

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

VOL. VI.—No. 41.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3rd, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

BRITISH DIPLOMATS IN HUNGARY.

ARISTOCRATIC ORGIES AND INTRIGUES.

DEAR "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,"—

I thank you for your kindness in having sent for so long your ever interesting paper. Now, having just come from Budapest, I think it my duty to write to you, as it is obvious that the English people have no idea how the diplomatists of Great Britain are trying in Budapest to restore the house of Hapsburg, and to fortify the politics of imperialistic reaction. In our country, Hungary, everything is so sad and our friends' situation is so desperate and hopeless that I hardly know where to begin my complaints.

The poor, oppressed Hungarians had heard so much of "democratic" Great Britain that the British Mission was looked forward to as to a Redeeming Angel. The reception, however, was indescribable. . . . We Hungarians in Switzerland had always a different opinion of the British Government, for whenever Hungarian royalistic aristocrats had held a secret meeting at Lucerne, there always used to be among them a delegate of the British diplomatic representation in Switzerland, and he imagined that his activities could be held secret. But he was mistaken, for I and others are able to give names and details, if required.

All the British diplomatists who came to Budapest were heartily welcomed by the Hungarian feudal gentlemen, who gave them invitations to aristocratic clubs, castles, hunting parties, tennis parties; the finest damsels were put at their disposal. The Hungarian aristocrats exchanged kisses, and made friends with them. Thus the exploitation of the peasants, the slaughter of the Jews, and the clerical-royalistic propaganda could merrily go on under British protection.

A certain Admiral Troubridge is said to settle matters concerning the Danube navigation. He has made good friends with the Archduke Joseph, and has done his best to enable this Hapsburg to take up his lodging in the royal castle of Buda as a pretender to the Hungarian throne. Every day Admiral Troubridge takes his tea there, with the Archduke. Another con-

stant visitor to the castle is another English diplomatist, named Steid, who figures as a staff chief officer of the British Military Mission.

One of the British representatives is very fond of pretty women, and his friends, the Hungarian aristocrats, have placed quite a harem at his disposal. He seems to be fairly well provided with money, for he bought one of the most splendid palaces, a fine historic monument, which he gave as a present to a public prostitute of Jewish origin, named Baby Becker. He had received her from a Hungarian aristocrat, who made him a present of her, for pure friendship, just as gentlemen give each other horses.

You are doubtless aware that in Budapest people are starving, and that there is great misery. You may imagine how good an impression it makes on the population that in a public bar of bad reputation in Bakoczi-ut, British gentlemen are feasting every night until morning, and drinking champagne, in the company of half-naked common benches and of Hungarian aristocrats, members of the Magnates' Casino, to the accompaniment of gipsy music.

As it is hard to refuse a small service to a friend, it is natural that the whole company, with Archduke Joseph in their midst, attend on Sundays the great musical mass celebrated at Mathias Church in Buda, which forms one of the most important starting points of clerical agitation. But there is a certain English clergyman, named O'Nelly, who wants to do still more, and, therefore, accompanies the famous Mr. Friedrich on his anti-semitic propaganda journeys beyond the Danube. His good friend, Count Haller, refers to O'Nelly in his exciting speeches, as to a proof that Britain will protect reactionary clericalism and wishes the restoration of the house of Hapsburg.

The real scandal, however, took its beginning at the arrival of Sir George Clerk, who was sent out by the Paris Council to bring to an end the government of clerical and royalistic counter-revolutionists' parties, and to form a coalition Cabinet.

Sir G. Clerk's first act was to pay a visit to

Joseph of Hapsburg, and to accept an invitation for a hunting party on the Archduke's estate. Only after his return from hunting did Sir George start his government-forming activity.



British Prestige Again Vindicated.

Finally, Sir George Clerk, in spite of the Opposition's unanimous protest, found a remedy in ordering the Roumanians to leave Budapest, and in introducing there the army of White Terror, lead by Admiral Horthy. Thus the present Hungarian Coalition Government came into being under military pressure. Among the twelve members there is but one Socialist, one Democrat, one representative of the Peasants' Party; all the rest are clerical counter-revolutionists.

An example of Sir G Clerk's Jesuitic methods is that on his arrival he announced the restoration of the liberty of the Press, but not only is there a censor but the sale of all but the counter-revolutionary newspapers is prohibited; even the liberal democratic papers are suppressed.

It is thus due to Sir George Clerk that the Hungarian middle classes have now developed a strong dislike to Great Britain, which they regard as the centre of reaction. Though Clerk was at that time present in Budapest, the leaders of the Hungarian Opposition had to avail themselves of the assistance of the French Mission, in order to save their lives from Horthy's White soldiers; the British representatives did not care to protect them.

The present situation is, that though Clerk has returned to Paris saying that everything is all right in Hungary, the Republicans are still in prison, the members of the democratic government are in exile, and the country is ruled by a military dictatorship of White soldiers.

Yours truly, F. S.

A LETTER FROM LENIN.

To Comrade Loria and all the French friends who adhered to the Third International.
Moscow, October 28th, 1919.

DEAR FRIEND,—

I thank you with all my heart for your letter, which is the more precious because we very rarely receive any from you.

In France, as in England, victorious Imperialism has not only enriched a certain number of small capitalists, but it has also been able to give alms to the upper grade of workers, the aristocracy of the working class, by throwing it a few crumbs from the Imperialist exploit, won by the pillage of the colonies, and so on.

But the crisis caused by the war is so serious that even in the conquering countries the working masses are inevitably condemned to appalling misery. From this springs the rapid growth of communism and the increasing movement of sympathy towards the Soviet power and towards the Third International.

It follows that you must maintain a long

struggle still, especially with the very refined opportunists of the Louquet type; in the same way the experimenters and politicians will continue making effort after effort to make words suffice where it is a question of revolutionary tactics and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, they will continue to deceive the proletariat by means of new subtleties, as Louquet, Merrheim and company did regarding the 21st of July. They will adhere to their old opportunist policy which consists in hindering the revolution and in prejudicing it in all ways. In France and in England the old rotten (pourris) leaders of the workers will make thousands of such attempts. But we are sure that the Communists who are working in close contact with the proletarian masses will succeed in paralysing and in breaking these attempts. The more the Communists are firm and energetic in their attitude, the sooner they will gain a complete victory.

With Communist greetings.

LENIN.

DENIKIN AND THE ALLIES.

Valuable documents discovered on General Grishin-Almazoff at the time when the latter fell into the hands of the Red fleet in the Caspian Sea disclose the curious relations existing between the Denikians and the Allies. While these to the outer world appear like those of close friendship, they bear in reality all the signs of an intense mistrust, almost of hate, on the part of the old Czar generals towards the Allies whom, with unrestrained contempt, they dubb "the Barbers," or "the Jew Freemasons."

On July 13th last some letters were published in the *Pravda* by prominent leaders of the Denikin camp. In one of these letters, or rather in a despatch sent by Denikin's agent, Pronin, to the Staff of Koltchak, the French are given the nickname of "Jew Freemasons." A similar feeling is displayed in other intimate documents in the same collection. Czarist generals remain true to themselves; the courtiers of the autocrat, now exiles and paupers, existing on the charity of the Entente, retain their former pride.

MILIUKOFF'S CONTEMPT FOR THE ALLIES.

In a report of the Jassk Conference of November 30th to December 2nd, 1918, made by General Grishin-Almazoff, reference is made to the notes of Miliukoff in which the following description of the Allies in Siberia is given:—

To a larger extent they were engaged in speculation (the majority of them—Consuls, barbers, or teachers of languages), they all behaved in an arrogant and provocative manner.

The Denikians fear that, having once installed them in power, the Allies will not readily leave Russia, but intend themselves to remain dominant in the conquered country. This fear on the part of the Denikians is not at all an unreasonable one. Meanwhile the Denikians follow closely and with intense anxiety "the policy pursued by the Entente Governments in the Ukraine.

ALLIES INTEND TO BE PERMANENT MASTERS IN THE UKRAINE.

The Entente Governments are thus endeavouring to create, as Germany formerly endeavoured to create, provinces and republics of a more or less independent character of which they hoped to be able to make themselves the masters, thus diminishing the territory of that "Great Russia" which the Denikin patriots are themselves desirous of keeping for their own exploitation.

Amongst the dossiers which make up the Grishin-Almazoff archive, two are marked "Alphabet." These consist of a collection of reports of a Secret Inquiry Institution, which has its agents in Petrograd, Moscow, Kieff, Odessa, in the Crimea and the Caucasus; each agent is designated by a different letter of the Russian alphabet.

ALLIED PLOT TO MAKE RUSSIA PAY.

Under the letter "Slovo," a certain cadet Stepanoff is concealed. This man during the Denikian "extraordinary" conferences made himself a State Controller. His extremely interesting and vivid reports point, amongst other things, to the suspicion with which the Denikians regard the Allies on whose charity they are at this time existing. In a report of February 11th to 24th Stepanoff writes:—

The struggle for a United Russia Volunteer Army must be conducted on a number of fronts: there is the Bolshevik front, the Separatist front, the front of internal disorder, the front of political chatter, and the front—it is painful, offensive, and bitter to relate—the front of the Allies, of the Anglo-French.

In a letter of the same date to Maklakoff, this same Stepanoff reveals a secret:—

Will they not make us pay for all the French and English blood that is spilt in and for Russia, in spheres of influence and by turning Russia into a sort of Turkey, Persia, or Egypt? More tanks, more guns, more manufactures and money is what we want and fewer Allied soldiers.

These last two sentences are underlined with the usual green pencil of Grishin-Almazoff, who writes on the margin: "This is very true!"

THE ENGLISH IN TRANS-CAUCASIA.

The following is a description given by

Grishin-Almazoff of the conduct of the English in Trans-Caucasia in his report to the Jassk Conference:—

The English occupied Krasnovodsk-Mery, that is to say, they liberated Turkestan. Colonel Stocks, a well-known anti-Russian, whose appointment came as a direct challenge to Russian circles, is acting as representative. The Russians are treated more like India natives—this, no doubt, is their Colonial policy.

Complaints of the support shown by the Allies to all kinds of autonomous local republics run through practically the whole collection of documents of Grishin-Almazoff. Always the same complaints; too little help is rendered by the Allies to the Denikians, too little ammunition is sent, and in place of clothes, old rags are provided. Their aid is both feeble and undecided. Meanwhile, the Trans-caucasian republicans, and in particular Petlura, are regarded by the Allies as the favourite children.

DENIKIANS COMPLAIN OF THE FRENCH.

During his appointment as Military Governor of Odessa, Grishin-Almazoff was in constant touch with French policy in the South, and according to these documents, Grishin-Almazoff is occupied practically every day in an incessant struggle, which he and the other Denikians put up against the systematic coquetry of the French who, it appears, prefer to hold their own opinions in regard to Petlurians.

THE SOUTH RUSSIAN NATIONAL CENTRE THREATENS THE ALLIES.

There is an interesting letter addressed to Maklakoff by the South Russian National Centre, a powerful organisation, which includes many members of the Denikian Extraordinary Conference, such as Sazonoff, Stepanoff, Noratoff, Massloff, Tebeliaff, Shubertsky, Tehebiskoff, Astroff, as well as other well-known cadets, C. V. Panin, P. D. Dolgorukoff, with M. M. Fedoroff as their president.

This letter is one whole indictment against the Allies for their feeble and undecided support of a United Russia, for their very zealous support of an independent Georgia, and for the negotiations into which they entered for an independent Ukraine.

Has it not turned out that the Allies and friends of ours are no longer in need of a United Great Russia, and that it is very profitable for them to have a Russia parcelled up and impoverished. Since powerful Great Germany disappeared, and Germany is enfeebled, as they believe in France, for a hundred years or more, there is no longer any need for a powerful Russia. It is better for the Allies to have a Russia that will play second fiddle, a Russia that can be used by all for their own selfish interests, than a powerful Russia with which later on it will again become necessary to count upon as a factor in world politics.

This representative of bankrupt Russian Imperialism, still living in hope of seeing Russia re-established by means of foreign aid, can find nothing better to do, in return for an insignificant assistance rendered by the Allies, than to threaten the latter with punishment, the punishment of a Russia which is to be restored in the future:—

Woe to those who forsake her in her hour of misfortune, and to those who take advantage of her misfortune in order to impoverish and weaken her.

The National Centre does not stop at this, but threatens the Allies with something else, revealing on this occasion quite uncommon perspicuity.

In vain do the Allies imagine that they are insured against Bolshevism. Bolshevism they presume to be a disease of the "weak and conquered." They are making a great mistake. Bolshevism is a disease that spares neither the powerful nor the strong.

In all essentials, Bolshevism is the doctrine of the class struggle, a doctrine which, applied to the masses, to the mob, at once results in social revolution, the appropriation of all that belongs to the rich and eminent. This doctrine has indeed a very great attraction for the masses.

Will the proletariat of France withstand such a temptation? In France, of course, triumphal fêtes are the order of the day at present, but triumphal fêtes will not last for ever. When the army comes home and asks itself: "What has victory given us? When it starts to compare that which democracy gives with that which democracy promises, will it then withstand the temptation?"

The social divergency which Proudhon was imbued with cannot for long be stifled by any victorious war. As long as the Bolshevik microbe is not destroyed in Petrograd and Moscow, as long as it is not destroyed in Germany—it will continue to threaten France. By the indecision and connivance which our friends and allies at present evince with regard to Bolshevism, they are preparing their own ruin.

A year ago, Germany was separated from Bolshevism for ever, now it finds itself quite powerless to overcome it. Should this be repeated in France, then France will take a long time to get over her victory.

We are aware that arguments of this kind do not weigh much with the French, that they are calculated even to irritate them. Their arrogance and pride prevent them from seeing that these arguments are something more than a far-fetched scare, that they are the result of a close acquaintance with the Bolshevik contagion. But we have no energy left to convince others. Fate, perhaps, will take its own course, and the Social Revolution will take its own inevitable course across all Europe. Perhaps Proudhon was right when he foresaw and predicted all this. Are we not perhaps in the presence of the unseen working of some historic spirit?

Dossier "Alphabet" contains a whole series of documents devoted to the intricate policies of the French representatives in the South, when the Denikians are for ever vainly attempting to persuade them that they and they alone are the only true friends of the Entente, and the only authority capable of undertaking anything serious against the Bolsheviks. The principal person acting for the Entente is a certain Colonel Freudenberg, in the hands of whom the French Generals, d'Anselme, Bertelle and Franz d'Esper are mere laithings. Grishin-Almazoff himself is at a loss to find words strong enough to describe the crafty, ambiguous policy of this Colonel Freudenberg and his presumed lack of foresight.

Conversing with the Denikians, Freudenberg always declares himself to be partisan of a United, Indivisible Russia, and of the restoration of the old Russian State in its former potency. But from his conversation with the Denikians it is quite clear that he is not at all convinced that they are as powerful as they pretend, and that he is uncertain to what extent their assurances of good faith can be relied upon. These documents show us many vivid pictures of the incessant wrangling that goes on in the White Guards' camp. The smaller the area of their authority, the more they are divided, the more furiously they fight amongst themselves.

UKRAINIAN INTRIGUES.

Freudenberg does not always hide this fact. In a conversation with Shulgin, he suddenly lets out the treaty with Petlura* and a document from the Ukrainian directory stating that

The Directory, recognising the mistakes made by it, begs of the French command assistance in its struggle against the Bolsheviks; further, that the Directory commits itself to French protection, and begs representatives of France to undertake the leadership of the Ukraine government in military, diplomatic, political, financial, economic, and judicial spheres, until the struggle against the Bolsheviks comes to an end.

Freudenberg turns triumphantly to Shulgin and asks: "What do you say to that?"

Shulgin replies: "Canailles, such as Petlurians, are capable of signing anything."

This conversation forms the leading theme which is repeated, with endless variations, throughout all the documents of this collection.

There is a special dossier in the Grishin-Almazoff archives which is marked "Special Matters." In this dossier is filed everything of a nature to compromise the French; documents relating to their double dealing, to their coquetry with the Petlurians, "these bandits and robbers," as Grishin-Almazoff describes them. Evidence is also filed of their irregular and lawless administration in Odessa and of the unlimited insolence of their soldier-ruffians, experiencing for the first time the feeling of victory. Records of their complete incapacity to adapt themselves to unusual circumstances—their frivolity, carelessness, ignorance of military affairs and absence on their part of even the most elementary precautions during the approach of the Bolshevik troops are collected together and placed as one great "act

Continued on next page

The International Union of Ex-Service Men.

The *Daily Herald* of December 16th published an article by Raymond Lefebvre, vice-president of the Republican Association of Ex-Soldiers, conveying an invitation from this French organisation to all unions or associations of ex-service men. The same invitation to participate in an international conference has been sent through the post to a large number of ex-service men's organisations, including the one of which the writer is secretary. This last, the International Union of Ex-Service Men, will have great satisfaction, should funds permit, in participating in the proposed conference, for its principles and aims are practically identical with those of the Republican Association of Ex-Soldiers.

Before assisting in the foundation of the International Union, I was a member of another organisation of discharged men, an organisation which claimed to be progressive. As far as pensions and similar matters were concerned, it did its best for the ex-soldier, but many of us recognised that, important as these things were, much more important possibilities were open to ex-service men. In that organisation, however, we were in a minority; and when we tried to convert the reactionary elements to our view, we were decried as bolsheviks, and received no support.

In these circumstances we decided to form the International Union of Ex-Service Men, Widows, and Dependents, to which those serving with the colours are admitted as honorary members. One of our primary aims is to make ex-service men understand their economic position as workers, to help them to realise who are the real enemies of their class. We want to show them the essential nature of what may be called the national stunt, the cult of patriotism. Our union is an International Union because its members are convinced that only by international action can the workers' cause be fought to a successful issue.

Camouflage and bluff doubtless played a considerable part in the Great War. But in the Greater War upon which we have now entered, there is no place for camouflage or bluff. The ex-service men who are invited to join us are told in plain terms what the union is fighting for. There are no cards hidden up our sleeves, for we put all our cards on

the table. We do not advocate constitutional action. The constitution is sacred to the enemies of our class. The International Union is an out and out revolutionary socialist organisation. It stands alone among ex-service men's organisations in this country in its determination to fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and to work for the world-wide establishment of a socialist commonwealth based upon soviets. In furtherance of these objects, we go out into the highways and the byways to preach the gospel of discontent among our fellow workers, we who were workers before we wore military uniform, and are workers now that we have once more become members of the great army of wage slaves.

We, ex-soldiers, are fighting for the overthrow of militarism, which can only be overthrown by the destruction of capitalism. To us, all the workers of the world are brothers, regardless of nationality, creed, or colour; and all the capitalists of the world are enemies, regardless of nationality, creed, or colour.

An organisation with so revolutionary a program naturally had to contend at first with considerable opposition. I cannot assert that even yet our membership approaches the million mark but we are making gratifying headway. Our first successes were secured to the north of the Tweed, and we have numerous branches in Scotland. At present our headquarters are at 118, Holm Street, Glasgow. But I need hardly say that an international organisation has no intention of confining its activities to Scotland. As a sequel to the war for the liberty for small nations there is considerable difficulty in the way of revolutionary propaganda in Ireland, but even Ireland is not immune from the attentions of the International Union. Through our regular weekly organ, *The Worker* (Scottish) which is good enough to give us a page in every issue, the work of the union is becoming widely known in England, and requests for information, with proposals to form branches, reach us by every post. W. A. A. Painter, 22, Philip Street, Kingsland Road, N.1, is official organiser for north London.

Comrades, think internationally. There is no

middle course. You are either for internationalism or against it. And when we talk of the international, we mean the Communist, the Red, International. Join up to do your bit in the Greater War, the war by means of which the cooperative commonwealth will be established by way of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let me quote, in conclusion, from our published platform: "The International Union . . . seeks to establish an industrial republic. In pursuit of this aim, it endeavours to secure the industrial unity of all ex-service men. The unit of industrial organisation is the Workers' Committee, by means of which all workers are organised irrespective of craft, grade, or sex. The Executive Committee of the Union is instructed to establish proper relations with Workers' Committees throughout the country, in order to form sailors', soldiers', and workers' councils, with a view to taking over the means of production, distribution, and exchange, thereby freeing the workers from wage-slavery and exploitation."

JAS. COX,
118, Holm Street, Glasgow.
National Secretary

THE RUSSIAN RUSH.

Roma, December 16th.

Since the defeat of Judenitch the attitude of Italy toward Soviet Russia has changed markedly. Italy—business Italy and political Italy—is demanding the recognition of the workers' government of Moscow and the establishment of political and economic relations with it. There is a noticeable rush to extend to the triumphant young democracy a "friendly hand"—which is in reality an itching palm. Only the efforts of the Nitti government, bound by its engagements with the Entente, prevents the country from immediately extending recognition to Moscow.

Last week the Chamber of Deputies voted unanimously that the government should urge the supreme council of Paris (or is it London?) to re-establish political and economic relations with all *de facto* governments of Russia. The resolution has, of course, no practical importance, for there is a long distance between doing something and urging the Supreme Council to do it. Also the wording of the resolution to include "all *de facto* governments" is but a clumsy attempt to save face. Nevertheless the resolution is highly significant as a barometer.

The truth is that the demand for complete recognition of Soviet Russia is becoming so insistent that the government will not be able to hold it in check much longer. In the first place, the working classes, not excluding the Catholics, are solid in demanding recognition, and will not cease making trouble until it is given. And within the last few weeks the great newspapers representing the large commercial interests have dropped all pretence and come out forcibly demanding the renewal of relations with Moscow. While some of the Rome dailies, always more or less under the influence of politicians, are still uncertain of what to think, those of Milan, controlled by the banks and the trusts, have adopted the recognition policy openly.

The *Corriere della Sera*, for example, heartily commends the action of the Chamber. It reminds its readers (as do most of the other papers) that Italy is in sore need of raw materials which cannot be purchased from the west because of the unfavourable rate of exchange, but could be purchased from Russia to great advantage if the blockade were lifted. Business is crippled, people are starving and freezing, because of the fruitless attempt to crush the Soviets. These papers make no secret of their belief that the counter-revolutionary movement in Russia has completely failed. They continually speak of Denikin and Koltchak as "adventurers." To appease their conservative readers they repeat the fact that the "red terror" is a thing of the past; they remark that Soviet Russia appears to be firmly governed and steadily restoring its economic position. And they affect to believe that the Lenin régime is becoming so "moderate" that it is no longer a "menace" to the "western democracies." In this attitude the *Secolo*, of Milan, and the liberal *Tempo*, as well as the semi-governmental *Epoca*, both of Rome, join.

The demand for Soviet recognition is supported by an ever-increasing number of the middle class, who know that the high prices with which they are struggling are due largely to the blockaded condition of the world. They have quite ceased talking in panicky language of "Russian Bolshevism."

The truth is that the demand is becoming overwhelming. The government cannot much longer hold it in check. A formidable portion of political opinion would like Italy to cut loose entirely from Paris and pursue her own independent foreign policy, which would necessarily include Russian recognition. If the inter-Allied conferences do not produce something definite in regard to Russia within a short time, we may see Italy recognising the Soviets on her own account.

The Socialists, of course, have insisted on the immediate, independent and unqualified recognition of the Moscow Government, and have presented a motion to that effect in the Chamber. So long as their demand is refused, or side-tracked by meaningless resolutions such as that of last week, their opposition will continue to be an increasing danger to the government.

DENIKIN AND THE ALLIES.

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of indictment" by Grishin-Almazoff. We learn how the French supplanted the local authorities of Odessa, and with a complete disregard for anybody, issued their own instructions in respect to all spheres of life. It is he, Grishin-Almazoff, who informs us that French soldiers threw people out of their houses in order that they might themselves make use of them, that the French were always very quick in lending their authority to arrangements for all kinds of amusements, especially for French officers, and that, recognising neither law nor custom, the French took over local administrations, suspended newspapers, made requisitions, searches, etc. He tells how a hotel room just being evacuated by the chief of the staff of the Volunteer Army was broken into by French soldiers and all the things thrown into the street, how French sailors in a restaurant threatened Volunteer Army officers with revolvers and declared their intention not to recognise any of the Russian officers, and so on.

FRENCH SOLDIERS REFUSE TO FIGHT.

A critical moment arrives after all this: it is the approach of the Bolsheviki on Kherson. French grandeur appears here to have been built on feet of clay: French soldiers refuse to take up the fight against the Bolsheviki.

After a few shrapnel shells had exploded close by the feelings of the people underwent a rapid change for the worse. At the entrance of the Staff, when the commander of the regiment entered and came out with orders to take up positions on the front, his regiment declined even to budge. The regiment stood there in one long row with its rifles stacked up in front of it. Occasional mutterings were heard: "We came to Russia on police duty, not to fight. . . . I am on leave for France in a fortnight and have no desire to be buried in Kherson."

The commander of the regiment thereupon made his escape upstairs, where he fell upon a sofa and became hysterical.

Afterwards he started to hand out his money and papers, requesting me to send them to his wife, as he was about to shoot himself. Only after some trouble did I succeed in pacifying him.

This is related by a Russian officer-interpreter attached to the French. The final result turned out to be the evacuation of

Kherson and its occupation by Bolshevik soldiers.

As far as the French Command are concerned, this last event is described in the documents in sufficiently strong language:—

Arrogance and frivolity of the French. We are revolted at the inertia which is shown by the French commando at the complete absence of all necessary orientation and of a nonchalance which in general is quite incomprehensible to us.

It is impossible to rely on the French!

These statements were made on February 25th by the Greek Colonel Solokopoule, and Battalion Commander of the 34th Greek Regiment, Captain Vlakes. They add:—

We are sure that you will take steps in order that the conversation we have had with you should not reach French ears, for it is quite obvious to you that in such a case we should have much unpleasantness. We believe in the sincerity of the promise you have given us, and so far are not threatened by any danger.

In setting out for Siberia, Grishin-Almazoff was imprudent enough to take all these documents with him—documents which picture to us so frankly and clearly the relations existing between the Denikins and the Allies, documents which reveal the most intimate contact of the two camps of robbers; which, while remaining for the outside world an emblem of untarnished friendship were, to all intents and purposes, torn with enmity. We make these documents public and submit them to the supreme judge—the working class!

G. TCHITCHERINE.

*All these people bring their complaints and accusations to Colonel Freudenberg. The rivalry between the white guard volunteer army and Denikin's government unsettles and hinders the latter in all possible ways, thus proving to the French that Denikin is incapable of successfully carrying out mobilisation in the Odessa district by reason of the population's hatred towards him. Naturally, the followers of Denikin declare all this to be falsehood and calumny. But Colonel Freudenberg is not quite so sure of that. On the other hand, when he sees that numerous elements rally for Ukrainian independence and gather round Petlura, he does not wish to refuse their aid for the sake of Denikin's beautiful eyes. France looks further afield. The followers of Denikin, the national centres, and other adherents to the restoration of a united Russian State, are perfectly right in accusing France of desiring to seize the lion's share by supporting local supporters of independence.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: Sylvia Pankhurst

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.

Annual Subscription, post free—10s. 10d

Back Numbers, 4½d., post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at
400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

All business communications to the MANAGER
152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4
Telephone: Central 7240.

Vol. VI. No. 41

Sat., Jan. 3rd, 1920

THE POLICY OF THE I.L.P.

Are the present opinions of the majority of the members of the Independent Labour Party represented by those of J. R. MacDonald, Philip Snowden, and the majority of the Party's National Executive? Or is the policy of these people outstripped by that of the rank and file? Have the one-time leaders become leaders only of a small minority, as is the case of those who have hitherto led the German Independent Socialist Party?

That is the principal question to be decided by the I.L.P. Conference next Easter. Nothing could better clear up the issue than the placing of a resolution or amendment on the agenda calling for the resignation of the Party from the Second International and its immediate admission to the Third. The I.L.P. members who cheer enthusiastically for the Soviets should see that this is done; thus they may have a chance of proving the sincerity of their admiration for the Workers' Soviet Republic.

The manifesto which the I.L.P. Executive has prepared for the next meeting of the Second International challenges a reply from the rank and file of the party: will that reply be forthcoming?

This manifesto asks two questions and gives what it alleges to be the I.L.P. reply. Firstly it asks: "Is a revolutionary dictatorship of the Proletariat necessary as a transition from Capitalism to Socialism?"

The reply given by the I.L.P. Executive is:—

"A revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat need not be necessary for the transition from Capitalism to Socialism; but whether it has to be resorted to, or not, depends solely upon the capitalists themselves, and not upon the political necessities of Socialism, and Socialists ought not to allow capitalist interests and designs to divert Socialist propaganda and methods. That in most politically democratic countries will only strengthen the hands of the reaction, and in countries well equipped with modern military weapons will only lead to massacre, not to revolution."

The manifesto also states that:—

"It is impossible to govern a country except by majorities or by the continued rule of force."

Our reply to the first of these contentions is that the Capitalists will not surrender their power without a struggle, and we advise the writers of the I.L.P. manifesto, as well as the rank and file members of the Party to read "The Finnish Revolution, A Self-Criticism," by O. V. Kuusinen. This interesting document tells, from the actual experience of Finnish Socialists, where the present I.L.P. policy of refusal to recognise the existence of the class struggle leads at the crisis of capitalist expropriation. The Finnish Socialists followed the superficial parliamentary policy to which the I.L.P. pins its faith, and, out-generalled in every direction, they were beaten down in a blood bath of persecution. The revolutions in Germany and Russia teach, though with less startling clearness, the same hard lesson.

As to the I.L.P.'s second contention. Does the I.L.P. Executive suggest seriously, for one moment, that we in this country are, or ever have been governed by anything but a minority and without force? Does it fail to admit that no Government in the world has ever yet existed except by force, and that no Capitalist govern-

ment can be anything but the government of a majority by a minority and maintained by force?

The I.L.P. Executive implies that a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat must entail government by a minority; we do not admit that. On the contrary, we do not believe that a revolution can succeed unless the majority, at least, of those people who are prepared to take any part at all, will rally to it. Had it been opposed by the majority of the Russian people the Soviet Government could not have maintained its power. But we believe that just as in Russia, so in other countries, it may happen that only a minority of the people will take actual steps to transfer the power. In Petrograd the Bolsheviki seized the power, declaring it to be necessary to confront the All-Russia Congress of Soviets with an accomplished fact. Whether the Congress would have voted to seize the power if the power had not already been presented to it by the Bolsheviki we can never know; but this is certain; in a life and death struggle it is not possible to proceed by revolution. It is necessary for Socialists to understand that there is a class war, and that the possessing capitalists will use every kind of force, every defensive and offensive tactic that may present itself, in order to maintain their power. Surely the great war of capitalist rivalries, scarcely over, should have taught us that! Is anyone so foolish as to imagine that the landlords and the iron, coal, oil, railway, and shipping magnates would be any gentler in their dealings with British workers than they have been with German and Russians if they thought that the British workers were threatening their existence as capitalists?

Has the I.L.P. really failed to grasp the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Does it not know that the workers' dictatorship is simply the suppression of the capitalist, the refusal to grant him the citizen right extended to every worker until the capitalist ceases to be a capitalist and settles down to be an ordinary working member of communist society?

The I.L.P. manifesto goes on to ask:—

"Is the Soviet form of government the only form which will enable the proletariat to exercise political power?"

The manifesto replies:—

"The Soviet form of Government is not the best form for an industrial democracy, though it may be a very efficient revolutionary form."

Observing that the Russian Soviets, both in 1905 and 1917, were set up in the moment of revolution, the I.L.P. executive has mistakenly assumed that the Soviet form is conditioned by the fact that it arose in a revolutionary crisis, not by its utilitarian character as a proletarian organ of representation and administration. The I.L.P. should look more deeply into the matter; it should study the prevailing structural tendency of the organisations which the working class is building up for the management of its own affairs, even within the capitalist system in every modern industrial country. That tendency is undoubtedly towards the Soviet form.

In every country in the world the advance guard of the workers is demanding that the old territorially elected Parliaments shall be replaced by bodies representing the people, according to their occupational grouping.

But the I.L.P. executive definitely sets itself against this now widely accepted principle.

It says:—

"The Socialist elector whose intelligence is equal to the building up of the Socialist State must vote as a citizen, and not merely as a workman belonging to a certain trade, and with a full knowledge of all that Socialism means."

The phrasing of that paragraph strikes us as being peculiarly vapid. It seems to carry with it a flavour of contempt for productive work, by which human society exists, and from which human beings should, and in spite of capitalism, actually derive, even now, a greater measure of enjoyment and self-development than from any other source. "The Socialist

elector should not vote merely as a workman belonging to a certain trade," says the manifesto. But we ask how it is possible for a man to gain greater breadth or wisdom by voting, not as a member of a trade he understands, for someone he works with daily; but as a resident of Bow or Tooting, for a candidate he only knows by his speeches on public platforms?

The I.L.P. further condemns the Soviet system because it entails an indirect method of election "so that," it alleges, "the central governing authority has no direct responsibility to the people for its acts."

Does the I.L.P. executive seriously declare that the central governing authority in this country has a direct responsibility to the people for its acts?

We say that the acts of the central governing authority under the Parliamentary system are never fully known to the people. The people, as a whole, cannot exercise a detailed supervision over the actions of the Government, they cannot recall the Government when they are displeased with it; even when the General Election comes, the people can only pass a vague and general verdict on its record.

But it should be noticed that the I.L.P. itself like most other working class organisations, has adopted something which approximates more closely to the Soviet than to the Parliamentary system, for electing its committee and for deciding its policy. But it has not adopted the democratic practice of making its executive constantly subject to recall by its constituents, as is the case with all the delegates of the Soviet State, from the People's Commissaries and Members of the All-Russia Executive Committee downward. The I.L.P. has not given its branches the power to summon interim conferences of the Party for the purpose of instructing the Executive, as the bodies which send delegates to the all-Russia Congress of Soviets are entitled to do. Though the I.L.P. executive has not yet grasped the fact that the Soviet form represents the essential structure of the coming proletarian State; though it does not yet understand that the Socialist Community must inevitably be an industrial one, yet (like the ex-leaders of the German Independents) the I.L.P. executive finds itself obliged to make concessions to the Soviet idea. The manifesto says:—

"The direct representation of industrial interests should be provided for by industrial bodies representative of the workshops, mines, etc., which should have a large measure of power in determining legislation and be in the closest touch with State administration, but which should not be the basis of a political constitution."

"The Party is considering the possibility of the creation of representative industrial councils, with large powers in the control of labour conditions in the workshops and with definite advisory powers, both in fiscal administration, and in legislation."

This is very interesting. Others have been pondering and agitating on this matter for years. More than once the question of industrial organisation, both in the immediate present of class struggle and in the future social order, has even found its way on to the I.L.P. Conference agenda. Always it has been relegated to the last day, when the necessity for making congratulatory orations has caused it to be referred to the N.A.C.; or, in other words, to the waste paper basket.

But now, at last, the I.L.P. executive has found it necessary to make a pronouncement, and it tells us: "the Party is considering the possibility of the creation of representative Industrial Councils."

The name, "Industrial Councils," is decidedly unpleasant: it savours of Whitley Councils, or Councils of employers and employed.

But the I.L.P. still calls itself a Socialist organisation.

Surely, therefore, its N.A.C. cannot mean to suggest any councils of that kind!

The rank and file of the party would not, we think, submit to being committed to approval of such councils. Nor do we think the rank and file of the Party—the men and women who

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THE POLICY OF THE I.L.P.

Continued from page 1592.

work in factories, mines and dockyards—will be content with a scheme for creating Councils with merely "advisory powers." Advisory power, in this world of clashing interests, is no power at all.

The I.L.P. has certainly set a big task for itself in attempting to produce a scheme of industrial government which shall be acceptable to the workers, and shall not be the Soviet form!

Of course, there is nothing like courage in tackling a great subject; but to us it seems that this is rather a case of mental cowardice, than of courage. The I.L.P. executive is finding itself in a position of difficulty, because it has neither the elasticity of mind which would enable it to cut itself loose from old traditions and prejudices, nor the pluck which would again spur it on to run the gauntlet of capitalist abuse and to face the cold shoulder of Official Labour, by taking its stand on the Communist platform—which is the old platform of Socialism, and has not changed.

But squirm and wriggle as it may, the I.L.P. executive will undoubtedly see all its compromises finally rejected by the Party, which will shortly declare for the Soviet system, as the German Independent Socialist Party has done.

On the question of "Direct Action" for political purposes, the I.L.P. has hitherto been officially dumb. As a constituent section of the Labour Party, it has taken no audible share in the decision of this question, which has dominated every recent Labour Conference. Now, at last, it speaks, but very feebly. It declares itself to be:—

"Insistently pointing out that 'Direct Action' for political purposes is essentially different in its nature from 'Direct Action' for industrial purposes, and that the risks of failure for the former are so great that its political practicability is slight. The threats and fears of 'Direct Action,' taken along with a general state of unsettlement, such as exists to-day, do, however, contribute materially to the influences which curb the policy of reactionary Governments. The Party, therefore, rejects 'Direct Action' as a substitute for Parliamentary action, but considers it as one of the general weapons which the reaction may compel the working class to use. Thus used, it may be regarded as a means of restoring representative government, not of destroying it."

These sentences seem to indicate that, in the view of the I.L.P. executive, the threat of direct action is useful, and may intimidate the Government; but the business of putting into practice such a threat is too risky to be embarked on. It appears that the I.L.P. has just reached the stage of approving the tactics of Robert Smillie and Robert Williams, who have long been threatening the general strike, but have never taken a single step towards bringing it about.

But the policy of threatening political strikes it is not intended to bring off, is an opportunist half-way house, in which neither Smillie and Williams, nor the I.L.P., can permanently reside. Those who play with inflammable material will some day find that a spark has lighted the tinder, and then they will be obliged to declare themselves and to act either in one direction or the other. If the I.L.P. declares for the political strike, it must eventually declare for the Revolution, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the political strike is of the same stuff of which these bigger things are made: it is based on the same principles and springs from the same idealism. It is their prelude: they are its inevitable conclusion.

All I.L.P. members should consider whether this N.A.C. manifesto represents their views.

The manifesto should be brought up for discussion at the Easter Conference.

This can easily be ensured by an amendment to any of the international resolutions on the agenda if the branch sends it in within the next few weeks.

Should this fail to be done any delegate can raise the matter on the N.A.C. report.

If the I.L.P. Conference decide to adhere to this N.A.C. manifesto, and to retain its adherence to the Second International, the I.L.P. will have taken up a definite stand with the

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND IRELAND.

The Parliamentary Labour Party has appointed Adamson, Henderson, Clynes, and three others as a deputation to investigate Irish conditions and to ascertain how far the present system of Government is "interfering with legitimate individual liberty." The objects of the visit, as explained in the *Daily Herald*, sound unpromising. They do not seem to indicate that the Labour Party will really stand, as Adamson declared in the House the other day, for self-determination for Ireland.

J. R. MacDonald, in the *Glasgow Forward*, indicates that it is by no means certain a Labour Government would give independence to Ireland. He says:—

"The Irish problem may become so hardened that a Labour Government may be baffled by it, just as much as this Government is."

If that means anything at all, it means that MacDonald does not stand for Irish independence, otherwise he could not possibly say that a Labour Government would be as surely baffled by the Irish problem as is the Lloyd George Government, which refuses independence.

The latest story of an attack on the Vice-Regal Lodge appears to be a myth. It seems probable that a poor workman has lost his life, simply because the guards had an attack of nerves. It is also probably true that for a large proportion of the violent deeds recently done in Ireland, neither the Sinn Feiners nor any others who desire national independence, have been responsible. But whatever may be the truth in regard to these matters, it does not affect the situation. The majority of the Irish people undoubtedly desire independence, and no legitimate excuse can exist for withholding it. As Communists, we stand for

Counter-Revolution.

No active Socialist in these days should remain in the ranks of a Party which is not working definitely for Communism.

J. R. MACDONALD AND THE RIVAL

INTERNATIONALS.

In a letter "to a Doubting Internationalist," Ramsay MacDonald attacks the Third International, and suggests the possibility of the I.L.P. recruiting a fourth International if the Second does not meet. This lover of compromise tries to explain away the decision of the German Independents, whose policy has been similar to that of the I.L.P., though in many respects in advance of it. MacDonald rightly says that great bitterness exists between the German Independents and the old Majority Socialists, who are the government in power. He says:—

"At Lucerne it reached a head, and the Independents announced that at Geneva they would move for the expulsion of the majority. Some of us counselled an attempt at unity."

Why was this counsel offered? What unity could exist between any genuine Socialist Party and the Party which, having accepted the power of government, had become, as even MacDonald admits, a mere tool "in the hands of militarists and reactionaries": a party which habitually suppressed Socialist newspapers, prohibited Socialist meetings, and visited the most hideous "White Terror" upon its one-time comrades? How could an International be anything but futile in which it was sought to retain such a party?

MacDonald further admits that the action of the Belgian Government Socialists in joining a reactionary coalition weakens the Second International, but he declares it ought not to strengthen the Third.

MacDonald, who is an adept at making long speeches without saying anything, and whose habitual seat is on the fence, seems unable to understand that those who wish to do anything at all must move either this way or that. He appears oblivious of the fact that the war has shaken the foundations of capitalism, and that those who to-day venture to take a hand in politics, must either aid in buttressing the capitalist edifice, or join in destroying it. Mac-

Donald refuses to see that the German Majority Socialists were faced with a choice from which there was no escape: either they must leave capitalism behind and take the plunge that Soviet Russia has taken into Communism, or they must crush the German Communists and revolutionary workers who were trying to force them to move in that direction. One course or other the Government Socialists must adopt, or else be overthrown. They chose to maintain their power by clinging to capitalism and by employing coercion.

THE TREATY WITH FRANCE.

It is obvious that, both in regard to the new pledges to fight with France in the event of war with Germany, and in every other item of foreign policy, the procedure of the present Government is in keeping with that of its pre-war forebears, and this country is certain to be involved in the next European war.

BRITISH MISSION AND GERMAN "SOCIALISTS."

It is interesting to learn that the official British Mission to Germany discussed matters very fully with Hilferding and Cohn, two leaders of the German Independent Socialists' right wing. It is specially interesting and also ominous that the British representative asked particularly for information regarding the Workers' Councils of Germany.

ROUMANIAN SOCIALIST M.P.'S CHANGE OF FRONT.

La Vie Ouvriere reports that, though the Roumanian Socialist Party had decided to boycott the Parliamentary elections on the ground that they were being held illegally and under a military despotism, and though only 30 per cent. of the electorate voted, the seven Socialist Members who were elected because there was not time to withdraw their nominations, have taken their seats, obtaining permission to do so at an irregularly summoned conference.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The American Labour Party, at its inaugural Conference in Chicago on November 29th, 1919, condemned the League of Nations Treaty as a betrayal on the ideals offered the people before the war.

Of course, the League of Nations is a capitalist Alliance, the most important purpose of which is to oppose the workers' revolution. The executive of the American Labour Party consists of a man and a woman from every State in the Union. The Party is Reformist.

MacDonald refuses to see that the German Majority Socialists were faced with a choice from which there was no escape: either they must leave capitalism behind and take the plunge that Soviet Russia has taken into Communism, or they must crush the German Communists and revolutionary workers who were trying to force them to move in that direction. One course or other the Government Socialists must adopt, or else be overthrown. They chose to maintain their power by clinging to capitalism and by employing coercion.

MacDonald refuses to recognise that every country which is faced with famine and bankruptcy is also inevitably faced with Revolution, and that the Communist Revolution comes as the only means which can save the people from an intolerable situation, and enable them to rebuild society on new foundations. He smugly says:—

"International Socialism ought not to commit itself to the Moscow programme. That would turn Socialism into a mere wild revolutionary minority, and throw back the movement to where it was generations ago, when it was only a ferment in the hearts of a few pioneers working in a world of darkness."

Poor MacDonald, so obsessed is he by the trivial shallow intrigues of the House of Commons, that to him it is still as though the Russian Revolution had not happened!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

Dorothy F. Buxton has written to the *Daily Herald* to say that the Save the Children Fund makes no distinction against the children of Soviet Russia and that its organisers have "all preparations made for sending relief to Petrograd as soon as the necessary official sanction can be obtained."

Just so, but the necessary official sanction is not forthcoming, and will not be until the Allies cease their attack on the Soviets. Soviet Russia does not, however, plead for charitable gifts from this country; our comrades over there only ask to be left in peace to build up a Communist society, in which there shall be no longer seen the spectacle of the well-to-do sparing a little of what they can do without to give it to the starving poor.

THE ALEX. GORDON SCANDAL.

In considering the Alex Gordon scandal, do not forget that three people were imprisoned for long terms on a false charge, and that one of them, Mrs. Wheeldon, died prematurely as an undoubted result of her long imprisonment and of the hunger strike by which she eventually secured her release.

Mrs. Wheeldon was an elderly widow, a hard-working, kindly woman, who kept a second-hand goods shop. Her children were all working for their living; two of her daughters were teachers. Before the war they were active members of the W.S.P.U., and though they did not take part in any of the more serious militancy of that body, they sold *The Suffragette* and other literature, and were the sort of zealous, energetic, voluntary workers who make the backbone of any movement. Their quality was recognised at the W.S.P.U. headquarters, before the war, and Hetty was offered a post as organiser for the Union.

We ourselves never came into contact with the Wheeldons until after the Gordon conspiracy against them. We saw Hetty Wheeldon when, after her own acquittal, she was working to secure the release of the rest of her family. We met her again at the Derby Labour Party Conference, and she took us home, where we found that her mother was "mothering" half a dozen other comrades with warm hospitality, in a delightful "old-fashioned" household, where comfort was secured by hard work and thrifty management. Mrs. Wheeldon's business was ruined by Government persecution: she made the best of the situation by using her shop window for growing tomatoes. Hetty had lost her post as a teacher, and could not obtain another: she worked on the allotment. So they shouldered their burden, and worked on cheerfully. But Mrs. Wheeldon died

The Dictatorship We Live Under.

During the war the Government wished to restrict imports. As the protectionist doctrine had grown very attractive to many one-time free traders, and as the Government had been lavish in its promises of aid to a number of manufacturing interests, the Government was anxious to have the power to prohibit imports at will, in peace as well as in war.

To introduce legislation might have caused trouble, even in that subservient Parliament. Members are still influenced to a certain extent by their old Party traditions, and there was the risk of causing an agitation in the constituencies. Therefore the Government made use of a clause in the Customs Consolidation Act of 1896, which gave the Government power to prohibit by proclamation or Order in Council, the importation of "arms, ammunitions, gunpowder, or any other goods." Under this clause the Government prohibited the importation of a long list of things. Finally its officers seized some pyrogallic acid which a certain John Brown was importing for his chemical factory. John Brown has brought an action against the Government, and Justice Sankey has decided that all this time the Government has been acting illegally in its wholesale prohibitions of imports. He declares that the words "any other goods" were only meant to apply to munitions.

Justice Sankey, of course, is a Free Trader, and has upheld the thing in which he believes; the terms of his judgment clearly indicate that. Judges, we know, are supposed to be impartial, but they never are and never can be in matters in which pre-conceived opinions are involved. If the case had been tried by an enthusiastic protectionist it would probably have gone otherwise. As it is, the Government may make the nation pay for the case to be taken to another, and even yet another court. If it makes up its mind to get the verdict it desires;

prematurely, as a result of her imprisonment, and her younger daughter's health was seriously undermined.

And now Alex Gordon has returned to tell the story of how he procured the imprisonment of the Wheeldons. The most significant point in his rambling account is that the Government paid him to go to South Africa. Obviously this was done in order that it would not be possible to put him into the witness box, because his story would not stand the test of cross-examination, and, moreover, his presence would mean that the case against the Wheeldons must fail.

Miserably sordid is his account of how he was gradually drawn into the police net by economic pressure. He was always in a chronic state of hardship, he says, and he never got the 50/- a week promised him "in a heap," but "always had to sub to get money to go on with." The *Daily Herald* account breaks off at an important point: it does not give any information concerning the conspiracy against the Wheeldons.

The *Derby Daily Express* now announces that Gordon paid a visit to its office three weeks before his interview with the *Herald*. According to the *Derby* paper Gordon expressed willingness to sell information to anyone about anything, and showed a revolver bullet with which he intended "to settle something." Finally, the police were sent for to remove him, because he grew violent on being refused a second interview. At another *Derby* newspaper office he received money for a meal, after which the *Express* reports that the Police Court Missionary was offering to pay his fare to Leicester.

A sordid story, and one which the Lloyd George Government will doubtless wish to forget.

the Government will certainly be able to get it. But probably now that all this publicity has been given to the affair, the Government may prefer to proceed by way of legislation to attain its end if it deems the matter worth pressing further at this stage.

The Times praises Judge Sankey's verdict, and noses, for the time being, as an upholder of British liberties. *The Times* is always jealous of the liberties of the capitalist—the liberty of the worker is always another matter. Moreover, having put Lloyd George in to ride rough shod over all liberties save those affecting their own interests, the greater capitalists of *The Times* group are now inclined to turn against him; they will drop him as soon as they think another will serve them better.

The whole affair of the imports is only a quarrel between the capitalists of rival schools: neither free trade nor protection really affect the enslaved position of the working class.

Things You Ought To Read.

The Hungarian Revolution, by Charles Henry Schmidt. A Swiss journalist's account of the first five days of the revolution. Translation by M. P. Shiel. A most interesting 54-page pamphlet. Price 9d., post free 10d.

Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, by N. Lenin. Everyone should read this illuminating pamphlet. Price 2d., post free 2½d.

Soviets for the British, by L. A. Motler. Explaining why the British should have Soviets, and contains a chart showing clearly how the Soviets are built up. If you want to understand the Soviet system read this pamphlet. Price 1½d., post free 2d. To be obtained from 400, Old Ford-road, E.3.

Annual Subscription to DREADNOUGHT

10s. 10d., post free.

Lloyd George Takes Off The Mask.

Definite Refusal of Peace with Soviet Russia America and Japan Preparing to Attack.

Lloyd George has silenced again the false, foolish stories so persistently repeated by those who want to whitewash him, that he is the friend of Soviet Russia, and eagerly seeking an opportunity to make peace with her. He definitely told the House of Commons on December 18th that the Allies will not make peace with Soviet Russia.

He said:—

"The trouble is there is no Russia. There is a civil war going on to decide that very issue."

He admitted that, at the moment, the Soviets are victorious; but he argued that they have been driven back before, and may be again. There can be no doubt that he hopes they may be defeated, and that the Allies are doing all they can to ensure that result.

He revealed the fact that the American and Japanese Governments are working together against the Soviets:—

"So far as America and Japan are concerned they were not represented at the conference of plenipotentiaries. They were concerned only with part of the problem—I mean practically concerned. They were concerned with that part of it which deals with Siberia. . . . discussions are going on between the American and Japanese Governments with regard to what is to be done there, in the event of the Bolshevik army making very much further progress towards the East."

There is, unfortunately, no doubt as to the position. America and Japan, as we were able to show many months ago, have arranged to divide a large part of Siberia between them; that is "the part of the problem with which they are practically concerned," and when the Soviet forces reach the territory they have chosen as their share of the spoils, they will begin to fight. A Vladivostock telegram of December 18th announced that America and Japan were now agreed on joint action in Siberia.

Lloyd George says:—

"If the Bolsheviks want to speak for Russia, they can do so by summoning a national assembly, freely elected by the Russian peasants and workmen."

That cannot be taken as a promise of peace in the event of the Russians unwisely complying with the suggestion. Lloyd George promised peace if the Germans would abandon their autocratic Kaiser and government; but when the German Revolution came, Lloyd George and the Allies imposed on the Germans the most terrible terms ever forced on any people.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

DECEMBER 19TH.—A Bill to increase the Old Age Pension from 7/6 to 10/- was read a second time and passed. People whose yearly income does not exceed forty-nine pounds, seventeen shillings and sixpence are henceforth entitled to the pension, and those whose means do not exceed £26 a year will be entitled to the full pension. It has taken the Government a long time to grant this miserable pittance, which in reality has not the purchasing power of the pre-war 5/-! The old should not be penalised for their age; but should get a living wage.

ROYAL MARINES.

DECEMBER 22ND.—Mr. Long, in reply to Commander Kenworthy (L.) stated that the sentences passed on the Royal Marines at present in Bodmin Prison on the charge of mutiny in North Russia had been reviewed and consequently reduced. For instance, those condemned by court-martial to five years' penal servitude are to be released after six months. Is this not proof enough that the whole procedure against these men was unjust, and that the Admiralty will not acknowledge it?

UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG.

Mr. Montagu maintained that the daily wage of a miner in India is "equivalent to rather more than 1/-." What wealth!

IRELAND AGAIN.

On the adjournment Mr. Lloyd George told the House the proposals arrived at with a view to settling the Irish question. The idea of the two Parliaments with a supreme council at their head was reviewed some time ago in the DREADNOUGHT, and since it is a still-born one further repetition is unnecessary. The Prime Minister, however, said that the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book would not be put into operation "because no one wants it." The same is true of his present proposal!

M. O' C.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS.

THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH OF SCANDINAVIA.

The first convention of the revolutionary organisations of the Socialist youth of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, took place at Linderød, Denmark, a few weeks ago. The hall of the convention was magnificently decorated with red flags and flowers. There were 80 delegates from Denmark, 20 from Norway, 20 from Sweden. A chairman of convention was elected for each country; Ewig for Denmark, Linderød for Sweden, Clausen for Norway. Helburg was elected general secretary, Tillen and Wiksten were elected secretaries for Sweden, T. Larssen and Oscar Torp were elected secretaries for Norway, and Hans Jensen and Honare for Denmark. A committee was elected for the united work of all Scandinavia, and a committee was also elected for principles and tactics. The convention decided on much practical work.

The clubs and sections are to arrange for holiday trips to the neighbouring countries. The board is to arrange lecture tours for the adjacent countries. It is the duty of every club to subscribe to at least two official organs of the allied countries. The subscriptions are to be made in the name of the president of the club, so that the papers may circulate among the members of three countries. The revolutionary youth are to set aside a day of general celebration and commemoration. On that day all the clubs are to arrange meetings and make collections in order to carry on the work. The question of a Proletarian School for the whole of Scandinavia is to be further considered.

The Socialist Federation of the Youth belongs to the Swedish Workmen's Educational Association. The S.W.E.A. conducts 260 studying classes.

By 68 votes to 5 it was decided to stand on the same platform as the Third International.

It was unanimously decided that as in the struggle against capitalism the women as well as the men must take part, one of the aims of the young Socialist movement is a more intimate co-operation with the women's organisation and a campaign of education amongst women.

THE WORKERS' REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN SPAIN.

On December 10th the Second Congress of the Spanish National Workers' Confederation, representing 900,000 workers of all of Spain, was held in Madrid. For a year the Spanish workers have been under Martial Law, their organisations broken up, and their leaders imprisoned or exiled. The government and the capitalists then seeing themselves incapable of crushing the workers' revolutionary movement, suggested an armistice. No settlement was arrived at, because the workers refuse to make any promises as to the future, considering themselves strong enough to take over the production and distribution.

As all Spain, except Bilbao, Barcelona, and Tarragona, is completely agricultural, and since the land is in the hands of a few dozen lords, some of whom are Ministers in the government, or officers in the Army or Navy, the condition of Spanish labour is much like that of Russia.

The Workers' Confederation has divided the nation into five regions; each with a daily paper of the same name, *Solidaridad Obrera*, which advocates amongst the workers a complete separation from the old forms of politics and enlightens them as to how they should act under the Soviet system which they are trying to establish.

H. TORRES.

STOCKHOLM.

The Scandinavian Labour Congress opened on December 8th, at 10.45. Each delegate is provided with a portfolio in which are stationary, printed orders-of-the-day, and resolutions. Also current revolutionary literature in the portfolio as: "The Communist Manifesto," "The Programme and Resolutions of the Third International," and "The Manifesto, Programme, and Resolutions of the Finnish Socialist Republic."

Höglund, as chairman of the Congressional Committee, gave an historical review of the revolutionary movement of Scandinavia, and then of the rest of the world. He said that 300,000 workers of the countries of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland were represented. From Denmark there was the newly-organised Left-Socialist Party, the revolutionary youth and the radical trade unions. From Norway there were the representatives of the Labour Party, the revolutionary youth and revolutionary women and radical trade unions. From

Sweden there was the same representation as from Norway. The Communists of Finland were also represented. So were the syndicalists of Norway and Sweden. The fraternal delegates were Nathan Chadbrow from the Communist Party of America, Willy Mielens, from the Communist Party of Germany.

WHY BRITISH POLICE ARE IN POLAND.

The Polish paper *The Swift*, reports the activities of the Polish demobilised soldiers' organisation, which has 52 branches, and a membership of 90,000. The first congress of the organisation was held in Warsaw in July, 1919. The congress was held secretly, because it was forbidden by the authorities, who placed police, soldiers, and machine guns, in and around the hall where the congress was to have been held. Many members of the organisation have been arrested, many branches suppressed, but it grows nevertheless.

The congress declared the European war to be imperialist, and the result of international capitalist greed. It complained of the sufferings of the Polish workers, especially the ex-soldiers and their families, the inaction of the Polish Government, and the counter-revolutionary policy of the Polish bourgeoisie. In condemning the criminal attack on Soviet Russia, in which a part of the Polish working class has been used, the congress expressed the conviction that Polish workers would soon realise the position, and would join the class-conscious Polish proletariat in joint action with the international proletariat, which will give the final blow to the capitalist dictatorship, and establish a new social order, based on common ownership, co-operation, and the brotherhood of peoples.

CONCOCTING ATROCITIES.

Robert Minor, who returned from Russia early in the summer of 1919, lectured recently in Gary (Indianapolis). He told his audience of the progress made by the Bolsheviks, pointing out that the Capitalists hoped to crush Soviet Russia by the blockade before people in other countries thoroughly understood what was really happening under Soviet rule. The atrocity campaign is being carried on with the same purpose, and on this point Robert Minor stated: "I know how 'Russian news' is manufactured by the corrupt press; in Stockholm I have seen journalists in the cafés concocting stories about the Red Terror. In one of these cafés a Russian Princess made herself agreeable to these journalists, and they altered their reports to please her. I saw a Russian Grand Duke send off a column of lies which caused American troops to be

dispatched to Russia. . . . The Red Terror is responsible for 4,500 deaths, whereas the White Terror caused 76,000 deaths. The Red Terror was defensive and a retaliation for the White Terror."

AN INTERVIEW WITH TROTSKY.

The *Chicago Daily News* publishes an interview with Trotsky dispatched from Copenhagen on October 31st, in which he is reported as saying:—

"We Russians have a great facility for learning foreign languages. We master them in a much shorter time than other Europeans. If the English persist very much longer in their present policy towards Soviet Russia, we shall perhaps be obliged to prove to them that we can learn Hindustani as quickly as other languages.

"Our programme can be summed up in one sentence: Leave us alone. If we are as weak as it is represented in the world's Press, for goodness sake let us die of inanition. Why waste your energies in bringing about the fall of this Soviet regime which, according to you, is perpetually on the brink of dissolution? Our policy is purely and exclusively a policy of defence. We do not contemplate any conquests. When President Wilson attacks us, we defend ourselves. When he sends us food, we receive it gratefully. For the last two years war has prevented us from establishing a new society, and from applying our democratic ideas. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is almost entirely the result of this war. We look upon this dictatorship as a purely temporary measure. As soon as the conflict is over, freedom of the Press, as well as all the other free institutions, will be re-established.

"We cannot grant unlimited freedom and liberty as long as Great Britain alone spends in Russia £1,000,000 per day, a quarter of which goes to promote corruption and intrigue. Everyone of our investigations brings to light the presence on our territory of thousands of agents in foreign pay. Under such circumstances, who can blame us for having militarised our Government? Do away with the battle fronts, raise the blockade, and our militarism will vanish, and we shall devote ourselves to the establishment of a new economic order in Russia.

—From the People's Russian Information Bureau.

POLICE BOMB THROWERS.

Wicklow Constabulary, strongly augmented, have been engaged recently in learning the use of hand grenades and bombs, practice being carried out on the Murrough.

Evening Telegraph, Dublin, 19th Dec., 1919.

AMERICAN WORKERS APPEAL FOR SOVIETS.

DECLARATION BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

It is nearly one year since the armistice was signed. Peace! It was what an agonizing world had yearned for.

Peace was granted Germany and Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria; but peace was not granted to Soviet Russia, where the workers were in control.

Why this war against the Russian people? They starved during the war; their dead and injured are more than of all the Allies put together. If the dead are the price of peace, then Russia paid the price in full.

But the "why" of war against Soviet Russia immediately was apparent. The diplomats of the Allies in the Peace Conference repudiated the ideals used during the war to make the people fight. The Peace Conference was not concerned with making the world safe for peace and democracy; it concerned itself with dividing the world economically, financially, and territorially among the Great Powers—France, England, Italy, Japan and United States. The Peace Conference divided the spoils; it was a peace of plunder, an imperialistic adjustment of power, a dagger thrust at the heart of the peace and liberty of the world.

Soviet Russia was a menace to this peace of plunder and oppression. Soviet Russia has repudiated Imperialism; it has repudiated annexations and wars of plunder; it believes in liberty of the peoples. Soviet Russia, in crushing its own Capitalism, is an inspiration to the workers of the world to crush all Capitalism.

So the Peace Conference declared war against Soviet Russia.

When the workers and peasants of Hungary organised their own Communist Government, the Peace Conference declared war against Soviet Hungary; and to-day the workers and peasants of Hungary are being starved and butchered by the Roumanian army, acting under the orders of the Peace Conference.

The military war against Soviet Russia proved a miserable failure. The Red Army, inspired by the ideal of Communist liberty for Russia and the world, has beaten back the counter-revolutionary forces.

But this war that Soviet Russia is compelled to wage in self-defence is a terrible agony. Instead of the factories producing shoes and clothes and agricultural machinery, they are forced to produce munitions. Instead of the men working in factory and

mine, they are compelled to fight. Instead of the people's energy being used to build their new and finer civilisation, they must use this energy for war against counter-revolution and aggression of the Allies.

But the worst feature of all is the blockade of Soviet Russia maintained by the Allies.

The Allies and the Peace Conference are deliberately starving the men, women and children of Russia—starving them in a brutal purpose to restore Czarism and maintain the workers of the world in slavery.

Food intended for Russia is rotting in the ports of Europe, but the Allies refuse to allow this food to enter Russia, while women and children die the terrible death of starvation.

Why?

Soviet Russia is a Communist Republic. A Communist Republic is a republic in which the power of the capitalists to sweat the workers is broken, where the workers control industry; a republic in which life is supreme and not profits. The Communist Republic of Russia is the promise of a new world and a finer culture, of life, liberty, and peace to all the peoples.

Capitalism maintains that the Communist Republic of Russia is a failure. On the contrary, Capitalism knows that the Communist Republic of Russia is a success; that is why international Capitalism wages war against the Communist Republic of Russia, starves it and tries to crush it. For if the Russian Communist Republic lives and flourishes, the workers of the world will say: why can't we have a Communist Republic of our own?

The war against Russia, the blockade of Russia, is an expression of the international class struggle between the workers and the capitalists. Force is used against the Russian workers, but force is also used by these governments—British, French, Italian, Japanese, American—against their own workers. The war against Soviet Russia is a war against the workers of the world.

Let the workers determine: We must break the blockade of Soviet Russia!

In Seattle American longshoremen refuse to transport munitions bound for Russia to slaughter their fellow-workers.

The blockade of Soviet Russia must be broken! The workers alone can break it. Agitate against the blockade. Organise mass demonstrations against the blockade. Organise strikes against the blockade.

LABOUR in IRELAND. By Nora Connolly.

II.
THE BOYLE STRIKE.

Feeling ran high in the Boyle strike, which lasted from March to May, 1919. Shop assistants, warehousemen, and all sorts of workers were involved. The average weekly wage for adult men workers in the town was 26/-, and the strikers were asking for 36/- a week; time and a half pay for overtime, 20/- a week for messengers; 7 o'clock closing for wholesale and retail shops on five days a week, and 9.30 p.m. on Saturdays, a weekly half-holiday, and all bank holidays.

Miserably small demands these. Yet the employers banded themselves together, determined to resist to the uttermost, and deposited a large sum of money, which was to be forfeited, should they accede to the demands of the men.

When the men received this answer to their demands they decided to strike. They arranged that they would not give notice of the day of stoppage, but would go into work as usual every day until a trumpet was blown in the Crescent. The reason for this spectacular cessation was that the employers were still of opinion that their employees were slaves, and that when it came to striking the response would be very poor.

However the trumpet was actually sounded one day and the response to its notes showed the employers how much they had under-estimated the spirit of the men. In practically all the stores the men stopped work at the first note of the trumpet, and marched to the Crescent. There they lined up, and paraded the streets, and at every place where they thought men were still working they halted and sounded the trumpet again. One of the biggest employers was in such a rage that he attacked the organiser from behind when he saw his men trooping out.

The workers now organised picket squads and massed pickets. Police were drafted in by the score. It was rumoured that the soldiers around Boyle had refused to act against the strikers. One employer, after trying various expedients for removing the pickets, came out of his shop with a potato spray, and sprayed the pickets. They informed him that there was no fear of blight coming on the Union. All the women shop-assistants joined the men, and paraded the street with them. The nightly processions and strike meetings were the biggest meetings in the memory of the townsfolk. Ex-soldiers refused to take the place of the men on strike, and paraded with the strikers. Commercial travellers who stayed at Tully's Hotel, owned by the most militant of the employers, who also ran a local newspaper, were refused orders by assistants in the shops not on strike, on the ground that they had stayed in the Hotel.

All carts leaving the town were either turned back or emptied, the goods they carried being strewn on the ground, and sometimes even burned with acid. Some carts had their wheels taken out.

In April the traffic manager of the railways refused to accept any more goods to or from Boyle owing to the number of waggons delayed there.

Some employers now met the workers' demands, thereby losing the money they had deposited with the Federation. One employer went mad, and was sent to Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum.

The police tried in every way to make the picketing ineffective, and arrested about forty pickets in one day. The strikers determined to "give the police a lesson," and "to put the fear of God in

them."

Boyle Crescent is a circular place lying in a hollow, from which rise a number of steep streets. At the top of one of those streets the strikers built a barricade, and sent down several of their number to provoke the police who were stationed in the Crescent, which is the main business centre of the town. The strikers were to throw stones, and jeer at the police, until they had provoked the police into following them. Then the strikers were to run up the street towards the barricade, where ex-soldiers were stationed with bombs to be thrown amongst the police the moment they appeared. However, the police refused to be provoked, and the bombs and barricade were never used.

The police were awaiting an opportunity of arresting the organiser and the president of the branch, but whenever these two appeared they were escorted by great crowds of people and for some time the police decided not to act. Finally, the organiser was arrested, and spent two months in Galway Jail. He was then tried in Derry, a Unionist stronghold, but was discharged.

As the strike progressed and the assaults on houses and imprisonings of strikers continued, feeling ran so high that people outside the Union gave vent to their exasperation against the employers. One of the largest employers was badly beaten by farmers, who broke the windows of his shop.

Finally, the settlement came through arbitration. The men received 32/- per week and a nine-hour day, but some were victimised.

The compromise was considered unsatisfactory, and there was for a time a falling off in the Union's membership, but it is now growing again.

NEXT WEEK.

A Creamery Strike in Co. Wick.
How the Strikers Beat the Farmers at the Railway Station.

The Farmers' Burglary.

The strike of Irish motor drivers against the military permits dictated by the Government, which had been carried on for three weeks was endorsed by a conference of the Irish Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress on December 17th. It was decided that no motor driven vehicles should be handled or repaired by Irish Trade Unionists. The Irish workers are developing a militant solidarity which we hope they will expand till they are able to establish the workers' Soviets and to overthrow not merely a British Capitalist Government, but all capitalism in Ireland.

"The New Anarchism."

The Anarchist-Propaganda Group, founded in 1919, has just got out three new pamphlets—two of which are by L. A. Motler. Of these, "Anarchist Communism in Plain English" is a common-sense plea for the workers' revolution as acceptable to Revolutionary Socialists or Communists as to Anarchist Communists. "The New Anarchism" which begins by stating that it is "the old Anarchism in new clothes," says:

"The Socialists want all the land and all the industries, all the buildings and the ships to belong to

Price 1d., from 47, Crowndale-road, London, N.W.1.

the nation, nominally, but really to the State. This State will be a parliament elected by the people, and this State will control all industry. Consequently, there will be only one master—the State—and the people will have to work on the terms of the State. This State will control everything, and consequently, the State will have to make laws for the control of the people. In order to uphold these laws the State must have recourse to some punishments that will make the disobedient obey those laws. The people then will be well housed and fed, but they will be exploited by the State. In other words they will still be slaves, although well fed slaves.

"The Anarchists, being for the fullest freedom possible, are in all cases against the State; that is to say, against government. The individual is unable to develop where he is controlled from above; progress and evolution are thereby hindered. The individual is, however, not always able to battle for himself, and individualism lends itself to abuse by the strong, who invariably turn out despots or tyrants. They can only develop themselves at the expense of the community. The Anarchist is, therefore, for co-operation, or a Communistic State of Society. The law of nature is that the best progress is made where individuals are bound together by mutual aid. With the present rate of progress of civilisation, it is impossible for an individual to be independent of others.

"The Anarchist suggests, therefore, that the best form of society, and the most natural, is where men can form together in free organisations for the common good. These free organisations are impossible under a Government, therefore government must go. No free organisation can do anything unless there is free access to the land and to industry. The land and industry are held by a few 'owners' as private property. It follows then that private property must go.

"The Anarchists do not pretend to put forth a cut-and-dried plan, an easy method of changing society for the better. The saving of the people must be the work of the people themselves."

We take it that Motler accepts the Soviets as a means of co-operation, and the Dictatorship of the proletariat until the capitalist is crushed.

S. O. S.

Some months ago a Communist League was started by a group of earnest working-class comrades, who were without financial backing. They incurred a printing debt of £34. Comrade Guy Aldred, who joined the League, has been singled out as one who might be able to pay, and an action for the recovery of the whole of the money is being brought against him personally. The procedure appears to be illegal, but we urge comrades to aid in settling the matter by sending a donation along to Comrade Rose Witcop, at 17, Richmond-gardens, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.12.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements: One penny per word
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Printed by The Cosmo Printing Co., 14, Little Howland Street, W. for the responsible Editor, and published by the W.S.F. at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Saturday, Jan 3rd, 1920. Great Push in Greenwich for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia. Meetings at 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., at Stockwell Street. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, and P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, Jan. 4th. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, White-chapel. Walter Ponder. Chair—Melvina Walker.

Tuesday, Jan. 6th. Sidney St., Mile End. 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, Jan. 10th. Great Push in Peckham and Camberwell.

INDOOR.

Monday, Jan. 5th. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m. W. S. F. Reading Circle.

Thursday, Jan. 8th. 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street. Mark Starr. Eighth Lecture on Industrial History (Beginnings of Capitalism and the Proletariat.)

Friday, Jan. 9th. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, Jan. 1th. 12 noon—Victoria Park. Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, Jan. 6th. Queen's Road, Dalston Lane—7.30 p.m. Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, Jan. 8th. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd. E.3. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, Jan. 6th. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Mrs. Christy and others.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Concert, per Poplar Branch, £3 8s. 3d.; Bow Club, 18s.; Mrs. Rayner, 1s. Collections: Osborn-street (two), £1 5s. 6d.; Dalston Lane, 1s. 6d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. Mattland, £5; Mrs. M. Boswell (monthly), £1 10s.; Norman Gliksten, £1 5s.; Mrs. Richmond, £16 Mr. Gower, £1; H. Greener, 1s. Collection, E. Lugsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 6s. 0½d.