired, in February 9,800, and in March this number was increased 22 per cent. The rails were changed on a length of 3,000 versts.

A Fine Example.

The home workers of the small Tchubak Soviet Republic declined to accept the premiums in kind which were offered them for increased production, and handed them over to the suffering people of other provinces.

Simuraphone.

In the recent full meeting of the All-Russian Society of Radio Engineers, Electrical Engineer A. P. Fedorov-Sukojanov presented a report on a method invented by him for the telephoning to any distance by the use of ordinary telegraph wires. This invention, called Simuraphone by the inventor, can also be applied by wireless telephony for any distance by the use of a specially strong generator. The apparatus can be adapted for any radio station and promises to open new paths in the realm of wireless telephony.

Mining in Krivojog.

The Council of Miners has sent a special commission to the coalfields in Krivorsh, who have the task of bringing about a rise in the coal production.

A New Scientific Institute.

The Soviet Government of Turkestan has decided to set up a meteorological station and an institute for the study of geology.

The Lenin Medical Institute in Kasan.

The Commissariat for Health has enlarged the Lenin Medical Institute in Kasan by three departments for Orthopaedics, Physico-Therapeuty, and Dentistry.

The Garden Campaign.

"Novij Mir" reports that the work in the vegetable gardens is in full blast. In the district around Petrograd 10,000 dessiatin are being vigorously worked.

Railway Construction.

The Council of Labour and Defence has approved the 1921 programme of railway construction. According to the programme there will be 4,300 versts of rails laid or repaired.

Collection of Medicinal Herbs.

"Novij Mir" reports: The Chemical Section of the Central Economic Council has set the amount of medicinal herbs which are to be collected in 1921 at 116,263 poods. Of this 67,663 are reserved for inland consumption and the remainder will be available for export.

Improved Conditions for Workers.

The Russian Press Review of May 16th reports that by a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of March 20th, 1921, a temporary Central Committee was organised for improving the conditions of the workers. Nineteen County Committees were also organised. The housing problem in Moscow was an important one, and the committee transferred considerable numbers of workers from the inferior dwellings built for the working class into well-constructed houses. Four hundred and seventy-one house communes are being cleared for the reception of Moscow workers. Housebuilding and repair is being speeded up. The right is given to separate institutions to repair houses and use their own methods and workers.

Repair shops for the mending of clothes, shoes, etc., have been organised in all institutions.

Considerable advantage is being taken of the import of goods from abroad. The People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade is contemplating buying about one million pairs of shoes, 50,000 gross of thread, calico and cloth, and various articles of food products, such as rice, herrings, etc., for which as is known the Council of People's Commissars has assigned ten million roubles in gold.

The work has commenced, initiative has been aroused, the wide mass of the population is taking part in the work;—and the foundation has been laid for important successes to be achieved in the near future.

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

Last week witnessed a very entertaining drama enacted in connection with the coal dispute. The Government hoped no doubt that their threat to force the settlement of the dispute by arbitration would stampede the miners. But the miners have treated the Government's threat with the scorn it deserves, and the reports to hand (Friday) show, without exception, determined rejection of the Government's terms. "We would fight for ever against being compelled. We cannot agree to accept the dictates of a compulsory arbitrator." Thus Mr. Frank Hodges on Monday. Now Mr. Lloyd George is whining. He repudiates the suggestion that he wanted the miners to submit to arbitration. He is very indignant that the miners should have interpreted his suggestion in such a way. It is true that his statement of the "arbitration" terms read: "The matter in controversy must be decided by one of the three following methods"—of arbitration, but to suggest that he wanted to compel submission to an arbitrator——! No, no! Mr. Lloyd George is not the man to use threats. Certainly not. His Defence Force, the calling up of reserves, and the turning of Hyde Park into an armed camp were merely measures of a protective nature. And the jackbootery in Ireland, the reenactment of the E.P.A., and the wholesale prosecution and persecution of miners and Communists, why, these things are not to be interpreted as implying that he has any belief in coercive methods! Mr. Lloyd George is not the man to use mere THREATS.

* * *

Frank Hodges thinks the Premier is bankrupt of ideas. As regards a permanent settlement—which Lloyd George pretends he wants—it may be quite true that he is bankrupt of ideas. The only idea that could possibly make for a permanent settlement is anathema to him. But the mineowners don't think him so bankrupt. His latest move—the time-limit of a fortnight placed on the £10,000,000 subsidy offer—may be a proof that he has ideas; and, again, it may merely demonstrate that he is bankrupt not so much of ideas as of ideals.

* * *

There is considerable heartburning among the shipbuilding workers. By a majority vote the Federation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Trades recently accepted a reduction of 6s. per week on time rates and 15 per cent. on piece rates. A good deal of dissatisfaction was manifested against the reductions on the North-East Coast, and short strikes occurred. The reductions bring the wages of riveters down to 93 per cent., the platers to 65 per cent., and the caulkers to 60 per cent. above their pre-war basis. Notwithstanding that the cost of living is still 128 per cent. above the pre-war level. The masters, taking advantage of the meekness of their workers in accepting the reductions, now want still further to increase their margin of surplus by withdrawal of all special advances known as the standard slip cycle of awards! These withdrawals would have the effect of reducing the wages of riveters to 58 per cent., platers to 55 per cent., and caulkers to 40 per cent. above their pre-war basis. In accepting the original reductions, the majority no doubt acted on the principle that it is more blessed to give than to receive—an injunction so assidulously preached to the workers, but advice of which they are hardly in need. Now these workers evidently bethink themselves of the other injunction about charity beginning at home: and the Boilermakers' Society or the officials thereof say they are not going to submit to any further reductions. Some mysterious error has arisen with regard to the vote on the original reduction. The unskilled trades were supposed to have returned a majority of 25,000 in favour of accepting the reductions, which gave a majority of 9,000 on the pooled vote of all the trades. But the members of the National Amalgamated Union of Labour and the General Workers' Union at certain Tyneside yards declare that no vote had been taken of the unskilled men on the Tyneside. This led to the day's strike on the Tyneside. The members of the Boilermakers', Shipwrights' and Blacksmiths' Societies have asked for a full investigation.

* * *

Those who pooh-poohed the suggestion that the attack on the livelihood of the miners was only the beginning of an attempt to bring down the workers' standard of living all round, have now to face the fact that in almost every trade lower-wage movements are afoot. The Lancashire cotton barons have now joined in the great drive against the workers, and have callously told the factory workers that unless they accept a drop of 5s. in the £ they will be locked out as from last Saturday. The operatives offered to accept a reduction of 2s. 8d. in the £, and still further compromised by agreeing to accept a 3s. reduction, asking for the lock-out notices to be post-dated and the dispute referred to independent arbitration. With merciless obduracy, in keeping with the greedy spirit that has piled up untold wealth by the degradation and pauperisation of women and children, the employers rejected these proposals, and even refused to meet either on Saturday or Monday. With the hope of dividing the workers, they have now posted notices to the effect that the mills are open to any operatives who cared to go to work at 80 per cent. reduction, or 5s. in the £. This will test the solidarity of the workers in Lancashire. The miners' example should inspire them. Unless some settlement is reached at the meeting of representatives of both sides called for Tuesday by the Ministry of Labour, the addition of some 600,000 cotton operatives will bring the total number of unemployed to 4,000,000—not quite a general lock-out, but getting on that way.

FOURTH ALL-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

The Fourth All-Russian Trade Union Congress was held on May 15th. Hitherto the Russian Trade Union Congresses passed resolutions which were passed to the Soviet Government and received as expressions of the opinion of the organised proletariat. The Soviet Government usually adopted such suggestions, but the Trade Unions had no direct power over production, which was in the hands of the Supreme Economic Council. This Fourth Trade Union Congress was, however, timed to meet simultaneously with the Economic Council in order that the two bodies might work together on all important questions. Says the "Russian Press Review":—

"The Delegates of the Trade Unions and of the Economic Organisations of the Republic will sit in the same hall and will represent a compact legislative body on all basic questions regarding our policy of production. This direct participation of the Fourth All-Russian Trade Union Congress in legislation is a sufficiently conspicuous act illustrating its exclusive importance, and that it may justly be said to be an Economic Congress."

NEXT WEEK'S ARTICLES.

SLEEPING IN THE CHURCHES.

MEANING OF THE CUT IN WAGES.

A DAY IN THE COUNTRY

GARDEN PARTY AND SUMMER FAIR,

Will be held at Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford,

Sunday, July 10th, 3 to 9 p.m.

This will give Comrades and Friends an opportunity of meeting Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who will be present and speak.

Music and Dancing on the Green, etc., etc.

Tickets (including Tea), 2/-

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