



Workers' Dreadnought

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

Kieff Workers' Protest

DAYLIGHT AIR RAID ON UNFORTIFIED TOWN.

In this country, people look back on the war as a nightmare they are well rid of.

The air raids which terrorised the population of London and other towns, by day and by night, are a fast-waning memory. We are settling down to the atrocities of peace.

Meanwhile, all the hideous methods of warfare under which we suffered for five years, are still being used by our Government and its Allies against the Russian Workers' Republic. It was said that the German Government had put itself beyond the pale of civilisation by bombing unfortified towns; Germany was not the only offender during the war, and the Allied Governments are now continuing this form of activity against an enemy that does not retaliate.

Soviet Russia does not make war on the workers of other nations. Otherwise reprisals would have followed the attack on Kieff, recorded in the following protest and appeal, issued by the Workers' and Soldiers' Council of Kieff to the European and American Workers:—

"Comrades.—On April 19th a criminal attack was made upon Kieff by Polish airmen. Bombs were thrown from aeroplanes upon districts inhabited by working people. Seven children, two women and one old man were killed, and thirteen persons wounded. This attack was made upon an unfortified town, far behind the war area, and during day-time whilst people were walking peacefully in the streets.

"The inhabitants of Kieff are indignant at this new crime of the Polish White Guards: but they maintain that the responsibility for these crimes partly rests with the coalition governments who support the reactionary government in Poland, and that the Polish capitalists murder women and children under the influence of the rulers of Paris and London.

"'Humanity,' 'culture,' 'justice,' are but rash words for Messrs. Curzon, Lloyd George and Millerand.

"We have offered peace to Poland, we have been prepared for sacrifice, but reactionary Poland wants war with the workers of Ukraine and Russia.

"The reactionaries wish us to abandon the Ukrainian workers and peasants to the mercy of Polish capitalists and landlords. Poland fights for the interests of Polish landlords, whose land is now in the hands of Ukrainian peasants.

"Poland fights for the factories, which have been the property of Polish capitalists and which are now controlled by the Workers' Soviet Republics. Poland fights for the domination of capitalists and landlords in the Ukraine.

"Petlura, the well-known adventurer, helps the Polish servants of international capitalism. His soldiers burn and destroy villages, rob the working people, murder the Jews, and terrorise the population.

"Our desire was to make peace, not war. But the Polish landlords want war. Therefore we must achieve peace through a victorious war.

"Jointly with their Russian comrades will the Ukrainian workers, soldiers and peasants destroy the army of Pilsudski, as they have destroyed the armies of Kornilov, Kaledin, Koltchak, Denikin, and Yudenitch. We shall defend the boundaries of our freedom and independence.

"We appeal to you, workers of Europe and America, to use all your power to force your governments to check the Polish attack. Use all your power to defend the Workers' Republics in the interests of the working class which suffers under the yoke of Polish capitalists."

THE HUNGER STRIKER'S DEATH.

Ireland has had its strike to save the hunger strikers, but because the Irish people went back to work leaving the British Capitalist Government still in the saddle, the Irish hunger-strikers are not saved, and now one of them, Aidan Gleeson, has died.

THE BIRTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

The history of the revolutionary movements in all countries is essentially the same—the American people notwithstanding. Indeed, it never can nor does vary in essentials. To grant the contrary is to acknowledge that an American is a man who does not love and an Englishman a man who has no hatred. This is absurd. All men possess all passions. What they do not possess is an equal distribution of them.

No one will question the dictum that "Self-preservation is the first law of nature," which, translated into ordinary English means that no man, be he Chinaman or Turk, French or American, wants to starve to death, either rapidly or slowly. The American worker is no exception. The time has now arrived when the wages received by the proletariat of the United States are not sufficient to buy enough food and clothing for themselves and their families, and the workers will not tolerate this situation without a bitter fight.

It cannot be denied that the American worker, until the signing of the Armistice, had a little more to eat than his fellow-workers in the rest of the world. But what a momentous and far-reaching change has come over the length and breadth of that country since that historical day. November 11th, 1918, marks the beginning of



The 'Capitalist War on the Workers' Revolution may prove the ending of the Capitalist.

the Revolutionary movement in the North American Republic. Since that famous day, wages have remained stationary, while the cost of living has mounted at least 80 per cent. The result is that the worker is unable to enjoy the comparative comforts of the pre-bellum days; he must put less food on his table and wear his clothes twice as long. Gigantic strikes, such as the Steel and Miners', which involved millions of people, become the order of the day, and America is rocking as never before.

The Powers that be have seized the time as opportune to put themselves more firmly in the saddle, by throwing the more radical of the leaders into jail, and by attempting to enrage American-born worker against foreigners. Things have come to such a pass, that for a trade union official to bear a foreign name is enough to secure his imprisonment or deportation.

The Government serves out to the workers, promises investigations, and yet more promises. Every effort has been used to cajole the railway workers. President Wilson promised them that the cost of living would be cut down in three months, in order to induce them not to force their wages claim.

What Henry Dubb would doubt the Almighty President?

The cost of living, however, during the three months, October, 1919 to January, 1920, increased another 35 per cent. The workers therefore begin to lose hope in Wilson and his Union officials, whose only cry is "Wait!" you slaves. Time sharpens the disgust which the workers feel for their unbearable conditions, and they are ready to listen to the advice of the more radical members to overthrow the reactionary leaders. Such a situation needs but the lighting of a match by the Chicago Switchmen to start a nation wide strike of two million men.

Strikes are great teachers. They force the leaders to get off the fence and take sides. These struggles with the Bosses teach the men that the Government, the Press, the Church, and all "the Pillars of Society" are against their fight for a decent living. The Class-Struggle is thus sharpened, and the workers look in amazement at the "Respectables," who never cease urging them to be good Americans.

The Bourgeoisie has been able, hitherto, to break these gigantic strikes, by means of the Army, and the American Legion of Ex-Service men, but the Steel Workers, who remained on strike eight full weeks, will never forget what these battles taught them. They learned that it is impossible to beat the Capitalists individually, and for the first time in the history of the American Republic, the people are now giving a ready ear to the teaching of the "General Strike," and the elimination of the Capitalist Class.

The Organisations that are now effectively teaching the workers the cause of their misery and the solution thereof are: The Communist and Communist Labour Parties of America and the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). They are doing it just as the European Organisations are doing, by leaflets, newspapers, and all other means of propaganda. This is the reason why members of the above named organisations are ruthlessly thrown into jail, their homes and headquarters raided; their furniture confiscated; their citizenship revoked; their families maltreated and left without support—all in the name of Americanism!

As a result of the raids carried out by the Capitalist Government, more than 6,000 Communists were incarcerated behind prison bars, and left to rot without food and water. The misery endured by these comrades is indescribable. No methods were spared to force a confession, in order to incriminate more workers. All ordeals and scientific torturing were employed—this in the name of Law and Order!

The American Capitalist Press praised the Lord and Wilson, that the Government had used the Iron Hand to suppress the "hateful Communists," but the Government has not succeeded.

To be sure, the Communists have retired to safer positions (Underground), but a covered enemy is by far more terrible than an uncovered one. The answer of the American Comrades is redoubled effort to make America a Soviet Republic, and the great strikes are the unmistakable signs that a powerful revolutionary movement has been born in America, which has for its aim, the Emancipation of the Working Class of America, by Armed Revolution and a Proletarian Dictatorship.

Pass the "DREADNOUGHT" on to your Friends.

THE BASIS OF COMMUNISM.

By HERMAN GORTER.

THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY.

Labour is becoming Socialistic.

The days when the master stood in the workshop with the single worker, are past. The small enterprises are disappearing, or have done so already, the larger ones, the enterprises on a big, on an enormous scale, have taken their place.

This is the first fact Communism wishes to point out to the workers, and which it demonstrates in the first place by means of arguments, of theory.

Compelled by competition, the capitalists must enlarge their concerns. For they must strive to get into their hands the greater part of the market, indeed, if possible, all the market. If they do not take it, someone else will. Thus they all argue, and they must consequently strive to come out victorious.

The introduction of new machines, which others have not yet got, ensures a sudden enormous extra profit to the capitalist who has them. He produces at a greater rate, in larger quantities, and at less cost. He sells something below the price of his competitors, but as much as possible above his own price of production.

He secures an enormous sale, for all buyers flock to the lowest vendor. In order to meet all the demands, he has to enlarge his business. By running his business on a large scale, his general costs for lighting, etc., will be immeasurably lessened for the same amount of produce. The introduction of new machines comes to the same as an expansion of the business. That is what all are striving for. Consequently, the aggrandisement of the trade, with the abolition of the small enterprises, is as indissolubly bound up with capitalism, as fast running as with the hare. It must needs be so.

According, as the use of machines increases, this is bound to go more and more quickly. For the more machines a concern employs, the more capital has been sunk into it. And the larger capital demands a still greater profit, and a quicker sale. The spur to make high profits, increases with the increase of the business. The danger of ruin through competition, is far more terrible for a large enterprise, than for the smaller ones; so much more being involved. Every great concern, therefore, is bound to be perpetually looking for new ways to expand to an ever greater extent.

Not only mere theory and experience prove this to be true, it is also evidenced by statistics. We will give here some of the main data of the last years.*

* In this book, we shall often be compelled to have recourse to statistics. We trust though, that the reader will not be scared away by them. There is no better means of defeating bourgeois antagonists, revisionists and anarchists, nor of convincing indifferent or Christian workers, than by pointing out to them the development of society.

In Germany, between the years 1882 and 1907, we get the following numbers for the minor, the middle, and the big enterprises:—

German Trade Statistics.

I. All branches of Trade (Industry, Commerce, Agriculture.)

Concerns with	1882	1907	Proportion.
One person	1,877,872	1,446,206	100 to 77
One to five persons **	1,002,896	1,376,912	100 to 137
Six to ten persons	68,763	148,112	100 to 215
11 to 50 persons	48,952	119,298	100 to 272
51 to 200 persons	8,095	26,179	100 to 328
201 to 1,000 persons	1,752	5,323	100 to 304
Over 1,000 persons	127	506	100 to 398

** "Concerns with one person" only there where no motor-power is used; with motor-power, one-person concerns are counted to the following group.

PERSONS THEREIN.

One person	1882	1907	100 to 77
One to five persons	2,457,950	3,919,715	100 to 169
Six to ten persons	500,097	1,104,590	100 to 221
11 to 50 persons	891,623	2,384,248	100 to 290
51 to 200 persons	742,688	2,418,150	100 to 326
201 to 1,000 persons	657,399	1,991,056	100 to 303
Over 1,000 persons	22,13,160	954,645	100 to 448

Of 1,000 persons, there fall in each group

One person	253	101	100 to 77
One to five persons	885	272	100 to 169
Six to ten persons	68	76	100 to 221
11 to 50 persons	122	179	100 to 290
51 to 200 persons	101	168	100 to 326
201 to 1,000 persons	90	188	100 to 303
Over 1,000 persons	29	66	100 to 448

1,000 1,000

NUMBER OF CONCERNS UNITED IN THREE GROUPS:

	1882	1907	Proportion.
Small concerns (1-5)	2,882,768	3,024,118	100 to 105
Middle concerns (6-50)	112,715	267,410	100 to 237
Big concerns (over 50)	9,974	32,007	100 to 321

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN

Of 1,000 persons there fall in each group

	1882	1907	1882	1907	Proportion
Small concerns	4,335,822	5,383,233	590	373	100 to 124
Middle	1,391,720	3,688,838	190	255	100 to 265
Big	1,613,247	5,363,851	220	372	100 to 333

1,000 1,000

II. Industry only, Trades.

Persons	1882	1907	Proportion
1 to 5 Small concerns	2,175,857	1,871,785	100 to 86
6 to 50 Middle concerns	85,001	187,449	100 to 221
Over 50 Big concerns	9,481	29,154	100 to 308

PERSONS.

	1882	1907	100 to 98
Small Concerns	3,270,404	3,203,210	100 to 98
Middle concerns	1,109,128	2,720,986	100 to 245
Big concerns	1,554,131	4,951,552	100 to 319

III. Motor Power in the Industry, 1907.

Number of Persons	H.P. plus Kilowatt	Total H.P.
1 to 5	2,179,331	609,628
6 to 10	695,941	287,483
11 to 50	1,830,195	1,177,333
51 to 200	2,034,020	9,736,441
201 to 1,000	1,869,023	1,891,978
Over 1,000	1,277,788	2,289,064

One Kilowatt equals 1.36 H.P.

The small enterprises in ALL branches of trade, increased by 5 per cent., the middle concerns by 137 per cent., the big concerns by 221 per cent., and the number of persons as well as the machine-power in the big concerns increased at a far greater rate than they did in the smaller ones.

In the industries, the concerns where the boss works alone, diminished rapidly in number, whereas the concerns increased at a quicker rate, in proportion as they were larger. The increase in the very big concerns is immense.

Another foundation of society, a new basis, was evidently laid by the unconscious, involuntary workings of capitalism.

When we discuss the development of the number of MEN employed, we give more at large the figures regarding them; here we only wish to point out, that of every 1,000 persons employed in commerce, industry and agriculture in 1882, about 590 worked in the small concerns, 190 in the middle, and 220 in the big ones. In 1907, these figures were: 378 in the small, 255 in the middle, and 372 in the big concerns.

In this country, therefore, 627 of every 1,000 persons worked in the middle and big concerns.

These figures, however, do not demonstrate the enormous victory of the big and the gigantic concerns clearly enough. The concentration of the means of production in the big concerns is far more advanced than the concentration of the workers. This becomes quite evident if we compare the horse-power used by the big industries, with those employed by the middle and minor concerns.

In 1907, each concern per 1,000 persons, amounted to:—

Concerns with persons	Horse Power.
1 to 5	34
6 to 10	54
11 to 50	75
51 to 200	98
201 to 1,000	181
Over 1,000	226

If we compare the persons employed, with the horse-power, we see how immeasurably stronger the big industry is, not only in regard to the men employed, but also in the amount of machine-power that is used.

In 1907, Germany numbered 506 huge concerns (with over 1,000 workers). These, however, represent almost one-third of the entire production already.

The small concerns (with less than 20 persons), carry out only exceedingly small portion of the labour which production requires.

These figures testify clearly at last, the immense ascendancy of the big industries. Of course, in industrially backward countries, like Holland, this is less marked; but in Germany, England and America, in all the countries that

guide and cause the development of industry, the importance of the big industry, since 1907, has increased at an ever greater rate.

Where has gone society of old, the greatest strength of which lay in its small industries? That old society is dead for ever.

The bourgeoisie teaches the Christian workers that God does not want Socialism. But do not those Christian workers see that the individual, the personal, the small labour is being replaced by the work carried out in common on a large scale. They must decide for themselves whether it is a God who brings this about, or the force that is inherent in things and men. Happen it does. Neither they, nor their employers, their priests or clergymen deny it.

Besides the statistics of 1882 and 1907, we yet wish to quote these of 1895, in certain directions, adding thereto a few remarks.

Concerns in industry, commerce and agriculture in Germany with:—

	Increase in per cent.	
	1882-1895	1895-1907
1 to 5 persons	1.8	7.2
6 to 10 "	65.1	81.4
11 to 50 "	67.9	55.6
51 to 200 "	98.0	68.8
200 to 1,000 "	75.6	74.0
over 1,000 "	100.8	124.8
Total	4.6	10.7

The huge concerns grew most rapidly, the increase in percentage there was from 100.8 to 124.8.

It will be averred, however, that the small industries all increased by 7.2 per cent., whilst from 1882-1895, the increase was only 1.8 per cent.

This is quite true. We should not forget, though, that it is the big industries themselves, which call into being entirely new small trades—that of the repair-shop for cycles, for instance THESE CONCERNS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT, LIKE THE SMALL CONCERNS OF OLD, INDEPENDENT DETACHED CONCERNS; THEY ARE COMPLETELY DOMINATED BY THE BIG INDUSTRIES.

And, moreover, these figures, as we have given them here, are largely deceptive. They comprise, also, the small concerns of commerce. If we deduct these, the number of small concerns (1-5 persons), from 1895-1907, has decreased from 1,989,572 to 1,910,261, therefore by more than 79,000.

The smaller shops reckon themselves under the retail-trade of commerce! The concerns of one single person, for instance, in the so-called refreshment business, increased from 48,054 to 80,654, and these are all either tiny inns or bars, that are independent concerns only in name, cafés depending altogether upon the breweries, or concerns of such a sort that the owner can barely exist on his proletarian income.

In the period from 1895-1907, the small groceries increased from 82,929 to 108,948. This, our opponents are sure to quote as a refutation of Marxism. On close inspection, however, the real truth appears also from these figures.

In 1895, 61,232 among these 82,929 small groceries, constituted still their owners' main source of income, in the 21,697 remaining cases, they served merely as a by-profit.

In 1907, the small shop was no more than a by-profit in 54,777 cases, and it was the main source of income, in only 49,171.

To quote one more case, the trade statistics for 1907, give the number of 48,348 street-merchants as independent traders, against 81,996 in 1895.

A queer kind of independent trade!

The result of all this conjuring with figures shows that the one-person trades, have diminished absolutely, in commerce, industry and agriculture alike.

In purely one-person trades, these numbered in:

	1882	1895	1907
	1,887,872	1,714,851	1,446,206

For the industries alone, these ciphers were :-

	1882	1895	1907
	1,430,465	1,237,349	, 994,743

For the industries alone, these ciphers were:—

1882	1895	1907
1,480,465	1,257,349	, 994,748

(To be continued.)

A LETTER FROM LENIN.

Greetings to Communists Abroad.

(Continued from last week.)

The followers of Scheidemann and of Kautzki are still talking of "democracy" in general; they still cling to the ideas of 1848. They pay lip-service to Marxism, but their deeds are those of Louis Blanc. They talk of "majority" rule in the belief that equality at the ballot-box represents equality as between exploiter and exploited, the worker and the capitalist, the poor and the rich, the hungry and the well fed.

The Scheidemans and Kautzki behave as if the kind, honest, noble, peace-loving capitalists had never made use of the forces of wealth, money, capital, bureaucracy, military dictatorship, but had always in truth applied the majority rule in the decision of public affairs.

The Scheidemans and Kautzki (partly from hypocrisy and partly from extreme dullness engendered by decades of reformist activity) are bolstering up bourgeois democracy, bourgeois parliamentarism, and the bourgeois republic, and are endeavouring to make the workers believe that the capitalists are conducting State business according to the will of the majority, and not according to the will of the capitalists, not by means of deceit and oppression of the poor by the rich.

The Scheidemans and the Kautzki are willing to recognise the proletarian revolution provided that at an election conducted by the bourgeois State with bourgeois election machinery, a majority of the electorate declared itself for the revolution. It is difficult to realise the magnitude of small-bourgeois obtuseness and of small-bourgeois trust in capitalists, in the bourgeoisie in general and in the bourgeois State machinery.

In reality it was the bourgeoisie which was guilty of hypocrisy when it invested the hollow parliamentary equality with the high-sounding name of "democracy," while it oppressed, exploited, and by no end of clever devices tricked the workers and the poorest peasants. The imperialistic war (which the Scheidemans and Kautzki were shamefully bolstering up) has revealed this fact to millions of people. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only means of protection for the workers from the yoke of capitalism, from the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and from imperialistic wars. It is the only step which will lead to equality and true democracy, not a democracy on paper and consisting of political phrases, but a live democracy, bringing economic freedom with it. The Scheidemans and Kautzki, having failed to grasp these facts, have proved themselves contemptible betrayers of Socialism and defenders of bourgeois ideas.

The Kautzki or "Independent" party is dying and will inevitably be finally destroyed by the dissensions between the revolutionary majority of its members and the counter-revolutionary "leaders."

The Communist party will grow in strength and experience, living down the dissensions which are similar in character to those which confronted the Bolsheviks.

As far as I can judge, the dissensions among the German Communists are centred around the question of "making use of legal possibilities" (to use the Bolshevik terminology of 1910-13). To put it plainly, the question is—should bourgeois parliaments, reactionary trade-unions, "the council's law" (Räte Gesetz), mutilated by the Scheidemans and Kautzki, be made use of, or should they be boycotted? We, Russian Bolsheviks, had to go through the same kind of dissensions in 1906 and in 1910-12, and we can plainly see that many young German Communists are simply suffering from lack of revolutionary experience. Had they lived through a couple of bourgeois revolutions (1906 and 1917), they would not be such ardent advocates of the boycott, and they would not, at times, fall into the errors of Syndicalism.

Those are growing pains which will pass with the growth of the movement which is developing splendidly. These obvious mistakes must be fought against quite openly, and the greatest care must be taken not to magnify the dissensions, for it must be clear to everyone that in the near future the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the Soviets will do away with most of these dissensions.

From the point of view of Marxist theories, as well as from that of the experience of three revolutions (1906, February 1917, and October 1917), I most decidedly consider it a great mistake to refuse participation in bourgeois Parliaments, reactionary trade-unions (Legien's, Gompers', etc.), and in the most reactionary workers' "soviet," disfigured and mutilated by the Scheidemans, etc.

At times, under certain conditions, in certain countries, the boycott is the correct attitude, as for instance was the boycott of the Czarist Duma by the Bolsheviks in 1904. But these same Bolsheviks took part in a far more reactionary, nay downright counter-revolutionary Duma in 1907. The Bolsheviks participated in the elections to the bourgeois Constituent Assembly in 1917, and in 1918 they dispersed it to the profound horror of the small-bourgeois democrats, the Kautzki and other "Socialist" renegades. We took part in the most reactionary, purely Menshevik trade-unions which, in the matter of counter-revolutionism, are on a par with Legien's infamous and most reactionary trade-unions in Germany. Even now, two years after the conquest of State power, we are still struggling

with the remnants of the Menshevik (that is to say, the Scheidemann, Kautzki, Gompers) trade-unions, which goes to prove that this is a long and tedious process, and that in certain localities and in certain unions the influence of small-bourgeois ideas is still very great.

To begin with, we were in a minority in the Soviets, the Trade-Unions, and the Co-operatives. It is only by prolonged hard work and struggle, before, as well as after the conquest of political power, that we obtained a majority in all the Labour organisations, and later on in the non-Labour and still later in the organisations of the small peasants.

Only fools or knaves can imagine that the proletariat must, in the first place, obtain a majority in a ballot conducted by the bourgeois and their hired slaves, and that only then it can strive for power. Such reasoning is the height of stupidity or hypocrisy; it is the substitution of the ballot box under the old régime, the old order, for the class struggle and the revolution.

The proletariat carries on its class struggle without waiting for the ballot before the strike, although the sympathy of the majority of the workers, and consequently of the population, is required to ensure the complete success of a strike. The proletariat carries on its class struggle, overthrowing the bourgeoisie, without waiting for a preliminary ballot, conducted by that same bourgeoisie, but it knows all the time that for the successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie it is essential to have the sympathy of the majority of the workers, and consequently of the majority of the population.

The Parliamentary cretins and modern Louis Blancs insist on a ballot, and a ballot conducted by the bourgeoisie in order to ascertain the amount of that sympathy for Socialism that exists amongst the workers. But those are the views of pedants or clever tricksters.

The history of real revolutions shows that the sympathy of the majority cannot very often be proved by any kind of ballot, and certainly not by a ballot organised by the exploiters, notwithstanding the existence of Parliamentary "equality" as between exploiters and the exploited.

The sympathy of the majority of the workers very frequently finds expression not through the ballot box, but by the growth of one of the parties, or by the increased number of that party's members in the Soviets, or by the success of some strike which for some reason or other had assumed great importance, or by success in the civil war, etc., etc.

The history of our revolution has, for instance, shown that the approval of proletarian dictatorship on the part of the majority of the workers in the extensive territories of Liberia and the Urals did not manifest itself by the vote, but by a year's experience of the rule over these territories of the Czarist general Koltchak. We must bear in mind that Koltchak's rule also began with a coalition of the Scheidemans and Kautzki (translated into Russian the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, the partisans of the Constituent Assembly), just as to-day in Germany Messrs. Haase and Scheidemann, with their coalition, are paving the way for Von der Goltz and Ludendorff. Here I should like to say, in parenthesis, that the Haase-Scheidemann coalition has come to an end inside the Government, but the political coalition of these betrayers of Socialism remains. Proofs of this are Kautzki's books, Stampfer's articles in the "Vorwärts," and articles by their followers on their "unity" and so on.

The proletarian revolution cannot be achieved unless without the workers give their sympathy and support to its vanguard. But this sympathy and support cannot be gained all at once, nor will they be determined through the ballot box, but they will be obtained by a long, difficult and hard class struggle. The class struggle of the proletariat for the support of the majority of the workers does not end with the conquest of political power. After this conquest, the same struggle continues, but assumes a different character. In the Russian Revolution all the circumstances were exceptionally favourable to the proletariat in its struggle for dictatorship. The proletarian revolution took place at a time when the entire nation was armed, and when the entire peasantry desired the downfall of the landowners, and was incensed at the Kautzki policy of the traitor-Socialists, the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries.

But even in Russia, where the circumstances were so favourable, where there was an immediate unity of the entire proletariat and the entire army and peasantry, even there it took the proletariat months and years to gain the support of the majority of the workers in its struggle for dictatorship. After two years this struggle is almost at an end, but even now the proletariat cannot say that the contest has been absolutely settled in its favour. It has taken us two years to gain the entire sympathy and support of the vast majority of the workers and working peasants in Great Russia, including the Urals and Siberia; but we have not yet achieved that result with the majority of the working peasants (as distinct from the exploiting peasants) in the Ukraine. We may be crushed, and yet we shall not be crushed by the military power of the Entente. In the interior of Russia we enjoy now such a solid support from the majority of

the workers, that there never has been, in the entire history of the world, a more democratic State.

Anyone who chooses to make a close study of this extremely complicated and long history of the proletarian fight for power, so rich in its manifold forms, sudden changes and transitions from one form of struggle to another,—will recognise the error of those who wish to "prohibit" all participation in bourgeois Parliaments, in the reactionary trade-unions, in Czarist or "Scheidemann" workers' committees, or in workshop Soviets, etc., etc. This error is the outcome of the revolutionary inexperience of the most sincere, convinced, heroic revolutionaries of the working class. That is why Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were a thousand times right when in January, 1919, they recognised and pointed out this mistake, but preferred to still remain with the erring proletarian revolutionaries (erring in a matter of secondary importance) than to side with the betrayers of Socialism, the Scheidemans and Kautzki, who did not err on the question of participation in the bourgeois Parliament, but had ceased to be Socialists and had become small-bourgeois democrats and helpers of the bourgeoisie.

But a mistake is a mistake. It must be criticised, and one must endeavour to rectify it.

The struggle with the betrayers of Socialism must be relentless, but it must not be a struggle for, or against participation in bourgeois Parliaments, reactionary trade-unions, etc. This would constitute an enormous error, and it would be a still greater error to recede from Marxian ideas and from the practical line, a strong, centralised political party, to their ideas and tactics of Syndicalism. The chief endeavour of the party should be to participate in bourgeois Parliaments, in the reactionary trade-unions, in the "workshop committees," crippled and castrated à la Scheidemann, in fact, to participate in every organisation, in order to be in continuous touch with the workers and to exercise the influence of the Communist Party on the working masses. At all costs legal work must be combined with illegal, in order to bring about systematically the strict control of the illegal party and its working class organisation over the legal activities. This is not easy, but there are not and cannot be "easy tasks" and "comfortable" means of struggle for the proletariat.

This difficult task must be somehow fulfilled. The recognition or non-recognition of the armed rising is not the only difference (and not even the chief difference) between us and the Scheidemans and Kautzki. The chief and fundamental difference is—their inconsistent, opportunist, nay even treacherous policy in every field of action, bourgeois Parliament, trade-unions, co-operative societies and journalism.

We must fight on every field of action, without any exceptions whatsoever, against the social-traitors, against reformism and opportunism. Only thus shall we win over the working masses. And with these masses the vanguard of the proletariat, the Marxian centralised political party will lead the people without fail to the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, to proletarian democracy in lieu of bourgeois democracy, to the Soviet republic, to the Socialist world order.

The Third International has won a series of brilliant victories in the course of a few months. It grows with a remarkable rapidity. Its frequent errors and growing pains have no terrors for us. By constant and open criticism of these errors we shall bring the working masses of all the cultural countries, who have imbibed Marxism, to the point where they will sever all connection with the Scheidemans and Kautzki of all nations; those who have betrayed Socialism are to be found in all countries. The victory of Communism is inevitable.

N. LENIN.

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIAN GOLD.

Counter Revolutionaries get it.

"Pour la Russie" has published documents found in Koltchak's archives, which throw light on the activities of such Russians as Burtzev and Alexinski (ex-member of the Social Democratic Party in the Second Duma). These facts are taken from telegrams and are as follows:—

Tretiakov, Koltchak's Minister of Commerce, wired Burtzev in Paris on December 8th, 1919, of the dispatch of "300,000," and asking the minimum required for 1920.

Sablin, Koltchak's charge d'affaires in London, wired Koltchak's Government on December 31st that the Russian Liberation Committee needed money and that anti-Bolshevik propaganda was necessary amongst the workers in England by a Socialist, preferably Alexinski!

Alexinski wired Ustrialov, Minister to Koltchak, urging necessity of anti-Bolshevik propaganda amongst British working men, for which he demanded eight thousand dollars per month for five months, in addition to money from Denikin and Yudenitch. He acknowledged the receipt of 1,800 dollars for his journey to America!

Much is said about Bolshevik gold, but it is the counter-revolutionaries in Britain who get Russian gold! To help us to combat their propaganda, send a donation to our funds.

The "BOLSHEVIK" Post Card Series, 6 for 4d., and Photographs of KARL LIEBKNECHT and ROSA LUXEMBURG, 2d. each, from W.S.F., 400, Old Ford Road.

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WELL DONE, LONDON DOCKERS!**British Workers Waking Up at Last.**

On Monday, May 10th, at one p.m., the shipping dockers in the East India Dock, who were ordered to load the "Jolly George," which was to carry munitions to Poland, struck work. They had only been working 20 minutes when they saw the guns coming down, and declined to touch them.

The coalies heard a great commotion amongst the dockers and asked the cause of the trouble. When they learnt it, they refused to coal the ship.

Meanwhile someone rushed along to the Dockers' Union offices, and the Union officials agreed to the strike.

The ship cannot be diverted to another port until she has been coaled.

The stevedores have not been asked to load munitions for Poland, but, expecting that the request will now be made to them, they are now discussing their position. As a matter of fact, they loaded munitions for Denikin, but were on the point of refusing to continue when Denikin was defeated and the supplies being sent to him from the Port of London were stopped. It is expected that the stevedores will refuse to load any further provisions for the counter-revolutionaries, and that this movement will spread to all sections of dock workers, and to all ports.

Well done, London Dockers, you have shown your solidarity with the international working class in its struggle for emancipation; but you must stand firm. Every art will be used to trick you or cajole you. The Union officials have stated, we understand, that if the munitions are taken out of the "Jolly George" the workers will coal her. This point must be carefully watched. If the ship be coaled, she can be sent to another port, and the Government and the employers will try to find there some means of getting the munitions into her.

The railwaymen, the soldiers and sailors, the dockers, coalies, and stevedores in other ports may all be used, if they can be induced to give their services. But unless the workers are willing to load the ships, the munitions cannot go.

Should all else fail, actual coercion may be employed to force the workers to help in the war against their Russian comrades. The Government is determined to continue the anti-Soviet fight. Poland's war is its war. This is why King George has telegraphed his congratulations to the Poles on their capture of Kieff and other parts of the Ukraine. Remember that if the Workers' Army is defeated in the Ukraine, millions of Russian people will starve, and most terrible massacres will be carried on by the counter-revolutionaries amongst the Ukrainian workers. Worst of all, the great nursery and example of Communism, the influence of which is spreading all over the world, will be crushed.

The action of the Port of London workmen provides a splendid opportunity for explaining to all sections of workers the great issues that are at stake in the war which Capitalism is making upon the Workers' Republic.

Mrs. Walker, of the W.S.F., Harry Pollitt and others have been keeping the Communist flag flying at the East India Dock gates week in and week out all through

this Russian war. Mrs. Walker appeals for more help at the dock gates meetings, and asks that volunteers for speaking and literature selling will write to her at 158, East India Dock Road.

The treacherous and cruel behaviour of the Capitalist Governments towards the Russian Workers' Republic, the pretence of opening negotiations for trade, which were merely a blind behind which a further attack was being organised, must convince us all of the futility of working to induce the Capitalist Governments to cease their attack on the Workers' Republic. How feeble now seem those handbills telling of the valuable commodities which Soviet Russia has to sell! The Capitalist Governments do not desire to buy those commodities from Soviet Russia, though they look with covetous eyes upon them. The capitalists do not intend to pay for those commodities in the machinery and manufactured articles that Russia needs, but to take them with cannon and cold steel.

We can handicap the capitalists in their attack on Soviet Russia by striking and sabotage; but we cannot permanently stop that fight till we overturn the capitalist system at home.

The Class War at Home.

We must push on with the fight against the home capitalists. Ernest Bevin has been telling the dockers that they have scored a tremendous victory by securing the 16s. a day minimum; but with prices at their present height, and still rising, such an advance in wages means very little. Bevin has joined the employers in calling for "increased production" and for "more rapid transport." When Brownlie, of the A.S.E., first raised this battle-cry, his propaganda was indignantly repudiated even by the Trade Union leaders, and the Glasgow Trade Union Congress plainly showed its disgust. But one by one all the Trade Union leaders, and even Philip Snowden, the I.L.P. pacifist, have gone over to the side of Brownlie, which is the side of the employers.

Life is growing harder day by day for poor people. The stall-holders in the markets, where the working women do their shopping, and the shopkeepers in the working-class districts, are realising this keenly. There was a time, during the war, when women were clamouring for food at almost any price; but now food dealers are compelled to reduce their prices on Saturday afternoons in the hope of getting customers, and even when they have done so, they find that they are often left with stock on their hands, because so many women lack the money to pay even a greatly reduced price.

In the Roman Road, Bow, last Saturday, a stall-keeper with fowls to sell stood crying his wares. A crowd of women had gathered round him, and stood there as though glued to the spot, bending forward with faces turned away from the stall, but looking at the fowls from the corners of their eyes. Every face in the crowd was worn and tired; every face had the same strange expression—and one not pleasant to see; it was an angry look and a look of hunger.

"Two shillings a pound! Two shillings a pound!" the man called, praising the quality of the fowls, though they were thin and old. No one answered. "One and ninepence a pound! One and ninepence a pound!" He reduced the price, reluctantly and after a time: "One and eightpence a pound! One and eightpence a pound!" No one attempted to buy. The women simply stood there, watching. A man handled one of the fowls, then walked away. So it went on hour after hour.

Around the other stalls similar crowds were standing, watching the food. A few people came to buy, but many more stood merely watching.

The capitalist system survives, because these people hold their hands; because they only stand and look at the necessities they

cannot afford to buy.

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE.

The French Government is doggedly determined to beat the French Trade Unionists; and the Trade Unionists, against their first intentions, and, so far as the majority of the officials are concerned, against their will, are being driven into a situation which may become revolutionary. The French Trade Unionists are not yet Communist to any great extent, but Communist ideas spread rapidly in times of acute class struggle. That the French Government is fully aware of this is proved by the arrest of Lorient and other Communist comrades.

REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.

Revolution in Mexico. Perhaps; but not the Workers' Revolution; merely a contest between capitalist interests. General Obregon, who is reported to have seized Mexico City as President Carranza fled, was formerly Carranza's Minister for War. *Gale's* monthly magazine, published in Mexico, reported, in its March issue, that Obregon and his party were soliciting support from the reactionary Catholics. *Gale's* explains that: "When Carranza came into power, he accused the Catholic Party of alliance with the Huerta Government. In 1914 the Catholic Party were practically annihilated, and the bishops of the Church were exiled. They recently returned under a general amnesty."

The Carranza Government was Nationalist, and with Liberal tendencies. It has striven to nationalise the oil and coal of Mexico and has thus come into conflict with foreign capitalism which has bought up the mines and oil wells. Recently the Mexican Government issued an order forbidding the entry into Mexico of members of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, which is working for armed intervention by America.

Professor Star, of Chicago University, who desires intervention, and is considered an authority on Mexico, recently declared, in an address at this University, that war with Mexico had been planned at the Peace Conference, saying that he had been on the "inside," and, therefore, ought to know. "There is a great movement on foot, recognised in Paris," he asserted, "whereby the States are to invade Mexico, clean it up, and, if necessary, absorb it. I believe the campaign is to start as soon as the new President is elected."

A group of business men representing the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, and particularly the oil and copper interests, went to Paris shortly after the Armistice was signed and, according to Arthur Thomson in *Gale's*, they made the following statement:

"We merely go to ask a big question. We have hopes that the Peace Conference may see fit to answer it—'How far may new governments go in ignoring or confiscating the vested rights of foreign inhabitants or of foreigners in the lands where the new governments are established?'"

The Peace Conference refused to receive representatives of the Mexican Government, but it received a member of the Diaz Government and a representative of American business interests.

The present happenings in Mexico are not unconnected with the plots hatched at the Paris Peace Conference.

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SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. Sudd Brown, £8; Poplar W.S.F., £7 5s.; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £3; Mrs. Boswell, £2; per Miss J. E. Weir (20s. monthly), £2; Misses Gulland (monthly), £1 15s.; Miss Burge (sale of clothes), £1 5s.; Lettie Usherwood, 12s.; Mrs. C. Cole, 10s.; Miss C. Symonds (quarterly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Mackenzie Kennedy, 2s. 6d. Collections: Poplar W.S.F., £1 5s. 10½d.

The Russian Question in Parliament.

May 3rd. Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy asked whether an Italian cruiser called at Novorossiok to open up commercial and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government of Russia, and whether a representative of the Soviet Government called Bodisoff had been to San Remo.

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs said the Italian vessel "Poti" had gone to Novorossiok to establish "more satisfactory wireless communication with Russia, but had no instructions to open relations with the Soviet Government."

We think this is probably quite true; the Italian Government is a capitalist government, and whilst it may try to please the Italian workers, who are at present seething with unrest, by pretending that it intends to make peace with Soviet Russia; in reality it is thoroughly hostile.

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs further said that the Supreme Council of the Allies had authorised the Supreme Economic Council to discuss the resumption of trade with Russia with a Soviet Delegation.

That is interesting; at one time the Allies would only discuss trade with the Co-operative Societies. He added: "Questions of importance will, of course, be referred by the members of the Permanent Committee to their respective Governments."

Kenworthy asked: "Does this mean that we have given up the idea of making further attacks on Russia, when we open up negotiations?"

The Under-Secretary replied: "I do not see that that arises."

The Under-Secretary stated that, as far as he knew, the Russian Soviet Government has not concluded any trade agreements, except with Estonia.

Poland's Attack on Soviet Russia.

Captain Wedgwood Benn (Lib.) asked the Prime Minister whether the Government had any information regarding Poland's advance against Russia, and whether it is the intention of the British Government to propose the reference of this matter to the League of Nations.

Bonar Law said the Government has no information beyond what has appeared in the Press, and that the Government could give the countries adjoining Russia no advice as to the course they should adopt towards the Soviet Government, and could accept no responsibility for any action they might take. The Government was not prepared to refer the question to the League of Nations. He added that there is no new war between Poland and Russia, because there has been no peace between the Polish and Bolshevik forces. Asked whether it was not possible for the League of Nations to take action after a war has commenced, Bonar Law said "Certainly," but "the League of Nations has to take action if they think it would be wise—and effectual." Lord Robert Cecil asked whether in point of fact Article II. of the League of Nations Covenant does not apply "to any war or any threat of war that takes place at any time." Bonar Law answered: Undoubtedly it is within the power of every member of the League of Nations to suggest action; but, as I have said, the Government is not prepared to suggest it because the circumstances are not of such a nature as to make them think it their duty to do so.

Of course it is obvious that the British Government and the Allies, who are actively helping Poland against Soviet Russia, will not put the machinery of the League of Nations into operation to stop Poland's attack. Moreover, the Allied Governments dominate the League of Nations and the League of Nations is a capitalist combine: therefore, if it were to take action regarding the Russian-Polish war, that action would only be against Communist Russia. Bonar Law said that a Ukrainian delegation is now in this country, and has approached the Council of the League of Nations regarding the independence of the Ukraine. He added that the Commission which the League of Nations proposes to send to Russia will investigate the situation.

It the first place it should be noticed that the Soviet Government has not given permission for the League of Nations Commission to visit Russia. It is, to say the least of it, an impertinence for the League to demand, as it does, that its Commission should have "complete liberty to move about, communicate, and investigate, and to have guaranteed the absolute immunity and dignity of its members, and the inviolability of their correspondence, archives, and belongings"; whilst at the same time the Soviet Trade Deputation is not allowed to come to England if Litvinoff accompanies it.

May 5th. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty said: As the Russian Volunteer Army is successfully defending the Crimea against the Soviet forces' attack, no steps [to evacuate the refugees and the remnant's of General Denikin's army] are being taken at present."

Siberian Bank.

Mr. Baldwin, for the Treasury, admitted that the Government had bought 45,263 shares in the Siberian Bank and had given the option to purchase these shares to a certain Mr. Hessen. Baldwin refused to say how much the shares are actually worth, or to give any further information,—a shady transaction.

British Troops at Batum.

Winston Churchill did not think it "in the public interest to give exact figures" as to the British troops at Batum.

The following report has been issued by Comrade Inkpin, of the B.S.P.:—

"A further conference on Communist Unity was held in London on Saturday, April 24th. There were present:—J. F. Hodgson, Albert Inkpin and F. Willis (representing the B.S.P.); B. Lauritzen, Sylvia Pankhurst, and Melvina Walker (representing the W.S.F.); Ness Edwards and George Phippen (representing the South Wales S.S.); and Thos. Bell, Arthur MacManus and Wm. Paul (representing the recently-formed unofficial group of the S.L.P.).

"A. MacManus was appointed Chairman. A. Inkpin read the notice convening the Conference issued by the B.S.P. Executive after the discussion on Unity at the B.S.P. Conference and the receipt of a letter from T. Bell on behalf of the unofficial S.L.P. group, asking to be admitted to the Unity negotiations. In addition to the bodies represented, invitations had also been sent to the S.L.P. Executive and the unofficial Left Wing group that had been constituted in the I.L.P. No reply had been received from the latter, whilst the S.L.P. Executive wrote declining participation in the Conference or any association with the unofficial group from the S.L.P.

"J. F. Hodgson, on behalf of the B.S.P., stated that the matter of the Unity negotiations had been fully discussed at the Party's Annual Conference, and on the strength of the powers conferred upon it by that Conference, the B.S.P. Executive was prepared to continue on the basis of the proposals of the original Unity Conference (i.e., acceptance of the principles of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Soviet System, and the Third International, the question of relations with the Labour Party to be settled by a referendum of the membership of the new Party three months after its formation). Alternately the B.S.P. was prepared to drop entirely the question of national affiliation to the Labour Party on the understanding that branches of the Communist Party had autonomy in the matter of their relations with local Labour Parties.

"Sylvia Pankhurst moved: 'That we proceed to the formation of a Communist Party on the basis of non-affiliation to the Labour Party.'

"W. Paul seconded. After considerable discussion, J. F. Hodgson moved the following amendment: 'That this Conference decides to proceed with the establishment of a Communist Party on the principles of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Soviet System, and the Third International, without pledging or binding the new Party in advance on any question of tactics.'

"After further discussion, the B.S.P. delegates stated their preparedness to forego the last clause in the amendment. This was not accepted, and Miss Pankhurst's resolution was put to the vote and carried by 8 votes to 3. (For: W.S.F., 3; S.W.S.S., 2; Unofficial S.L.P., 3. Against: B.S.P., 3.)

"Wm. Paul suggested that a Committee be now appointed from the bodies represented to proceed to carry the resolution into effect.

"Sylvia Pankhurst said that complete unity did not appear likely at present to arise out of the negotiations, and suggested the formation of a joint committee for Communist work, national demonstrations on suitable occasions, etc.

"The B.S.P. delegates stated that, in view of the rejection of the amendment, their participation in the Committee suggested by Paul, without first

LONDON AND THE REVOLUTION.

Whatever may be said of other parts of the country, London is not, by any stretch of the imagination, ready for a revolution. London, the greatest city in the world, where the centres of all the Socialist Parties are situated, is unripe, whilst in the provinces, where only the branches are, more propaganda is done and more revolutionary spirit is created. This was never brought home more forcibly to me than when I had to attend the delegate meetings to arrange about May Day.

Throughout the whole proceedings there were prominent two elements: the advanced working-class views and the backward middle-class petty bourgeois view. In particular, there were the co-operators and the Labour Party; theirs were the most backward delegates. I immediately analysed the situation and came to the conclusion that delegates of the Trade Unions and rank and file organisations had the advanced views, and expressed the desire that this May Day should be a day for the solidarity of the workers, so that they might demonstrate their desire for a Workers' Revolution with workers' control for its object. The backward sections, which wanted mere palliatives—the Co-operative and Labour Party delegates—were, to my mind, only an expression of the official attitude. In the first place, the Co-operative and Labour Party did not ask the rank and file for their views in regard to voting for the May Day resolutions, and consequently we come to the conclusion that the official attitude was both reactionary and unrepresentative of the real opinions of the ordinary rank and file membership of those bodies. It seems to me that the rank and file ought to insist that they, and they alone, should decide what they intended May Day to be for. I throw out as a suggestion that the rank and file membership censure their officials on their misrepresentation of them, and see if they can, by arrangement with other branches, arrange for delegate meetings direct from the "body of the hall," as it were, from the ordinary

COMMUNIST UNITY.

reporting back to the B.S.P. Executive, would only lead to confusion.

"The Chairman suggested that the Conference, after discussing any other matters that might be raised, should adjourn until a later date, at which the decision of the B.S.P. might be intimated. This was eventually agreed to.

"The question of Parliamentarism was raised, and a general discussion took place, in the course of which T. Bell made a lengthy statement on the use by Communists of Parliamentary agitation. W. Paul moved the following resolution: 'That it be part of the work of the Communist Party to participate in Parliamentary action in order to stimulate the revolutionary fervour of the working class, and to use it for agitational purposes.' F. Willis seconded. The resolution was carried by 5 votes to 2. (For: Unofficial S.L.P., 3; B.S.P., 1; S.W.S.S., 1. Against: W.S.F., 2.) J. F. Hodgson and A. Inkpin abstained from voting on the ground that, whilst entirely agreeing with the spirit of the resolution, they wanted complete freedom for the proposed new Party to define its attitude on this question of tactics as on that of Labour Party affiliation. F. Willis explained that, having seconded the resolution as expressing his view on the question of Parliamentarism, he felt bound to vote for it, but entirely concurred with the statement of his B.S.P. colleagues. One representative of the W.S.F. also abstained from voting, and one representative of the S.W.S.S. had left the Conference when the vote was taken.

"W. Paul then moved: 'That this Conference appoints a provisional committee to make all the necessary arrangements to organise a convention. The committee also has power to invite bodies and groups who accept the basis of unity, and to arrange further Unity Conferences.' This resolution found no seconder.

"It was then agreed by 7 votes to 1 to adjourn the Conference until Sunday, May 9th. It was agreed to ask A. Inkpin to summon the adjourned Conference and to send invitations to all bodies that had been asked to participate in the present sitting."

On May 9th, when the Unity negotiations were continued, the South Wales Socialist Society delegates were not present, but C. H. Norman attended with a watching brief from the I.L.P. Comrade Inkpin sends the following report:—

"After preliminary discussion, it was unanimously agreed that the outstanding difficulty in the way of Unity (the question of the relations of the proposed Communist Party to the Labour Party) should be referred for settlement by the rank and file of the movement at a specially convened National Convention to which all organisations, branches of organisations, groups and local societies accepting the three cardinal principles of unity (Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Soviet System, and the Third International) should be invited to send delegates. If the participating bodies are in agreement with this recommendation, they are to be asked to send their delegates to the adjourned conference on Saturday, May 29th, with a mandate to carry it into effect."

This proposal must now be considered carefully by the various organisations. If such a conference were agreed to, it would be unwise to limit its discussion to the one point of the Labour Party affiliation. The entire basic programme and tactics of the new party should be brought into the deliberations.

MILITARY EXECUTIONS.

H. V. Clark, who served in the Army from 1915 to the autumn of 1918, informs us that during the war

37,900 MEN

were executed, or, as the officials put it, "suffered death by being shot." The numbers for each year are as follows:—

1914	523
1915	10,488
1916	12,689
1917	13,165
1918	1,035

The figures for 1914 and 1915 are incomplete.

These men were all privates. Clarke procured the particulars from Army Routine Orders, General Routine Orders, and so on. He observes: "It is interesting to note that NO OFFICER in the British Army was permitted to suffer such a fate. Officers were merely cashiered."

members, so as to have the true spirit and views expressed at these and similar important meetings. I would urge all Londoners to pay special attention to their officials and bring all misrepresentations of this character before their branches at the earliest possible date.

The rank and file ought to think more of what they can do, and thus do more and leave less to the officials than they do at present. If they leave everything that has to be done to the official element, can it be wondered at that things do not move as they should, and that we of the rank and file, who ought to be doing this propaganda, get fed up with the movement? There is too much officialdom and bureaucracy. We want the rank and file to assert themselves. When they do that there will then be more hope for the future and the Revolution will come into view and become a reality.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

1s. 6d. a Day for a Leg.

May 2nd. H. W. Morris, of the Royal Fusiliers, who lost a leg from the hip as a result of war service, gets a pension of 1s. 6d. a day only. The War Office says the Royal Warrants will not allow of his getting more.

War Graves.

£500,000 has been voted for the Imperial War Graves Commission, and a further £991,000 was granted. The wrangle was continued as to whether the relatives of the dead soldiers shall be allowed to choose their headstones and to bury their bodies where they choose or whether the scheme of the Commission shall prevail. Viscount Wolmer said the Government had no right to build the bodies of other people's relatives into a National War Memorial.

The tragic fact is that the living bodies have been taken for a capitalist war.

J. H. Thomas (Labour) said: "I visited France soon after the death of that brilliant young man, Mr. Raymond Asquith, the son of my right hon. friend (Mr. Asquith). I saw his grave. Close by was the grave of his cousin, young Tennant. Between were the graves of humble British soldiers, and as I stood there I thought of the equality that was responsible for that circumstance. I thought of the events that had brought the statesman's son, and the peer's son, and the humble British soldier together, all with the same kind of tombstone. . . I was so struck with it that I put in my notebook the names of the soldiers, and I brought home from the grave the leaves of a humble flower."

Thomas is so greatly obsessed with the flunkey's respect for position and rank that he seems to forget that a man's a man for all that, and that the ashes of the dead are indistinguishable.

The Failure of Capitalist Farming.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was granted £1,899,862 for the forthcoming year. It was complained that the wart disease in potatoes is sweeping the gardens of this country and gathering ground in the fields. It has grown little by little, but the Board of Agriculture has taken hardly any notice of it. Epizootic abortion in cows, and foot and mouth disease are also evils against which Members thought the Government should do more. The advocates of private ownership of the land and private farming yet wish the community to come in and help with any trouble that arises.

The Indemnity Bill.

May 3rd. The second reading of the Government's Indemnity Bill was carried by 210 votes to 28. Its object is to make impossible legal proceedings against the Government, or its servants, for any illegalities committed during the war. Certain property owners made a fuss because they, or their friends, want to claim compensation against the Government for something or other; but on the whole the possessing classes make no serious complaint against the Bill, because the Government is a property owners' government, and will not make any serious encroachments on the privileges of its friends. J. H. Thomas (Lab.) made a tame speech, protesting that though it is assumed that the Labour Members "are indifferent to the rights of people when property is concerned, nothing is more fallacious than that." He asked for an indemnity for soldier lads who committed offences during the war. Mr. Madocks (C.U.) told a pretty little story of militarism in Britain, regarding which a great outcry would have been raised, had it occurred in the French and Belgian territories under German occupation or, still more, in Bolshevik Russia. The story is that a lady, about 30 years of age, kept a boarding-house in a seaside town, where, according to the D.O.R.A. Regulations, electric lights were to be turned off at 10 o'clock. A captain in the British Army took lodgings in the boarding house and, going out to a concert, gave orders that the electric light was to be left on till 11. The lady decided, nevertheless, to obey the Regulations, and on returning before 11, the Captain found the light turned off. He thereupon proceeded to the lady's bedroom, and put her under arrest in her nightdress for an hour and a half!

Is Trebitsch Lincoln in the Secret Service?

May 4th. Commander Kenworthy asked whether Trebitsch Lincoln, after serving a sentence of three years' penal servitude during the war, was released from Pentonville and taken to Harwich under escort for deportation, and whether he was then brought back and lodged in Brixton Prison, where he was visited by War Office representatives, and sent to Hungary, on or about August 11th, 1919. Mr. Shortt's reply was evasive, and he left the reference to Hungary unanswered. Trebitsch Lincoln was Chief Censor for the Kapp Government during the militarist counter-revolution in Berlin. He is evidently working with the forces of reaction, and it seems probable that the British Government is using him, or has used him, in its war against the Workers' Revolution. He probably took part in organising the White Terror against the Hungarian Communists.

Mexico.

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that the Government is watching the Mexican situation "with great anxiety," but "British interests have not as yet been seriously endangered." Mexico is striving to throw off the domination of American and British capital: America and Britain are therefore waiting to pounce on Mexico. Differences

between the great capitalist Powers are probably responsible for the fact that Mexico still exists as an independent State.

Egypt.

Fifty members of the Egyptian Legislative Assembly attached their signatures to the declaration of independence.

Roumania and Revolution.

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs denied that there has been a revolution amongst the soldiers of Roumania and the population of Transylvania; but he admitted there have been mutinies among the Roumanian troops on the Nagyvarad frontier and that several officers are said to have been shot.

Armies of Occupation in Germany.

British, 14,000; French, 95,000 (including 7,500 coloured troops); United States, 16,000; and Belgium, 15,000.

Demarcation Rules.

May 5th. Sir J. Craig, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, said a provisional agreement had been arrived at for the waiving of demarcation rules between the Admiralty and the Amalgamated Union of Shipbuilding, Engineering and Constructional Workers. The object of this agreement is to enable an adjustment of labour to be made, in order that mercantile shipbuilding can be carried out in the Royal Dockyards. It seems that private firms are to have work done in the Royal Dockyards. The workers should watch such agreements: they have been sold too often.

Miniature Rifle Clubs.

A special license has been granted to the Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs, which allows the society to supply rifles and ammunition to affiliated clubs without obtaining authority under Defence of the Realm Regulation 30a. All other traders are obliged to obtain a special license on each occasion under D.O.R.A.

Are these clubs favoured in the hope that they will produce White Guards?

May 5th. Jack Jones (Labour) humbly pressed that a pension should be granted to ex-Inspector Bessent, now in Claybury Lunatic Asylum, and a dismissed striker, on the ground that "the state of this man's mind might account for his conduct."

Does Jack Jones really consider it a crime for policemen to fight for their trade union rights?

Systematic Inhumanity.

Men who are totally disabled (and a man must be a wreck, indeed, in order to convince the authorities that he is entitled to a total disability pension) are demobilised with ruined health. They easily fall a prey to disease. On their deaths their wives and children are deprived of a pension. Another instance of the systematic inhumanity of Capitalist governments.

Housing.

Major Prescott said if the estimated shortage of 500,000 houses is to be made good it will cost, on the basis of present expenditure, £5,000,000 for the expenses of the Central Housing Department alone.

Dr. Addison, Minister of Health, said the Department of the Director-General of Housing has spent £124,000 and has approved over 170,000 house plans and under 100,000 tenders. The £124,000 does not include the expenses of other Government Departments; for instance, the First Commissioner of Works, who employs an architectural staff on housing operations, and the Land Valuation Department.

W. Bromfield (Labour Member for Leek) asked whether the Government would introduce a Bill to ration housing accommodation. Addison said "No."

Helping Scottish Landlords.

W. Graham (Labour) again championed the landlords. This time he was out to assist landlords who own house property rented at over £21 a year.

Protecting the Shareholders.

In the debate on the Tramways Temporary Increase of Charges Bill, a division was taken on the difference of treatment proposed for municipal undertakings and privately owned tramway companies. The tramway companies are to be allowed to increase their charges so as to provide for "a reasonable return on share capital, regard being had to the pre-war financial position of the company, and its prospective development." The municipal tramways are not to be allowed to increase charges more than enough "to enable the company to be carried on without loss." An amendment to place the municipalities on the same footing as the companies was defeated by 217 votes to 57.

It transpired in the course of the debate that the Government intends to allow the companies to increase charges not only to enable them to make their old profits, but to increase them, on the ground that the value of money has fallen. An amendment moved with the object of limiting the profits to the pre-war rate was lost by 223 votes to 59. A tribunal appointed by the Government will decide, with the approval of the Minister of Transport, what are "fair and reasonable profits."

It transpired also that the methods adopted in increasing tramway charges are to be used as a precedent for dealing with railway charges on a permanent basis. In fact, the present demand of the capitalist in every enterprise is that his profits must automatically rise in conformity with the fall in the value of money. Meanwhile, he will make as much extra profit as he can.

Another War Pensions Bill.

The Minister of Pensions said the mere administration of his department costs £5,000,000 a year, apart altogether from the moneys paid out in pensions and allowances! He introduced a Bill to place the question of pre-war and post-war military and naval pensions under the Army, Navy, and Air Force, leaving only the pensions of the Great War in control of the Pensions Ministry..

London's Rates.

Mr. Kiley (Lib.) moved that the rates in the County of London should be further equalised. It was pointed out that the Poor Rate for 1918-19 was 3s. 3.39d. in Poplar, 2s. 11.60d. in St. George's-in-the-East, whereas in Hampstead it was only 1.54d., and the average rate for London was 8.85d. The rates as a whole amount in St. George's-in-the-East to 19s. 4d. in the £, and in St. George's-in-the-West to 10s. 2d. Dr. Addison, for the Government, expressed vague sympathy, but said: "We are not in a position to make any proposals at present."

That the poor districts should pay higher rates than the rich districts, is manifestly unfortunate, but the equalisation of rates would not abolish the poverty of the poor. To the people who are driven to go to the Poor Law for assistance, it makes little immediate difference whether the dole is paid for out of a rate levied in Poplar or Kensington. Even were the rates equalised, the workers' position would remain unchanged, so long as the capitalist system remains.

Land Values.

A resolution by Colonel Wedgwood that local rates should be levied upon the unimproved value of land and buildings, and improvements exempted from assessment, was talked out. Such fancy palliatives would not abolish the exploitation of the workers.

Illegitimate Children.

May 7th. Mr. N. Chamberlain (C.U.) moved the Second Reading of a "Bastardy Bill" and re-stated the fact that an illegitimate child has no legal father and that its mother is its only legal relative. Only the mother can obtain an affiliation order against the father, and if she dies without doing so, there is no possibility of forcing him to support the child. If the father dies leaving property to be divided amongst his children, the illegitimate child is left out. If the illegitimate child dies without a will the mother has no right to inherit as his next of kin, and his property is seized by the State. If the child's parents marry he still remains illegitimate. The death rate for illegitimate children in the first year of life is 201 per thousand, for legitimate children it is 90 per thousand. The mother cannot get an affiliation order against the father until after the birth of the child nor can she force the father to contribute to her own expenses before the birth. Until 1918 the maximum payment the law could order was 5s. a week, now the maximum is 10s. When a woman applies to the Court to assist in getting arrears from a man it is not an uncommon practice for her to be asked to advance the money necessary to bring the man from a distance on a warrant, and if she cannot provide this money the authorities do not act.

Out of 38,000 illegitimate births only 7,000 affiliation orders were obtained in 1913..

The Bill makes a number of proposals, some of which, in some ways, might slightly palliate the present position, which in so many cases is one of terrible hardship. In some cases the Bill might make things worse. But this problem arises from capitalist conditions. When every child can claim maintenance at the general level of comfort just because it is alive, when every mother can do the same, there will be no more need of affiliation orders.

If poor men have illegitimate children—and most men are poor—the Court cannot impose on them the payment of adequate maintenance because they cannot afford to pay it. Rich men generally pay up to keep out of Court. J. Wignall supported the Bill on the Labour Party's behalf, but "not to give a licence to immorality." He should read *Communism and the Family* by Alexandra Kollontay, W.S.F., price 4d.

The Second Reading was carried, but as the Bill is a private Members' Bill, and the Government opposed it, it will go no further.

The W.S.F. (Willesden Branch) has passed the following resolution. Other societies please copy:—

This branch demands the withdrawal of all British warships from the Crimea and all Russian waters, and also the withdrawal from Russia of all British troops and military and naval missions, and protests against British support being given to General Wrangel or any other counter-revolutionaries. It demands the withdrawal of British Troops from Constantinople, as they are a menace to the rise of Communism in Bulgaria and other countries.

It protests emphatically against the British Co-operative Wholesale Society trading with the Russian Counter-Revolution, and declares that such action is treason to the working class.

It further demands the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, the release of all Sinn Fein political prisoners, and calls upon the Irish workers to work for the establishment of an Irish Communist Republic.

Get your Newsagent to show a Poster.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

Preparing for the Rules Conference.

Clauses B and C in the objects of the S.W.M.F. are as follows: "(a) To secure the entire organisation of all workers employed in and about collieries situated in the South Wales and Monmouthshire coalfields, with a view to the complete abolition of capitalism, and that membership of the Federation shall be a condition of employment."

"(b) To take into consideration the question of trade and wages in relation to the members of the Federation and to regulate the relationship between members and their employers, WITH A VIEW TO INCREASING THE MEMBERS' CONTROL OF THE CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT, and generally to protect their interests."

The Guiding Policy.

All amendments to rules, therefore, should be in accordance with the policies contained in objects (b) and (c). Some of the amendments the unofficial movement of South Wales has blessed, are merely to obtain palliatives; and the general aim the movement has followed has been in accordance with the expressed intentions of the S.W.M.F. to overthrow capitalism and gain control of the mining industry.

The unofficial movement is determined to do everything possible to secure the passing of the required amendments, and copies are to be sent to the various parts of the coalfield.

Get your Lodge to Support.

South Wales comrades who are engaged in the mining industry are appealed to to do everything possible to ensure that their lodge shall support the following amendments.

The Executive Council has decided that amendments can be sent in until the holding of the Annual Conference and three months later an Amendments to Rules Conference will be called.

Object (g) (To secure by legislation a working day of eight hours from bank to bank) to be deleted and substituted by: "To secure by industrial power and legislation a working day of five hours bank to bank, and a five day working week, with a corresponding increase in wages to ensure that an equivalent to what is now paid for six days work shall be paid for five. Further, that failures by the employers to provide employment for any reason shall entail full payment of wages during the period in which the worker is compulsorily idle."

Equal Wages.

Object (m), which read as follows: "To join in or affiliate with kindred organisations, for the purpose of promoting or securing any of the objects hereinbefore stated," is evidently an object that should be placed last in the rule book. Therefore it is proposed that this object shall become object (p), so as to allow the inclusion of three new objects, as follows:—

"(m) To secure a uniform rate of wages for all workmen employed in and about the mine."

Compensation Equal to Wage.

"(n) To ensure for all injured workmen a rate of compensation that shall not be less than the current rate of pay of workers in their grade. This to be paid from the first day of injury and in the case of fatal accidents to apply to the dependents of the workman."

"(o) To secure that future agreements shall be made upon the 'day to day' contract basis."

Districts.

Around Clause 4, under the heading "Government," there have been, for many years, interesting discussions, and the generally accepted policy of the rank and file has been to eliminate the Districts and go in for centralisation. The Unofficial Conference, however, decided to endorse the findings of the sub-committee, and to retain the Districts, as now constituted; but to add to rule 4 an addendum that shall provide for "the removal of the present existing geographical anomalies."

The expression of opinion amongst the rank and file delegates seemed to be that the Districts as at present constituted are useful organs that can be captured and used by the rank and file when a local crisis arises, and it was felt that it would be a mistake to destroy any piece of machinery that has a possibility of being successfully utilised by the rank and file. Provision has also been made in other amendments to secure the immediate calling of a South Wales Conference to broaden any local dispute that might arise and need direct action.

Election of Executive.

Rule 7 provides:—

There shall be an executive council of the Federation which shall be elected as follows: Each of the Districts named in the said Schedule, shall be entitled to one representative on the E.C., if the membership of the District shall amount to 3,000, and to an additional representative for every 6,000 members over and above the first 3,000. The President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and General Secretary, shall be *ex officio* members of the Executive Council."

To those people who understand the need of a rank and file executive and the exclusion of Parliamentary Politicians from the Industrial Organisations, the suggested alteration of the Left Wing to this Rule, needs no explanation.

The rule should be altered to read thus:—

"There shall be an Executive Council of the Federation, which shall be elected as follows: Each of the Districts named in the said Schedule shall be entitled to one representative on the Executive Council, 'provided he be neither a District Agent, Member of Parliament or Political Agent,' if the membership of the District shall amount to 3,000, and to an additional representative for every 6,000 members over and above the first 3,000."

The President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and General Secretary to be *ex officio* members of the Executive Council. "One third of the Executive Council to seek re-election every year to ensure that every member of the E.C. shall go to a ballot at least every three years."

The first sentence in rule 8 reads: "The Executive Council shall administer the affairs of and shall govern the Federation, and shall perform all duties imposed upon it by the Annual Conference or any Special Conference."

To alter this so as to be in accordance with the spirit of Freedom that is making itself felt, the words "and shall govern" should be deleted.

Calling a Special Congress.

Rule 16, which has relation to the calling of Special Conferences, reads: "The Executive Council shall have power to call a Special Conference at any time or times they may think expedient," etc., etc.

A clause should be herein inserted that would provide for the calling of a Special Conference within seven days, subject only to request for same being made by 20 lodges or one District.

Strike Pay.

Recommendations to increase the amount of strike pay, due under Rule 21, are already being made by the Executive, and the rank and file desire the insertion of a clause "that shall authorise the Executive Council to pay any grants from the Central Funds, that Conference may decide, to members on strike, plus the ordinary rate of strike pay."

Victimisation.

The last sentence or clause in Rule 21, should commend itself to members of other Unions.

"Any member victimised, shall be paid the rate of wages of his particular occupation, during such time as he may be victimised and remain out of employment."

Rule 29 deals with the election and duties, etc., of District Agents. A clause should be inserted in this Rule, making it necessary for District Agents to retire and seek re-election, if they desire, every three years.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By TOM KINSEY.

An interesting item in the Reformers' campaign at present is the election of a member to the Bridge-end Board of Guardians. There are three candidates in the field. One is a colliery manager, who, if successful, will probably make the Poor Law as unendurable as possible to those whom the mining industry demands should be placed on the scrap heap, owing to their inability to produce profits for those whose interests he serves. Another is a woman candidate, nominated by the women's section of the Labour Party, who, when appointed, made quite a revolutionary speech, the most important point being the statement that: "The women, having gained the franchise, intend making use of it; they are going in for an intense propaganda on the need of pit-head baths." This will not go far to remove the cause of the Poor Law Institutions! Such is the revolutionary concept and logic of the Ogmere Labour group.

The Discharged Soldiers' Policy.

The other candidate we are more concerned with. He is run by the local branch of the Discharged Soldiers' Association, of which he is secretary. Is it the policy of the soldiers to get representatives on the Poor Law Boards and such by-products of capitalist civilisation, in order to serve the interests of their colleagues and dependents, whose means of existence will more and more be thrown upon the generosity of the public and the Poor Law as the press doctrine of national hatred dies down? Or are they prepared to show the same spirit of heroism and sacrifice which they exhibited during the war in the interest of Capitalism, by associating themselves with the class-conscious Trade Union wage-slaves of the Valley in working to uproot the cause of their economic servitude, which is Capitalism itself?

We appeal to them to realise the fact that, however much they may be represented upon public bodies, their relation to Capitalism will remain the same. Hence their duty lies in an aggressive Trade Union policy, with its objective, the economic control of all the resources of wealth, and to emulate our Russian comrades in establishing the Communist State.

Marian Phillips Opposes Irish Republic.

On Sunday, May 2nd, Dr. Marion Phillips addressed a meeting held under the auspices of the Labour Party. After a lengthy address on the general topics of the day, in which she disclosed the callous indifference of the wicked capitalist towards the workers, in houses, wages, prices, etc., she urged, as the panacea of all social evils, the return of a Labour Government to power.

When asked as to the attitude of the Party towards Ireland and its definition of self-determination, she replied that, it being such a complicated problem, it was a very difficult term to define—unless it meant an Irish Republic, with which she did not agree. Therefore, Irish rebels, you will understand and value the political jugglery of the Sinn Féin issue. Your problem is an economic one, and its solution depends upon the Workers' Revolution. Therefore join the ranks of the Communists.

A MINERS' WIFE DISCUSSES THE BALLOT.

By HENRY WATKINS.

"There you are, Henry, what did I tell you about the English miners—they as you was always praising up, you know, at the time of the amalgamation of your South Wales Federation to the 'Great M.F.G.B.' as they call it? I wouldn't give two-pence for 'em in principle; they don't care now they have got you joined up with 'em; you can go to the dogs, if you like—they don't care!"

"Ah, but—"

"It's no 'Ah, but' about it; the ballot is over, and Hodges is talking to the owners about handing the spoils over. And Henry, don't interfere when I'm talking. I've let you talk about what you was going to have, and what you was entitled to, for this last three months—and you have got something, too. Bob a day! Why, since the time you've been agitating, the cost of living is gone up more than that! You don't care; 'tisn't you men has got to go and shop and spend the money; and to 'put it plain' as Tommy says about Toko when he goes around after his tail."

"I quite agree with you, but—"

"Yes; 'but' again! I told you, Henry, there is no 'but' about it; it's all over."

"Yes, I know that; if you will let me explain the position, you will change your tone."

"Tone! Tone! Why I'm toned up to the highest pitch."

"Yes, I know; that is striking pitch."

"If only I could see some of them 'ere miners' wives up country, wouldn't I give 'em a piece of my mind; the hussies as they are! If they only knew us Welsh women's troubles, they would have advised their husbands to vote differently; afraid of revolution, they are; and they want it at the same time."

"What do you know about revolution?"

"I know this much, that it's a change we want, and no mistake about it!"

"Well, wouldn't it be better if you said 'reform' and not 'revolution'?"

"No, Henry, it wouldn't; it's like this, you know that old coat of yours? It's just about done for; it's gone threadbare in places, and broke in others, and, as you know, I've patched it up till the old cloth will hardly hold the stitches. Well, if I throw that one away and get you a new one, that will be a change, won't it? That's a revolution. Well now, if I should still continue to patch up the old coat that would be reform. Now, which of the two would you like, Henry?"

"You told me to shut up, and not to talk as I'd been talking for the last three months."

"Yes; you won't talk now; I have cornered you up! Ah well, Henry, you can talk now I have finished; you know it's enough to make any woman crabbed to see things wrong as they are, when we could make them better."

"Ah well, my gal, it's like this: I expect the up-country women are like you women in Wales here, and you can't blame them. Neither do I blame the men, in one sense, because they are dictated to by their leaders, whereas we in Wales dictate to our leaders."

"Oh, I see Henry; you've got a kind of dictatorship from below then, and they up-country got it from above, eh? I see, well that's alright."

"Well, Henry, don't you think it would be wise if some of you Welsh miners would take a holiday or two up-country, and persuade the men to take more power into their hands and run their business like you? Look how it would strengthen your organisation; why, nothing could stand in your way; your interest are theirs, and theirs are yours."

"No longer let it be said of you, that 'fools' never organise."

HOW TO MAKE INDIANS LOYAL.

Proposal to Share the Loot.

East and West recently published an article, now re-published and circulated in leaflet form, suggesting that India and Britain should share the Government of Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia, the writer says, "England has captured a 'White Elephant.'" Nevertheless "strategic reasons seem to forbid" the surrender of Mesopotamia to any other nation or to the Arabs. It is suggested that: "A chartered Company, capitalised chiefly by Indians, may be created for the government of Mesopotamia; and that the defence of Mesopotamia be entrusted entirely to Indian troops (till Arab regiments can be raised), for which the Government of India would be paid from the revenues of Mesopotamia; the Company to undertake . . . the construction of canals . . . railways . . . mines and factories; the Company to undertake, with the help of the Government of India, to bring into parts, which need labour, workmen, as many as possible of Mahomedan origin. . . . It is expected that the requisite Indian capital, talent, integrity the requisite desire of enlisting proper Europeans and Americans for advice to expedite progress, will all be forthcoming."

Such proposals are intended to draw the sting of the Indian movement for national independence, and to teach the advantages of belonging to the Empire, by allowing the rich Indians to share some of the loot acquired by British Imperialism during the war.

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

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

The busmen are asking for another ten-bob a week, and you may be sure they will run up against something nasty fore they get it. The "something" nasty, needless to say, is public opinion, which usually means all the hired ink-splodgers round about Fleet Street (excepting those of a paper I wot of in the same neighbourhood). The busmen are not employed by a venerable old miser who thinks that what was good enough for our grandmothers is good enough for us, and the key of the door thrown in if you "live in" and spend your nights out trying to bring your ten-bob a week up to the cost of living.

No. The men who steer the "tall ships of the L.G.O." have a lot of hard-faced men looking after their salaries, and the H.F.M. know how to feel the pulse of the public. And although they may plead inability to pay, you will find all their expensive posters shrieking artistically from the walls, and their "fatherly talks" staring at you from your favourite evening wrapper-up for to-morrow's dinner.

There are various ways of getting a rise, Henry. Some of the most humorous will occur to you at once. But, how about this little tit-bit?

ONE WAY OF GETTING A RISE.

Telegrams from Kharkov to Petrograd, state that the employees of the electric light company there, arrested the directors and managers, and shut them up in the board room. The men then held a meeting, at which they decided to keep them prisoners until they agreed to grant higher wages.

This, you say, is in Bolshie Russia, and no true English worker who believes in the liberty of the subject and freedom of contract, would dream of such tyranny. That may be so; however, on turning up my London Star, for the 7th inst., I find this item:—

200 LABOURERS RAID COUNCIL CHAMBER—AND GET WHAT THEY WANT.

A crowd of 200 labourers broke into the Mullingar Council Chamber to-day, while Council was discussing the question of contracts for road repairs. The workmen de-

manded that the tenders submitted should not be accepted, but that direct labour should be employed. After a lively debate and angry scenes, it was decided, by a small majority, to comply with the labourers' demand.

Now Mullingar may not be in England, but it is quite near enough for the directors of the L.G.O. to look to the priming of their pistols. However, they may rest assured that the busmen are not in the least likely to commandeer the local German quick-firer and turn it on their boardroom.

This article is not in the least intended to incite anybody to get a rise at the end of a Service revolver. No. I want to get down to the place where the music starts.

If you elect a burglar as Mayor or Chief Constable, you have no excuse to complain, if the burglaries in your district don't show the fall-off you expected. You might as well expect a capitalist to make an increase of ten quid a week on his own, as to expect the sort of Government we have to grant the Sinn Fein demands. The capitalist is out to make his business a paying proposition, and any respectable independent paper run by the capitalists will tell you that every rise in wages makes it increasingly difficult for the capitalist to make his business pay.

And for County or even Town Councils, the idea is not to elect retired sugar-sanding grocers and profit-keen factory owners as councillors and aldermen, and then strike when they show the effects of their upbringing.

If you want your own business run to the best effect, Henry, try your own hand at it before trusting the nearest plausible rogue who offers to run it for you—for a consideration. There are such things as Soviets to practise your hand on; you are bound to make a hash of things at first, but it won't be such a hash things will be if you leave them in the hands of the present "ruling-class." Don't wait for the trade unions to proclaim their conversion to Sovietism and giving you an old ghost in a new sheet. Just get along and start a Social Soviet in your own street; all good things begin at home.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

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

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.

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

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, May 14th, Manor Park Road, Harlesden, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. B. Colonna and others.

Saturday, May 15th, Stockwell Street, Greenwich. 3 p.m., Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker.

7 p.m., Janet Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, May 16th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Melvina Walker and others.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. M. Kavanagh. Chair: Melvina Walker.

Beckton Road, Canning Town, 7.30 p.m. Janet Grove and Joint Meeting with South West Ham B.S.P. Others.

Friday, May 21st, The Square, Woolwich 12 (noon). Melvina Walker.

Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. M. Barnett and others.

INDOOR.

Friday, May 14th, 32, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting. Members and friends in S.E. District are asked to attend.

Monday, May 17th, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting.

Friday, May 14th and 21st, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.

Wednesday, May 19th "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 8 p.m. General Members' Meeting, 152, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, top floor.

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

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, May 16th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, May 20th, International Socialist Club, 28, Essex Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, May 18th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Rev. Humphrey Chalmers "Illusions and Realities."

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W.S.F. WHIT MONDAY OUTING

TO

FEDERATION HOUSE

George Lane, South Woodford.

(Book to George Lane Station from Liverpool Street on the Ongar Line, or 10a bus from the Monument down Whitechapel Road and Bow Road).

ENTERTAINMENTS! - - MUSIC!

Come and enjoy yourselves and support the Movement. Bring all your friends, and apply for tickets early in order to assist the organisers.

Admission - 2/-

(Including Tea and Entertainments.)

Tickets from Miss Bush, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

THE

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

can be obtained from the following newsagents:—

Harlesden, N.W.10.—

Mr. PALMER, 130, Craven Park Road.

Mr. KENNIS, 89, High Street.

Mr. THORNTON, 125, High Street.

Mr. H. GOODE, 140, Minet Avenue.

Mr. A. MITCHELL, 64, Nicoll Road.

Mr. M. F. LORNTON, 125, High Street.

Leicester—

W. C. ALLEN, 8, Kent Street.

A. M. SIDWELL, 8, Stanley Street.

F. BELL, 2, Chatham Street.

Paddington, W.2.

CORNER, 98, Harrow Road, Paddington, W.2.

Stonebridge Park, N.W.10.

SPENCER, 81, Hillside.

Willesden, N.W.10.

LAMBARD, 746, Harrow Road.

Willesden Green, N.W.10.

ELLIOTT, 304, High Road.

DREADNOUGHTS and LITERATURE can be obtained from A. BANKS, 1, Carmarthen Street, Market Road, Canton, Cardiff.

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Rank and File Movement.

Points from the Nottingham Conference Agenda.

"Alter the political levy from 2d. to 3d. quarterly, 50 per cent. of such levy to be retained by the lodge secretary as a separate fund for political purposes, local or national, as shall be determined by the lodge."

In tabling this resolution the point was borne in mind that if the membership desires Political Action, that the sinews for such action should keep pace with the rise in the value of money. Further, it was felt to be desirable to decentralise as much as possible so that the membership may have a more direct voice in the spending of their political contributions, which they would probably wish to be spent more on municipal matters than on national.

"No agreement between this Union and the Employers to be signed until after having been submitted to the whole of the membership of that section of the Trade for endorsement."

This is one of the old rules of the L.P.U., which was secured in 1916 after a stiff fight and much propaganda. When the new amalgamated rule book was faked up, it was conveniently left out. It is most important that it gets put back as speedily as possible.

"That in view of the further probable great fall in the value of money, that the Sick and Superannuation Sections be closed down except to such members as have already joined them. The 5s. per week superannuation benefit, to which many A.A.T. members have been paying for years, is now worth not much more than 1s. 8d. pre war, and soon may be worth but a few pence. That it be the policy of this Union to pursue a purely industrial policy, and not let its funds be involved by carrying friendly benefits of the nature of the Sick and Superannuation scheme."

This resolution is self-explanatory. The workers in all industries would do well to concentrate their energies upon securing that maintenance during both sickness and unemployment be a charge on the industry, and not a charge upon the workers themselves.

"That the responsibility of deciding on action in times of crises is to rest upon a specially convened Delegate meeting, and not with the Executive Council. Branches or lodges unable to send delegates may vote by letter or telegram. In the event of a District or Sectional Strike of importance, the Special Delegate Meeting to make the decision, to be composed of delegates from those lodges in the District or Section concerned."

This is one of the most important items on the whole agenda, as it has been found in the past that even when the membership had balloted strongly in favour of a strike, the Executive lacked the necessary courage to call the men down, it being said that they visualised the skilly and prison bars which conceivably awaited them too vividly. The adoption of a similar rule in other societies would relieve Executives of a great deal of responsibility and throw the responsibility back upon the membership, who are much better able to bear it.

E.T.W.

THE WHITE TERROR IN CANADA.

A Comrade from Canada writes:—

Please let all British workers know that Canada is at present a very bad country for any enlightened workman to come to. His house is liable to be searched any time someone happens to think he may have some "Red" literature. He may be deported without trial by jury for speech or writing against the State that would be considered quite ordinary in England. At the present time, one man is serving a sentence of a year's imprisonment, five men are serving two years, and one man six months because they were prominent in the Winnipeg strike last year. Men who were prominent in breaking the strike were employed as lawyers for the Crown as prosecutor.

The famous Royal North-West mounted police is now composed of spies, and agents provocateurs. Foreign-born men are employed to spy on Canadians and British, and have even admitted in Court that they will lie to gain their end. On such evidence our comrades are sent to gaol.

£1 PRIZE

The "Workers' Dreadnought" offers £1 prize for the best cartoon on some topical question drawn from the Communist point of view. One shilling entrance fee should be sent with the cartoon, and the full name and address, endorsed "Cartoon Competition," to 152 Fleet Street, London, E.

GIRL LEARNERS WANTED

for

Fancy Cardboard Boxmaking

T. F. BOX.

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