

**A Short History of the British
Working Class Movement
1900-1927.**

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-007912

79 12

A Short History of the
British Working Class
Movement 1789-1927

by
G. D. H. Cole

Volume III. 1900-1927

LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN AND
UNWIN LIMITED & THE LABOUR
PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED

X:96.3

F5.3

Published 1927

**PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE WHITEFRIARS PRESS, LTD.,
LONDON AND TONBRIDGE.**

PREFACE

SINCE I published the second volume of this study, at least two books of first-rate importance bearing upon its subject have appeared, both in the United States. Miss Gillespie's "Labour and Politics in England, 1850-1867," fills a gap which caused me some trouble; and Mr. L. H. Jenks's "The Migration of British Capital to 1875" throws a very valuable light on the economic forces at work in the years before the "Great Depression." Will readers of this "Short History" add these two to the brief lists of books given in the preceding volume?

I have found this third volume harder than its predecessor to write; and I am even less satisfied with it now that it is done. For it is extraordinarily hard, at this nearness to the events described, to make sense of a period at once so eventful and so discontinuous as the quarter of a century covered by this volume. It is hard, here and there, not to lose one's temper over a controversy fresh enough to arouse passions. It is hard to tell what will seem significant in fifty years' time. And it is hard to compare, within this narrow compass, events of which even the details are largely fresh personal memories. I can only say that the job wanted doing, and I have done my best with it. If someone else will do it better, good luck to him!

I still hope, at some time, to make these three volumes the basis of a larger and more elaborate study. But that must wait, partly because I lack just now the time to do it, and partly because, if I did it, the working-class public would lack the money to buy. A book like this is obviously a mere apology for a history; but there seemed something to be said for an apology someone could afford to read in preference for a real history which would languish only in a few libraries. Conditions, I hope, will change, and then, unless someone else has done the job first, I hope to try my hand at a record on a scale more worthy of the subject.

Finally, I have to give my best thanks to Mrs. Manus for re-drawing my clumsy attempts at chart-making.

G. D. H. COLE.

OXFORD, 1927.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE NEW CENTURY	9
II.	THE RISE OF THE LABOUR PARTY	19
	S. 1. The New Socialism—The Fabians and the Independent Labour Party.	
	S. 2. The Taff Vale Case.	
	S. 3. The Growth of the Labour Representation Committee.	
III.	1906 AND AFTER	39
	S. 1. The 1906 Election—The Trade Disputes Act.	
	S. 2. Labour and the New Liberalism.	
	S. 3. Internal Labour Politics—The Osborne Judg- ment.	
IV.	THE GREAT UNREST	63
	S. 1. The Seeds of Unrest.	
	S. 2. Syndicalism — Industrial Unionism — Guild Socialism.	
V.	TRADE UNIONISM IN ACTION	79
	S. 1. 1911—The Seamen's and Dockers' Strike.	
	S. 2. The Railwaymen.	
	S. 3. The Miners.	
	S. 4. Larkinism and the Struggle in Dublin.	
	S. 5. The Industrial Council—The Triple Alliance.	
VI.	LABOUR IN WAR-TIME	115
	S. 1. Labour and the War.	
	S. 2. The Shop Stewards' Movement.	
	S. 3. State Control.	
	S. 4. Reconstruction.	

<small>CHAP.</small>		<small>PAGE</small>
VII.	POST-WAR BRITAIN	143
VIII.	LABOUR AFTER THE WAR	155
	S. 1. Introductory.	
	S. 2. The Labour Offensive.	
	S. 3. The Post-war Slump.	
	S. 4. The Guild Movement.	
	S. 5. Labour in Office.	
IX.	THE "GENERAL STRIKE" AND AFTER	197
	S. 1. The Rise of the General Council.	
	S. 2. The Coal Question.	
	S. 3. The "General Strike."	
	S. 4. Aftermath—The Trade Union Act.	
X.	THE CONDITION OF THE WORKERS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.	217

INDEX

- ABNORMAL piace**, 90 f.
 Africa, 15
 Agricultural production, 152
 Agricultural Wages Board, 133, 184, 192
 Agricultural Workers' Unions, 104, 133, 137, 185, 186
 Agriculture and the War, 133, 145, 149
 Amalgamation Movement, 74, 93, 139 ff., 161 f.
 Anarchism, 72
 Arbitration. *See* Conciliation.
 Arbitration, compulsory, 120, 161, 166, 173
 Armaments Committees, 132
 Armistice, 122, 135, 141
 Askwith, Lord, 110
 Asquith, H. H., 48, 98, 121, 132, 134, 137
 Astbury, Justice, 214
 Australia, 14

BALDWIN, Stanley, 187, 195, 207, 209, 210
 Balfour of Burleigh, Lord, 137
 Bank of England, 149
 Banks, joint stock, 149 f.
 Barnes, G. N., 121
 Beasley, Mr., 28 ff.
 Belfast strikes, 66, 104, 167
 Bell, Richard, 34, 35, 37 f.
 Belloc, Hilairc, 52
 Besant, Annie, 23
 Bevin, Ernest, 174, 202
 Black Friday, 181 f., 201, 204
 Blatchford, Robert, 55
 Boer War, 34
 Boilermakers, 66, 69, 186
 Bolshevism. *See* Communism.
 Bonus shares, 148
 Boot and Shoe operatives, 126
 Bowley, A. L., 222
 Brest-Litovsk Treaty, 122
 British Socialist Party, 55, 140, 158
British Gazette, 159, 208
British Worker, 159, 208, 210
 Broadhurst, H., 35
 Brooklands Agreement, 103
 Builders' Parliament, 188
 Builders' Unions, 129, 138, 182, 186, 194
 Building-dispute, 1914. .118
 Building Guilds, 188 ff.
 Building Trades Operatives, National Federation, 140
 Building Trade Workers, Amalgamated Union, 161

 Burns, John, 34
 Burt, T., 35, 60
 Buxton, Noel, 192

CAMBRIAN Combine Dispute, 81, 96 f.
 Campbell, J. R., 194
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H., 48
 Capital, export of, 13, 146, 222
 Cardroom Amalgamation, 68 f.
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 35
 Chamberlain, Neville, 213
 Chester-le-Street, 161
 Chesterton, G. K., 17
 Chinese labour, 42
 Churchill, Winston, 159, 207 ff.
Clarion, *The*, 55
 Clarke, Sir E., 56
 Clyde deportations, 127
 Clyde, strikes on, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 167
 Clyde Workers' Committee, 126 f.
 Coal Commission, 1919. .168 ff.
 1925. .205 ff.
 Coal Mines
 Eight Hours Act, 49, 50, 68, 96, 98 ff.
 Minimum Wage Act, 49
 Regulation Act, 1911. .49
 Seven Hours Act, 169, 204 ff., 213
 Collective bargaining, 138
 Committee on Production, 119 f., 166
 Communism, 122, 128, 158 f.
 Communist International, 194
 Communist Party, 128, 158, 194 f., 215
 Conciliation and arbitration, 70, 107, 110 ff., 119, 138
 Connolly, James, 104 f., 108
 Conscription. *See* Military Service.
 Conscription, industrial, 177
 Conscription of wealth, 137
 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 31
 Continuation schools, 137
 Control of industry, 138
 See also Guild Socialism and Shop Stewards.
 Cook, A. J., 210
 Co-operative Insurance Society, 189
 Co-operative Movement, 11 f., 49, 162 f., 224
 Co-operative Party, 163
 Co-operative trade, 162
 Co-operative Wholesale Society, 11, 108, 189

- Corn Production Acts, 133, 184
 Costings system, 132, 133, 147
 Cotton Control Board, 132
 Cotton industry, 147, 151
 Cotton Trade Unions, 11 f., 36, 66, 68,
 103, 124, 138, 166, 170, 182
 Council of Action, 1920..175, 201
 Coventry, strikes at, 124
 Craft Unionism, 94, 127
 Credit control, 150
 Cremer, W. R., 35
 Crooks, Will, 36
- Daily Citizen*, 76
Daily Herald, 17, 76, 81, 94, 108, 223
Daily Mail, 207, 212
 Darwin, Charles, 24
 Davidson, Thomas, 23
 Dawes Plan, 192
 Decasualisation, 174
 Defence of the Realm Acts, 132
 Demobilisation, 166, 169
 Devonport Agreement, 83
 Devonport, Lord, 86 f.
 Dilution of labour, 120, 123, 125, 128
 Direct Action, 70 f., 82
 Dock Labourers, National Union, 104
 Dock Strikes,
 1889..12, 73, 82
 1911..82 f.
 1912..86 f.
 1924..193
 Dockers' Enquiry, 173, 174
 Dockers' Union, 12, 82
 "Document," the, 107, 115
 Douglas, Major, 190
 Drink, 223
 Dublin dispute, 104 f., 199
 Dublin Employers' Federation, 107
 Dublin Trades Council, 107
 Duckham, Sir Arthur, 170
 Dyers' strike, 103
 Dyson, Will, 17, 18, 108
- EDUCATION**, 192, 222, 223
 Education Acts,
 1902..35
 1907..49
 1918..137
 Education Bill, 1906..48
 Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 48
 Edwards, Enoch, 98
 Emergency Powers Act, 177, 180, 208,
 213
 Employers,
 organisation of, 133, 140 f.
 Organisations, National Confedera-
 tion of, 141, 201, 211
 Parliamentary Association, 141
 Engineering Agreement,
 1907..103
 1919..128
 Engineering apprentices' strike, 103
 Engineering strikes, 124, 125 f., 185 f.
- Engineering Union, Amalgamated, 161,
 166, 168, 182, 185
 Engineers, Amalgamated Society of, 66,
 68, 94, 103, 120, 138, 161, 201
 Excess Profits Duty, 134, 137
 Exports and imports, British, 13, 16,
 147 f.
- Fabian Essays*, 23, 25
 Fabian Society, 21 f., 36, 42, 52, 55, 140,
 224
 Factory Act, 1901..35
 Fair Wages Clause, 49
 Federation of British Industries, 141,
 173, 211
 Fellowship of the New Life, 23
 Fenwick, Charles, 35
 Finance Act, 1909—10..49, 51
 Food Ministry, 132 f.
 Food Production Department, 133
 Foundry Workers, National Union, 161,
 172
 Foreign Exchanges, 146
 Free Trade, 14, 152, 192, 193
 French Trade Unionism, 72, 117
- GASWORKERS' Union**, 12, 161
 Geddes, Sir Eric, 171
 General and Municipal Workers, National
 Union, 161
 General Elections, post-war, 159, 165, 187
 General Strike, 112 f., 117 f., 173, 175,
 204, 211 f., 214
 General Strike, 1926..153, 157, 202,
 207 f.
 George, D. Lloyd, 34, 48, 49, 52, 53, 67,
 70, 89, 120 f., 132, 165, 170, 171
 Germany, 14, 16, 118, 122, 146, 147, 192
 Gold standard, 150
 Grayson, Victor, 54, 75
 Grey, Viscount, 48
 Guardians, Boards of, 160 f.
 Guild Council, National, 190
 Guild Socialism, 70 f., 129, 188 f.
 Guilds League, National, 188, 190
- HALF-TIMERS**, 137
 Hardie, J. Keir, 21 f., 34, 37, 50, 71
 Health, Ministry of, 161, 184, 189
 Hegel, G., 24
 Henderson, Arthur, 36, 121, 165
 Hobson, S. G., 75, 189
 Hodges, Frank, 181
 Home Rule, 59, 60
 Hours of labour, 49, 103, 150, 166 f., 168,
 169, 172, 183, 204 f., 221
 Housing Acts, 189, 192
 Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909..
 49
 Howe, G., 68
 Huxley, T. H., 24
 Hyndman, H. M., 21, 22

- IMPERIALISM**, 146
Imports. *See* **Exports**.
Industrial Labour Party, 21 ff., 34, 55, 71, 117, 118, 122, 130, 140, 188, 195, 215
India, 14
Industrial Alliance, 202
Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, 49
Industrial Conference, National, 167 ff., 183, 200 f.
Industrial Courts Act, 166, 172 f., 174, 185, 205
Industrial Council, 99, 110 ff.
Industrial Councils, Joint. *See* **Whitley Councils**.
Industrial Disputes Investigation Act (Canada), 111
Industrial maintenance, 174
Industrial Syndicalist, 72
Industrial Truce, 118, 119, 121, 124, 126
Industrial Unionism, 70 ff., 94, 104, 127, 129
Industrial Workers of the World, 73, 94, 104
Inflation, financial, 146, 150
Insurance Acts, 49, 50 ff., 221. *See also* **Unemployment Insurance**.
Inter-Allied Labour Conference, 122
International Federation of Trade Unions, 117, 200
International Labour Office, 172
International Socialist Congress, 117
Irish Independent, 105
Irish Labour, 104 ff.
Irish Socialist Republican Party, 104
Irish Transport Workers' Union, 105
Iron and steel trades, 138, 166
Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, 140
Ironfounders, Friendly Society of, 161
- JEVONS, W. S.**, 24
Joint Board, 200
Joint Labour Council, 202
Joyson-Hicks, Sir W., 212
Jute workers, 66, 102
- KENYON, Barnet**, 60
Khaki election, 34
Knox, Driver, 92 f.
- Labour and the New Social Order*, 140
Labour College, Central, 102
Labour Colleges, National Council of, 223
Labour Exchanges, 49, 51
Labour Government, 157, 163, 187, 192 ff., 203
Labour Leader, 34
Labour Party, 41 ff., 44, 47, 48 ff., 54 ff., 70, 71, 90, 98, 117 ff., 122, 130, 140, 151, 157, 159 ff., 162, 163, 177, 187, 215, 224
Labour Party in war Coalitions, 121 f., 124, 139
Labour Party pledge, 56
Labour Representation Committee, 21, 25, 33, 34 ff., 65, 199
Labour Research Department, 171, 224
Lansbury, George, 52, 76, 195
Lansbury's Labour Weekly, 195
Larkin, James, 18, 104 ff.
Law, Bonar, 168
League of Nations, 172
Leaving certificates, 126
Leeds Conference, 1917..123
Leeds municipal strike, 104
Liberalism and Labour, 21, 48 ff., 192 ff., 215
Liberalism, New, 41 ff., 48 ff.
Liberal-Labour Alliance, 35, 36, 41 ff., 48 ff., 54, 58 ff., 60, 70, 76, 101
Liberal-Labour League, 42
Liverpool strikes, 1911..84 f., 89
Local government, Labour and, 160 f., 172
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Associated Society, 93, 94, 171, 193
Loreburn, Lord, 56
- MACDONALD, J. R.**, 27, 37, 60, 76, 165, 187, 193 ff.
Manchester Socialist Representation Committee, 55
Mann, Tom, 73, 81 f., 84 f., 94
Marx, Karl, 13, 22 ff.
Marxism, 21
"May" strikes, 124, 127
Mediation Committee, 1919..171, 200 f.
Merchant Shipping Acts, 48
Military service, 119, 123, 126 ff.
Mill, J. S., 22, 24
Miners, Federated Area, 97 f., 99, 100, 101
Miners' Federation, Durham and Northumberland, 68, 96, 97
Miners' Federation of Great Britain, 11 f., 12, 21, 26, 35, 47, 58, 60, 68, 96 ff., 112 f., 120, 129, 138, 150, 157 f., 167 ff., 170, 173, 176, 187, 188, 203 ff., 207 ff., 213 f. *See also* **Coal Mines**.
Miners' Federation, Scotland, 100 f., 129
Miners' Federation, South Wales, 66, 74, 96, 100, 101 f., 120 f., 127, 132
Miners' Federation, Yorkshire, 96, 120, 170
Miners' Next Step, 74 f., 102
Mines for the Nation campaign, 173
Mines nationalisation, 170, 173
Mines, State control of, 132, 135, 179 f.
Mining Association of Great Britain, 97
Mining disputes, 65, 96 ff.
 1912..98 ff.
 1920..176
 1921..179 ff.
 1924..194
 1926..203
Mining industry, 147, 151, 203 ff.
Minority Movement, 158
Mond, Sir Alfred, 151, 153
Morley, John, 34, 48
Morris, William, 21, 71

- Munitions, 119 ff., 128, 132, 145
Munitions of War Acts, 120, 121, 124,
126, 136
Murphy, William Martin, 105 f.
- NATIONAL Guilds. See Guild Socialism.**
New Age, The, 75
"New" Unionism, 22
Newcastle Conference, 36 f.
Non-manual Workers' Unions, 162
Non-political Trade Unions, 215
Non-Unionism, 66, 85, 86, 96, 100
- OLD Age Pensions**, 49, 50, 192, 221
One Big Union, 73, 94, 105, 108, 127
Orage, A. R., 75
Osborne Judgment, 55 ff.
Out-of-work donation, 166, 169
Owen, Robert, 190
- PACIFISM**, 122
Pankhursts, the, 18
Parkhead strike, 124, 127
Parliament Act, 49, 51, 53
Payment of members, 49, 56
Peace Treaties, 145, 172
Penty, A. J., 75
Pickard, Ben, 35
Picketing, 28 ff., 43 ff., 214
Poincaré, R., 151
Police strikes, 124, 170
Political levy, 36 ff., 55 ff., 214 f.
Poor Law Commission, 1909..52
Poor relief, 160 f., 183
Poplar, 161, 184
Port of London Authority, 83 ff.
Post Office workers, 162
Premium bonus system, 66
Prices, 15 f., 103, 119, 131, 132, 134, 137,
146, 148, 174, 219 f.
Printers' strikes, London, 81, 104
Production, Census of, 221
Profits, limitation of, 120, 134
- RAILWAY Clerks' Association**, 92, 94, 162
Railway Conciliation Schemes..67, 82,
89 ff., 94
Railwaymen, all-grades movements, 66
ff., 94, 171
Railwaymen, National Union of, 93 f.,
112 f., 119, 129, 131, 168, 171, 193,
202, 221
Railway Rates Tribunal, 183
Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society
of, 28 ff., 55, 66 ff., 93
Railway Servants, Scottish Union, 28
Railway strike,
1911..84, 89 ff.
1918..124, 129
1919..171
Railway Wages Boards, 183, 193
Railway Workers' Union, General, 93
Railways, State control of, 131 ff., 135,
147 f., 166, 183
- Recognition, 67, 91
Reconstruction, 136 ff.
Reconstruction Committee, 137
Reconstruction Ministry, 137
Red letter, 159, 194 f.
Reform Act, 1918..137
Registration Act, National, 123
Rent strikes, 134
Rents Acts, 134
Reparations, 146
Representation of the People Act, 1918..
137
Representative actions, 30
Rhondda, Lord, 34, 133
Ricardo, David, 21
Right to Work Bill, 50 ff.
Road transport, 209
Ruhr, occupation of, 151, 194, 203
Ruskin College, 102
Russia, 145, 159, 192, 194 f., 213
Russian Revolution, 122, 128, 158, 175
Russo-Polish crisis, 1920..159, 174 f., 201
- SAILORS' and Firemen's Union**, 81 ff., 186
Samuel, Sir H., 205, 210 f.
Sankey, Sir John, 169, 170, 173
Saving, 223 f.
Seamen's dispute, 1921..182
Servile State, 50, 52
Shackleton, D. J., 36
Shaw, Bernard, 17, 23
Sheltered trades, 221, 222
Shipbuilding, 68, 69, 103, 120, 138, 166,
179, 193
Shipping, 13, 48, 131, 132, 133
Shipping Federation, 81 ff.
Shipping, Ministry of, 132
Shop assistants, 172
Shop stewards, 125 ff.
Shops Acts, 49
Signalmen and Pointsmen's Society, 93
Simon, Sir John, 214
Singapore Naval Base, 192
Sliding scales, 101
Smith, Herbert, 210
Snowden, Philip, 52, 76, 165, 192 f.
Social Democratic Federation, 21, 22, 26,
34, 36, 55, 71
Socialism, 16 f., 21 ff., 52, 54 ff., 128, 135,
151 f., 195, 203, 224
Socialism in Our Time, 215
Socialist League, 21, 22, 71
Socialist Unity Movement, 55
Solidarity, 75
South Africa, 15
South Wales Worker, 75
Sparkes, Malcolm, 189
Speculation, 147 ff.
Spencer, Herbert, 24
Stamp, Sir J. C., 222
State control of industry, 131 ff., 136,
147, 163
Stockholm Conference, 122
Strikes and lock-outs, 17, 65 ff., 81 ff.,
103 ff., 120 ff., 124, 194

- Subsidy, coal, 204 ff.
 Suffragists, 17, 137
 Sympathetic strikes, 92 ff., 105 ff.
 Syndicalism, 18, 70 ff., 82, 112, 129, 211
Syndicalist Railwayman, 75
Syndicalist, The, 75
- TAFF** Vale Judgment, 27, 28 ff., 35, 42 ff., 65
 Tailors' strikes, 103
 Tariff Reform, 14, 35, 42, 152, 187
 Tariffs, 146
 Taxation, 223
 Taxi-drivers' strikes, 103
 Teachers' organisations, 162
 Thomas, J. H., 182
 Thrift, 223 f.
 Tillett, Ben, 82, 85
 Trade Boards Acts, 49, 50, 138, 139, 186
 Trade cycle, 150 f.
 Trade Disputes Act, 43 ff., 66
 Trade Union Act,
 1913..58, 214
 1917..139
 1927..59, 157, 214 f.
 Trade Union Acts, 29 ff., 57, 139, 214
 Trade Union membership, 76, 157, 161 f.
 Trade Union rules, suspension of, 120, 136
 Trade Unions, General Federation of, 199 f.
 Trade Unions, legal position of, 28 ff., 55 ff. *See* Trade Union Acts.
 Trades Councils, 72
 Trades Union Congress, 37, 107 ff., 118, 140, 170, 173, 175, 190, 199 ff.
 Trades Union Congress General Council, 159, 175 f., 195 ff., 204, 207 ff., 224
 Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, 175, 199 f.
 Transport and General Workers' Union, 161, 187, 193, 202
 Transport strike, Belfast, 104
 Transport Workers' Federation, 74, 82 ff., 112 f., 129, 161, 168, 171, 174
 Treasury Conference, 120
 Triple Industrial Alliance, 111 ff., 140, 167 f., 171, 176 f., 180 ff., 200, 201
 Trusts and combines, 133 f., 141, 151
 Tube workers' strike, 104
- Ultra vires*, doctrine of, 56 ff.
 Unemployed Workers' Committee, 158
 Unemployed Workmen Act, 35, 49
 Unemployment, 51, 67, 119, 150, 174, 179, 183
- Unemployment Insurance, 49, 51 f., 179, 183, 192, 221 f.
 United States, 14, 72, f., 145, 146, 147, 148, 152 f., 222
- VICTIMISATION**, 212
- WAGE**, minimum, 49, 97 ff., 133, 166, 168, 172, 192
 Wages, 15 f., 65, 67, 69, 103, 119, 121, 131 ff., 136, 141, 150, 161, 174, 182 f., 220 ff.
 Wages, mining, 65, 182, 203 ff., 213
 Wages Temporary Regulation Act, 166, 172
 Wallas, Graham, 23
 War, the, 18, 77, 94, 102, 117 ff., 219
 War, Socialist attitude to, 117 ff.
 War Aims Conference, 122
 War bonuses, 119, 136
 War debts, 146
 War Emergency Workers' National Committee, 119, 134
 War Office contracts, 131, 132, 133
 Washington Conference, 172
 Webb, S. and B., 23, 43, 52
 Wells, H. G., 17, 18
 West Ham, 161
 Wheat Commission, 132
 Wheatley, John, 192 f.
 Whitley Councils, 138
 Whitley Reports, 137 ff., 170, 188
 Widows' Pensions, 222
 Wilson, J. Havelock, 82, 186
 Wilson, John, 35
 Wilson, Woodrow, 146
 Withdrawal of Labour, Central Committee, 119, 126
 Women in Labour Movement, 136 f., 201, 224
 Women Workers, National Federation, 161
 Women's labour, 123, 124, 136, 161
 Women's suffrage, 17, 137
 Wool Control Board, 132
 Woolwich Arsenal, 125
 Workers' Committee Movement, 126 ff.
 Workers' Control. *See* Control of Industry.
 Workers' Educational Association, 223
Workers' Weekly, 194
 Workmen's Compensation Acts, 49, 50, 221
 Workshop Committees, 128, 138 f.
- ZINOVIEV letter. *See* Red Letter.