



Workers' Breadnought

Vol. VII.—No. 7.

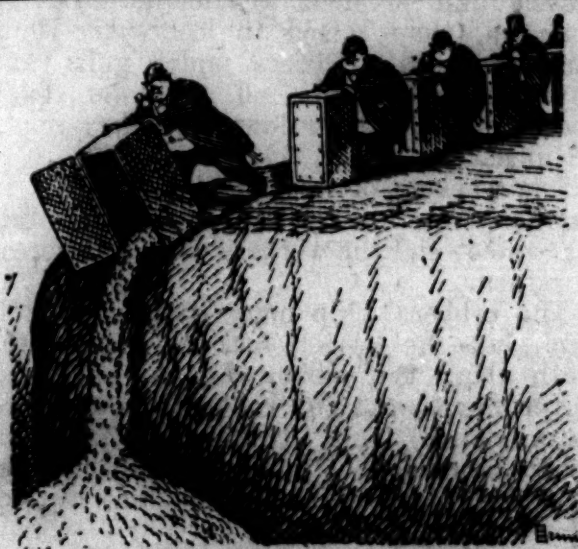
SATURDAY, MAY 8th, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

IRELAND: The Achilles' Heel of England.

By HERMAN GORTER.

Lenin, in his famous book, "State and Revolution," writes that the Marxist theoreticians in Holland consider the question of the independence of nations too much from the point of view of Holland. Our Russian comrade says, that in our over-arduous endeavour to fight the narrow nationalism of the Dutch bourgeoisie, we keep too much aloof from the whole question of nationalities and nationalism.



CAPITALISM IS BANKRUPT.
If all the rich people gave up their gold they could not fill up the abyss of capitalist bankruptcy.

For once I think our friend absolutely wrong. In the first place because the reason he gives for our attitude is not correct; the bourgeoisie in Holland was not, and is not yet, nationalistic in the sense of wishing to annex other territories. Indeed, it is possibly the only bourgeoisie in Europe which, in spite of the fact that next door to Holland four million Dutch-speaking people—the Flemish in Belgium—has not wished to annex its neighbours. An exceedingly large majority of the Dutch bourgeoisie was, and is to this day, quite indifferent towards the Flemish. Probably not one thousand of the Dutch bourgeoisie wish to be united with them. This is due to many economic and political reasons, one of which is very simple, namely, that Belgium and Flanders also have hitherto been the battlefield of Europe. The Hollanders prefer the battlefield to be outside their frontiers. The reason given by Lenin, therefore, does not exist for us, Dutch Marxists.

There is another point in which I disagreed with Lenin's argument on nationalism. Lenin was of opinion that national independence in all countries and under all circumstances, even under Imperialism, was better for the cause of the proletariat than dependence. I agree with him concerning the time before Imperialism comes to be developed (the time of Marx, therefore). But I have maintained, and I maintain it yet, that this cannot be said for the time under Imperialism, when Capitalism continues, and is not replaced by Communism. Then the question is doubtful, and ought to be examined individually in the case of each country.

If for instance in an independent Hungary, or an independent Austria, or per-

haps another of the independent States into which Austria-Hungary has been divided, English or American capital should obtain the domination, it is greatly to be doubted whether the condition of the proletariat also in regard to the class-struggle would not be far worse than before. For, although the country would then be politically independent, and Lenin's condition obtained, economically the land would be utterly dependent on a foreign nation. The "Rote Fahne" of Vienna expressed the matter thus: "From now on the Austrian workers are the coolies of Allied capital."

The same argument holds good for a number of small nations in the East: the Baltic and Balkan States and Poland. In a little while, Germany itself will perhaps be in the same position, for Anglo-American capital is already purchasing numerous factories, mines, shipping companies, and so on, there.

Banking capital, very powerful now only in the United States and England, strives for dominion over ruined Europe. The national capitalists there will become the employees of the monopolistic capital of England and the United States. Then the struggle of the workers in the countries dominated by British and American capital will not in the first place be directed against their own capitalists, but against those of foreign countries, who live a long way off. This, for the proletariat, is an extremely unfavourable state of affairs. In some cases it may be less favourable to the class-struggle than political dependence.

I have expressed this elsewhere in the following way: "Under Imperialism, under the Trusts and the Banking Capital there can be no real independence for the small nations. Either they are a political unity with a big nation, and therefore politically dependent, or they are independent politically, but utterly subjugated economically. AS LONG AS IMPERIALISTIC CAPITALISM PREVAILS, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to decide whether dependence or independence should be wished for or propagated."

This is all that I have brought forward against Lenin's opinions, and I believe that the present condition of Europe has justified my contention.

This standpoint only holds good, and has only been defended by me, for the period in which IMPERIALISTIC CAPITALISM REMAINS UNSHAKEN.

Should Capitalism become shaken, so that it could be replaced by Socialism, then the entire position changes.

In that case I agree with Lenin completely; then I never even doubted the sagacity of his views.

And this is the case to-day, in all the small States of Europe we have been enumerating, and also in Ireland.

In all the big countries, and also therefore in these smaller ones, Socialism can now be attained. And the claim of Independence for all Nations, doubtful so long as Imperialistic capitalism remains unshaken, now becomes fully justified.

For this independence now becomes a means to weaken the position of all the big

capitalistic nations, and even to cause their downfall.

For no country this is more true than for Ireland. If Ireland should become independent, Great Britain would be struck to the very foundations.

Now therefore it is the duty of all British Communists to demand the complete independence of Ireland, and to take all the measures required to bring it about.

And for the entire Third International this is of the utmost importance. Again England is the rock on which Capitalism is firmly rooted, the bulwark of world-capitalism, the hope of all counter-revolution, and all reaction. But Ireland is the Achilles' heel of England. For the revolution on the European continent, therefore for the world-revolution, it is a vital question that British capital should be hit there.

The gigantic genius of Marx saw all this long ago, and, as it now seems to us, has predicted it for our times. He deals with the question of England and Ireland, and almost completely describes the situation of to-day in the following two passages:

"That country which makes entire nations into its proletarians, which encompasses the whole world with its gigantic arms, that once already has defrayed out of its own funds the cost of a European restoration, in the very heart of which the class-antitheses have developed into the most pronounced and shameless extreme:—that England seems to be the rock against which all revolutionary waves are broken, and which starves the new society already in the maternal womb. England dominates



"Yours is not a 100 per cent. disablement."

the world-market. A subversion of the national-economic relations in any country of the European continent, or in the whole of the European continent, would be without England no more than a storm in a glass of water. The relations of industry and commerce within every nation are dominated by their intercourse with other nations, and depend on their relation to the world-market. England, however, dominates the world-market, and the bourgeoisie dominates England."

This applies in an almost magic way to our own times. For now also England, by means of its gigantic transport fleet, can well-nigh starve and strangle the new Socialist society in the maternal womb. And now also, after the fall of German capital, it dominates, though no longer alone, the world-market. Now also Great Britain is the rock of capitalism for Europe.

Marx' observations on Ireland are no less true. He says:

"Ireland is the stronghold of the English landed aristocracy. The exploitation of this country is not only the main source of the national wealth, it forms likewise England's greatest moral strength. It represents, in fact, the domination of England over Ireland. Ireland therefore is the great expedient, by means of which the English aristocracy maintains its domination in England itself. On the other hand, withdraw the English Army and police from Ireland to-morrow, and you will straightway have an agrarian revolution in

Ireland. The fall of the English aristocracy in Ireland, however, needs must imply, and inevitably leads to their overthrow in England. Through this, the primal condition for the proletarian revolution in England, would be fulfilled.

"England, the metropolis of capital, and up to the present day the dominating power in the world-market, is meanwhile the most important country for the workers' revolution. It is moreover the only country where the material conditions for this revolution have been developed to a certain degree of ripeness. The hastening of the social revolution in England, therefore, is the most urgent object of the international workers' association. *The only means of bringing it about more quickly, is to render Ireland independent.* It is therefore the task of the internationals everywhere to expose the conflict between England and Ireland, and to side openly with Ireland in all cases. On the General Council in London rests the special duty of making the English

working-class realise that to them the national emancipation of Ireland is not a question of abstract justice and human sentiments, but the primal stipulation for their own social emancipation."

There have been changes in Ireland, and England's position to-day is not quite what it was, but that which has been said by Marx about the First International and the British Socialists, applies still, and a hundred times more, to the Third. The Third International must strive by every possible means, to promote the independence of Ireland.

But in the hands of the British workers lies the fate of Ireland. They must follow the example given by Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks, who, in order to make the revolution in the whole of Russia, demanded the independence of Finland, Poland and the Baltic States.

The attitude of the British workers with regard to Ireland is the barometer for the British revolution.

MAY LABOUR DAY IN LONDON.

It was the biggest Labour Day procession ever seen in London; some people say it took two hours to pass a given point; but there were several processions, and no one seems to have any definite idea as to the numbers who marched in them. So too with the number of people in Hyde Park: no one seems able even to guess how many attended the meeting. Someone says 1,000,000 people were present, but guessing is vague where really vast numbers are concerned, and there is not so much as a hill to view them from. The procession was not beautiful; it was composed for the most part of work-tired people in shabby clothes, and the decorations on the carts were, with some few exceptions, cheap and hastily contrived. It was a workers' pageant got together in a few spare hours.

The resolution adopted by the First of May Committee, which is composed of delegates from Trade Union, Socialist and Labour bodies, was a confused hotch-potch, beginning with a declaration for Socialism and the entire abolition of the capitalist system and sending greetings to the Russian Soviets, it went on to ask for a number of palliative reforms. A resolution proposed by W.S.F. delegates had been mutilated, added to, and re-modelled, till hardly a word of the original remained. One of its clauses, expressing adherence to the Third International, and calling on all Socialist and industrial organisations to affiliate to it, remained almost to the last; but the Co-operators insisted on an additional delegate meeting being called, and then secured the deletion of the clause by a narrow majority, on the threat of secession from the demonstration if the clause were retained.

The resolution in its mutilated form was nevertheless a better resolution than that put to the audience at the Albert Hall. We want to know who was responsible for the Albert Hall resolution. It declared for:

1. Free Speech.
2. Free unsectarian education up to 21 years "sustained by public grants to provide maintenance at school or college." (Does that mean for every child?)
3. Industry to be organised on a co-operative basis. *The existing industrial co-operative movement shall be secured its proper position as a model upon which industrial organisation may be planned.* (It is intended then, that there shall be co-operative employers and employees, dividends and shareholders in the "New Social Order?")
4. In order to hasten the day when these ideals shall be realised, all workers are urged to organise themselves in Co-operative Societies and Trade Unions to support all Working Class Movements, and to resist the

repeated attempts to impose unfair taxation upon the savings effected by mutual trading in Co-operative Societies, such as the new Corporation Tax proposed in the Budget.

5. All possible steps shall be taken to spread throughout the world feelings of International Brotherhood and Goodwill, which can best be secured by (a) a system of free barter of commodities, on the lines proposed by the Russian Co-operative Societies; (b) by giving support to such bodies as "Save the Children" Committee in its effort to save the lives of children in the famine areas created by the war; and (c) by the interchange of visits and ideas between the working classes of the world.

It certainly seems ludicrous to mix up a petty-fogging thing like the corporations tax with the future Co-operative Commonwealth. A resolution is positively reactionary, however, which states that International brotherhood and goodwill can best be secured "by following the lead of the counter-revolutionary Russian Co-operators in London, and by aiding bourgeois charities, like the "Save the Children" fund, which the Allied governments only allow to operate where capitalism is in control.

The speakers at the meeting were not invited to speak to this resolution; it did not appear before the First of May Committee of delegates. Resolutions are of no value except in so far as they mould and define policy and ideas and lead to action.

Speeches played a minor part at the Albert Hall; songs by the audience, the choir, the Templars Quartet, and Miss Carmen Hill took up the greater part of the evening. Only the Co-operative speakers attempted to speak to the resolution, and probably few of the audience took the trouble even to read it. That the comrades present were prepared for something much more drastic, they plainly showed by the things they applauded, and the things of which they were audibly impatient. At the close of the meeting the people had an unauthorised opportunity to vote on a resolution expressing unity with the Russian and German Communists, and the Third International, and pledging themselves to work for the establishment of the Soviets in Britain. When the last speaker, Sylvia Pankhurst, put this resolution to the meeting there was a moment's pause; then a dense mass of hands shot up from every part of the hall.

Probably there were some who refrained, but it appeared that everyone was voting, the speaker was so fully convinced that only a few scattered hands here and there were not upheld, that she did not think it worth while to put the question to the contrary.

The Northern Division led its procession round by the Polish legation to protest against the Polish offensive on Soviet Russia.

THE TRUTH ABOUT KOSMA MININ.

Last week we told our readers of the Counter-Revolutionaries who, when the Red Army was nearing Vladivostok, sacked the town and robbed the Churches of their gold vessels and precious ornaments. Having done so, they seized an icebreaker ship, forced a crew on board under guns and bayonets, and made off with the stolen goods, melting them down that they might be unrecognisable.

The workers of Archangel gave chase, in another ship, but the robber ship was better armed, and the workers' ship was forced to return.

The robbers' ship made its way to Holland, but the Soviets had telegraphed the truth about the robber ship to the Dutch Government, and the robbers were refused permission to land. In Denmark the same thing happened. In Sweden the robbers were again refused a landing, but allowed to sell their stolen gold.

The robbers then set off for the port of Liverpool, where they were allowed to land, though the kidnapped crew was for a time held prisoner.

Holland, Denmark and Sweden had turned the robbers away, but Britain received them. As a matter of fact, General Miller and other British counter-revolutionaries were on board.

It now appears that this ice-breaker, stolen by the counter-revolutionaries, is no other than the famous "Kosma Minin" which the Norwegian Government and the Soviet Government are appealing to the British Government to send to the relief of 80 starving people who have been ice-bound in the Kara Sea for three months past on the ice-breaker "Salevey Budimirovitch."

The "Kosma Minin" is one of the finest ice-breakers in existence. It has three engines, and is not only fitted for cutting ice, but for taking water ballast aboard, and for breaking ice by weight. This ice-breaker belonged to the Russian Ministry of Commerce under the Czar's régime.

The Norwegian Government had urgently appealed to the British Government for "the loan" (!) of the stolen "Kosma Minin" in order that it may send an expedition to save the starving sailors, for the "Kosma Minin" is said to be the only ship capable of performing the difficult task.

After long delays and refusals the Government, on April 21st, in reply to a Parliamentary question, stated that another ice-breaker, the "Sviatogor," would be sent in a few days and that the "Kosma Minin" "may follow if required."

The reluctance of the Government to send the ship which its friends have stolen back into Russian waters is easy to understand. We learn from those who have examined the "Kosma Minin" in Liverpool that only the slightest repairs are needed and she could sail in a few days. She was thoroughly overhauled only six months ago.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

South Wales miners have this week disgraced their reputation for working-class solidarity. Some three weeks ago a delegate conference was held at which it was decided by an overwhelming majority to tender notices in support of the Nine Mile Point workmen on strike. Owing to the carelessness of the lodge officials in not scrutinizing the notice papers previous to handing them to the various managers, it appears thousands of notices were not completely filled in, and consequently were considered invalid. Thus only a bare half the coalfield gave notice to quit work.

On Friday, April 30th, a special conference of the S.W.M.F. was convened to consider what action should be taken. At the conference it was made fairly clear that a large obstacle in the way of clearing up the situation was the pride and dignity of the district agent. Over a week previous, a fairly satisfactory agreement had been arrived at between the Executive and the coalowners. The district thereupon approached the Lodge officials at Nine Mile Point and requested them to convene a mass meeting to receive a report from a deputation from the Executive. Fearing that an attempt was going to be made once more to sabotage the strike, the lodge officials asked if any progress had been made in the negotiations towards a settlement. To this the agent, who must certainly be a traitor to his class, replied in the negative. The committee then decided that in view of the fact that no progress could be reported, no useful purpose would be served in convening a meeting.

After this explanation had been given, an Executive member went a little farther, and told the conference of the antagonistic attitude that had been adopted by the agent towards the men on strike in his district, when the question had been discussed at the Executive Council meeting.

By the barest of majorities; to be precise, 71 on a card vote, it was decided to withdraw the strike notices.

What followed, therefore, was only to be expected. The Nine Mile Point men were then advised to return to work. The "gutter press" of South Wales came out with showbills announcing the "Coalfield Fiasco." Well it might, for after keeping the men out three extra weeks waiting for support, the conference then refused that support.

Rhondda Teachers Win.

The Rhondda Valley teachers have secured another victory by direct action. The main dispute between the teachers and the Local Education Committee was as to the method of meeting and discussing with the teachers, their grievances. It had been customary for the teachers to present themselves with many scrapes and bows in front of the Education Committee to state their case with great moderation and to withdraw with more scraping and bowing, then to wait the pleasure of the Committee to learn the result of the deputation. Sometimes a reply would be received in two or three months; sometimes never.

The teachers were determined to alter this state of affairs. They offered to withdraw their strike notices, if instead of meeting their employers as a deputation, they could meet them in conference, and have a decent opportunity of putting their point of view. Feeling themselves being out-manoeuvred by the strike leaders, the education authorities capitulated, and direct action again proved its worth.

Rhondda Education Scheme.

The Rhondda education authorities have been very busy drawing up a scheme of education under the Fisher Act. This scheme was printed in booklet form, and a public conference was called to consider it, but the Conference adjourned in order to give the public bodies represented there, an opportunity to consider amendments to the proposals of the Education Committee.

The hopelessness of Labour majorities on Capitalist administrative bodies seems clearly revealed in the Rhondda Education Scheme. The ethics contained therein are those of capitalism. "Honesty and diligence" is preached in a society that is based upon robbery and jobbery. The system of arranging ordinary and high schools, is such that only a small percentage could obtain the benefits of a high school education.

To consider these and other defects in the scheme, a conference of Economic and Industrial History Classes in the Rhondda area was held. Some little discussion first centred around the advisability or otherwise, of endeavouring to alter the scheme. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that it was necessary that every effort should be made to alter the scheme. To this end, a small sub-committee of teachers was appointed to draw up a counter scheme to that of the authorities and to submit the same to a further conference of the classes. The teachers appointed were teachers employed by the Council, not our own class lecturers, it being felt that the progressive teachers would be better judges of the requirements of the situation than any one else.

May Day in the Rhondda.

No reports having been received from other areas at the time of writing, I propose to deal exclusively with the meetings held on May Day, under the Rhondda No. 1 District. As was stated in last week's notes, Frank Hodges addressed two meetings. He had as partner, Miriam Price of London. Miss Price is no stranger to the Rhondda, and on previous occasions has delighted her audiences with her fearless revolutionary speeches. The personality of her colleague seemed, however, to have overwhelmed her, and to the intense disgust of those who had heard her before, she was at great pains to prepare the way

for reactionary Frank Hodges. Personally, I pity her; weakness cannot be despised.

Frank Hodges Rejected.

As I anticipated in last week's notes, Hodges spoke against the de-control of the mining industry. It was wrong he said for any district to desire to have more wages than another. (The "real" wages of the Welsh miner is much lower than that of his English and Scottish comrade, owing to the higher cost of living in South Wales). No man should have more wages than another, and at this juncture he was asked how much he draws. We had responsibilities, he urged, that were not considered, these responsibilities being of an international character. For instance, 400,000 Italian workmen were unemployed owing to a shortage of coal. Thus, he continued, this song of increased production, and although he did not use the words, the basis of every argument he used was "the need for increased production." Naturally, in the Rhondda, where men to-day, in direct opposition to their custom a few years back, boast of the amount of work they have managed to "scheme," this doctrine found plenty of opponents. At question time, so well was Hodges bombarded with questions, that he appealed for quarter, by asking if it was necessary to ask these questions on May Day. Before the chairman could close the meeting, however, a challenge was issued to Hodges, which up to the time of writing, he has not accepted.

A Challenge to Frank Hodges.

During the course of his address, he referred to the rank and file agitators as babblers and on behalf of these, he was challenged to return to the Rhondda, and on an open platform, give to the miners an opportunity of judging which policy was the best. An acceptance of this challenge may be sent via the *Dreadnought*.

Snowden Attacks the Left Wing.

Philip Snowden also addressed two meetings in the Rhondda, one at Ferndale and one at Porth. At Ferndale, poor Philip attacked the "young men in a hurry," and as a consequence received a lesson from his audience that may do him good. So much objection to his remarks was taken, that an amendment was moved to the official resolution, which, by the way, was as cumbersome as it is useless, and the portion relating to the return of Labour representation was deleted. This met with the approval of the audience and was carried unanimously. At his second meeting, Snowden seems to have thought discretion the better part of valour and carefully refrained from making any comments on the Left Wing policy.

Plain Speaking to D. Watts Morgan.

At Tonyrefail, the miners refused to be impressed by D. Watts Morgan, C.B.E., or D.S.O., and plain speaking was indulged in that is sure to have educational effects. At the other meeting in the Rhondda, Arthur Horner, of Mardy, delighted his audience with a lecture on Communism.

Speaking generally, the meetings in the Rhondda that were held with the object of educating the masses, have done far more, by bringing a few of the so-called leaders, up against the realities of the genuine working-class movement, to educate the speakers.

A sub-committee appointed to draw up amendments to rules, held its meeting on May Day. Its finding, with which I propose to deal in next week's notes, will be submitted to an unofficial conference, at Porth, on May 8th.

HOW

BRITISH DOMINIONS ARE GOVERNED.

As Reported on the Colonial Vote.

April 26th. Sir J. D. Rees (C.U.) who seems to be personally interested in Nyasaland trade, protested against the export duties on Nyasaland cotton and tobacco.

Mr. Inskip (C.U.) observed that not a single native of Southern Rhodesia now owns an acre of land, and that in order to make way for a railway, 35,000 natives are to be evicted without compensation, from one of the reservations in which the native people are allowed to live.

Major Earl Winterton (C.U.) warned the Government that in 20 years time a most serious state of affairs will arise through the whole of South Africa, over the question of native land.

"Indeed, if the whites do not establish Communism when the blacks gain a grasp of Capitalist Imperialism it may be a serious matter for the white races."

Ben Spoor (Labour-Bishop Auckland), complained that eleven years ago the Government promised to give the question of representative Government for Trinidad "sympathetic consideration," but that nothing had been done. He added that the working classes there are absolutely powerless and that a Seditious Publications Bill, on the lines of D.O.R.A., has been introduced into the Trinidad legislature this year, and prescribes severe punishment for those who "incite . . . or endeavour to procure an alteration of any law or any matter in the State by law established, otherwise than by lawful means," or who teaches "disbelief in, or opposition to organised government," or seduces soldiers, sailors or policemen from "allegiance to His Majesty," or "duty." Of Southern Rhodesia, Ben Spoor said:

"I do not think it will be seriously argued that we have not taken the land from the natives. The complete restoration of that land may not be practicable at the moment, and it may never be practicable, but it is not possible to secure . . . the granting of secure tenure to the native communities, of land in those areas where there are no white men, subject, if necessary, to these native communities being able to show they are beneficially occupying their land." . . .

Why do these Labour Party men so carefully abstain from any proposal that might seriously disarrange the affairs of the governing capitalists?

Spoor went on to quote a circular issued by a certain Dr. Ainsworth, who is in Government employ, and with the approval of the Governor of Southern Rhodesia. This circular states that "the white man must be paramount," and that, "with regard to native labour, there are two points to consider: firstly, that native labour is required for the proper development of the country; and secondly, that we must educate the native to come out of his reserve and work for his own sake." Ainsworth's circular therefore recommends that "the Government should have power to call out the idle" and that there should be an "increased tax on young, able-bodied men." Our policy then, I believe, should be to encourage voluntary work in the first place, but to provide power by legislation to prevent idleness."

Here was an opportunity for any believer in the propaganda value of the Parliamentary platform to make a rapacious ousting of the rapacious capitalism, but the smug Labour Party Member for Bishop Auckland, instead, merely brought in a sneer at the Russian Communists, saying: "Apparently the Colonial Office has been sitting at the feet of Lenin and Trotsky." Is Ben Spoor so deplorably blind as not to recognise the fact that there is a world of difference between compulsion to work for a capitalist for his private gain and a compulsion imposed by a Government in which capitalism is dominant; and the compulsion resolved on by the workers themselves, to work for the community, in socialised industries under circumstances in which starvation and defeat by the capitalist forces can only be averted by tremendous efforts?

Colonel Wedgwood (Lab.) said that the Labour Party want the natives to have the right of permanent land tenure, "coupled with a rent based on the unimproved value of the land, and rising as the land becomes more valuable." . . .

Pretty cool for the British interloper to charge the native rent for his own land at all! Wedgwood has joined the L.L.P. and the Labour Party, but he remains a single taxer, and seems quite incapable of talking or thinking on Socialist lines.

Wedgwood quoted a protest against the Ainsworth circular by the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa, in which they point out that not only men, but women and children, are to be induced to work on the plantations, where they are rudely housed, and from which, according to Wedgwood, "desertion is punished as a criminal offence, and where the punishments imposed by the managers are such as could not be contemplated in this country."

Wedgwood further stated that the white adult male settlers in East Africa number 2,000 and the natives two or three million. Last year, unknown to Parliament, the Colonial Office gave to East Africa, a constitution in which only the whites are represented.

Colonel Amery (C.U.), the Under-Secretary for the Colonial Office, pooh-poohed all that had been said regarding the exploitation of the natives.

Sir Edward Northey, the Governor, had no objection to sending out a further circular to the native commissioners "putting it beyond doubt that the object of his policy is not compulsion to work for white employers, but only the discouragement of idleness."

Amery further said:—

"At this moment there is no representative or responsible Government for East Africa. The unofficial members of the Council are there in a purely advisory capacity, and it makes no essential difference for the purpose whether they are elected or non-elected members. If you took the new franchise in India and conferred it on the Indians in East Africa you would only get the very smallest fraction of them entitled to vote. We believe the best form of representation will be found in the three nominated members, Indian and Arab, who are taking part in the East African Legislative Council."

Here is an interesting confession that the boasted Montagu-Chelmsford Indian Franchise Bill is a mere sham. The boasted democracy of our Empire turns out to be a very hollow pretence when one comes to examine it. It should be noticed that the African natives do not even get an advisory representative in the "unofficial government."

Wedgwood and some others in the Labour Party want to extend the Empire: we want to destroy it. A world Federation of Workers' Communist Republics is what we desire to see.

April 26th.—To hush up the unpleasant matter of the buying and selling of boys and girls in Hong Kong, it was stated that this is not slavery, but considering whether the "adopted" children might not be registered and inspected.

Colonel John Ward, who is so proud of the Empire, quite spoiled the little fiction by telling that in 1917 he was stationed at Hong Kong, and was invited to a reception at the house of the British Governor of Hong Kong to meet a Chinese mandarin the Governor of Canton. A case of the selling of two girls had just been before the courts, and the judge had said it was extremely doubtful whether slavery and the buying and selling of human beings was illegal in Hong Kong as, by the Proclamation taking over the territory, the British had agreed to observe Chinese customs. Therefore no punishment for the sale of these girls was inflicted by the court. The mandarin then said that, whilst slavery had been a legal institution in China under the old Manchu dynasty, the first Declaration of the New Republic and its most stringent law was the abolition of slavery. To enforce this law the heads of hundred of Chinamen had been cut off, and it now appeared that the only part of China where slavery continued was the British possession of Hong Kong. So the British Empire civilises the world.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.
Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST

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
ONE YEAR ...	" " 8/6

Vol. VII., No. 7. Sat., May 8th, 1920.

TO BRITISH MANHOOD.

Comrades,—How much longer will you be willing to fight, work, and pay for the war which the British Capitalists are making on the working people of other countries? This capitalist war against the workers will increase the scarcity of necessities from which the world of humanity is suffering, and is a desperate attempt, which must inevitably fail, to prevent the natural development of society from Capitalism to Communism.

In another column we publish the facts regarding the counter-revolutionary robbers who stole the Russian ice-breaker, and who accompanied by General Miller, were received in Liverpool after Holland, Denmark and Sweden had turned them away for their crimes.

Munitions Going from Port of London for Use Against Soviet Russia.

On May Day we learned that the British ship, "Eden Hall," was lying in the Port of London, ready to set sail for Poland, laden with siege guns and aeroplanes of the latest type, provided by the ruling class of this country, for use against the Russian Workers' Republic. This vessel, with its evil cargo, had already set off for Poland, but was wrecked off Gravesend and had to return to London for repairs. British workers built the guns and aeroplanes, British railwaymen transported them to the docks, British dockers loaded them, British seamen are manning the ship, and British ship-building workers have carried out the repairs.

None of our fellow workers were kidnapped for these tasks or forced to the work under the menace of bayonets and guns, as was the case with the Russian sailors aboard the "Kosma Minin." Thousands upon thousands of resolutions declaring for a "down tools" policy to stop the war on Soviet Russia have been passed, but, so far from a general strike developing, we find British workers actually preparing and shipping the implements of capitalist warfare.

C.W.S. Supplying the Counter Revolution.

At the Albert Hall one of the speakers, representing the Co-operative Wholesale Society, stated that the C.W.S. has been shipping commodities to Russia for some time past. Those commodities have been sold to Counter-Revolutionary Russia. Comrades of the co-operative movement, we ask you to arouse yourselves and realise that thereby you have been helping the sinister forces of Capitalism against the workers' Communist revolution. This is a terribly serious matter; what are you going to do about it? To pass "Hands off Russia" resolutions when you are helping Soviet Russia's enemies is sheer hypocrisy.

Lloyd George on San Remo.

In spite of the attack of International Capitalism, the Russian workers have hitherto maintained their Communist Republic, but International Capitalism has joined heads in preventing the establishment of such a republic in Germany each time that the workers have arisen to fight for it. Lloyd George, in the House of Commons on April 29th, explained the situation with brazen frankness, and it is a proof of the apathetic state of British workers that he dared to speak so plainly. He said that the disagreement between the

Governments of Britain and France, concerning the Ruhr occupation, did not arise out of any question with regard to the enforcement of the Treaty, but as to how to control the German workers. These are his words:—

It was purely a question of a very grave disturbance which had arisen in a part of Germany. . . . The Ruhr valley, a great industrial district, had been seized by the Red troops, and Communism had been established there. Had it been successfully established, it might have spread not merely over to Germany, but from Germany over other parts of Europe, and the whole dispute which arose was in reference to the question who should put it down. The French were of opinion that it ought to be suppressed by Allied troops. All the other Allies were of opinion that it ought to be left to the Germans themselves to restore order in their own country."

That is precisely what we told our comrades from the very outset. We urged you—and we still urge you—to realise that, as Karl Liebknecht said, we are in the midst of the International Civil War, in which, though the Allies may have some minor disagreements amongst themselves, they are absolutely united on the main issues. Lloyd George explained all this with great clearness, because he is anxious to rally to the support of Capitalism all the elements that desire to keep the working class in subjection and are opposed to Communism. In his contempt for the workers, Lloyd George does not care that they also should be able to read what he says; he believes the workers too stupid to understand; too subservient to act. He explained that there is now "complete accord" between the Allied Governments. "The strain has disappeared," he said, "and there is the same old glad comradeship that carried us through the trials of the great war."

"A glad comradeship," indeed! A "glad comradeship" in which bad, old reprobates are banded together, to safeguard the capitalist system of exploitation, against the march of progress. Can you not see them, lounging over their luxurious dinners, smoking the most expensive cigars, drinking the finest wines, dressed and housed like princes? For these things and for the pomp and circumstance of office, they are prepared to keep the whole world in misery and chaos, at the bidding of the greedy capitalists, whose obedient puppets they are.

Lloyd George went on to explain that the Allies have extended the period in which Germany is to disarm in order that the German Government may first suppress the workers.

He also said that there had been some talk in France of annexing the Rhineland and the coal areas of Germany, but that the British Government had made it clear that it would oppose any such attempt by France. The jealousy of British capitalists towards French capitalists would not allow the balance of manufacturing power in favour of Britain to be thus upset. The French Prime Minister, in view of Britain's great navy and bulky purse, has assured the British Government that France will not attempt such annexation, and the differences between the Allies are therefore settled—France gives way.

German Soldiers Have Kept Their Arms.

Before going to San Remo, Lloyd George consulted the British Generals whose business it is to keep parts of Germany in order; and, he says, they explained to him that whilst the German Government could be made to give up its great guns and aeroplanes, the German soldiers have gone home with their rifles, and the rifles cannot be recovered. The German workers and soldiers have been slow to move; but they have now made up their minds to fight for emancipation at last. They have been taught by repeated experiences of White Terror that Capitalism will only allow them to overthrow it by force.

Lloyd George asserted that the German people are not getting more than "between one-third and one-half the calories that enable life to be effectively maintained, and that consequently all is chaos, the Government has "no authority." He called it "a broken-backed creature with no command of its limbs or muscles." This is what the Allies have helped to make of a brother capitalist State. We do not deplore the crippling of the German Government, for from the ashes of Capitalist Germany, once so mighty, we look for the birth of the new Communist Republic. When human society becomes no longer tolerable, humanity under the compelling hand of necessity creates new and better forms.

Lloyd George sees and recognises this fact; and realising that Capitalism is menaced, he declares that the Allies must clear out of Germany all the great implements of war, lest someone (and that someone is the workers) should arise who may know how to use them. Rifles without machine guns and aeroplanes, he admitted to be useless for purposes of invasion, but since they may be "dangerous weapons of disorder" the Allies will endeavour to secure them. That can only be done by systematic search of every German worker's home, and the terrorism of every worker.

Red Russia Menaced.

The enormous supplies of ammunition which Britain and America are pouring into Poland are beginning to tell. The Poles have gained some victories over Soviet Russia's Red Armies, and it is now reported that Kieff has been wrenched from the Soviets. It seems that Soviet Russia may shortly be placed in a position as critical as that which threatened her last summer and autumn. The treacherous Social-Patriots of the Polish Socialist Party have allied themselves with the forces against Soviet Russia. These Polish Socialists have already possessed a Parliamentary majority, and have nominally held the reigns of Government in their hands. But though in office the Polish Socialists found that they must either fight the capitalists or abandon any attempt to establish Socialism. They chose the latter course—the coward's way—and when the Polish workers clamoured for Socialist measures, the government of renegade Socialists used machine guns and all the methods of warfare to suppress them. Their action in taking the capitalist part against Soviet Russia is therefore not surprising.

Why British Troops are in Constantinople.

Lloyd George's cynical remarks regarding Armenia show that it is certainly not on Armenia's account, as has been pretended, that British troops have occupied Constantinople. He said that the problem of Armenia is difficult because "there is no Armenian population in some of the vast areas we should like to have allocated to Armenia. If they were given to Armenia who is to enforce our decrees? France could not undertake it and Italy could not. . . . We have to guard the Straits—that is our charge—Palestine and Mesopotamia; the French have got to protect Cilicia and the Italians undertake to protect the district of Adana." How hypocritical is this talk of "protecting" territories for which the Allied capitalists have intrigued and fought at the cost of millions of other people's lives! He went on:

"We could have put it in the Treaty and said: 'Take it; we cannot help you, but if you like to undertake it, there it is for you. But that would not have been an honourable thing to do.' Therefore America is to be asked to "protect" those territories, and if her Government does not agree, President Wilson is to be asked to arbitrate the question, and, failing that, the Turks may be told that things can remain as they are for the present. In any case, the territories must be protected—from Bolshevism.

It was not to punish the Turks for cruelty to the Armenians that the British Government so suddenly decided to occupy Constantinople immediately after it had declared in Parliament that it would refrain from doing so in deference to Indian opinion. The reason why British troops were suddenly rushed in is that Bulgaria is seething on the verge of a Bolshevik revolution, and though Bulgaria is further advanced politically than the others, all the Balkan nations are revolutionary powder magazines.

Bulgarian Communists Turn out Denikin.

A Bulgarian Communist, Dr. Styx, recently contributed to "L'Humanité" an article on the present situation in Bulgaria, in which he recorded that Denikin, after the defeat of his army, transferred his headquarters to Bulgaria and promised that in return for the support of the Bulgarian Government he would hand over to Bulgaria the town of Tzaribrod, which the Allied victors had allocated to Serbia. According to Dr. Styx, Denikin also promised the Dobrudja to Bulgaria. It would be interesting to know whether the Allies were associated with Denikin in these promises, which would necessitate the breaking of their pledges to Serbia.

There has long been a strong Socialist movement in Bavaria; indeed, in one of the pre-war elections a majority was secured by the Socialists and Peasants' party. Thereupon new elections were taken, and by police violence and subterranean methods a small majority for reaction was obtained. Since then a Bulgarian Communist Party has been formed, and at the elections of December, 1919, it obtained 120,000 out of a total of 600,000 votes and 47 seats. The Communist party set itself to secure the expulsion of Denikin, and on December 24, 1919, held great demonstrations with this object in view throughout the country.

The so-called democratic government of Stambulinsky endeavoured to counteract this movement by arming the members of the agricultural societies who, reinforced by soldiers of the French army of occupation, carried on a relentless persecution of the Communists, "in which," says Dr. Styx, "arrests, bombs and guns played so great a part that one has lost count of the prisoners, the wounded, and the dead." All State employees known to have taken part in the anti-Denikin demonstrations were dismissed.

The miners, railwaymen, postal workers, telephone and telegraph operators, retaliated by going on strike. The Government then declared the mobilisation of the strikers, who were rounded up, beaten, forced into uniforms and dragged before military tribunals. Members of the Communist Party having been declared outlaws, the authorities could arrest and kill as they chose.

In spite of all this the strike movement continued growing and included as its aim the stoppage of all troops, munitions and supplies intended for the counter-revolutionary armies. Meanwhile elections held in January, 1920, showed that the Communist Party had actually increased its voting strength to 160,000.

The Bulgarian comrades have indeed set us a brilliant example! Their fight has been rendered easier by Bulgaria's desperate economic position. A kilo of meat (2 1-5th lbs.) costs 5 francs, a kilo of bread 35 francs and a kilo of butter 120 francs.

The British army in Constantinople is waiting to pounce on Bulgaria or any other nation in which the workers may raise the Communist Red Flag.

British workers, soldiers, and sailors, how long will you be the tools of the international reaction instead of raising the Red Flag here at home?

If you have trouble in getting this paper every week please give a standing order for it to your Newsagent.

THE FRENCH STRIKE.

May Day in Paris is fated to be celebrated by a riot, and this year was no exception. Some capitalist press accounts lead to the conclusion that France is on the verge of Revolution. Such a conclusion would be premature, though we must remember that the French are a volatile people. Communist ideas have as yet made but little headway amongst those who are at present occupying controlling positions in the French working-class organisations.

The French equivalent of our Trade Union Congress is demanding international committees to distribute raw material, to control imports, re-organise transport and allot war burdens, and an international fleet. These demands display no realisation whatsoever of the international civil war that is going on, and in which France and all the other capitalist countries are taking part. The fact that the French G.T.C. is organising extensive strikes to back its political demands is interesting and should be noticed by the Labour movement here; but the programme put forward is useless—nay, more, it would merely consolidate capitalism against the workers, if carried out.

Transport and Slow Gear.

J. H. Thomas has repudiated the policy of securing increased wages for railway workers by working on what is called "slow gear"—that is to say, by obeying all the rules that the railway companies have made. Thomas declared such a policy as "war on the community" with "all the elements of poison gas."

The Italian workers are just now also adopting the observance of rule method.

A LETTER FROM LENIN.

Greetings to Communists Abroad.

News from abroad is scarce and scanty. The blockade by the wild beasts of Imperialism is strangling us, and all the forces of the most powerful nations of the world are used against us for the re-establishment of the exploiters. The fierce hatred which the capitalists of Russia and of the entire world feel towards the Soviet Republic is camouflaged by high-sounding phrases about the "real democracy."

The fraternity of exploiters is true to its own traditions: it represents bourgeois democracy to be the "democracy," and it includes all the Philistines, including Messrs. Adler, Kautzky, and the majority of the leaders of the "independent social-democratic party" of Germany, which is independent of the revolutionary proletariat, but dependent on petty bourgeois prejudices.

The scarcer the news from abroad, the greater is our joy in Russia at the universal and gigantic successes of Communism among the workers of all lands, and at the severance by the masses of all ties with the treacherous leaders, who, from Scheidemann down to Kautzki, have gone over to the bourgeoisie.

All we know of the Italian Socialist Party is—that the Congress has decided by an overwhelming majority to adhere to the Third International, and to adopt the programme of the proletarian dictatorship. Thus, the Italian Socialist Party has actually become Communist, although, unfortunately, it has retained the old name. We send out a hearty welcome to the Italian workers and their party.

All we know about France is—that Paris alone has already two Communist papers: "The International," edited by Raymond Pericat, and "Le Nom Défendu," edited by Georges Anquetille. Several proletarian organisations have joined the Third International. Evidently the working masses are on the side of Communism and the Soviet Power.

As to the German Communists, we have learnt that a number of towns possess Communist newspapers, most of which bear the title "The Red Flag." The Berlin "Red Flag" has an illegal existence, and is having a heroic contest with the butchers Scheidemann and Noske, who are rendering flunky service to the bourgeoisie by their acts, as do the independents by their words and by their propaganda of petty ideas.

We are full of admiration and enthusiasm for the heroic stand made by the Berlin "Red Flag," which shows that there are honest and sincere Socialists in Germany who remain firm, and refuse to be cowed, in spite of persecution and the foul murder of their best leaders. Communist workers in Germany are carrying on a heroic struggle worthy to be called really "revolutionary." At last the German proletariat has given birth to forces to whom the words "proletarian revolution" have become a reality.

We send our greetings to the German Communists!

The Scheidemanns, and Kautzki, the Renners and Friedrich Adlers, have shown themselves bare traitors and betrayers of Socialism, and partisans of the bourgeoisie. They all signed the Basel manifesto in 1912 on the impending Imperialist war. They all talked then of the "proletarian revolution," and all proved to be in reality nothing but small-bourgeois democrats, knights of bourgeois-republican and bourgeois-democratic illusions and helpers of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The fierce persecution of the German Communists has made them more determined. If, at the present time, they are to a certain extent disunited, this only bears witness to the broadness and the mass character of their movement, and to the growth of Communism in the very heart of the working masses. Disunion is inevitable in a movement which is being so fiercely persecuted by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and its lacqueys, Scheidemann-Noske, and which is compelled to organise "illegally."

It is also only natural that a movement which is growing so rapidly in the midst of persecution should engender sharp dissensions. There is nothing alarming in this; those are only growing pains.

Let the Scheidemanns and Kautzki express malicious joy in the "Vorwaerts" and the "Freiheit" at dissensions among the Communists. These heroes of a decomposing small bourgeoisie are reduced to covering up their own rottenness by sneers at the Communists. Only the deliberately blind can refuse to recognise the real truth about the situation in Germany, which is the shameful betrayal of the proletarian revolution by the Scheidemanns and Kautzki, who have sided with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Heinrich Laufenberg, in his admirable pamphlet "Between the First and Second Revolution," has proved and substantiated this fact with remarkable clearness of judgement. Dissensions amongst the followers of Scheidemann and Kautzki are the dissensions of decomposing and dying parties which possess leaders without followers, generals without armies.

The masses are leaving the Scheidemanns, and are going over to the Kautzki, because of the Left wing of the latter. This is evident from the perusal of any report of the mass meeting. The Left wing combines the unimaginative, cowardly old prejudices of the small, paltry, petty bourgeois regarding parliamentary democracy, with the Communist recognition of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Soviet Power.

It is only under the pressure of the masses that the worthless leaders of the "Independents" pay lip service to all this, for in reality they remain small-bourgeois democrats of the type of Louis Blanc and other foolish persons of 1848, whom Marx so mercilessly branded and ridiculed.

All these dissensions are quite irreconcilable. There can be no peace between proletarian world revolutionaries and the small bourgeoisie, which, like its proto-type of 1848, worships bourgeois democracy, oblivious of the latter's bourgeois character. These two cannot work together. Haase and Kautzki, Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer, may twist and turn, they may fill reams of paper and deliver no end of speeches, but the fact remains that, in reality, they are incapable of understanding the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet Power, and that they are nothing but small-bourgeois democrats, "Socialists" à la Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollain. In fact they are, in the best case, tools in the hand of the bourgeoisie, and in the worst—its conscious lacqueys.

The "Independents," the followers of Kautzki and the Austrian Social-Democrats, are seemingly a united party, but in reality a large proportion of the members disagree with the leaders on everything which is essential. These members will engage in the proletarian, revolutionary struggle for Soviet power as soon as a new crisis arises, but the leaders will remain then, as now, counter-revolutionaries. Verbally, it is not difficult to sit between two stools, and Hilferding in Germany, and Friedrich Adler in Austria, are proving themselves past masters in this art.

However, in the thick of the revolutionary struggle, people who try to reconcile the irreconcilable will be like so many soap-bubbles. The "Socialist" heroes of 1848 proved themselves to be such, and the same may be said of their brothers—the Mensheviks and the social-revolutionaries in Russia in 1917-19, and of the Knights of the Berne yellow Second International.

The dissensions of the Communists are of a different nature, and it is only the wantonly blind who cannot see the fundamental difference. Those are the dissensions among the representatives of a mass movement of a remarkably quick growth. Those are dissensions which have a common, solid, fundamental basis: the recognition of the proletarian revolution, of the struggle with bourgeois-democratic illusions and Parliamentarism and of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power.

On such a basis dissensions have no terror; they are growing pains and not senile decay. Bolshevism has also experienced dissensions of this kind, and there were splits in the Party on account of them, but when the decisive moment came for the conquest of power and the establishment of a Soviet republic, Bolshevism became united. It attracted all the best elements of Socialist thought, nearest to it in conception, and gathered around itself the entire vanguard of the proletariat and a gigantic majority of the workers.

The same thing will happen to the German Communists.

(To be Continued.)

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The Budget.

April 27th.—Discussing the tax on tea, Neil Maclean (Lab.) pointed out that the net receipts of this tax are £16,083,319, and that the working-class pays the greater part of the price, whereas, according to the estimate of a Government official, one per cent. of the population owns £4,000,000,000 of wealth, which has not been taxed at all.

Sir Frederick Banbury and other Tories moved an amendment that super-tax should be charged after the deduction of the standard Income Tax. This would reduce the payments of the very rich.

V. A. Spencer, the Labour Member for Broxtowe, the only Labour M.P. who seems to be at all class conscious, observed that the rich desire to transfer direct taxation to the working-class, but to evade it themselves. During the War, when a levy in men was made, the rich gave up their sons, but the "time has come when the financial burden has to be faced"; the rich "gave up their sons," but they are not now prepared to give up their money.

Here Mr. Speaker intervened, this was a little too shocking, and someone said: "This is not Hyde Park"; the Members howled Spencer down for telling the plain truth.

April 28th.—Waterson (Lab. and Co-op.) protested against the application of the Corporation Profits Tax of 1/- in the £ to the co-operative societies. He wanted to know whether it would be levied on gross or net profits, the amount allocated to members in the shape of re-payment of the enhanced charges, and the amount allocated to reserve in the shape of grants for educational or even charitable purposes.

Austen Chamberlain said the tax would not be charged in proportion to the goods they buy.

Much energy is being devoted to this question which would be better spent in attacking the capitalist system.

Contrasts.

April 27th.—Sir H. Arthur Rose, D.S.O., has been appointed Director of Land Settlement at a salary of £1,200 a year. The Secretary for Scotland said: "It would be unreasonable to ask a gentleman who has undertaken an appointment terminable at a month's notice to give his exclusive time to the performance of his duties."

John Smith only gets a week's notice, but he is expected to give all his time to his work.

Unemployment.

On the Live Register of the Employment Exchanges, on April 16th, 1920, were 359,139 persons, of whom 220,000 were ex-Servicemen and women. On April 17th, 1914, the Employment Exchange registers showed 106,472 unemployed. The Trade Union registers showed 1.1 per cent. unemployed in March, 1920, and 2.2 per cent. in March, 1914.

The International Civil War.

April 27th.—Some excitement was evinced because the British Army of Occupation in Germany is employing 2,949 German civilians as batmen, motor drivers, telephone operators, and so on. Churchill declared that there is "no cause for disquietude on this matter."

Of course not; the main business of the British Army of Occupation is now to quell the German Workers' Revolution. Counter-revolutionary Germans thank the British for that work and are eager to assist in it. As Liebknecht said: "This is the international civil war."

Costly Recruits.

£5,000 is to be spent on advertising for recruits for the Regular Army, £13,000 for the Air Force, and further sums will be spent on getting men to join the Territorials.

Social Victims.

April 28th.—The Minister of Health admitted that a large proportion of the people who obtained sanatorium benefit under the National Health Insurance Acts "die within a comparatively short period of treatment" for lack of after-care. Only a small proportion of the applicants for sanatorium benefit are able to get it at all.

April 29th.—The Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture disclosed the fact that by refusing to allow butter, pork, bacon, ham and live pigs to leave Belfast, Londonderry, Grenore, Dublin and other Irish ports, the dock labourers forced the conclusion of a "voluntary arrangement" by which retail prices in Ireland were reduced.

A Special Steamer for Lloyd George.

Bonar Law was surprised that anyone should object to special steamers, leaving within three minutes of the ordinary boat, being employed one day to carry 28 persons to the Peace Conference and the next day to carry Lloyd George.

A Red Army in Britain.

Mr. Pemberton Billing made the remarkable assertion that the Soviets are organising a Red Army in Britain which is drilling with dummy weapons, and that Red Army will hold a great demonstration throughout the country on May 1st.

Some of the Government's secret service agents have evidently been supplying Mr. Billing with information which is a trifle premature!

Mr. Billing further wanted to know "whether the political freedom of this country permits the hoisting, saluting and recognition of the Republican flag."

Indeed it does, Mr. Billing: have you only just heard of the Red flag which stands for the Workers' Republic?

HOUSING.

April 26th.—Sir A. Mond, First Commissioner of Works, said his Department is assisting the Minister of Health by turning London houses into flats. 72 houses are being turned into 288 flats in Kensington, Lewisham, Paddington, Stepney, Islington, and Greenwich, at a cost of £127,500—that is to say, four families are to occupy the space which used to belong

to one. The alterations are to be made at a cost of over £1,770 per house—some profiteering there it would seem.

Further conversion schemes are being considered at a cost of £130,000; new houses and flats are being erected as follows:—

Poplar		
Isle of Dogs	120 houses	£98,900
Shoreditch		
New North Road	Block of 4 flats	£21,800
Crondall Street	Block of 70 flats	£45,000
Teal Street	Block of 55 flats	£10,000
Camberwell		
Casini House site	154 houses	£130,000
Hawklade Rd. site	84 houses	£72,000
Zambury Rd. site	52 houses	£45,000

It should be noticed that it costs twice as much to convert a house into flats in some districts as to build a new house in others. These schemes scarcely touch the fringe of the national housing requirements. It would probably cost £500,000,000 to provide enough new housing to prevent illegal overcrowding, and very much more to house all the people comfortably. The housing problem will never be solved under capitalism.

April 27th.—The Bromley (Kent) Council has decided to suspend its housing scheme unless the Government will finance it. The scheme was to cost £350,000, and only £75,000 has been subscribed. Dr. Addison (C.L.), Minister of Health, said the Kent County Council should help.

The Municipal bonds, by which housing and all sorts of benefits were promised, are not going well, and the Councils find themselves powerless to act. The Labour Councillors now find that through the rates, and with them the rents, have everywhere gone up, very little has actually been accomplished to benefit the people in general. At the next election the Labour Councillors will find that, whilst they will be accused of causing rents to be raised, they will have nothing to show by way of compensation.

When shall we have a rent strike to secure the socialisation of houses and the abolition of rent?

RUSSIA.

April 26th. 20,000 Russians are prisoners of war in Germany. Commander Kenworthy asked the Government to send a Note to Germany, demanding their release. Harmsworth, Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office said: "It is not a matter for the German Government, but for the Soviet Government." What an impertinent evasion of the fact, which is, that the Allies do not wish the prisoners returned to Russia, lest they join the Red Army!

Colonel Wedgwood asked Bonar Law whether it was true that the Russian Soviet Government had agreed to protect the remains of the South Russian Counter-Revolutionary Army, if the ex-members of the Hungarian Soviet Government were allowed to go to Russia, and said that the Austrian Government had no objection to letting these Hungarians go from Austria, where they are, to Russia. Bonar Law said the British Government know nothing and can do nothing.—another lie!

British Way in the Black Sea.

April 27th. Walter Long, First Lord of the Admiralty, admitted that four British warships recently left Malta for the Black Sea, and that the present average British Naval forces in the Black Sea are:—2 battleships, 2 light cruisers, 8 destroyers, aircraft carrier, and two sloops. They are maintained there to ensure the safety of British troops at Batoum, and the military mission in the Crimea.

Siberian Bank.

Austrian Chamberlain (W.), Chancellor of the Exchequer, admitted that the British Government has purchased shares in a Siberian Bank—a counter-revolutionary enterprise, of course. But he would not tell how many shares the Government has, and when asked with whom he was negotiating for their sale, he said, "Negotiations in this matter are in progress. I do not think it would be in the public interest to make any statement on the matter at present."

April 28th. Asked about the British Naval operations against Southern Russia, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Walter Long, said that on March 10th, H.M.S. Sikh "supported a Russian Volunteer Army Expedition, with 4-inch gunfire"; on March 26th H.M.S. Emperor of India and H.M.S. Calypso "fired a few rounds in the neighbourhood of Borisorka which had the effect of preventing an expected Bolshevik attack from developing"; On April 16th, H.M.S. Steadfast "fired on the Bolsheviks advancing south along the coast from Tuapse." "General Wrangel, said Long, "is holding the Crimea in order that the refugees there may be protected and saved. His Majesty's Ships have orders to support General Wrangel."

Commander Kenworthy (Lib.) pointed out that General Wrangel's forces have been attacking, and that he hopes to advance out of the Crimea. To this, Mr. Long replied that if Wrangel's campaign intends to proceed inland, His Majesty's Ships would not be called on to support it.

Obviously not, since ships cannot navigate the land. Long further observed that the Government's policy, "deliberately marked out," is "to defend Batoum, which is occupied by British forces."

April 26th. Bonar Law said the Government is now engaged in deciding what time shall be spent on the Government of Ireland Bill. Mr. Devlin asked whether the time could not be better applied to the Blind Bill? Bonar Law said the Government is "entirely pledged" to go on with the Irish Bill.

Lord Robert Cecil moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the "growth of crime and disorder in Ireland." He deplored the fact that the supremacy of the law no longer exists, and said: "We are drifting through anarchy and humiliation to an

Irish Republic." He said, "I believe you will never settle the Irish question, except in accordance with the wishes of the Irish people," but insisted that civil government must be re-established before any scheme of autonomy or self-government were tried.

Mr. Wallace replied, by quoting from Robert Cecil's speeches of 1912:

"Rebellion is a thing which no one wishes lightly to undertake, but history shows that it has been successful, and it may be successful, if the cause is just and the strength sufficient."

"If Home Rule is persisted in, it will lead to Civil War, and if I lived in Belfast, I should seriously consider whether rebellion is not better than Home Rule."

The Governing classes talk of the duty of preserving law and order with the tongue in the cheek, and an eye on the workers.

Jack Jones declared himself an Irishman, though representing an English constituency. He said:

"Anarchy must be put an end to....I agree....As a member of a working-class organisation in Great Britain, I am opposed to anarchy, and also to what is now described as Bolshevism....We are taking our part in trying to convince those with whom we have influence in favour of Constitutional methods of procedure."

He asked for "Self-Determination" for Ireland and said the Irish people were not prepared to accept Bolshevism.

Mr. Palmer pointed out that Jones had made just the same speech as the other members of the Labour Party, who, when asked whether they would give Ireland a Republic, "ran away at once from that proposition." He added, that at a meeting of the Unionist Alliance, held in that House, a British General said that the only alternative to granting the Irish a Republic, was "to re-conquer Ireland."

We believe the General was right.

Bonar Law made the following significant and highly sinister observations:

"The picture is a very black one, but there are some signs that the excesses are having this effect, that they are now being directed against the men who call themselves Sinn Feiners, that they are suffering, and I cannot help thinking the effect of trial on Ireland will be to make them welcome the restoration of reasonable Government, and to try themselves to find some way out of the impasse in which we are. That is my belief."

Irishmen allege that the Lord Mayor of Cork and other Sinn Feiners were murdered at the instigation of the Government. Bonar Law certainly lent colour to the suggestion that the murders were at least, not unwelcome to him.

April 28th. The adjournment of the House was again moved, this time by T. P. O'Connor, who gave the following account of Government in Ireland:—

"Militarism running loose and wild.

"Three men shot down at Milltown Malbay, without excuse.

"Two men killed in the same way at Arklow.

"In Thurles, the police ran wild and fired into houses; the people took refuge in cellars.

"In Fermoy, the soldiers . . . with crowbars and trench tools, from 8.30 to 10 sacked the town.

"62 out of 67 Sinn Fein Members of Parliament are imprisoned.

"When a majority of Sinn Feiners were elected to the Dublin City Council, 25 of their number were arrested in order to destroy their majority."

These facts should show how impossible it is to dispossess the British capitalist by peaceful persuasion! T. P. O'Connor went on to say that there might be a strike of Liverpool dockers in sympathy with the Irish hunger-strikers in Wormwood Scrubs. He had done all he could to avert such a thing; twice he had gone up to Liverpool to avert a strike and twice succeeded.

James Sexton (Labour) followed. He said:

I have shown my sympathies with the Irish people . . . but I have a higher duty than that . . . This question of unrest in Liverpool is one which affects me as a responsible Trade Union leader there, and also as a British citizen, and I want to put myself right, both in this House and with my own members and the general public, when I say that as a responsible official of a Trade Union, which is very seriously affected by the disturbances, if the disturbance does take place—and I am afraid there is some danger of it—the action will be entirely unofficial and irresponsible and will not be recognised by the authorised heads of the association to which I belong. I am vigorously opposed to the policy which is known as direct action I will protest and continue to protest as long as I live, against the industrial weapon being used for industrial purposes. . . . I have already taken the responsibility, and I will continue to take the responsibility of advising our members in Liverpool and elsewhere, not to take any notice of the agitation going on in his direction, which is contrary to the rules and the principles of the union."

Sexton is regarded as a joke at the Labour Congresses, but a buffoon on a Trade Union Executive, and holding the important post of Secretary, may be a very dangerous fellow. It is high time Sexton were replaced by a class-conscious worker.

Get your Newsagent to show a Poster.

Pass the "DREADNOUGHT" on to your Friends.

COMMUNICATION OF THE AMSTERDAM BUREAU.

The sub-bureau of the Communist International is under the impression that some misunderstanding prevails about the attitude of the Bureau towards affiliation of Communist groups and parties to the British Labour Party.

A resolution passed at the February Conference in Amsterdam and two letters written to comrades of the I.L.P. have been interpreted differently. It is for this reason that we wish to accentuate our opinion briefly as follows:—

1. In accordance with the resolution mentioned above, we are of opinion that Communists should not be affiliated, either directly or indirectly, to political organisations that accept the principles of the Second International. For England such an organisation no doubt is the Labour Party.

2. We are convinced that the policy of the Labour Party, especially if this policy should be successful, will lead to a betrayal of the cause of the workers similar to the betrayal of Ebert-Noske, *mutatis mutandis*.

3. We have stated that affiliation with the Third International of groups that participate in the Labour Party is possible, as is shown by the B.S.P., in so far as they accept Communist principles and tactics, which involves a persistent struggle within the Labour Party against the policy and tactics of this body. We are convinced that participation in the Labour Party, if accompanied by Communist critics and action will only be temporary.

4. Since we agree with those Communists in England that object to any participation in the Labour Party, we are of opinion that they should not give up their attitude on the plea of unity. Much as we should like to see a united Communist Party in England, it may be better to postpone this ideal than to compromise on important issues.

5. We strongly appeal to our English friends to unite on the basis of "no affiliation to the Labour Party," as we clearly see the catastrophe that will follow the coming into power of a Parliamentary Labour Government. Warning in advance may help to unite the workers; after the failure becomes evident, under the banner of Communism. To achieve this result, it is necessary, however, to define our attitude towards the methods of the Labour Party. A compromise in such a way that local organisations are allowed a policy, that is considered objectionable as a general method, must lead to confusion when accepted by a united Communist Party.

FUSION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

By W. GALLACHER.

Since the Russian Revolution, the Socialist movement in this country has been concerned, above all else, with the question of unity.

In each party a section, in some cases a majority, in others a minority, has accepted the full implications of revolutionary Communism, while another section remains wedded to the old reformist ideas, deluded by the belief that the capitalist class can be gradually converted into useful members of a Socialist state.

Between these two there is another group that seems incapable of coming to a decision, but endeavours to maintain itself by giving lip-service to the principles supported by the former, while in action it is in complete harmony with the second.

In other words, the Socialist movement at the present time is split into three: Communists, Reformists who are openly opposed to Communism, and Reformists who for expediency claim to be Communists.

In discussing unity, the Communists must on no account allow any compromise for the sake of gaining the support of the latter group. They must be packed off to the Reformist right wing; their inclusion in the Communist Party would sooner or later spell disaster.

Just as the Third International refuses to take in any but those bodies who subscribe to the fundamental principles laid down in the Moscow Manifesto, so the new Communist Party must rigidly exclude those who do not accept the basic principles of Communism.

It is not enough therefore, that fusion should take place between organisations whose members have shown a majority in favour of unity. The votes in favour of unity may have been determined to a large extent by the feeling of weakness and the desire for self-preservation, each party probably hoping that its particular policy will receive the support of the other organisations, and the old party, greatly strengthened, with a new name, will emerge as a result of the deliberations.

If real unity is to be obtained there must be unity of theory and unity of action. This is absolutely essential. In order to ensure this the Communist delegates at the Unity Conference who favour fusion should form themselves into a provisional committee and, (1) Issue a manifesto laying down the basic principles of Communism, viz.: the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Soviets, etc., and invite all those who are ready to adhere to it to form groups in all parts of the country; (2) To separate the country into districts, and arrange district conferences composed of delegates from the groups in the respective districts. At these conferences the basis will be ratified and a national organisation decided upon; (3) To draw up procedure to facilitate discussion at the district conferences, such as when and where it would be advisable to have a national conference, and the number of delegates each district should send; (4) If general agreement is obtained at the district conferences, to make arrange-

ments for the national conference and prepare an agenda which, of course, will be submitted to each group for consideration before the national conference takes place.

From the start it should be clearly stated that on the question of tactics, there can be no thought of agreeing to anything that violates any of the principles for which the party stands. This will necessitate a clear statement on Parliamentary action. There are many Communists who are opposed entirely to any sort of Parliamentary action, while others hold that it is useful as a method of revolutionary propaganda.

Which ever view is favoured, there should be general agreement on the proposition that no one can be loyal to the principles of Communism, who is prepared to endorse the programme of the Labour Party, or take an oath of allegiance to the King and Constitution.

That in itself would be a sacrifice of principle, and would assuredly lead to further breaches.

It should be understood therefore, that, if the Communist Party agreed to Parliamentary action on the ground of tactical value, each Communist candidate would take an oath of loyalty to his class and refuse to submit to the authority of the Labour Party, the Monarchy or the Constitution.

If these suggestions are followed by those who are in favour of fusion, much may be done to bring into existence an organisation that is vitally necessary to cope with the situation that confronts revolutionaries all over the country at the present time. But if it is simply to be the old game of uniting parties and taking anyone and everyone in with 'he crowd, well there may be fusion; there certainly will not be unity.

IMPORTANT NEWS FROM ITALY.

By Our Special Correspondent.

The Turin Strike.

It is an old saying of the Italian Socialists that "when the railwaymen join us the Revolution has commenced."

In the Turin general strike, which commenced last week, and is still in progress, the railwaymen, for the first time in the history of the Italian movement, have actively joined in support of the industrial workers. The railroads of Piedmont are tied up. The approaching lines are more or less effectively sealed.

The Government sought to pour troops into Piedmont by sea, through Genoa. The first trainload of them had not gone two miles towards Turin when the railwaymen left the train standing high and dry on the side of a mountain.

The second boatload of troops which landed was the signal for a general strike in the port. Wherever the army transports land, they are met with a general strike. The Government is obliged to march its men over the Apennines or let them trickle through the mountain passes in camions.

It is needless to add that these strikes are not "authorised." They are not called by the Union committees. They are a spontaneous act of solidarity of the railway servants with their old enemies, the industrial workers.

An Unofficial Strike.

Similarly, the Turin strike itself is "unauthorised." It is the most spontaneous and significant industrial revolt in Italy since the Armistice. The General Confederation of Labour did not call it; neither did the local Chamber of Labour. But the latter gave its assent to the accomplished fact, and the Confederation must do the same thing if it is not to suffer a fatal loss of prestige among the workers.

The Demand for Soviets.

The strike is the first test of strength of the Turin movement. This, as readers will remember, was an agitation within the Socialist Party and Confederation of Industrial Unions for the formation of Industrial Councils in the factories, and in general, for the speedy realisation of a Soviet system in Italy prepared to assume the power when the Revolution comes.

The Socialist Congress of Bologna made the organisation of Soviets a cardinal point in its programme of action. But the Industrial Union Confederation (or rather the bureaucracy of the Confederation) was suspicious that the new order of things might upset its power. Confederation officials form a large part, and in general a conservative part, of the Socialist Parliamentary delegation; their nomination by the Party was necessary to preserve the adherence of the Confederation to the Maximalist programme. Accordingly, the Maximalist leaders, guided by Serrati and Bombacci, found themselves hampered in the extra-Parliamentary portion of their programme.

There began a period of months of aimless negotiations. The Confederation took no action on the formation of Shop Councils, or industrial Soviets. The Party drew up a tentative scheme for the formation of political Soviets, which it submitted to the membership for discussion. It has recently postponed the final consideration of the scheme until its delegates return from their trip to Soviet Russia. In the meanwhile, it counsels that no action be taken.

The Rank and File takes Action.

Against this delay the Turin movement rose to protest and to demand immediate action. The intellectual impulse came from the group of Socialists who publish the *Ordine Nuovo* in Turin. But the first response among the workers came from the Anarcho-Syndicalists (not, be it understood, from the Anarchists of whom Malatesta is the leader). The Socialist rank and file, however, promptly followed. So by the beginning of the year the Confederation

and the Party were faced with a fully matured revolt among the membership in Piedmont.

The Turin Unions began, at first in the metal industry, to organise councils in the factories, demanding for them ordinary shop-steward powers, but with a threat of more demands to come. At first all went well. The employers became frightened, and sought to make a deal with the Confederation, which refused to touch the proposition. They then attempted to dissolve the committees in their own plants.

It is said that the immediate occasion of the general strike was a dispute in one of the factories as to whether the Shop Committee should or should not have control of the time clock. In any case, the strike spread from factory to factory. In a few days nearly every organised worker in Turin was out including the printers and the women textile workers. Other cities responded in sympathy. The strike has recently become complete in Alessandria. Most remarkable, thousands of organised peasants have joined.

Sending of Troops causes Strike to Spread.

The attempt of the Government to send troops to Turin caused the spread of the strike to the railway-workers, first of Piedmont, and then of Liguria. The outbreak of the Genoa strike seems to indicate its still further spread. Finally, even the post and telegraph workers have declared a period of "obstructionism" in sympathy with the Turin movement.

The spontaneous action of the railway servants is, perhaps, an instinctive act of gratitude toward the organised workers of the Confederation, who supported them morally and financially in their strike of last January and materially helped them to their substantial victory. Their present action shows how far the railway Unions have moved towards the left since the War, when they bitterly fought the anti-militarist Socialists, and even since last July, when they effectually sabotaged the general strike on behalf of Russia.

Peasants Unite as Communists.

This new trend seems to remove the last danger of that fantastic anti-Socialist, jingo-revolutionary block, of which mention has been made in a previous article, which was to have comprised the seamen, the railwaymen and civil servants, and the d'Annunzio imperialist Republicans. The railwaymen are clearly moving toward a working compact, if not amalgamation, with the Communist Socialists. And the remarkable organisation of the peasants into Communist Unions will give this combination an element of strength lacking in any other western nation.

Leaders are Following.

It is undeniable that, as a result of the recent events, the Party has lost strength among the workers. Its high point was reached during the magnificent general strike following the elections last December, when nearly all the organised workers of north and central Italy responded to the Party call in defence of the Party prestige. Since that time the Party has been unable to retain the leadership in the direction in which the rank and file wished to move. The Party leaders are, for the moment, as so often happens, not leading, but following. However, the chief onus of the situation lies with the Confederation, and one of the first consequences of the Turin strike, whatever its immediate results, will probably be the cleansing of the Confederation of its more cautious leaders. This will largely free the hands of the Maximalist leaders. In any case, the organisation of industrial councils is not in the Party's province. In the long run, the recent events will probably not weaken the Party, but on the other hand, strengthen its Maximalists in the direction in which they have been seeking to go.

It must be remembered, too, that an immediate revolution is the object, neither of the Party, nor of the Turin movement. The pitiful reliance of Italy upon America and England for coal makes the prospects for the success of an immediate revolution all but hopeless. Italy, it is true, is in an active state of capitalist decomposition. But that does not prove that the Communists could run factories and trains on air. Italy must almost necessarily await some reintegration of economic life in eastern Europe. In the meantime the true problem of the revolutionists, as it is envisaged both by the Party and by the Turin movement, is the ceaseless acquiring of the substance of power, industrial and political, by the proletariat, while leaving its forms in the hands of the bourgeoisie until the moment arrives.

THE FRENCH WORKERS and their Government.

In answer to a question by M. de Cassagnac (Bona-partist), in the French Chamber, M. André Lefèvre stated for the Government that, pending the re-organisation of the gendarmerie, the troops dealing with disturbances, will be provided with ball cartridge.

It appears that under the Clémenceau régime, there were troops for maintaining order (*troupes du service d'ordre*), without munition, and troops for protection (*troupes de protection*), with munition. Henceforth, said M. Lefèvre, this distinction will cease. "For people must realise that the army represents public force, and that in future, under given circumstances, it will be provided with ball cartridge."

IMPORTANT.

The Workers' Dreadnought has now arranged for press telegrams from all countries. The telegraphic address is "WODREDNORT, BOWROM, LONDON."

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

The threatened railway strike on go-slow principles, has not caught on, so says the press. "Already it seems," adumbrates the *Morning Post*, "this silly plan has not been carried out." Why does the *Evening Standard* call it "silly"? Because the editor of the *Daily Mail* couldn't think of a stronger word without being obscene.

Got a bit mixed in my papers, have I? Well, hardly. I have read steadily all through a round dozen of the "Bellow Press, and they all say the same thing, with variations of air only. However, for the purposes of a libel action, let's stick to one paper—shall we say the *Evening Standard*?

This a choice paper, owned by Sir Edward Hulton, of the *Daily Sketch*, *Daily Despatch*, *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, *Sunday Chronicle*, and *Ideas*. Oh, yes, especially *Ideas*.

Sir Edward has been careful in his selection of an Editor for the *Standard*. This gentleman is always ready to rush into the breach and shed his will in the cause of anything except that of the working class. He will get up a Middle Class Scab Union at a moment's notice, and a special article on Bolsh' horrors before you have time to wipe your feet on the office mat.

So, of course, on May Day, he came out with an article on May Day. "It is the day," he scribbles, on which the manual workers demonstrate their utility and their power." Apparently an editor is not a manual worker, so he has no utility; he produces nothing and ought to be on the scrap heap—but catch him going there so long as he can find someone to hire his fountain pen at so much a lie—pardon, line. The manual workers will be glad to know the editor of the *Standard* says they have

power. However, he hustles along to add that they must go-slow about it. (He is rather mixed you observe, for he objects to a go-slow strike. It does not mean he is in favour of a go-fast strike however. He prefers the workers to go without strikes and trust in the kind-hearted capitalists).

And so he solemnly warns us, "But if the workers insist on Revolution, and on making the vain attempt to achieve progress through disorder, then our civilisation must decay."—Well, let it. What is our civilisation, anyway? It consists of a medley of profiteers, out-of-work ex-soldiers, route-marching blind men, slums, absence of houses, strikers, mass-production suits, semi-war bread, prostitutes, princes and premiers. And we won't go out of our way to look beyond the Irish Sea.

And for what is the editor of the *Standard* yawping about Revolution? Simply because the Railwaymen threaten a go-slow strike, a follow-the-rule strike. For observe:—There is no crowds of strikers in the streets, nicely herded for the yard-long batons of the mounted police. (And I did hear mention of machine-guns once; and tanks—was it Glasgow?) In this strike, the workers are busy following the rules at work. Who made the rules? The bosses. And if rules are not made to be followed, why make them. The *Standard* says "we cannot resort to such detestable subtleties, as the promoters of this semi-strike suggest." No. The *Standard* prefers the "essentially British method of frankly discussing grievances." Presumably, doping Labour leaders with whisky, cigars, and agreements, and giving the "mob" a near view of a tank in action.

A LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST.

The following letter was received from the Communist Defense Committee:—

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade,—A recent press dispatch by the Associated Press stated that an organisation named "Italian Seamen's Union" in Milano adopted a resolution to the effect that no ship that flies the colours of the United States be allowed to harbour in an Italian port as long as the Government of the United States keeps on persecuting the Communists and Industrialists. Being unable to obtain confirmation of the truth of the said dispatch, we ask you kindly to investigate this matter, and if there is any foundation to the dispatch to forward our most sincere thanks for this effective demonstration of international solidarity. In the name of the Communist Party of America that are facing trials before the "democratic" courts of plutocratic America, and personally, both as Communist and I.W.W., I can assure the comrades abroad that this demonstration made deep impres-

sion on the American public. I also can assure the class warriors on the other side that, in spite of the persecutions and hardships imposed upon the Maximalist element in this country, our struggle will not be weakened; on the contrary, it has and will become ever more determined and aggressive. We are fully aware that our struggle demands sacrifices, and we are ready to bear our share until we will be able to tell our European comrades of our final victory. Demonstrations as the one referred to will inspire our vigour and strengthen our energy, for they will show us that the day will come when the working classes of all countries will emerge as the victors of the social war and the saviours of civilisation and true culture.

Long live the Class War!

Long live the Third International!

Fraternally,

COMMUNIST DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

per Fred. M. Freedman,

Secretary.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and the substitution of a Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

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Write to the SECRETARY, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone: East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, May 7th, Manor Park Road, Harlesden, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker and others.

Saturday, May 8th, Grove Lane, Camberwell, 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, Henry Sara. Camberwell Green, 7 p.m. Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, May 9th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Colonna. Chair: Melvina Walker. Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. P. A. Edmunds. Chair: Melvina Walker.

Friday, May 14th, Manor Park Road, Harlesden, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Colonna and others.

INDOOR.

Friday, May 14th, 32, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting. Members and friends in S.E. District are asked to attend.

Monday, May 10th, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting.

Friday, May 14th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, May 9th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, May 13th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Thursday, May 13th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Sweet.

W.S.F. WHIT MONDAY OUTING

TO

FEDERATION HOUSE

George Lane, South Woodford.

(Book to George Lane Station from Liverpool Street on the Ongar Line, or 10a 'bus from the Monument down Whitechapel Road and Bow Road).

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Come and enjoy yourselves and support the Movement. Bring all your friends, and apply for tickets early in order to assist the organisers.

Admission - 2/-

(Including Tea and Entertainments.)

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THE

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

can be obtained from the following newsagents:—

Harlesden, N.W.10.—

Mr. PALMER, 130, Craven Park Road.

Mr. A. MITCHELL, 64, Nicoll Road.

Mr. M. F. LORNTON, 125, High Street.

Leicester—

W. C. ALLEN, 8, Kent Street.

A. M. SIDWELL, 8, Stanley Street.

F. BELL, 2, Chatham Street.

SMALL SELF-CONTAINED FLAT, N.W.10., unfurnished, to let to known Communist only.—Box 181.

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Rank and File Movement.

Points from the Nottingham Conference Agenda.

Item.—That it be the policy of this Union to obtain an equal wage for all its members, and to press forward the principle of standardisation down from the forty-eight hour week in the case of harder and more skilled jobs. Instead of the equal working week and varying wages, we press for the equal wage and varying working week. Example: commercial drivers, present rates, £3 14s., £3 6s., £2 14s.; New system, all rates, £3 14s.; working week: over 2 tons, 40 hours; 30 cwt. to 2 tons, 42 hours; 25cwt. to 30 cwt., 44 hours; under 25 cwt., 48 hours.

This is the first resolution on the agenda for the alteration of rules. The compilers of the agenda have done well to place it first, for in getting recognition of the principle of the weekly wage into the rule book, as a definite policy of the Union, the members will be taking an initial step towards gaining solidarity within their own ranks.

It is not likely that there will be much opposition to this proposal, for all workers have realised the need of bringing up the status of the bottom dog. It is abundantly evident that the economic needs of the unskilled worker and his family, are precisely the same as the economic needs of the skilled worker and his family, and as each are yielding socially useful labour to the best of their ability, the justice of economic equality between all grades and crafts is manifest.

In the past this Union has suffered much from internal jealousy between grade and grade, which has greatly weakened the solidarity and fighting force. For example, in 1914, 'bus-drivers were in many garages averaging £2 15s. per week, whilst 'bus-washers were only getting £2/-, and long and bitter were the complaints that it was a "drivers' Union." The steady moving forward towards the goal indicated in this resolution will gradually wipe away such jealousies and inter-class struggles between the £3 man and the £5 man, and will give that class solidarity that is the greatest need of the workers to attack the citadel of capitalism. Naturally, the ideas and outlook of a man getting £3 a week are not the same as those of a man getting £5 a week. The smallness of the slices of bread and margarine in the first case, the raggedness of the clothes, the lack of any semblance of luxury and comfort, force the views of the bottom dog to be much more savage and insurrectional, and he is held back by his class, the working-class, being split by the man next to him getting the £5. Exact identity of economic position will alone give exact identity of class outlook and class ideas. Real solidarity and real brotherhood will be the results of the establishment of the policy outlined in this resolution.

This policy needs to be copied, not only within the ranks of this Union, but throughout the ranks of the Triple Alliance, and all other organised workers as a prelude for the mass attack.

Item.—That the weekly contribution to the industrial side of the Union be approximately one per cent. of the average weekly wage for that grade, and the whole of the rates of contribution to this section to be redrafted by a sub-committee appointed the first day of the A.D.M. in accordance with this principle, the recommendations of such sub-committee to be presented for ratification to the A.D.M. before the last day's sitting.

This is an eminently practical and statesmanlike proposal, which, if adopted, will once and for all solve all the difficulties of the Union due to the ever-increasing inflation of currency. The sixpenny contribution of to-day is hardly worth twopence, and with increased wages of staff, increased rent, increased cost of rule books, cards, the margin placed on one side for strike emergencies is growing ever smaller.

It is a thoroughly sound principle that each worker shall contribute one per cent. of his income to conserve and better his position on the industrial field.

The amount decided upon is in accord with past usage in the Society. In 1914, when the taxi-driver was getting about £2 10s. weekly, the contribution was 6d., or exactly one per cent. For the 28/- washer, it was 3d., or a fraction less than one per cent.

It is not sufficient to do merely as Mr. G. D. H. Cole suggests, and merely increase the contributions to the Unions. We must have some definite principle to work on so that the worker sees all is fair and square, and this resolution supplies that principle. If adopted throughout all Unions, organised Labour would then be assured the necessary sinews of war, no matter how far the vicious inflation of currency is carried.

It will be noted that another resolution before the conference advocates the policy of pressing for an equal wage of all members of all grades and crafts. When that goal is realised, the rates of contributions of all grades will be the same. At present whilst economic inequality continues, it is only justice that the deeper purse should bear the proportionately heavier share in the fight to economic emancipation.

The "Workers' Dreadnought" offers £1 prize for the best cartoon on some topical question drawn from the Communist point of view. One shilling entrance fee should be sent with the cartoon, and the full name and address, endorsed "Cartoon Competition," to 152 Fleet Street, London, E.

Printed by the AGENDA PRESS (T.U.), at 10, Wine Office Court, London, E.C.4., and Published by the WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION, at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.