

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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NEW METHODS in INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM HOW THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF U.S.A. ARE ORGANISED.

Ben Gitlow, in the New York "Voice of Labour," gives the following facts about the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, one of the largest Unions in U.S.A. Its initiators broke away from the United Garment Workers some years ago, on the ground that that Union was reactionary, and organised the Amalgamated on new lines. They met with rapid success. The Amalgamated was the first American Union to declare for a 44-hour week, and 40,000 of its members struck for 14 weeks to obtain it. During the strike not one member deserted.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers elect a shop committee from amongst the workers in each shop. The committee consists of a chairman and three, four, five or more members, as the workers in the shop decide. The chairman and committee are unpaid; they earn their wages by their work for the boss, like the other workers. They are subject to recall by the other workers at any time.

In several firms the workers' committees are now controlling the entire job, neither foreman nor employers having anything to say in the organisation of the work. When questions arise which cannot be settled by the shop committee, a shop meeting is held in the Union's headquarters immediately after work ceases that day. The workers prefer

not to meet in the shop, as the employer is liable to be inquisitive about their affairs.

UNION HIRES WORKERS.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have decided that all jobs must be obtained through the Union, and any member found applying for work on his own account is punished by the organisation. When a vacancy occurs, a worker is sent to that job by the Union. He takes with him a card, given to him by the Union's business agent, which bears the worker's name, the branch of the Union to which he or she belongs, the job he is to do, and the wages he is to get. This card he hands, not to the employer but to the shop chairman, who puts him to work immediately. The employer is supplied with the new worker's name and address. After he has worked on the job a fortnight, the worker cannot be dismissed, because the Union considers a fortnight is long enough to prove whether he can do the work. If the employer has any complaint to make, he or she must take it to the shop chairman, who lays it before the shop committee, which usually takes the workers' side.

In the Amalgamated the Union scale of wages usually represents the minimum earnings of the workers, because the shop committees exercise a good deal of initiative and seize every opportunity of securing higher wages for their members.



SOCIETY NOTE FROM MOSCOW.

Grand Duke Neverwork, who is noted for correct costumes, appeared on the Boulevard last Sunday in overalls of a new cut. The Grand Duke says that overalls will not be worn created this year.

During strikes the shop chairmen and committee organise their members for picket duty and keep a sharp look-out to prevent work being sent away from the town.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have thus secured so much control in the shops where they are employed, that, when the great General Strike occurs, they will have no difficulty in doing their part in the Social Revolution, by assuming full command of the clothing industry.

THE IRISH SITUATION.

Dail Eireann has been suppressed by a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and this liberty-loving nation goes on as if nothing whatever had happened.

The man in the street does not seem to realise that Dail Eireann is the Parliament of the Irish people. Its members were duly elected as Members of Parliament under the electoral law imposed on Ireland by the British Government; but they appealed for the votes of the Irish electors as candidates pledged not to take their seats at Westminster, but to form a Parliament in Ireland. There are 80 Irish seats, and 73 Sinn Fein members were returned pledged to form the Irish Parliament.

This Irish Parliament, Dail Eireann, has been meeting ever since the General Election in the Dublin Mansion House. Until recently it concentrated its activities on the effort to induce President Wilson and the Peace Conference to give self-determination to Ireland. All that was a waste of time, and knowing that nothing would come of it, Lloyd George's Government did not interfere with the Dail.

But finding neither President Wilson nor the Peace Conference prepared to help Ireland, the Dail has decided to do something for Ireland on its own account, to devote itself to afforestation, housing and industrial developments. For such schemes the Dail thought it must have money; De Valera was therefore sent to America to negotiate a loan. He has met with success; therefore the Dail has been suppressed—suppressed by the British Government that has cast away millions of British and other lives in the sacred name of Democracy!

What a nation of hypocrites we are to tolerate such a Government because we are silly enough to be flattered by the idea that we are the best of all peoples!

Musing on these things we opened last Saturday's "Voice of Labour," the official organ of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. We expected to see indignant headlines denouncing the suppression of the Dail, for the Irish Labour movement is fervent and militant in its nationalism. We searched in vain for the headlines, for an article of any kind on the suppression; then in an article entitled "The Workers' Republic," and mainly devoted to the British Trades Union Congress, we found this paragraph:—

DRASTIC ACTION AND REACTION.

To the events at home in Ireland last week we cannot say much for quite obvious reasons. As all our readers know, the Press in Ireland now is just as much at the mercy or the whim of any peeler or military officer as are the lives of those Irishmen and Irishwomen who have still to meet the fate of young Murphy of Glan, Co. Clare, and scores of others who were murdered in cold blood. Hence we shall say little, not because "The Voice" is more afraid of suppression or prosecution than any of its contemporaries (it would be untrue to its great predecessors, "The Irish Worker" and "The Workers' Republic," if it were and it shall never be that), but because we are thinking and saying about last week's events what every worker and every real man and woman of independent mind in Ireland is saying and thinking. To put it all in a sentence: Last week's events from first to last are just exactly what has happened, what is happening, and what will always happen in a country in which a state of war prevails, and that is the state of Ireland today. For that state of affairs the British Government alone is responsible. It is in vain, for instance, for "The Irish Statesman" to think that what happens in Ireland is different from what

happens in war in other countries. No, it is not, and like all of our class who think with us in other countries it is war that is the atrocity and the mother of atrocity and outrage. War, indeed, may not always be inevitable, but that is only when the two parties to a quarrel agree to settle the quarrel otherwise than by the sword. When the British Government agrees to that course there will no longer be war in Ireland. That, we believe, is the view of the people of Ireland, and it is, we know, the view of organised Labour in Ireland. But suppression of Dail Eireann, we who have been its severest critic, and if we had our way would substitute something else for it, say is not the way to bring peace, nor is the wrecking of a town by military under direction of officers, nor the raiding and searching, without even a scrap of paper warrant in many cases, of thousands of people, nor the proclamation of a whole country, nor even the taking of drastic action at the behest of the capitalist imperialists of Belfast.

"Tame, miserably tame," was our involuntary comment. "Living under a military occupation appears to take all the spirit out of a people; such caution is surely carrying things to an extreme."

We were wrong, for here comes the sequel to that and other such little paragraphs. The news is sent to us by our comrades of the "Voice of Labour," to whom we tender our apologies for that silent involuntary censure of ours.

THE IRON HEEL IN DUBLIN. SIX DUBLIN NEWSPAPERS SUP- PRESSED.

"Last Saturday morning several waggons of troops were driven to three printing offices in Dublin. The whole of the Wilts Regiment was employed in this outrage. Acting under the instructions of detectives of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, the machinery used in the printing of 'New Ireland' and the 'Irish World' at the Wood Printing Works was dismantled. At Mr. P.

(Continued on next page.)

THE TRADE UNION CLERK.

Trade unions endow a struggling and precarious existence. If members, organisers and staff had not been prepared to make great sacrifices, then trade unionism could not have taken root. To-day trade unions are usually powerful bodies with substantial funds.

The London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers is one of the smaller unions, but it declares a membership of 20,000. The writer of this article sent it to the "Vehicle Workers' Record"; publication was refused. Is this union able or unable to pay a trade union wage to its clerks?

It is with rather grim amusement that I have followed the course of the recent, and still enduring negotiations, that the clerks in the employ of this union recently instigated, with a view to securing a wage somewhat in accordance with the present cost of living.

The facts are simple. There are about twenty-four district office clerks all in receipt of £8 6s. per week from the union. Of this number six or eight are "clerks in charge," with full financial responsibility should "shorts" occur in the district's weekly account. Quite a number are victimised busmen, trammies and old members of our fraternity. Quite a number are really expert clerks with skilled brains, quite able to conduct correspondence, as well as, and a good deal better than the people nominally over them. Practically without exception they are efficient Trade Union clerks, well versed in the peculiarities of trade union business that their positions call for. Well, their wage is £8 6s. per week, out of which they often have to spend 6s. on travelling, with, of course, full clothes expenses. Members know quite well what standard of living that wage means for them. On the Board of Trade figures, food is up 116 per cent. on 1914 figures, and clothes, boots, are up considerably more, so that it is doubtful if this wage is the equivalent of 30/- per week. The clerks recently put in a combined request for an increase to £4 for the clerks in charge, and £3 17s. 6d. for the others; certainly a most modest demand.

Before going further, it may be well to clear away one or two misconceptions as to clerks' work. Years ago, before the 48-hour agitation was in force, the normal working week for the clerk was recognised as 28 hours, it being recognised that 28 hours mental work was quite as tiring as a much longer period at manual work in the open air. For the

past two years I have put in a 58-hour week at navvies' work, or something closely approaching thereto and can assert this from personal experience. The schoolteacher works a 28-hour week with eight weeks' holiday per annum, but so trying is the mental work he does, that he is quite the most anaemic and overworked member of the community. And that is true in a lesser degree of the clerk.

Secondly, it is upon the shoulders of the clerks that the real work of the union falls. You can get rid of the "Directive Ability" of almost any one, or all, of the elected officials and the union would run almost as smoothly, and, in some cases, perhaps more smoothly, than if they were still there.

But let the clerk in charge fall ill or one or two of the clerks be absent from the office, and up goes the balloon. Remember, it is the clerks that get out all the letters, that keep all the books, get out the minutes for the branches, and, in a word, do the work.

If you doubt this, think a moment. If Grosvenor Road and Electric Railway House were blown sky high to-morrow, and all the occupants, there would not be the slightest need for a single bus to be off the streets to-morrow, nor the next day, nor the next week.

Now for the negotiations. They have been dragging on. And why? They have been dragging on to allow the Executive to secure from the N.U.C. the standard rates which the National Union of Clerks have been successful in setting up in face of the glutted Labour Market of the Capitalist system.

Now, this is a very curious state of affairs. In the first place, this is, or is supposed to be, an industrial union, which caters for all the workers centered in the vehicle industry. For years it has accepted clerks into its ranks. I myself was encouraged to join up clerks into its ranks. I myself actually enrolled one hundred and eight clerks as members of the L.P.U. All the clerks of this union have been obliged to have L.P.U. cards. Never at any time have they been encouraged to take out N.U.C. cards. And it is therefore up to the members of the L.P.U. to decide by open discussion what is a proper rate for such members.

The N.U.C. is a craft union, whose methods I am not one bit fond of. It has little reputation as a union famous for direct action and a fighting policy. It is not a union that fosters class consciousness. It is a union that is terribly handicapped by the traditional snobbishness and respectability of its members. It is a union, which, perhaps more than any other, is threatened in its movements by a glut of

surplus labour of poor devils, workless and penniless, who will slave for a crust to keep body and soul together. And it is on the established results of such a union that your Executive considers your clerks should have their rates of pay determined. It is "GOOD BUSINESS," I heard one member of the Executive to have said. Certainly it is. Splendid Capitalist business to buy Labour in the cheapest market and to take advantage of the surplus labour market to keep down rates. And it is splendid business of this nature which this union set out to encourage. Is that the way, you, as members, are going to look at it, and back your Executive in applying to the N.U.C.? Is that the spirit of fraternity and brotherhood that you wish to see established in the world in place of what you call cut-throat Commercialism?

Either it is, or it is not. If the clerks are to be engaged on the quotations of the Labour Market, it then at once follows that they would be at once justified in employing those methods that the slaves of the Labour Market employ. And that means "O.C. CANNY," and possible "SABOTAGE" of a dangerous nature, especially if you happen to have many persons of advanced ideas in your employ. Is that your idea of the way to treat employees? No, of course it is not. You know well enough that the clerks, if they have the interests of the union at heart, are debarred at once by their own natures from such tactics. They have the interest of the employer at heart, and wish to do all to further their employers, i.e., the Union's interest. Surely the argument does not need to be pursued any further.

What the clerks claim is a standard of living equal to that enjoyed, or rather suffered, by other members of the working class, by other members of the Union. The clerks know well enough that in actual fact, the social value of any man who does a fair week's work, be he busman, tramman, sweep, solicitor or chauffeur, is round about £8 at present costs. He is not demanding this social equivalent. But he is demanding just about that proportion of that real equivalent as other members of the great disinherited have been able to secure. When, by Union Action the share of the "Disinherited from the Land and the Tools" gets greater, so I trust will the clerk's wage be greater, until that time he is willing to share in the common fight at the common standard. For the moment your own employees are below the common standard. I look then, with confidence, to see them, and all trade union clerks, placed on that common standard that you may do justice as you wish it to be done to you, and that you may have an enthusiastic and willing set of workers looking after the welfare of your society.

ROGER T. WHITHEAD, B.Sc.

TWO IRISH SITUATION. Continued.

Mahon's printing office, in Yarnhall Street, an undertaking was exacted that no future copies of 'Nationality' and 'Fain an Lao' would be printed by him. At Messrs. Cahill & Co.'s, Ormond Quay, a similar undertaking was exacted in respect of the 'Republic', edited by the well-known novelist and essayist, Mr. Darrel Figgis, and of the 'Voices of Labour', the Irish Labour weekly.

"In no instance was any reason alleged for this extraordinary action, and the authorities did not even think it necessary to communicate their decisions to the proprietors of the papers concerned."

The comment of our Irish comrades is a call to us for deeds not words:—

"We are not concerned to intervene in the British controversy about Direct Action, but surely the moral is obvious. The British Trades Union Congress, speaking for over 5 million organised workers, demands Self-determination for Ireland. The British Government replies by depriving the Irish people of their Press. The words of organised British Labour count for nothing in the opinion of their masters. Parliament, the constitutional check upon Ministers, is no now in session; a grossly unconstitutional act has been committed by the Ministry, one calling for immediate redress. Is British Labour going to remain inactive?"

We add as this query through the Labour and Socialist Press of Britain to every individual worker, to every Trade Union, to every Trade Council, and to every Workers' Committee,

That is Irish Labour's appeal to British Labour. How will it be answered?

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union will publish this week a new organ: "The Watchword of Labour."

PREPARING FOR REVOLUTION.

That capitalism is preparing for the British revolution is indicated by the proposal of the National Union of Manufacturers to extend the Police Act to all Government services. The new methods of discipline in the police force; Sir Neville Macready's order that promotion is to be given to police sergeants according to the number of defaulting constables they bring to book and that sergeants may not mix with constables, shows that the Government is also on the defensive against the workers.

The arming of the Dublin police with hand grenades calculated to explode in four seconds is one of the most atrocious acts of the present administration: we must expect the hand grenades over here at the first sign of serious industrial unrest.

ANOTHER D.O.R.A. SUMMONS.

Comrade Edward Clarges, of Portsmouth, whose wife is secretary of the local W.S.F., has been summoned under regulation 27c of D.O.R.A. for distributing leaflets. Comrade Clarges is determined to make a fight against D.O.R.A., and the local Trades Council is standing by him. He is being defended by two well-known C.O.s, Scott Duckers and Thompson, so doubtless good propaganda will be made out of the case. The case opened at Havant Petty Sessions on September 11th and was adjourned for a fortnight.

AN ACT OF ATONEMENT?

Mrs. Lloyd George has become a vice-president of the fund to save the children of Europe from Lloyd George's starvation blockade. None of the money raised goes to the children of Soviet Russia.

LETTERS FROM ARCHANGEL.

A fireman who has just arrived at Leith from Archangel writes:—

"Well, the Bolsheviks are winning on all sides in Archangel, and there are only British troops left, and they are on the verge of revolt. I will write full story for publication this week; and don't forget the Bolsheviks are in full control, and the news is the best."

A DREADNOUGHT reader writes:—

"I have just returned from a trip Archangel way; we are returning there again tomorrow. We are supposed to be bringing our troops back; but it's only a tale; with the exception of a few British officers and refugees; the rest was a regiment of 'B.S.L.'s' which they are sending round to support Denikin. An attempt was made to get all hands to down tools and refuse to bring them, but only a-third of the crew would support it. The paper reports this side appear very funny; when they talk about evacuating Archangel. If they told the truth it would be that we have either got to get out or be pushed into the White Sea. The powers that be in Archangel are frightened to death that the civil population rise up and take the town. With the exception of a few of the moneyed class we are not wanted there; from what I heard from troops coming down from the front, more than half of the Russians desert and join the Bolsheviks when they get up the line. The stores in Archangel must amount to millions of pounds; shed after shed, stacked from the ground to the roof with flour, bacon, cloth, etc., and at the same time the civil population is starving; four of us one night paid 5/- for four small cups of coffee. It is pitiful to see the women; all the men are conscripted, and the women are loading ships with cargo, coal, etc.; girls, all ages, humping about huge bales, etc.—a crying shame to see it, and they come round the crew's quarters begging for bread. The only good thing I saw out there was: more than half of the Tommies were turning Bolshevik."

EGYPTIAN TRADE UNIONISTS SET EXAMPLE

The trade union headquarters at Cairo has started a Press censorship, and has informed the Egyptian Mail that composers will not set up articles against the trade union movement.

APATHY: AN INDUSTRIAL DISEASE.

Records of Some Recent Trade Union Voting.

1. ENGINEERING.

A.S.E. (present membership 297,000).

47-hour week.

For 36,397; Against 27,634: Total 64,031.

21 per cent.

Chairman of E.C. (second ballot).

Winner 24,522; Loser 13,294: Total 37,816

11 per cent.

Affiliation to T.U.C.

For 28,304; Against 5,812: Total 34,116. 10

per cent.

Scheme of Amalgamation (general).

For 30,478; Against 2,958: Total 33,436 10

per cent.

Man power proposals (March).

For 27,416; Against 120,675: Total 148,091.

50 per cent. (A record vote.) Postal ballot.

Man power proposals (later).

For 58,650; Against 46,332: Total 104,982

35 per cent. Postal ballot.

Boilermakers (present membership about 80,000).

47-hour week.

For 3,974; Against 9,848: Total 13,822. 17

per cent.

On demarcation scheme.

For 1,952; Against 226: Total 2,178. 2.5 per cent.

For additional organising delegates.

For 1,767; Against 1,265: Total 3,032. 4 per

cent.

Total.

Voting on two Labour Party representatives 2,608

Second vote 1,922

1,781

929

Total (for two places) 7,238. 9 per cent.

Patternmakers (present membership 10,500).

47-hour week.

For 2,267; Against 2,151: Total 4,418. 45 per

cent.

Affiliation to Labour Party.

For 1,649; Against 249: Total 1,899. 18 per

cent.

On forming Political Fund.

For 1,529; Against 426: Total 1,955. 19

per cent.

On holding a delegate conference.

For 1,653; Against 468: Total 2,121. 21

per cent.

B.T.U. (present membership 22,000).

47-hour week.

For 4,665; Against 2,295: Total 6,960. 31.6

per cent.

2. BUILDING AND WOODWORKING.

Carpenters, Cabinetmakers, and Joiners (present

membership 125,000).

47-hour week.

For 17,180; Against 7,151: Total 24,331. 19

per cent.

*Amalgamation with furnishing trades.

For 38,727; Against 9,014: Total 47,741. 27

per cent.

On building trades wages regulation scheme.

For 10,020; Against 3,316: Total 13,336. 10

per cent.

Election of assistant secretary.

Winner 13,098; Loser 478: Total 13,571. 10

per cent.

Furnishing Trades Association (present membership

16,000).

47-hour week.

For 2,907; Against 262: Total 3,175. 19

per cent.

Man-power proposals.

For 794; Against 1,066: Total 1,860. 12

per cent.

Joint Industrial Council.

For 1,343; Against 808: Total 2,151. 13

per cent.

Increased Parliamentary Representation.

For 830; Against 178: Total 1,008. 6 per cent.

(Number contributing to Political Fund uncertain.)

*Amalgamation votes are particularly interesting,

as owing to the legal difficulties there is always a

tremendous effort to beat up votes on amalgamation

proposals.

*Amalgamation with Carpenters (by branches), a

few representative votes extracted.

Central For ... 180 Against 1

South-west End 191 9

Manchester 41 0

Liverpool 87 1

Bristol 135 5

Birmingham 205 2

And so on.

Totals: For 3,704; Against 251: Total 3,955.

55 per cent.

Painters (present membership about 30,000).

47-hour week.

For 6,939; Against 2,533: Total 9,472. 31

per cent.

NOTE.—Building Trade Unions are continually

taking votes on one subject or another. The above

are fair samples.

3. TRANSPORT.

Licensed Vehicle Workers' (membership 20,000)

Amalgamation.

For 6,615; Against 2,850: Total 7,465. 37

per cent.

British Seafarers' (membership about 5,000).

Political Action.

For 1,714; Against 58: Total 1,772. 8.3

per cent.

There are very few transport figures available.

The N.U.R. and R.C.A. both take decisions by dele-

gate meeting, and practically never use the ballot

paper. Other transport unions, if they take votes,

do not publish them. Some, like the Sailors and

Firemen, never do. The practice of taking votes is

nearly confined to building, engineering and tex-

tiles. (Some clothing unions, e.g., Boot and Shoe

Operatives, also take them.)

4. GENERAL LABOUR.

N.U. General Workers' (present membership

302,000).

+47-hour week.

For 114,733; Against 44,936: Total 159,669. 58

per cent.

Workers' Union (present membership indeterminate,

but round about 350,000).

47-hour week.

For 35,496; Against 3,624: Total 39,110. 11

per cent.

No other general labour figures available.

"These figures illustrate the branches in action."

* See previous Note.

† It would be interesting to know how this vote

was taken. The branches are very large in some

towns and do not lend themselves to so representa-

tive a vote.

J. T. Munnhy* in discussing the question of branch

versus workshop organisation. His remedy is

organisation on workshop lines, regardless of craft,

sex or grade, but he contends that organisation is

only a means to an end; and that in this case, the

end is the Social Revolution, by which Capitalism

will be overthrown and the workers will secure

control of industry.

The discussion largely centred round the fact that

* "The Trade Unions' Organisation and Action":

papers by J. T. Munnhy, J. W. Muir and William

Graham, M.P.; published by Ruskin College, Ox-

ford, 1/- . Obtainable from the W.S.F.

SCIENCE AND BOLSHEVISM.

On the occasion of the opening of a special

Workers' Faculty at the Karl Marx Institute of

Economics in Petrograd a few months ago, a re-

markable letter was read out from Professor Timir-

iazev, one of the greatest biologists of our time, a

member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who

is over eighty years old. The venerable savant, who

some time ago published a suggestive little study

on "The Red in Biology," wrote as follows:

"Young comrades;—Old age and illness do

not permit me to appear in person, but I do not

wish that my absence should be taken as a sign of

indifference to the first free workers' faculty, which

was my dream for a number of years.

"Science and democracy—a close union of know-

ledge and labour—this was my dream, cherished for

several decades, and in your meeting of to-day I

see the beginning of the realisation of one of its

main phases. The workers became a real, conscious

creative force; when the main conquests of science

will be understood by them, and science will receive

a true and stable support, then its fate will be in

the hands of the enlightened people themselves and

not of the Kings and their slaves, though these may

call themselves Ministers of Education, Academi-

cians, and Professors.

"Pure universal science must not, cannot and

will not be the exclusive monopolised property of

those who are not the 'chosen' ones; but on the con-

trary, mere cast out, despised, intriguing adven-

turers to whom the problems of democracy are as

foreign as science itself. I hail the first workers'

faculty, and wish that all who unite under this

name and under the protection of the red banner

of labour, equalising all, should come here only in

search of knowledge necessary for their labour and

should cast aside all formalities, diplomas and the

complicated examinations, ranks and distinctions,

which lower the dignity of science, as well as of

democracy.

"The Red Banner—I purposely mention these

words for I know that my colleagues from the

bourgeois camp cannot forgive me for having

joined the forces under this banner in the days

when the dark forces of the entire world have fal-

len upon it, hoping to drown it in blood once

more. The red banner is a symbol of the future

conquest of labour and science over their enemies.

But what this conquest will give us will be peace,

bread and freedom. Yes, and something else.....

less noticeable, but not less important and that

is—leisure, an eight-hour working day, which will

be followed of course, by a still shorter working

day. The free democracy, which has won this lei-

sure, will become an educated democracy when it

comes to realise the necessity of utilising this

leisure for attaining the power of knowledge. That

the free democracy will want it, that it will be

able to do it is guaranteed best by to-day's meeting."

the rank and file of the workers are apathetic and cannot be induced to take part in trade union activities. The Trade Union officials present declared that this was not due to present methods of organisation. Of course, the workers give the greater part of their energy to their employers and have little to spare for their own affairs when the day's work is ended.

John W. Muir, ex-Editor of the *Gloucester Worker*, advocated that in each large establishment, or group of smaller ones, a full-time official should be maintained by the workers, either by contributions from the workers in the place, by the funds of the unions concerned, or by a special general fund levied nationally upon all the members of the various unions. This official would have an office on the premises and the right of access to any part of the establishment at any time. He would be in constant touch with the Shop Committee, and available for dealing with grievances at any time. He would be able to give information to the district committees and workers in his area. All ballot votes would be taken at the works under the supervision of the shop stewards and this official. Muir contends that thus it would be possible to get ballot votes of 90 per cent., instead of 30 to 40, as at present. He suggests that a certain proportion of the branches might be given the right to demand a ballot vote, the branches making the demand being liable for the cost in the event of failure to obtain a reasonable proportion of the votes required to carry their proposal. At the same time, he seems to assume that even if the ballot should declare for it, the Executive would have the right to veto a proposal involving a stoppage of work.

This seems to us a very timid halting place between leaving effective power in the hands of the Executive and transferring it to the whole of the membership.

W. Graham, Labour M.P. for Central Edinburgh, read a paper on "The Value of Political Action."

He said that what he had written was not, and could not be, a final and considered judgment on the question. "No one who is immersed in Parliamentary work to-day had an opportunity for final or considered judgment."

That sounds like a condemnation of Parliament, but Mr. Graham did not mean it so.

BOLSHEVIK REVENGE ON THEIR SOCIALIST OPPONENTS.

The "tyrants" of Moscow, the "fanatical" enemies of all "real" Socialists, have a curious way of proving their fanatical hatred of their opponents. Among the public monuments recently erected in the spaces of the two capitals to those whose memory deserves to be cherished by the now triumphant labouring masses of Russia, there is one, for instance, to George Plekhanoff, the founder of Russian Social Democracy, who, however, during the war turned Jingo, fought the Bolsheviks tooth and nail, and bitterly opposed the November revolution. But his services to the cause of Socialism in the past had been enormous, and so the "fanatical" and "bloodthirsty" Soviet Government of Lenin and Trotsky erected a public monument to his memory, and his writings have been collected and issued at a popular price for circulation among the masses.

Now comes the news of another act of "blood-thirsty revenge" by the Soviet Government on their Socialist opponents. The Russian official news agency reports as follows:

"The Russian Soviet Government has granted pensions to Russian revolutionaries who in the 'eighties of the last century were known as Narodovoltsy (People's Will Party), in consideration of the great services rendered by these veterans to the cause of the Russian Revolution, and of the sacrifices they made in the struggle for the liberty of the Russian people. The Soviet Government has granted to those among them who are still alive a pension of 9,000 roubles (2000 at pre-war rates per annum).

The Narodovoltsy were the party of terrorism, which in March, 1881, carried out the execution of the Tsar Alexander II. They were the first revolutionaries in Russia and counted in their midst Sophie Perovskaya, one of the regicides, Stepaniak, Vera Zassoulitch, Leo Deutsch, and others. The few who still survive from those epic days are, for the most part, enemies of the Soviet regime; yet the Soviet Government grants them a pension.

—From the People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street.

Dissolution of Parliament, sign the PETITION to the PRIME MINISTER. Forms, Posters, also offers of open air speakers, canvassers, funds, particulars—Mr. FRANK ANDREWS, or Mrs. WARWICK BALL, 22 Maude Road, Camberwell, London, S.E. 5.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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LLOYD GEORGE and LABOUR.

The Labour Party's official news service has sent out a statement denying a rumour that "the Labour Party has been approached with an invitation to join Mr. Lloyd George." Says the Labour News Service:—

"These political speculations appear to be intelligent inferences from the fact that Mr. Lloyd George feels himself embarrassed by his association with the Unionist Party and by his helpless dependence upon Unionist votes in the House of Commons. The results of the successive defeats sustained by the Coalition in the series of bye-elections cannot have failed to convince Mr. Lloyd George of the weakness of his position, and it would not be at all surprising if he has reverted to the idea with which he was credited at an earlier stage of forming a new Centre Party on an advanced social programme, which would split the Unionists, revive Liberalism, and conciliate Labour. But there is nothing in the Government programme outlined in the publication entitled 'The Future,' circulated freely in the country last week, or in the speech of the Prime Minister at the International Brotherhood Congress in the City Temple, that affords the slightest justification for the belief that Mr. Lloyd George is preparing to break with the reactionary forces which maintain him in power."

The Labour News Service has no doubt excellent reason for suggesting that what Lloyd George really desires is to form a new Centre Party, but that is precisely official Labour's own intention. It certainly does not mean to form a left wing party: it is not a left wing party even now.

It should be noticed that the News Service in no way repudiates the suggestion that the Labour Party would "join Mr. Lloyd George," should he send them an invitation. This is remarkable indeed: for how can it be thought fitting that a single individual (and an individual with such a record!) should be permitted to call on the representatives of over 5,000,000 organised workers to join him? The boot should surely be on the other leg, if it be worn at all!

The rumour, as it has reached us hitherto, and it recurs very frequently, is, a little less ignominious for the Labour Party; it is that Lloyd George will presently offer himself to the Party, which will gladly receive him as its leader. In the early part of this year, when the *Herald* was boosting the Prime Minister, we asked George Lansbury:—

"Why have you so much faith in Lloyd George?"

Lansbury answered: "He is going to be the first Labour Prime Minister."

The words were startling as a blow. There may be, there is, little political difference between Lloyd George and Henderson; when Henderson was in the War Cabinet he seemed a very brother to Lloyd George, but at least Henderson has worked his way up in the Labour movement; he has done some administrative work in the Labour Party; he has assisted in building the organisation, even though his political tendency has been bad. One can understand how it is that the less wide-awake members of the Labour Party are inclined to support him, but that Leaders in the Labour movement, Socialists, opponents of the war, persons of long experience, should be prepared to accept Lloyd George as their political leader—that, indeed, was painfully surprising.

"Surely," we said, "the workers will not accept him!"

"The workers have accepted him," said Lansbury, as though the argument was final.

"Not the Socialist workers!" we answered indignantly, but our words fell on deaf ears.

Just now the Bullitt revelations have revealed Lloyd George as so flagrant a liar, so dishonest an intriguer, that the moment is hardly opportune for welcoming him, as the saviour of humanity and the workers, into the Labour fold. Moreover, and this is a more compelling reason, for, remember, the Labour News Service issues no disclaimer, Lloyd George has not yet made up his mind whether he wants to throw in his lot with the Labour Party. He is still halting at the cross-roads, still considering whether to remain with the Tories or to join the Liberals. Events may presently jog him to a decision, and then, if his leap be to Labour, he will, of course, cast himself upon the hospitality of the workers with a grand air of sacrifice. And those wise-acre politicians who scorn the Spartacists and the Bolsheviks, will probably accept him, not realising that the Liberals have rejected him because he is no longer an asset, the Tories having successfully made him the scapegoat for their sins.

It appears now that however subservient to their wishes, Lloyd George may remain. The Tories will presently throw him over in order to divest themselves of responsibility for the present chaos and to come in with a clean sheet at the next general election. *The Times* is actually chiding the Government for having suppressed the Irish newspapers. That is, indeed, a remarkable somersault for *The Times*, the apostle of coercion, to have taken. The pose has been adopted for election purposes. But the Northcliffe Press is quite capable of coming out as the champion of democracy, should that appear to be the best means of bolstering up its power.

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* observes that the rumours regarding Lloyd George's overtures to the Labour Party have arisen from the fact that Sir William Sutherland, the Prime Minister's Parliamentary private secretary, and Captain Elge, who is attached to the Government Whips' office, both "looked in" at the Trade Unions' Congress in Glasgow. The *Guardian* correspondent says that of course they were only there on a holiday, but Glasgow and a Labour Conference are hardly places gilded politicians would choose for that purpose on a lovely September day!

If Lloyd George could be quite sure, not only that an invitation to the Labour Party to join him would make him Prime Minister, but that after the election, he would be able to control the rank and file of the Labour Party, he would gladly extend the invitation. It may be that on the fate of the direct action proposals the question of Lloyd George's relationship to the Labour Party was hanging—that it still hangs on their fate, since the reactionaries still hope to evade the coming struggle.

THE BULLITT INTRIQUE.

In all his "political intrigues" Lloyd George makes it clear that he will run no risk of championing a cause that is unsuccessful; that he is determined to be on the winning side; but, with that proviso, he always expresses a wish to help reformers; indeed, he pretends to be just as keen, nay, keener than they, on securing the reform in question—only, of course, his position must not be jeopardised. He will conspire with the reformers, tell them how to agitate; then, when the cause is won, the sacrifices made, the unpopularity lived down, he will come in at the death and take the glory. He does not put it quite like that, but that is what his advice and promises always amount to. Yet the worst of him is, not that he takes no risks; but that he is just as sympathetic, just as ready to fall in with the ideals of the reactionary; and since the reactionary is usually more powerful and less guileless than the reformer, Lloyd George invariably gives the reactionary more substantial help.

It is in keeping with the Lloyd George tradition that he professed, to Bullitt and others opposed to the Intervention, a desire to make peace with Soviet Russia, that he should have attempted the impossible task of pleasing all

sides by the impossible Prinkipo compromise, and that he dropped it as soon as the reaction opposed it. It is in keeping with his history that his secretary suggested peace terms to the Soviet Government and that, when those terms were accepted by the Communists, and were returned practically as they stood, as a Soviet peace offer, that Lloyd George received Bullitt cordially, declared that the terms were "of the utmost importance"; and then publicly denied all knowledge of them, repudiating the very idea of making peace with the Communists—at the same time excusing himself on the base plea that his political fortunes would have suffered had he acted rightly and honourably. How characteristic is the explanation, carried to Bullitt by members of the British delegation, no doubt, on Lloyd George's own instructions:

"The reason for this deception was that, although when Mr. Lloyd George got back to London, he intended to make a statement very favourable to peace with Russia, he found that Lord Northcliffe, acting through Mr. Wickham Steed, the Editor of the *Times*, and Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Secretary for War, had rigged the Conservative majority of the House of Commons against him; and that they were ready to slay him then and there if he attempted to speak what was his opinion at the moment on Russian policies."

All this has been done by the familiar Lloyd George method, and it may be that, all the time, the opponents he was really fencing with, were not Clemenceau, Churchill, Northcliffe and the Capitalists, but Bullitt and the British workers. Indeed, that, in our view, is the correct interpretation of the incident.

The minutes of the Peace Conference, disclosed by Bullitt, are most illuminating:—

"The minutes of January 16th begin with a Lloyd George speech to the Big Ten, pleading for a truce of God in Russia and denying that Bolshevism can be put down by the sword. The Germans, with a million men only, held the fringe of the country, and the British, Canadians, Americans, and French troops would mutiny if sent."

Mr. George said:—

"The mere idea of crushing Bolshevism by military force is pure madness. Even admitting that it is done, who is to occupy Russia?"

Mr. Lloyd George gave information that the Czechoslovaks refused to fight, that Denikin occupied 'a little back-yard near the Black Sea,' and that Koltchak 'was collecting the old régime around him and would seem to be at heart a Monarchist,' which the Czechoslovaks, being democratic, were finding out. He said that if a military enterprise were started against the Bolsheviks, 'there would be a Soviet in London.'

Mr. Wilson followed along the same line. No one, he said, sympathised with 'the brutal aspect of Bolshevism,' but there was also 'the domination of large vested interests in the political and economic world.'

Wilson, he it observed, has a policy very closely allied to that of Lloyd George: he is just such another pseudo-democrat.

"A Soviet in London." Yes, that is the nightmare which affrights Lloyd George. Be it noted that this appeal to the Paris Conference was made on January 16th, when Labour unrest was looming large in Britain. The general strikes in Belfast and Glasgow and the trouble with the shipbuilders of the Port of London were all approaching, and the workers were showing a tendency to strike in all parts of the country. Interwoven with every manifestation of unrest was the idea of the Russian Soviet Revolution. The soldiers were clamouring for demobilisation. As Mr. Lloyd George himself indicated, the unrest appeared also in the allied countries.

Then the situation changed; the Labour troubles in Britain were quelled by coercive measures, the soldiers by turns were humoured and terrorised, masses of them were demobilised, the steady growth of unemployment caused large numbers of recruits to enlist in the new volunteer army. As the unrest died down so Lloyd George's zeal for "a Truce of God" in Russia died with it; so his enthusiasm for Koltchak and Denikin and his hatred of Soviet Russia became more manifest, in deeds, as well as in words.

Again a Labour crisis is approaching; the Glasgow Congress shows that the workers are growing determined to use direct action to stop the attack on Soviet Russia, to secure the

miners' charter, on every question that seems to them sufficiently important.

Lloyd George has attempted to meet this situation in his usual way, by lying and bluffing. He, or his tools, have sent out a statement that the Peace Conference has decided to abandon the intervention, "to allow the Russian Revolutionists to settle their own affairs." Here is the official British announcement:—

PARIS, September 15th.

An important meeting of the Supreme Council of the Allies was held this morning at the Ministry of War in M. Clemenceau's room. There were present M. Clemenceau, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Polk, and Signor Tittoni. Mr. Matsui (the Japanese Ambassador to France), Marshal Foch, M. André Tardieu, and M. Philippe Berthelot were also called into consultation. The meeting was continued this afternoon. Several extremely important decisions were reached.

The Conference unanimously agreed to the British policy of evacuation from Russia, and expressed itself as absolutely opposed to any "Russian adventures."

It is now definitely settled that the Great Powers intend to allow the Russian revolutionists to settle their own affairs and work out their own salvation in any way they please, with the sole limitation that the New Russia respects the rights of its neighbours.

Lloyd George has played that game successfully time and again, but, on this occasion, his confederates have repudiated him. They have blurted out the truth that the intervention is continuing, as it will continue, cost what it may, so long as Capitalism remains in power in the lands where the Big Five preside.

John Bull, a fairly good weathercock, is clamouring for Lloyd George to resign: the Tories appear to be making ready to throw him over; unless the situation changes, his offer to the Labour Party may be expected soon.

WILL LABOUR ACCEPT LLOYD GEORGE'S OFFER?

When Lloyd George's offer comes the Labour Leaders may find some means of accepting it without consulting the delegate conference. If they wish to accept it, they will argue, either that it is purely a question for the Executive, or that the emergency situation would not permit of a conference being called. If they desire to join Lloyd George it will be because they do not believe the Labour Party strong enough to win a majority of seats without him. A Labour Government, with Lloyd George, either as Premier or otherwise, will not be a Labour Government, but a Coalition Government partly maintained by forces which do not support Labour. The forces of reaction would, in that case, gather behind Lloyd George, lending him their support and thereby gaining more and more power over him. This is precisely what has happened to Lloyd George. He was the Tory Capitalist Imperialist in Asquith's Government, because the Tory-Capitalists-Imperialists chose him for their spokesman and helped him to power in return for his services.

Should the present Labour Leaders reject Lloyd George's offer and form a Government of their own—a thing which is inevitable, sooner or later—such men as Henderson, Thomas and Clynes will be supported by the forces of reaction, and forced to do their bidding. This will arise because when the workers will attempt to quicken the pace towards Communism, these Conservative-minded and timid Labour Leaders will give way to the threats and persuasions of the Capitalist reaction, and will oppose the workers. The more they oppose the workers, the more Capitalism will support them. The Capitalist Press will be at their service to boom them and discredit their opponents, and this Capitalist support will be the only power on which they will be able to rely.

Lloyd George, the Liberal Party and the Labour Leaders are at present all casting covetous eyes upon the lower middle-class and non-conformist vote. Lloyd George's visit to the City Temple was a bid for that support, as was his declaration:—

"There are men who seem to imagine that I have accepted the position of leading counsel for the old order of things. Rather than do that, I would throw up my brief."

But Lloyd George in office is obliged also to please big capitalism, which put him in power;

whilst Henderson, being out of office, and having no present hope of big capitalism, can turn all his attention to pleasing the middle-class, except for an occasional word or two to the workers.

PARLIAMENTARISM AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The fact that the ballot of the Swiss Socialist Party on the question of joining the Third International has reversed the decision of the conference, is one that should cause those of our revolutionary comrades who still wish to contest Parliamentary elections, to re-examine their position. As our correspondent, H. K. Modewell, has shown us, the conference decision to join the Third International was not hurriedly arrived at. It was preceded by a year's discussion. Each local group listened to speakers on both sides of the question, then again and again discussed it in every aspect and in particular it discussed the opposed assertions:—

(a) "To join the Third International would lose us our middle class votes and the votes of the more timid members of the working class."

(b) "If we adapt our policies to the gaining of middle class votes we are not a Socialist Party."

Yet the decision has been reversed. The *Geneva Nouvelle Internationale* supplies the reason. It is that the Swiss Parliamentary elections are to take place during the autumn, and "When electoral interests are in question one no longer discusses coolly." The *Nouvelle Internationale* alleges that the Social Democratic newspapers even used against the supporters of the Moscow International a "Rusian Gold" story, which they had to withdraw next day. It was not, however, by such appeals to prejudice that the members of the Swiss Socialist Party were induced to reverse their decision, but by the undoubtedly forceful argument that the way to secure the biggest vote at the polls is to avoid frightening anyone by presenting to the electors diluted reformist Socialism.

"The opportunists prefer quantity to quality," complains the Swiss paper, and so they must, at election times. Whatever party runs candidates at the election will trim its sails.

THE WAR ON RUSSIA.

The Soviets are continually gaining ground in the East. Denikin is still said to be advancing in the South, but all news from non-Bolshevik sources must be accepted with reserve.

The linking up of Soviet Turkestan with Soviet Russia has released rich stores of food, fuel, and other raw materials. In Turkestan are great stores of cotton and the factories are working, for coal and oil are found in the neighbourhood. The Tashkent Soviet Republic, which is now linked up with Turkestan, contains one of the richest cotton areas in the world; its supplies will now be able to reach the Moscow mills. The Amur Province, and the Maritime Province on the seaboard of the Pacific, are in the hands of the Soviets. This is tremendously important.

Estonia and the Baltic provinces are hesitating whether to make peace.

In North Russia, in spite of all reports to the contrary, we are convinced that the British are doing badly. We are informed that in the first fortnight of August Archangel was captured by the Soviets, but was afterwards retaken by the British.

It is said that Churchill is to be removed from the War Office. Does that mean that the Russian intervention is to cease, and that Churchill is to bear the unpopularity of the failure? Or does it mean that under a new chief the War Office will take more drastic measures against Soviet Russia?

GERMANY USED AGAINST RUSSIA.

It was clear from the Armistice terms, and again from the Peace Treaty, that the Big Five intended to use the soldiers of vanquished Germany against Soviet Russia. Said Lloyd

George, discussing the forces against the Soviets in the minute quoted by Bullitt: "Germany had only a million men on the fringe of Russia."

The controversy regarding the occupation of Courland by General Von der Goltz and his German army seems to resolve itself into this: the Allies have tried to use the Germans to crush Bolshevism in the Baltic Provinces, and the Germans are endeavouring to use the situation for their own ends. Control of the Baltic seaboard would be most useful to them. According to a Renter message the motto of the Germans in Courland or perhaps only a section of them, is: "The fight is for the Kaiser and the Empire against democracy."

The Baltic republics have assisted the Allies and the counter-revolutionary Russians in attacking the Soviets but their zeal has been cooled by the fact that their own independent existence is not yet guaranteed by the capitalist Governments. The clash of rival capitalist ambitions makes a peaceful world impossible, but the rivals forget their differences and unite when the workers threaten to rise and abolish capitalism and its rivalries altogether.

THE ANTI-LABOUR ALLIANCE WITH GERMANY.

The "Times" states:—

By an agreement signed by the French and Polish Governments Poland will send 100,000 workers to work chiefly in the liberated regions. They will be mostly land-workers, miners, navvies and masons.

This will mean more unemployment for the French workers, and unemployment is already acute in France. But something more serious is likely to happen in Britain.

The "Evening News," so popular with, but so dangerous to the London workers, explains the scheme under the joyous headlines:—

"Foiling the German Dumper."
"Remarkable Concessions to protect Our Markets."

Mr. Charles Knott, president of the British Chamber of Commerce in Germany, has been fixing up the scheme, so the "Evening News" tells us, with the German Ministers of Finance, Economics and Food Control. We give the story in the very words of the "Evening News":

Mr. Knott states that the German Government have consented in principle to the Ministry of Economics and Food being under a British official who will have entire control of the license department.

Any goods leaving or coming into Germany from Britain will be confiscated.

In his interview with the Ministers, Mr. Knott said it had been clearly understood that Germany is prepared to take a fair proportion—say 50 per cent.—of British manufactured goods, with raw material.

British merchants are to be asked to send their raw materials to be manufactured in Germany; they will then be sent back to the manufacturer in England. For this German manufacturers will accept payment not in money but in raw material.

Any number of big factories throughout Germany will be glad to start their workpeople on these terms, just to keep them occupied.

Meanwhile masses of British workers will of course remain unemployed. "Let them starve for a while; that will cure them of their Bolshevism!" so employers may think, but their scheming only hastens the Revolution.

AUSTRIA'S WAR GUILT.

The revelations of the Austro-Hungarian Ministerial Council of July 7th 1914, published by the Vienna Majority Socialist paper "Arbeiter Zeitung," do not surprise us. Whether this protocol be authentic, or a forgery, we do not doubt that the Ministerial Council seriously discussed "whether the moment had not arrived for making Serbia innocuous for ever by energetic action. We do not doubt the authenticity of the resolution adopted—that demands must be addressed to Serbia of such a far-reaching character as would allow a certain refusal to be foreseen."

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

WOMEN IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

PARTS OF A CHAPTER IN ARVID-HANSEN'S NEW BOOK ("Arbeidernes Rusland").

In Christiania, Norway, a book with the title, "The Russia of the Workers," has been published, written by Arvid Hansen, a prominent Norwegian Socialist writer, who recently spent considerable time in Russia, studying conditions there. His book is a valuable contribution to the scant literature about Russia as she is today. We hope that some progressive publisher will find it possible to present it to American readers. In a chapter called "A Few Words About the Women of the Soviet Republic," Mr. Hansen writes as follows:

"It is fitting to say a few words about the rôle of the women in the Russian revolution," I said one day to Madame Kollontay. She was frightfully busy, yet graciously consented to a brief interview. It was, in fact, what we journalists call a lightning interview. This is what I found out from her:

"It was the working women who in Russia as well as in France (during the revolution of 1789) started the revolution. The Russian revolution in March, 1917, really started with the 'woman's day' proclaimed for the 9th of March by the Socialist Party. The women demonstrated against the high cost of living and demanded bread. This day marked the beginning of the revolution. When the March revolution fully developed it was natural that the women should take part in it by the side of the men. Then Kerensky and Chauvinism came into power. But the women kept their heads cool. The first great demonstration or protest meeting against the military offensive, marked by a distinctly internationalistic character, was held by working class women, on the 9th of June, under the leadership of the editorial staff of the organ of the working women's organisations. Shortly before, in May of the same year, we had a mighty strike among the women workers in the big laundries. The strike was participated in by about 4,000 women. A union was formed with six hundred members, but during the strike the union grew so that it came to comprise almost all the laundry workers in Petrograd. It was the first strike after the March revolution. It ended in a partial victory only, yet some of the laundries, after the strike, were taken over by the municipality, and this was the particular demand of the working women during the campaign.

"From the very beginning there have been women in the Soviets. In the first Central Executive Committee, after the November revolution, there was only one woman (Madame Kollontay), afterwards there were three women members, including the well-known Maria Spirodonova. Everywhere the working women lined up with the Bolsheviks. They were always in the Left Wing in the Soviets. During the period between the March and the November revolution, a special Socialist women's paper was issued in Petrograd, and remained in existence for about a year. In November, 1918, the first great women's conference representing Petrograd and the Northern Communes was held. There were present five hundred delegates, representing more than one hundred thousand working women. The Congress placed itself fully and uncompromisingly on the platform of the workers' Soviets. In April, 1918, a women's conference was held, representing the city and the province of Moscow, which was widely attended. The Congress in Petrograd adopted important resolutions regarding maternity and unemployment insurance. At the Moscow Congress, the food question, the cost of living, and children's welfare were the great burning questions. In Moscow, likewise, the discussions resulted in important decisions.

"The Communist working women everywhere are energetically taking part in the work

which comes under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Education and cultural activities. The local food problems also aroused great interest among women. Finally, an important work is being done by women in the propaganda and sanitary work of the Red Army. There are also women soldiers in the army. From the very outset of the Soviet revolution there have been women at the front, and they have done splendid work, especially in the field of sanitary relief."

Madame Lelina (Zinovyev's wife) is the Commissaire of Social Welfare in the Northern Commune (Petrograd). Madame Lunacharsky (the wife of the Commissaire of Education) heads the administration of Children's Colonies. Everywhere in the villages and districts all over Russia, one may find thousands upon thousands of women in the service of the educational and social welfare institutions (Madame Kollontay, however, is the only woman who has been a People's Commissaire). Upper class women, i.e., women belonging to the former upper classes, are active in great numbers in the schools, children's colonies, etc. The bourgeois women's movement, however, has collapsed, together with the collapse of the rule of the bourgeoisie. "There is developing now," said Madame Kollontay, enthusiastically, "a special type of young working-class girls, who economically and otherwise are absolutely independent, and who are the fire and torch of the ideals of Socialism. So we have, for example, our young Gratiyova, a Russian Louise Zietz. She has come into the movement directly from a textile factory. Due to her inborn talent, she has developed very rapidly. Gratiyova has now for more than five months been active as an agitator on the front against General Krassnov and has achieved great results. Together with a number of other working-class women, she has for some time been a member of the revolutionary tribunals. She displayed there great humanitarian mildness. We women," said Madame Kollontay, "in spite of everything, have not forgotten the beautiful ideals of humanitarianism. Placed as members of a court, we are taking the part of a defender rather than of a prosecutor. Experience has proved that we women, in these revolutionary tribunals, as long as these institutions still are necessary, are able to do a great work of humanitarianism. This, however, does not mean that they were luke-warm for the Cause.

"I am looking forward with great pleasure to the Women's Congress which is scheduled for November," said Madame Kollontay, at the end of her interview. "It will certainly prove a great success. There is still much slowness and apathy among the masses, in political matters at any rate. For this reason we are agitating now more than ever before. We need the co-operation of everybody in order to be able truly in spirit and in fact to realise the communistic society."

It so happened that I obtained as my guide in Petrograd a lady by the name of Dora Yekhimovskaya, who had lived several years in Norway, and was able to place her knowledge of the Norwegian language at my disposal. She is one of the many women Party members in Russia who, full of enthusiasm and desire for action, placed herself in the service of the Soviet Republic. She, it is true, is not of the political size of Madame Kollontay; she is only one of the hundreds who have had a similar career, and who now, without much ado, are doing their bit on the new ground, each one in her particular field. But just because of this, it may be of some interest to introduce this woman to her comrades abroad, who, in general, still lack confidence in woman's ability to do something. Yekhimovskaya in 1905 escaped Siberia by a hasty flight abroad. She was at that time a young girl, only seventeen years of age, and the incident naturally was a great shock to her respectable parents. In Germany, she studied

under the leadership of prominent Socialists, such as Grunwald, Sombart, and others, and was much together with Liebknecht. During the war, she, as she says herself, was about to lose her faith in better times. The endless slaughter of people, the chauvinistic madness, together with the depressing needs of the great working-class slums of Berlin, just about destroyed the last vestige of Socialistic hope from her mind. Art and esthetics became her consolation during these difficult times. However, the winter was not to remain for ever. The Russian revolution came, rising as a great, glowing sun, and revived her desire for action. She hurried home, into the struggle for the revolution, and like thousands of others she unassumingly joined the ranks of the workers.

Yekhimovskaya is a thorough humanitarian and a very sensitive soul. Innumerable times she has gone out of her way, appealing for the liberation of members of the bourgeoisie, who had landed in jail.

"But I won't do that any more," she says. "Having seen with my own eyes their base sabotaging and their abominable plots, I have become hard. I have no sympathy for them any more. Let them die. That which is rotten and degenerate must disappear anyhow, so that the social organism may become healthy and beautiful."

Dora Yekhimovskaya, at the time when I met her, had been for some time employed in the Commissariat for Social Welfare in Petrograd. This institution, among other things, is managing the splendid children's colonies. The activities of this department, however, are far from being only a matter of charity. It is a part of a new municipal system in the field of social welfare. Everything is being reorganised from the bottom, and far-reaching plans for the care of children and old people are being made and carried out.

On the day when I was ready to leave Petrograd she was able to tell me that her wish to become a supervisor of one of the children's colonies had been gratified. She was elated over the prospects of her new work. Yekhimovskaya as a teacher and governess is accustomed to handling children and she knows exactly what she wants to do. "It is a sign of degeneration," she cried out passionately, "when people of the old school want to use the children's colonies in the first place for experiments with education by visits to museums, art galleries, etc. It is all wrong. There must be first a rational feeding and a rational physical development, with outdoor life, work, play, excursions in the woods, etc. Later on, the pencil and the paper will have their turn, together with the spiritual and intellectual work of education."

[Reprinted from "Soviet Russia."]

**SOCIALISM THROUGH
PARLIAMENT OR SOVIET?
DEBATE** between B. C. FAIRCHILD,
(Late Editor of "The Call,") and
J. P. HODGSON, (B. S. P. Executive.)
BANK HALL, Essex Street, Strand, W.C. 2.
on THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2nd, at 8 p.m.
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I. Brassington, (N.U.R.)
Will all who are willing to form local "Hands
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immediately with the Sec. W.P. Coates,
Labour Hall, Margaret Street,
Hr. Openshaw, Manchester.
NOW FOR A UNITED EFFORT TO END
"INTERVENTION."

MORE NEWS FROM MOSCOW.

HOW THE CZAR DIED.

Visitors who have recently arrived from Moscow have at last solved the mystery of the fate of the Czar and his family.

It was the policy of the Czardom to form national groups of the prisoners belonging to subject nationalities whom the Czar's armies took from the Austrians. These national groups were organised to fight against Austria on the promise that if Russia won the war she would assure the freedom of the nationalities which had assisted her. Thus in the Czar's time Czecho Slovak prisoners, Italian prisoners and others were fighting for Russia.

Kerensky continued this policy, but when the Soviet Government made peace it of course decided that these bands should stop fighting also. The Czecho Slovaks would have been glad enough to accept the opportunity of peace; but the Allied emissaries, who wished to overthrow the Soviets and to bring Russia back into the war, and those whose nationalism made the destruction of Austria appear the paramount consideration, agitated amongst the Czecho Slovak soldiers, saying: "Tretzki is an internationalist; he will send you back to Austria, where you will be executed for fighting against the empire." The story was a plausible one, and when the Soviet Government agreed to allow the Czecho Slovaks to go and fight on the Western Front, the tale that they were really being sent to Austria was still believed. Thus the Czecho Slovaks fought desperately.

The Czar at this time was imprisoned with his family at Tobolsk. When Tobolsk was imperilled by the advancing Czecho Slovaks, the Imperial family was removed to Ekaterinburg. On the Czecho Slovaks approaching that city, the president of the local Soviet wired to the Soviet Government in Moscow, asking for instructions. The Government replied that the matter was in the hands of the local Soviet, which must decide what could best be done under the circumstances. The local Soviet therefore decided that the Czar must be tried for his crimes. He was condemned to death, taken into a yard and shot. His wife, daughters and young son, who is an invalid unable to walk, were taken away in secret and retained in safe keeping. They are still alive unless any one of them has died of illness, and the Pope, knowing this, subsequently sent a note to Lenin offering to take them under his protection.

Our visitors further stated that all foodstuffs are now rationed, and private speculation has ceased, partly because the rich, during two years, have spent most of their ready money, partly because they have only money to give in exchange for food, and the value of money is not great in Russia. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, gives to the peasants in return for food agricultural implements and other things they need. Naturally the peasants prefer to deal with the Soviets.

Some months ago meat which could be bought for 84 roubles with the ration card cost 22 roubles from the speculators. The speculators made even greater profits out of other commodities; it is not remarkable that idlers found their money quickly disappearing.

Now that speculation in food is practically stamped out, everyone must work to qualify for food. All rations are now equal for all workers.

WORK AND EDUCATION.

The hours of labour were originally fixed by the Soviets at 8 per day; they have now been reduced to 6, with two hours' instruction. The two hours' instruction per day is compulsory for those who cannot read and write, but optional for others. The choice of subjects is optional, the chosen courses of study may be academic, technical, or manual, and all education is free for children and adults. Those who desire to add to the two hours' study may of course do so in their spare time.

MILITARY TRAINING AND C.O.s.

All workers must receive some military instruction each week. This varies according to the knowledge of the individual. Conscientious objectors are relieved of this duty on declaring a conscientious objection; but the conscientious objections to defending Soviet Russia have disappeared during the two years' war which world capitalist-imperialism has made upon her.

There is no difficulty in getting recruits for the Red Army; indeed the difficulty is to keep back the industrial workers anxious to go to the front; if a soldier is kept away from the front for more than a week or two he makes a protest. We asked whether the love of adventure or a preference for the military life or its conditions was the cause of this. Our friends replied that the recruits are animated mainly by desire to protect Soviet Russia and that 90 per cent. of the Red soldiers are convinced communists.

SABOTAGE.

The Soviet administration was at one time much troubled by sabotage, not by the proletariat, but by those who had sprung from the richer classes; for instance, during last winter, when potatoes were short, and it was advertised that potatoes would be given out at a certain place, the official responsible had the potatoes removed, so that when the people assembled in a queue to get them, there were no potatoes there. As everyone knows, this is the sort of thing that irritates a crowd. A more serious case of sabotage was that of Vazetic, who was in supreme command of the Red Army and turned traitor.

The proletariat has never taken part in sabotage against the Soviets, and this evil is steadily becoming rarer.

OBJECTIONS TO COMMUNISM DISAPPEARING.

People sprung from all the old social classes begin to unite in support of the Soviets. Ex-capitalists themselves begin to discover that they are living in a world which is happier for them, as well as for those once employed by them. The man who has a small piece of land or a small workshop developed by the labour of his own hands, and not by employing others, finds that the Soviet administration does not rob him, but that it assists him.

WAGES AND MONEY.

An equal wage is not yet established, but wage differentiations are not great, and the importance of money is diminishing. Wage earners are divided, broadly speaking, into two categories; the skilled and the unskilled, those who possess special training or skill getting, say, 25 roubles, where those who are unskilled get 20 roubles. But the committee of the factory or office makes additional allowances for the children; and wages vary more in relation to the size of the family than in relation to the work done by the recipient. Thus an unskilled worker is often paid more than a skilled worker. Managers are paid on a level with skilled workers as a rule. Rations are equal, hospitals are free, furniture and houses are nationalised, education, books and meals at school, milk and other necessities for the children are free. Differences in wages are therefore of little moment. What, indeed, one may ask, does the person who earns a higher salary than others find to do with it? Does he save it? We are told that no one saves money; there is no reason to save; there are no savings banks. Surplus wages are spent on having one's photograph taken, going to the theatre, and so on.

WORKERS ABOLISH WAGES.

The workers in one factory, where 8,000 people are employed, have decided to abolish wages altogether, the workers getting freely all that they want by drafts on the Soviet stores. If they wish to go to the photographer, the

theatre, and so on, the cost is charged up to their factory committee. There are constant applications for work in this factory where wages are not paid.

RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION.

There is complete freedom in Russia to preach for or against religion, but the Soviets do not pay for either kind of propaganda. The priests have no State stipend, but live on their supporters, though if they chose they might do productive work and preach in their spare time. Some of the priests are preaching against the Soviets, and declaring that Lenin is the anti-Christ. The result is that some of the peasants, especially in Siberia, finding that their conditions are revolutionised for the better since Lenin came to power, have got the story mixed, and believe that Lenin is a second Christ.

ADVICE TO THE WORKERS OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

Lenin, our visitors emphatically stated is in favour of Direct Action. The Russian communists they declared to be convinced that communists must not join with the old-fashioned Social Democrats in their efforts to capture Parliament, for to do so would take a hundred years. Every one who enters Parliament, they say, becomes a soul lost to communism, or perhaps a soul bought from it.

At the recent Communist Congress in Moscow advice was given to the workers of other countries. Soldiers were urged to demobilise themselves, taking their arms with them, for one cannot meet a gun with a stick, and if the workers strike they must not be beaten by firearms.

Great stress was laid upon the need for communist literature. The strength of the workers is in their organisation, but it is essential that they should study, and the fathers must not be content merely to teach themselves; they must study with their wives and children, the communist literature must be read aloud in the family circle.

Communists must arouse amongst the workers the desire for:—

THE SOCIALISATION OF HOUSING.

EDUCATION FOR ALL.

GOOD CONDITIONS OF WORK.

The workers must be shown that communism will give them these things, and by making both women and men economically independent and secure from want will abolish prostitution, thus enabling men and women to unite in sincerity and affection, and not for mercenary considerations. Communism removes the incentive either to seduce or to marry without love.

Communists are beginning to date everything from the Soviet Revolution; thus the year 1919 is referred to as the second year of the New Order.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

EXECUTION OF MUNICH HOSTAGES.

Seidl and others who were commissaries of the Munich Soviet are being tried in Berlin for having executed 10 hostages when the Munich Soviet was being attacked by the German Government's troops. The Government, in fighting the Hungarian Soviet disregarded the rules of ordinary warfare and executed prisoners who had surrendered, and behaved with such hideous brutality that the commissaries announced their intention of executing the hostages unless the massacre were stopped. After 10 of the hostages had been executed the Government troops ceased killing prisoners without trial, and the remaining hostages were released.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. Motler.

You are familiar, Henry, with the tag that "if you see it in 'John Gull' it is so." Some times it is very much so—in fact, a trifle overdone. And the same applies to any of the Bellow Press when it is out for any particular bellow.

The People's Russian Information Bureau—popularly known as the P.R.I.B.—makes a collection of wierd if useful information sometimes; but the Bellow Press puts out its best hoof with its own Bullittins when it feels inclined.

Some years before the war a photographer went round the Scilly Isles—appropriate name—and took photographs of various craft. I do not mean the kind of craft you think I mean. I mean ordinary or nautical craft. One of the photos he took was of the "Arden Craig" sinking off the said Isles and its crew putting off in a boat.

Now it transpires that this photograph did duty during the late war as a cameratic eye-witness of the Hunness of the Huns in sinking an unarmed trawler. The photographer, however, had some consolation in knowing that the Huns took a leaf out of the Bellow Press by reproducing some of his other photos as "Scenes with the German Navy."

Everybody, however, is aware that the camera—like the Bellow Press itself—is liable to err. I remember once being shown a photograph of a handsome young man by a friend of mine. I gazed at it admiringly for a minute and then said, "How good looking! Who is he?" My friend nearly bit my head off by remarking in an acid tone that it was none other than himself.

You will also recollect, Henry, the photograph of Rheims Cathedral with one of its towers shot away by the Huns. The block-maker, however, made the mistake of smashing the wrong tower; but he might have justified his action by remarking that a tower is a tower and a Hun is a Hun.

Now, these very same Huns are landing goods in Leith and other places, and by and by we

shall be looking at the label "Made in Germany" without getting sunburnt.

That is why you see plastered up on the walls the mournful fact that the Germans are dancing on their heads with joy at our labour troubles. Observe "our." Every time Smillie wipes the floor with his pet Duke, the Fatherland rocks with an uproarious "Hoch!"

We should never have known of it, if a watchful Government with plenty of (other people's) money to spend hadn't plastered it in black and yellow type. And the reason why is that the Fiendish Hun is after our trade. Observe "our."

It is for this reason that we—observe "we"—must once more line up to the common foe and give him one in the Welt-politik Handicap. And how are "we" to do it? By rolling up our sleeves and giving the boss ninnepence for fourpence, in a manner of speaking.

Now, "we" is meant for the workers. But it is presumed, of course, that the poster artists will give an extra vicious jab with yellow ochre. And the Government department who issue the posters will do a bit of overtime with their red tape.

The possessive "our," however, applies to someone else. So far as I know, Henry, we don't own any trade between us. And it strikes me that "our" labour troubles seem more like the troubles of the boss than ours.

However this is "our" country, and we must stand by and pay up "our" National Debt by putting some greased lightning into our jobs so that the Huns won't see "our" trade for dust.

"We" owe America money. It is true that we owe it to the American Capitalists and not the workers or even the "Sammies." And there may be some disgruntled "Tommies" who do not relish coming back from licking the Hun over there, in order to lick him again here. But the patriotic Briton can only echo with Clynes, Henderson and Co., "Line up, boys, and see the Huns don't get OUR trade."

RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS AND PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

The following important statement on the view of Russian Communists concerning Parliamentary action in other countries has reached us. We hasten to place it before the movement.

The present Parliamentary system must completely disappear. We Russian Communists are agreed that we must use all our efforts to destroy the Capitalist Parliament and must establish in its place the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, which being elected solely by the working class have the duty of electing the Communist Central Executive through the General Congresses which in turn are composed of the delegates elected by the workers and peasants. Until to-day the so-called representatives of the people who went to Parliament were but individual egotists, who tried to build up positions for themselves without doing any good to the workers, trying on the contrary to keep the workers for still further centuries in subjection to themselves and the capitalists.

In the nations still under capitalism where Communist ideas are as yet held only by a minority in no case should our representatives be sent into the midst of the great opposing Parliamentary majority because to do so is only to produce controversies and hostile propaganda by the other parties.

The right method is to agitate and carry on propaganda by all possible means till Parliament can be forcibly superseded by the Soviets.

Signed—M. P. BULYKIN, a Delegate to the All-Russia Congress of Soviets in Moscow, June 27th, 1918.

Confirmed by—F. I. MARTINOFF, Member of the International Committee of the Red Army.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 26th.

Outside Siemens Works, WOLWICH. 12 noon—Melvina Walker and others.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 27th.

Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in the St. Pancras District.

Meetings at Queen's Crescent (near B.S.P. room, Malden Rd.) 3 p.m.; Cobden Statue, 7 p.m. near Mornington Crescent Tube Station. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker and Gay Aldred.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 28th.

Osborn Street, 11.45 a.m.—Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, 7.30 p.m.—Tom Mann. Chair: Melvina Walker.

FRIDAY, OCT. 3rd.

Tower Hill, 12 noon.—Melvina Walker.

SATURDAY OCT. 4th.

Great Push in Kennington and Camberwell.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, SEPT. 30th.

30 Railway St., 7.30 p.m.—Peplar W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m.—Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, OCT. 3rd.

400, Old Ford Road, 7-10 p.m.—Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 28th.

Victoria Park, 12 noon.—Walter Ponder and others.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 30th.

Queen's Road (corner of Dalston Lane), 7.30 p.m.—Walter Ponder and others.

THURSDAY, OCT. 2nd.

400, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m.—Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 30th.

William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m.—Ph. Edmunds. "Russia."

EAST HAM LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

The Old Public Offices, 8 p.m.—Olive Beamish.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION (Communist Party)

GREAT PROTEST MEETING

against Intervention in Russia, at the

Dock Gates, POPLAR, Sunday, SEPT. 28th at 7.30 p.m.

TOM MANN. Melvina Walker in the Chair. If wet, the Meeting will be held at 20, Railway Street.

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