

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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THE LABOUR CHARTER.

AMERICAN SEAMEN PROTEST

Andrew Furuseth and Patrick Flynn, who went to Paris as delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America, have issued a warning against the so-called Labour Charter which is being incorporated in the Peace terms. They say:—

"On behalf of the International Seamen's Union of America, we respectfully protest against the whole draft and fervently pray that God in His mercy may save the working people of the world, the working people of the United States, but more especially the seamen."

On their arrival in Paris Furuseth and Flynn obtained a copy of the 'Covenant of the League of Nations,' and a copy of the proposed constitution of the Commission on International Labour Legislation. Section 22 of the League of Nations Covenant is as follows:—

"The High Contracting Parties will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organisation of the League a permanent Bureau of Labour."

The American Seamen's delegates in a report to their organisations point out that

"Section 22 gives the authority and the other sections are the means of enforcing obedience to any action that may be taken by the proposed international body in regard to working people. The League of Nations is necessarily the judge of what is 'fair and humane conditions.'"

"The proposed Constitution of the International Conference on Labour Legislation had not been finally adopted—there was in fact a struggle on about its final contents, the representatives from the United States being the principal objectors."

"We have had but very short time in which to consider the draft. It appears to us to be in the form of a treaty which, if accepted by the United States Senate, necessarily becomes part of the supreme law of the United States."

If this is true of the United States, it is also true of every other country: the International Labour Legislation and the body promoting it may override national law.

WORKERS PLACED IN PERPETUAL MINORITY.

The main points in the constitution of the proposed international body are as follows:—

Article 2.

The permanent organisation shall consist of a General Conference of representatives of the high contracting parties and an International Labour Office, controlled by the governing body described in Article 7.

Article 3.

The meetings of the General Conference of representatives of the high contracting parties shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four representatives of each of the high contracting parties, of whom two shall be Government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the high contracting parties.

Each delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting....

The high contracting parties undertake to nominate non-Government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, in their respective countries.

Each delegate may be accompanied at each sitting at the conference by not more than two advisers. The advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the delegate whom they accompany and by the special authorisation of the President of the conference, and may not vote.

A delegate may, in writing addressed to the President, appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the international labour

office by the Government of each of the high contracting parties.

The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegate or advisers whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with the undertaking contained in this article.

Article 4.

Every delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the conference....

If, in accordance with Article 3, the conference refuses admission to a delegate of one of the high contracting parties, the provisions of the present article shall apply as if that delegate had not been nominated....

Article 7.

The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a governing body, consisting of twenty-four members, appointed in accordance with the provisions of the protocol hereto.

The governing body shall from time to time elect one of its members to act as its chairman, shall regulate its own proceedings and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least ten members.

Article 8.

There shall be a director of the International Labour Office, appointed by the governing body, who shall be subject to the instructions of the governing body, be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labour Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him. The director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the governing body.

Furuseth and Flynn point out that:—

"If each nation as such has two delegates, the employers of each nation one delegate and the working people of each nation one delegate, the votes may be one for the workers, three against them. If each nation as such has one delegate, it may be two to one (Article 3)."

(Continued on page 1350.)

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

THE IGNORANT HEATHEN.

I have had the painters in. And that is saying a great deal. It is almost as bad as having "raiders" round, looking for seditious writings and inflammable material. Consequently, I have been camping out and reading the local Parish magazine.

They are great things these magazines: and the cash accounts are interesting too. A great deal of useful information is given if you know where to look for it. For instance, we are told:—

"In a certain Mahomedan land a prince wanted to make a beautiful garden round his palace. He had not water enough to do so, but finding out that a little stream ran through a poor man's garden near by, he had this stream cut off and turned into his own palace grounds."

It is evidently no cinch being a poor man in "a certain Mahomedan land." Now, if only he had been in Christian Britain, he would have been served with a proper notice to quit. But one cannot expect much of benighted Muslims, who of course (like the Crown Prince in war-time) have about 150 wives each. And their life is not exactly all Turkish delight. Perpend: "In Mahomedan lands women are held to have no souls, to be used or ill-used as men may desire."

That is, of course, impossible here in careless, happy, free England. Our women rove about in Piccadilly and Leicester Square in perfect freedom, with no fear of molestation. Our Refuges, Homes, Institutions and Lock Hospi-

tals are only peopled with aliens—probably Mahomedans. Unless, of course, they are Germans.

Turn we now to India, the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown:—

"Wherever the Hindu religion is in India there is a terrible custom called *caste*, which means that the people are divided into grades or classes, each being a separate caste, and the caste which is higher looks down on all the others and will have no dealing with them."

That is too bad. Our first, second and third class railway carriages are merely an accident. They are an outward symbol of an age when we were as heathen as the Mahomedans. We are even more democratic since the war. You will find working-class blood mixing with the best of the bourgeoisie in West End hotels. Mostly officers and girls.

"There are," the informative Parish magazine editor tells us, "millions of out-castes in India... their huts are perhaps ten feet square." The miners with one-roomed houses are certainly better off. So are our pigs. But we treat our out-castes little better. Conscientious objectors had cells of smaller dimensions.

But go as the story proceeds:—

"Still thinking about India, we remember that it is in the name of religion that little girls are brought by their parents to the idol temples and there are 'married to the gods' as the saying goes. This means that they live in the temples a life of shame and usually only death releases them."

We are comforted with the thought, however, there are worse conditions "except where British rule keeps down injustice and wrongdoing." So, evidently my copy of the *May Freedom* is misinformed when it states:—

"For many years the Army authorities in India used to recruit women as prostitutes for British soldiers, these women being recognised as part of the equipment of every regiment, and being regularly inspected by the medical officer. On 17th June, 1886, under instructions from Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief, a circular Memorandum was issued by Major General Chapman, which stated, amongst other things that it is necessary:—

"To arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazaars, whether in cantonments or on the line of march."

"To have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, and to provide them with proper houses."—Parliamentary Paper, No. 197, of 1888.) *

Evidently, anyway and in any case, there is something rotten in the State of India. Perhaps the Rowlatt Bills will dynamite Christianity into these ignorant heathens.

* In the Parliamentary Paper the first paragraph begins with the words "Where Lock Hospitals are not kept up, it becomes necessary, under a regimental system"; the second with the words "In the regimental bazars it is necessary."

COMMUNIST LEAGUE STEPNEY BRANCH. A GRAND DANCE

Will take place on SATURDAY, JUNE 14th, AT THE PEOPLE'S PALACE, MILE END ROAD, E. (With its spacious Winter Garden).

Valuable Prizes will be given in an Open Fox Trot Competition. Full Jazz Band in attendance. Commence 7 p.m. sharp. Terminate 11.30 p.m. Admission 2s. inclusive. Nearest Railway Station Stepney Green.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S PROTEST. Continued from front page. NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE POWER DESTROYED! WORKERS HANDICAPPED.

"The power seems to be derived from Article 20 of the Covenant, and to be enforced under Articles 12, 16 and 17 of the Covenant. The power seems to be a blanket power, destroying in effect the legislative power of any and all States with which the membership of the League of Nations or any individual member thereof has commercial or industrial relations.

"Before the working people of any nation can get anything on the agenda, it must have (first) the consent of the representatives of its own nation (second) the consent of the governing body."

The above statement is based on:—

"Article 14.
The agenda for all meetings of the conference will be settled by the governing body, who shall consider any suggestions as to the agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the high contracting parties or by any representative organisation recognised for the purpose of Article 3. The seamen continue:—"

"Any question may be placed on the agenda upon the motion of any one nation, and by a two-thirds vote may be forced to consideration and decision; notwithstanding any protest from the working people most interested made to their own government.

"Most of the business of the conference will be decided by a majority vote. Three to one or two to one of all the delegates will determine the most intimate daily industrial life of the workers of any nation or of all nations, unless there be a national protest, in which case two-thirds majority will rule (Article 19)."

RATIFY BEFORE CONSIDERATION.

"It seems that the final decision arrived at by the conference and endorsed by the governing body is by this draft promised ratification before it is considered. The competent authority may refuse ratification, but will in that case stand as pledge breakers before the world and is subject to isolation (Article 21).

"If by chance some decision favourable to the working people has been adopted and ratified, but is not complied with, the penalty upon the nation so failing may be, at the discretion of the governing body, an appeal to public opinion (Article 24).

"A nation defaulting in its obligations under this proposed treaty may, upon the recommendation of a Commission of Inquiry, be subject to an economic boycott (Articles 28 and 32)."

As will be seen below these American Seamen's delegates make a special protest against the unduly large representation of the British Empire. This protest is made for reasons of class not nationality as presently appears.

"The self-governing colonies of Great Britain seem to be endowed separately with the same representation as the United States. It would appear as a consequence that the British Empire as such enters the conference with a very large number of votes in excess of that of any other nation. The British Empire, through its several delegates and its influence and power over other nations, appears to be put in a position of determining the lives to be led by the working people of the world."

(Is it perhaps true, as was stated some years ago by a noted European writer, that the purpose of the commercial class would be: First, to destroy the remaining power of the historic upper class; second, so to burden and shackle the working class of the world that the commercial class would in fact be the heir to the political power held by the guilds in the Middle Ages?)

THE SEAMEN'S CONFERENCE.

On March 14th a Seamen's Conference was held in Paris to consider the International Labour Commission. The following notes are taken from the report of this Conference which Furuseth and Flynn made to their organisations. This Conference included representatives of masters and officers. Here is the report:—

"First: In seeking to make arrangements to execute the resolution dealing with a standard wage, it was decided that the wages of the sailors and firemen (dock and engineers' department) had been settled and would stand.

"Second: That the wages in the stewards' department had not been sufficiently determined and that therefore all information about the wages of the different countries must be sent to the secretariat within six weeks and then to be finally acted upon.

"Third: Officers' wages were to be left to a committee to be selected by the officers themselves, to gather information and to report to the secretariat at the earliest opportunity.

"A resolution instructing the secretariat to endeavour to bring about an international conference of shipowners was proposed and adopted; we opposing the resolution and voted 'No.'

"A resolution giving the secretariat the power to carry out resolutions adopted in London and Paris was proposed and adopted; under the impression that it would include the resolution to submit everything to the Peace Conference, we opposed the resolution and voted 'No.'

The American delegates endeavoured to secure war pensions for merchant seamen on the same terms as for sailors in the Navies. In this attempt they were opposed by the French and British:—

"A resolution requesting the allied powers to insist upon compensation from the central powers for all murdered or injured seamen, amounting to at least one thousand pounds each, was proposed by the French delegation; a substitute was offered by the representative of the English masters and officers, and this substitute was adopted; we opposed this resolution as it was written by the French and English, and voted 'No.' Our position being that all seamen being on board of armed vessels were on war vessels and as such were men-of-war men."

"The resolution adopted in London that all resolutions adopted by the conference be laid before the peace conference was introduced. We opposed it upon the grounds that it would submit the seamen's future to the international conference on international labour legislation which promised to be of such nature as to give the seamen no hope and to the American seamen no safety. We moved as an amendment that it be laid over at least until the composition and powers of such body shall be decided; in this we obtained the active support of the French and Swedish delegations, whereupon the resolution was unanimously laid over, and was not further considered by the conference. There is therefore no power to submit anything done to the peace conference."

On March 19th Furuseth therefore submitted the following memorandum to Mr. Gompers and other American Labour representatives, and to Colonel House:—

Paris, March 20th, 1919.

On behalf of the seamen we respectfully protest against the whole constitution—the representation and the powers granted—but more especially against Article 19.

There may be some question about the extent to which the powers granted may go. It is, we think, possible to take the view that conventions prepared and adopted by the conference and obtaining the endorsement of the governing body must be ratified to preserve good faith and escape the punitive clauses in so far as the nation has the power under its own constitution to deal with the question by way of convention or treaty. But even if this be not the case there is certainly a moral obligation to ratify such conventions.

The seamen's act was subject to strong opposition before it was enacted. The protests against it by other nations have continued. It compels equalisation of wage-cost in operating merchant vessels, and therefore gives to America—the high wage nation—an equal opportunity on the ocean in international commerce. This, according to European and especially British opinion, is contrary to the interests of Great Britain.

The conference on labour legislation meets and, dominated by Great Britain and her self-governing colonies and dependencies, uses the machinery provided to adopt a convention, which in some form establishes an international law, when ratified, a principle to the effect "that Seamen for the purposes of protection and discipline shall be subject at all times and places to the law of the flag under which they serve," and the seamen's act with its freedom for the seamen and its opportunity for America passes away if such convention is ratified by the United States Senate.

The seamen lose such protection as comes from the popular branch of our congress and the fact that ordinary legislation must be enacted in the open under the searchlight of publicity.

If it be contended that an ordinary treaty with one nation has not the prestige that will be carried by a general treaty coming with the recommendations of the conference on labour legislation and backed by the League of Nations.

We feel that this machinery is especially arranged to cover this question and possibly the question of immigration. We cannot subscribe to any suggestion that this is not in the minds of the European delegates who insist upon the convention idea in place of the principle of recommendation.

We cannot believe that the delegates from Great Britain and other nations are not acquainted with our constitutional limitations. We believe that they know and that they are either trying to overreach the United States or to deceive their own people.

If it be purely a question of the United States being part of a scheme to enforce something on other nations under the idea that it will, when dealing with working people other than those employed in inter-state and foreign commerce, apply to the working people of the United States, then of course it is a deception of their own people.

This constitution with its practically unlimited power granted resembles somewhat the first draft of the constitution of the United States before the limiting amendments were adopted.

There are limiting amendments—the labour charter—proposed here. They may or may not be adopted. If it should be adopted that: "A seaman shall not be punished by imprisonment for leaving his vessel in a safe harbour, nor shall he be arrested, detained and surrendered to his vessel," then we seamen might feel safe under this constitution, otherwise not.

On March 21st the Convention on Labour Legislation arranged by the Council of Ten discussed the Labour Charter. Furuseth and Flynn report that after a struggle it was agreed that:—

"In no case shall any of the high contracting powers be asked or required, as a result of the adoption by the conference, of any recommendation or draft convention, to diminish the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned."

But what of future legislation? Will there be an attempt to hamper that?

"On the question of adopting as part of the 'labour charter' the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States—prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude—the convention—claiming that there is no such thing in Europe—voted 'No.'"

BARNES OPPOSES THE SEAMEN'S FREEDOM.

George N. Barnes who, it must be remembered was representing the British Government and not British Labour, though he entered Parliament as a trade unionist and I.L.P. took up a strong stand against the freedom of seamen. The Convention had resolved that seamen must be "subject at all times and places to the law of the flag under which they serve." The only safeguard for a seaman who found that law oppressive would therefore be freedom to leave the ship for one under the flag of a nation whose law he preferred. Barnes, however, opposed a resolution that

"a seaman shall not be punished by imprisonment for leaving his vessel in a safe harbour nor shall he be arrested, detained and surrendered to his vessel."

Furuseth explains:—

"The opposition, as was to be expected, was led by Great Britain. Mr. Barnes pleading for the seamen, opposed this declaration. He was followed by Mr. Fontaine, for France, expressing great sympathy with the seamen but feeling that this proposition must be laid over for some body of technical experts. He was followed by Italy, whose representative took the same position."

"A vote was taken, American representatives and the representatives from Cuba voting 'Aye,' the representatives from England, France, Italy, Belgium, &c., voted 'No.'"

"It seems that the seamen's act is safe, together with such higher standards for other workpeople as have been attained in the several other countries, but it should not be forgotten that there is nothing definite here. The conference and the nations which its draft conventions are submitted will of course be the parties to determine what is to be considered as diminishing the protection afforded by existing standards to the workers concerned."

We have already pointed out that the vaunted Labour Charter is in full of most obvious flaws. It is in our view a highly reactionary document. Nevertheless it has been widely accepted in the Labour world as an asset to the workers. We urge all workers to consider the Charter carefully. It is all that Labour in capitalist countries has got out of the war. Compare it with the freedom to manage their own affairs and to establish a communist world which a revolution has brought to the Russian workers, and which is only hampered by the attacks of foreign capitalist governments.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By F. P.

CRAFT UNIONISM.

The time of craft unionism in the mining industry has come to an end; it must make way for organisation by industry, which organises the worker, not upon the basis of the tool he uses, but upon the kind of commodity he helps to produce.

The S.W.M.F. is now making a special effort to compel all men working in or about the mines to join the one union, and thus unite the forces as a class. This is a very essential matter for the control of industry by the workers. Of course, the craft unions are making their last desperate fight for life, and the craft union officials who have vested interests in them are bringing up all their antiquated arguments and methods of resistance, to hold back the tide of industrial unionism. They are hopeless. Their attempts at resistance will be futile, as futile as the attempts of the medieval stage-coach owners were to stem the tide of the development of the modern railway system. As the owners of the old stage coaches were reactionary in opposing the steam engine, so craft union officials are likewise as reactionary in opposing the only up-to-date organisation on the basis of industry. Many little strikes are occurring in the effort to get all the craftsmen into the Miners' Federation and success is assured all along the line. The Clerks are agreeable to come to some working agreement with the Miners' organisation, but the Federation has upheld its dignity in refusing any compromise with the Colliery Clerks. They must join up in their craft union officials, and there take their place with the other ranks of labour. The time of craft unionism is gone for ever; the owning classes are organised in an up-to-date fashion and the workers, to fight them, must organise on the lines of Industrial Unionism.

CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE.

On Saturday, May 31st, 43 students presented themselves for examination at Cardiff for C.L.C. scholarships given by the S.W.M.F. It is unfortunate that only 8 scholarships are given while hundreds of applications were made, showing the need for an extension of the College at London. The number of applicants was cut down to 43 by the separate districts, and applications on the basis of 1 for every 3,000 membership were permitted to enter the Central Examination at Cardiff. It is now up to the Miners to erect a College at Cardiff for the use of miners alone, for there are hundreds in the coalfields desirous of studying working-class economics, history, philosophy, sociology, &c. The Central Labour College at London is now owned and controlled jointly by the S.W.M.F. and the N.U.R., and the quicker other unions will follow in their footsteps the better it will be for the future of the Labour Movement. The progressive nature of the S.W.M.F. can be distributed in the main, to the effect of the C.L.C. education, for during the past few years almost every village had its class on economics or industrial history. The students from the C.L.C. make effective teachers, and numbers of young miners attend; in fact, some classes have a membership of more than a hundred, and in the future the

effect cannot be other than favourable. But the need is now for a greater supply of teachers, and the miners must see to it that a College is commenced at once in South Wales.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment is now rife in South Wales, it being part of the coalowners' policy to make conditions as bad as possible for the worker. Skilled miners who have worked at no other occupation but coal-mining are tramping the roads, while the cry still goes up: Output! Output! The coalowners are adopting the policy of "going easy" until the Coal Commission has made its report on nationalisation. It is argued that no more men can be restarted for want of "clearance," and the Miners' officials have allowed that argument to affect them. In the meantime hundreds of men are out of work, and if they are civilians receive a miserable donation of £1 per week, not enough to keep a very, very small wolf from the door. The Federation must take on a much stronger attitude, and demand that every miner be given work. If that is done the coalowners will very quickly find ways and means of giving them work, and finding "clearance" for the coal. Before the coalowners can find a solution, the problem must be there before them. The attitude of the Federation is one of expecting a solution before the problem is presented. Let the Federation enforce the bosses to employ every man at the minimum wage rate, and they will soon find means of exploiting this labour, and if they cannot, private ownership in the mines collapses, and then the organisation must be in a position to take over control. Rumbblings of discontent are observed among returning soldier miners, many of whom are weeks under the pit heads, begging for their work back, after, as they say, "being out there defending these pits." "It is bloomin' time we had a revolution," is the general remark of these men. The employers are chary at employing more men because the output is not increasing, in fact in some places it is actually decreasing. The workers are indeed awakening.

PROFIT-SHARING.

Lord Gainford is indeed a back number. He must have been asleep for at least 50 years. The time when profit-sharing schemes would appeal to the miners is gone; this scheme should have been brought forward 50 years ago, not in 1919. The miner knows that if he increases, by very hard work, profits by 20s., then 19s. 6d. goes to the coalowner and 6d. to himself. The greatest argument against the miner having anything to do with profit sharing is that it is brought forward by the coalowner. And who imagines the coalowner suggesting anything of advantage to the miner, unless it is a question of being willing to give 6d. to save a shilling? The coalowner knows that he can now throw in the "towel," and he hopes to postpone his downfall by inviting the miner to come in and help himself. That won't work, before very long, the miners will not have a share, but the whole.

TCHITCHERINE ON THE PEACE TERMS.

Writing in the *Izvestia* Tchitcherine, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic, says of the Allied Peace Treaty:—

"This treaty is not a 'Peace' Treaty, but the continuation of the war, because it produces a situation which is equivalent to war. In fact, this was the aim its authors had in mind: to contract the state of war the better to be able to fight the workers' movement. The ruling class, all through the treaty, keeps its power, whilst inciting against each other the workers of the various countries. Capitalism has, intentionally, invented a 'peace,' that is not war, which maintains the atmosphere of war: this is sufficient to continue the conflict between the workers of one country and another; on the other hand the Treaty has sufficient 'peace' to avoid the immediate outbreak of Revolution."

All this is according to the calculation of the Ruling Class; it remains to be seen whether their reckoning will turn out to be correct. The instrument for maintaining this continued state of war is the "League of Nations," which, in accordance with the Versailles Treaty, is but a larger coalition of the international Ruling Class, and not an instrument for peace, since Imperialism cannot produce such an instrument. This coalition will find it difficult to keep even itself together. As soon as it comes into contact with reality, it is bound to break up, because it is only a formula put forward to camouflage the desired continuance of the Alliances against Germany.

A CALL FOR ACTION.

By A. S. TOOWARD.

It is not a bit of use trying to disguise facts, that policy never helps us. The Parliamentary Committee has ignominiously failed. I admit that to be a bold statement but let us examine the facts. For months and months past the Trade Union branches have recorded their emphatic protest against the Allies' policy in Russia, the Blockade, Conscription, and political prisoners. That is why the Miners' Federation took action as it did. That is why the Triple Alliance decided to ask the Parliamentary Committee to convene a National Trade Union Conference. And the P.C. says, after the interview with Mr. B. Law that the reply was "sufficiently satisfactory" to deem a national conference unnecessary. I have read the report of that interview in *The Daily Herald*, and I say most vehemently that the Parliamentary Committee is easily satisfied. For sure enough Bonar Law treated them with the utmost contempt. He told them nothing at all except that the Allies were responsible for every anti-Bolshevik campaign, that if there was a general strike it would mean that the workers had lost faith in Parliament (Oh, that they had), and that it would amount to a revolutionary Government and that the old army could be relied upon (to do the Government's bidding), more so than the new. Beyond that he gave no satisfactory reply about either Conscription, the Blockade, Russia or political prisoners. Yet the Parliamentary Committee considers this satisfactory. Further than that I affirm that the Great Triple Alliance, upon which I had centred so much hope has also failed and that the Labour Party is in the picture at all. Whilst the Parliamentary Committee was spending time about war groves, whilst the Labour Party is asking questions in the House, and being greeted by derisive laughter by the coalitionists, whilst Smilie is roasting ducks and Williams is mouthing revolution (with no apparent intention of helping it on) the capitalist class is quietly but determinedly carrying on its war against Russia, Hungary, Ireland and every other country that is fighting for self-determination. British workers are working feverishly in the East London dock area fitting out boats for Russia and no one says them nay. If ever a body of organised workers had an opportunity it is now. If the Parliamentary Committee in conjunction with the Triple Alliance and the Labour Party said, no more boats shall go to Russia, the Blockade shall be raised, and all political prisoners shall be released, the Government would be compelled to acquiesce or abdicate. But not having the necessary courage and imagination they have ignominiously failed. So it is for the rank and file to do what these poor people have not the moral courage to do. Those of the revolutionary rank and file must get together at once and decide to take action not merely talk about it. That is why I am so sorry that the conference convened by the London Workers' Committee and to be held in London on June 14th is confined to the question of the political prisoners, important as that question is. Is it not possible even at this late hour to induce the delegates to deal with those vital questions that the Parliamentary Committee seem so reluctant to tackle? So my advice to revolutionary workers is to get the question of this rank and file conference discussed at Branch meetings, to get delegates appointed, and above all ask the conference to tackle the question of Russia, and all other vital questions seriously. Not only to tackle them but to decide definitely to take action. I believe that half-a-dozen determined, courageous men prepared to take risks would, were they bold enough, carry the country with them.

I am looking for them!

THE UNGRATEFUL POLICE.

I am going to withdraw my support from the "Bobbies." Here I have been under the impression that their wages were low and that they were ill-treated, and apparently I have been living in a fool's paradise, for the good old *Evening News* tells us that the lot of the "guardian of the peace" is almost equal to that of a coalminer. I learn from that enlightening organ that not only is the minimum pensionable screw £3 10s. a week, after twenty-five years he is entitled to £75! Now 1s. per week for 25 years is exactly 25s without interest. It does not require an accountant to see the enormous advantage to the policeman. Allowing for riotous living the sloop could easily save half of his £3 10s., especially if he only has six children; this added to his £75 would enable him to purchase a coalmine or two, a few 80 guinea pianos, to say nothing of fur coats for the good wife.

Robert Peeler fight your own battles. No longer will you get the support of H. P.

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THE POLICE AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

Like so many others, the police have hesitated on the brink of a strike, and, in spite of the enormous majority, 44,539 to 4,324, for down batons shown by the ballot, they have decided not to act at present. They will wait, they say, for the meeting of the Triple Alliance at Southport, which might decide to take industrial action against militarism.

"Wait for the Triple Alliance," was the cry used to deter the London engineers from supporting Glasgow, Belfast, and the Port of London in January. It was said then that the Triple Alliance would certainly take action in support of a 44-hour week in the immediate future, but the action never came. Now we are told that the Triple Alliance will presently take action against militarism in general and the Churchill circular in particular. All sections of Labour are therefore advised to wait until the great machine begins to move. Before the armistice we were asked to wait till after the Germans had been beaten: now we are asked to wait till the Triple Alliance moves. The result seems to be much the same: nothing happens. What are the prospects of action by the Triple Alliance? The Executive is reactionary and timid. Moreover, it has no real power: it can only advise; the actual power resides in the rank and file workers. If they are united, action will be successful; unless they respond to the call of the Executive there can be no strike. The Triple Alliance Executive, by its off-repeated failures to act at times of crisis, is doing the Labour cause a serious disservice and is helping to maintain the fallacy, so anxiously devised by the Government, that to strike is to perform a most dangerous and illegal act, attended by gravest risks. The Triple Alliance and the other big unions are helping to give an appearance of reality to the idea that Government coercion will be overwhelming in case of a great national strike.

It is important that the police and all sections of workers should realise that neither the Triple Alliance nor any of the executives of the great, old-established trade unions is likely to call a strike in defiance of Government prohibition until the members of the union concerned have taken action themselves. Until they see the workers on strike the executives will always hesitate, because they will never feel sure that the workers will rise to the occasion; and even when the workers are out, the executives will order them back, and try to negotiate a compromise through fear that the workers will not stand firm.

Mr. Marston, President of the Police Union, has informed *The Daily News* that the Government's policy "was deliberately devised to force the police into a strike, whether they wanted it or not," and to bring the police and military into conflict. We think not. We think that the Government has been anxious to avoid a conflict; and the proof of that is that the Government has hastened at this juncture to increase the policemen's pay and to make other concessions to them. It is said that in case of a strike the Government had made arrangements to put soldiers in the police stations and tanks and machine guns in the streets. We do not doubt that, indeed, it seems obvious in view of Glasgow, Belfast, and Limerick that such steps will be taken by the Government

whenever any great national or general strike may arise.

Whatever might have been the action of the Triple Alliance or the other great union executives, there is no doubt that the police strike would have had the very strong sympathy of rank and file workers and also of soldiers and sailors. Whether the soldiers would have obeyed the order to blackleg the police remains to be seen, but there is no doubt that working-class public opinion, both in and out of the army, would have supported them in a refusal to blackleg. The weakest point in the police case in this regard is the fact that, so recently, they obeyed the order to drive the discharged soldiers away from the House of Commons, and that even in their apology for doing so, they persisted that they must continue to obey the Sessional Order so long as it existed, though they recognised the Order to be bad.

The Police Union officials have announced that the strike is merely postponed to a more opportune moment. At the same time they have proposed the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry, like that on the coal question, upon which the police and prison officers should have "reasonable representation." The union officials offered to suspend action until 21 days after the signing of peace, or until the findings of the Commission had been published, if the Government would agree to the proposal. Though the discussions at the Commission might have some propaganda value, the tendency of such methods of procedure is to divert the attention of the workers to the question of what may or may not be done for them by Government action, instead of inducing them to concentrate on what they can achieve for themselves. Moreover, a pledge not to strike before a given date might debar the police from seizing the opportune moment for which they say they are waiting.

A splendid lead to the British police has been given by their comrades in Winnipeg, Canada. Reuter reports that on May 31st the Winnipeg police force consisted of 9 men only, 198 having been dismissed for refusing to sign an agreement severing their connection with the Labour agitation.

The British Police Union officials declare that they will call their members out at any opportune moment and they point to a possible strike of the Triple Alliance. But since the Triple Alliance is most unlikely ever to lead a strike movement, it would be a grave mistake for the Police Union to place all its eggs in that basket.

On June 14th a Conference called by the London Workers' Committee, will meet to consider a national general strike to enforce the release of political prisoners, including McCartney, Ramsay in London, and many others. If the men who are in prison were consulted they would doubtless say that what they want to see is not a strike for their release, but for the objects on account of which they went to prison. It is argued that all this is entailed in a strike for the release of the prisoners, and that the objects of the strike can be more fully defined once it has actually taken place and its extent and composition are revealed. There is a good deal to be said for this contention.

The June 14th Conference presents a splendid opportunity for those who are working to bring the industrial power of Labour into conflict with the forces of reaction. If it is successful, even very partially successful, it will present the Southport Conference of the Triple Alliance Meeting on June 22nd and the Labour Party Conference next day with an accomplished fact: the struggle between Capital and Labour already actively joined.

We do not anticipate that either the Triple Alliance or the Labour Party conference will unanimously rise to the occasion, even if confronted by a powerful general strike, for a great general strike can have but one ultimate object: the overthrow of capitalism. The old-fashioned elements in both bodies are, as yet, and perhaps will remain, unconverted to the need for the great revolution until it has been brought about by abler, more adventurous spirits.

Those who desire revolution must not expect to accomplish their object without risk to themselves, or to achieve success at the first attempt; they must be ready to act when and where they can and to desire success so greatly that they will recognise that the only failure is failure to attempt. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

BRITISH CAPITALIST ARMY IN GERMANY SIDES WITH GERMAN CAPITALISTS AGAINST WORKERS.

The British military authorities refuse to allow strikes in Germany. On April 8th the metal workers in the Düsseldorf district demanded a bonus and a minimum wage if the hours of labour should be further reduced. The employers refused to discuss the demands, and the workers informed the British authorities that a strike was probable. On May 12th the British replied that no strike would be allowed. The matter was referred to the British Arbitration Court, which on May 24th decided against the men. On May 28th the workers at Benrath and Hilden struck work. *The Times* reports that the British then took "severe measures," including the arrest of two or three score of the strike leaders, who were sent across the frontier into unoccupied Germany with one day's rations. All inhabitants were ordered to be in their homes at 6 p.m. and force was used to compel them.

So the employing classes of rival nations combine in action against the workers. What other object lesson is necessary to induce the workers to combine for the International Social Revolution?

SPARTACISTS SAY DO NOT SIGN.

Alone of all German Socialist Parties the Spartacists oppose the signing of the Allied Peace Terms. They have issued a manifesto declaring that the Terms would mean death to all live forces in Germany, and would place the Workers' Revolution at the mercy of the Allied and German capitalists. The Spartacists contend that if after the fall of the Ebert-Scheidemann Government, which is generally expected, an Independent Socialist Government came into power it could not last four weeks if it signed the Peace Treaty, for it would be deserted by all parties.

LANDLORDISM.

Frank Crofts, an ex-munition worker of Fulwood, Sheffield, was recently evicted, with his wife and seven children. The landlady, Miss Robinson, alleged that his cottage was required for a labourer, but a month has passed and the cottage is still untenanted. Meanwhile the nine Crofts have been packed, with their furniture, into a small classroom at the Fulwood Congregational Church, which was lent them by the minister, the Rev. Vaughan Jones. Now Mr. Jones wants the room in connection with the Whitesunside services. Crofts must again turn out, but they have not yet found a house. What is to become of them?

THE SLOUGH INQUIRY AND THE McALPINE CONTRACT.

Lord Inverforth stated at the Slough Inquiry that Sir Robert McAlpine had offered to do the work for which he was given a contract for nothing, but Lord Inverforth insisted that he should be paid. Sir Robert McAlpine, he said, was not really a contractor for the work but an agent for Labour. The question arises as to whether there was any real need for the expensive services of Sir Robert McAlpine.

SHIPS TO BE MADE IN GERMANY.

Will British shipping firms act as contractors in regard to the 200,000 tons of shipping which the Germans are to make for the Allies, in order that they may make a profit out of the deal and compensate themselves for the loss of work to their own yards? If so, where will the British workers come in?

WAKING UP?

Sir R. Borden, in defending his Government for taking action against the Winnipeg strikers, said that the soldiers and workers in the belligerent countries "are not quite the same, so far as mental poise and balance are concerned, as they were before the war."

This change is what we should call "waking up"; we want to see much more of it. The Revolution is coming!!

WHAT WILL LABOUR DO NOW?

On April 3rd at the Joint National Labour Conference in the Central Hall, Westminster a resolution was carried demanding the withdrawal of troops from Russia, the raising of the blockade, the withdrawal of the Conscription Bill and the release of Conscientious Objectors. Robert Smillie moving the resolution on behalf of the Miners' Federation said: "The miners will strike for the removal of Conscription and the raising of the blockade." He was cheered to the echo by the miners and other delegates!

On April 16th the Conscription Bill passed into law: the miners did not strike! On April 16th the Triple Alliance at Southport adopted the same resolution with cheering and threats to strike. The Bill became law that day: to carry out and make good its threats the Triple Alliance should have downed tools: it was strong enough to do so. But it did not; it asked the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to call a Special Conference to deal with the question, in order that industrial action might be taken if necessary, to secure the objects in view.

On May 13th *The Daily Herald* published a secret Army circular ordering commanding officers to supply weekly information regarding the willingness of the troops to proceed to Russia to fight the workers' government there; their willingness to act as strike breakers in this country and their attitude towards Trade Unionism. This circular should have spurred the Trade Union leaders to immediate action: to a swift calling of the desired National Conference and a general strike; but they waited.

Between May 15th and 28th the Annual Conference of the Engineering and Ship-

building Trades Federation passed a resolution promising support to the Labour Party in any action taken to combat the attack "upon our liberties as Trade Unionists, as free workmen, as citizens;" the Yorkshire and Derbyshire miners decided to campaign for the four points and against the secret order; the General Council of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners passed a resolution calling on organised Labour "to act in such a manner as will compel the Government to recognise that the workers will not tolerate interference from military autocrats; and the Boilermakers Society also voiced its protest and a Conference at Newcastle where 1,903 delegates represented 456 Trade Union and Labour organisations demanded a National Labour Conference.

Meanwhile on May 22nd the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress (Oh, what a stupid name to have chosen for the executive of the Workers' Industrial organisations!) met Mr. Bonar Law. Mr. Stuart-Bunning said:—

Bonar Law talked to the members of the deputation like a father. He said that if they encouraged the Trades Union Congress to take action in this matter; they would be encouraging an outside body to supersede Parliament and that such action must eventually lead to the overturning of Parliament and to Revolution. He then went on to refuse all the demands made to him.

The deputation retired evidently convinced that Mr. Bonar Law was right, for after several days' consideration, it announced its refusal to call the conference for which the Triple Alliance and the whole Labour movement is asking.

VICTIMISING OF BUILDING WORKERS.

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT AT THE COURT.

A case of the utmost importance to trade unionists, and one fraught with far-reaching consequences to all workers connected with the building trade, was heard on Monday, June 2nd, at the Caxton Hall Arbitration Court. The hearing lasted all through the morning and afternoon sitting, and the Court, after an hour's private deliberation, reserved judgment.

The Building Workers' Industrial Union complained that thirteen of its members had been dismissed from the employment of Messrs H. Matthews & Sons, builders, contractors to the Royal Air Force, for no other reason but they had refused to leave an industrial union not recognised by the Master Builders' Federation, and refused also to join under compulsion of dismissal a purely craft union, it being contrary to their principles.

J. Wills conducted the case for the Union and cross-examined the representative of the firm, the Assistant Manager, Mr. Mundy, with such skill and ability that would redound credit to an experienced barrister-at-law.

The men who had been dismissed gave evidence and fully bore out the statement made by their Secretary, J. Wills, in his opening remarks. Concerning their dismissal a question had already been asked in Parliament by Major Rothschild, M.P., on May 12th. A Colonel who had prepared the Air Ministry Parliamentary reply gave evidence, and under the able cross-examination of J. Wills had to modify the statement he had ventured to make at the Court that the B.W.I.U. men had been dismissed in the ordinary course owing to reduction of hands, in due proportion as members of other unions.

The Chairman concluded that "All the members of the B.W.I.U. appear to have been dismissed," that is to say, all those who stuck to Industrial Unionism and did not join also a craft union in order to save their employment.

The defence of the firm was a total denial of victimisation; further stating that the management had for a long time successfully withstood

the demand formulated by card steward and shop stewards, on behalf of their craft unions, that the Industrial Unionists should be dismissed, or they, the craft unionists, would down tools. In answer to J. Wills' questions, the Assistant Manager agreed that complaints had reached high quarters concerning the manner in which the work at Bolton Camp had been conducted; that Mr. Churchill, with Major Rothschild, had one day motored down to inquire, and, what is more important, that the firm held the contract on a commission basis upon the amount of wages paid. An important point this admission, for it explained why card and shop stewards on the job, belonging to craft unions recognised by the Masters' Federation, were practically exonerated from doing any work for the firm, and also why mass meetings were permitted during working hours to demand that German prisoners should not be employed under any conditions and that Industrial Unionists should be sacked.

Although the fact that craft unionists were allowed such latitude, when their demand coincided with the former decision of the Masters' Federation not to recognise the B.W.I.U., was not the point under issue in face of the Court, that indeed was really the crux of the matter.

The firm, as it says in its defence, never discharged the B.W.I.U. members, as such, although the men appeared to have been told that was the case by the foremen when being paid off. To put it into the words of the only witness for the masters' side, that caused great hilarity for their ungarded simplicity, the Assistant Manager "never committed himself to say so."

Craft unionism, with its consequent evil, sectionalism, for it often happens that on even a small job of thirty to forty men there are members of five different trade unions, all engaged in the building trade—is favoured both by the masters and by the old-fashioned trade union officials. A far too large number of men,

Churchill, in dealing with the circular in Parliament, pooh-poohed it as issued by military officers, and not by a politician; but he said that reports are still being received on the feeling in the Army: indeed, the fact is that the inquisitorial inquiries, instituted by the objectionable circular, are still being made.

As to the Russian intervention, he followed the Prime Minister in saying that the counter-revolutionary campaigns were started at the instigation of the Allied Governments, and are chiefly maintained in money and munitions by the Allied Governments. He held out the hope that the Allied troops would soon be able to leave Russia, but it was clear enough that he based this statement on the hope that the Soviet system would soon be overthrown.

It is important to notice that Mr. Churchill had to admit that the replies returned by commanding officers to the circular proved that the mass of British soldiers objects either to fight against the Soviets in Russia, or to act as strike breakers at home.

But now comes the question what will organised British Labour do?

Two immediate opportunities present themselves. One is to call through the rank and file Conference in London on June 14th a general strike. Credentials for this conference may be obtained from T. Knight, 7, Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.

Secondly, at the Trade Union Congress at Southport on June 22nd, to support and extend the general strike initiated on June 14th, and to give it the official support of the entire Labour movement.

in all industries, is too attached to their old-fashioned union, a thing easily to be understood because for years it was their only means of defence against the antagonistic interests of the master class, and fail now to see that under modern changed conditions by so doing they keep up unnecessary divisions amongst the wage earner, totally to the advantage of the employers.

Whilst it is true that the shop stewards, being the men on the job, are the elements of a movement full of future, and highly beneficial to the workers, one must also be aware that they can be made use of by the masters if they confine their attributions to purely shop discipline and routine, and are imbued with the higher ideal of the unity of the working class and class re-education.

In the case under question, the Court declared its willingness to accept further evidence, on the point whether a certain notice, concerning dismissals, brought in as evidence by one of the dismissed men, was signed or not by the management.

J. Wills and his thirteen true men are to be complimented in having brought this matter under the notice of all thinking workers in the building trade.

MINERS' WIVES BEFORE THE COAL COMMISSION.

The miners' wives before the Coal Commission were asked whether they would prefer pit-head baths or baths in the home; they said they wanted both and playgrounds for the children beside. That is the right spirit. When asked whether miners' wives acquiesce in bad housing conditions because they like low rent, Mrs. Andrews of Ton Pentre said that miners' wives have had to pay a big increase in rent during the last ten years for the same houses and conditions as before. In Soviet Russia house property is socialised and housing accommodation is allotted according to the size of the family irrespective of the rent paid. We need the same system here.

Give this Paper to a Friend.

STABBING NEGROES IN THE LONDON DOCK AREA.

An attack springing from a particularly sordid cause is being made upon negroes and other dark-skinned foreigners in the London Dock area. Women who have sunk to adopting prostitution as a trade find that blackmen can pay them and white discharged soldiers, who are out of work, cannot pay them.

We submit a few questions for the consideration of those who have been negro-hunting:—

Do you think that the British should rule the world or do you want to live on peaceable terms with all peoples?

Do you wish to exclude all blacks from England? If so, do you not think that blacks might justly ask that the British should at the same time keep out of the black peoples' countries?

Do you not know that the capitalists, and especially the British capitalists, have seized, by force of arms, the countries inhabited by black people and are ruling those countries and the black inhabitants for their own profit?

Do you not know that the capitalists have used white workers to fight to enable their capitalist masters to get and to keep control over the black people and their countries? Do you not realise that in the same way the ruling classes put some black workers into regiments to control other black workers, and use some white workers to control other white workers? Do you know that in Ireland to-day you may see some blacks in khaki amongst the British soldiers and that these may be used against the Irish people?

Do you not know that many employers do not care whether the workers are black or white, or whether they are German, British, French, or Russian, so long as it is profitable to employ them?

Do you not know that when negroes are employed instead of British, it is because it pays the employer to do it?

Do you not know that if it pays to employ blackmen employers will get them and keep them, even if the white workers kill a few of the blacks from time to time?

Are you afraid that a white woman would prefer a blackman to you if you met her on equal terms with him?

Do you not think you would be better employed in getting conditions made right for yourself and your fellow workers than in stabbing a blackman, who would probably prefer to bring a black wife over with him if he could afford to do so; and would probably have stayed in Africa if the capitalists had left him and his country alone?

A MISTAKEN MISSION.

Mr. Roden Buxton and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald have gone to Rome with the object of persuading the Italian Socialist Party to re-enter the Second, or Berne, International. We do not believe that they will succeed in this attempt; indeed, it is important that they should fail, for the Italian Socialist Party in severing its connection with the Third, or Moscow, International—the Communist International which shall rebuild the world on a Communist basis.

MR. HOGGE AND LORD STUART OF WORTLEY.

In the House of Commons on May 31st Mr. Hogge said that the maximum granted by the Civil Liabilities Committee for re-starting soldiers in business is £104. He said: "It is never given." Lord Stuart of Wortley replied: "No fewer than 45 grants of £104 have been made." Comparatively, we think Mr. Hogge is right!

PARLIAMENT OR THE SOVIETS?

Even the Oxford Union has been debating whether "our Parliamentary system has ceased to be effective and should be remodelled upon a popular and democratic basis." 146 voted for the motion, 229 against. Yet we find working-class Socialists who have not realised it!

RUSSIA.

As we go to press important and very good news has reached us from Russia. Next week we shall give a full account of this.

IN PETROGRAD NOW.

What a visitor saw recently—neither thieves nor prostitutes—order and calm.

Jean Lonquet, in the *Populaire* of May 12th gives the gist of an interview between himself and a distinguished personage belonging to one of the Entente countries, who had arrived only a few days before from Petrograd, where she had been sent by her Government on an official mission. She had been living in Russia for eighteen months. Lonquet asked: "What is Petrograd like? Is it true that disorder, ruin, and desolation reign there? Are the streets deserted, the few inhabitants famished, the criminals triumphant, have the honest people left?"

"In the whole of Europe there is not at the present time a single capital where order is so perfect, and security so complete, as in Petrograd. For months past not a rifle or revolver shot has been heard in the streets. I saw the Nevsky Prospect filled with thousands of pedestrians, of whom many were evidently people of leisure, covered with furs. On a sunny afternoon it was a very pleasant sight. The telephone works well. Much better than in Paris. The electric light is on every night. Carriages and motor-cars are running—but I suppose they belong to the Government."

"It is said that the shops are all shut?" "In the Nevsky Prospect most of the grocers' and butchers' shops are closed, because they have been replaced by the Soviet and co-operative shops. But very many shops containing *objets d'art*, pictures, copper goods, and Japanese articles are open, and bazaars, where one can buy everything, are crowded with people."

Lonquet asked whether the visitor had herself tested the security of the streets. She answered: "Oh, yes, certainly! Many times I walked home at night without ever having had an unpleasant experience. There were at least fourteen theatres open every night. At the Opera I heard Chaliapine singing in 'Boris Gudonov.' It was filled with spectators, of whom a great number certainly belonged to the bourgeoisie."

"And the socialisation of women?" "She burst out laughing. 'As a matter of fact,' she said, 'there are no prostitutes in the Petrograd streets. Formerly, in the blessed times of Tsarism it was one of the towns where there was the largest number. During the three weeks I was there I did not see a single one of these poor girls. Other foreigners who have lived in Russia for months tell me that the Bolshevik regime has practically eliminated this hideous sore of the capitalist regime. You do not see any police in the streets, only members of the Red Guard, who hardly ever have occasion to intervene.'"

"But is it not true that the people are dying of hunger?"

"The Allied blockade has certainly caused cruel sufferings to millions of innocent people. But the excellent organisation of the Soviets and co-operative societies has largely relieved this painful situation. Several times I went with a friend to the market. We were able to procure a shoulder of mutton, veal, carrots, potatoes, and even butter, which was certainly rather dear at 140 roubles a kilo. It is rather difficult to calculate the value of a rouble as its worth depends on its kind. The old roubles are worth more than those issued by Kerensky; 140 roubles are worth about 30s. At the co-operative store we were able to buy a goose, a sucking pig, and honey. In the forty Soviet restaurants you could get for 34 roubles (about 9d.) a simple meal, but sufficient, consisting of cabbage soup, fried fish, and bread, black but eatable. At the 'Constant' Restaurant, formerly a resort of the aristocracy, but now socialised, the food was good and the table-cloths white. On producing a medical certificate you can obtain more generous fare."

ALIENS RESTRICTION ORDER.

Those Bolsheviks! How nervous some people are of them is seen by Mr. Shortt's latest Order. It provides amongst other things that an alien coming to the United Kingdom shall not land without the leave of an immigration officer, and must meet such requirements as may be prescribed by any general or special instructions of the Home Secretary. The police are to be allowed to close clubs and restaurants frequented by aliens whom they consider "disloyal" or "undesirable."

Oliver Madox Hueffer in *The Daily Chronicle*, May 30th, reports that black troops form part of the French army of occupation in Rhenish Prussia.

AN APPEAL FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST EFFORT.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SOCIALISTS.
By J. T. MURPHY.

COMRADES.—It is true that during the last six months strenuous efforts have been made, sometimes locally, sometimes nationally to obtain Socialist unity, and it is true that most of these efforts have failed to arrive at their objective.

It would be untrue, however, to say that nothing of value has been derived from the efforts, or to say that the position to-day is not more serious than ever before.

The Second International collapsed at the outbreak of war. The attempt to resurrect it has proved a dismal failure from the standpoint of International Socialism.

The Third International has been born amidst storm and stress. International capitalism has mobilised its capital, its corruption, its military power to smash it, as it attempts to translate Socialist ideas into Socialist deeds.

Repeatedly have the members of this Third International, who are struggling heroically against tremendous odds, appealed to us to unite our forces and render all possible aid.

Several Socialist conferences have agreed that further efforts should be made in response to that call. Since these conferences little appears to have been done and still the S.O.S. of the Third International calls to us all.

Not only have we this call to respond to the principles of International Socialism, but all the social forces in this country are steadily changing the psychology of the workers.

The true character of the Paris "Peace" Conference is being revealed to even those who are not students. The Parliament of this country is mocked at and laughed to scorn by thousands. Forces are awakening within the working class, demanding expression. Forces hitherto regarded as hopeless.

Strikes are occurring and developing situations of an unprecedented character. Strikes are threatened of a magnitude which alarm the governing class who have become panicky in their threats.

All the forces of the State are to be used against the workers and the forces of the State show signs of disintegration. And still the Socialist movement flounders about and allows the petty things to obscure first principles; the parochial factors to obscure the demands of the international situation. It theorises, it shouts, it denounces,

but the real constructive work of preparation for the harnessing of the mighty movements history is generating, is left alone to a deplorable degree.

It is because of these things I write this open letter to you, in the hope that some effort will immediately follow to remedy this state of affairs. A review of the position of the various parties will reveal the fact, that whatever the factors which prevent a fusion of forces, there is a great percentage of the members of every party which agrees that the Soviet or the Communist structure is the only alternative to Parliament. Whether we turn to the B.S.P., the W.S.F., the Communist League or the S.L.P. upon the kind of organic structure necessary for the administration of affairs in a Socialist society there is a general agreement. A good percentage of the S.L.P. is in a similar position.

The points of difference arise, when the tactics to be adapted to achieve the common objective are considered.

The main squabble turns on parliamentarism. The W.S.F. and the C.L. repudiate even the participation in elections. The S.L.P. believe in the use of elections for the creation of a revolutionary spirit, and even in getting members to the House of Commons for the purposes of revolutionary parliamentary activity.

The B.S.P. and the I.L.P. subscribe to parliamentarism of the reformist brand to legislate us by ameliorative legislation into socialism. Whatever the virtues of any of these tactics may be, the fact remains that so far as the objective is concerned, so far as the positive structural changes bound up with that objective are concerned, there is a large measure of agreement.

It may not be possible to get a complete fusion of all these forces into one party, but I do suggest in view of the immense amount of propaganda that has to be done relating to the points on which there is agreement, in view of the overwhelming importance of the building of the organisation which alone can effect and maintain a social revolution, that there can be a fusion to the degree in which we are in agreement, and a retention of the identity and independent action on those matters where there is disagreement.

The situation demands a degree of toleration on the part of Socialists on the points of disagreement, for the sake of the mightier things on which they do agree.

Is it too much to ask in times like these?

Parliament As We See It.

May 26th.—Mr. Harmsworth informed the House that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference had ordered the Allied landing at Smyrna. Such are the ways of the path of Peace!

PARLIAMENTARY ASTUTENESS.
"His Majesty's Government are not aware that the proposal was communicated by Dr. Nansen to Admiral Koltchak," were Mr. Harmsworth's words on the question of what Koltchak's reply to Dr. Nansen had been, in reference to provisioning Russia.

WANTED WORK.
Mr. Adamson (Lab.) moved the adjournment to discuss the soldiers' demand for work, which ended in the affray outside the House. He pointed out that the unemployment question was getting serious, remarking that the occurrence of that afternoon was only the "beginning of such scenes." Mr. Shortt would not agree that the affray outside had anything to do with unemployment. It was the "wild spirits" amongst the crowd that caused the "unfortunate situation!"

OPEN-AIR CURE.
May 27th.—According to Colonel Ashley (C.U.), 600,000 pairs of boots are lying in the open at the White City. Mr. Forster admitted that boots were "stored" in the open for lack of other accommodation. And civilians are going badly shod and bare-footed!

RETRIBUTION.
Mr. Lyle (C.U.) fears that with the raising of the Blockade there may be a shortage of the staple articles of food next winter. He suggests precautions being taken. As far as one can see it will be the poor of the world, both as respects people and nations that will suffer in any case.

EQUALITY.
Motor cars allotted to the civilian officials of the Air Ministry are used to convey the officials to and from their residences to work. This

practice if universal cannot be found fault with; but is this not just another instance of the highly paid or placed official scoring over the ones who can badly afford to pay fares.

EVASION.
"Are we at war with Russia?" Colonel Wedgwood (L.) asked. Reply for the Government: "The hon. and gallant gentleman must put his question on the paper." What a farce!

IRELAND.
A third Reading was given to the Irish Local Government Bill which was passed. It is supposed to introduce the system of Proportional Representation into the elections, though expects in the matter questioned even this. Mr. J. Devlin (Nat.) regarded the Bill as "contemptible." But is not his attitude equally so? Why does he countenance the passing of Irish Bills in an English Parliament?

HOUSING.
The Town Planning Bill was passed; but it does not ensure there will be houses!

MILITARY DISCRETION.
May 28th.—Colonel Wedgwood (L.) alleged that aeroplanes were employed to drop bombs on Indian rioters. Mr. Montagu admitted the fact saying that it was a "military necessity" and done at the "discretion of the military authorities."

A BLIND ALLEY!
There is no prospect of permanent employment at the post office for girl telegraph messengers. If they do not leave before eighteen they are not retained beyond that age.

THE RIGHT TO WORK.
Mr. Hogge (L.) who has always taken upon himself to champion the discharged soldiers and sailors met with disapproval during his speech exposing their grievances. He pointed out that the lack of housing was one of the causes of unrest, besides the conditions of labour. Mr. A. Hopkinson (C.L.) stated that the part of the

I think not. I would suggest, therefore, to meet the situation that each of the parties I have mentioned send representatives to a conference which any one of them can convene for the purpose of bringing together all the points of agreement and disagreement.

Once that has been accomplished, to form a Socialist Communist Confederation which shall embody in its constitution all the points upon which all are agreed.

This body with its own Executive officers local and national will then be responsible for the conduct of all propaganda, &c., dealing with the principles, structure, and tactics agreed upon.

Anything outside of these activities could be dealt with by the particular parties concerned.

I will not hamper the consideration of the suggestion by putting forward at this juncture elaborate details as to the raising of finance, &c., and different party literature.

What I am immediately concerned about is the finding of a way whereby we can organise our forces on definitely agreed upon principles in order that more concentrated and more powerful efforts can be made to grapple with the demands of the hour. It may be that such a concentration would lead to the neglect of the points of disagreement, and it may be that the circumstances of the future will change many opinions on a variety of matters as different crises arise.

At any rate the suggestion does seem to me to indicate the possibility of united action without the entanglements of party property, &c.

Internationally, every party in this country is insignificant, without a voice. But a united movement definitely committed to the support of the Third International would bring us into line as a body of Socialists determined to face our responsibilities to International Socialism.

Every hour which comes along seems pregnant with tremendous possibilities. Every principle we have held dear, every vision of a new social order, every scrap of news which comes from Europe, the intense struggle everywhere calls with no uncertain sound for us to gravitate towards the great principles of the movement and let the unessentials slide.

I appeal, therefore, to every Socialist who has not let pessimism steal away the vision, and inertia sap vitality from their life, to respond to the call of the hour and make one further effort to create a society in this country worthy of Revolutionary International Socialism.

Federation which at present has the upper hand "means to cause serious trouble." The Government had nothing better to announce than the old story of the great housing scheme which would both house the discontents and give them work. But Sir R. Horne did not explain where the men should live whilst they were building the houses!

SECRET FUNDS.
Judging by the anxiety of Brigadier-General Croft (N.P.) to have the source of the funds of all parties made public, it seems as though there was "German" or "Bolshevik" gold circulating amongst non-Socialist bodies. Subscriptions from £500 upwards should not be anonymous, and the lists should be lodged at Somerset House!

ALEXANDRA PALACE.
May 29th.—Government departments now lodged in hotels are to be transferred temporarily to Alexandra Palace, hence the interned Germans are being sent to Frimley. How very central for a Government office.

SECRET AND URGENT.
The debate on the secret Army circular made public by *The Daily Herald* was opened by Mr. Adamson (Lab.) Colonel Wedgwood (L.) gave some details about Russia which showed the hypocrisy of the Government attempt to support Koltchak as a "democrat." Mr. Churchill passed the seriousness of the situation off by giving militarism a death knell in the eyes of all decent wobblers. He said the document was "part of the military routine." The military service has gained by the replies already received. Action would not be taken against *The Daily Herald* for this exposure, because it has "a feeble circulation." This excuse will not do when one calls to mind the many weeklies raided and suppressed with a far smaller circulation. Is it not rather a fear of more publicity which deters the military authorities from action?

May 30th.—Mr. Bruce introduced a Bill for Compensation for Subsidence which was given a second reading and passed in to Committee. It will ensure compensation for damage to property caused by underground borings. M.O.C.

MAY THE REVOLUTION COME SWIFTLY.

By HELEN KELLER.

Helen Keller, the blind, deaf mute, whose wonderful triumph over her infirmities has impressed the world, has sent the following message to Eugene Debs, the American Socialist, now serving a sentence of ten years' imprisonment for his Socialist faith.

DEAR COMRADE.—Of course, the Supreme Court has sustained the decision of the lower court in your case. To my mind, the decision has added another laurel to your wreath of victories. Once more you are going to prison for upholding the liberties of the people.

I write because my heart cries out, and will not be still. I write because I want you to know that I should be proud if the Supreme Court convicted me of abhorring war, and doing all in my power to oppose it. When I think of the millions who have suffered in all the wicked wars of the past, I am shaken with the anguish of a great impatience. I want to fling myself against all brute powers that destroy the life and break the spirit of man.

In the persecution of our comrades there is one satisfaction. Every trial of men like you, every sentence against them, tears away the veil that hides the face of the enemy. The discussion and agitation that follow the trials define more sharply the positions that must be taken before all men can live together in peace, happiness, and security.

We were driven into the war for liberty, democracy and humanity. Behold what is happening all over the world to-day! Oh, where is the swift vengeance of Jehovah, that it does not fall upon the hosts of those who are marshalling machine guns against hunger-stricken peoples? It is the complacency of madness to call such acts "preserving law and order." Law and order! What oceans of blood and tears are shed in their name! I have come to loathe traditions and institutions that take away the rights of the poor and the wicked against judgment.

The wise fools who sit in the high places of justice fail to see that in revolutionary times like the present, vital issues are settled, not by statutes, decrees and authorities, but in spite of them. Like the Girondins in France, they imagine that force can check the onrush of revolution. Thus they sow the wind, and unto them shall be the harvest of the whirlwind.

You dear Comrade! I have long loved you because you are an apostle of the brotherhood and freedom. For years I have thought of

you as a dauntless explorer going towards the dawn, and, like a humble adventurer, I have followed in the trail of your footsteps. From time to time the greetings that have come back to me from you have made me very happy, and now I reach out my hand and clasp yours through prison bars.

With heartfelt greetings, and with a firm faith that the cause for which you are martyred shall be all the stronger because of your sacrifice and devotion, I am,

Yours for the revolution—may it come swiftly, like a shaft sundering the dark!

A LABOUR THEATRE FOR NEW YORK.

A new Labour Theatre is being started in New York by a United Labour Education Committee which is made up of Labour organisations representing 200,000 workers. Three performances are to be given weekly. Membership cards are sold at a charge of 6s. for three performances. An ordinary theatre has been hired till a special theatre can be built as the cost of all seats is the same. The tickets are placed in urns; one urn contains tickets for one person, another for two persons, and another for three persons. Upon presentation of the membership card the holder is allowed to draw his ticket or the tickets for his group from the urn.

Ten thousand membership coupons will be sold at first, that being sufficient to fill the house for eighteen performances. The members are to have a voice in determining the kind of plays to be presented by the stock company.

The United Labour Education Committee is also conducting four centres at which lectures on political science and current history, scientific and historical moving pictures and concerts by well-known musicians are given. The music is arranged by a committee of which Josef Stransky, conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra is chairman.

The committee is making arrangements with artists to supply etchings at 8s. each instead of at £5 to £7 the usual price. Good etchings, they say, have always been made in small quantities because the buyers have been few, but the Labour Education Committee is providing a wider market.

IMPORTANT.

All Newsagents and Railway Bookstalls throughout the country will supply "The Workers' Dreadnought" if you only place your order. The paper is now on "sale or return."

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

These are meetings of protest against intervention in Russia:—
FRIDAY, JUNE 6th.

The Square, Woodwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 7th.

Great Push against Conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace, in Hammersmith.—Meetings at the Grove (near both stations) at 3 P.M. and 7.30 P.M. Speakers: Miss Birch, Mrs. Walker, and others.

SUNDAY, JUNE 8th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar.—7 P.M., Bhaduri (on India), Ph. Edmunds. Chair: Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, JUNE 13th.

Harrow Green, Leytonstone.—6.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 14th.

Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

SATURDAY, JUNE 7th AND SUNDAY, JUNE 8, 400, Old Ford Road.—Annual Conference: First Session, 2.30 P.M.; Second Session, 6 P.M. Tea 5 P.M.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

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Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to Work and old enough to Vote? [Advert.]

"THE GROWING BOLSHEVIK MOVEMENT."

The National Party has sent out an appeal in the name of Lord Amphil, General Page Croft and Lord Leonfield for funds "to counter the growing Bolshevism movement in this country." They say: "If sufficient donations are forthcoming, we can see our way to engage some thirty first-class working-men speakers, who could carry on a continuous campaign... to employ one of these speakers for a year would cost £300, and we should be very grateful if you could assist us to provide one speaker or make a contribution towards the expenses."

Comrades, it is our duty to counter this capitalist move! Socialists are prepared to work for the Bolshevism movement without getting a week; to toil for it in their spare time and to pay up their pennies to cover the cost of printing genuine information telling what our comrades have done and are doing in Russia and Hungary, and also to produce educational literature. We must make still greater efforts. Send your donations to the printing fund, and buy the literature which is on sale: read it yourself and sell as much as you can to others. Remember that when you induce a person to buy a Socialist pamphlet, you have done him or her a service.

"THE DREADNOUGHT."

Funds are needed to help us advertise the paper. If you have not yet received a collecting sheet write to 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4. Will friends who have filled up their sheets send in their collections at their earliest convenience.

DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Already acknowledged, £29 16s. 10d.—Rev. C. Moxon, £5; Poplar Branch W.S.F., £5; Mrs. Bellise, £2; Mrs. E. Richards, £1 10s.; Mr. F. Lawes, £1 4s. 6d.; Miss Lagsding, £1; Mr. H. Morris, £1; Mrs. Salt, 18s.; Mr. F. Carlton, 15s. 4d.; Mr. F. Austin, 12s.; Mrs. Lauritzen, 11s.; Anon., 10s.; Mr. W. Griffiths, 10s.; Mr. A. D. Moore, 8s. 6d.; Wigan Socialist Club, 7s. 6d.; Mr. W. Pocock, 7s.; Mrs. Bloomfield, 6s. 8d.; Miss Kitty Read, 6s. 6d.; Mrs. F. McKay, 6s.; Miss E. Smith, 5s.; Mr. H. Williams, 5s.; Mr. C. W. Sellers, 5s.; Mr. A. Valentine, 5s.; Miss Birch, 3s. 3d.; Mr. G. E. Albon, 2s. 6d.; Miss A. E. Cannon, 2s. 6d.; Mr. T. H. Stanton, 2s.; Mr. T. Rout, 1s. 6d.

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