

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

HUNGARIAN ATROCITIES.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

The White Guard of Hungary is carrying the white terror to the most horrible extremes. The Huszar Government, which has been recognised by the Entente as "democratic" and "representative," has done nothing to stop the terror and according to the advices reaching here is actively aiding the terrorists.

The *Tempo*, of Rome, one of the most conservative and exact of Italian newspapers, publishes from its Trieste correspondent the following details: "The persecutions against persons suspected of Communism have reached an extreme number. Here, too, the population is demanding the intervention of the Entente on behalf of the victims of the reaction."

"The *Vilag* describes, in spite of the censorship, the massacres perpetrated only a few days ago at Kecskemet. The White Guard there captured 18 students suspected of Bolshevism and massacred them. The same thing happened to 37 persons held prisoners in the local jail. The train was halted, the Jews in it were obliged to descend, and these were led into a thicket and shot without trial."

"The papers add other particulars, making it clear that the supposed brigands who have committed so many murders are none other than the White Guard who go unpunished even for the most horrible atrocities."

"The condemnation pronounced against the communists of the 'Sons of Lenin Club,' adds the correspondent of *Il Tempo*, has made a deep impression on the population of Buda Pest, but has not satisfied the supporters of the reaction, who are demanding that Bela Kun shall not escape death."

Appropos of this last statement comes the news that four men were captured outside the fortress in Austria in which Bela Kun is held "in internment." They admitted they had come to kidnap the Communist leader and carry him to Hungary in order that he might there be put to death.

The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Vienna, an anti-Bolshevik Socialist paper with a reputation for accuracy, has recently published a document showing that the murders at Kecskemet, already described, were committed with the connivance of the supreme military command and the minister of Justice. The document is a long report made by the State's procurator at Kecskemet to the Minister of Justice, recounting how the officers of the so-called national army had taken possession of the prison, in obedience to the orders of their superiors, led away the Communists held there, hung some, and mistreated others. The victims were lashed with whips made of steel wires.

The paper adds that the incidents of Kecskemet are not unique. At Papa 26 Socialists were massacred. In the prison at Devecser, 24 Socialists were butchered. At Kaposvar, officers of Horthy entered the prison, laid hold of the Socialist Latinka and five of his companions, and hung them. The paper asserts that the brigand officers of the white army have massacred five thousand persons since the fall of the Communist régime. An inquiry has revealed that many of the victims were literally butchered with axes, while others, maltreated until they were senseless, were buried alive.

It will be remembered that the Bela Kun régime astonished foreign visitors by its mildness and orderliness, in spite of the fact that it was constantly menaced by plots leading to counter-revolution and assassination. Of the instigators of the attempted counter-revolution of July, when two gun-boats suddenly opened fire on the residence of the commissaries, only fourteen were condemned to death, and in the case of all these, except three, the sentence was commuted to various terms of imprisonment. The official executions carried out by the Bela Kun régime were so few as to be counted almost on one's fingers, and the extra-judicial killings, inevitable in a time of upheaval, were confined almost wholly to those persons in actual armed combat with the Red troops. Most of the sentences for counter-revolutionary activities, indeed, were ridiculous by their leniency. For example, a number of professors, convicted of a plot against the Soviet State, were condemned to hear a course of lectures on Karl Marx.

Further evidence as to the nature of the "representative" government recognised by the Entente is contained in a statement recently issued in Vienna by the president of the moderate Social-Democratic party, Garamy. It will be remembered that members of this party enter the Huszar gov-

ernment, at the express command of the Entente, in order to provide a democratic "window-dressing."

"We are still far from a solution of the Hungarian crisis," said Garamy, "because the fact that the Friedrich government made way for that of Huszar, does not signify either a change of method or a government by coalition. Sir George Clerk may be satisfied by this 'coalition' for exhibition purposes, but it is not in any sense a true coalition."

"Passing by the administrative, extra-judicial, internments of the last few weeks, one incident is symptomatic of the value of this 'coalition,' that of the sequestrations made in the house of Minister Peyer, five days after the constitution of the cabinet."

"How, after this, can one believe in the liberty of the elections to be made by a government which behaves in this way toward one of its own members?"

"Other facts testify even more clearly that in Hungary there reigns a true military dictatorship."

"Sir George Clerk said to Huszar that his government would not be recognised unless it would guarantee an absolute liberty of the Press, of speech, and of assembly. But the 'independent judicial censorship' does not permit the newspaper *Nepszara* to reproduce even the whole of the speech of a Socialist minister. Arrests of Socialist workers continue. Socialist meetings are prohibited. The speakers announced for these meetings are arrested, and the prison camp of Hajmáskér sees its inhabitants daily swelled in number. All this means that the Socialists must leave the Cabinet, and that the 'coalition' will cease to exist."

"The incidents of December 7th, with the pillaging of the newspaper plants of *Nepszara* and *Az Est*, have made still more serious the question of the police. It would seem impossible that under the 'Statutarium' (state of siege), which threatens with death all who participate in public assemblies, a throng of several hundred criminals could march through the city, and for several hours devastate and pillage at their pleasure without the intervention of the police or of the troops."

"From all this the responsibility of the 'security troops,' who are under the command of the American Colonel Yales, is made evident. Several persons in governmental circles were informed of the intentions of Colonel Yales at the time this guard

was formed. A few weeks ago the Catholic groups, principally athletic clubs, were organised in secret to form the 'security troops,' and the Colonel gave them their regulations. He informed them that they were not to organise pogroms, but that where such pogroms were organised (and it appears that the Colonel knew they would be organised) they should do no more than separate the participants without making use of their arms, and in case they were obliged to arrest any participants, they were to facilitate their escape in every way."

The Huszar government, whatever the officials of the Entente may think of it, gets its support from the White Guard army of General Horthy, who is an avowed reactionary and servant of the Hapsburgs. Apparently its régime is not secure. Within the last few days Count Karoly, in the company of Garamy, held a conference in Prague with President Masaryk, of the Czecho-Slav Republic, and immediately afterwards announced his intention of returning to Hungary.

In the popular hatred engendered by the government which the Entente has blessed, Karoly may succeed in instituting a new government in Hungary. His own unquestionably sincere liberalism, and his collaboration with the moderate Social-Democrats, will at least secure a minimum of personal safety to the Hungarian Communists, in and out of the country.

ROME, December 28th.

The text has reached here of the appeal issued by the president of the Austrian Socialist (anti-Bolshevik) party, against the white terror raging unrestricted in Hungary.

He says that since the white terror began in Hungary, following the fall of the Bela Kun government in August, the prisons have been full of Socialists, Communists, and other working men, who are brutally treated. In various cities the prisoners are simply murdered in the prisons by the counter-revolutionary soldiers. Every day at Budapest death sentences are pronounced against Socialists, and many of these have already been executed, not only against persons who have committed concrete acts, but also against idealists and honest revolutionaries.

Continued on back page.



THE SYMPATHETIC SPECTATOR

From the New York 'Communist.'

A LESSON FOR BRITISH WORKERS ALSO.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

THE COLOUR BAR.

A CRY FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

A deputation of South Africans—the native inhabitants, not the Colonists—is at present in London trying to induce the Imperial Government to interfere on behalf of the natives, and to see to it that the Union Government does justice to them.

Before the Boer war the franchise was granted to the natives in Cape Colony, but not in the Boer territories—the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The natives were assured that the British were fighting the Boers on their behalf, to free them and remove the colour bar. But when the war was over all the old colour bar laws were re-enforced against the natives by the British conquerors, and the new constitution of South Africa declared that only persons of European parentage could become members of Parliament.

NATIVES NOT TO OWN OR LEASE LAND.

In 1913, a law was passed which prevents natives from owning or leasing land within the South African Union, but the judges held that this law could only apply to the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and not to Cape Colony, because its enactment would disfranchise a number of natives, and this could only be done by special legislation. To qualify for the franchise one must have an income of £50, or rent or own property worth £75, and be able to read and write. As an answer to this decision the South African Government now proposes introducing a special Bill to make the anti-native land law apply to Cape Colony.

Thus, the real owners of the soil are absolutely excluded from it.

THE "PASS" LAWS.

Deprived of his land the native is also deprived of his right to move freely from place to place in his own country, and may only stay in a town at the will of a white "master." The "Pass" laws make it illegal for a native to move from one place to another without a permit either from his white employer, or from the Government. A native cannot live in a town without a passport from the white man who is employing him. Only in his native village can he live without a passport. If he wishes to go to any town, the native must get a permit to go there to look for work. On arrival he must get from the officials there a permit giving him six days leave to stay in the town in order to look for work. If he has not found work at the end of the time, he may be given another three days' grace, after which he must move on; he can stay no longer in the town.

The passport which the worker holds from the employer whilst he is working for him costs 2/- a month. The travelling passport was charged at 1/-, but the latter charge was abolished, as a result of a strike in 1918.

On his discharge from work, the native must ask for a passport from his white employer, on which the employer describes his character and working attainments. Without this passport, or if the employer give the native a bad character, he cannot get work anywhere. A native may not leave his employment without due notice.

In April, 1919, the natives in Johannesburg took a determined stand against the passport system. They collected all the native passports in bags and took them to the passport office, where they left them, telling the officials they did not want them any more. Every native in Johannesburg was now without a passport, and there were so many of them that they could not be arrested for it.

The police began waylaying the natives and trying to force the passports upon them. The natives resisted; the police resorted to violence, and fighting broke out. The native leaders were arrested. Masses of women assembled in the courtyard outside the building where the trial took place. Mounted police rode in amongst them, trampling them under foot. Public protests were raised, and the Government promised a Commission of Inquiry, but the Commission whitewashed the police.

TAXATION.

In the Transvaal the natives are taxed £2 per head per annum. This, with 2/- per month for the passport, makes £3 4s. a year in taxation which white people do not pay. The natives pay beside all the ordinary taxation.

NO GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS FOR NATIVES.

Nevertheless, there are no Government schools for native children in the Union of South Africa. The Government makes small grants to Missionary schools. The education given at these schools is very poor, and much time is devoted to religious instruction. Children whose parents wish them to retain their old religion and not to leave it for Christianity, cannot go to school. The elementary missionary schools only take the children up to standard four. Some of the children pass to training schools, where they are trained as teachers and missionaries.

HOUSING.

Housing is very bad in the cities and rents are high, especially in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Durban. The natives are housed in a location on the outskirts of the town, or live amongst the poorest whites in the slums. They often pay 30/- a month for a single small room.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO ACT.

The South African deputation has interviewed

Colonel Amery, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, but he has replied that the Imperial Government cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the self-governing dominions. The deputation replied that the British Government had put the colour bar into the South African constitution, and that the British Government must take it out. But the British Government refuses to budge.

SMUTTS HOSTILE.

General Smutts, who is so full of enthusiasm for oppressed people outside the British Empire, and who is supposed to be a zealot for the League of Nations, is hostile to the natives. Botha was at least willing to confer with the natives, and to hear their case; Smutts will not receive them.

At the request of the South African deputation, members of the British Labour Party raised the colour bar question in Parliament, but they were simply told that the Imperial Government could not interfere, and nothing further has happened.

WHITE TRADE UNIONISTS SUPPORT COLOUR BAR.

At home in South Africa the natives meet with more opposition than assistance from the white workers. Only the International Socialist League, which is itself small and struggling, stretches out a hand to them.

The Trade Unions have also a colour bar, and refuse to admit the natives; they also successfully insist that employers shall differentiate against the natives, and refuse them any skilled work.

The International Socialist League has started in Johannesburg an organisation called the Industrial Workers' of Africa, which is the first industrial organisation of coloured workers, and is still very small. The International Socialist League demands equal pay for equal work, irrespective of race or colour, but the white workers are, on the whole, afraid of this. The white workers are really the foremen and overlookers in South African industry, the natives are doing the greater part of the work. In the mines the proportion of white and black worker is roughly one white to every hundred blacks; in engineering factories the proportion is about one white to five blacks.

The white workers themselves employ black labour to assist them in their gardens and so on.

Thus, privately, and as the foreman for their capitalist employers, the white workers are the black man's little masters.

It is the capitalist who to-day asks for the removal of the colour bar in the workshops. He sees native workers, even when not knowing how to read and write, able to do highly skilled industrial work; he wants that work cheaply done, and, therefore, he would like to employ the native.

The menace to the white workers increases, and the natives cannot use industrial action to improve their conditions, because it is illegal for them to strike, and if they defy the law the Government will fire on them.

BRITISH POPULARITY WANING.

In large sections of country the African people come under British rule, not by conquest, but willingly, because they were told that they would have absolute justice within the Empire. They did not understand the methods of capitalist diplomacy. In the Boer war the natives of Cape Colony helped the British, and though in the Transvaal and Orange Free States the natives were neutral and cared for the farms of the Boers whilst they were fighting, they finally took sides with the British, and welcomed their victory.

Under the Boers the laws against the natives were harsh, but the Boers frequently failed to enforce them, and the natives preserved an independence they cannot maintain in face of the present highly organised British military system.

Many natives still blame the Boers for the bad laws passed against them in South Africa; they think that if they can only get behind the South African Government (which the Boers control because they live in South Africa) the people in the British mother country will give them justice.

This is one reason why, when the European war broke out, the South Africans offered their services to the British. At first they were told this was a white man's war, and that they could only help by working; but, later, when it was found that the war was to be longer and more difficult than had been expected, the Africans were asked to help. Forty thousand went with Botha to German South West Africa, 10,000 with Smutts to German East Africa, and 25,000 to France. But now the war is over new repressive laws are being passed against them.

Some of the natives feel a deep resentment. "Here is the British Government," they say, "that is always interfering in other countries, and cannot interfere to do justice in its own Dominions."

The natives get no sympathy from the so-called Nationalists or the Boers, who have always resented British rule. The natives remember that under the Boers the black man had no legal remedy if his white master ill-treated him, and that now a native can bring his case to court, and, if the judge be broad-minded, the native may get some redress. But the natives see that new laws are being built up to their disadvantage. They think this is because the British wish to conciliate the Boers and to keep them from fighting for independence. It is rumoured that General Hertzog rebelled because

he was fined 5/- for thrashing a coloured boy. But some of the natives are beginning to wonder whether after all, there is a very great difference between the Boers and the British. They reflect that if the Boers were to get their independence the black man would find it easier to deal with them than with the mighty militarism of Britain.

Even fifteen years ago, they say, the position of the natives was more hopeful than now. Any organised movement amongst them then, however small, would gain results. Now, their white conquerors have nothing to fear from them; the aeroplane and the machine gun have rendered the white man supreme.

The South African deputation has been well received by many sections of the Labour movement. It will travel round the country addressing enthusiastic meetings, and finally it will return to South Africa to work, if it is wise, to build up with the International Socialists, a solid organisation of black and white workers, working together, without distinction of colour, race, or creed, to wrest the power from the capitalists and to establish the African Soviets.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF RAILWAYS.

It is announced that the Government control of railways will continue till the late spring of 1923, and that the increased railway rates will last for eighteen months after that "in order to enable the railway companies to apply to Parliament for the necessary alterations in their statutory powers." The capitalists are making their plans far ahead. Meanwhile the cost of cotton cloth manufactures is likely to be greatly increased as for short-distance traffic the rates are raised by over 100 per cent. Much of the cotton is sent to one Lancashire town to spin, to another to weave, to another to bleach, to another to print, to another to be sold wholesale, and to yet another place to be sold retail, or to one of the ports to be sent overseas. The cost of iron, steel, coal, gas, and hosts of other things, will go up as a result of the increased railway charges, and the opportunity to increase prices will be seized even when the increased railway rates do not really affect the cost of the commodity. The workers and the poor people who cannot unload the burden on to someone they sell to will ultimately pay, as they always do.

SUGAR.

The domestic sugar ration, now 8 ounces per head per week, is to be reduced shortly. The food controller says: "If the Government were compelled to purchase largely at present, it would be necessary to raise the retail price in this country to over 1/- per lb." The Food Controller explains that we are all to have less sugar, because the sugar capitalists are trying to take advantage of the general shortage to raise prices.

Moral: Do away with capitalism.

WAR VERSUS REVOLUTION.

Eight hundred and fifty-one thousand one hundred and seventeen men of the British Empire were killed in the late capitalist war, 2,067,442 were wounded; 8,000,000 fought. Yet when we speak of overthrowing the capitalist system people say they fear a "bloody revolution."

BUTTER.

It is expected that butter will shortly cost 4/6 per lb. The Food Controller says that will not hurt "the poor" because they do not buy it!

A DOOMED PROFESSION.

Women are at last admitted to the legal profession, but it will shortly disappear in the downfall of capitalism, to which it belongs.

MINERS WORK THEIR OWN MINE.

Miners on strike at Mill Close lead mines, near Matlock, have re-opened derelict mines at Winstar, which have not been worked for over a century, and will work them on their own account. Socialist industries cannot be run within the capitalist system, nevertheless this experiment may yield interesting results. It is a sign of the new spirit of independence amongst the workers that these miners have attempted it.

REYNOLD'S BALL.

We heard with deep regret of the death of Reynolds Ball, who died of typhus whilst working to succour the war victims near Lemberg. Reynolds Ball worked actively in the early part of last year in trying to place before the people of this country the truth as he had seen it in Soviet Russia. He met with many rebuffs from those, less selfless and sincere than he, whom he tried to enlist in support of the Soviets. He came of the bourgeoisie, but was an enthusiast for Communism in practice, cheerfully prepared to submit himself to any of the hardships and deprivations that Communism in practice might in its early stages bring to those who have belonged to the more privileged classes. In Russia he proved his sincere devotion to the people. He has given his life for them.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY & INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

By G. ZINOVIEV. (Translated from 'La Nouvelle Internationale'.)

PART I.

THE PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.

To arrive at a clear understanding of the proper relationship of the Communist Party and the workers' industrial organisations,* one must first examine the purpose and structure of industrial organisation.

According to Webb, the aim "is to maintain and increase the standard of wages." Brentano and Sombart say that the object is "to subsidise the members in time of strike, and to safeguard their interests by increasing their wages."

The Bolshevik** Party has never given its adhesion to these phrases. It has never approved the formula generally accepted by the Second International, and defined by a well-known Austrian militant industrialist, Adolf Braun, as the organisation of the workers "in permanent craft or trade unions of wage earners, with the object of securing ameliorations of working conditions within the limits of the capitalist system and to fight within those limits to prevent conditions growing worse."

It is its controversy with the Mensheviks in 1913, the Bolshevik** Party laid down that the workers should be organised in a union covering the entire industry, not merely a sectional craft trade within the industry.

The Communist Party declared that the Industrial Unions should conduct the economic fight of the workers, and should constantly collaborate with the workers' political party in the working class struggle for emancipation, the abolition of wage slavery, and the victory of Socialism.

For this reason the Bolshevik** Party has never considered the industrial union as an organisation aspiring only to secure some reforms and ameliorations of working conditions within the limits of capitalist society. On the contrary: the Bolshevik Party, in complete accord with the doctrine of Marx, has always seen that the industrial union is one of the most important organisations of the working class; one that has been created for the fight for Socialism in intimate collaboration with the political party, and one that in consequence is favourable to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since 1913 important changes have come about in Russia. The power has passed into the hands of the working class. The bourgeois has been expropriated; the workers are no longer obliged to sell their strength to the divers exploiting employers.

If we consider that fact, it immediately becomes clear to us that the functions of the industrial unions in Russia are subject to important modifications.

A STATEMENT BY THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS TRADE UNIONS.

The resolution adopted at the first All-Russian Congress of Trades Unions in 1918 is as follows:—

"The October Revolution, which transferred the power from the bourgeois to the workers and poor peasants, has created entirely new conditions for all the workers' organisations, and especially for the industrial unions.

"Under the changed conditions the industrial organisation can no longer be regarded as the advance guard of the fight put up by the worker in selling himself to the employer. The employer who used to buy labour power of old, exists no more. It is no longer necessary for the unions to collect strike funds or to organise strikes."

THE PRESENT FUNCTIONS OF RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS.

What are the real functions of the industrial

organisations in Russia to-day?

The same resolution of the first All-Russian Congress of Industrial Unions says on this point:—

"The unions must now transfer their centre of gravity to economic reconstruction."

To explain what an industrial organisation really is under the conditions now obtaining in Russia, one is first obliged to make clear that:

"An industrial union in Russia to-day is a permanent union of all the workers in a given industry; it represents one of the principle bases of the organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The industrial union to-day (under the guidance of the Communist Party) transfers its centre of gravity to the domain of economic organisation by making its aim an energetic participation in all the efforts of the workers for a Communist reconstruction of society and for the abolition of social classes. This participation takes the following forms:—

"(1) General co-operation in the organisation of production on a communist basis.

"(2) The re-establishment of the productive power of the country which was destroyed by the war and the internal crisis.

"(3) The calculation and re-distribution of work for the entire country.

"(4) The organisation of the exchange between town and country.

"(5) The introduction of the obligation to work.

"(6) Helping the State organisation for providing food.

"(7) Helping to solve the fuel crisis and other difficulties.

"(8) Giving general aid to the formation of the Red Army.

"(9) Defending the economic interests of the workers, and at the same time fighting against the individualist tendencies, and the short-sighted views of that section of the workers which, because of its ignorance, still has the habit of regarding the proletarian state of to-day as though it were the old employer.

"Because the industrial organisations of to-day are the Communist schools of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, they have become little by little an integral part of the general mechanism of the State. They are one of the organs of the State of working people who submit to the rule of the Soviets, because the Soviets are the vehicle indicated by history for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

II.—THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIETS.

The industrial unions work in conjunction with the Communist Party and the Soviets. The activities of these three institutions are closely linked. To make clear the mutual relations of these bodies, it must be remembered that the Soviets actually cover larger masses than the industrial unions themselves; also that the Soviets have taken over part of the functions of the industrial unions.

The Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party has given the following definition of the Party and of the Soviets:—

"The Soviets are the State organisations of the workers and poor peasants which effectuate the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period when the State in all its forms is gradually being extinguished." The Soviets unite within their ranks ten million workers and little by little must strive to bring together the entire class of workers and poor peasants.

"The Communist Party, on the other hand, is an organisation which takes in only the advance guard of the workers and poor peasants, only that part of these two classes which fights consciously for the practical application of the Communist programme. The aim of the Communist Party is to obtain a preponderating influence and complete control of all the workers' organisations; the Industrial Unions, the Co-operatives, the rural Communes and so on. The Communist Party strives specially to introduce its programme into the actual

organs of State—the Soviets—and to obtain complete control there. No doubt can exist that in the future the various existing organisations of the workers will finally be united in one form. It is useless to speculate to-day as to which form will prove the most durable. Our present duty is to determine precisely the mutual relations which should exist between the Communist Party, the Industrial Unions, and the Soviets.

(To be continued.)

LABOUR IN IRELAND.

By Nora Connolly.

A CREAMERY STRIKE IN CLOONCAGH.

In March the coopers employed in Clounagh Creamery demanded an increase in wages. The Creamery Committee replied that it would rather dispense with the services of the coopers than give the increase, and that the other Creamery hands would be set to making boxes. The workers came out on strike.

The manager thought to ignore the Union and wrote to the coopers making them an offer which was ignored by the coopers, as it amounted to non-recognition of their Union. The Union then served a demand for an increase of 15/- on behalf of the inside workers who were only receiving 25/- per week; and on behalf of the coopers 4d. for butter boxes instead of 2d., and 6d. for a cheese crate instead of 4d. The employers' answer to this was to offer the increase to the inside hands if they agreed to do the coopers' work; this was refused. An offer was then made to the coopers amounting to 1d. increase on butter boxes and a halfpenny on cheese crates; this was also refused.

The strikers decided to hold a demonstration outside the creamery. When they arrived there they found the Creamery garrisoned by farmers' sons armed with pieces of lead piping. The organiser addressed the meeting, also the garrison, and sent home some bitter truths. The garrison was stung, and responded savagely. Later the manager showed his dislike to picketing by attempting to lasso a lone picket and fling him into a pond.

The strikers were determined that while the strike lasted no coal should go to the creamery and they prevented the supply which was waiting in a railway siding from being removed.

THE RAILWAY STATION BATTLE.

On the morning of June 5th, 1919, twenty-seven cars manned by farmers of Clounagh armed with lethal weapons arrived in Newcastlewest station for coal. The farmers were approached by members of the Newcastlewest Branch of the Transport Workers' Union, of which Clounagh is a section, and were warned not to take the coal.

The farmers ignored the warning and filled their carts. Meanwhile a large force of workmen assembled, locked the gates, and, led by an ex-sergeant-major, charged the farmers. The fight was short, sharp and furious. It ended in a complete victory for the "reds." The carts were battered to pieces, the horses unyoked, and the coal distributed among the poor of the town.

"We had no difficulty in routing them," said one of the attackers, "owing to our knowledge of military tactics."

On Friday, hearing that some coal had been transferred to Rathkeale Station, the workers of Newcastlewest boarded the next train, without waiting to get tickets and travelled to Rathkeale. Here the manager of Clounagh was unlucky enough to run into them. Though 15 stone in weight he dashed from his trap and took refuge in a solicitor's office. His trap was battered to pieces, and the remains thrown into the River Deel.

Having made sure that no one would remove the coal, the Newcastlewest men returned home by train. They made an interesting capture in the shape of a load of margarine, which was being conveyed all the way from Tipperary town to a local creamery; perhaps for greasing the engines.

The activity of the "Red Army" resulted in settling in two days a strike which had dragged on for nine weeks.

The settlement was as follows:—

1. Full recognition of the Union.
2. None but Union men to be employed.
3. Full increase demanded for indoor hands granted.
4. All legal proceedings withdrawn.
5. £20 to be paid to strikers by Creamery.
6. Coopers to receive 3d. each for butter boxes, 5d. each for cheese crates.

Continued on Page 1602.

POEMS

By L. A. Motler

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* In translating from French to English some slight re-arrangement of the phrases has been necessary owing to the fact that the French word "syndicat" is applied to both trade and industrial unions.

** Now the Communist Party of Russia.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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RED ARMY WINS.

Soviet Russia is everywhere victorious; Koltchak and Denikin have been swiftly beaten back. Koltchak is faced with rebellions of all over whom he seeks to rule.

Denikin's army is cut in two; the Red troops have probably reached the sea coast before now.

But the Allies have largely withdrawn their aid from these adventures. Hence their speedier collapse. But it must not be assumed that the Allied capitalist Governments have abandoned the struggle to overthrow the Soviets. It is only too probable that they are merely preparing for a more dangerous attack.

It was reported that there has been a *coup d'état* in Denikin's camp, that he and his government had been overthrown, and their place taken by "the Union for the Regeneration of Russia," the body which formed the North Russian Republic under Tchaykovski at Archangel. Then came the statement that Denikin had resigned. It comes to the same thing. Will the Allies support Denikin's successor?

Phillips Price reports that in Denikin's army there were two factions. One was for absolute monarchy and consisted mainly of higher officials of the Tsar's army, priests and police officials. The other group was centred round the Cadet Party (the equivalent of the capitalist liberals here). It stands for a constitutional monarchy and consists mainly of mine owners, big industrialists and financial agents of London, Paris, and Brussels syndicates.

Big business may be finding the views of Koltchak and Denikin too medieval for it. It may prefer to throw them over and start the fight against Communism on other lines. Big business will probably be willing to compromise with the Baltic States and others demanding independence, and to make big promises which it will disregard, if it thinks fit, before long.

Big business pulls the strings of the Allied Governments, and big business is unquestionably a more dangerous foe to Communism than feudalists like Koltchak and Denikin.

The coming spring may be the most perilous period through which Soviet Russia has yet passed. Do not slacken, therefore, in your efforts to stop the intervention.

The great danger now is that Japan will be used to march on Soviet Russia via Vladivostok. Direct Action against the intervention becomes more than ever imperative.

IS THERE TO BE ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL?

GERMAN INDEPENDENTS VACILLATE.

The German Independent Socialists, at their recent Congress, decided to leave the Second International; they recognised the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets, as the instruments for establishing a Socialist Society.

The logical thing for the German Independents to do is to join the Third International.

But they have not done this. They are endeavouring to form another international from the Socialist elements which, as they put it, fought their imperialist and capitalist Governments during the war, and now refuse to enter into coalition with the bourgeois parties.

The German Independents have invited the British I.L.P. to join them. But the I.L.P. Executive has issued a manifesto opposing the

dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets. If the declaration of principle of the German Independents is genuine, why do not the Independents join the Third International? They declare their agreement with its principles; why should they start a fourth international, in order to unite with those who hold other opinions?

THE I.L.P. AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The N.A.C. of the I.L.P., in addition to the anti-Soviet and anti-Third International which it has prepared for the next meeting of the Second International, has also sent out a message to every member of the Party in which it says: "The N.A.C. does not favour adhesion to the Third International."

In referring to the dictatorship of the proletariat and government by Soviets the message says:—

"Russia is not England... the institutions which already exist in Great Britain are sufficient for effecting a steady evolution to a better society as soon as Socialists are in a position to use them."

The N.A.C. is making great efforts to hold the majority of the party to its policy, but the majority is steadily turning its eyes away from the N.A.C. Reformism to the nobler prospect which Soviet Russia has revealed.

The Annual Conference of the Scottish branches of the I.L.P. on January 4th decided, by 158 votes to 28, that the I.L.P. should sever its connection with the Second International and link up with the Third.

This policy the Scottish branches will press forward at the Easter Conference, and many English and Welsh branches will rally to their aid.

The ideals of the Russian Communist Revolution have deeply impressed the workers in this country. This development in the I.L.P. is one of the many evidences of that. This is the epoch of the Workers' Communist Revolution which is daily drawing nearer.

SPEN VALLEY.

The Spen Valley result would be more significant if the electors had been asked to vote on a Socialist programme. But Mr. Myers, the Labour candidate, has explained that the main planks of the election were: Nationalisation of the mines, democratisation of the educational system, and the capital levy; that is to say, a tax on capital wealth to pay for the war. In the pamphlet written by F. W. Pethick Lawrence for the Labour Party it is suggested that people should pay a tax of 5 per cent. on their capital over £1,000 and under £1,500, 6 per cent. on their capital over £1,500 and under £2,000, and so on, up to 20 per cent. on capital between £300,000 and £500,000. It may pay for the war, but it is like the excess profits tax over again; the people who have capital will succeed in recovering their losses by forcing up prices. Such expedients are like carrying water in a sieve. The only sure method is to abolish the capitalist system altogether.

The Labour Party and Mr. Tom Myers did not tell the electors that; they told them to put their trust in palliatives. Perhaps that is why, when they heard the result of the poll, the defeated Coalition candidates said, as reported in *The Times*, "The welfare of Spen Valley will be safe in the hands of Mr. Myers."

But though the Labour Party may have tried to banish the thought of Bolshevism, Socialism and the Soviets from the electors, their opponents, of course, dragged out these bright visions, calling them terrible spectres, and did their best to attach the reputation of the Labour Party to them. And the electors, having two Liberal candidates to choose from, preferred to take the Party contaminated with Bolshevism!

We are moving on, comrades! The Bromley election, where the Labour Party polled a big vote in a stronghold of reaction, is equally indicative of the fact that the workers are gaining class consciousness and are moving steadily towards the left. Since December, 1918, the

Labour Party has polled 124,888 votes, the Coalition has polled 189,200 votes, and the Independent Liberals 50,668 votes.

Soon we shall see the Reformist Labour Party in power, and after that—the Soviets.

THE RAILWAY ADVISORY BOARD.

SHOULD WORKERS SIT ON IT?

In our opinion the decision of the Executives of the various railway unions to accept the proffered representation on the new Labour Advisory Board is a serious error in policy. We hope that the N.U.R. delegate meeting will reverse it. It is really an insult to offer the workers four representatives, whilst the railway managers get twelve. But, apart from that, the workers should accept no responsibility for advising as to the management of industry run in the capitalist interest. It is not the duty of the workers' representatives to assist in palliating the difficulties of the capitalist. The workers' representatives should strive to increase those difficulties till the position of the capitalist becomes untenable and the workers take control.

THE RAILWAYMEN'S CONTEST.

The railwaymen faced the threat that all the resources of the Government would be used against them when they struck last September. One of the main points they struck against was the establishment of a 40/- a week minimum. Now the Government has again offered that minimum. Mr. Thomas has urged the men to accept the Government's terms, declaring that they will bring "untold blessings to the great mass of railwaymen."

The Government offer comprises wages varying to-day from 56/- for porters outside London and 60/- for porters in London; 60/- for guards in their first year of service, and 69/- in their eighth year; 60/- for some of the shunters; 60/- for some of the carters, to 79/- for yard foremen class I, the highest paid men in any branch of the work. After 1920, if the cost of living falls or rises these wages may be reduced or increased 1/- a week for every rise or fall of 5 per cent. in the cost of living. The wage is in no case to fall below the minimum which as applied to the grades above named, is 40/-, 46/-, 50/-, 65/-, 50/-, 46/-, and 75/-.

All these wages are miserably low; families cannot be supported on them with even a minimum degree of comfort in these high priced days. Let Mr. Thomas try it.

The men are complaining that some of them will actually have their wages reduced by the new scheme.

Another point in the Government's terms is the setting up of a Central Wages Board, consisting of 10 members, 5 representing the railway unions, and 5 representing the railway administration. If the ten fail to agree, the dispute is to go to a National Wages Board, containing 4 representatives of the unions, 4 of the railway companies, and 4 of the "users of the railways" (who is to choose them?) with an independent chairman appointed by the Government. "The unions have agreed," says the Government statement, "that no strike shall take place until one month after it has been referred to the National Wages Board."

Such an agreement, if adhered to, would prevent the workers using that most important weapon, the sympathetic strike, besides depriving them of the right to choose what they consider to be the best moment to strike.

Agreements of that kind will inevitably be broken in the end, but they should never be entered into. The officials who propose to accept a clause are unfit to act as guardians of the workers' interests. J. H. Thomas showed that he is thinking more of Party successes than of the welfare of his union members when, in reply to a demand that the Triple Alliance should be used to secure better terms, he said: "It was not for the Triple Alliance to govern the country, but for the workers to return a Government of their own way of thinking." Had the sympathetic strike been used in September the railwaymen would not be considering this unsatisfactory offer now.

THE MOULDERS' STRIKE.

Had the sympathetic strike been used to support the moulders they would not now (after a four months' strike, in which their union funds have been spent and they have been reduced to great misery) be considering the acceptance of 5/- a week for workers over 18 years, awarded by the Court of Arbitration in November, in lieu of the 15/- for men and 7/- for boys they struck for.

If the sympathetic strike were used much bigger objects than these could be attained.

CLYNES THE SCAB.

That capitalist organ, the Reconstruction Committee, which is said to operate with Government funds, has republished the speech which J. R. Clynes made at the Glasgow Trade Union Congress to stop the capitalist intervention in Russia. The speech, reproduced as a leaflet and headed: "The Danger of Civil War," was being given out broadcast in the streets of Clapham the other day.

The Labour Party and Starving Austria.

The Labour Party is officially appealing for donations to aid the hungry people of Austria.

Even the more honest Tories admit that Austria is starving because the Allies, with Britain at their head, have stripped her to the bone, and propose to continue scraping off any new flesh as soon as it appears. Why does not the Labour Party realise that to get off Austria's back would help her more than charitable doles?

The Labour Party ought to understand this question, for the conquered nations to-day are in the position always occupied by the working class in capitalist society. The rich will offer any charity to the working class, save that of ceasing to exploit it. The Labour Party now adopts towards Austria the same attitude, for it has taken no serious action against the Peace Treaty; and officially it has not declared itself against indemnities.

Unfortunately the Labour Party also takes its cue from the capitalist majority in proposing to send its help, not to Socialist Russia, but only to capitalist Austria. The Labour Party says there is a Socialist Government in Austria—what a dismal sight—a "Socialist Government administering capitalism and helping to maintain it in security"!

The money and efforts of the Labour Party would be better spent in preventing the Allied attack on Socialist States. The Hungarian Socialist Soviet Government has been crushed, Soviet Russia has been long and cruelly attacked, and the Labour Party has taken no action—only of late has it even protested by resolution. Austria and Germany, whose only hope of economic recovery lies in Socialism and alliance with Soviet Russia, are largely held back for fear of the Allied troops and the Allied blockade.

Secure the recall of the Allied troops from Central and Eastern Europe, oh Labour Leaders, and you will find that your charity is not needed. You will no longer receive appeals to send charity to the hospitals of Austria when Soviet Russia, at peace once more, is able to send them her corn. Save your money and your energies, oh Labour Leaders, for organising the general strike to bring the Allied troops back from the conquered nations and to force a peace with Soviet Russia.

KOLTCHAK AND STRIKERS.

Marx M. Zippen, an American, publishes in the New York Soviet Russia, official organ of the Russian Soviet Bureau in America, a letter, which he has received from Siberia. It contains the following sentences:—

"The restlessness and discontent with the Omsk dictator grows by leaps and bounds with every new day, and the most interesting thing about it all is the fact that this dissatisfaction is to be found amongst the upper classes no less than among the lower strata of the population. Of the workers it is needless to speak. Their sympathies

CAN THE DORPAT AGREEMENT BE RELIED ON?

Esthonia has signed an armistice with Soviet Russia, under which Esthonia's freedom and independence is assured. Russia may be called on to defend the neutrality of Esthonia, Russia makes large concessions to Esthonia, giving Esthonia the right to exploit forests and so on in Russia and to demand gold for all the Russian paper money now in Esthonia, said to be 10,000,000 roubles.

Esthonia, like the other Baltic states, was anxious to become independent of Russia, but the capitalist reaction which still holds the reins in Esthonia, would have preferred to receive freedom at other hands than those of the Communists.

But Koltchak and the other Czarist Russian counter-revolutionaries were determined to keep the old Czarist Empire intact. A secret dispatch from Koltchak's Minister for Foreign Affairs at Omsk to his representative in Paris has come to light. This tells how the British Government suggested that Koltchak should give concessions to the Baltic States, to keep them from making peace with the Soviets; but Koltchak refused. Esthonia asked help from France in fighting Soviet Russia, but France offered only munitions which must be paid for in French currency. America made it plain to Koltchak's representative in Washington that the American Commissioner in the Baltic States "must not arouse hopes in the minds of the local populations that America would support any separatist tendencies which go beyond the bounds of autonomy."

For these reasons Esthonia has signed an

are openly on the side of the 'Reds.' The coming of the Bolsheviks is awaited here by the whole population—and I am not exaggerating in the least—with the keenest eagerness.

"You have probably heard of the strike we have had here on the Chinese railroad, and I presume that you were under the impression it was a political strike. The newspapers surely pictured it as a 'Red' strike. The fact is that it was a purely economic strike, the workers, putting forward one demand only, namely, that they may be paid in Chinese or Japanese currency, since they can buy actually nothing for the Koltchak roubles they get in payment for their work.

"The road here, as you know, is under Allied control, with an American at the head of it. Still, a punitive expedition was sent here from Nikolsk-Ussuriysk, and the strike was broken. Quite a number of the workers were killed and wounded, and sixty of the strike leaders were court-martialled. Worst of all sixteen of the main leaders were banished from Manchuria, and deported over the border. You know what it means. These sixteen will never get even as much as a court-martial trial. They will be shot by the Cossacks as soon as they have crossed the border. Why go to the trouble of trials, when one can do the job quicker and surer?"

THE TRUTH ABOUT KOLTCHAK'S
"NATIONAL ASSEMBLY."

RUSSIAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE LETS THE CAT OUT.

The Allies pretend their objection to Soviet Russia to be that the Soviets are not elected on the parliamentary principle, but on an occupational basis, and that they form a system of delegated committees, instead of every citizen voting directly for the National Assembly. Koltchak, we have been told again and again, is for a National Assembly elected by adult suffrage on the Parliamentary plan.

But now, from the Russian Liberation Committee at 173, Fleet-street, the pro-Koltchak information bureau, established in this country by the party that backs him, comes the lie direct to this oft-repeated excuse for the intervention.

Says the Russian Liberation Committee, in its bulletin of January 3rd:—

"Telegrams from Irkutsk, dated December 17th, 1919, announce that the Government has decided to enlarge the membership of the Zemsky Sobor (National Assembly), including a number of new organisations, and increasing the number of representatives of the broad masses of the population. The Sobor will consist only of elected members, and will possess legislative powers. A final settlement of all details is expected when Admiral Koltchak arrives at Irkutsk."

These sentences do not explain the constitution or franchise of the National Assembly, but they indicate clearly that the assembly is not organised on the parliamentary system of purely territorial con-

armistice with Soviet Russia. Two important points must, however, be remembered:—

(1) That the Government of Esthonia is a capitalist one, and, therefore, out of sympathy with Communist ideals and anxious to prevent the infection of Communism spreading to Esthonia.

(2) That the strong Allies have great power to coerce small states like Esthonia, by the blockade and by naval and military attack.

For these reasons it is not surprising to find that the attitude of Esthonia, as reported here, is entirely out of keeping with the armistice, still less with a firm peace with Soviet Russia. In announcing the conclusion of the armistice, General Laidoner, the Esthonian commander-in-Chief, congratulated the army and navy on successfully defending Esthonia against the two great enemies, Germany and Bolshevism, and thanked Britain, Finland, and the volunteers from Denmark and Sweden for their aid.

It is important to notice that Esthonia will be represented in the conference which Finland is calling at Helsingfors on January 15th, and to which Lettland, Lithuania, Poland and representatives of the Allies are being invited, to decide upon a united policy towards Soviet Russia and, amongst other things, to oppose Bolshevist propaganda. This joining with Soviet Russia's enemies does not foreshadow an honest peace on the part of Esthonia.

It should also be noticed that the prohibition against the movement of Soviet and Esthonian warships in certain territorial waters, which is in the Esthonian armistice, is not to apply to Allied warships, because the Allies are not at war with Soviet Russia!

stituencies or elected by adult suffrage.

But more than this Koltchak's military dissolved, according to a telegram of December 24th, the Assembly of Zemstvos (county councils) and municipalities meeting in the Irkutsk district. The reason given for this was that the Assembly was discussing the setting up of a Social Revolutionary Government, and peace with the Bolsheviks. According to Koltchak this would inevitably lead to the setting up of Soviets!

But we believe the Allies will now drop Koltchak and Denikin, not because they are autocrats, but because they are unsuccessful. Lloyd George and Co. are now developing other plans of attack.

Travail.

The crimson rides the universal wind,
The raven spreads his pinions, follows after,
The eagles, leaden-winged, are left behind;
The old foundations shake from sill to rafter
Deaf to the doubters' jeers, the weaklings' means.

The toilers, tired of yielding and false giving,
Bend to the mighty task, with solacing groans,
Of making the earth fit for human living.
My ear is tuned unto new voices shrieking
Their jarring notes of life-exalting strife;
My soul soars singing, with flame forces seeking
The grandest purpose, noblest path of life;
Where scarlet pennants blaze like tongues of fire,
There—where high passion swells—is my heart's desire.

CLAUDE MCKAY.

READ

The Finnish

Revolution:

A SELF CRITICISM—
By V. Kuusinen.

Price Threepence.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION,
400, Old Ford Road, E3.

The POST OFFICE. By a Postal Worker.

The Trade Union Congress has declared for the nationalisation of the mines. The miners are prepared to fight for nationalisation. They believe that if the mines belonged to the nation, the miners would obtain improved conditions of life.

But the Post Office is nationalised. Its employees have the glorious privilege of serving the nation. They are apparently the servants of the community. The Post Office workers are in the position that thousands of social reformers have toiled to make possible for many years; but few of these workers are satisfied. What is wrong?

The ideas of the nation are wrong. The public are believers in profit making. Even the majority of the wage earners form no exception to this rule, although signs are not wanting to show that their thoughts are changing. Therefore, it is not surprising that an institution controlled by the Government should have in it the spirit of profit making, of plunder.

The first thing essential for happiness is a sufficiency of the necessities of life. The postal wages in thousands of cases do not permit of this; many postal workers have to find additional employment in order to obtain a decent livelihood.

The hours of work are too many; the normal working day is 8 hours, but the work, both for the indoor and outdoor staff, is very arduous and exacting. Each worker must pass a medical examination before being employed; but in spite of this breakdowns are numerous.

The writer of this article walked 120 miles a

week for five years with the exception of a fortnight each year, and it was when, finding his own strength failing, though he was only 30 years of age, and regarding his fellow workers, he saw them flat-footed, with bent legs and bowed shoulders, that he realised the tragedy of it all. With a wife and two children, one needing 4/- a week for milk, its mother being too badly nourished to suckle it, and a wage of 22/6 a week to live on in an expensive district, he realised the hopelessness of life for the postal worker.

The public know but little of the life of the postal worker. The wheels of the Post Office revolve 24 hours a day. Men's duties and hours of work are changed, with a consequent dislocation of meals, sleep and recreation. The men in some offices, on the other hand, have what are called "fixed duties," and for years they never got an evening free.

Worse than anything are the harassing methods that are employed. The penalties inflicted for the slightest errors are divided into minor and major irregularities and serious offences. To mis-send a registered letter is known as a major irregularity; the same applies to omission of a letter bill and other small omissions. Twelve major irregularities in a year may probably mean loss of 2/- a week for six months. Serious offences consist of such errors as signing incorrect time, drunkenness or being under influence of drink, improper conduct, and insubordination. It is difficult to discover the penalties for these offences, but if committed a second time they usually mean dis-

missal from the service. Late attendance is a fineable offence.

The postal worker is always working against the clock. He has nearly always more to accomplish in a given time than is possible without abnormal working. The very nature of the work tends to bring this about. When the chronic rush is supplemented by a spirit of autocracy in the administrative staff, the life of the manipulative staff becomes almost unbearable.

The members of the administrative staff possess the spirit of plunder. It is part and parcel of their make up. They fail to see that the primary purpose of the Post Office should be that of being the greatest possible use to the public and to its employees.

This administrative staff comprises the permanent secretary, surveyors, postmasters, superintendents and overseers. Postmaster Generals and Parliaments come and go but the permanent officials remain. These officials are usually filled with a spirit which is anti-democratic, which knows no humanitarian principles, and which looks upon postmen, sorting clerks and telegraphists as things inferior, to be penalised, sweated and tortured in order that each subordinate in the administrative branch may render good account to his superior, and so, in the course of time, receive further promotion. "Play for safety" is their motto. Attempt nothing new for the benefit of the public or the workers, but just carry on in the same old groove. They are powerless to initiate beneficial humanitarian innovations, and unable to think, feel, or act otherwise than they have always acted, capable only of admiring rank, of intensifying the spirit of plunder, of being the agents of capitalistic thought. Only Communism will change these things.

THE BRITISH IN GEORGIA.

In an interview with the editor of the *Isvestia*, Comrade Kamo who recently arrived in Moscow from Georgia, related the following facts of what is happening in the Georgian Republic:—

The general political position of the Caucasus is characterised by the entire domination of the English, without whose permission the Georgian Government can do nothing whatever. The English interfere in absolutely all affairs. They have even demanded the opening of a brothel by the Tiflis authorities. The soldiers sell everything, from mules down to condensed milk, boots and clothing. English detachments (there are 56 thousands in the Caucasus) are subjected to rapid demoralisation, and it is usual to see crowds of drunken English soldiers in the streets. When soldiers who are appointed to return to their native countries, in view of the absolute breakdown of discipline, are questioned as to why they are being sent home, they reply, "We are ill with Lenin fever." As a military force, these soldiers are quite useless, and it is a matter of great difficulty to lead them to the firing line.

Until recently the Tiflis Government was strongly opposed to the Communists, many of whom it placed under arrest. The Party exists illegally even at the present moment. After the arrival of Denikin's envoy—Erdelli—however, there was a split among the Governmental parties. The Ministers of War and Agriculture voted for a compromise with Denikin, but others, like Gogetchkori and Tzeretelli, were for putting up a fight against them, in conjunction with the Soviets. In general, the Georgian Government was not inclined to maintain the restrictions formerly applied to the Bolsheviks, and it was only the vigilance of the English authorities which compelled them to arrest the detested Communists. Comrade Kamo relates the following characteristic incident:—

The President of the Cabinet, Djardzina, in an unofficial conversation with a Communist, said: "Do you really think that I am unaware that N— (a Communist) lives in such-and-such a street and carries on Bolshevik agitation? I will not arrest him, but you must understand that I shall eventually be obliged to do so if General Thomson gets to know about

it. For God's sake work more carefully."

The English have taken up a very interesting attitude in connection with the mutual relations between the Georgian Republic and Denikin. They openly advise the Tiflis Government to surrender, pointing to the strength of Denikin. Djordzini declared to the English that it was a well-known fact that munitions, etc., were being supplied to Denikin by England, and therefore an attack on the purely democratic Republic of Georgia would be undertaken obviously with the approval of the English. The Georgian Government would shout it throughout the world. The English replied: "Well, go on shouting." Georgia is in a constant state of dispute with Armenia, and it is Denikin's aim to make use of the Armenians for the purpose of overthrowing the Tiflis Government. The English have turned this unceasing struggle to their own advantage. The recent war between Georgia and Armenia was officially waged for the French works at the Sanami station. When the English saw that the Georgians were the conquerors these "humanitarians," in order to prevent "useless bloodshed," compelled both sides to retreat to a definite distance from the points of the dispute, and themselves took possession of the works, which they hold in their hands to this day.

SAMSON.

*Samson, the chosen Nazirite, who ruled
The Jews for twenty years and judged their
sins,
Snared in the web of flesh, by woman fooled,
Was captured by the hated Philistines.
But God remembered him in his downfall
And, in his blindness, gave him back his power,
Which nobly used he, at his gaoler's call,
To save his soul in one grand crowning hour.
O sable Samsons, in white prisons bound,
Wounded and blinded, in your hidden strength
Put forth your swarthy hands; the pillars
found,
Strain mightily at them until at length
The accursed walls, reared of your blood and
tears,
Come crashing, sounding freedom in your ears.*

CLAUDE McKAY.

LABOUR IN IRELAND. Continued from page 1599

A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY NORA CONNOLLY.
THE FARMERS' BURGLARY.

At the beginning of September, 1919, the Transport Union secretary at Feohanagh received from the farmers of the district £198, which represented the harvest bonus of the members of the Union. This money was to be given to the workers at their next Sunday meeting. But on Saturday night the secretary's house was broken into by armed and masked men who demanded the money, whilst shots were fired outside the house. The secretary told the masked men, three of whom he recognised as local farmers, that he had only £18 in the house and had given the rest to the chairman of the branch. The masked men insisted on having the £18, which they took away with them. On Sunday the secretary approached one of the farmer-burglars and told him that if the money were returned the case would go no further. The farmer denied all knowledge of the affair.

The secretary then called the Union members together and told them what had happened. The members immediately went out from the meeting and arrested four farmers whom they handed over to the authorities. The farmers were brought before a magistrate and remanded to a special Court. The members then commandeered a reaper and binder belonging to one of the farmers as a surety for the money taken from them.

When the farmers came before the judge they were ordered to pay back the money to the workers. When this was done the reaper and binder was returned to the owner.

Nora Connolly's articles show us vividly that the Irish workers possess organising ability and tactical skill, and a strong fighting spirit, and that they are readier to engage in the class struggle than in that for national independence. But how miserably small are the aims they have hitherto placed before themselves in the labour struggle. Communist literature to give a new and larger objective to the fight of these courageous workers is the need of the day in Ireland.

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OBJECT: To promote the principles of Socialism among the young.

For boys and girls, 14 years of age and upwards. Branches in Croydon, Hackney, Stepney, Poplar, Bow, Bethnal Green, Hoxton. All those wishing to become members or interested please communicate with D. Bowman, 141, Bow-road, E.

The young will build the new world, the workers' world.

The FAMILY and the COMMUNIST STATE.

Alexandra Kollontay, Russian Soviet Commissary of Public Welfare, says that divorce has been rendered easier in Soviet Russia and can be obtained within a week or two at most. This, she says, is a source of hope to women married to cruel husbands, but causes anxiety to some women who regard the husband as the only support in life. But, says Kollontay, "women must become accustomed to seek support no longer in the person of the man, but in the person of Society, of the State." Kollontay points out that, like everything else, family life is changing, and that only that part of it should be retained which harmonises with the new Socialist society. All that part of it bequeathed by capitalism and its enslavement of the workers must be swept away. Even before the war 60,000,000 women in Europe and America were no longer provided for by men; they were earning their own living; and almost half of these women were married. What sort of family life had they, having the work of the home to do after an eight hour working day for the employer? These conditions destroyed the old family life of the past. Though some women still spend the greater part of their lives in cooking, washing and cleaning, the factories have gradually taken to supplying what used to be the home made clothes, bread, jam, and so on, to meet the needs of the household when mother goes out to work. In Communist Society, Kollontay believes, still further household work will be done professionally. Communal restaurants, laundries, clothes-mending shops, and professional house workers will undertake the tasks which at present fall to the lot of the married working woman.

Pregnant and nursing mothers are assured of subsistence from the Community. If the parents desire to educate their children, they may do so. But if the mothers desire it, they may send them to day nurseries and nursery schools, children's homes, children's colonies, children's infirmaries and health resorts, children's restaurants, and so on. Free meals, free books, clothing and shoes are provided for the Soviet children.

What does all this mean? It means that presently in the Soviet State men and women may marry, simply because they love each other, without any regard whatsoever to the economic burdens or social conventions. These will have disappeared.

THE SOVIET CHILDREN'S KINGDOM.

Count Tolstoy's estate, "Yasnaya Polyana," has been transformed into a children's kingdom; 800 children of workers and poor peasants are housed in Tolstoy's house, and that of his daughter Tatiana, and his friend Tchertkov, with their consent. The children work on the land under the guidance of expert agriculturalists. They use primers written by Tolstoy, their teachers are Tolstoy's pupils. There is a children's theatre, and a museum, choir, and orchestra, there are various schools of handicrafts, mechanics, carpentry, engineering, tailoring, etc. Also creches, a kindergarten, recreation and sports grounds, a gymnasium, etc.

All this is supported by the Peoples' Commissariat for education. Tatiana Tolstoy and V. G. Tchertkov live and work amongst the children. The children manage this little republic, organising their school work, preparing their own food, which is vegetarian, and caring for Tolstoy's relics and belongings. The teachers interfere as little as possible.

The Peoples' Commissariat for education granted two milliard roubles for preparatory school training for the first half of 1919.

In Vitebsk, to raise the cultural level of the people, all educated persons have been mobilised for educational work amongst the peasants.

In the village of Soulaki, Samara province, the local peasants, with the aid of the intellectuals, have organised a reading hut in every province. In each reading hut some one is always on duty to read newspapers, periodicals, and books to the peasants. The whole village attends school. There is a theatre, cinema, choir, and orchestra.

NOT THE BOLSHEVIK WAY.

ILLITERACY UNDER BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT. The Egyptian Ministry of Education, in a recent report, says:—

"By the breath of the school children shall the

State be saved."

The Government schools of Egypt are centres of agitation against the British occupation. But the school children's breath is decidedly sparse, for 92 per cent. of the Egyptian men and 98 per cent. of the women are illiterate. The report recommends a scheme of education which would provide school accommodation and teachers for 80 per cent. of the boys and 50 per cent. of the girls between 6 and 11 years. That is the recommendation; the actual performance, if any change be made at all, is certain to be on a much smaller scale. It is said that in Egypt elementary education has been sacrificed to higher education. But the position of higher education is miserable indeed. The middle classes are clamouring for higher education, but their demand cannot be met, and though classes are overgrown beyond all possibility. The British Government concentrated what attention it gave to education on secondary schools and the few schools for law, medicine, engineering and teaching which existed before the war. In 1916 only 619 students had passed the examinations admitting them to the higher schools, and out of these only 341 could be accommodated. The school of medicine can only turn out 50 graduates a year. There is no Egyptian University and no higher education in literature or such scientific subjects as analytical chemistry, zoology or astronomy, no school of oriental languages or Egyptian archaeology. Therefore the British Government has certainly not made a success of the business of higher education.

Only 2 per cent. of the revenue is devoted to education and only a trifling part of this is devoted to elementary education.

Compare this neglect of education in Egypt under the control of capitalist Britain with the great educational work carried on by the Soviets in Russia.

ITALIAN SOCIALISM ON FIUME.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome.

This is an extract from the speech delivered in the Italian Chamber of Deputies on December 20th by Deputy Modigliani, leader of the Socialist fraction. It constitutes the answer of the Italian Socialists (officially speaking, at least) to the problem which is now agitating the peace-makers of Paris, and which might any day bring on a new war.

Modigliani is an old and experienced parliamentarian, and talks in this speech with a definite political purpose. What he is saying is certainly not the pure doctrine of Communism, but it is an able summary of the various working-class attitudes which he represents. Although the rank and file of the Italian Socialist party is definitely in favour of a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, two-thirds of their deputies are of more moderate opinions. This is due to the fact that the party executive felt it necessary to represent in its list of candidates all the various factions and the important affiliations of the party, such as the trade unions and the co-operative societies. Modigliani himself is of the right wing of the party, but has shown his willingness to be bound by the dictates of the majority. For this reason, as well as for his remarkable eloquence and great political shrewdness, he has assumed leadership of the Socialist group.

Modigliani said:—

"We say plainly that we dissociate ourselves from any responsibility for the action undertaken by the government and the ruling classes of the country, and of the Allied countries, which are our greatest peril, since from now on we cannot know whether they are our friends or our enemies."

"Abroad you make the question of Fiume appear to be of nationality, whereas in fact it is one of imperialism. You go to Paris as a poor man begging favours from the brigandage of international capitalism. There is Turkey to be re-established; and you go to demand that it be cut into slices, one for each of you. You go into Africa, you are going into Asia, to do the same acts of brigandage. There is a treaty of Albania; there is the treaty of London. Thank the Soviets which gave you knowledge of them. On the basis of these you want to urge the demand for Fiume, while you never think twice about authorising the separation of so many peoples like shreds torn from this or that nation. This is the contradiction in your policy."

"It is the contradiction in the treaty of Versailles, at which all were present, bankers, industrialists, writers, journalists, except the people—they were absent."

"On the other hand, you remember, gentlemen, the contradiction of Brest-Litovsk. There the people spoke to defend themselves against the private understandings of the ruling classes, which, incapable of war and incapable of peace, betrayed, as they always do, the interests of the people."

"You say to me: 'It is easy to criticise from the Chamber. But if the Socialist party were forming the government, what would it do?'"

"Well, gentlemen, in no department of policy is the answer easier than in this. We Socialists must necessarily speak another language than yours:

seek to realise another régime, and build other institutions. Our answer is: 'The Proletarian International.'"

"You are making attempts at reconstruction which are failing every day, they will finally fall prey to the arrogance of capitalism. For all these fruitless efforts of yours there is only one answer: 'The Proletarian International.'"

"To-day, this International of the proletariat appears imminent. It is gathering its forces for the conquest of power. The Socialist party would be unworthy of its name and of its destiny if it were not aware that the hour of the proletarian conquest of power approaches."

"Your policy is tottering under the sabotage of the existing order. We say to you that you are come to the bankruptcy of your régime. Meanwhile, in the hour of your historic bankruptcy, you are seeking to save the symbols of your rule. It is no use. To liberate yourselves from the alliance with the Entente which is ruining Italy, to inaugurate a financial policy which will give free scope to the people, you must take the necessary step. You must inaugurate the bourgeois republic for Italy."

This, the first demand for the dethronement of King Victor Emmanuel which has been heard in the Chamber, threw the deputies into an uproar. The bourgeois members "preserved the symbols" by shouting "Long live the king!" But Modigliani's suggestion voiced in public what many bourgeois politicians have been saying in private. The institution of a bourgeois Italian republic is one of the impending possibilities of the next few months. And after that—?

[Modigliani, as our correspondent observes, represents the right wing of the Italian Socialist Party. Yet, it will be seen that he displays a much clearer understanding of the international situation and the progress of the workers' revolution than the Labour and Socialist M.P.'s in this country, and men like Henderson and Thomas, or even MacDonald and Snowden, in this country. Modigliani is probably an infinitely abler man than these, probably he has studied Socialism in a more scientific school, but undoubtedly the difference in his handling of the situation is also due to the pressure of revolutionary opinion in the Party behind him. He is asking for a bourgeois republic, but he indicates that after it will follow the proletarian republic.]

THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT.

Rome, December 28th.

How the world is changing is shown in a recent analysis of the professions of the 508 deputies of the new Italian Chamber of Deputies, as compared with the former Chamber, elected in 1913. The lawyers, the mainstay of the old-fashioned Parliamentarism, are reduced from 248 to 201. The other highly paid professions, including physicians, professors, and the like, remain about the same. The genuine hand-workers are increased from 2 to 13; clerks and petty office holders from 1 to 13; peasants from none to 8. Organisers—which means trade union organisers—are increased from none to 67. The "nobles and others without occupation" are decreased from 78 to 35. After a victorious war, which might have been expected to turn the thoughts of all persons toward military glory, the military men are reduced from 13 to 6. And this after an electoral campaign which was waged by one party on the issue of Italy's military glory.

THE COLNE BY-ELECTION CLASH.

It appears possible that there may be a clash between the I.L.P. and the Trade Unions in regard to the Colne by-election, and that Phillip Snowden may be run by the I.L.P. in opposition to the Labour Party nominee. Should this happen, there would be a demand for the resignation of the I.L.P. from the Labour Party. It would be an interesting development if the reformist I.L.P. should break away from the Labour Party, and the B.S.P. remain in it!

But, as a matter of fact, we do not think this clash will lead to a rupture. We think that for anyone it must have a definite policy and principles of its own; at present it has not.

Rosa LUXEMBURG & Karl LIEBKNECHT

Murdered January 16th, 1919.

A MEMORIAL DEMONSTRATION

will be held in the Central Club, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, on

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16th, 1920.

Speakers:

Arthur MacManus, L.W.C.

Cedar Paul,

Sylvia Pankhurst, W.S.F.

W. Ryde, B.S.P.

The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by

Fred Willis, B.S.P.

Doors open 7.30. Admission Free. Silver collection.

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The DREADNOUGHT would be glad to get in touch with Danish comrades in England,

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

"ASKING FATHER."

The Trades Union Congress of some time ago having determined to do something or other at some time or other for Russia, recently made up its mind to "find out the facts for itself." Having heard, so to speak, that there was a fire somewhere, they decided to go and see if it was so. But it was first of all necessary to ask father for passports.

Now the *Daily Herald* (31/12/19) says:—

The reply given (Reuter's Agency learns) was that the British Government could not grant passports for a country with which it has no diplomatic relations.

In other words, father, not being on speaking terms with the fire, he has decided not to let his little boy run and see it. The London evening *Star* of the same date, however, tells us:—

"Questioned as to the statement that the Government had refused to grant passports, Mr. Bowerman said: 'That is not the case. The negotiations are still proceeding.'"

And that reminds me. One Government is so like another, and in what one Government says all other Governments follow suit; that I have no excuse to make in reproducing the following. It was written by a friend of mine and appeared in *Satire* of September, 1917, when the Stockholm passports were refused. I need not add that the names are entirely fictitious and are not intended to refer to any living person, as the Sunday paper serials say:—

Hon. Member: Is the Foreign Secretary aware that the Society for Dissemination of Spiritual Uplift among Eskimos and the Council for Pacific Propagation among Papuans have decided to send delegates to the International Conference to be held at Jerusalem, and, if so, does he intend to grant passports for this purpose?

Foreign Secretary: No passports have been applied for, nor, if application were made, would they be granted. (Vociferous cheers.)

Hon. Member: Does that mean that the Government have decided that no passports shall in any case be granted to delegates to the Jerusalem Conference?

Foreign Secretary: It does not mean that.

Hon. Member: What does it mean then?

Foreign Secretary: It means exactly what I have said.

Hon. Member: You distinctly said that if application for passports were made they would not be granted.

Foreign Secretary: I did not say that. I said no passports were made applied for, nor, if application were made would they be granted. (Cheers.)

Hon. Member: Obviously a distinction without a difference.

Foreign Secretary: No sir. A distinction with a tremendous difference!

Hon. Member: Will you state clearly the difference?

Foreign Secretary: It means exactly what I have said. (Renewed cheers.)

Hon. Member: Why should the Society for Dissemination of Spiritual Uplift among Eskimos be treated differently to the Council for Pacific Propagation among Papuans?

Foreign Secretary: I did not say they were treated differently.

Hon. Member: What does that mean — ?

Foreign Secretary: It means exactly what I have said. (Laughter and cheers.)

And that's that. When the Labour Party goes cap in hand to ask a fatherly Government for passports it is more likely to get a new pattern in doormats for a New Year's gift.

But, don't you see the joke, Henry? Let us consider the matter of the Stockholm passports. They were at first refused; then at the last moment they were granted. But the matter did not end at this point, for Havelock Wilson took it up, and the trusty stalwarts of the Seamen's Union backed him up. The delegates were simply left on the quay.

Here we were shown where the power really lies. And yet to-day the same people who hold that power are engaged in negotiations on the matter of passports.

The Seamen's Union is one of the trade unions of the country, I assume, who wish to go to Russia to see the facts for themselves. Their members are on most of the ships that sail to Scandinavia. They baulked the Government when it gave passports to delegates to Stockholm. Yet when the Trade Union delegates wish to go to Russia they are held up "negotiating" with the same Government. And this over the matter of passports which they once held to be of no account.

The fact is, of course, that the trade unions are run by the same old gang of wirepulling leaders who flout the Government when it suits them, and stand on the doormat when it suits the Government. These leaders do not care a red cent—or a blue one—for matters of principle. Russia may be starving for all they know, or she may not. They have not "got the facts."

Do the trade unionists mean to continue handling munitions for the Russian reactionaries until they have "got the facts"? The Save the Babies Committee want to send food and medicine to Soviet Russia, but they have not got "official sanction," in other words passports. Why don't the trade unionists see to it that the ships take the goods there—and get there?

Obviously because they have not "got the facts." Well, if they want to "get the facts" so badly, why not go right away to Russia and get them? Who is stopping them?

THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY.
Continued from front page.

The powers of the Entente, continues Socialist President, which brought about the fall of the dictatorship of the Soviets, have abandoned Budapest to the mercies of the counter-revolutionists, and are thus responsible for all that is happening. (It will be remembered that the representatives of the Entente stated to the Soviet Commissaries, last July, that they would be "held personally responsible" if the death sentence were executed against the counter-revolutionists who attempted to slaughter the Commissaries and their families in their dwellings. The Entente has made no public protest against the daily murders of which the Austrian comrade speaks.)

"We invite the Socialist parties and the Socialist workers of all countries," he continues, "and particularly of England, France, Italy, and America, to compel their governments to put a stop to the white terror in Hungary."

The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Vienna, mentions that professors and school teachers, suspected of Communist ideas, have been condemned to death or to years of imprisonment; that women and young children have been imprisoned for the same reason; that the methods of the inquisition have been revived, not only against individuals, but against all sorts of propaganda, including books, libraries, etc. All the Socialist libraries were destroyed a few days ago. In the city of Budapest, 150,000 volumes belonging to the Socialist Circle, were utterly destroyed.

The correspondent of *Avanti* from Budapest wires that on the occasion of the destruction of the office of the Socialist newspaper, *Nepszava*, and of the Socialist headquarters, some weeks ago, the police not only tolerated the outrage, but actively assisted in executing it. The correspondent asserts that the police, the day before the vandalism was committed, actually inspected the premises of the Socialist headquarters, and made a map of everything, which was then turned over to the chief rioters. When the riot occurred and the police were notified to come and quell it, they waited an hour before sending their forces. Once arrived on the scene, the police marched around the block, to give the culprits every chance of escape. By the time they came to the farce of "restoring order," the printing presses, typewriters, reference books, etc., were completely destroyed. The correspondent further asserts that the Hungarian government is organising kidnapping parties in Austria, for the purpose of bringing back to Budapest Bela Kun and other Communists interned under the protection of the Austrian State. In a recent raid, undertaken for this purpose near Vienna, the automobile of the conspirators bore the licence number 383, which is that of a machine belonging to the Hungarian embassy.

The formal executions carried out by the reactionary government are surrounded by an atmosphere of utmost cynicism. The recent execution of fourteen of the "Sons of Lenin" society, was staged like the games of ancient Rome, in which the Christian martyrs were put to death. The entertainment was divided into three acts. Admission was by ticket, and the bourgeoisie came in their best clothes to witness the ceremony.

It should be remembered that "Comrades" Payer and Miankies, of the Social-Democratic party, are members of the government responsible for this régime. They entered the Huszar coalition at the express request of the Entente, which insisted that the Social-Democrats should join the government before it would grant recognition to the new régime. This is not the first time that Socialists have lent themselves as window-dressing to a reactionary régime of slaughter.

W.S.F. NOTES.

Mr. J. H. Watson, 3, Primrose-road, Dover, will be glad to hear from sympathisers with the Workers' Socialist Federation, or readers of the *WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT* in the Dover district, with a view to re-forming the branch.

Those willing to sell the *WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT* and literature in London should communicate with N. Smyth, 400, Old Ford-road, E.3. This is one of the best methods of propaganda. Sellers needed for the Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Memorial Meeting at the Central Club, Alfred-street, Store-street, Tottenham Court-road, on January 10th.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Saturday, Jan. 10th. Great Push in the S.E. District for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia. Meetings at 3 pm. The Canal, Peckham; 7 p.m. The Grove, Camberwell. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Miss Grove (7 p.m.), Melvina Walker, and P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, Jan. 11th. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, White-chapel, P. A. Edmunds. Chair—Melvina Walker.
Friday, Jan. 16th. 7.30 p.m.—The Square, Woolwich. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, Jan. 17th. Great Push in Islington district.

INDOOR.

Monday, Jan. 12th. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting.
8.30 p.m. W. S. F. Reading Circle.

Thursday, Jan. 15th. 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street. Mark Starr. Ninth Lecture on Industrial His-

tory (The Industrial Revolution.)

Friday, Jan. 16th. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, Jan. 11th. 12 noon—Victoria Park. Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, Jan. 13th. Queen's Road, Dalston Lane—7.30 p.m. Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, Jan. 15th. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd. E.3. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, Jan. 13th. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Miss McCarthy.

East Ham League of Rights.

Tuesday, Jan. 13th. Old Public Offices, Wakefield Rd. 8 p.m. Olive Beamish.