

# Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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## THE REVOLUTION IN CURRENCY.

By C. E. EDWARDS.

At the moment of writing, the Capitalist nations of the world, and the bankrupt nations, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, are met in conference at Brussels, to find new ways and means of carrying on the rapidly failing business of international trade and finance. The big international financiers who dwelt in a fool's paradise during the war, gambling excessively and rioting in the enormous surplus wealth produced by the sweat and blood of the working-class, are now panic-stricken, being faced with a worldwide breakdown of credit and finance.

Do British working men realise that the great Eastern lands contain vast stores of commodities which cannot be exchanged for lack of controlled and regulated trading power and liquidation in Western lands? Still, while the granaries and warehouses of the East are overflowing with raw materials, the proletariat there is ground down in poverty.

Whilst Russia has solved the problem by a sweeping system of socialisation, the Continent, endeavouring to bolster up the old rotten structure, is practically bankrupt, and a revolution in currency, affecting the en-

tire world, is going on in the keenly competing capitalist countries—England, Japan and America. In the latter country, the only remaining one that still maintains a gold standard of circulation, credit currency has risen from 25 billions dollars before the war to 70 billions at the present day. Actual paper money has increased from 7 to 50 billions, while the gold

reserve is but 7 billion dollars—an increase of one billion over the pre-war quantity. Because of the backwardness of organised labour in America, and the apparent stability of the Capitalist system, that country might comparatively easily depreciate her currency to the point where commodities can appreciably be expressed in terms of gold. This policy, however, would involve a certain dislocation and readjustment of industry, with a consequent decrease in accumulated capital, which the Government dare not face.

### The Battle Between London and New York.

On the other hand, England is indebted to the United States for over £865,000,000, which daily tends to grow greater, as the exchange rates move against this country. The National floating debt is 50 per cent. more than the foreign. The annual interest that the workers of England must pay on this huge foreign debt, practically amounts to more than what can be paid off yearly in instalment on the principal. We must pay this debt in goods or gold. We haven't enough of the first to give, for we can no more obtain cheap raw materials on long terms of credit. And much

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There are just two moves they can make—war against Russia which will mean revolution at home; peace with Russia, which will mean the spread of Soviet principles throughout the world.

CHECKMATE, GENTLEMEN!

Gordon Robinson  
From the "Liberator."

## ITALY IN THE RAPIDS. From Our Special Correspondent.

A new thing is happening in Italy to-day: something that may well point England's way more clearly than Russia. In Italy, we have seen little islands of Communism; small, yet growing, patches where workers' control is victorious, although all round, capitalism still reigns. And even if this particular experiment should not altogether succeed though great measure of success is already assured, those last few days will remain as a burning, shining example of inestimable value—and not to Italians only, but to the workers' cause throughout the world.

I was in Italy a few weeks ago; in those places which are now so much before our eyes, in Turin, Ancona, Rome. In Turin, I felt the growing storm which was soon to burst over the F.I.A.T. works. In Ancona, I found capitalism fearful—and justly fearful—of an outbreak of Labour's wrath, such as disturbed it last spring. I was arrested in my bed at two o'clock in the morning, because I had not fulfilled a non-existent formality (as even the police confessed).

In Rome, the events of to-day could be even more clearly foreseen: I arrived in the middle of a local general strike. The tramwaymen had dared to vindicate their right of free speech and action by entering Rome waving the red flag, and some were gay, daring greatly to sing the Internationale—on the birthday of the Queen-Mother. What had happened? Young officers armed with

revolvers, and a mad crowd of Nationalists, had attacked and assaulted our comrades.

All vehicle workers struck forthwith: and for an hour each day, while the strike lasted, all lighting was cut off in the city. On the next day at a given time, the electrical workers turned on the current which supplies the tramway system; hundreds of workers thronged the trams; and, as one of my companions said, the city was invaded from the Socialist quarter. The trams moved forward, right into the heart of the fashionable quarter, filled with singing, shouting men; red flags waved, and a thousand voices sang the Italian "Red Flag"—different in words, but one in spirit with our own familiar hymn. Only after some considerable time were we displaced by policemen armed with carbines; policemen and the thousands of soldiers (including cavalry), who thronged the city, and who behaved with their usual remarkable impartiality, arresting all who were not physically formidable, and who were not dressed after the fashion of the upper classes.

It was a fine demonstration of revolutionary high spirits, with a higher purpose behind it: something foreshadowing the events of the past few days. There was a spirit of comradeship and solidarity which nobly inspired us. In the tram in which I invaded Rome, there was a waiter, a metal-worker, a builder, and a medical student. And there was an indefinable feeling of surety,

of possession by those tramway workers, of their own means of livelihood, which well prepared me for the action of the men working on the Rome-Tivoli line. Following the example of their comrades, the metal-workers, they quietly took over the control of their light railway until their demands were conceded. Soon there will be another occupation, followed by no compromise with capitalism, however "favourable."

### Parliament: A Revolutionary Lever.

Are there any lessons other than the most obvious we may learn from the workers' seizure of their factories? There is, in Italy, a Socialist majority in the Chamber to-day. Like all Parliamentarians, many of these are timid men; some are fools: some are not true Socialists. But the Italian Chamber has shown us by its support of the workers' cause, however incomplete it may have seemed, that even Parliaments can serve a useful purpose. They do not make revolutions; but they make them easier. They divert the attentions of the capitalists from the real industrial field of battle and confuse him. They prevent bloodshed if they have control, however restricted, over police and troops. They are not altogether to be despised; a capitalist majority can make revolution difficult and bloody: a Socialist majority—even if many of its members are feeble—may make revolution easy, and relatively bloodless.

of what we might give, America would not care to take. Hence, the insistent demand of the American financiers for gold payments.

This urgent demand creates a panicky feeling in banking circles in London, for it is plainly an American bid and threat to have the financial centre of the world, the gambling mart, transferred from London to New York. The workers of England should guess what lies in store for them, between these two opposing forces, if they do not effect the social revolution here before the crisis comes to a head.

#### The Labour Party's Policy.

Among other things, the Labour Party urges a deflation of the currency, and a League of Nations' international loan to meet the exigencies of the situation. Close observers of the financial and labour world should know that a quiet deflation of the currency has been in operation for weeks—a fortnight ago, over half a million pounds currency notes was withdrawn from circulation within a week—resulting in thousands of workers being forced out of employment. And an international loan is improbable as, barring the United States, no country can afford to lend very much. The Labour Party has no international policy. It flouts Moscow, the real heart of Internationalism to-day, but it has nothing to offer us. Winston Churchill was correct when he said: "Labour was not fit to govern." The Labour Party thinks it can solve international problems by mouthing Christian platitudes through the columns of the *Daily Herald*. Its chief point, depreciating the currency in terms of gold, to bring down prices, is worthless. It would certainly bring distress and disorganisation to the working class, and make commodities cheaper only for the already wealthy classes. The production of gold itself has diminished by 27 per cent. during the last decade, whilst the metal as expressed in commodities, has been reduced to nearly 50 per cent. of its pre-war value. No one knows how much more valueless gold, in spite of its scarcity, might become in proportion to the necessities of life. It were better for revolutionaries if its value should keep on decreasing.

#### The Gold Standard Destroyed.

The gold basis of commodities in Europe is destroyed for ever. If it be maintained in America, it can work little harm to the rest of the world, if we establish Soviets in all of Europe. In the different countries, Government bonds have taken the place of money currency for the internal exchange of goods: international ex-

change is regulated either by goodwill in currency or barter. There is a Continental school, which would try to stabilise the currency as it is, opposed to a conservative British school that hankers after the dead order of things. Behind the Continental school, centred in France, is a group of big British financiers, on whose strength the French gamblers (so that they may continue their military exploits), buy and sell the English pound on the American market, thus keeping the exchanges in an ever-fluctuating state.

#### The Slave States of Germany and Central Europe.

Such is the condition of Central Europe, on account of White Guards' activities, that the workers there can hardly work, but are reduced to a despairing rabble. And our German brothers and sisters deprived of their productive machinery, are toiling in virtual slavery for the French gamblers. This is the chaos that the International Capitalists and their bourgeois servants are trying to straighten out in Brussels, at the expense of the workers of the world.

The Jingo Capitalists are solely responsible for the terrible plight of the working people of the world to-day. Yet our wretched masters appeal to the crude patriotism of the workers, and try to fix the blame on the war, the Germans and the Jews. Belgium, which was overrun by the German hordes, is on the Capitalist road to prosperity. Even Northern France, in spite of the brazen militarism of her Imperialists, is in a fair way of rehabilitation. But Germany, which was not devastated, cannot get on her feet—nor can Central Europe. Why? For the vital instruments of production, tonnage, rolling-stock and coal, have been wrested from them by Allied Capitalism, which lacks the necessary material, equipment and capacity to use the looted machinery for needful productive purposes. The workers of Germany and Central Europe are now helpless slaves and the slaves of the Allies are exhorted to toil harder and harder to feed and clothe their victimised fellow-workers of the Continent, and the thousands of black and white soldiers that the Allies maintain in the occupied areas to prevent Germany and Central Europe adopting the Soviet system of government—the only way out of the capitalistic chaos that the workers can choose. The capitalist drones proclaim the Word of Humanity and the harlot church, the prostitute press and the little labour leaders parrot the pious lie: "More production in the old way," which means keener competition and greater exploitation of labour. That is the concern of Capitalism for Humanity.

We may sit by and say that it is too late, the system cannot be saved. But it may survive in another form. It is for the workers to destroy it. Japan, America, and England are waging a grim war against each other. The Japanese are successfully capturing British trade in India and other Eastern lands. America is selling in Britain manufactures and food-supplies cheaper than the British can produce and sell these things to their own people. All these nations are seeking to exploit the backward peoples of Asia and Africa to secure cheap raw materials and cheap labour, which will enable them to dictate the terms of working-class existence to their own proletariat.

The cry of the labour leaders, bourgeois humanitarians, and financial experts like Sir George Paish, for the workers to increase output to save Europe, is a false alarm. There was a great increase in production during the war, when millions of men were taken from productive work to slaughter each other. Under Governmental bureaucracy, new industries of destruction were created to win the war, and millions of pounds and rich securities were put into the bulging pockets of the capitalists. After the war, many of these worthless industries were favoured by the Government for the sole benefit of the employers, although it was pretended that this was done to absorb the ex-service men. Soldiers and non-combatants came back from the war in millions, to purchase life's necessities with inflated Government notes, while engaged in unnecessary work. The capitalists retain and seek larger profits, with the resultant economic conditions confronting the world to-day. Visitors to Germany and Central Europe, declare that there is an abundance of food, luxuries and delicacies in these countries, which only the very wealthy can procure. The poor working-classes, which are absorbing the middle-class, are starving. The acute distress in food and housing conditions is entirely due to the monstrosity of the capitalist system. Russia is the only country that has grappled successfully with the matter; and she could only achieve success by a drastic system of socialisation. By abolishing the old money system and establishing commercial relations based on goodwill and co-operation, she will attract all the countries of the East to her. Russia's triumph will bring a great new life to all the workers of the world. Her way is the only way for Western nations to follow. Any other way will only bring defeat and destruction to the Cause of the workers.

## THE FLAMING HEART OF THE EAST.

On this page we give an account of the Red Revolution in Persia. Mesopotamia will not be pacified, Turkey is taking lessons at Moscow and Afghanistan is waiting on India. The whole East is turning away from British hypocrisies to the wisdom of Russia. The no co-operation movement engineered by Ghandi is in full progress.

Mr. Wadia, the mild Labour leader, whom we mentioned in these columns a few weeks ago in no complimentary terms, is urging official British Labour to declare against no co-operation. He is a great friend of Mrs. Besant and George Lansbury. But when he goes back to India he will have to answer to the workers for his activities here, and we hope that Sinn Feiners of India will mete out justice to him.

#### Boycotting the British Government.

The no co-operation scheme adopted by the Indian National Congress will be carried out systematically. Some of the points are:—

- (1) Renunciation of all British titles.
- (2) Refusal of Indians to do civil and military work for the British Government in subject countries.
- (3) Withdrawal of lawyers from practice and the setting up of Arbitration Courts; withdrawal of children from Government schools, the development of Indian learning.
- (4) Boycott of Legislative Councils; non-participation in Government loans.
- (5) Boycott of British manufactures; refusal to pay taxes.

The Anglo-Indian bureaucrats may soon be relieved of people to govern and the means whereby they may continue to remain idle.

## THE REVOLUTION IN PERSIA.

By A. LEONTIEV.

Persia is on fire. A revolutionary Provisional Government has been formed in Resht. The entry of our troops into Enzeli seems to have given wings to the Persian revolutionists. They felt the proximity of fraternal support. In an interview with one of our collaborators regarding the significance of the Persian revolution for Soviet Russia the Director of the Eastern Department of the Commissariat for

Foreign Affairs, Comrade A. Voznesensky, said:

"At the head of the revolutionary government is Kuchuk-Khan. He was one of the most active among the Persian revolutionists of 1908. He is a nationalist, and has a burning hatred for the enslavers of Persia, the English, and the Teheran government which sold itself to them. When Persia became a field for military activities after the outbreak of the world war in 1914, and was invaded by British, Russian and Turkish forces, Kuchuk-Khan formed his own detachments, which were named 'forest brothers.'"

#### English Consul Captured.

After the solemn declaration of Trotsky regarding the annulment of the former treaties, which was followed by the evacuation of our troops from Persia, Kuchuk-Khan inaugurated a definite orientation toward Soviet Russia, and began to act with more energy against the English. He captured Resht several times, and arrested the English consul. Strong forces were repeatedly sent against him, but they could never capture him, because he was hiding in the mountains and had the support of the broad masses of the people, who idolised him as a hero. The numerical strength of Kuchuk-Khan's forces fluctuated between one thousand and eight thousand men, depending on the extent of the revolutionary activity. At present, before the capture of Teheran, Kuchuk considers the uniting of all the Persians as the most important task. When the capital city passes into the hands of the revolutionists, social reforms will be inaugurated, and first of all the land reform, since side by side with many large land owners Persia has an enormous mass of destitute agricultural labourers. Kuchuk's programme includes the nationalisation of the banks and customs houses, and also the introduction of an income tax.

As early as the summer of 1918, Comrade Kolomeyev was sent to Kuchuk-Khan with a special letter addressed to the Persian people. The letter did not reach Kuchuk. Kolomeyev was captured by the English and shot. We nevertheless succeeded in establishing connections with Kuchuk.

Besides Kuchuk, in Western Persia, in the district of Kussan and Shyrvan, there is the insurrectionary activity of Dokhol-Khan, aiming at the liberation of the sacred city of Meshked, which the English are using as their base. This movement also be-

came stronger after the meeting at Enzeli. It may lead to momentous results. For the revolution will undoubtedly pass from Western Persia into Sestan over the railway line that is now being built, and thence it will inevitably spread to Afghanistan and Beluchistan. And when Afghanistan is aflame, the fire will spread to northern India. Kuchuk's insurrection thus acquires the importance of a world event.—Petrograd "Krasnaya Gazeta," June 10th.

## THE UNITED STATES MESOPOTAMIA.

A recent cable message from America said that the American Democratic Government had decided to withdraw from Haiti as soon as the benevolent reasons which prompted the United States to send her marines to occupy the island had been accomplished. Haiti is the second largest island in the West Indies and was occupied by the Spaniards in the Fifteenth Century. Nearly 200 years later it was taken by the French, and Negro slaves were introduced. In the same manner in which the Russian Revolution is making such a deep impression on coloured subject peoples to-day, when the first French Revolution broke out the black population of Haiti, though ignorant and thousands of miles away from the theatre of action, was curiously affected. Under the leadership of a black slave, Toussaint L'Overture, they rose in rebellion and expropriated the French planters. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the island became an independent State, but its Government, since the time of Boyer, has always been as corrupt as that of the Mother Republic, France, and as unstable and inefficient as that of Mexico. Since 1850 Haiti has been misruled by unscrupulous black and mulatto presidents and exploited by European capitalists.

In 1915 the United States occupied Haiti, took over the direction of her finances, and sent deserving Southern democrats there to administer the law of the land. Thousands of Haitian men and women and children have been shot down by American marines or driven into the bush. But the Haitians will not surrender to American domination—a brutal bureaucracy that is alien in language and culture to the natives. The United States is doing in Haiti the exact thing that Great Britain is doing in Ireland and Mesopotamia.

## ENGLAND'S WAR ON IRELAND.

It may be the policy of the Carsonised British Government to destroy completely Irish industries and reduce the population to zero before they get out. The gold reserve has been removed from the Bank of Ireland, and we have been wondering what was the object of the British Government in their systematic destruction of the Irish Co-operative Creameries, which were once favoured by them. The following excerpt by Thomas Darragh, taken from the "Communist International," gives the solution:—

"A force which will undoubtedly play an important part in the revolutionary development of Ireland is the Co-operative movement led by George Russell (A.E.). There are several well-organised branches of this movement, which now form a considerable part of the economy of the country and may readily be utilised by the proletarian state for the solution of the immediate problems of food distribution, etc., during the first period of the proletarian dictatorship. It is in the co-operative production on the land by the poor peasantry that the Communists will be chiefly interested. This movement tends to destroy the ideology of small private property ownership among the land-hungrier poorer peasantry. It actively tends to the solution of one of the most important and difficult problems of the proletarian state by initiating the organisation of the poorer peasantry on the basis of large-scale co-operative production, thus mentally harmonising the two sections of the working-class and making certain the unity of the industrial proletariat and peasantry under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

### Religion: A Capitalist Weapon.

"Ulster is the big manufacturing and industrial centre. It is dominated by the only big capitalists in the country, who are closely allied to the British bourgeoisie. Economically the workers are organised in branches of English Trade Unions. One of the main factors, though steadily declining of late years, is its religious antagonism to the rest of the country. . . . The problems of the Communists are here much easier. With the exception of the anti-Nationalist feeling, which is partly the outcome of religious bigotry, Ulster presents a problem similar to that presented by any large industrial centre."

The religious question does not seem so easy, of solution at present, when Carson and his lieutenants are making use of the religious weapon to smash Trade Unionism in Belfast and set up Capitalist workers' unions in its stead. Ireland should learn from the East how to settle her religious difficulties by walking over them to unity against foreign imperialism.

## FROM CONSTANCE DE MARKIEVICZ.

### The Black and Tans in Balbriggan.

I am sending you a statement I got from three refugees from Balbriggan:—"This devastating policy is the latest scheme adopted by the Empire-builders, for the destruction of the only White nation that is still under the yoke of a foreign despotism. The 'Black and Tans' are English officers who volunteered for police work in Ireland, and are dressed partially in khaki and partially in police uniform. They are equivalent to the White Army that is devastating Russia. The principal objects of their hatred are co-operative creameries and small businesses."

"In Balbriggan they destroyed a small stocking factory, employing 400 hands, and burnt many of the workers' homes. Distracted mothers with their little families are seeking refuge in Dublin and elsewhere. Nothing is left to them; some of them have not enough clothes, as they had to fly in the night awakened by the shouts of drunken men, the breaking of doors and glass, and the roaring of flames."

"All we know about the alleged provocation is that a barmaid, who is a new-comer in this district, refused to serve some drunken 'Black and Tans' who insulted her, that the police refused to interfere, and that she sent for local men to protect her. Nothing has come out who shot the two men. But it was good enough for an excuse to wreck the village."

### The Shadow of War Between Uncle Sam and John Bull.

The "Times" sneers at the Commission brought into being by the efforts of the New York "Nation" to investigate the British-engineered atrocities in Ireland. It dismisses the "Nation" as a radical weekly and suggests that the Editor is pro-German by birth and sympathy. As a matter of fact the New York "Nation" has the greatest influence among the American bourgeoisie of any American paper, daily, weekly, or monthly. Only the Hearst Press, with its peculiar mob appeal, can be compared to it. The "Nation" represents the puritan traditions of all New England and the Atlantic coast, the powerful Quaker opinion of the great State of Pennsylvania and the Liberal thought of the colleges and universities all through the Northern and Western States. The Editor is the grandson of the great Abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, whose descendants foster the traditional spirit peculiar to the family. From its favoured bourgeois position, the "Nation" sometimes often go farther to the Left than avowed revolutionary organs. To the American Government and the plutocrats it is like a rag to a bull. When we could hardly get any news of the real Russian Revolution, it was this paper that published the facts and all the documentary evidence in its Foreign Relations department. Nevertheless its policy is vacil-

lating and dangerous and disconcerting to the American revolutionaries. It will not shed its bourgeois ideologies and accept the clear fact of the class struggle and the Marxian conception of material conditions.

The "Nation" fears that the Irish situation is bringing England and America to the verge of war. It will not. But what will cause war between the two countries is the truth inherent in a small news item that the "Times" printed a few days ago. It was headed "American competition," and stated that American steel was selling on the English market at a cheaper price than British manufacturers could quote.

## VIOLENCE AND WORKING-CLASS TACTICS

By A. ROSS.

On reading the reports of the recent bomb outbreaks in New York and Genoa one is impressed with the ineffectuality of the Press in its effort to associate these acts of violence with the Red movement. Whatever may be the real cause of these explosions, it is certain that the authorities will do their worst to incriminate well-known revolutionaries. At the same time the Press endeavours to use these sensational cases of violence to discredit the working-class movement.

The proletarian movement being essentially an economic one depends on the activities, the spirit of the militants within the movement. No social system could endure if the teachings of the revolutionist were put into practice literally by a slave class, for this would involve a dangerous cynicism which prompts extreme violence. A revolutionist has no need to advocate open violence. He realises that at certain stages of social evolution it becomes inevitable.

### Violence a Primal Instinct.

Advocates of violence are prone to overlook many circumstances which are typically human as distinct from other impulses operating in the biological world. We know that in this sphere individual species and individuals within a species adopt direct tactics for the conservation and betterment of their interests. But human society, with its huge structure and superstructure of artificial conditions, with its complex political machine and phantasmagoria of ethics and ideals, cannot be likened to the rest of the animal world. Resort to violence is prompted by primal instincts; to refer to it as a "philosophy of despair" does not obviate the fact that, sometimes in human affairs it becomes a necessity. The workers never resort to violence with a constructive object in view. It is forced upon them by the capitalist class.

It has been argued that capitalist control is based upon violence, but this is only a half-truth. Nobody will deny that the forces of the State are used for the exercise of violence, but the existence of these forces depend upon the acquiescence of the people.

The trouble with society to-day is exploitation. The few are exploiters—the many are exploited. The few do not exploit by means of violence. The few do not get hold of the many by the scruff of the neck and compel them to toil. Economic necessity does that. The few did not introduce exploitation by physical force. It grew like a cancer, and corresponding with the growth of exploitation was a constitution to legalise it and a system of ethics to justify it.

Laws are always disobeyed when they do not harmonise with conduct. According to the workers in New South Wales it is right to strike if there be sufficient cause. Hence in spite of their Compulsory Arbitration Laws against striking there have occurred more strikes during a given period than in any other State in Australia.

Let it be understood that the strike is by no means a violent tactic. The strike is also constitutional, because it is a precedent long-established. All tactics as they become popular become constitutional. The tactics of revolutionary unionism is not to be understood in the rabid terms of violence advocated by maniacs, nor yet can these tactics be adopted by a working class whose ethics are only in conformity with crude craft union ideology. It is the function of the revolutionist first to alter the servile ideology of the working class by education, and the workers will do the rest on the jobs.

## VERSE.

### THE RED FLAG.

Born in the hearts of Rebels.  
Our flag, the people's flag, the world's flag.

You! for whom in Bavaria, in outraged Finland,  
In ravished Hungary, in unbeaten Russia, tens  
Of thousands of our best Comrades have died.  
You for whom countless thousands yet shall die,  
That at least our children may live.

You Red Flag!  
Presenting a front in the heart of every  
True Rebel throughout the world.  
Beaten now and then, here and there,  
But ever arising, first in our hearts  
And then unconquerable in our hands.

Russia's flag; the flag of the victorious,  
Ever onward-marching World Proletariat;  
The flag of the red, red and red.  
The flag of the Future.

HAROLD BANKS.

## THE POSTAL WORKERS.

By A. NUMBER.

The postal system of this country might prove very interesting to the general public, if only a few real facts were to be made more clear to them than have been.

In the case of a strike of post-office workers, would the public be allowed to hear the TRUTH? Not through the usual channels of the poison Press and the House of Coercion, and the P.M.G. who, by the way, knows as much regarding the working conditions of the post-office as we, the workers, do of fox-hunting. No doubt if the general public was informed that the post-office workers on the average received £10 per week as wages, and that quite a lot of them had their own private motor-cars, that in lieu of matches the workers used Bradburys to light their cigars, they, the public, would believe every word of it. The Union of Postal Workers is regarded by other Trade Unions as rather a soft soap affair; that it only exists by name alone. The word "union" means next to nothing—its members are not united at all.

But perhaps the postal worker should not be blamed for having a back seat in the industrial and political movement.

Joining the post-office as a boy messenger, he does not understand that he sells both body and brain for a few shillings a week, called "wages," earned on that detestable sweating system called "docket" or "run a mile for a half-penny."

During this period, he learns to understand the military idea: drills take place twice or thrice a week, with carbines to teach him how to live his enemies.

### Belly-Crawling to the Bosses.

After some years he becomes a temporary assistant postman (outdoor branch), with a split duty of a few hours in the morning and the same at night, with a wage of 13s. 6d. (pre-war rates), and after many years he receives his maximum of £4 16s.: to-day's rate. The G.P.O. people are expert in one thing, which is sweating the bottom dog. Several ex-servicemen to-day are employed as temporary sorters at the wage of £2 18s. (London). The men who are servile and will do a lot of belly-crawling to the bosses, are those that get on. Quite a number of superintendents, overseers, etc., to-day have been the blacklegs of years ago. Conditions then were simply terrible. There were times when things got so bad that a strike did take place, and what happened? Some came out and a great many stayed in. The latter saw their workmates walk the streets for months, and quite a number of these loyal blacklegs are now holding high positions, doing their master's bidding, keeping the workers in check by officialdom and surveillance.

Take the recent Wage Award of June; the U.P.W. demanded and even went so far as to have protest meetings throughout the country. Everyone was afeared, the roof of the Albert Hall nearly gave in with the enthusiasm of the P.O. workers. Big men pretended to tremble, by gad! If the P.M.G. did not give in to their terms, the U.P.W. were going to—oh! terrible things would happen; in fact, the Yellow Press was just on the verge of issuing statements to prove that the U.P.W. officials had been bought by Bolshevik gold and that they were all ultra-extremists. But what did really happen?

The U.P.W. demands of a living wage on a pre-war basis and a 10s. rise all round (the former demand was for 130 per cent., the Official Labour Gazette figures, but perhaps, quoting from a city financial paper with the figures at 256%, is more near the mark). The result was, after long waiting: The 130 per cent. rise was accepted. The 10s. demand was dropped to 3s. 6d., with the abolition of boot money, and accepted by the E.C. of the U.P.W. without consultation of the rank and file. Some of the workers out of this Award received nothing, others a few shillings, and those at the top of the ladder did very well, drawing in an extra £1 or more weekly.

So to-day the U.P.W. are waiting for their 3s. 6d., due since last January, and we presume we shall keep on waiting till the E.C. and the P.M.G. agree to pay us out.

The workers of the P.O. have quite a lot to learn from other trade unions, although they think they are "it." No action or strike on our part can be victorious without our first achieving unity. One blushes to read of 2,000 miners downing tools over two of their class being victimised by the bosses. That is solidarity, which we need so badly in the post-office—the true brotherhood of all workers working shoulder to shoulder, ever ready to dare and challenge the power of the Capitalist class.

\*The 3s. 6d. rise was conceded to the U.P.W. on the 24th of September.

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## LONGUET AND THE INTERNATIONAL

Longuet's lecture on Internationalism, at the Kingsway Hall, on September 17th, was a sorry affair. Although he spoke under I.L.P. auspices, to an audience, that in the main, was most patient and uncritical; he was evidently nervous and ill at ease with his subject, and he put off to the very close of his lecture, the moment in which he must declare his policy regarding the International. The greater part of his address was a superficial, dull, and far from illuminating catalogue of the famous Conferences held by the First and Second International. Roden Buxton, the chairman of the meeting, declared that the speakers whom the I.L.P. has chosen for this lecture series "by their names alone" will make it a success. Certainly it was only Longuet's name that made his lecture successful. No well-informed Socialist audience would have sat through it, had the lecturer been unknown.

### I.L.P. Second Internationalists.

The I.L.P. has lost its way in the field of International politics and knows not whither to turn. It shunned the Third International, and clung to the Second until only the jingo Social patriots remained in it, and the I.L.P. rank and file members at last aroused themselves to the point of pulling their party out. But the I.L.P. office bearers and leaders are still Second Internationalists. Through the Labour Party they retain their place in the Second International, and are working for its resurrection.

### Buxton's Blunders.

Roden Buxton, in introducing Longuet, clearly expressed the standpoint of the bourgeois pacifists, who now command the I.L.P. He spoke of the Second International as "the" International, and pompously referred to its committee, which it calls "The Permanent Commission." He spoke of his own position as interpreter to this body, saying that in his effort to bring the various elements together, he was by turns Longuet, Tom Shaw, Scheidemann—as though in naming those persons, he had indicated the three, the only three serious tendencies in the International movement. Buxton expressed himself as dissatisfied with the present composition of the Second International, because those whom he regards as the foremost leaders of the Socialist movement, have withdrawn from it, namely: Kurt Eisner, Haase, Adler, Longuet, Kautsky, the latter of whom he said "has contributed more than anyone else living to the theory of Socialism." We must protest that Mr. Buxton is hardly a judge of such a question. Only J. R. MacDonald, amongst those whom Buxton regards as the leaders of Socialism. Buxton declared that Longuet "has got to come back somehow into the International."

Buxton, the Liberal chosen by the I.L.P. as its spokesman on this and on many other occasions, naively betrayed his abysmal ignorance of Socialism, his essentially Liberal Party habit of mind, in every sentence. He referred to the Berne Conference in 1919, as "the first meeting" of the Second International. This of course was a mere slip, but the Berne Meeting was the first meeting he ever attended. Before the war, the Second International was scarcely even a name to him, and, what is more important, he is still, as his words proved, incapable of realising that the Second International was at Berne, just as it is now, absolutely dead in the Socialist sense.

When at last he referred to the Third International, he did so, as though it were altogether

remote and terrifying and by no means the sort of thing with which people of "our class" can afford to associate. "There is no doubt," he said, "about the preparation of violence advocated by the Third International."

### Longuet's Rueful Admission.

Longuet, when he at last brought himself to the point of discussing the controversies and policies of to-day, admitted the victory of the Third International and of the Russian Communists, by this statement:—

"I BELIEVE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL NOT MORE OR LESS BUILT AROUND MOSCOW."

That is a very striking admission, coming from Longuet, who has struggled to keep the French Socialist Party out of the Third International. In making it, he showed quite plainly that he did so with much regret, and again and again revealed that he is greatly nettled by the condition of the Third International that the French Party can be admitted, but that he himself be excluded from it.

Longuet's eyes are not so tightly shut as are those of the I.L.P.ers like Buxton. He sees quite plainly that the rank and file of the French Socialist movement is turning towards Moscow, and he must either be left in isolation or follow the road the masses are taking.

Nevertheless, Longuet showed himself to be an unregenerate Social-Pacifist still. He declared that he was "not a physical force man," but thought the general strike may be used "when you have before you the tiger of war." Indeed, his arguments were not like those of an old Socialist who has been brought up in the school of Marx, but of some silly bourgeois Liberal who does not at all understand the capitalist system and the causes of capitalist wars. He seemed to ignore the fact that it is infinitely more important to destroy capitalism itself than one of its incidental happenings, a war. He declared that the conferences of Zimmerwald and Keirthead had saved the honour of Socialism, but nevertheless, deprecated them as having "made deeper the gulf between those who were there, and those who were not there. He added that the British Labour leaders who had gone wrong during the war, had "gone right" ever since the Stockholm Conference proposal.

When members of the audience laughed, Longuet protested that he was sincere in this statement. Doubtless he was, for Longuet's policy, now that the war is over, is not really different from that of Henderson. Longuet, too, is a centrist reformist, good fellow as he doubtless is.

Ruefully Longuet admitted that "not the most sanguine can say there is any hope of the whole Socialist movement re-uniting under the banner of the Second International. But he still hopes that the centrists like himself will be able to dominate some other International which would be the Second International over again with the exclusion, or rather the voluntary withdrawal of a few of the more extreme jingoes. He wants the Russian Communists to be in this combination, because he fears that the combination will not succeed without them. He hopes that the French Socialist Party, led by his tendency, the British I.L.P., the Swiss and American Socialist Parties, will work together and be able to dominate such an International.

He declared that the rigid militancy of Russian Communism is due to the intellectual blockade of Russia which has left the Russians mentally, as well as physically, "in a world of their own."

Ah! Comrade Longuet, the raising of the intellectual blockade, the free circulation of argument, means that the propaganda of Russian Communism will make a much more damaging attack on your tentative, vacillating policy than you can make in return.

Longuet opposed the tactics of the Third International, which he said might do for a "little Party, assembling in a cellar and fighting the police," but not for such a body as the French Socialist Party, with its membership of 2,500,000. We challenged him to say whether by "the little party in the cellar," he meant the Russian Communists, who have lead the workers to overthrow the capitalist system, but he evaded an answer.

He declared that the conditions which the Third International had laid down for the affilia-

tion of the French Socialist Party, as well as of the American Socialist Party, the German Independents and others, were impossible, but he appealed for further discussion "with our Russian friends."

The condition on which he harped continually, making mention of no others, was the exclusion of himself and those of like tendency in other parties. We asked him to name the other conditions to which he objected, but he replied with a long history of the services he had rendered to Soviet Russia and the appreciation accorded to him on that account. He added that he feared the conditions which Russia had laid down might weaken the campaign which French Socialists are making against the Russian Intervention. He eulogised that campaign very highly and suggested that the French Government was afraid of it. Nevertheless the French Government is still assisting the Poles against Soviet Russia.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE AND LYONS' STRIKERS.

By Our Special Correspondent.

At the Conference of employers and employed, held at Olympia on Tuesday, September 21st, the former did not have everything their own way. J. H. Whitley, M.P. presided in the morning, and Barnes read a long dreary paper about increased production and co-operation of employees with employers. There were many rebels from the North and East London Workers' Committees among the audience, and the engineering and other steel trades were well represented. When the Conference adjourned for lunch, the left wing delegates found out that the catering was done by Lyons' whose girls have been out on strike for weeks, upon principle and to secure better working conditions. They refused to partake of the lunch, some went outside and others stayed hungry. But the great majority of the Trade Union delegates went in with the employers' representatives and ate the "scab" luncheon, wallowed in wine, and noisily applauded the silly toasts.

But those who stayed without were in no merry mood when the afternoon session was opened. Sir George Paish presided, and Barnes finished his paper about world competition and prices. Then the left wing who was not feeling tipsy from the effects of the bosses' banquet, took the floor. They registered their protest, asserted that there could be no rapprochement between the exploiters and the exploited, shouted down Sir George Paish and the Capitalist gang on the platform, and broke up the meeting by singing rebel songs.

## "A SUDDEN APPARITION."

DEAR EDITOR,—

I hope you won't let any feeling of modesty prevent you from publishing my protest. Under the above heading, the *Daily Herald*, a professed working-class paper, sneers at Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst's return from Russia, and her presence at the Manchester Conference. The Capitalist papers were forced to speak in terms of respect of Comrade Pankhurst's trip when, after being denied a passport, she successfully eluded Scotland Yard and made her way to Russia and back without detection. The *Times* had an impartial report of the Communist Conference on its editorial page. But the *Herald* cannot be fair to other people in the Movement who will not seek shelter under its cloak of hypocrisy. Comrade Pankhurst does not pretend to be "right" with labour and "left" with the Third International. The Staff of the *Dreadnought* does not join the Communist Party whilst the Editor remains in the Labour camp to retain Trade Union financial support. There are other things more germane to the *Herald* that it might chronicle under "A Sudden Apparition," such as the sudden appearance and disappearance of Bolshevik gold and all the deceit and hypocrisy relative to it.

Yours etc.,

HUGH HOPE.

## The Communist Party Conference.

The National Inaugural Conference of the Communist Party was held on September 18th and 19th at Gore Brook Hall, Gorton.

It was decided that the National Council should be elected by the branches and subject to recall by them, the representatives in the London area being the acting executive between the full council meetings. The following officers were elected:—

T. J. Watkins, treasurer.

E. T. Whitehead, secretary.

Sylvia Pankhurst, editor of the Party organ, the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

It was decided that the Party Programme adopted in June be binding upon all members.

### The Report from Moscow.

Sylvia Pankhurst reported on her attendance at the Second Congress of the Third International as delegate of the Party. She explained that the international executive committee of the Third International had accorded her as representative of the Party full voting rights at the congress. She further reported that the congress had declared that there should be one Communist Party only in each country and that the Executive had proposed, in order to achieve this result in Britain, that within four months' time a conference should be held in this country to which should be called delegates from:—

1. The Communist Party.
2. The United Communist Party (B.S.P.).
3. The S.L.P.
4. Left Wing of the I.L.P.
5. The Scottish Workers' Committees.
6. The Welsh unofficial industrial and Communist movement.
7. The English Workers' Committees.
8. Any other Communist parties or groups.
9. Irish Communists as federal delegates.

A committee representative of the various bodies should make the necessary arrangements, and an independent chairman should be appointed by the executive of the Third International.

The basis of discussion at this conference would be the thesis adopted at Moscow.

The report was adopted.

### Forthcoming Conferences.

It was agreed to join the conference proposed by the executive of the Third International.

It was also decided to call another conference of our own in December and to invite to it delegates of the Scotch Communist Labour Party and all other Communist parties and groups with principles which correspond to our own.

Comrades Pankhurst and Tyler were appointed as delegates to attend the conference of the Scotch Communist Labour Party.

The question of sending a delegate to represent the Party on the Executive Committee in Moscow was referred to the branches.

The thesis on the conditions for joining the Third International was read and adopted, with the reservation that the passages referring to the discipline to be applied to Parliamentary representatives does not affect our Party, which does not take parliamentary action.

### The Relationship of the Communist Party to the Industrial Organisations.

E. T. Whitehead moved that the pamphlet entitled "The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism," by Zinoviev, be withdrawn from circulation. He objected to the following passages:—

"Even amongst the more hopeful section of the old International, the opinion was very prevalent that the Communist Party on the one hand, and the Industrial Unions on the other hand, were organisations of equal value—having the same rights—organisations which collaborate on important questions of all kinds, like two contracting parties. The Socialist Party should control the political side, whilst the Industrial Unions controlled the economic side. Thus, for example: the German Social-Democrats passed a resolution, supported even by August Bebel, stating that if it should ever be necessary to employ the weapon of the general strike, this question could only be decided by a conference between the Executive of the Party and the general committee of the Trade Unions."

"From the Communist viewpoint this opinion cannot be recognised. The equality of rights theory has always been disputed by the revolutionary Marxians."

"From the revolutionary Marxian viewpoint, the Communist Party is the ultimate re-union of all phases of the struggle of the working-class for freedom from the capitalist yoke. The Communist Party makes use of a whole arsenal of arms to win this fight. The political struggle is indissolubly bound up with the economic struggle. The Communist Party shows the way for the economic as well as the political struggle. The Communist Party is the advance guard of the proletariat. By the torch of Communism it lights up all the turnings of the road leading to the emancipation of the workers. On this account, the work which the Communists are doing in the Industrial Unions is but a fraction of the work which the Communist Party, as such, is doing."

"During a period of dictatorship like that we in Russia are now passing through, one can still less think of any compromise with the equality of rights theory. The least deviation in this direction must be strenuously fought, in theory as well as in practice."

He also objected to the following footnote:—

"In Britain the theory that the political and industrial organisations of the workers should together decide the question of a general strike, as bodies possessing an equal right to decide is not that generally held. It is usually contended in this country that the industrial bodies alone must decide such an issue. This is a comfortable theory for those who do not wish to accept the responsibility of organising for action. The German developments are another proof that the industrial organisations do not take the initiative when it is a question of revolutionary action."

Sylvia Pankhurst defended the theory enunciated in the above passages, and stated that she herself was responsible for the footnote.

She moved a resolution stating:—

"That the Communist Party must make itself able to control the industrial policy of the workers in order that it may direct them in industrial mass action, leading to revolution, and the overthrow of the capitalist system. After the overthrow of capitalism, the Communist Party must maintain its control in order that the industries may be administered on Communist principles."

E. T. Whitehead declared that he took his stand on Circular No. 5, which he had issued to the branches with the sanction of an executive meeting.

It was decided that Circular No. 5 should provisionally be withdrawn as an official statement from the Party, and only circulated for purposes of discussion; also that the rival tendencies within the Party on the question of the industrial organisations should be concisely expounded and circulated for debate and that branches and individual members of the Party should be invited to send in resolutions dealing with this subject for the December Conference.

It was also decided to withdraw the recommendation that only Communists holding a Trade Union card should address Trade Union branches.

### Communist Saturdays.

It was decided that the Communist Saturdays for the benefit of the central funds of the Party should be held monthly, and that on one Sunday a month benefit meetings shall be held for the central funds.

It was decided that the Executive should appoint a committee to examine the literature issued by the Party, and that branches must make every effort to secure larger sales of literature and of the Party organ.

### Harold Burgess.

The conference unanimously voted greetings to Harold Burgess in prison.

It was decided to discuss with the building workers' shop stewards' representatives their proposal to co-operate with the Communist Party. It was also decided to recommend our members who are eligible to join the International Union of Ex-Servicemen and to propagate Communist views therein.

Comrade Steele attended as delegate of the National Communist League, and it is expected that his organisation will link up with the Communist Party.

### Greetings from Fellow Communists.

The Leyton Branch of the Communist Party (B.S.P.) sent greetings to the Communist Party Conference. This branch has also passed the following resolution:

"That this meeting of the Communist Party (Leyton Branch) regrets the attitude adopted by the 'Daily Herald' in regard to the offer of assistance from the Third International."

"Judging from the sudden cessation of pro-Bolshevik news in its columns and by the cringing and lame apologies published therein, it appears that the 'Daily Herald' is ashamed or shy of the attacks made by the Capitalist Press."

"We consider that as the class-war is International and necessitates the employment of every weapon and means at our disposal in the struggle against the powerful and scheming Capitalists, no assistance from any Socialist ally should be declined. We are reminded that in the time of the Czar one of the leading London dailies, now prominent for its anti-Bolshevik tosh, received £60,000 for a periodical Russian supplement in order to attract foreign capitalists to exploit the Russian workers, for as all Socialists should know, the International Sharks never hesitate to employ foreign gold."

"We regret that in this instance the workers of the world should have been betrayed by the 'Daily Herald,' and hope that this is not an indication that the paper is to be controlled in future by the Conservative Trade Union leaders at the whip-crack of the capitalist gutter-press."

### COMMUNISTS ON THE JOB.

In one of our greatest industrial centres the Communists are getting valuable inside information in the shops and factories. They have ascertained the opinion of all the workers, from Managing Director to errand boy, on the vital problems of the day. They know where the raw material is bought and where the finished product goes. They have secured data on the average monthly production, total expense and profits. They are actually in possession of duplicates of nearly all accounts and records, and are fully prepared to take over the factories when the occasion arises. The Communists in the various factories and shops are linking up into a vigilance group. The "Dreadnought" makes a great impression on these revolutionaries.

## Getting the Wind Up.

By ROBERT MORLETT.

Our enemies are more busily engaged than ever fixing the degree of our folly. The reformers seem to be keener on applying the brake to the machinery of progress. The web of words that is spun by the politicians is becoming thicker. Everybody that has something to lose by a social revolution is getting the wind up. We must be gathering our forces.

Despite these quite obvious facts, the representatives of the workers are still arguing the toss with the spokesmen of the capitalist class, oblivious of the fact that there is no argument left. Our committees and delegations are still toiling on constructive criticism, as it is called by those who are afraid to face the coming change. They are still trying with indifferent success to engraft upon antagonistic minds a social logic as far removed from their vision as the north pole is from the south.

Very few of our official mouthpieces have the courage to admit that the day of constructive criticism is passed, and that the day of destructive action has arrived. They are still carrying on the old game of gentlemanly discussion in polite terms with our social foes, apparently unconscious that the last weapon of verbal battle, aggressiveness, is becoming rusty for want of use. They are living behind the times. They fail to realise that, while compromise within the movement for the purpose of unification may have its valuable assets, compromise with the enemy is nothing but another term for a played-out reformism that leads us deeper into the morass, and makes emancipation more difficult.

On the other hand, there seems to be a considerable number of people who are wise to the rising of the tide of revolution. And, if I am not jumping too quickly to conclusions, the writing on the wall may be found on the last page of the "Times." The possessors of this right little tight little island are becoming nervy. They seem to be doing their utmost to dispose of their private property; and if I am wrong in my conclusion, it may be that I am not very far wrong in saying that they are getting the breeze up.

### Big Properties Selling Out.

The last page of the issue of the "Times" for September 16th contains six columns of big, fat jokes. The proprietors are handsomely paid for their insertion; the agents are, no doubt, the recipients of bulky honorariums for their medium-work; and if the Revolution happens along in the near future the purchasers will be sold more satisfactorily than their newly-acquired property.

The Marquis of Breadalbane is disposing of 56,000 acres of Scotland. Mr. Gilmour is selling 57,000 acres of Ross-shire and Sutherland, and a couple of islands in the Shetland group. Sir Richard Bulkeley is negotiating 4,200 acres of Anglesey, including the larger portion of the town of Beaumaris. Lord Kensington is selling the estate of St. Brides, extending eight miles along the coast, and covering an acreage of 1,100, and 2,500 acres of land overlooking St. George's Channel. And so forth.

Altogether, in that one issue of the "Times," there are, approximately, 137,000 acres of our country advertised for sale.

While the land of the people is passing for immense sums of money from one owner to another, we are wasting our energy and the energy of our leaders in attempts to increase our weekly wages by a shilling or two per week, to find the rise disappear in the course of a month or two in the cavernous maw of the cost of life. While our official compromisers are hobnobbing with lawyers in the pay of the system, endeavouring to show them that we have a righteous case, and that our claims are just, the landed proprietors are disposing of their goods as quickly as they can, taking time by the forelock, so to speak, to people who have probably less power of calculating the chances of the future.

It is not to be thought that the present owners of our country are selling these huge tracts of land at a loss. In all probability they are making money over the transactions; and with every sale up goes the cost of living another few nitches, and down goes the well-being of our class; for it is being generally recognised that no matter what advances on wages are being forced by the reformers, the cost of life out-paces them every time.

There is only one solution to this: the land that was fought for by the people of Britain must belong to the people of Britain. The possessors of it must be evicted. They are a menace to our well-being; and that they are trying their hardest to pass the burden of ownership on to someone else suggests that it is time we relieved them of their responsibility. They are getting the wind up. The events of the times are telling it loudly to all who care to listen. And it is up to us to see that they have good cause.

## The "Dreadnought" in Danger.

### AN APPEAL.

The "Workers' Dreadnought," the organ of revolutionary and uncompromising Communism, is in danger of going under. The "Dreadnought" is read by all classes of workers. We appeal to the revolutionary and intellectual spirit of our readers to support our Development Fund. Don't wait until tomorrow. Send your contribution to-day, small or large, which will be acknowledged in the paper, to the Manager, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

# An Open Letter to Comrade Lenin.

From **HERMAN GORTER**  
(Holland).

[An Answer to His Pamphlet: "The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism."]

(Continued from last week.)

Russia had an industrial proletariat of seven or eight millions, but the poor peasants numbered about twenty millions (you will forgive me making slight mistakes in the numbers, for I must cite them from memory, because I have not time to look them up). As Kerensky did not give the land to these poor peasants, you know that they must come to you as soon as they perceived it. That is not the case in West-Europe, and will not be the case; such a condition does not exist in the West-European countries, as I have pointed out.

The position of the poor peasants is different in West-Europe to Russia. Although often very terrible, it is not so terrible here as there. The poor peasants, as tenants or owners, have a piece of land. Through the excellent system of exchange they can often sell something; at the worst they can feed themselves. They can now, during and since the war, obtain high prices; they will be supported by capitalism. They will uphold capitalism as long as it can uphold itself. The condition of the poor peasants with you was much worse; therefore the poor peasants with you had a political, revolutionary programme, and were to a certain extent in a political, revolutionary Party: the Social-Revolutionaries. Here that is not at all the case. Besides, in Russia there was an enormous amount of property which could be divided amongst them: landed estates, Crown lands, State lands, church lands. But what could the West-European Communists offer the poor peasants, to bring them to the revolution, to win them to their side?

## Poor Peasants in Western Europe.

In Germany (before the war) there were four or five million poor peasants. There were only eight or nine million hectares\* in really big estates (over 100 hectares). If the Communists divided up all these estates, the poor peasants would still be poor peasants, for the seven or eight million agricultural labourers would also want to have some land. But they cannot divide them up all at once, because they will want to use them themselves as large properties (?)!

So the Communists in Germany have not even a bait with which to allure the poor peasants. For of course the medium and small properties will not be sequestered. The position is very much the

\* 100 Hectars—2.47 acres.

same with the four or five million French peasants; also in Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. Everywhere small and medium properties predominate. Even in Italy the question is doubtful. One can say nothing at all about England, where there were only one or two hundred thousand poor peasants. The figures show that there are comparatively very few poor peasants in West-Europe. Also that auxiliary forces, if they were there, would be very small. And the organisation, as a class, of the poor peasants, is almost nil. The demand for division and distribution is nowhere to be heard.

Capitalism has somewhat improved the condition of the poor peasant in West-Europe during the last century; they also profited by the high prices during the war. Against that, Communism shows them civil war and annihilation. The poor peasants in West-Europe will stand by capitalism as long as it has any life in it, unless a crisis comes, which will be much more frightful in Germany than at present—a crisis which will exceed in frightfulness everything that has ever happened.

The workers in West-Europe stand quite apart. For only a very small section of the lower middle-class will help them. And this is economically unimportant. The workers must make their revolution alone. That is the great difference between West-Europe and Russia.

Perhaps, Comrade Lenin, you will say that this was also the case in Russia; in Russia, too, the proletariat alone made the revolution; it was only after the revolution that the poor peasants came in. That is true, but the difference remains all the greater.

You know, Comrade Lenin, that the peasants would surely and quickly come to you. You know that Kerensky neither would nor could give them the land; you knew that they would not help Kerensky. We, on the other hand, are sure, that at first, all over the West-European Continent, they will help Capitalism.

The Russian Revolution conquered by the help of the poor peasants. Here in West-Europe and all over the world we must keep that thought fixed in our minds. But the workers in West-Europe stand alone, the Russians must keep that thought fixed in their minds.

That is not brought out in your writings enough; in fact, not at all. You are silent about it. Still worse: you very often make it appear as if we in

West-Europe might expect a great deal of help. Perhaps you will say that even if in Germany there are no large masses of poor peasants who are ready to help, that the millions of proletarians who are still attached to the bourgeoisie, will certainly come over; that, therefore, the place of the poor peasants in Russia will be here taken by the proletariat; that, therefore, we shall still have assistance. Also this explanation is in its way false. The difference between us and Russia is erroneous.

## Russian Peasants Aid to Revolution.

The Russian peasants came over to the proletariat after capitalism was defeated. But not until the German workers, who still support capitalism, come over to Communism, will the war against capitalism really begin.

Because the poor peasants were there, because of that and only because of that, did the Russian comrades win, and the victory was already secure and sure when they came along. Because the German workers are still in the ranks of capitalism the victory does not come, and it will also not be easy, and the fight first starts when they come over. The proletarian revolution stands alone in West-Europe, even when the great majority of the proletariat is united.

That is a great mistake, and your false judgment of the "Left" arises from it. Because of it your European, your world tactics is also wrong. The development of the Russian Revolution during many years was terrible for the proletariat, and it is still terrible since it has conquered. But when it was taking place it was easy. With us it is quite different—just the other way round. Beforehand it was easy and afterwards it will be easy, but while it takes place it will be terrible. Probably more terrible than at any other revolution. For capitalism, which was weak with you, and adhering rather to feudalism, the Middle Ages, and even to barbarism, it is strong with us, powerfully organised and firmly rooted. And the lower middle-classes and the small and poor peasants, who always support the strongest, with the exception of a small economically unimportant section, will stick to capitalism to the very end.

The West-European proletariat stands alone. That is the truth. And upon this truth we must base our tactics. Every tactics which is not based upon it is false, and leads the proletariat to a serious defeat.

## PLAIN TALKS TO PLAIN PEOPLE.

By **ROBERT V. HARVEY.**

Dear Editor,—

The ever-increasing failure of all strikes, run on small sectional lines, should convince all Trade Unionists that for the future the only real hope of getting any betterment of working conditions, that is, wages, hours and social regulations, is by the National General Strike of All Trades. It is fallacious to look to Parliament. All Parliamentary procedure is merely a shadow and a sham. At its best it is but a bulwark of protection for the capitalist classes against the workers, on the one side, and aristocracy on the other, and in every sense it is a bolster of profiteering.

Politics are the reflex of the economic; that is our productive work (Economic) is the Substance, and must be carried on for us to live, whilst the political is determined by the economic state of Society—this we will elaborate in a later article.

Let it be a National General Strike of All Trades; then all the blacklegs and "scabs" will avail nothing.

The mere threat of the National General Strike will be sufficient to gain for the workers any reasonable demand. Therefore, all the members of the various Trades Unions should everlastingly agitate in their Unions; passing resolutions, pressing the executive committees in every possible manner, until those executives agree to a National General Conference being held, representing every Union in the country, for the express purpose of forming one great Union—One Union, one card—An injury to one is an injury to all—to prepare for the National General Strike—or threat thereof. Every Union should be represented on what might be termed the N.S.G.C. (National General Strike Committee). This Committee to be the mouthpiece to meet the employers. Each Union should discuss what shall be the minimum of Labour.

This might be:—

1. Five eight-hour days per week.
2. £7 per week, bonus for wives of £3, children graduated from 10/- to 30/- per week; maternity £10.
3. No overtime whilst unemployment exists.
4. No imports of anything produced by sweated or cheap labour.
5. No interference by the police, Army or Navy during disputes.
6. No compulsory military service.
7. The right to work or maintenance.
8. 52 weeks full wages.
9. Absolute free speech and press.
10. A law of maximum, that is £7 per week, whilst all commodities are at the level of November, 1918; directly prices rise, wages rise automatically.
11. Socialisation of all large industries—transport, wines, food-supply, insurance, etc.

This would be a Charter well worth fighting for. There cannot be any doubt that if all Trades

Unionists ceased work and persuaded as many others as possible to do so, the Strike could not last many days—most likely only a few hours.

The great lesson that must be well taught is that once the Strike has commenced, work will not be resumed until the "Object" struck for has been conceded unconditionally by the employers.

Let the workers remember that peace and order must be maintained; so that we can think and act coolly and collectedly. To join in rioting or excitement in massed crowds is to invite defeat.

The capitalist class, in the shape of the Government, only need the slightest provocation to proclaim Martial Law—then the chances of the workers would be much less. Taking matters quietly is far more likely to spread the strike amongst the police, Army, Navy, and lower middle classes. Anyway, so long as it is a National General Strike, and not hampered too much by the treachery of so-called leaders, we may confidently look forward to success.

Ultimately our goal is to replace the present "Thieves Kitchen of Capitalists," with a Society governed (if that word suits you best), by its Trades Unions (Soviets). Instead of the present Government (with its laws, wages, prisons, workhouses, rich and poor, rent, interest, profit, property—in a word Capitalism—we would have just one country to manage, England. What happens beyond the coast is not our business.

For a time, these Trades Unions will take the power, "wrested from the capitalist class," and direct the whole of Society from the standpoint of **THE WORKER SHALL EAT. THE SHIRKER SHALL STARVE.**

Every unemployed person will be absorbed into the section he or she prefers. Each Union will see that there is enough of its particular production, for all. Politics, as we understand the word at present, will disappear both locally and nationally. Every Worker will have a voice and a vote in his Union. (The shirker will have no look in anywhere). All workers will have full knowledge of all local and national affairs. Each local district will send its delegate to a given Centre; that Centre will manage its district, that is, the material, production and distribution. Districts will send Delegates to National headquarters to manage National affairs. Every Delegate will secure his post by proving his qualification (as a manager should), and be elected by the open approval of the actual majority of workers concerned.

First will come the question of food for all; secondly, comfort for all; thirdly, education; fourthly, luxuries. The first call is for every one to work, so that all may enjoy the best, and abundance of food. The lord-high-chairman-secretary-boss of any particular Union and his family will have just as much as they require, the same as the roughest labourer and his family. The food question being settled, come homes and comfort. For a time we must "PIG IT," as we have done for so long,

whilst we build houses, and provide clothes worthy of the name, meanwhile knocking down all the present eye-sores: slums, prisons, barracks, law-courts, and such, and destroying all paper claims, i.e., deeds, etc. After that is accomplished, and we are all well cared for, the full mental and technical education for all shall be seen to. Lastly, come luxuries; for instance, motor cars and flying machines, which will be kept in garages and hangars, free to all. When we require them, we just take them. As for jewels, etc., when they cease to have a money value, doubtless, they will have no more charm than a string of pebbles round a Negro's neck.

## NOTES FROM THE MIDLANDS.

It did one good to read Comrade Pankhurst's article: "A Call from the Third International." There are many comrades here who uphold our policy and refuse to join the Communist Party of Great Britain. But they still hold aloof from actually joining us for two reasons. Firstly, they want to see one Party for Communism; secondly, they fear to definitely put themselves in a position of splendid isolation. To such waverers I would say: You believe in the policy of the first Communist Party, then come inside and your convictions will be represented at the unity conferences which are bound to come, and the united party will be sounder in construction through such representation. Also, do not fear you will be isolated. No party desires unity more than we; no party has less personal motives that militate against unity.

And now a word with those clever people who try to manoeuvre their Party into a "favourable" position. It makes one sick to see supposed Communists adopting bourgeois tactics between party and party and in their propaganda amongst the workers. They forget in all their plans the very thing that makes the working class the class which represents life, and not stagnation and death. That is, the single-mindedness and directness of the working-class in all its thoughts and actions. It is only in the perverted decadent ends of society, top and bottom, where "diplomacy" and sneaking petty victories count for anything.

Communists who wish to show they are as "clever" as the bourgeois are merely accepting bourgeois values.

A man may be economically the proudest of proles, but, if he tries to be "clever," to score petty victories over other comrades, he is only a bourgeois individualist and not a Communist. Similarly, a man may give up a bourgeois environment and enter economically the ranks of the proletariat, but if he retains bourgeois values, he is still bourgeois. A working-class twister (he thinks himself a great diplomatist, probably) is far more hateful than a bourgeois twister. The one has forsaken the values of his class; the other is merely of his class.

H. M. EMERY.

## THE I.W.W. IN ENGLAND.

The following letter was sent to us by a local organiser of the I.W.W., which we print with slight variations:—

To "The Industrial Worker,"  
Box 1857, Seattle, Wash., U.S.A.

Perusing the "Industrial Worker," dated 26th March, 1920, I find that the leading article is written by a fellow-worker just returned from England, and deals with the subject of British Labour, and the I.W.W. Arising out of that article, I should like to indicate a few home truths, as I think that the said article is somewhat misleading, and tends to belittle the fight which the small but class-conscious bunch of I.W.W.'s in England have put up. First let us deal with the reference to Frank Hodges at the beginning of the article. The fact that Hodges went shooting on one of our noble lord's Yorkshire moors should be sufficient indication as to his class-conscious sympathies. With regard to the official element of the railwaymen, miners, and transport workers, etc., these officials are precisely the same old craft union fakirs of the A.F. of L. and Gompers type, so why waste time expatiating on their doubtful virtues? The point about them taking up the fight against the I.W.W. persecutions is untrue; individuals may have done so, but the Unions—never! The fact that the journal of the United Vehicle Workers was open to our case carries no weight, because in January, 1918, one of their members, who was also an I.W.W., was abandoned while in prison awaiting trial under D.O.R.A. It is true that a solicitor was obtained to defend his case; but he was withdrawn, and his expenses charged up to the I.W.W. defence fund.

Now with regard to the Shop Stewards and Workers Committees. These were started in the beginning of 1917, and were the result of changes in the engineering industry due to development in the method of production. Their first fight with the employing class was about the retention of the Trade Card, which gave exemption from military service to the young members of the engineering craft whilst they were working on munitions. At the Committees' inception, the rule was that to be a member of the Workers' Committee, one must also be a member of the craft union. The difference now is that you may hold the card of any craft union, but you must have one to be eligible for the Workers' Committee.

On June 10th, 1917, members of various committees got together in order to discuss the direction in which the movement tended; realising that the committees were being controlled by the leading lights of the S.L.P., who, by the way, have either accepted jobs as paid officials in craft unions, or posing as prospective parliamentary Labour candidates. The meeting decided to adopt the I.W.W. Constitution as a principle, and immediately began to form locals throughout the country; at Coventry, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield, Chelmsford, Belfast, Dublin; and seven locals were formed in London. On the establishment of these locals, many of the new Wobs were getting a hustle on in the various S.S. and W. Committees with a view to getting them to accept the I.W.W. constitution as a whole, as against the poaching and prostitution of a part, but never a ghost of a chance did they stand; they were told that the time was not opportune. The workers would not join up because they were afraid that as soon as they accepted the I.W.W.'s cards the police would come along and wipe them all up, because of their reputation in the States. Many similar spineless excuses were given, so eventually the Wobs decided to ignore them and get along with the propaganda. Everything was going well, members were coming in, literature sales were increasing, and all was progressing favourably, until January, 1918, when an aggregate meeting of the A.S.E. took place at the Albert Hall, London. It was a good opportunity for propaganda and advertisement, so several of the Wobs volunteered to get out a leaflet, the idea of which was to point out to the Crafties that their class had been shooting at one another on the plains of Europe long enough, and that it was about time they took a hand in stopping it; it suggested that the best way to do this was to set up the machinery for the calling of a general strike to force the opening up of peace negotiations, so that the workers could get on with the class struggle. As a result of this four of the Wobs got gaoled. The Workers' Committees were significantly silent; but the call went out for defence funds by the I.W.W., of course, and a King's solicitor and counsel were briefed for the defence. They turned up on the first remand, and conveniently, for the "bulls" were absent on the second; so the four were sent down for six months on three charges under D.O.R.A., to run concurrently. These four were: Paul Manning, A.S.E.; C. E. Boyington, U.V.W.; W. Lucas, U.V.W.; and Arthur E. Titley, Toolmakers. The first-named being an American, was deported at the expiration of his sentence; the second was released, for deportation at the end of three months, as the authorities didn't like the idea of giving us a free advertisement by burying a hunger striker; the third served one month of his sentence, the rest being remitted by the court of appeal; the last came out at the expiration of his sentence after doing four months in the prison hospital as the result of hunger striking. Taking up the threads of the organisation, he found that the S.S. and W. Committees had become more firmly established, whilst the Wobs had dwindled away.

Now where the craft unions and rank and file committees while these things were being perpetrated? Did they send one letter of protest to the Home Secretary or any department of the Crown? They

## SOUTH WALES NOTES.

This week is a trying time for all interested and connected with the miners' affairs. The conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation, held at Cardiff, left much to be desired, everybody being very nervy. The usual high water-mark of debate was lacking.

On the Centralisation scheme, we missed on the floor of the conference a few of the advance guards who have been appointed to the E.C., and only the old stalwart, A. J. Cook, gave any help on the platform. I want to say for Cook that he fearlessly exposes the reactionaries at these conferences, and when our other Left-wingers come out as he does, things will move.

### Hartshorn's Change of Front.

Hartshorn opposed this scheme on the ground of other organisations decentralising, without understanding that to give control to the rank and file these organisations must decentralise, as they were formed on centralised lines. While our organisation has been building from the bottom up in accordance with industrial development, and while opposing the form of centralisation involved in this scheme, which aims at giving the fullest measure of control to the rank and file, Hartshorn for years advocated a form of centralisation which puts the reins of power into the hands of a few officials. The new form of rank and file control and representation is inevitable.

A notable feature of this conference, which shows how centralisation with rank and file control works, was that any 20 lodges can call a conference whether the E.C. likes it or not, and delegation to these conferences must be paid out of the central funds.

On the rents question, our E.C. was instructed to call a larger conference, representative of all Trades Unions in South Wales, to discuss the matter.

Our Belfast Comrade, Hanna, addressed the conference on the position in Belfast and Ireland, and had the unanimous support of the conference. Some lady also wearied us with sentimental platitudes of lion and lamb, interest in children (Dr. Barnardo's Homes), and tried to inform us of the good intention of the Capitalist Boss and the money he gives to these homes. Of course, there is a superficial identity of interest, but which is fundamentally really diversified. The master-class gives so, that more children may become wage-slaves, while we must save the child from suffering, not on the lines of Barnardo's Homes, but by smashing a system that makes the Homes necessary.

did not. On the 27th September, 1919, a convention was called at the Memorial Hall, Faringdon Street, London, of the S.S. and W. Committees, and a resolution was tabled asking for a vote of sympathy for the police who were out on strike, the only dissident being an I.W.W., who had been in gaol. Another resolution was tabled by a Wob, which had the backing of 1,000 workers. Jack Tanner of "Solidarity," the organ of the S.S. and W. Committees, was the Wobs' co-delegate from the job. The resolution was as follows:—"That we call upon the London S.S. and W. Committees and also the National Administrative Council of the S.S. and W.C., to get into touch with the American I.W.W., with a view to buying as many constitutions as possible, so that they could be studied and discussed with the object of linking up with the American administration of the I.W.W. This resolution was knocked off the table in the excitement of putting the police resolution, but the Wobblies jogged the memory of the chairman; thereupon Tom Mann moved the resolution. It now read:—"We, the London S.S. and W. Committees, strongly condemn and protest against the action of the American Government, and tender our heartiest sympathy with the I.W.W.'s in gaol. Thereupon the aforementioned Wobblies, the moment it was seconded, arose and objected to the twisting, and told the conference that there was not a Wob in the world that wanted sympathy; that what was wanted was support, and the best way to give it was to establish locals of the organisation in this country. There is no room for sympathy in the class struggle. Sympathy is so much junk and cant. Let us stick to the old motto of "Deeds, not words."

On behalf of the Central Recruiting Local, No. 1 (British Administration),

Yours for the O.B.U.,  
ARTHUR E. TITLEY,  
Local Organiser.

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J. W. GOTT, Secretary Liberator League,  
61, Dorset Street, Bradford.

A deputation met the Ministry of Transport over workmen's railway tickets and received the curious reply that Parliament has fixed the rates and they cannot interfere. This will give rise to trouble, as collieries are threatening to stop if it is not taken off, and I would advise the workmen travelling by trains to demand a conference through their lodges and force the issue. This matter should have come before the recent conference, but it was turned down by the E.C.

The road men in Cardigan are putting up a splendid fight for more wages, and for five weeks now they have resisted the onslaught of the bourgeois County Council.

At Cardiff the number of unemployed grows greater week by week, and is now over 3,000. Bristol has over 6,000 unemployed.

Many women are holding meeting over the high cost of living, which gives the lie direct to miners' wives being against the miners' demands.

### "Ca-Canny" and Output.

The situation in the coal dispute is creating much resentment among the men, who take great exception to the compromise, and the general tone is that we should have made a higher demand for wages. This question of wages being coupled with output, they ask, who is going to work to produce more: the M.F.G.B. Executive or the miners? We shall determine what output, if any, and no guarantee from our E.C. to the governing class can produce output. Why? We know positively the mines managers are in accord with a definite policy of the Coal Owners' Association to go "ca-canny" on output, and that they are preparing for decontrol, which will not be until after 1921, when our six hours' demand is gone by the board. We, on the other hand, use "ca-canny" to bring the managerial staff to a frame of mind to settle many miners' disputes. Further, this policy must become more and more the weapon on which we shall have to wage the class-struggle to reduce profits, because no matter what we may prate about Europe and our foreign policy, we have to wage this struggle home here in our own way.

And now some sad news. One of our comrades (Mrs. Dykes) has passed away. She was a tower of strength to the movement here at Bedwas, and she will be missed in the trying times ahead, as a more fearless fighter in the cause of the working-class it was impossible to find.

## THE COAL DISPUTE.

By T. J. Watkins.

In spite of the feigned delight of the Capitalist Press, the chances for any real and lasting peace in the mining industry recede farther and farther every day. The Capitalist game is to use a discredited Government either to force the miners' Executive into an unequal warfare or to press them to surrender all the vital points of their previous demands. The first point to go by the board was the 14s. 2d. As I pointed out in my article in the *Dreadnought* of July 31st, it was a great tactical blunder. Now we find Smillie pleading for a second ballot and defeated chiefly by the strength of South Wales. Smillie is being used by the Triple Alliance, but the South Wales leaders have already gauged the temper of the miners of that section. Smillie is being out-maneuvred by J. H. Thomas. He is caught between the deep sea of Labour Party politics and the devil of Militant Industrialism. So we hear of postponement after postponement, but no sound settlement of our demands seems probable.

If the M.F.G.B. continue to pursue its futile spineless policy, the South Wales miners will press sectionally for the carrying out of their war-time agreement with the Government. In the spirit of solidarity, we did forego our claims, but we will not put up with any more tomfoolery. The owners may welcome such action on our part in order that they might bring about decontrol and disunion in the miners' ranks, but the revolutionary miner (and there are thousands of us) is not concerned with palliatives and the bolstering up of our rotten industrial system. Only an open struggle and serious privation will bring our bonehead public to realise that we must have a new system in this country.

### The Datum Line.

Under the agreement of 1915 a labourer is entitled to £1 1s. 7d. and a collier £1 8s. 3d. per shift. What I see involved in the datum line of production is the surrender of the strike weapon, and no industrial union can allow any tampering with this weapon under the Capitalist system. The Government having secured to themselves their £66,000,000 surplus profits over and above the coal owners' £34,000,000 guaranteed profits, by forcing the M.F.G.B. to drop the stupid 14s. 2d. claim; now say to the Executive: "There is no issue between you and the public. You must meet the owners in tribunal to discuss the 2s. claim"—and our Executive humbly agree. We in South Wales are watching the future developments with feverish interest.

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## BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Blair is not much of a talker, and, therefore, from my Uncle Fitzarthur's point of view, a good worker. "Ah!" Uncle Fitzzy would remark, "if there were only more men like him. There is far, far too much talk going on, and so much less work in consequence; if only the workmen would stick to their work and not fool about it, this would be the salvation of the country. More production, as my friend, George Barnes, says, is the only way, to put the Empire on its feet."

But, of course, Blair isn't what Uncle thinks he is. What energy he saves in talk he puts into slashing articles in the advanced papers; and perhaps he could have pointed out to Uncle Fitzzy the sting in the tail of George Barnes' remarks. I put them in capitals, because I believe in encouraging the printer to use them more and so save the "lower-case" from the scrap-heap. Quoth George:—

"The main remedy is, of course, greater production in proper proportions. As an illustration, he said that boots are cheaper now because they have been produced in such abundance, AND BOOT-MAKERS ARE OUT OF WORK."

So, of course, as Blair might point out, if you want to get on the Unemployment Exchange in the soonest possible time by all means produce more and more. And, as Norah says, morer.

I asked Blair what he intended to write about this week.

"There's a good many things, of course," he said. "The coal strike, for instance?" I queried.

"Yes. There'll be various articles, editorial wisdom most likely, pointing out how the miners are being swindled out of a strike, etcetera. Of course, the miners don't want to strike; nobody does. But there's the credit the Labour leaders get from the 'young hotheads,' as Blatchford, the journalist—and I could call him no worse name—dubs them. But let the editors do their duty."

"You might, of course, put in a few words about the Council of Action?"

"Well, yes. But it needs no funeral wreaths from me. It will more likely be buried in quicklime. It is just part and parcel of the Labour leaders' statesmanship, like the coal strike. They are out to get Governmental power, but they must have a good backing by the workers in order to keep in; so, of course, they are trying to shepherd them all in their Trade Union fold first. The idea is to work up their enthusiasm by something quasi-revolutionary and get them solidified; and then of course will come the inevitable agreement—but you will know the rest, so I won't write about that."

"You'd have more scope in the Wall Street outrages."

"I don't need to go so far across the pond for such material. Look at the photo in to-night's *Star*, with the wording underneath: 'This is not the Bapaume Road, but the village of Balbriggan after yesterday's R.I.C. reprisals. Two hundred persons were rendered homeless.' Then consider the lying account cabled from New York by the correspondent of the *Star's* sister paper, the *Daily News*, about three Italian anarchists being responsible for the Wall Street bust-up. Apart from the fact that the *New York Call* points out that a commercial gunpowder wagon passed up the street in the ordinary course of business, why doesn't some equally keen journalistic sleuth find out the names of the 'anarchists' who wiped the village of Balbriggan half off the map? There is always something to write about when one considers Ireland."

"There is, of course, the Lord Mayor of Cork, and—well, lots of things."

"Yes; there's Mrs. Bamberger, for instance, and Irene Monro, and the dyed racehorse, and fifteen divorces, and twice as many swindles, and about two thousand minor assaults, all of which would have filled three volumes of atrocities if they had occurred in Bolshevik Russia. And if you want a bit of comic relief, there's the League of Nations Union, which is faithfully going to help the capitalists rebuild anew the world they have turned into a hell in five years."

"But what are you going to write about?"

"Well, there's always one thing worth writing about—the Revolution."

### To All London Comrades.

THE PARTY WOULD WELCOME THE PRACTICE OF COMRADES VISITING EACH OTHER AT BRANCH MEETINGS AND TAKING PART IN THE DISCUSSIONS AND BUSINESS. IT IS ONLY IN THIS WAY WE CAN GET THAT EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND IDEAS AND BECOME THAT UNITED FAMILY THAT A COMMUNIST PARTY SHOULD BE. ALL COMRADES ARE ASKED TO WATCH THE LIST OF ALL MEETINGS, BOTH INDOOR AND OUTDOOR, AND AS OFTEN AS POSSIBLE VISIT AND ASSIST OTHER DISTRICTS.

E.T.W.

Please fill in, and either hand to your local Branch Secretary, or post direct to EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, Provisional Secretary of the Communist Party, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W. 14.

I wish to join the Communist Party, British Section of the Third International, and declare my adherence to the seven main principles of the Party.

Name .....

Address .....

## COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

**CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.**—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

**MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION:** Threepence.

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Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

### BRANCH NOTES.

#### Sheffield.

Comrade Taylor arrived in Sheffield on Monday, September 20th, and held two meetings. The Socialist Choir sang.

#### Stonebridge Park.

This branch has recently been very busy organising the unemployed ex-servicemen and workers in the district and assisting to form a strong branch of the International Union of Ex-Servicemen. The stop-watch competition result will appear on the 9th October.

#### Hammersmith.

A special meeting will be held on October 4th, at the Labour Rooms, 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, at 8 p.m. The Party Secretary will give a report of the Conference. All Party members and intending members invited.

Large crowds at the Grove every Thursday have followed the duel between the anti-organisation anarchists and ourselves. It is curious that this is the only opposition the Party speakers encounter. Never a Parliamentary Communist has shown his nose in Hammersmith.

#### Stepney.

The Secretary of the Stepney Branch, Comrade Alf. B. Cohen, 30, Laleham Buildings, E.2, writes me that the new branch is in need of a portable platform. Will any comrade willing to lend or dispose of one to the branch please communicate.

### APPEAL.

The Inaugural Conference has just been concluded, and as an outcome, plans for work will now immediately be made. There is no need to urge that there exists a great field for Communist activity—work. Unfortunately, funds are needed to ensure that future work is carried through. The Communist Party also urgently needs funds for the payment of past or current expenses. Those whom this appeal affects are requested to send donations to:

**T. J. WATKINS: Hon. Treasurer.**  
14, Glyn Gwyn, Tre Thomas, Mon.

#### Hull.

Reports excellent meetings. Always draw the biggest crowd. The Branch starts the indoor meetings first Sunday in October, for which they have taken a larger room at the old premises. Indoor meetings every Sunday at 7 p.m. All enquiries on Communism invited.

#### South Shields and Tyneside.

Will comrades in South Shields or Tyneside district desiring to be linked up in local groups of the Communist Party, B.S.T.I., please communicate with J. Beadham, 18, Osborne Avenue, South Shields.

### GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Sheffield Comrades £2 5s, Soho Comrades 8s 4d, E. and C. Paul 1s, George Aird £2, Gorton Comrades 15s, Kent and Biddle 1s, W. Paradise 4s, F. Petrie 6s, Geo. J. Sear 5s.

### GORTON GUARANTOR LIST.

Comrades Siddell 6s, Brown 5s, Russell 8s, Harold 3s, Flood 3s, Redfern 7s, Sharkey 8s, Gillespie 5s, Scraggins 1s, G. Crook 10s.

### LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

#### Whitechapel.

Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

#### Poplar.

Dock Gates. Sundays, at 7 p.m. Mrs. Walker.

#### Camberwell.

Grove Lane. Fridays, at 7.30.

Hanover Park, Rye Lane. Saturday, at 7.30. Mrs. C. Cole.

#### Peckham.

Peckham Rye. Sunday, October 4th, at 11 a.m.

Debate: "Will the Labour Party be of service to the working-class in the interim before Socialism?" J. R. O'Sullivan v. a Trades Unionist. Adjourned from last week.

#### Soho.

The Broadway, Golden Square. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. Comrades Cornwallis and Davidson in charge.

#### Hammersmith.

The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

#### Willesden.

Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station. Every Friday at 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara. Comrade Cores in the chair.

#### Bow.

St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m. Mrs. Walker.

#### Birmingham.

Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

### INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

#### City of London.

International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1. Study Circle every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All interested are invited.

International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1. Every Friday at 8 p.m. Secretary: S. Ginsburg, c/o I.S.C.

#### Soho International.

58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

#### Bow.

400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

#### Poplar.

20, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

#### Camberwell.

16, Peckham Road, Mondays, at 7.45 p.m.

#### Hull.

Argyle House, Aulaly Road. Every Wednesday night at 8 p.m.

#### Hammersmith.

Labour Rooms, 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush. Every Monday at 8 p.m. All Party members and inquirers welcome.

#### Stepney.

International Socialist Club. Thursday, 23rd Sep.—International Socialist Club. Every Wednesday at Bancroft Road Library, Stepney, at 8 p.m.

### INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Sundays, at 11.30 a.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Rd., Paddington.

Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrold's Corner, Edgware Road.

Thursdays, at 7.30 p.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Road.

Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

### Extracts From Last Week's Post-Bag.

Dear Comrade,—Good progress is being made in Sheffield. New members continue to pour in. Members who have left the Socialist movement in the past owing to the question of the Labour Party and Parliamentary action, are now applying for membership.

At a special members' meeting, held on Sunday, September 12th, it was decided to find permanent rooms for weekly executive and propaganda meetings, economic classes, and speakers' classes. Comrade Seaton was elected assistant secretary. Comrades James and Smith were elected delegates to the Manchester Conference, and were instructed not to budge from the seven main points. It was decided to hold a Communist week. All collections should be sent on to head quarters.

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