

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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ROSA LUXEMBURG ANNIVERSARY.

Rosa Luxemburg was a woman of indomitable will. Severe self-control put a curb upon the mettlesome ardour of her temperament, veiling it beneath an outwardly reserved and calm demeanour. Mistress of herself, she was able to lead others. Her delicate sensitiveness had to be shielded from external influences. Her apparent coldness and strict reserve were the screen behind which was hidden a life of tender and deep feeling; a wealth of sympathy which did not stop short at man, but which embraced all living thoughts, and encircled the world as one united whole. Once in a while Red Rosa, weary and worn with work, coming upon a lost fledgling in the open road, would carry it safely to its home. Her compassionate heart warmed to human suffering and grew more tender as the years went by. Always did she find time to lend a willing ear to those who needed advice and help; often did she joyfully give up her own pleasure in order to succour those who came to her in their need. A severe task-mistress to herself, she treated her friends with an instinctive indulgence; their woes and their troubles were more poignant to her than her own. As a friend she was a model of both loyalty and love, of self-effacement and gentle solicitude. With what rare qualities was she endowed, this 'resolute fanatic'! How pregnant with thought and vivacity was her intercourse with intimates! Her natural reserve and dignity had taught her to suffer in silence. Nothing unworthy had any existence for her. Small and delicate in body, Rosa was nevertheless consumed with an energy which was unrivalled. She made the most remorseless demands upon her own powers of work, and she achieved positively astounding results. When it seemed that she must succumb to the exhaustion consequent upon her labours, she would embark upon another task demanding yet greater expenditure of vitality. Such endeavours were undertaken 'in order to give myself a rest.' Rarely was heard on her lips the phrase, 'I cannot'; more frequently, in consequence, were heard the words, 'I must.' Her frail health and the unfavourable circumstances of her life did not lessen her vigour. Sorely tried by bodily infirmities, encompassed with difficulties, she remained true to herself. Her inward sense of freedom smoothed every obstacle from her path.

Comrade Mehring was right in affirming that

Rosa Luxemburg was one of Marx's most conspicuous and intelligent followers. Gifted with shrewdness and with complete independence of thought, she refused to accept any traditional formula on trust; she probed every idea, every fact, which thus acquired a special and personal value for her. She combined to a rare degree the power of logical deduction with an acute understanding of everyday life and its development. Her dauntless mind was not content merely to know Marx's teaching

knowledge was insatiable. Her receptive mind, her intuitive understanding, turned to nature and to art as to a well-spring of happiness and moral perfection.

Socialism was for Rosa Luxemburg a dominating passion which absorbed her whole life, a passion at once intellectual and ethical. The passion consumed her and was transformed into creative work. This rare woman had but one ambition, one task in life—to prepare for the revolution which was to open the way to



and to elucidate the master's doctrines. She undertook independent researches, and continued the work of creation which is the very essence of Marx's spirit. She possessed a remarkable capacity for lucid exposition, and could always find the aptest words wherewith to express her thoughts in all their plenitude. Rosa Luxemburg was never satisfied with the insipid and dry theoretical disquisitions so dear to the heart of our erudite Socialists. Her speech was brilliantly simple; it sparkled with wit and was full of mordant humour; it seemed to be the incarnation of enthusiasm, and revealed the breadth of her culture and the superabundant wealth of her inner life. She was a splendid theoretician of scientific Socialism, but had nothing in common with the paltry pedants who cull all their wisdom from a few scientific works. Her thirst for

Socialism. Her greatest joy, her dream, was to live to see the revolution, to take her share in its struggles. Rosa Luxemburg gave to Socialism all she had to give; no words can ever express the strength of will, the disinterestedness, and the devotion, with which she served the cause. She offered up her life on the altar of Socialism, not alone in death, but in the long days of her labour, in the hours, the weeks and the years consecrated to the fight. Thus has she acquired the right to demand of others that they, too, shall sacrifice their all for Socialism—everything, life not excepted. She was the sword, she was the fire, of the revolution. Rosa Luxemburg will remain one of the greatest figures in the history of international Socialism.

CLARA ZETKIN.

(Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul from *L'Internationale Communiste*.)

WORKERS' COMMITTEE CONFERENCE.

During the war the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee movement had a remarkable growth. It was strongest in the engineering and shipbuilding industries, and in the war work which so largely monopolised those industries. With the old Trade Unionism in abeyance, with labour a scarce commodity, feeling its power, scarcely a town or village was left without a Workers' Committee.

When the Armistice brought with it the cutting down of war staffs, the prominent shop stewards were often the first to be sent away. Factories that had employed thousands of workers now employed only hundreds or dozens. By all this change the Workers' Committee movement was profoundly affected. Large numbers of Workers' Committees went out of existence altogether, and those which remained in being dwindled sorely. Thus, one committee which contributed £80 to headquarters in 1918, contributed only £4 in 1919. The circulation of a Workers' Committee paper which was 10,000 copies weekly before the Armistice, rapidly fell to 3,000.

In Glasgow, however, the Workers' Committee remains as vigorous as ever. It has its own offices, newspaper, and organisers. In London the Workers' Committee movement is in many respects actually stronger and better organised than during the war.

But the Workers' Committees have always inclined to a spasmodic existence, breaking into active life with any movement of unrest amongst the workers, and dwindling and all but disappearing in times of peaceable stagnation. The Workers' Committees are embryonic Soviets. They have not, as they exist in this country, the machinery to fulfil the palliative tasks of the Trade Union; the provision of sick pay, strike pay, and other friendly benefits, the legal defence of compensation cases, and so on. The Workers' Committees probably have two practical missions. Firstly, that of forcing the various craft unions to reform and consolidate themselves into industrial unions built up from the basis of the workshop; secondly that of providing a means of cohesion, expression, and action

for the workers in those times of crises which are gradually leading to the final end of capitalism.

On January 10th-11th the Workers' Committee Movement held a national conference in the International Socialist Club in East London. Some 68 delegates were present, representing nearly 77,000 workers. The National Council was re-elected with little change. It now consists of George Peet, Secretary, J. T. Murphy, assistant secretary, T. Kime, Treasurer, A. McManus, W. Gallacher, T. Dingley, Keeling, Watkins and D. Ramsay.

It was decided to elect the N.A.C. from the Conference, and to accept for nomination delegates and members of the retiring N.A.C., whether delegates or not. It was pointed out that as some of the retiring N.A.C. were not delegates they would not be subject to recall, as provided by the Workers' Committee Constitution. To obviate this objection it was decided that the body nominating a delegate should have the right to recall that delegate, whether he belonged to the body or not.

The Conference decided to apply for affiliation to the Third International and passed the following resolutions:—

Continued on next page

The "DAILY HERALD" Policy.

"The Daily Herald policy? Why, you surely know that the *Herald* has no policy!" That is what a large proportion of our readers will undoubtedly say, but the *Daily Herald*, amid all its curious contradictions and vacillations, has at present one guiding motive, which is to secure a coalition of bourgeois and trade union elements to form a so-called "Moderate Labour Government" of J. H. Thomas, J. R. Clynes, Robert Smillie, Robert Williams, J. R. MacDonald, Wedgwood, Webb, with Lloyd George and a crowd of other such bourgeois schemers, and now Lord Fisher! Lord Fisher has said he wants all the nation to work and that the workman must be made a partner with the capitalist. That is enough for the *Herald*. It hails him as "A Labour First Lord" and "First Lord of the Admiralty in a Labour Government." The *Herald* says:—

Of course, Mr. Churchill—who is an authority on Lord Fisher, as on everything else—says Labour is not competent to have a government or a First Lord at all. Would Mr. Churchill argue that Lord Fisher knows less about ships than Mr. Walter Long?

What does this mean? Is the *Herald* merely fooling, or is the Labour Party already negotiating for Lord Fisher's assistance when it comes into power? Lord Fisher, from what we can hear of him, is an aggressive Imperialist who will demand a big building programme for the Navy.

The *Herald's* idea of things under the expected Labour government seems to be to retain all the old lumber of Government machinery precisely as it is.

It is interesting to notice that the Daily Mail has already given a forecast of the future Labour Government and that it also predicts that Lord Fisher will be the First Lord of the Admiralty.

On New Year's day the *Herald* published an array of greetings from all sorts of people, including the Lord Mayor of London and Mr. Gordon Selfridge. The burden of those greet-

ings was that there is community of interest between capital and labour and that labour must exercise forbearance. The Prince of Wales, with a greater sense of fitness than the *Herald*, refused to send a greeting; he realised that he belongs to the regime of labour's subjection and that kingship must go when Communism brings labour's emancipation.

The poor scribes who earn their living by journalism are forced by economic necessity to write what the employing classes dictate. The employers realise that the Press is the great maker of public opinion and they use their power to fashion public opinion in their interests. The *Herald*, as the only daily paper professing to stand for labour, has a great opportunity. That it should use this to preach a negation of the class war is regrettable. It is also regrettable to find its columns devoted to such absurdities as beauty competitions. The *Herald's* defence is that it is trying to increase its circulation: evidently it does not realise the importance of its mission as educator.

The *Herald* is constantly being attacked for publishing advertisements which are hostile to Labour; for instance the advertisements of the pro-Koltchak Russian Information Bureau and of the Pearl Assurance Company during the strike. The *Herald* replies that it believes in free speech and opens its columns to both sides. It is not the business of a Labour newspaper to give space to the capitalists to put their case; the capitalists have an extensive Press of their own. The historic struggle in which the oppressed masses are gradually striving upwards to their emancipation is not a polite debate on which either side may be right. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the *Herald* does not open its columns freely to both sides; on the contrary, it accepts from the capitalists payment for allowing them to do propaganda in its columns. Every time the *Herald* accepts such payments for putting such advertisements in its columns it is accepting a bribe. E.S.P.

THE WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Continued from front page.

Nationalisation. (Mines, Railways, etc.). "This Conference, while urging the rank and file of the working-class movement to support the miners or any other body of workers in their fight against the employing class, declares that the Nationalisation of any industry which leaves the capitalist class in power will not emancipate the workers, and calls on the organised labour movement to strive for the confiscation of the mines, railways and other means of production and distribution in the interests of labour.

"This Conference further declares that all schemes of joint control, whether embodied in the Sankey Report, Whitley Report, or any other capitalist scheme are detrimental to the best interests of the working class and urges the workers to reorganise themselves for the purpose of independently taking control of the industrial and social machinery of the State in the interests of the exploited masses.

"Furthermore, for the purposes of control of the forces of production and distribution by the workers, this Conference declares the Soviet or Workers' Committee form of organisation is the best and urges the trade unions and all the co-operative movement in every locality to confer with and assist the Shop Stewards or Workers' Committees to bring into being as swiftly as possible the full development of such organisation. This resolution to be sent to all co-operative societies.

COST OF LIVING.

"This Conference joins with the T.U. Congress in its protests against the ever-increasing cost of living, but affirms that the Congress scheme for Government subsidies is a vicious expedient, and calls on the local and national organisations of the workers to prepare economic machinery and accept full responsibility for the welfare of labour.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The West London Workers' Committee ask for the following resolutions to be placed on the agenda:—

"This Conference demands and urges all organised labour to press for a six hour day, five days per week, or such further curtailment as shall absorb all the unemployed in every industry."

"This Conference demands a minimum wage of £1 per day for all workers, this minimum to be advanced proportionate to the advance in the cost of living from the basis of Government returns, December, 1919."

CONSCRIPTION.

"This Conference joins with the T.U. Congress

in its condemnation of conscription for military service for the support of capitalism and demands the complete discharge of all conscripts and the immediate removal of the Military Service Acts from the Statute Book.

RUSSIA.

"This conference sends greetings to the Russian Soviet Republic and enthusiastically welcomes the splendid constructive work for Communism accomplished by the Soviets. It congratulates the Red Army on its magnificent fight against militant capitalism and declares its solidarity with the Russian Soviet Republic and all the workers of the world struggling against international capitalism."

"This Conference deplores the long toleration by the British workers of the attack which the capitalist forces of the world are making on Soviet Russia. It now urges the trade unionists to instruct the delegates to the next T.U. Congress to declare for a general strike to force the Government to stop all forms of intervention, whether by land or air forces or the navy by the financing of adventurers or by the use of the League of Nations or conquered or weaker states re-open and to immediately commercial relations and establish peace with Soviet Russia on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, and the right to self-determination of all nationalities."

POLICE.

"That this Conference emphatically protests against the action of the Government in attempting to suppress a legitimate workers' organisation such as the National Union of Police and Prison Officers.

"We consider the Police Acts of 1919 to be a part of a sinister scheme to militarise the police forces and to destroy ultimately all working class organisations.

"We therefore demand the repeal of the Police Act, 1919, and the reinstatement of the police and prison officers dismissed by arbitrary officials of the Government, and do now recommend that the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees throughout the country do at once take such steps that will result in collective and simultaneous action of such a nature which will compel the Government to accede to this legitimate demand."

"That this Conference decides to link up with the American I.W.W. and instructs the N.A.C. to take steps to bring this about."

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The League of Nations is a capitalist organisation and will undoubtedly be used for crushing the Workers' Revolution wherever it appears. Warships flying the League of Nations' flag bombarded Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, the British Labour Party has issued a manifesto in favour of the League of Nations. This was signed by Philip Snowden and Ramsay MacDonald on behalf of the I.L.P. Did the I.L.P. agree to it? At the Glasgow Trade Union Congress last September, Robert Williams joined with Tom Shaw, M.P., of the Textile Workers, in moving a resolution instructing the Parliamentary Committee to take part in propaganda for the League of Nations. Beside all the social patriots who invariably support the Government in power, the manifesto was also signed by Tom Mann for the A.S.E. and Robert Smillie for the miners. Tom Mann undoubtedly has enough knowledge of the workings of International Capitalism to guard him from placing any faith in the League of Nations. We can conclude that he signed officially for the A.S.E. without regard to his own views. In that case a conscience clause for Trade Union officials is necessary.

THE MOULDERS.

The moulders, having struck for nearly four months for an advance of 15/- a week, which would not bring their wages up to the pre-war level, have again refused to accept an advance of 5/-. Arthur Henderson has been opposed to the strike from its inception, and has urged the men to accept every offer that came along. We think that the moulders are probably saying: "Our secretary has again secured a seat in Parliament, he has become a very prominent man, he is even spoken of as a future Labour Prime Minister, but he no longer displays any solidarity with us; he has no longer the time or the wish to understand our position."

The moulders have continued their strike with dogged perseverance in spite of dwindling funds and official disapproval. If the other workers in the engineering industry had come to their aid, the strike would have been won in a few days; indeed, the threat of a strike would doubtless have caused the employers to give way. The executive of the other Unions have contented themselves with asking the Government to mediate. Solidarity, solidarity, and again solidarity is a lesson British workers are slow to learn. Until they have learnt it, they will not be ready for revolution.

RENTS TO GO UP.

Dr. Addison, the Minister of Health, has said that rents must go up on all new houses, which means that we shall presently see an all-round increase in house rent. He has advised one local authority to charge 3/- a week more for new houses in the first 15 months and to raise the rents by a further 2/6 a week at the end of that time. The Housing (Additional Powers) Act, 1919, enables the Government to subsidise private individuals who will erect houses within twelve months of December 23rd, 1919. For this purpose £15,000,000 may be spent.

The 1919 Act gives local authorities power to borrow money for building by the issue of housing bonds. A publicity campaign is being started to induce people to take up these housing bonds. This campaign will probably fail, and the financial interests will probably boycott the loans of the municipal authorities. High finance has set its face against social reform. The municipalities can do nothing without money; their very limited power to introduce reforms is largely conditioned on their power to borrow.

MILK.

Milk supplies are said to exceed the demand. That is because prices are too high for the workers to pay. Working-class children are enfeebled for lack of milk. Mothers, why do you tolerate this? When Communism comes the mothers in every street will meet together to discuss such problems, and will elect their delegates to the local and national workers' committees, or Soviets, which will deal with milk distribution amongst other matters. When Communism comes milk will be free to all, and no child will ever go short of this primary necessity.

At Nottingham, the workers are combining in refusing to buy milk in order to reduce the cost.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIALIST & COMMUNIST STUDENTS.

HELD AT GENEVA, DECEMBER 26-29TH.
BY R. PALME DUTT.

It was something of an enterprise to attempt to hold an international Socialist congress of students at a time when the old forms of the official Socialist international were in the melting pot. As we set out from England for Geneva the news met us of the breakdown of the Geneva Congress of the Second International. We had some grounds for feeling proud that our Geneva Congress, at any rate, had not broken down, and that, however much our elders might be disposed to waste time with endless delays and wranglings over war causes and national issues, the younger people of the Socialist movement were only eager to get together and get on with the work of Socialism. What was more, the extent of the range covered by our Congress was wider than is yet covered by either of the official Internationals. We ranged from the majority Socialists of Germany to the extreme Communists of Eastern Europe. Such a meeting of groups in a common International Socialist Congress had not taken place since the war began.

There were delegates from England, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Belgium and Holland. There were fraternal delegates from America, Russia and Serbia. Other countries were unrepresented because of passport and other difficulties; these included Italy, Spain, Sweden and Denmark. In addition there were representatives present as visitors from various young Socialist organisations and from the "Clarté" movement. The nature of the Federations represented by these delegates varied. Yugoslavia, Switzerland and Holland were pure Communist organisations. The same applied to Italy and Spain. The Austrian association, which had been founded by Max Adler, was strongly in sympathy with Communist principles, but was still attached to the Social Democratic Party. Similarly the Belgian association was revolutionary in its outlook, but had only been able to send delegates under the protection of the Belgian Labour Party. The French movement was divided into two sections, one in favour of the Third International, the other sympathetic but against actual adhesion. The German movement was still more sharply divided into two rival federations. There had been a vain attempt at unity at a Conference in Leipzig, shortly before the Congress, but the rupture had proved unavoidable. On the one side was the Inter-Socialist Federation, which included all three types. Majority, Independent and Communist, meeting for purposes of discussion and exchange of views. This had sent three delegates, a Majority Socialist, an Independent and a Communist; but only the Majority Socialist had succeeded in getting his passports. On the other side was the smaller "Bloc of Revolutionary Students," which included Independents and Communists, and sent one delegate of each. (As to how delegates succeeded in coming, in spite of difficulties over passports, this is not the place to speak; and the same reason makes it inadvisable to say anything of those who were present, interesting and striking though many of them were). Finally the University Socialist Federation of Great Britain, an organisation rather older and longer established than the others, going back to 1912 and covering eleven of

the British universities, is a body which only seeks to bring together Socialist students of all types and help them in their difficult fight against the conditions of our capitalist universities, and in consequence does not itself hold any separate party platform.

At this point it is probably worth while to say something of the basis of the Congress, since the idea of a separate student Socialist organisation may easily give rise to misapprehension. If there were any idea of separating off student Socialists from the rest of the Socialist world, such an idea would only be fit for damnation. The only object of a student Socialist organisation at all is to deal with the special problems raised in bringing students into the Socialist movement. This is the idea of the University Socialist Federation, which for this reason does not regard itself as a separate party at all, but merely as an instrument for enabling students to learn about Socialism and seeing to it that, when they have learnt, they do not remain passive, but pass on into the active Socialist and workers' movement. In the same way our comrades of the purely Communist students' societies, although regarding themselves more definitely as a specific party able to affiliate separately to Moscow, were just as keen not to mark themselves off from the rest of the movement, and for this reason constituted themselves a sub-division of the general Young Socialist Movement centred in Berlin. However much we might differ on other points of organisation, on the question of not separating off student Socialists from the rest of the movement we were all at one.

The great question of difference was the question of adhesion to the Third International or not. This did not in any sense mean a division for or against Communism. The only issue was between affiliation to the Third International and independence of either. The opposition between these two was not an opposition of rival political views, but of varying conceptions of the right method of organisation and the function of a students' international. The upholders of independence did in fact include Communists. The basis of the two points of view may be expressed as follows:—

The Communists felt that a real international of revolutionary Socialist students could only be built on a Communist basis. Any combination of points of view so fundamentally opposed as social democracy and Communism would make the International valueless. Common action—and action throughout was what they were intent upon—could only be secured upon a basis of common principles. No mere revolutionary phraseology, to which all pay lip service, could secure this end; the one absolute test, which stripped off all pretence, was adhesion or not to the Third International.

The Independents began from a different conception of the functions of a students' international. They held that if there is any justification for a students' Socialist organisation existing alongside the political parties, it was because it was something different and played a different part from the political parties. Otherwise it would be mere duplication. The political parties were concerned in taking a stand on one side or another; and as individual members of their political parties the student Socialists and Communists could take their stand and affiliate to one or another international.

It was right and proper that they should do this as individual members of their political societies like anyone else, and not in a separate organisation of their own. The only purpose of a separate students' organisation was to afford a meeting ground for all types where they could co-operate in the common work that affected them as students. Only in this way could an international be built; the alternative was half a dozen different students' internationals, each reflecting a different political sect, and covering only one or two countries, and all in sum defeating the whole purpose of international organisation.

This issue took precedence of all other issues. As soon as the reports of the International Committee and the national sections had been received, and the questions of mandates settled (this occupied the first day and the beginning of the second) this issue was voted to a place of priority on the agenda before the questions of a constitution, education, etc. The debate was keen and lasted many hours; and when at last the division came, an equal vote was cast on each side. This division was on the Yugoslav resolution proposing adhesion to the Third International. A milder resolution was put forward by the Austrians proposing an expression of sympathy with the principles of the Third International without adhesion, but this pleased neither side and was strongly rejected. At this deadlock a scene of considerable confusion followed. In the end it was decided that the two sections should meet separately in order to determine their policy.

It was clear that there was every danger of a rupture. The Communists in any case proceeded to organise their distinctive Communist Students' International which thus constituted a section of the general Young Socialist Movement. They went forward with the agenda, and in the discussion on education a lecture of great interest on Soviet education was given by Paul Birukoff, the biographer of Tolstoy. Meanwhile the Independents had no intention of consenting to a rupture or forming a rival federation. They at once entered into negotiation with the representatives of the Communists in order to reach a basis of agreement. After a prolonged interchange of views a basis was finally reached. It was decided that an Independent or Free Section for Socialists and Communists of all types should be organised parallel with the Communist Association, and that there should be regular relations and exchange of information between the secretariats of the two. The bridge is a slender one, but at any rate the feud of the old parties has been avoided and a nucleus of international organisations formed for the time when conditions will have become clearer.

There is no doubt that difference in conditions more than in opinion is behind the cleavage which reflected itself in the deal type of organisation evolved. The relations between the delegates were of the friendliest, and the desire for co-operation existed on all sides. But Europe is living in two halves, and the two halves are living in different centuries. Between countries which are already in the process of revolution and countries which have not yet entered it there is all the difference in the world. The problems are different, and the method of organisation must inevitably be different. Closer international unity must await closer similarity in international conditions.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS.

WORKERS' COUNCILS IN ITALY.

The development of Workers' Councils in Italy, more or less on similar lines to Workers' Committees in this country, and consisting of the whole body of workers in a factory, Unionist and non-Unionist, elected from different shops in the factory, is a new phenomenon in Italy which has aroused vigorous discussions in labour circles. The movement has developed particularly in Turin, covering first the metal trades and extending to other trades, until now a general Commissariat of Works' Councils has been formed, composed of 42 delegates from various factories, representing about 50,000 workers. The discussion has centred on the significance of these Councils, one section regarding them as a possible source of weakness to the Trade Union movement and the militant spirit by developing purely local and shop interests, the other sections regarding them from the revolutionary point of view as a realisation in part of the Workers' Councils advocated at the Bologna Congress as the instrument of the revolution, and claiming their value as a training for the workers in the direction of the control of industry that should accustom them to regard their functions as producers rather than merely as wage-earners. The inclusion of non-Unionists in the shop "electorate" is likewise viewed with opposing feelings—by some as a danger to Trade Unionism, and by others as a means of initiating the unorganised into the realms of organisation with consequent ultimate utility to Trade Unionism and the revolution. The Socialist Party of Turin has passed a resolution welcoming the creation of Works' Councils as (1) developing among the workers the productive views of industry; (2) forming the germ of proletarian revolutionary institutions. Finally on December 14th, a special congress of the Turin Chamber of Labour was called to discuss the question, and after an animated discussion passed a resolution by 38,489 votes against 26,219, approving the Councils, but leaving open the question of the desirability of including unorganised workers in their electorates.

ROUMANIA AND RUSSIA.

Two years ago the Entente Governments requested Roumania to co-operate in the contemplated operations against the Soviet Government. Roumania showed pretty clearly that it did not desire to interfere in Russia's domestic affairs, but under pressure finally accepted the Entente policy "in principle," without showing any enthusiasm for it in practice.

Since the Entente decided to form "a sanitary cordon against Bolshevism," Roumania so far accepted the policy as to be prepared to defend the Danubian frontier against attack. But in the autumn of last year (1919) Roumania refused to help Denikin by giving him arms and the co-operation of Roumanian troops because: (1) It is against her interest to reform an Imperialistic Russia, which would follow the policy known as that of the will of Peter the Great; (2) Roumania does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of her neighbours; (3) She does not want to create new causes of animosity between herself and Russia; (4) She refuses to arm Denikin, whose avowed policy was to take back Bessarabia.

A LETTER FROM ANTWERP.

DEAR EDITOR,—I send you best wishes for 1920, and hope that we shall be duly aware of the great responsibility which rests upon us, and should fill us with courage, initiative, and determination to

reach our object—the Soviet World Republic.

Every day I see more clearly that this work is not one of a particular nation but of all the nations of the world. We, therefore, need a closer co-operation with each other.

We are making headway with our propaganda here, especially amongst the Trade Unionists. A section of the so-called social democrats is very much in favour of the Soviet system. Unless something practical is done in Parliament, which is unlikely, I think that great changes will take place here.

Every time the shop stewards meet they speak of the Soviets. Our Trade Union leaders, who are present at these meetings, did not much approve of my arguments in the beginning, but now they seem to realise the seriousness of the situation, and they are turning rapidly to the left. They are now nearly all anti-parliamentarian.

This month I shall start a course of lectures about the Soviets for the shop stewards. Let us hope it may bear fruit. I get plenty of information now from the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, in New York.

I should be much obliged for authentic information about the comrades in Italy, and how they are carrying on their propaganda. I heard Huysmans say at a public meeting last week that our Italian comrades are very eccentric and do not always mean what they say, because of their temperament.

Also I would like to know your present opinion about the Second International. I have already held a good many meetings and lectures without asking the officials. They were rather troubled by that in the beginning, but they are already accustomed to it now, for they see that they cannot prevent it, especially as the young people are looking for my services. Kind regards to all the comrades.

LEO FRANKEN.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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WILL THEY STRIKE?

THE ISSUE BEFORE THE RAILWAYMEN.

The decision before the railwaymen is not an easy one. If they reject the terms of the Government and declare a strike, they are fully aware that no ordinary strike is before them. They know that this strike will mean a veritable tug-of-war between themselves and the Government, that the Government will use all the powers it possesses to defeat them.

The War has provided the Government with opportunities for militarising the country in many ways: of these opportunities it availed itself to the full, because it was aware that in a future rendered nearer by the War and the Russian Revolution, a contest for the power of Government would develop between Capital and Labour. In the Army and Navy the Government has at its disposal men who are able to run the railways as well as motor and air transport facilities. The Government made a very poor job of its attempt to replace the railwaymen in the September strike, but it will try harder next time.

Moreover, in order to win, the Government will not scruple to declare the strike illegal; it has the power to do so under D.O.B.A. It will not scruple to issue injunctions against the strike leaders, as President Wilson's Government did in the case of the American miners' strike.

The Government may even resort to violence, as it did at Fetherstone and Tony-pandy if it thinks it expedient to do so.

In short, the railway strike, if it comes, will mean a very serious contest; but the workers cannot afford to avoid it for that reason. To do so would be to invite the Government to apply coercion in the case of every trade dispute.

J. H. Thomas recommended the Government's terms to the railwaymen as "an immense advance, a fair and honourable settlement."

Obviously this description was inspired by his desire that the terms should be accepted. But the description is grossly incorrect. People are becoming aroused to enthusiastic sympathy for the Pearl Insurance agents who demand £3 per week, but many grades of railwaymen are given less than that under the Government's terms. Replying to Winston Churchill's remark that the Labour Party is not fit to assume the responsibilities of government, Thomas, Henderson, and other Labour officials have indignantly replied that Labour is not content to remain a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for all time. The Labour officials, like Thomas and Henderson, have long ceased to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, they are politicians with most comfortable bourgeois salaries. The workers who employ these officials are very generous, and pay them at a rate to which the workers themselves can never hope to

attain. Meanwhile, Labour members of Parliament who happen not to be also officials of great and generous trade unions, are crying out that they are living under hardship on the Parliamentary wage of £8 a week, a wage not offered to any grade of railwaymen under the "honourable settlement" so highly recommended by Mr. Thomas.

During the War Thomas joined with the Liberal and Tory politicians in declaring that after the War, when once the Allies had succeeded in crushing Germany, there would be a new world for the workers; that things would never be as before for them; and that the value and dignity of manual labour being recognised, it should be adequately recompensed and given its rightful place in the community. And now, after all those promises and all that bombastic claptrap, when the Government offers the railway workers terms that will barely keep their wages up to the pre-war standard, Thomas describes the terms as an "honourable settlement."

Evidently it is the Labour politicians who are no more to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," the rank and file men and women in the workshops and the cottage homes are to go on as before!

But, says Thomas, and say Henderson, Clynes, Hodge, Barnes, Roberts, and all the rest of them: "Wait for a Labour Government; wait till we are in power, then all things shall be added unto you."

In Australia, New Zealand, Austria and Germany, the workers know what it is to live under Labour Governments and they find that they still have to strike against both private employers and Labour Cabinet Ministers to obtain a living wage. Not till the Soviets are set up and Capitalism is overthrown do the workers find their conditions changed.

Therefore, we urge the railway workers not to postpone their efforts to secure improved conditions on the chance of a Labour Party success at the next general election. Should the Labour Party win at the next general election it will not be independent of Capitalism; it is indeed now arranging a coalition in fact, if not in name, with the more liberal capitalists. Should a Labour Government, without dethroning the capitalist system, attempt drastically to increase the pay of the railway workers, or any other section of workers, the capitalists will immediately cry out that other industries are being affected, and the cost of production raised. Indeed, the capitalists will be much more intolerant of wage-raising by a Labour Government, than by the Government of Lloyd George, and they will have so many financial and other means of embarrassing the Labour Government that only a stronger pressure from the workers than that put on by the capitalist will secure the increase. Can you doubt that, you who know Thomas, Henderson and the other Labour Party men?

Therefore, railway workers should view the present crisis on its merits, without any false hope that a few weeks or months will change the aspect of this workaday world for them.

The railway workers must ask themselves whether their terms are worth fighting for, if they decide that, they should fight.

If the workers fight, the strike may develop into a contest for power between the workers and the Government and capitalists, that will make the objects for which the strike was entered upon seem altogether inadequate. Then perhaps the workers may develop a larger vision, which will cause them to strive not for a few shillings a week more, but for the power of government itself.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

POLAND AND BELGIUM.

Poland has been constituted an independent state by the Allied Governments, and they have done this for Poland entirely to advantage themselves. One of the tasks laid upon Independent Poland is to form part of the ring fence which the Allied Governments are trying to maintain around Soviet Russia, and to fight Soviet Russia at Allied dictation.

The Times is now suggesting that Poland may be used as a second Belgium, to present the Allied Governments with a pretext for a declaration of war on Russia, which will be plausible enough to damp down opposition to such a war on the part of the Allied peoples.

The Times expresses its conviction that Soviet Russia will invade Poland, it says: "Poland will be to the Bolsheviks of Russia what Belgium was to the old Kaiserdom, and the first task of the League of Nations, as distinguished from the old pre-war system, will be whether the League is more efficacious or less in protecting Belgium."

The Times would have it appear that Poland is an innocent neutral in danger of being attacked. Surely no people, however dense, can be gulled by such astory. Soviet Russia extended complete freedom to the part of Poland lying within the Russian Empire, as Soviet Russia did to every state which asked for it. Poland, on the other hand, is carrying on an unprovoked and utterly unjustifiable war on Soviet Russia, a war dictated by the Allies, to whom the Polish Government submits, because Poland is economically bankrupt and the Government cannot maintain its existence without raw materials from the Allies.

According to *The Times'* Warsaw correspondent the offensive against Soviet Russia towards the river Dubny, which the Poles have just completed with the Letts, was undertaken to feel the pulse of the Polish nation with regard to the active continuation of the war against the Bolsheviks in the spring. *The Times'* correspondent says that "judging from the Warsaw press all the necessary enthusiasm for fresh ventures seems to exist. The news of the capture of Dvinsk was hailed with delight by all except the Socialists. It is spoken of openly as the first step to a new offensive, and there are congratulatory references to Mr. Clemenceau's speech in the French Chamber about Poland's role as agent of Western civilisation in the fight against Bolshevism."

The Socialist press adopts an ironic strain. "Long live the War," its headlines run; "Famine in Dombrowa," "Unemployment in Warsaw," "Thousands dying from typhus in Galicia."

If Poland is going to be helped and encouraged by France and England to carry on the war with a view to upsetting the Soviet regime, it is just as important to relieve the internal economic difficulties of the Poles as to supply them with military necessities. *The Socialists* are quite capable of engineering a "stop the war" strike sufficiently effective to tie the Government's hands.

Denikin and Kolchak seem both either to have resigned or to be overthrown. Certainly they are defeated. That is a splendid achievement, an achievement only possible to Soviet Russia because the masses support the Communist Government.

But it must not be thought that the capitalists have abandoned their fight against Communist Russia. The Inter-Baltic Conference, where the British Government will be represented, is another attempt to attack Soviet Russia. Estonia has concluded an armistice with the Soviets. Latvia and the other Baltic people would like to do the

same, but the British Government, with its power of blockade, holds them in subjection.

Undoubtedly a new offensive will be made against Soviet Russia in the spring—if the Allied workers allow it.

Finland, Poland, the Baltic States, Japan and Czecho-Slovakia are all to be pressed into the service to crush the Workers' Republic.

British officers are now helping to train the armies that are to fight against the Soviets. British aid will be lent to the enterprise in lavish style—if the workers allow it. The Trade Union Congress meets in February, and simultaneously with it, a Rank and File Congress will also meet, to discuss what Labour will do to stop the attack on Communist Russia.

Will Labour take direct action?

Nothing else is of the slightest use.

Mr. Hoover has snubbed Sir George Paish and the "Fight the Famine" council for their efforts to raise an American loan to feed the starving people of Austria and other famine-stricken countries. He says: "Set Austria free to make such political associations, as well take her out of a perpetual poor-house." For the rest, he says Europe should feed herself. So she would if the Capitalist-Imperialists were overthrown. As it is, Europe is moving towards revolution—the only outlet.

People are getting excited about the Eastern peril. They are worried that Communist ideas should be rapidly gaining ground in the far East. Even *The Herald* is alarmed about it. But, let it take heart, the only solution for the Eastern question is Communism.

At a recent meeting in Moscow, where many Mussulman Communists were present, Lenin delivered a speech, in which he said:

"Our latest attacks have achieved marvels. Despite four years of war the Russian proletariat has the strength to throw back its enemies, who are armed with all modern technical appliances. This victory is a new page added to the history of the revolution of peoples. To achieve this victory the workmen accomplished miracles of endurance."

"The defeat of Koltchak will be of signal and historical importance to the peoples of the East. Koltchak was an enemy who seemed invincible, but we have vanquished him completely and now he no more threatens Soviet Russia."

"Instead of discouraging us the attacks of the enemy have enhanced our desire to conquer. The blows coming from the east are growing weaker. The Peace of Versailles is the hardest blow that the Entente could inflict upon itself with its own hands, because the smaller nations who regarded the Entente as their protector now see that they are dealing with predatory nations."

"Wilson has brought neither liberty nor democracy, and the Allied Powers have enormous debts to pay to America, who has become immensely wealthy."

In conclusion, Lenin spoke of the future relations of the Soviet Government with the Orient and of the great problem which the Orient constitutes for that Government. The difficulty to overcome would be to modify Communistic methods in order to adapt them to the Oriental character. Only when the East had been vanquished would the West recognise the victory of the Soviets.

With the Lord Chancellor, a member of the Coalition Government, attacking the Coalition, its fall or reconstruction seems to be drawing near. The Lord Chancellor calls the Coalition "an invertebrate and underfed body . . . as ineffective an instrument for fighting our English Communists as it was effective in fighting the Germans." He says that the formation of

The *Manchester Guardian* has published some more secret agreements; this time concerning Turkey. They show how in 1915 and 1916 it was planned to partition Turkey between Italy, France and Britain, leaving to the Turks only a narrow strip in the north. The scheme is plainly set out and illustrated by maps. Of special interest is a memorandum by Count Vitalis, Director of the Department of Public Works and Railways on the claims for compensation to be put forward by French Capitalist undertakings in Turkey. He says:—

"For as a result of the war, and notwithstanding war indemnities, enormous needs will accrue to France, and she must think of the reconstitution of her savings, which should make possible taxation."

"Though reconstitution will obviously make good the fantastic confiscations carried out pell-mell by the Young Turk Government at the suggestion of Germany, in what state will factories, buildings, railways, ports, etc., be found, and how shall these damages and the enormous losses suffered by private capital through its being deprived of the lawful enjoyment of its creations, be recovered?"

QUESTIONS OF COMPENSATION.

"The French Government will certainly not desire to do less for its nationals than the other Allied Governments are doing for theirs. One instance will suffice to make clear to it what is being prepared in these friendly countries."

"At the general meeting of the Aidin Railways Company, which took place a few days ago in London, the Board of Directors reported that a list of claims, exceeding at the end of the last financial year twenty-five million francs had been submitted to the Foreign Office (by whom it was not favourably received, if not actually prompted). They indicated that the Company had proposed to the English Government that it should secure for her as a supplementary compensation the whole or part of the German railway concession

in Asia Minor, the expropriation of which would, of course, have to be included in the provisions of the European Treaty of Peace."

"One cannot but be struck by the fact that on both sides of the Channel the same point of view has asserted itself concerning compensation to be obtained from enemy rights."

"But one should think that if one considers the relative importance of the Aidin Railway and the fact that a large portion of the Bagdad line, constructed or conceded in Mesopotamia, falls to the share of England, France, who already possesses effective rights of partnership in the Bagdad line, who has to think of very important compensations for the losses which she will suffer as a consequence of the division of Asiatic Turkey between the Allies."

France has more than anyone else the right to think of herself. This, at least, in so far as concerns the railways of Anatolia and of Bagdad, situated in territories remaining Turkish or in her sphere of influence, and since, to speak only of railways, she has to ensure the fate of the Black Sea companies, of the line Smyrna-Casaba and continuation, of the Syrian system, constructed or conceded, of the railway Jaffa-Jerusalem, and of the light railways of Lebanon."

The secret instructions to M. Picot on his appointment as French Commissioner with the armies operating in Palestine are also interesting and full of hypocrisy. Here are some typical sentences from his document:—

"You will have . . . to organise the occupied territories so as to ensure to France a situation equal to that of England in all relations with the native populations."

"In entering Palestine you will come into contact with numerous Jewish colonies. . . . It would be to our interest to inspire them with the greatest expectations concerning that which the Allies intend to do for them."

Yet we are asked to believe that Britain, France and Italy fought a war for freedom!

NEWS FROM ITALY.

By OUR CORRESPONDENT.

Rome, January 5th.

MALATESTA BACK AGAIN.

The arrival in Italy of Errico Malatesta, leader of the Italian Anarchist movement, and for years past an exile in England, was greeted with delirious joy by the workers of Genoa, where he landed. An enormous procession, carrying banners of red, and red and black, escorted him from the pier. The next day thousands of workers heard him speak at Sestri Ponente and other cities near by.

A correspondent of the jingo *Giornale d'Italia* had interviewed him before his departure from London, and represented him as saying that he was opposed to Bolshevism. Arriving in Genoa Malatesta took an early opportunity of correcting this statement.

An interviewer asked him point blank whether he was a Bolshevik. He replied: "One who has one name does not need another. I am an anarchist, and as such I want to go further than the Bolsheviks. But if by Bolshevism you mean the impulse of the people to institute communities of production, which shall associate themselves one with another according to their interests; if you mean by Bolshevism, Sovietism, then I am a Bolshevik. We anarchists exclude any political power superior to the Soviet. The Bolsheviks are a political party; I, too, belong to a party, and naturally in the revolution I should labour for the triumph of my ideas, my point of view, and that of my comrades. For we maintain that the creation of a power superior to the autonomous movement of the workers, augments instead of paralyzing, the impetus to revolutionary violence."

"Then you are opposed to violence?" asked

a National Party is indispensable for this task.

It is reported that the Government, having sold to the capitalists the National factories set up during the war, has now disposed of the National shipyards at Chesham to Lord Glanely and a syndicate of South Wales shipowners at a heavy loss. This is a "Business" Government; it always looks after the interests of big capitalists!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

the interviewer.

"We maintain that the principle of persuasion must hold good as between revolutionists, it being understood that matters are altered when the affair is between revolutionists and reactionaries. In this case, too, however, we may say that we are opposed to violence, and for this reason: that the thing which is called violence by the bourgeoisie we consider to be legitimate self-defence."

For Malatesta, says the interviewer, who wrote for *Avanti*, Bolshevism represents a transitory state which must be surpassed. In the sense that he, as an anarchist, wishes to surpass Bolshevism, he criticises it; but only for having too little revolutionary content, not for having too much.

"I am fully in accord with the Italian Official Socialists," said Malatesta. "I shall work side by side with them, and journey with them so far as our ways lie together."

RANK AND FILE CONVENTION

Called by the National Administrative Council of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees, Scottish Workers' Committees, London Workers' Committee, and S. Wales Unofficial Reform Committee.

To be held the day before and every evening during the Trade Union Congress in February.

All Workers' Committees, Trade Unions, Trade Union Branches, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies and their Branches are invited to send Delegates.

Object—To declare the Rank and File policy in regard to Russia and the Class-war.

*If YOUR Society has not yet received an Agenda and an invitation to the Convention, write to the Secretary M. F. Hebbes, 10, Tudor St., London, E.C.4.

The Central London Council of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees will give

A GRAND DANCE

in aid of the Central London Organising Fund
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The Inquisitional Period Back In Spain.

The Spanish proletariat has again, as in 1902 and 1909, to repel the attacks of the Catholic Reaction, or Capitalism, which in Spain are the same thing. Martial law has been declared in Barcelona, the workers' organisations broken up, and the leaders, numbering about 200, imprisoned. All this was effected within twenty-four hours after a meeting between the principal authorities. These measures were taken with the object of quashing the organisation of the workers, which for the last six weeks has been subject to a general lock-out. The Capitalist Federation, impotent to overthrow the workers by hunger, turned, in unison with the military, to the closing of the organisations, to imprisonments, and perhaps, as on the other occasions, to torture or execution by shooting. Days of bloodshed await the Spanish proletariat. The example of the Russians has transformed the Spanish idealists of yesterday into practical revolutionists. At the last National Congress representing one million workers, it was decided to (1) accept the principles of the First International, for which many Spaniards were hanged and others died in prison:

(2) "Rational Education." For the propaganda and establishment of this in Spain. Ferrer and others were shot at Barcelona in 1909; (3) recognition of the Russian Revolution and struggle to prevent the blockade. The answer given by the bourgeois a few days after the Congress is quite clear: "Fight till death." In Spain the religion and the military must command. The answer of the proletariat will be: "Fight till death those guilty of our misery and ignorance." Apparently, the owners of the sword will be victors, but the seed is sown and will germinate, no matter at what cost.

F. TORRES.

REVOLUTIONARY MANIFESTATIONS IN SPAIN.

The Spanish Prime Minister has said that the mutiny of the garrison at Saragossa is an isolated outbreak, but our information leads us to believe that it is a symptom of a widespread revolutionary feeling which may presently have important results. Thousands of workers are locked-out in Barcelona and Madrid.

SOVIETS VERSUS PARLIAMENT.

Like the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P., the Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. T. E. Morrison, has come to the conclusion that the Soviet ideal is becoming so popular amongst the workers that it is necessary to increase the counter-propaganda. Therefore, Mr. Morrison, on January 5th, came out to debate, with Comrade Willie Gahlachar, of the Scottish Workers' Committee, the proposition: "That the Soviet system is an impossible form of Government." The employers of the neighbourhood took an active interest in the debate, and brought up charabancs full of people to form the audience. Socialists had difficulty in gaining admittance.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL SPEAKS.

The Executive of the Second International has issued a statement demanding:

- (1) The immediate ratification of the Peace Treaty. [The robber peace of Versailles.]
- (2) The definite fixing of the amount of the indemnity the conquered nations are to pay. [The idea of putting the principle "no annexations, no indemnities" into practice is altogether too drastic for the Second International.]
- (3) The immediate summoning of the League of Nations.
- (4) The conclusion of peace with Russia and the other States.
- (5) The raising of the blockade and abrogation of all restrictions on industry and commerce having a political motive.
- (6) The formation of an International Economic Council on which the workers' organisations shall be represented.
- (7) An International loan to feed the starving peoples of Europe and to supply pressing need of raw materials.

This programme is by no means too drastic to have been drafted by the Liberal Party! Is there any socialist who still hesitates to leave the Second International, and join the Third?

THE PRAGUE TRIBUNE.

The Prague Tribune reports that the Soviet Government has recognised the independence of the Ukraine, and that a system of Workers' Councils has been introduced there. A Ukrainian Council of War has been formed, on which are represented the Ukrainian Communists, a section of Social Democrats, and a section of left Social Revolutionaries. This Committee has issued a statement declaring that the Ukraine will remain on friendly terms with Soviet Russia, and that as soon as a greater part of the Ukrainian territories has been liberated from Denikin an All-Ukrainian Congress of Workers' Councils will be summoned.

Foreign News.

BEZALEL.

Comrades who remember the vigorous work of Abraham Bezalel in the Russian Jews' Protection Committee of East London, will be glad to get news of him. Bezalel, a Roumanian Jew, was deported from this country during the war. Israel Zangwill, in a letter to *The Times*, now mentions that he has received from Odessa a Yiddish poster appealing to all Jewish workers and soldiers, and to the whole Jewish Democracy, to rise against the Roumanian Army which has annexed Bessarabia and is approaching Odessa. It declares that the fate of half a million Jews, who will be transformed from free Russians into Roumanians without rights, is at stake. The Jews are urged to raise battalions for the Holy War of Freedom. Another handbill proclaims that a New World is being fashioned in the flames of World Revolution.

So Bezalel is as active as ever.

STRIKES IN BOMBAY.

The cost of living in Bombay has risen 102 per cent., wages 50 per cent. There is an acute shortage of houses. Landlords may raise rents by 10 per cent. Even *The Times* correspondent admits that

"over all hang the profiteer and the land speculator, making the lives of the poor and the middle classes desperately hard." Two hundred thousand mill workers are striking for higher wages and a ten-hour day! Yet the best cotton mills are making from 300 to 400 per cent. profit annually. India is said to be enjoying a period of prosperity not known since the sixties. The Indian capitalists are enjoying it, but the Indian workers are not.

BRITISH SECRET SERVICE IN AMERICA.

The coercion of "Democratic" America is now an international by-word. Another shipload of Socialists has been deported to Helsingfors. Victor Berger, after his re-election, has been expelled from Congress a second time, and five Socialists have been expelled from the New York legislature. These Socialists have issued a statement declaring that an official of the British Secret Service arranged by telephone with the Lusk Commission for a raid on the Soviet Bureau in New York on June 13th. The papers taken from the Bureau are said to have been photographed for the British agent, and some of the papers were retained by him. He is said to have taken part also in a raid on the Rand Socialist School. The five Socialists say they intended to lay information regarding the British Consulate before the New York legislature, but without warning or debate they were thrown out. It is said that the same British agent is now with O'Grady interviewing Litvinoff.

NO BOLSHEVIKS ALLOWED.

The appointment of Mr. Hapgood as United States Minister to Denmark has not been confirmed, and it is rumoured that this is because he sympathises with Soviet Russia.

L'Humanité, December 27th, reports that dockers at Bordeaux, Rochefort, and La Pallice have refused to load munition ships for the counter-revolution in Russia.

Home News.

THE "PEARL" STRIKE.

The strike of the Pearl Insurance Company's agents is another sign that Trade Unionism, class consciousness, and a state of general dissatisfaction is spreading to every section of wage earners, to every non-capitalist section of the community.

It is important to note also that a Mr. Joseph Weathers, who is acting on behalf of the Pearl directors, is reported by the *Daily Herald* as being a "Labour" member of the Middlesex County Council, Chairman of the Isleworth Labour Party, and Treasurer of the Twickenham Labour Party. That is a sign of the times; it is quite respectable to belong to the Labour Party nowadays; indeed, the people who have shares in capitalist concerns find nothing incompatible in the programme of the Labour Party and their own quest for private gain. There is nothing like striking for developing a sense of solidarity. At the Pearl strikers' meetings the desire is being expressed to expose the "dirty work" of the officials in threatening women at the back doors, whilst their husbands were away, and forcing them to pawn to make up arrears.

BEGGING—A BRITISH ATROCITY.

A shaking, old man of 94 was charged at Thames Police-court with begging. He said he was selling matches, but the policeman said the matches were dirty and unsaleable. The old man had 2/8. The Magistrate said: "I won't take the 2/8 from you. I will give you one day's imprisonment. It will be much worse next time." If the old man is a British subject his pension is 10/- a week. One cannot live on 10/- a week. If he is an alien he gets no pension, even though he has lived and worked here since boyhood.

A well-paid magistrate, before going off to his comfortable dinner, was able smugly to threaten the old man that "it will be much worse next time." This is the capitalist system we are asked to preserve from the menace of Bolshevism, which would make the old man as comfortable as the magistrate!

THE WAR GRAVES.

In the train between Paris and the coast something caught our eye; an enclosure, wired round, and filled with spiky things.

Somehow there flashed into our minds the memory of Holloway prison; its tiers of cells, with iron doors, built up round a central pavilion, and reached by spidery black iron staircases; the narrow stone balconies sticking out like shelves from the wall, and with iron railings and with strong iron wire netting stretched across the void between each tier of cells to prevent prisoners throwing themselves over.

Something in the mechanical wireness of that patch of ground recalled the prison.

What were those thin little dark crosses, seeming, as far as one could judge from the train, about eighteen inches high, and stuck at small regular intervals in a square patch of ground? Had seeds of some kind been planted there? The eye ached for the soft green leaves that would come to hide the harsh ugly forest of little dark crosses.

"War graves!" someone said in the railway carriage.

So those were war graves!

Only that left of a dear son: only a little dark cross stuck in the ground by the railway track. Perhaps some day they will put a stone in place of the dark cross.

THE STAVVERS CASE.

Labour is supposed to rule, the roost in the Borough of Poular. It holds 40 out of 43 seats on the Borough Council, and is strongly represented on the Boards of Guardians and War Pensions Committees. Yet when Albert Stavvers, a disabled soldier with a war pension, falls into the canal and is drowned one foggy night, all that Labour can do for his wife and six children is to get up a benefit fund. It was some time before the poor fellow's body was recovered, and whilst his fate was unknown and Mrs. Stavvers, who is expecting another confinement, was distracted by anxiety and dismay. Labour's strength in the borough could not prevent the most cruel and disgraceful treatment being meted out to her. A certain Miss Boswell (we have had to mention her with a stern rebuke many times already) called on Mrs. Stavvers on behalf of the War Pensions Committee and told her she would be given 35/- "to see her over her trouble," but that she would have to pay it back. The pension on account of both husband and children would be stopped. The Labour Members of the War Pensions Committee appear to have acquiesced in the stopping of the pension. When her husband's dead body was fished up from the canal Mrs. Stavvers had to wait for two weeks for a meeting of the Board of Guardians before any help could be granted to her.

And yet people wonder why we want a revolution! And by the way, is this what Churchill calls giving everyone "a share in the show?"

GREAT DISCOVERY IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

Whilst Churchill and others are raving of the murderous Bolsheviks, one of them, Professor Rodievsky, has discovered the structure of atoms, a discovery long expected and long desired, and destined to introduce to the world knowledge of tremendous importance.

The "Dreadnought" can be obtained from all Newsagents. If you experience any difficulty write to 152, Fleet Street.

BOOKS sold by the LIBERATOR LEAGUE.

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These books are supplied to persons over 21 years of age only. All orders must contain a declaration that the sender is over 21, required for personal use only. All orders to be addressed—J.W. GOTT, Sec. Liberator League, 61, Dorset Street, Bradford.

LABOUR in IRELAND. By Nora Connolly.

On June 23rd, 1919, application was served on the Employers' Federation and individual employers in Dungarvan by the local branch of the Transport Workers' Union for a minimum wage of 50/- per week and a maximum working week of 48 hours, increased overtime rates, and improved conditions generally. The employers refused to meet the demands. A conference was held on July 10th between both parties. All the employers had to offer was sympathy because "their industries would not stand further expenditure." Sympathy was not sufficient and the conference ended. At a further conference on July 25th offers were made by the employers of 33/- and 40/- per week of 50 hours. Finally, a strike was declared. A strike committee was elected. Next day the whole town was under its control, and a continuous stream of people could be seen going to its headquarters at the Town Hall to obtain permits to carry on their business.

After a few days the three largest bakery establishments in the town automatically closed down, the stock of flour in the bakery houses being used up. There was plenty of flour a few yards outside the bakehouses, but the bakers refused to handle tainted goods.

The strike committee, therefore, imported bread and coal from other places, and sold them daily during the strike in a store which they procured for the purpose, in order that the people might not suffer.

Every shop was picketed day and night, pickets doing four hours duty per day.

All goods for Dungarven were held up by the railway companies until permits were given by the strike committee, with a guarantee that all goods for firms not concerned in the dispute would be carted from the railway.

An appeal for funds to supplement the dispute pay of the married men met with a ready response from the general public, as well as from all Trades Unionists in the district. On one occasion two Naval officers appeared before the strike committee and asked for permission to get some furniture away from the railway station. The strike committee took the job on contract for £4, and employed four carters to do the work.

A coffin had been made at the workshop of the brothers Crotty, who were members of the Employers' Federation, and whose men were on strike. An employee of an undertaker went to fetch the coffin, but the pickets sent the hearse home with a message that if the coffin were put on it all the undertaker's employees would be called out. The brothers Crotty carried the coffin to the house of the deceased, and were helped by a man called Foley, whose father kept a draper's shop. The undertaker then attended to the coffin. As a result all the workers at the undertaker's and at Foley's were called out.

The workers soon won the strike.

STRIKE AT FENOR.

The Fenor (Co. Waterford) Farmers' Association decided to try to enforce an agreement with the farm labourers to work with non-Unionists. The Fenor labourers decided to strike against it.

On Monday, November 24th, the strikers heard that a threshing machine worked by non-Union labour was to be moved to a certain farm. They decided to prevent the machine being moved and mustering their forces, marched in the direction the machine would have to come. On their way they met the machine, which was guarded by a force of police with a District Inspector and Head Constable. A battle royal ensued between the labourers and the police, and three of the strikers were arrested. At the trial the District Inspector Capt. O'Beirne, D.I., stated in his evidence that he had a force of one Head Constable and 21 men, comprising sergeants and constables. Half the police had batons only, but the others were fully armed with carbines and bayonets.

When he arrived at Crotty's farm he found Power's machine there, and his two sons in charge of it. He accompanied the machine towards Ballydermody, and approaching Ballyscanlon he saw a large body of men marching in fours towards them. They were marching in military array, and were well formed. A red banner was carried in front of the procession, and a man whom he did not know then, but whom he afterwards found out to be Nicholas F. Phelan, was marching at the head of the procession. As far as he could see Phelan was unarmed. All the other members of the procession were armed with hurleys, or large sticks, or bludgeons, several carried large stones in their hands. The strength of the crowd was about 300.

When he saw the equipment and demeanour of the crowd he immediately halted the engine, and drew a police cordon across the road. He then went forward, and ordered the processionists to halt. They did so. He spoke to Phelan, who appeared to be in charge of the procession. He told him his followers, armed and equipped as they were, constituted an unlawful assembly. He requested him to order his followers to disperse forthwith, failing which he would be compelled to disperse them by force. He repeated the warning to the head of the procession, and no attempt was made to move or disperse. Phelan told him they were irritating his men by bringing the threshing machine along the road. While this conversation was going on, the demeanour of the procession was becoming more

noisy and excited.

Some of the police attempted to disarm some of the members in front of the procession. Immediately a shout of "No surrender" was raised by members of the crowd, and then a simultaneous attack was made on the police with sticks, hurleys, and specially made bludgeons of short construction. Stones were rained on the police from the procession and from parties lying in the ditch on either side of the road.

He immediately gave orders for the baton party to charge, and immediately afterwards, seeing the seriousness of the situation, he ordered the bayonet party to charge. He had the men drawn up with fixed bayonets, he saw several police struck and knocked down during the course of the fighting with sticks and stones. He was struck on the head from behind with a stick, and knocked down, but was not hurt.

The next thing he heard was some shots, which appeared to come from his own side. He saw Head Constable McGurk with a revolver in his right hand and a wound on the left hand. The Head Constable shouted that the crowd were firing on the police. He noticed Constable Lee lying on the ground covered with blood. His face was bleeding profusely. The fingers of his left hand were badly crushed and the magazine of his rifle smashed. Another constable was limping from an injured knee, and had to be hoisted up on the threshing machine.

The clash with the bayonets lasted about two minutes, and then the crowd broke and ran. As they appeared to show a likelihood of reforming he ordered the armed party to charge magazines, and shouted a warning to the crowd that if they attempted to renew the attack they would be compelled to fire.

After that there was no attempt made to come to close quarters with the police. The crowd retreated along the road, and as they fell back, they dragged large stones and gates across the road. An attempt was also made to break down a bridge. A continuous pack of stones in the road from that on impeded the progress of the police.

About a mile from Ballydermody farm a portion of the crowd appeared to be melting away quickly in that direction. The next thing he noticed was a huge fire in the farmyard. When the police reached Ballydermody with the machine they found 84 tons of hay burned, and the produce of 37 acres of corn.

The three Union men who were arrested for the part they played in the demonstration were released.

The objectionable clause was deleted from the agreement at a conference held between the Farmers' Association and the representatives of the Union. The affair appears to have had a chastening effect on the farmers for at the last meeting of the District Wages Committee, the wages of the labourers were increased by 7/- per week.

TO THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

The following message has been sent to the American Communist Party by the Workers' Socialist Federation and B.S.P.:

Comrades: We congratulate you on the great fight for Communism which you are carrying on in face of persistent coercion and oppression. The bourgeois republic of America is proving, in conclusive fashion, to any workers in Europe who may doubt it, that a republic is no better than a monarchy whilst Capitalism remains. As a matter of fact, comrades, we observe that the tactics which your capitalists are practising against you over in America are often copied by British capitalists in their warfare with British labour. No doubt, your capitalists also take hints from British capitalists as to how both to coerce and mislead the workers.

The fight for Communism is world-wide, and in nothing do we see this more plainly than in the international combination of Capitalism against Soviet Russia. You, comrades, are now being victimised for your adherence to the Revolution—for your struggle in support of Soviet Russia, and the great principles of Socialism which at last are being put into practice there. To-day it is you who are attacked, presently it will be our turn once more.

In the meantime, we send you our hearty greetings and good wishes for the establishment in America of the Soviets and Communism.

Yours for the International Revolution.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, for the Workers' Socialist Federation.

ABBERT INFAN, for British Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of Ireland has passed the following resolutions:—

Resolved that the Socialist Party of Ireland in half-yearly general meeting assembled this 2nd January, 1920, vigorously protests against the arrest of Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow in the United States of America by the heresy-hunting Lusk Committee of the State of New York, and be it

Further Resolved that we appeal to the Irish workers in the United States to take action to secure the release of Larkin, the man whose personality, courage, and devotion to the working-class ideals raised the Irish workers from the abyss into which alien and domestic capitalism had thrust

KOLTCHAK'S PROPAGANDA.

Here is a translation of one of the leaflets printed by Koltchak's government for distribution amongst the soldiers of the Red Army. It is noteworthy that there is not even an attempt to convince the soldiers of the Red Army that the cause for which they are fighting does not do serve their sacrifice. The propagandists merely try to make the soldiers believe the cause of the Soviets hopeless and to entice them to join Koltchak by a promise of food and a money reward.

Red Army men!

Why do you push into Siberia, as horses with eyeshields on, forced by your Commissars and Communists?

You are Russians, and you ought to look to see what is going on in the West, in Russia, whence you were driven hither!

There we have taken Kiev, Odessa, Tambov, Kozlov, Yelets, will take Charnigov and Kursk, and soon the turn will come for Moscow and Petrograd, which will mean the fall of the Soviet rule.

You are driven here ostensibly to get bread for Russia, but soon Russia herself will drive out the Commissars and she will not be in need of the bread which they are taking from the Siberians with their blood.

In reality you are being driven into Siberia so that the Commissars and the Communists could scatter here, in the taiga (the primeval forests), after they will have been crushed in Russia.

Throw away your arms, come over to our side, and you will get plenty of bread.

In addition you will also get a money reward: corporals, 750 roubles; privates, 600 roubles; and for those who will escape with their families the reward will be one-and-a-half times as large. This is the order of the Supreme Ruler.

Do not delay! Your cause is lost!

RUSSIAN PRESS BUREAU.

Omsk—Printing of the Russian Printing Assn.

them; and who, along with his great colleague James Connolly, is to-day the inspiration of the Irish worker in its painful struggle towards the achievement of the Workers' Republic, and be it

Further Resolved that we protest against the arrest of Jack Carney, Editor of *Truth*, Duluth, Minnesota, whose outspoken and fearless advocacy of industrial freedom in the United States is worthy of the best traditions of the Irish working class, and be it

Further Resolved that we, living under the heel of a foreign military dictatorship, send our fraternal greetings to the I.W.W., the Communist Labour Party, and all our working-class comrades in America who are being oppressed by the industrial oligarchy of America.

FIGHTING THE FAMINE.

Fortunately, Soviet Russia has not placed her trust in the charity either of Capitalist Governments, social-patriotic Labour Parties, or any others. Her Red Army has beaten back the counter-revolutionaries, and *Humanité* reports that since Denikin's retreat and the Red advance on Omsk, on the average 1,200 waggons of corn and flour have arrived weekly in the Petrograd district, and the daily bread ration has been raised to 1½ lbs. for the army, and for civilians 1 lb. every two days for the first category, ¾ lb. every two days for the second, and ½ lb. every two days for the third. We know what those three categories are: Manual workers, sedentary workers, and those who refuse to work!

ALLIES TO HELP POLES FIGHT SOVIETS.

The *Times* Warsaw correspondent says that the Poles are pleased to learn from Clemenceau's statement that material assistance is to be given to the Poles to go on fighting Soviet Russia. He says: "The idea of the Poles resuming their old rôle of champions of Western civilisation flatters the national pride of all except the Socialists. Referring to the Soviet peace offer to Poland, he adds: "If the offer is refused, it gives agitators good material among the lower classes who are suffering because the Poles, with a war on their hands, cannot tackle the pressing programme of social reform."

TO BRITISH WORKERS.

Two years ago the Russian workers and peasants got tired of their landlords, bankers and industrial bosses and threw them out, setting up their own workers' government—the Government of the Soviets.

Because of this, because Russia is showing the workers of all nations how to get along without capitalists, the Allied capitalists have poisoned the whole world with lies about Soviet Russia. For two years they have hurled their armies against her frontiers, and their merciless blockade has doomed thousands of women and children to death.

What nation has led this merciless attack upon the Starving workers of Russia? England.

What nation is supporting Denikin and Koltchak, the generals who are trying to restore the rule of the Tsar? England.

What nation has compelled the small countries of the Baltic to make war upon Soviet Russia? England.

What nation has ordered the Scandinavian countries to join the starvation blockade? England.

What fleet is bombarding Cronstadt, the defence of revolutionary Petrograd? The British fleet.

Who make the munitions that are used by Judenitsch, Denikin and Koltchak to kill Russian workers who only want peace? British workers.

British railwaymen carry these munitions. British transport-workers load them on ships. British sailors man the ships that carry them. In the Gulf of Finland to-day British gunners fire the cannon that rain red death on the defenders of the Russian Workers' Republic.

But you know this already. You know it, and yet you do nothing to stop it. Even the Italian sailors, much less well organised than you, refuse to man the ships loaded with munitions for Koltchak. Even the American longshoreman of the Pacific Coast, a hundred years behind you, will not load ships with shells to murder Russian workers.

Two months ago your Trade Union Congress, at Glasgow, demanded the abolition of conscription and the withdrawal of British troops from Russia: and you said that if these two demands were not granted by the Government, you would call a special Labour Convention to decide upon a course of action.

Well, and what then? Did the Government withdraw the troops from Russia? A few were brought home from the Northern Front—that satisfied you. Deceived by the lying promises of Lloyd George, by the tricks of Churchill, you forgot all about Russia.

But the British troops are not out of Russia! British soldiers are still fighting around Lake Onega. British soldiers are with the tanks, the guns, the aeroplanes of Judenitsch. British sailors are on the blockading and bombarding ships of the Finnish Gulf. And British workers are pouring a stream of guns and shells into the breaches of counter-revolutionary cannon around ten thousand miles of murderous battleline.

You are proud, British workers, of your strength. In a series of gigantic strikes you are wresting concessions from your lying capitalist Government, which appoints a Coal Commission and refuses to follow its report; which summons an Industrial Parliament and will not accept its decisions; which makes promises and does not keep them; which is for the capitalists, and against the workers.

You do not believe this Government when it promises to give you a share in the control of the industry you operate. But you believe it when it promises to leave Soviet Russia alone.

The railwaymen do not refuse to transport munitions to Judenitsch, Denikin and Koltchak—they go on strike for less hours and more pay for carrying munitions to Judenitsch, Denikin and Koltchak. The transport workers don't halt their work because they happen to be loading murder-ships to send against Russia. The sailors take these murder-ships to sea. The miners do not paralyse England because the coal they produce fills the bunkers of battle-ships in the Gulf of Finland.

No, they go on arming the capitalist class against their Russian brothers and comrades, but they want higher wages for doing it.

Every strike for higher wages in England now is a demand in advance for a share of the plunder of Russia. Every wage-increase won by the workers of England now is blood-money.

Your wages-increase does not come out of the pockets of the capitalists—it comes out of the sweat and blood of Russia's agony. The capitalists will get it all back, many times over, when, after the capture of Moscow by the Tsarist generals and the Allied Imperialists, and the wholesale slaughter of the Red Army, your landlords, bankers and industrial bosses will get their reward from the new Tsar of Russia.

The British capitalists hope that you will keep on striking for more wages and less hours, and forget Soviet Russia, and go on helping them to destroy the first Workers' Republic in the world.

They think that all they must do to keep quiet is to throw you a few shillings every little while. Then you will be satisfied, and flatter

yourselves that you have the greatest Labour movement on earth.

But if you are workers, not slaves; if you are men, not worms—you will blockade England as long as Soviet Russia is blockaded, you will starve England as long as England starves Soviet Russia, you will fight the Government of Lloyd George and Churchill and Curzon until they take their hands off the throat of Soviet Russia.

AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST.

W.S.F. Public Meeting
400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW.
Sunday, Jan. 18th, 7 p.m.
JACK TANNER: "Industrial Warfare."
Chair: Melvina Walker.

Admission Free.

Discussion Invited. Silver Collection

Rosa LUXEMBURG & Karl LIEBKNECHT
Murdered January 18th, 1919.
A MEMORIAL DEMONSTRATION
will be held in the Central Club, Alfred Place,
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FRIDAY, JANUARY 16th, 1920.

Speakers:

Arthur MacManus, Cedar Paul.
Sylvia Pankhurst, W. Ryde.

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

Fred Willis.

Doors open 7.30. Admission Free. Silver collection.

THINGS YOU OUGHT TO READ.

FACTS ABOUT COMMUNIST HUNGARY, by Alice Riggs Hunt (an eye-witness.) Bela Kun is being tried for his life. Read about his work in this pamphlet.

Price 4d, post free 4½d.

CAPITALISM & THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION, by J. T. Walton Newbold, M.A. A Marxist examination of important issues of immediate and practical significance that have been given all too little attention by the revolutionary elements in this country.

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

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Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Friday, Jan. 16th. 7.30 p.m.—The Square, Woolwich. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, Jan. 10th. Great Push in Holloway Distr for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia. Meetings at 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. at Giesbach Road, near Archway Tavern. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Miss Grove, Mrs Thring, Melvina Walker, and P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, Jan. 18th. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, White-chapel. Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker.

Tuesday, Jan. 20th. Sidney St. Mile End, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, Jan. 17th. Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

Sunday, January 18th. 7 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd. Jack Tanner, Melvina Walker. (See advert.)

Monday, Jan. 19th. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting.
8.30 p.m. W. S. F. Reading Circle.

Wednesday, Jan. 21st. 8 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road General Members' Meeting.

Thursday, Jan. 22nd. 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street. Mark Starr. Tenth Lecture on Industrial History (Trade Unionism.)

Friday, Jan. 23rd. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, Jan. 18th. 12 noon—Victoria Park. Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, Jan. 20th. Queen's Road, Dalston Lane—7.30 p.m. Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, Jan. 22nd. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd E.3. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, Jan. 20th. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Mrs Simpson.