

# Workers' Dreadnought

VOL. VII.—No. 2.

SATURDAY, APRIL 3rd, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## THE RECONSTRUCTION OPPORTUNISTS.

OPEN LETTER TO ROBERT DELL.—By BORIS SOUVARINE.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

I have read with great interest, in *THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT*, your defence of the policy of Jean Longuet. It reflects that generosity and sincerity of spirit which have always animated your convictions; but it betrays at the same time a certain misconception as regards the veritable situation within the French Socialist movement. You possess a marvellous knowledge of this movement, but, since your scandalous expulsion from France, you have not had the opportunity to follow up, at close range, its internal evolution. Permit me to submit a few reflections of a nature to enlighten you: I know too well your taste for the truth not to be convinced that you will render homage to the clairvoyance and critical sense of our mutual friend, Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, after you have studied the arguments of your friends among the French Socialists of the Left.



You believe that the "centre," as represented by Longuet, and the Left, are separated only by a divergence of "pure tactics," and you attempt to prove your point by quoting extracts from the resolution of "The Committee for the Reconstruction of the Internationale." However, you cannot be ignorant of the fact that Longuet and his friends during the war were particularly conspicuous by their disdain of the resolutions now proposed by themselves. You are also aware of the enormous difference between their theories and their practice.

### Reconstructors Forced to be Revolutionary.

If the "Reconstructors" have been obliged to give a revolutionary appearance to their resolutions, it was only in order to draw to them as many votes as possible, and to mask their real policy.

The attitude of Longuet and of the other reconstructors is not to be judged by the resolutions which they trample under their feet when the Congress is over, but simply by their acts. Their acts are known to you.

During the war they styled themselves Internationalists, but refused to participate in the Conference of Zimmerwald.

They called themselves Pacifists, but at the same time voted the war credits.

They affirmed the existence of the class struggle, but pronounced themselves for the national defense, that is to say, for the worst sort of collaboration of classes.

They criticised the bourgeois ideology, but glorified the hypocrisy of Wilson.

They condemned capitalist institutions, but called for the League of Nations.

They admired the Bolsheviks (after having violently criticised them), but remained attached to Renaudel and Albert Thomas, from whom they still refuse to-day to separate.

### Their Reluctance to Quit Second International.

Is it necessary to recall to you that they have done all that they could in order to remain in the Second International, the treasonable acts of which there are so many that they can no longer be counted? They decided to leave the Second International only when the German Independents forced them to do so by their votes at Leipzig. Is it necessary to add that their present tactics tend to the corruption of the Communist International just in the same way that the opportunist Second Internationale was corrupted; that is, by the introduction of compromises in principles and discredited personalities in the organisation?

The Reconstructors want to discuss the platform of the Communist Internationale: that shows us that they do not accept the doctrine which inspires the platform. As for ourselves, we consider that doctrine as something that must not be altered, and we refuse to allow the tried and tested principles which are the safeguard of the international revolutionary communist action, to be the subject of compromise. We maintain that the Communist Internationale has no lessons to learn from those who never cease insulting the parties and the militants comprising it, and who have shown by their acts that they have no Socialist faith.

We are in accord in deploring "personal attacks," but it is only in the *Populaire* that you have read them; the Left has too much confidence in the principles which it proclaims to have recourse to the methods employed by the Reconstructors. You will not be able to find, my dear Dell, either under my signature, or under that of Rapport (I say that since you cite our names) the personal attacks to which you make allusion.

As for discussing the arguments which you give in your letter to Sylvia Pankhurst, I would do so had not the Congress of Strasbourg so clarified the situation that equivocation is no longer possible.

### Reconstructors and Social Patriots versus Third International.

I will close my letter with the following facts, which destroy your entire thesis:

(1) The social-patriots, Renaudel and the rest, have not been "shed" as you predicted they would be, but, on the contrary, are affiliated with Longuet and the other Reconstructors, the former and the latter having voted the same resolution (you know that the amendment of Leon Blum has only a retrospective significance).

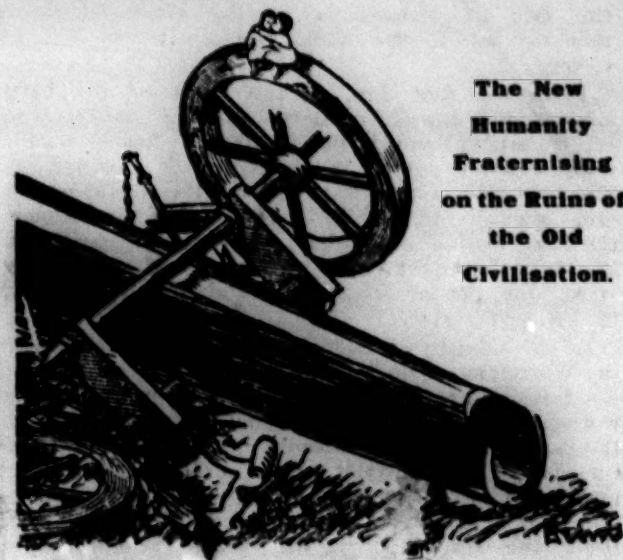
(2) Paul Faure, the genuine Reconstructor, and authorised mouth-piece of his faction, has openly declared to the Left: "We are separated by an abyss."

And yet you speak of a simple question of tactics!

To-day, the situation is much clearer, for there is no longer any centre. There is a right (Renaudel-Longuet), and a left which adheres to the Communist International. Over the heads of the leaders we are making our appeal to the masses, whom we are winning over more and more each day to Communism. We hope to win you over, too, my dear Robert Dell, and in anticipating this event, believe me, sincerely yours,

BORIS SOUVARINE.

PARIS, March, 1920.



### Triumph of the Third International.

The Russian Communist paper, *Pravda*, writing on the first anniversary of the founding of the Third International, says:—

"Even a year ago there were many sceptics who regarded the Third International as founded by a group of mad Bolsheviks and made up entirely of Lenin's Russian supporters; but now all can realise that an international proletarian organisation has come into existence. When, during the War, the Bolshevik Party made the founding of the Third International a part of its programme, even many of the leaders of the Left Wing Labour movement regarded the proposal as an impossible joke. But now, what remains of the old, treacherous Second International, which is rotten through and through? Who remain in it but Noske's Party and, shameful to relate, the Russian Mensheviks?"

Between the new strangle-hold of the proletariat and the disgraceful ruins of the Second International, in which the Noske Party has the predominant place, are the Independents of all colours, who run to and fro, irresolute.

The Communist International has won a complete and undivided victory over the minds and hearts of the working-class.

Those who have betrayed the workers have merely postponed the final day of reckoning and prolonged the progress of the disease.

The Third International continues to rally the workers, who have nothing to lose but their chains. Already the hands of hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples are outstretched towards the Third International. Already it has become the general staff of a strong International Labour Army.

This week's instalment of our series of articles on Trade Unions, their Rules, Structure and part in the Revolutionary Struggle, is held over until next week owing to pressure of space.

### MAY-DAY STRIKE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA.

The provisional Sub-Bureau of the Communist International in Amsterdam has issued a call for an International general strike on the 1st of May as a demonstration in support of peace with Soviet Russia.

Comrades who are on 1st of May Committees should endeavour to secure that such committees answer the appeal, and take every possible step for a complete cessation of work on Labour Day.

Trade Unionists should raise the question in their branches, and see to it that the branch decides that its own members shall down tools that day.

Every Workers' Committee should decide to down tools on May Day.

Every worker should persuade his or her work-mates not to come to the shop on May Day.

Every worker should make up his or her mind that whoever else works he or she will down tools on May Day.

We will supply you with a Copy of the Appeal sent out by the Amsterdam Bureau on receipt of a Penny Stamp.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.



## Appeal to British, French and Belgian Workers

### From the Provisional Bureau of the Communist International.

Proletarians: In a magnificent onrush the German proletariat has swept away the counter-revolution of the Kapps and the Luttwitzes. The reaction of the Junkers has been crushed by the dauntless courage of the masses, who rose like one man. These workers' masses, divided against themselves, starved and miserable, trodden down by the Noske regime, lacking arms, deprived of their ablest leaders, have united in a superb fighting movement, and have displayed in the decisive instant, the most splendid courage and initiative.

Without an instant's hesitation the German proletariat has left the factories and stopped the means of transport and the public services. It has procured itself the arms it needed, and by means of guns as by means of strikes, combining the two great methods of the class-struggle at the disposal of the working-class, it has achieved victory.

From the first day, in the midst of the battle against the counter-revolution of the Junkers, another battle defined itself, like a flame burning with a fiercer glare in the core of a vast blaze. This flame was the war against the bourgeois regime served by the Social-Democratic Government, the war against Capitalist tyranny and oppression, the war for deliverance of Labour from exploitation, for the Soviet system and the Dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the suburbs of Berlin, in Saxony, in Thuringia, in Wurtemberg, in Bavaria, in all Germany, but especially in the Rhine district and in Westphalia, workshop councils spring up and endeavour to seize the power. The proletarians arm, and form Red Guards. The industrial cities of the West change into as many fortresses, where the social revolution organises and increases its forces. At the same time, the revolutionary wave sweeps down upon the rural districts: agrarian disturbances break out in Pomerania, and in Mecklenburg, whilst part of the army, some naval divisions and part of the police refuse to fight against the revolution.

The Ebert Government, mad with fear, sees the real enemy, sees Spartacus overthrown, decimated, crushed again and again; once more raising its head, more terrible than ever. It sees the large masses of the Independent Socialist Party fight on one front with the Communist vanguard. It even sees, in many places, members of the Social-Patriotic Party unite with them for demonstrations, strikes, and the armed struggle.

The fear of the Government deepens as it sees the attitude assumed by the bureaucracy of the Trade Unions, which, however much against their will, and only to avoid being submerged by the revolutionary tide, demand the immediate socialisation of the mines, the disarming of the troops, the formation of a Workers' Army, and the participation in the Government of the Central Council of the Industrial Unions. These demands, although in reality a manoeuvre of the Trade Union bureaucracy, show the concessions the German bureaucracy is obliged to make in order to satisfy the aspirations of the masses towards the system of Soviets.

Unhesitatingly, the Ebert Government decides to fight to the end for the maintenance of the Capitalist system. It gathers its forces, it takes arms against the Left, to beat down Spartacus.

Noske, whose dismissal was announced, is still maintained a few days longer in office by the majority of the Social-Democratic delegates to the National Assembly. He calmly allows the counter-revolution of the Junkers to take up its quarters and gather its forces in Silesia and Eastern Prussia, the Vendée of Germany, and Noske the hangman, Noske the butcher, concentrates all the faithful troops at his disposal against Westphalia and the Rhine district, the flaming hearts of the social revolution, where, by the hour, it is gaining strength and splendour. It is there that the battle between the past and future will be decided. It is there that either German Capitalism will receive a mortal blow, or the grand attempt of the working-classes to seize the power, will be drowned in a deluge of blood.

Whilst tens of thousands of workers in those numerous cities of the Rhine district, which form one single immense industrial agglomeration, already are sketching out the political forms of the new society, whilst they restore order, start anew the public services and organise the first Red Army in Western Europe, the representatives in Germany, Britain and France congratulate the Ebert-Noske Government on its victory over the "reaction," and offer their support towards the destroying of the nascent Communist Republic, even as Bismarck, all but half an age ago, offered his support to Thiers toward the destroying of the Commune.

In face of the common enemy, the social revolution, conquerors and conquered forget their quarrels. The antagonism between their interests disappears before the universal interest of the Capitalist class, before its instinct of self-preservation.

Already Lloyd George, Millerand and Vandervelde wiped out the score of their differences with the German bourgeoisie. Nay, more: in order to save it they are prepared to shed the blood of the British, the French and the Belgian people.

Already British troops at Solingen have helped to crush the Spartacist insurrection.

Already the commanders of the Entente troops have deliberated at Mayence, Foch presiding, on the measures to be taken against the Communist movement in the Ruhr Valley.

Already the British *chargé d'affaires* has informed the German Vice-Chancellor, Schiffer, that the Entente would not furnish any food-stuffs or raw materials to a German Soviet Republic.

Already the Entente has allowed the troops of the Government to traverse occupied territory on their march against the Communist insurrection, and to make use of this territory as a base of operations in the concentrated attack against the Red Army.

The solidarity which unites all bourgeoisies, all militarisms, is proclaimed openly, cynically, with any attempt to gloss the matter over. It behoves us to proclaim as openly, as energetically, the solidarity of the proletariat.

British, French and Belgian proletarians, will you let your ruling classes make use of you to trample to death the German Revolution?

The German Revolution—that is just a way of speaking a traditional expression. To speak the truth, there is no German Revolution, no more than there is a Russian or a British or a French or an Italian or a Spanish Revolution.

There is only one Social Revolution, as there is only one Capitalist oppression, as there is only one Socialism, one hope of the oppressed and the exploited of all countries.

Our rulers know that the Republic of Workers' Councils established in Germany means the accord of Germany with Soviet Russia; the union of the marvellous development of the industry and the technique of the one, and the immense resources in agrarian products, in fertile land and in raw materials of the other, melting one into the other, secundating each other. Our rulers know that this accord means the proletarian revolution will become invincible, henceforth, against the blockade as against the steel. They know that this accord means the rapid and assured evolution of Communist production and culture, its radiance growing day by day more luminous, more serene, more irresistible, towards the countries where foul Capitalism stinking with corruption and sweating blood, still struggles in a horrible agony. They know that the triumph of the Revolution in Germany will immediately start revolutionary movements in Yugo-Slavia, in Poland, in the Balkans, in Italy and other lands. They know that when Capitalism crashes in Central Europe, Capitalism in Eastern is mortally wounded. They know that social revolution is one, and that crushing it in Germany means crushing it in the germ in their own country.

French, British and Belgian proletarians, will you once more suffer yourselves to be gulled by your ruling classes? Will you be the murderers of your brothers? Will you, by committing the abominable act of crushing them, prepare your own destruction for to-morrow?

Or will you profit by the lessons of six years of unheard of suffering, of heart-rending experiences? Have you beheld the light that shines from the East? Has the dawning of a new immense hope scattered the mists of your unconsciousness? Has it cleansed your soul and strengthened your heart?

If so, you know what to do; to do immediately, to-day; to-morrow might be too late.

You must on a large scale, repeat for your German brothers, and with infinitely greater firmness and vigour, what you attempted to do for your Russian brothers, and what, however insufficient and weak, still has contributed to their salvation.

French proletarians and soldiers, remember the men of the Black Sea Fleet, the dockers of Bordeaux. Their courage has contributed to the defeat of the partisans of military intervention.

Workers of the Entente, loudly proclaim your solidarity with the German Revolution!

Exige from your Governments the withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territory!

Railwaymen, refuse to effectuate the transport of any troops or any arms or munitions to Germany!

All of you answer any attempt on the part of your Governments to strangle the German Revolution by extending and intensifying your own revolutionary activity. Make it plain to them that if the international bourgeoisie is one in the defence of its ruined and rotten social order, the international proletariat is one in the heroic struggle for deliverance.

Boldly forward, comrades!

At this instant the fate of the European Revolution depends on you; on your initiative and on your farsightedness.

Hurrah for the Communist Revolution in Germany! Hurrah for the World Revolution, the Universal Soviet Republic!

The Executive of the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International.

D. J. WYNKOOP.

HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST.

G. J. RUTGERS.

Copies of this manifesto may be obtained from the W.S.F. by sending a penny stamp. Bring it up at your branch.

## TWO RUSSIAN DECREES.

### Decree on Technical Education.

Inasmuch as an indispensable condition of the final victory of the workers' and peasants' revolution is the increase of the productive work of the people, and inasmuch as the most rapid and sure way of attaining such increase is by spreading among the masses vocational education, the Council of People's Commissars decrees:—

(1) In order to extend and consolidate the work of the Branch of Vocational and Technical Instruction created by the Commissariat of Public Education, the representatives of the organisations and departments most interested in the development of vocational and technical instruction are hereby asked to join the Branch in accordance with the following regulations:

(2) All vocational and technical schools and institutions hitherto associated with Commissariats other than that of Public Education, are immediately associated with this last in accordance with Decree No. 507, of June 5th, 1919.

(3) The Commissariat of Public Education is restoring the equipment and buildings of technical and vocational schools which have been temporarily taken over for the needs of the Red Army, quarantine, etc.

(4) The committees of study and other agencies for directing vocational and technical instruction in other Commissariats and organisations, are combined under the Commissariat of Public Education, and, in cases where such measures are justified, shall be allowed provisional rights connected with other Commissariats, after an understanding with the latter.

(5) All institutions and enterprises of the State are bound to lend the Commissariat of Public Education all necessary support, supplying it promptly, and free of charge, with equipment and material, as well as placing at its disposal fabrics, factories, lots of land, experiment stations, etc.

(6) The Commissariat of Public Education is responsible for the strict execution of this decree.

President of the People's Council of Commissars, V. ULIANOFF (Lenin).  
Chief Clerk, V. BONCH-BRUYEVICH.

### Soviet Decree on the Introduction of Employment Books.

The Soviet Republic requires every citizen to work and in return grants rights and privileges. On June 26th, 1919, the Soviet of People's Commissars issued a decree to introduce employment books, especially in Moscow and Petrograd. The introduction of this decree makes it possible to realise to the full the watchword: "If you do not work, you shall not eat."

This decree requests all citizens over 16 years of age to secure employment books, which show that the owner of each book is engaged in some, productive work. The possession of such a book is regarded as a credential throughout Soviet Russia, and, moreover, entitles the owner to the receipt of food cards and to full support during unemployment, whether due to disablement or otherwise. Employment books are also obligatory for the Red Army and Navy.

Children under 16 are entered in the mother's employment book or the father's if there is no mother. Should they be orphans, they are entered in the books of those who are keeping them.

The manager of the concern where the holder of the employment book works is responsible for entering in that book all particulars as to the period of work and amount of earnings not later than seven days after the payment of salary. The of the institution or works, and a seal affixed.

Persons not employed in institutions or works, for example, independent tradespeople, those engaged in home industries, dealers, etc., are required, on their own responsibility, to enter their monthly earnings correctly in their employment books. A special clause provides for the control of these entries.

All works, institutions and small concerns, when entering the amount of earnings into employment books, should also affix control stamps, which represent contributions towards disablement and unemployment. Any breaches or irregularities in connection with the issue and use of the unemployment books are tried by the People's Court.

The instructions concerning the introduction of the employment books and their substitution for passports and credentials, are confirmed by the People's Commissariat of the Interior (Home Office) and by the Labour Commissariat. The instructions concerning the employment books of members of the Red Army and Navy are confirmed by the War and Naval Commissariats.

### Obligatory Labour in Soviet Russia.

A manifesto, addressed by the Soviet Government to all workers and honest citizens, issued by the Central Committee for Obligatory Labour, stresses the necessity for work to reconstitute the economic structure. It points out that the cities must be provided with corn, therefore the means of transport must be put in order, and railways rebuilt. To combat the typhus epidemic effectually, the towns must be cleansed, and in order to assist the revival of industry, fuel must be made available. Therefore, work of every and any description must now be the sacred duty of every citizen.

The Soviet Government has already established a Central Committee for Obligatory Labour, whose duty it is to introduce everywhere this new requirement, to draw everyone into the construction of a new future and into a struggle with the misfortunes which threaten to overwhelm the people.



## THE I.L.P. AT THE CROSS ROADS.

The I.L.P. is at the cross roads. It has been hesitating there a long time.

MacDonald has chosen a little mid-way by-path, and urgently beckons the members to follow. Some have gone there with him, but the path leads nowhere, and ends in confusion. The other day he stated in the *Scottish Forward* that Asquith had fulfilled the mission of the Parliamentary Opposition, and had driven the Prime Minister into a corner. Mr. Asquith and the Liberal politicians make a strong appeal to MacDonald's sympathies because they, too, are persistently trying to obscure the issues.

But whilst Asquith and his kind see the issues very clearly, and strive only to hide them from the workers, MacDonald seems always trying to hide the issues from himself.

He refuses to recognise the great currents that are dominating the life of humanity to-day. Very clearly he shows this in the latest issue of the *Socialist Review*, in which he discusses the war books written by the British Lord Fisher, the German General Ludendorff and the Austrian, Count Czernin. MacDonald writes:—

"Ludendorff takes the point of view of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Clemenceau, and believes that there can be no political settlement except after a military victory which enables one group of Powers to arrange the peace as it likes; Czernin takes the point of view of the Independent Labour Party and the Union of Democratic Control, finds all his efforts to conclude a just peace thwarted by the military views of Ludendorff and the political views of France and Great Britain, and like his kind in this country, is finally worsted, and is dismissed from office. That is the point that is brought out so strikingly in this book—the essential sameness in Count Czernin's views of the problem and those held by us."

There it is in a nutshell! MacDonald has explained it clearly. Czernin's policy is the same as his own policy, the U.D.C. policy, and the I.L.P. policy, at least the I.L.P. policy as MacDonald desires that it should be.

The policy of Czernin and MacDonald is the policy of men who seeing the inevitable developments of competitive Capitalism, yet refuse to recognise the developments as inevitable. They gull themselves by the pretence that without uprooting the causes from which the great conflicts spring, the strife can be ended by a little manoeuvring and wire pulling and a few polite words.

Lord Fisher explains in his memoirs that he and the others at the Admiralty, so long ago as 1908, considered war with Germany:—

"Just as sure as anything can be, solely because she can't expand commercially without it."

Fisher desired to begin the war whilst his Dreadnoughts were new, before Germany could copy them and widen her narrow canals to receive them. Says MacDonald:—

"I wrote at the outbreak of war what I had said scores of times before, that the naval development of the two countries made opinion in the Admiralty anxious to seize an opportunity for battle practice in the North Sea. The views which Lord Fisher communicated to me, and for which at the time I could not honourably give my authority, and therefore had to submit in silence to mob ignorance, have now been given to the world."

We cannot agree with MacDonald that it was honourable to withhold this information from a deluded people under any circumstances, on any consideration; but we recall the fact that, having this information, MacDonald yet abstained from voting against the war credits. In one of his speeches in the House of Commons he even said: "We entered the war with a bright flag of ideals." He continually insisted that he desired an Allied victory, and merely wished the politicians to set to work to negotiate Germany out of France and Belgium, instead of leaving the field entirely to the soldiers. Any policy so colourless and indefinite as MacDonald's war policy is naturally swept aside, leaving no impression, but the "mob ignorance" of which he complains, and the attacks of the capitalist Press, did him the honour to make him out a man of more virile views than he really is. Hence he grew famous during the war for opinions he did not hold.

In his *Socialist Review* editorial MacDonald dissents from Sidney Webb's forecast of a Lloyd George-Labour Party Coalition; but he does not say Labour must remain independent

of the capitalist parties. This is his declaration: "Coalitions there may have to be, but a Coalition with this comparatively little matter who is Prime Minister—never."

It is not the great question as to whether there shall be a Coalition with capitalism that worries MacDonald, but the question as to what is to be the Coalition personnel. Yet should the Labour Party enter into a coalition with capitalism the personnel would not matter; it would be powerless to alter the fact that capitalism would control. The capitalist parties may fittingly coalesce and form a united front against the workers, because the differences between the capitalist parties are of purely minor importance, but a Labour Party which forms a coalition with capitalism simply ceases to be a workers' party. It is therefore sooner or later inevitably deserted by the working class and so loses all its power. Its representatives in the coalition bereft of all working class backing thus become mere hangers on of capitalism.

But MacDonald refuses to recognise the class struggle and class cleavages in society. He refers to Parliament as though ordinarily the House of Commons were an impartial debating society and the Government its wholly disinterested and obedient executive committee, this normal state of affairs being temporarily upset by Lloyd George.

Capitalism arrogantly determined not to surrender a scrap of its power answers the miners' demands with defiance and makes it plain to Lloyd George that he must either line up the Government forces against the workers or make way for someone else who will. Lloyd George does as capitalism bids and plainly informs the workers that he will give no concessions whilst the War Office organises the blockade of South Wales. Nevertheless MacDonald writes of the situation thus:—

It was the duty of the House of Commons, and especially of Ministers, to answer Mr. Bruce's case. The Prime Minister hardly dealt with argument. Mr. Lunn had mentioned direct action, and that enabled Mr. Lloyd George to open his floodgates of clap-trap about Bolshevism, and to cheer his rather stupid followers by blowing a horn, rather than by speaking common sense. We Parliamentarians have no leg to stand upon if the House of Commons ceases to be a place where reason meets reason, and argument is marshalled against argument. Parliament then ceases to be the institution by which wise public opinion is turned into legislation and practical reason is made the guide of social and political change."

Can it really be that MacDonald is so innocent as to believe that Parliament, but for Lloyd George, would be a place where legislation would depend on impartial argument? Does he imagine that there ever was a period in which Parliament made "practical reason," and not powerful interests, "the guide to social and political change"?

In conformity with the desire which he expresses "to keep Labour trustful of Parliamentary methods and habits of mind," MacDonald opposes the Third International. At first he bitterly attacked the Russian Communists, claiming Kerensky as his friend and upbraiding Lenin. He even said that an intervention of the Allies to establish a centrist government Russia would not be an unmixed evil. Now all in Russia would not be an unmixed evil. Now all his estimates and predictions regarding Russia having been falsified, he changes his tone:—

"The grand coup d'état in Russia, and the successful defiance of the whole of armed and financial Europe, have properly aroused the enthusiasm of democrats all over the world. . . . They find it impossible to pay tribute to the courage and strength of will of the Russian leaders, and to demand that European reaction and spitefulness shall let them alone, without also supporting the Moscow International. I do the first two, but decline to do the third."

How true is the saying? "Nothing succeeds like success." MacDonald has at last come to pay tribute to the Bolsheviks. But he does so wishing and predicting the downfall of their Party and their ideals:—

"Given peace in Russia, political influences will be at once released which will divide the Communists, probably throwing Lenin to the Right of the Left, modifying completely the political forms assumed by the Revolution, splitting the Moscow International, or driving it into a feeble anarchist affair."

MacDonald is not the only opportunist who to-day shows signs of claiming that Lenin thinks

as he himself does; there is an epidemic of that disease. He goes on to attack the Third International as "domineering" because it refuses to accept the affiliation of Parties whose officials do not accept the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of proletarian armies, and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. He describes this refusal as an interference with the internal policy of the Socialist Parties of other countries. To make itself acceptable to MacDonald, the Third International would have to so far transform itself that, as he declares, its adherents would have to answer a new question: "What now is the difference between the Third and the Second?"

Nevertheless, MacDonald says he fears the Third International has collapsed. In case it cannot be resurrected he wishes to build another International. Meanwhile he urges the I.L.P. to go to the Second International at Geneva, though only the most extreme renegade Social Patriots will be there. He also wishes the I.L.P. to join in the consultations of the Parties that have left the Second International, but have not agreed to join the Third. As usual it is the middle by-path of compromise leading nowhere which MacDonald has chosen.

MacDonald, Snowden and the other members of the N.A.C., have perhaps been left behind politically by the majority of the active I.L.P. rank and file. Nevertheless, the rank and file has repeatedly re-elected most of the members of the present N.A.C. The I.L.P. is at the cross roads; it cannot follow the revolutionary lead of the Third International whilst its Executive is composed of reformist opponents of the Communist policy.

If the I.L.P. were affiliated to the Third International, its Executive would appoint some of its members to represent the Party at international conferences; and those non-Communist I.L.P.ers could only prove a source of weakness and discontent. The Second International failed because it combined within its ranks opposing elements which could not agree to unite in common action. The Third International is the International of action; it cannot afford to make the mistake that wrecked the Second International. Its appeal is only to those who accept its fundamental bases.

But how timidly some of those insurgent I.L.P.ers who have left Snowden and MacDonald behind them are hesitating! They are affected by the great movement flowing towards Moscow; they are stirred, perhaps even against their will, by the stupendous happenings in Europe; yet their courage does not carry them so far as the Third International. Hence they are muddling the issue. Although their ambition is to strike out a new and independent line, they are merely following the lead of the worn-out, elderly political opportunists who suggest a reconstructed Fourth International which can only be a replica of the Second. As Boris Souvarine tells us, the French "Reconstructors" have kept in their ranks Renaudel and the other Social Patriots.

Clifford Allen, one of the undecided rebels, wants to attend the Fourth-wing Congress and also to negotiate with Moscow. He cannot accept the Armed Revolution of the workers:—

"Violence may be forced upon us, but let us beware of ourselves designing a programme of bloodshed."

Allen should read *The Finnish Revolution*. Let us put a practical question to him. He has heard of the Government plan to blockade Wales in the event of a miners' strike. Does he think that if the workers were striking, not for a mere sectional reform, but for the overthrow of capitalism, the Government would refrain from blockading the strikers, or that it would shrink from turning the guns on them? Allen says we should "expose to the troops the way in which they can be used against the fellow workers." Very true, but the British Army is no longer composed of unwilling conscripts, but of volunteers whom the workers may fail to convert. If the volunteer soldiers and Churchill's Citizen Army do not adequately fulfil the duties of White Guards, other White Guards will be enrolled. A small number of soldiers, with machine guns, can put to flight large masses of unarmed people. What does Comrade Allen propose to do under such circumstances? E. S. P.



## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.

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All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor:  
 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.  
 TELEPHONE: EAST 1787.

Business Communications to the Manager:  
 "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.  
 TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.

## SUBSCRIPTION:

THREE MONTHS ...	...	Post Free	2/3
SIX MONTHS ...	...	"	4/6
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Vol. VII., No. 2. Sat., April 3, 1920.

## WILL THERE BE A RENT STRIKE?

Rents are shortly to be raised. Working women, who, faced with the increased cost of all necessary commodities, are to-day scarcely able to make ends meet are wondering what they will do when the rents rise also?

The rents of working-class houses have recently been raised in many districts in accordance with the increase in the rates; but the next increase of rent will be much bigger.

Masses of working women view the future with feelings of desperation, and the idea is growing amongst them that there must be a rent strike to prevent rents from rising as there was during the War.

The rent strike seems almost certain to come, but as capitalism is now in no mood to make concessions to the workers, the women will have to face a more serious struggle than on the last occasion.

They must organise thoroughly in order to win, and almost inevitably they will set up their street councils, or as we say now, their Soviets.

The Soviets which the women will form for the rent strike will be needed also to deal with the food question. The women should organise with the definite object of linking up their street committees with the workshop committees under the motto:—

"All Power to the Soviets."

## THE BLOCKADE OF WALES.

The Government, of course, says that it has withdrawn its scheme to blockade the mining areas and to surround all mining villages and townships with a military cordon so as to cut them off from the rest of the country and to prevent any commodity or person from being allowed to pass.

Of course the scheme is withdrawn, till the strike comes about; then it will be brought forward again.

This is the Class War Lloyd George spoke of so clearly the other day.

Let the workers prepare themselves for the coming struggle.

## HOUSE FAMINE: RENTS RISING.

DEAR EDITOR,—

Can nothing be done to stop the terrible raising of the rents of furnished rooms? It is impossible at present to find any unfurnished apartments. Many married people are compelled to take furnished rooms, and during the last few weeks the rents for furnished rooms have risen terribly.

I am a married workman. I took one furnished room, for which I paid 16/- per week for eight months. In January, the landlady demanded 25/- a week for the same room, an increase of 9/- a week. This being too much for me, I looked for something else, and the cheapest room I could find was 22/6 per week. Now, after six weeks, the landlady tells me I must pay 27/- a week or clear out. I cannot afford to pay such a price, and shall have to move again. The landlady tells me that all the others are making the same charge.

What is the so-called Labour Party doing for the workers? Is it possible to put a stop to this profiteering?

I wish we could get Soviets here, that would be the best solution!

A READER OF THE DREADNOUGHT.

Our reader is right—the only remedy is to set up the Workers' Soviets. In Russia housing and furniture are free, and the Workers' Committees see to it that before anyone has two rooms every-one shall have one room.

## RUSSIAN INFORMATION BUREAU.

The Bureau is short of shelves and filing accommodation. Comrades willing to help by putting these up in their spare time are asked to write to the secretary, People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

## PROPAGANDA AGAINST DIRECT ACTION.

## WHO PAYS FOR IT?

Large quantities of a leaflet entitled: *Direct Action: the Violence that Prevents Progress*, are being distributed in London. The leaflet is printed and published by Good, Ltd., Burleigh Street, Strand, W.C.2., and bears the imprint "No. 1912." This leaflet argues that the "Direct Actionists are doing infinite harm to Labour," and that Direct Action is necessary. The leaflet insists *ours is a democratic country*, and "if possessed of sufficient brains and grit, nothing stands in the way of any person holding the highest positions in the land, however humble his birth may be." In proof of this assertion it instances the progress of Lloyd George, the son of an elementary schoolmaster, and J. R. Clynes, a cotton operative. Lloyd George and Clynes were both put in the Cabinet because having the gift of the gab, and a certain amount of shrewdness, they had pushed themselves to the front as champions of the poorer classes, and yet were willing to sell out to the Capitalists. They got their Cabinet positions entirely because they were willing to help the Capitalists against the workers.

But what is the use of saying that anyone may reach the highest positions in the land? There are only a limited number of such positions, and we cannot all be in them. Under the present system, whilst a few live in luxury, the majority are on the poverty line. Therefore let us change the system for one that provides an equal stand of comfort for all.

Another free leaflet, which is being distributed broadcast is printed by Vacher and Sons, Great Smith Street, and numbered 75543. This asserts that the Government has kept all its election pledges. Some of the pledges were not worth keeping; as for the others, whoever is concerned in their fulfilment will certainly agree that they have not been kept—for instance: *Land for ex-Service Men*. How many ex-Service men have got it?

*Improved Transport*. Everyone is protesting about transport. A ministry has been set up which costs £181,061 a year. Whilst Sir Eric Geddes, the Transport Minister, goes golfing when the House of Commons discusses transport, and his subordinate has to admit that the Minister has not yet prepared any scheme.

*Industrial Peace*. We do not observe it! But we can assure the Government that there will be no industrial peace until the boss class is abolished.

But who pays for these leaflets? Does the Government do it out of the tea and sugar tax? Or do some kind Capitalists bear the cost in order to help the workers?

## DO THE LONDON TEACHERS UNDERSTAND?

The London teachers have howled down the Minister of Education and the chairman of the L.C.C. Education Committee because increased wages have been refused to them. We sympathise with their hard lot and admire their fighting spirit, but do they realise that in demanding increased wages they are like the squirrels running round in the cage; they will never catch up with the rising cost of living. Why do they not work for the Communist Revolution, which would put an end to their economic troubles, and open a new world of glorious opportunities to them? The teachers, by their influence on both children and parents, can do a tremendous propaganda.

## Song of the New Soldier and Worker.

We are tired, tired, tired—we are work-weary and war-weary;

What though the skies are soft-blue and the birds still sing

And the balmy air of day is like wine? Life is dreary

And the whole wide world is sick and suffering.

We are weary, weary, weary, sad and tired and no longer

Will we go on as before, glad to be the willing tools

Of the hard and heartless few, the favoured and the stronger,

Who have strength to crush and kill, for we are fools.

We will calmly fold our arms sore from labouring, and aching,

We will not still feed and guard the hungry, hideous, huge machine

That yawns with ugly mouth, performs its grim task of life-breaking

Like a fat whore, coarse and brazen and obscene.

O, to pull the thing to pieces! O, to wreck it all and smash

With the power and the will that only holy hate can give;

Even though our broken bodies may be caught in the crash—

Even so—that children yet unborn may live!

HUGH HOPE.

## THE AFFAIR MAZZONIS.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN ITALY.

## Workers Take Possession of Factory.

Some months ago a strike broke out in the textile factories of the Mazzonis Brothers, at Ponte Canavese and Torre Pellice, near Turin, Italy. The workers demanded recognition of their union and conditions uniform with those in similar factories. The Mazzonis brothers, who are capitalists of the purest Manchester school, refused to yield an inch. They would not treat with the union nor with the government arbitration court. They would not admit the right of either to "interfere with the management of their private property."

The strike continued for more than six weeks. Then one day the workers met together, formed a parade, marched out to the two factories, entered them, raised the red flag above them, took their old places, started the wheels moving once more, and set to work. That was all. They took possession of the factories, and set to work.

## How They Run It.

They understood the technical operation of the factory at least as well as their former employers. They elected a Soviet of their most expert men in each department, and submitted themselves to their supervision. They found stores of coal and raw materials in the factories sufficient for three or four months. They arranged with the credit bank of the Socialist municipality of Milan for working credit, and with a co-operative society of the same city for raw materials. They also organised a factory militia, not without firearms, for the defence of the factory. A socialised factory, socialised raw materials, socialised credit, a socialised militia, and Socialist workmen! That was all that was needed. The capitalists Mazzonis, on the day of the occupation, left in an automobile. They have not been missed.

## The Government Helpless.

The Italian Government was helpless against this shocking violation of the rights of private property. For the Government, ever since the armistice, has been demanding that the workers "produce." Especially was production necessary in the textile industry. So when the workers of the Mazzonis plants converted two idle factories into two productive factories, the Government was morally in no position to interfere. The spectacle of workmen being prevented at the point of the bayonet from doing socially necessary work would have made the whole capitalist pretence too ridiculous. So while the workers were taking possession of their factories, the few soldiers who were about looked steadily the other way. Neither has anyone undertaken to haul down the red flag. Correspondents of the bourgeois press have noted with astonishment that all is peaceful at the Mazzonis plants, that the workers are working quietly, eagerly, efficiently. Pressmen realize, with quaint surprise, that if there are to be any atrocities in this miniature revolution, they must be committed by the soldiers of capitalism.

## Ligurian Metal Strike.

Some weeks previously, during the Ligurian metal strike, factories were similarly seized by the workers. But they were recaptured by the troops after a stubborn defence, resulting in killed and wounded. But the Government seems to have realised that every such victory for capitalism is worse than a defeat. It cannot too often kill workmen for the crime of wanting to do useful work. Probably it will not dare to do so again. Probably there will be many more such quiet acts of socialisation.

## Workers Remain in Possession.

The Government, in the Mazzonis case, sought to preserve the forms of capitalist law by requisitioning the Mazzonis factories, after the workers had seized them, and appointing a sort of State receiver to operate them in the absence of their owners. The act is, however, purely a fiction. The State will never dislodge the Mazzonis workers from their concrete control except by force of arms. And it will not dare to draw a rifle against them. It only remains to be said that the Labour Federation of Piedmont supported the act of the Mazzonis workers, and took full responsibility for it in the face of the Government. It is a short story, and a simple one. But very significant!



## ONE COMMUNIST PARTY. By HERMAN GORTER.

One of the vital changes brought about by the World War, is this: the decisions of each national Communist Party are of almost equal importance to the members of the Communist parties in other countries, as to those of the national party itself.

Before the War, and before the rise of Imperialism in general, the development of the brother-Socialist parties was of import and interest. Now that the English Labour Party, the French, German, Austrian, Belgian and other Labour parties have slaughtered over ten million men, and maimed over 20 million, the development of the various parties has become a matter of life and death for the parties of all nations.

It is necessary, moreover, that the proletarians of all countries should form one united front against the Imperialism and Capitalism of all nations, and against the Imperialism of the world. It is highly probable that in the end the fight between Labour and Capital, between Capitalism and Communism, will be an international struggle, wherein the Capital of all, or of many countries, will fight the Communism of all countries.

For these reasons, whenever a foreign Communist can in any way contribute to the fight of the unity of a party, he is not only entitled, but bound to do so.

In England the Communist parties are progressing towards unity. One of the differences of opinion forming an obstacle to this unity is the question of affiliation to the Labour Party. This question is of the greatest moment for the foreign parties; also. The English comrades will therefore allow a foreign Communist to express himself on this point.

In the recent numbers of the *Call* of February 26th and March 4th, a plea is published advocating the policy of staying on in the big British party; and one strong argument is certainly brought forward, that is, the close contact with the masses that would result from it. Nevertheless, the matter should be clearly and sharply put, though all the consequences that would arise from affiliation to the big party should be drawn. This is not done in the *Call* article.

I shall here attempt to give a survey of some strong arguments against it.

The writer of the *Call* article says the Labour Party is different from the Social-Patriotic Party of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske. The latter was Socialist; the Labour Party is not. To the Party of Scheidemann no Communists could ever adhere; to the Labour Party they can. This course of reasoning, however, is exceedingly weak, for if the Labour Party is not Socialist, it is bourgeois. The Noske Party is not Socialist. When the Communists and Independents still belonged to it, it was in part Socialist; now, since the scission, there is hardly a trace of Socialism left in that Party. In this respect it is absolutely like the Labour Party. The percentage of Socialists is the same for both, one to every 50, 60 or 100.

Then there is another very weak point in the argument of the *Call* article. The great enemy of the German Communists has been not so much the Noske Party, as the German Trade Union movement. There was no doubt but that Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske would help the bourgeoisie during the revolution, but the German Workers' Councils that were instituted all over the country would have been able to deal with both Ebert and Scheidemann, and with the bourgeoisie, if the Trade Unions had not interfered. These latter took possession of the Workers' Councils, made an agreement with the employers, and thus broke down the revolution.

The German Trade Unions certainly do not differ in the main from the great mass of the British Labour Party.

Does the writer of the *Call* article deny that in case of an English revolution the English Trade Unions will do as the German Trade Unions have done.

The Labour Party in its great masses may not, or not yet be altogether equivalent to the German Socialist Party (though in so far as it is non-Socialist, the two are alike), it is, however, identical with the German Trade Unions.

It is the Trade Unions which have caused the downfall of the German revolution.

And it is greatly to be feared that the English Trade Unions would do the same for the English revolution.

The question as to whether the English Communists are to be affiliated with the Labour Party hangs indissolubly together with the question as to whether in England the proletarian, the Communist revolution to abolish Capitalism, is impending.

At the present moment the world-revolution depends on three great questions. In the first place:—

Will the Russian Soviet Republic be able to maintain Communism, and to spread it, now that a large part of the Russian population, especially the rich peasants, will want to re-establish Capitalist trade: will the Soviet Republic be able to hold them in check?

Secondly, will the German revolution revive, and win?

Thirdly, will English Capitalism, which has been less severely shaken than that of the continental countries, regain its strength?

It is on these three questions that at this moment the world-revolution depends.

If Communism in Russia continues to exist, and manages to spread, this example, sooner or later to be followed by the entire world. If the German revolution revives and wins, the example will be doubled, Capitalism will be shaken to its foundations everywhere, and Communism all the world over will come quickly. If Capital in England does not manage to regain its strength, and to guarantee its workers their existence, the English revolution will break out.

The comrades in England, as we see from their papers, for one or more of these reasons believe the English proletarian, the Communist revolution, to be impending.

And as the English bourgeoisie is arming itself, the revolution is likely to be of a violent nature.

The affiliation with the Labour Party, therefore, should be considered from this point of view. The Communist revolution is not an election or a strike, where it is possible to co-operate with parties of a different trend. A revolution is a fight where non-Communist parties differ altogether from the Communists in their aim.

Now history teaches us that co-operation and compromise in the Communist revolution, or before that revolution, or for that revolution with other, differing groups, lead to ruin.

We will not deal here with the partaking of Socialists in governments before the War, as in the case of Millerand and Briand in France; it might be averred that at that time the revolution was, as yet, too far off for an analogy to be drawn. We will begin in August, 1914, when the situation in Europe became really revolutionary. The Labour parties at that time worked together with the bourgeoisie. The Communists in those Labour parties could do little or nothing, owing to their being affiliated. Had they formed an absolutely separate party, they might have carried on a stronger action. The affiliation led to

their destruction or powerlessness. Throughout the War the Labour parties in all countries made common cause with the bourgeoisie. Once more such co-operation ruined them, materially, mentally and morally, even those who were Marxists, with few exceptions, failed to escape and were able to accomplish but little.

Then came the Russian revolution. The great mass of the Russian Socialists (the Social-revolutionaries), sided with the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks sided with the Social-revolutionaries. As Socialists they perished.

The German revolution followed. The majoritarians compromised with the bourgeois parties. As Socialists they ceased to exist. The Independent Socialists rallied round the Majoritarians. It was the end of them. Haase and Dittmann, together with Scheidemann and Ebert, betrayed the revolution, transferred the power of the Workers' Councils into the hands of the Parliament. The Independent Socialists are traitors to the revolution just as much as Noske. In Hungary, Bela Kun joined forces with the Majoritarians, who implored his aid. Therefore, Communism went to pieces.

In Bavaria the Communists, at the request of Majoritarians and Independents, first refused, then, in the hope of saving the revolution, acted in concert with the latter. They perished miserably.

And, on the other hand, the Russian Bolsheviks have never co-operated with other parties, neither during, nor before the Communist revolution. They never compromised, nor were affiliated. They did not go to others for support, but they put up their programme, and acted and waited till the others (workers and poor peasants) came to them. And the same tactics would, doubtless, have been advocated by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, had they still been alive.

Experience has proved that by compromising, either before or during the proletarian revolution for the abolition of Capitalism, the Communists work their own destruction. By standing alone, they win.

And is it likely that in England this will be different? We cannot believe it.

One argument given by the writer of the *Call* article—the close contact with the masses in the Labour Party, which would result from affiliation—is, no doubt, of great importance; but there are many other ways of keeping in contact; in the Trade Unions themselves, in the Shop Stewards' movement, etc.

In a following article I shall show how the character of the old parties and associations renders it undesirable that the Communists should join with them.

### EVEN LENIN HAS FAILED!

George Lansbury, recounting his Russian experiences in Bow Baths, on March 28th, stated that he did not think it worth fighting to get the Soviet system here at present. He was still opposed to violence. He added: "If I had not been I think I should have supported the late War." It seems that even Lenin has failed to make Lansbury realise that there is a fundamental difference between the Workers' Revolution and any Capitalist war.

Lansbury further said that he was against sporadic strikes, but he would support any action the workers might find necessary to secure peace with Soviet Russia. Someone asked for further particulars; the answer was: "Well, you've got to kick the Members of Parliament inside and kick yourselves outside." What does it mean?

### TEACHERS UPHOLD SOVIETS.

A meeting, organised by the Workers' League of Public Instruction and Socialist Culture (composed for the most part of teachers), was held on October 6th, 1919, in Petrograd. Zinoviev delivered a speech, in which he drew a parallel between the Russian intellectuals and those in western countries. A unanimous resolution was passed, in which those present affirmed that no Government in the world does as much as the Soviet Government to raise the intellectual level of the people. They further pointed out that the Soviet Government is the only interpreter of the will of the Russian people, and appealed to the intellectuals and workers of the world to secure peace for Russia, whose great wish is to create a new and happy existence for all who have hitherto lived in suffering.



**UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.****Rank and File Movement.**

The weekly meeting of the Rank and File Movement of the United Vehicle Workers, on Tuesday, March 24th, was marked by the attendance of bodies of angry busmen, who claimed that the Union officials had signed away the 48-hour working week, and benefits of the last Busmen's Charter, without consulting the membership. Executive delegate Fairbrother, who happened to be present, gave his explanation of the protracted negotiations with the Traffic Combine, and stated, that in his opinion, someone was to blame, but not the Executive Council delegates. He was closely questioned by the members, who were none too satisfied with the position.

Executive delegate Hickson, who also was present, expressed his disgust at the tug-of-war continually going on inside the U.V.W. Rank and File Movement between the Direct Actionists and the political element. By the "political element" he meant the group of members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain who had continually shown great opposition and hostility to the Shop Steward and Worker's Committee Movement, and the theory of organisation of the Rank and File underlying it. I hope Executive delegate Hickson's hint will be taken.

Block voting for the new Bus Trades Council was strongly condemned. It was agreed to recommend the branches to turn down the suggested agreement with the Traffic Combine to put spare men on 24 hours minimum instead of 42, and to make 25 per cent. of duties run to 12 hours spreadover. Branches were also urged to press for a sufficient number of copies of the preliminary and final agendas of the coming A.D.M., it being stated that it was the intention of the general secretary of the Union to send only one copy to each branch, some branches containing 2,000 and more members.

Discussion took place on the following resolution:—

"That the Rank and File Movement press on the branches the urgent need for pressing their Executive to instruct the Editor of the *Record* to use his columns to educate the members on the need for a down tools policy should the Government attempt to intervene in the struggle now taking place between the German workers and the Junkers, and to urge the Executive to use every means in their power, through their affiliations, to prepare for a general strike in such an event."

It was eventually decided that this resolution did not come within the range of the Rank and File Movement, which was simply for the Rank and File to gain control of their Union. All members present agreed with the spirit of the resolution, and it was decided to raise the matter at the respective branch meetings.

Meetings of the Rank and File Movement of the United Vehicle Workers, will be held in future at Chandos Hall, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, on Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m. All holders of U.V.W. Trade Union cards admitted and able to take full part in discussions and initiating new business.

**BURSTON AGAIN.**

Everyone has heard of the Burston School strike, and how the Rector, the Rev. C. T. Eland, was boycotted by the village people. On March 15th the annual Burston parish meeting was held. The Rector was in the chair. It transpired that the secretary had not been summoned to the meeting. T. G. Higdon, of the Strike School, asked permission to put a question, but was told to postpone it. A charity account of £2 having been passed, the Rector left the chair declaring that there was no other business, and withdrew with his supporters, in spite of the protests from those who had business to raise. An indignation meeting was then held by those who remained, and a resolution was passed repudiating the Rector as chairman of the parish meeting. It was stated that there has not been a vestry meeting in the parish for years.

Mrs. Higdon said that a demobilised soldier was threatened with eviction, though there was an empty house in disrepair within a stone's throw of his home. There was disgraceful overcrowding in the village.

**MEXICO AND JAPAN.**

We have received a communication from Linn A.E. Gale, of *Gale's Journal*, Mexico, who writes that Japan is steadily becoming dominant in Mexico and South America, and that this fact is arousing the jealousy of American Capitalism. The situation has arisen because Mexico has turned to Japan for assistance against American aggression. Carranza, the Mexican President, desired to buy munitions from America, but the United States prohibited the export of arms and munitions into Mexico. Meanwhile, says Gale, the bandits against whom Carranza wanted to use the arms and munitions were supplied with unlimited quantities of guns, explosives and so on, which were smuggled across the border and sold to them.

Carranza therefore bought the munitions he wanted in Japan, and the Japanese Government is taking liberal advantage of the fact that Carranza is dependent on Japan for such aid. Amongst other things, it has forced President Carranza to deport to Japan a well-known Japanese subject resident in Mexico—Dr. Takabatake—because he had expressed his sympathy with the Korean masses and had denounced the Government of Japan.

**THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN.****A Letter from the London Secretary.**

That the D.D.S. & S. and the Comrades of the Great War are not Socialistic organisations seems pretty well accepted. Regarding the difference between the National Union of Ex-Service Men and the International Union of Ex-Service Men, there seems to be some confusion.

We of the International Union have been repeatedly asked why, seeing the National Union is a progressive organisation, we do not join up and present a united front to the common enemy? At one time we thought that possible, but what has transpired since has altered our opinion. An attempt to amalgamate has ended in failure; the following quotation from a letter sent to us by the National Union has, in the opinion of our organisation, barred and bolted the door:—

"Comrade, . . . your reference to the red flag. Well then, whatever the personal views of the Executive may be, we feel it would be bad policy for us to talk too much of the red flag in England just now. Of course it may be different in Scotland; but here we are making an appeal to all Trade Unionists, and some of them, as you are aware, are rather timid, and are apt to condemn any reference to the red flag, and to fight shy of any organisation which openly adopts it."

That is not the opinion of the International Union; whether in Scotland, England, Ireland or Wales, the red flag of Socialism is our *only* banner. We know it is unpopular; but our business is to make it popular. The N.U. is working with the Labour Party; we are working with the Communist movement. We do not, like the N.U. in their organ the *New World*, January issue, try to find ways and means of paying off the National Debt. Our aim is total repudiation of the National Debt, even though the writer in the *New World* considers that a crude way of getting rid of our burden. We are not out to rent the land or any such fancy scheme. As clause 3a of our constitution and rules puts it: "The duties of the N.E.C. shall be to establish proper relations with all the Workers' Committees, with a view to forming Workers', Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils for the express purpose of taking over the means of production, distribution and exchange, and thus freeing the wage workers from slavery and exploitation."

The National Headquarters of the International Union, 98, Bishop Street, Anderston, Glasgow. James Cox, National secretary.

Bristol Branch; secretary, G. Gilmore, 19, Brighton Street, St. Paul's. Bristol Branch has now a band in Eastville Park after its application had been opposed by one of the Labour (!) Members, because "he was an Englishman."

East London Branch; secretary, Jack Blyth, 32, Holm Street. The Branch meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., at the "Carpenters' Rest," 31, Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green.

Bow representative: H. Le Fevre, 131, Parnell Road, E.3.

London Head Office: 95, Minories, E.C.1. Secretaries of the I.U. are invited to send notes for insertion. RED SCOUT.

**LONDON UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

A London University Socialist Society is being organised. It aims: (1) at the re-organisation of society "to secure" for the individual free development of personality unrestricted by the present conventional barriers of class, sex and race; (2) the transference of land and industrial Capital to the Community; and the control of industry by the workers. Membership is open to all past and present members of the London University, or of any other kindred educational centre, resident in or about London, who accept the rules of the Society. Those who accept (1) but not (2) may become associates. We do not know how they can be associated with a Socialist Society if the second aim is too strong for them! The subscription is 5s. for graduates, 2s. 6d. for undergraduates. Miss May Moorehouse, 1, Raymond Buildings, Grays Inn, W.C., is the hon. secretary.

**LENIN AND THE LABOUR PARTY.**

It is being said that Lenin's advice to British Communists, given through George Lansbury, is to affiliate to the Labour Party. In George Lansbury's signed article which appeared in the *Daily Herald* of March 27th, he states that Lenin, in reply to a question on this subject, said:—

"All Socialists and Communists should take the lead in Trade Union, municipal, co-operative and Parliamentary life, and thus use every means in their power to obtain the triumph of the cause."

But this reply does not state that Communists or Communist organisations should affiliate to the Labour Party. Lenin, under his own signature, has several times discussed the question of Parliamentary action, and it should be noticed that he regards it as a question of tactics, not of principle. A more accurate knowledge of Lenin's actual opinions can be gained from his own writings than from reports of stray conversations with him.

**Pass the "DREADNOUGHT"  
on to your Friends.**

**Get your Newsagent to show  
a Poster.**

**PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.**

March 29th. The Home Rule Bill that no one seems to want was introduced. J. R. Clynes (Lab.), who represents a constituency where there is a large Irish vote, moved its rejection. He wants a Bill that will give "the maximum of self-government compatible with the unity of the Empire, and the safety of the United Kingdom in time of war; also the fullest financial and economic liberty subject to an annual contribution towards the cost of expenditure of the whole Empire." But the Irish do not want a Bill of that kind. They want to separate themselves from the British Empire. What a time the Irish will give the Labour Party when it gets into power! Protectionist Sinn Feiners like Arthur Griffith will be, if possible, more antagonistic to the Labour Party than to the present Government.

**Economic Pressure.**

March 22nd. Churchill said there are 3,000 Army recruits a week, as compared with 30,000 a year before the War. If it went on at this rate, he might be able to meet the wishes of parents who asked for the release of sons who joined under the age of 18.

Why are there now so many recruits? Because there is much unemployment.

Churchill expressed anxiety regarding the Bolsheviks in the East. He was afraid the Republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia would join them. As the Bolsheviks desire a world-wide Communist revolution, he thought they would judge the military situation, not from the standpoint of acquiring territory, but with a view to spreading their light in other lands. He is right: if only the workers would see that question as clearly as he does! He urged that Britain should support a Moderate German Government to prevent a working-class revolution in Germany.

**Paltry Doles.**

Dr. Addison brought in a Bill to give men 10s. to 15s. a week sick benefit, and 5s. to 7s. 6d. disablement benefit; women, 7s. 6d. to 12s. for sickness, and for disablement the same as men. The employers are to pay 3d. a week more, the workers 1d. a week extra. Maternity benefit is to be increased from 30s. to 40s. a week. No one protested that this is mere tinkering, though one of the Coalition Unionists pointed out that the tiny benefits of National Health Insurance would in many cases have been quite useless but for the hospitals, and these being kept up by voluntary donations, are now faced with the early prospect of closing down.

**Miners' Eyesight.**

In 1914, the last year for which figures are available, 5,992 miners had compensation for miner's nystagmus, an eye disease due to working without enough light; 2,774 of these were new cases during the year. The question of better light in the mines is being discussed by a Departmental Committee. Such discussions are always going on, but nothing comes of them because Mr. Workman does not realise that he is as good as his master, and Mr. Capitalist can always get another miner if Mr. Workman should happen to go blind.

**The Democratic League.**

Bonar Law announced that the Government will select the British representatives on the League of Nations Assembly. Mr. Shaw (Coalition-Liberal) humbly asked that the House of Commons might select one delegate, but Bonar Law answered: "I cannot see that it would be desirable to have an appointment of that kind made in that way." Commander Kenworthy asked that the House might approve the appointments, but again Bonar Law refused. This is how the "democratic" Parliamentary system, of which our Labour leaders are such profound admirers, actually works.

Bonar Law refused to name a date for the withdrawal of the British Military Mission with Denikin.

**"Out of Condition" Bacon.**

James Parker, the Yorkshire Labour man (now a Lord of the Treasury), solemnly told the House that free export of all "out of condition" bacon had been allowed by the Food Ministry through the ordinary trade channels. But to whom was it exported? What unfortunate consumers was it palmed off on? They do not eat "out of condition" bacon at Buckingham Palace or Downing Street.

**Two Deaths.**

A man and a woman were shot dead in a Dublin street on March 22nd. Mr. McPherson said people were throwing stones and shots were fired. The officer ordered that "ten rounds should be fired." Mr. Butcher was eager to know if any civilians had been arrested. Colonel Yate asked: "Will the officer be commended for his great service?"

**Capitalist Politics in the Schools.**

The Minister of Education promised the Tories that the elementary schoolchildren should be taught about the League of Nations.

The Coal Mines Emergency Bill passed the Second Reading by 163 votes to 43. It ensures to coal-owners £26,000,000 a year in profits. Their average profits were £13,000,000 a year during the five years before the War.

**The Railwaymen and Thomas.**

March 24th. J. H. Thomas said that Electric Railway men who had not been paid, threatened to down tools in the Easter holidays unless they got their money. Members called "Threat," but Thomas humbly said: "The management knows I have done nothing else than try to avert trouble. I expressed no views as to the wisdom of the decision."



## SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

### The Miners' Next Move.

At a delegate conference of the Rhondda Groups of the Unofficial Reform Committees, a detailed report of the M.F.G.B. Conferences held during the week was given by A. J. Cook, *miners' agent*. South Wales, at the last conference, decided to remain with the M.F.G.B. until the 3s per day increase had been granted, and then to strike out as a district for the fulfilment of the rest of their demand, viz. another 22s. per week.

At the first M.F.G.B. conference complete unanimity prevailed amongst the delegates, both in their demands and in their determination to fight for them. The conference then adjourned to give the Executive an opportunity of drawing up a ballot paper and manifesto to be distributed to all members. Let it be herein noted that a ballot must always be taken on a strike issue.

### Hodges Attacks South Wales.

Next day, when conference re-assembled, it was noticed that delegates had come ready to return home, having their bags with them. The ballot paper submitted was exceedingly simple, and as follows: "Are you in favour of withholding your labour to enforce our demands. Yes or No?"

Whilst Comrade Cook was moving its acceptance, a letter was brought in and handed to Frank Hodges, who received it, as was observed, in rather a disinterested manner. As soon as Cook sat down, Hodges made a vitriolic attack upon Cook and on the South Wales attitude.

### A Letter from Lloyd George.

The letter was read and then it appeared that it had come from Lloyd George, who stated that whilst the Government was not prepared to make any new offer, it was prepared to meet the M.F.G.B. Executive any time the Executive should desire. This was tantamount to saying: "Your move next gentlemen!"

Cook, realising this, moved that the Executive should not meet Lloyd George, but should carry on as previously arranged—that delegates should return to their districts. This motion, unfortunately, received no support, and it was ultimately decided to allow the Executive to meet Lloyd George and report to Conference next day.

### Executive Falls Victim to the Wizard.

Evidently the Premier must have used upon the Executive those powers of his that have earned for him the sobriquet of "Welsh Wizard." Surely, they were a sorry lot! Great fear of striking at the present time was expressed by them. Had not Lloyd George told them of the deputation from France which had requested larger exports of coal to France? So much, indeed, was heard in this strain that Cook felt impelled to rise and suggest to Conference that "it would be better to return home and decide not to strike until there were plenty of stocks of coal in the country and no fear of injuring anyone but the miners themselves."

### Attempt to Give Executive Power to Negotiate.

Smith also complained that the Premier had made the Executive members feel "like children" because they had no power to negotiate, but merely to place before him the demands of Conference. This caused these noted "fighters," the representatives of the Nottinghamshire and Bristol coalfields, to move and second respectively that plenary powers to negotiate be given to the Executive. South Wales delegates were unanimous in rejecting the offer that had been made, and even those men who are considered reactionary in South Wales were foremost in taunting the rest of the delegates that they did not represent the views of their men.

### The Offer of a Percentage Increase.

The reason of this action on the part of the Welsh delegates was the percentage increase offer by the Premier. This is entirely foreign to the policy of the Welsh miners, and, if accepted, would mean the undoing of several years' propaganda. The flat rate increase policy was only won during the war, and here it was being endangered by men who had not taken the trouble to find out the opinion of the rank and file on the subject! So warm did things become that one prominent Welsh delegate was threatened with ejection from the Conference.

It was at length decided to adjourn Conference, so that the delegates from each district could meet together and decide upon their policy.

At the close Frank Hodges gave a speech that will bring continued disgrace to him. The fight being still on, it is perhaps better to leave a report of its context to a later date. When even the old men at the Conference were disgusted with the reactionary strain of his speech, readers will guess that matters were serious.

### South Wales Placed in False Position.

The South Wales delegates debated long and seriously as to what their attitude should be at the Conference next day. Brace and Cook and three or four others were in favour of remaining neutral. Hoping that a majority vote might be secured against further negotiation if South Wales delegates voted, the South Wales Executive decided to cast its votes for it. The hope, unfortunately, did not materialise, and South Wales found itself bound to a proposed agreement that the rank and file were sure to reject. Owing to the efforts of the South Wales members of the M.F.G.B. Executive, when that body met to consider what pro-

posals is should make to the Premier, the following was agreed to:—

22½ per cent. increase to piece-workers; but where this would not ensure as much, 3s. a day to all men over 18 years old.

2s. to workers between 18 and 16 years of age. 1s. a day to workers under 16 years of age.

When these proposals were laid before the Premier, he asked for time to call a special Cabinet meeting and arranged to meet the miners again the following Monday, March 29th.

The South Wales members of the M.F.G.B. Executive are not likely to be present at that interview, although they will be present at the National Conference called for the afternoon to hear the report and decide what action shall be taken. The reason for this is that the South Wales Executive have met and decided to call a South Wales Conference on Thursday next, April 1st, and in the interval, several members, including all the representative on the M.F.G.B. Executive, have returned to Wales so as to get in touch with the men and hold mass meetings wherever possible during the week-end. It is expected that Monday's Conference of the M.F.G.B. may decide to ballot the coalfield to see if it is prepared to accept the last Government offer, which is likely to be for an increased percentage, or to strike for the original demands. The obvious course for the Welsh delegates if this situation should arise, would be to refrain from voting.

### Premier Tries to Differentiate Between M.F.G.B. Members.

Very sinister, too, is the apparent acceptance by the M.F.G.B. Executive, of the Premier's distinction between members of the Federation. This would mean that only those people who come under the supervision of the Coal Controller would get a rise. Moreover, in the event of a ballot, thousands of paying members not included in the increase would not be entitled to vote. This would inevitably force these men to leave the Federation, and the efforts of the Industrial Unionists would receive another check.

South Wales, once again, can claim to have gloriously upheld the flag, whilst delegates from other districts have besmirched the honour of the Federation in not maintaining the dignity of our organisation, which is one of the finest and most powerful in the country.

### Unofficial Demands.

After hearing this detailed report, the Unofficial Conference decided to draw up a manifesto, which is to be sent to every lodge in the South Wales coalfield. The appeal is that no deviation shall be made from our flat rate increase demands, and that it shall apply without distinction to all members of the Federation. Further, it must date from the 1st of March, as originally demanded, and not 1st of April, as offered by Lloyd George. If this appeal is successful, and there is every reason to believe it will be, then, in the event of the M.F.G.B. deciding to ballot on a percentage increase agreement, South Wales will refuse to take a ballot on such terms, but will take a ballot on the original demand of £2 per week increase. This would mean a temporary break-away from the M.F.G.B. (temporary being used reservedly).

The next task that faces the Unofficial movement of South Wales should, obviously, be to extend their movement into every other coalfield. Undoubtedly there are members of the rank and file in the other districts who are quite as revolutionary as those of Wales, but they do not possess the democratic machinery of the South Wales miners. To this end propaganda should be directed, for, as I stated in last week's notes, and as has been clearly demonstrated at the M.F.G.B. Conferences this week, South Wales is being held back by the reactionary "fat men" from the other coalfields.

### Miners' Holidays Changed to Suit Owners.

Great annoyance has been caused to the miners by the action of their representatives in changing the usual time of their Easter holidays. When it becomes generally known that this has only been done to safeguard the interests of the coal-owners, the anger of the miners will be intensified, and may find expression in a manner that will cause some disturbance to the miners' representatives responsible. The dockers, it appears, are not working Good Friday, and only half a day Saturday. Therefore the coal-owners would find a little difficulty in keeping the collieries in action, and fully supplied with coal trucks on Saturday; and so the usual three days holiday has been changed, and is to commence on Saturday instead of Monday. The most effective way for the miners to protest against this jugglery would be to refuse to work on Wednesday and thus extend the holiday.

### A Reunion of the Classes.

A grand re-union of all the Rhondda classes was to have been held on Easter Wednesday. A demonstration and meeting was to have been held in the forenoon. Quite a host of speakers had promised to appear. This was to have been followed by a grand social in the afternoon and dancing and games at night. This programme has been spoilt by the re-distribution of the three days' holiday. A conference will be held, however, at Porth, on the morning of Easter Tuesday. The social and dance having been postponed until May Day.

### Ocean Coal Co., Ltd., Welfare Scheme.

The sports organiser recently appointed by the Ocean Coal Company seems to be finding his task rather difficult. He was originally appointed to encourage and foster sport for the "benefit" of all the workmen employed by the Ocean Coal Company. Of late, however, his activities have been mainly concentrated in the Treorchy area.

The fact that the collieries owned by the Ocean Coal Company in the vicinity of Treorchy are the most progressive of all the collieries controlled by this company, may account for this great deference to the sporting instincts of the Treorchy district miners. The following is a copy of a leaflet issued last Friday from the Park Pit offices to the discharged soldiers and a few others employed at that pit.

"What is meant by welfare work? Welfare work means anything for betterment of the conditions of life for the worker. It is non-political and non-sectarian. It does not aim at fettering in any way the ideas and aims of any workman. All games and movements, educational or social, will be decided, governed and carried on by those participating in them. The organiser's work is to help to form the various clubs, societies, etc., but the actual control will be by those participating in them."

"The welfare organiser always welcomes any suggestions by any group of men, and will make every effort to help any scheme for the betterment of the life of the miner of the district."

Up to the distribution of this leaflet the local Federation Pit Committees had been inclined to disregard the efforts of the organiser. Now, however, they are fully aroused, and taking this leaflet and the method of its distribution as a challenge. They are determined to take such steps as will force this man to leave the neighbourhood or change his work. The only organisation that can do any practical good in bettering the conditions of the miners is the Miners' Federation and its attendant educational organisations. This point of view will be so clearly placed before the Treorchy and district miners as to render the lot of any individual who challenges that, a most unenviable one.

### ANOTHER BREACH OF CONTRACT.

#### BRITISH PRISONERS RETURNING FROM RUSSIA—RUSSIAN PRISONERS DETAINED IN BRITAIN.

The Russian Delegates' Committee complains that the Government White Paper, 587, No. 1, 1920, article 2, promises to repatriate all Russian civilians willing to return to Russia from the Empire or territory over which Britain exercises direct authority. Moreover, the Committee, on March 12th, received a telegram from Comrade Litvinoff, as Soviet representative, stating that the British Government was arranging for a party of 100 Russians to leave on March 15th, and instructing the Committee to prepare the voyagers. Nevertheless, inquiries at the Foreign Office have hitherto evoked no reply. Russians in Britain are still prevented from communicating with their friends in Russia though Litvinoff has telegraphed that free communications can pass to and from Russia. Many Russian women and children in Britain are suffering hardships, even hunger, but the British authorities refuse permission to the Russian Delegates' Committee to receive funds from Russia in order that these unfortunates may be relieved. The Soviet Government has made many endeavours to send relief, but only a small sum brought by O'Grady has ever come through.

British prisoners are on their way from Russia, but when will the Russian women and children, whose bread-winners were deported, and the other Russian exiles and prisoners in this country, be allowed to depart?

### SPANISH COMMUNISTS.

A Spanish Communist Party has been formed on the following basis:—

(1) Recognition of the Third or Communist International as the only centre of international affiliation, and immediate adhesion to that organisation.

(2) Denunciation of all attempts at "reconstruction" of the Second International as tending to deceive and mislead the proletariat.

(3) Declaration that the wars of the nation (be they "defensive" or "offensive") are in no case waged for the good of the proletariat, and that the *Partido Comunista Español* will in all cases conduct a campaign of defeatism.

(4) Propaganda and agitation for the Social Revolution instead of for partial reforms. Denunciation of all political opportunism as corrupting and misleading.

(5) Recognition of the value of political action, but only as a medium of propaganda and revolutionary agitation. Presentation of candidates in the elections, but prohibition to those candidates to accept posts in a bourgeois administration.

(6) Denunciation of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* as reformist. Refusal to accept as members of the Communist Party anyone who should be at the same time a member of the Socialist Party.

(7) Tentatives for the union of the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* and the *Union General de Trabajadores* in the Spanish Communist Party.

(8) Recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the only medium of transfer to communism. Recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia as an example of such dictatorship.

Beginning May 1st a new weekly, *El Comunista*, will be published in Madrid as the organ of the Spanish Communist Party. The Federation of Spanish Socialist Youth publishes an organ, *Revolucion*.



## BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

The Easter loosening of the chain has arrived, and for a few days, Henry, you may go to Nice, the Riviera, Monte Carlo or any old place you fancy. Personally, I suspect you will go as far as the nearest park, and choose a spot where there is no order to keep off the grass.

It is now four months since the last bust-up; four months with the nose at the grindstone, and the papers going yellow in the face about the country being bankrupt unless the Henry Dubbs piled into it for all they are worth.

Observe the logic of the situation, Henry. Not half the whole people of the British Isles are working. "We" want increased production. Anyone, say a visitor from Colney Hatch, would have suggested more people doing work. Instead of which I open my paper and see that Mr. Balfour has gone to Cannes, Lord and Lady So-and-So have gone to Paris for six weeks for a "rest cure." A rest cure, mark you.

When you want a rest cure, Henry, you don't take a ticket for anywhere except a football match, and, unlike Mr. Balfour, you'll get docked half-a-day's pay. The tables at Monte Carlo, where the gay red and black balls spin are not for you; sums under tuppence not looked at. A yachting trip in the Mediterranean you can only enjoy on the "pictures."

The question arises: Who is keeping you out of Nice and Monte Carlo and the Moulin Rouge? If you choose a soft spot on Parliament Hill, or Boggart-Hole-Clough, or Kelvingrove Park (according to your geography) you can turn this question over in your mind.

I met friend Casey Jones the other day, and he asked me why on earth I never finish my articles.

I said he would always find a nice double rule at the end of my articles to indicate to any observant person that the subject was exhausted. He said they often ended too abruptly. I asked why not? Did he imagine I was to do all his thinking for him? I asked him to note the title of my articles—"Between Ourselves." That means, if it means anything, that there are two people in it. The one is the author, the other is Henry.

For observe. I do not choose a subject and give it my learned opinion. I simply put the case before Casey and yourself, and leave you to deduce the rest. Of course, people are unused to thinking; they like it to be done for them. And that is exactly the point. If the Revolution

is ever to win, it will be won by the workers, and the workers can only win by starting to do their own thinking. To leave others to do it for them, is to accept the part of the donkey pulling the cart, a favourite theme of well-meaning cartoonists.

Here, for instance, as I have said, are the Easter Holidays. I ask: "Who is for Monte Carlo? Who goes with me to Sheppard's Hotel, Cairo?" And if you listen for seventeen years you won't find a proletarian voice answer in the affirmative—to be a bit Irish. Not unless the Revolution happens before then.

By logical and scientific deduction and reasoning (to use language favoured by certain Soglashatelists) we arrive at the question: *Why?* If you happen to blue the best part of a Treasury Note, you may find yourself at Blackpool. What will you find? You will find the town crammed down to sea level with the Dubb family. Indeed, it is a joke that at Blackpool the crowds are so dense that people take it in turns to look at the sea. And, like a lot of comical sayings, there is more truth in it than in a white lie, however limewashy its whiteness.

Now Blackpool isn't the only place on the map if you care to look. There are the Scilly Isles, for instance. And this is not a joke. You will find it a distinct change from Barking Creek. But the only proletarians you will find in the Scilly Isles are those growing daffodils and other flowers for the markets.

Of course, the Dubbs cannot afford the Scilly Isles on their present pay. But they won't get a rise enough for that out of Courts of Inquiry, even if they sat till Doomsday and a bit over. When Gabriel begins the music the Court would still be enquiring.

All the Bevins in the world won't hypnotise the kind-hearted Capitalists into free trips to Monaco. The only free trips going are for dangerous, ruddy Bolshies—preferably to a desert island.

Take a little look round the globe; at Berlin, Dublin, Moscow, Hungary, Egypt, India, Japan, America—anywhere you like. You won't find proletarians being shot at Courts of Inquiry on the Wages Question. It is only where the workers start settling the wages question that you find them being shot. And it is no use going to the Albert Hall and being indignant about it.

Take your Easter Holiday in a nice quiet spot asking why you aren't on the Riviera; then perhaps you will ask yourself what you intend doing about it.

## HEARD IN THE 'BUS.

A party of charity concert performers on their way down to the East End, wearing furs and elaborate second-best hats.

First Performer: This is *such* an interesting journey.

Second Performer: Yes; once you've passed Liverpool Street.

First Performer (screaming to two others of the Party further down the 'bus): We're sorry we can't get you a wrinkle; hah, hah, hah!

(General roars of laughter from the Charity Concert Party.)

Second Performer: We passed some just now; I do like to see them!

First Performer: So interesting!!

(Middle-aged workman and woman office cleaner talking together in low tones.)

Workman: Do seem a bloody funny thing those that had their tickets like to go before him. It's Jim's left leg that's crushed. My right was broken. I got up to walk out, but I fell down quicker'n I thought for.

Office Cleaner: But Jim's is crushed.

Workman: —There's accidents at our place every-day; ambulance always standing ready.

Office Cleaner: Do they inform the wives?

Workman: Just drop them a line; they've got all particulars; or just 'phone through. Got his address on him?

Office Cleaner: He always carries his address on him; carries a pocket book in case, you see.

Workman: Yes; I always carry it in case of accidents. You never know.

Two commercial travellers.

First C.T. (displaying a brass cigarette lighter): Cost you 4d.

Second C.T.: Not much.

First C.T.: Don't think I shall go again; one thing I did miss — cats.

Second C.T.: Cats?

First C.T.: All gone!

(A workman standing up and clinging to a strap bends to talk to a young woman.)

Workman: They put her off for slackness.

Young Woman: Things are very slack now.

(Middle-aged working-woman and a Socialist.)

Working-woman (excitedly): Well, it's beginning!

Socialist: What is beginning?

Working-woman: The Revolution. Haven't you been there?

Socialist: Where?

Working-woman: At the House of Commons: they're striking! And at Buckingham Palace! I said to myself: That's the commencement! (Hands over the *Evening News*.)

Working-woman: As soon as I saw it I said: That's the Revolution! I nearly got sloshed for it to-day. They said: Oh! Mrs. Harris! I said: Well, the Prince of Wales is going on a journey and we've b—— well got to pay for it! The Government's holding us down; but we'll have to rise. You go out and you can't buy nothing. Everything's gone up. We'll have to rise.

## YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE. Bethnal Green Branch.

The secretary writes:—

"A branch of the Y.S.L. has been formed in Bethnal Green; hitherto, one of the most reactionary districts in London. We have managed to obtain a meeting place at a small coffee shop at 31, Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green. We hope to build up an organisation that will be an inspiration to the young proletariat of the district. The Mayor of Bethnal Green has given us a banner which we are re-decorating for the First of May demonstration. The branch has affiliated to the First of May Demonstration Committee.

"Our greatest difficulty, comrades, is to obtain a hall; we have been offered one at 3s. 6d. a night, and we are appealing to all who wish to see a flourishing branch of the League to send a donation for this purpose.—Yours for the Revolution,  
SAM CASH,

85, Goldsmith Row, Hackney Rd.

## NOTICE.

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Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Republic dealing with Civil Conditions and Relationships, Marriage, Family and Guardianship.

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### LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, April 2nd, Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, — Kavanagh.

Saturday, April 3rd, Grundy Street, Poplar, 3 p.m. Mr. and Mrs. Edmunds, Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Miss Grove, Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

Sunday, April 4th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Mr. and Mrs. Edmunds, Miss Grove, Melvina Walker.

Tuesday, April 6th, Stockwell Street, Greenwich, 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

Friday, April 9th, The Square, Woolwich, 12 (noon). Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, April 10th. Meetings in Paddington.

### INDOOR.

Friday, April 2nd and 9th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, April 4th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, April 8th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, April 6th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Christie and others.

### EAST HAM LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, April 6th, Old Public Offices, Wakefield Road, 8 p.m. Mrs. Simpson.

### GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—M. Soboleff, £1; J. E. Phillips, £1; Miss Freeman, 5s.

COLLECTIONS.—Mrs. Walker, £7. 4s. 2½d.; Bow Baths Hall, £2. 13s. 9½d.; Bow Workers' Hall, 4s. 8d.

BANNER FUND.—Per H. Burgess, £3. 6s. 6d.; Mrs. Brimley, 2s. 6d.; Jos. Matthews, 2s. 6d.; Miss A. Matthews, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Lauritzen, 2s. 6d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mr. and Mrs. Sadd Brown, £8; The Misses Gulland, £3. 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £2. 10s.; Miss M. J. Handley, £2. 2s.; Mrs. Boswell, £2. 2s.;

Miss Burgis (Sale of Clothes), £2. 0s. 6d.; Mrs. Richmond, £1. 10s.; per Miss J. E. Weir (monthly) £1; Mr. G. E. Obbard, per B.W.T., 5s.; Mr. Hersey, 5s.; Miss Limouzine, 1s. 3d.

COLLECTIONS.—Poplar Branch (Green's Yard), £1. 14s. 5½d.

### W.S.F. PUBLIC MEETING

on SUNDAY, APRIL 11th, at 7.30 p.m.

### POPLAR TOWN HALL

(Newby Place, near Poplar Station)

Speakers:

SYLVIA PANKHURST, CONOR HAYES,

Commander H. GRENFELL, R.N.

(Naval Attaché in Petrograd, 1912-17).

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