

Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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SATURDAY, JUNE 26th, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Communist Party.

British Section of the Third International.

On Saturday, June 19th, 1920, at the International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road; London; the Communist Party (British section of the Third International) was formed.

The Conference at which the new party was formed consisted of delegates from the Aberdare, Croydon, and Holt Communist groups, the Stepney Communist League, the Gorton Socialist Society, the Labour Abstentionist Party, the Manchester Soviet and the Workers' Socialist Federation (Communist Party) and its branches.

D. A. Davies, of South Wales, was elected to the chair.

Letters were read from various Communist organisations in the provinces sympathising with the objects of the gathering, but unable to send delegates.

The two main points on the agenda were:—

(a) Whether those present should take part in the Communist Unity Conference, provisionally fixed for August 1st.

(b) Whether they should take other action.

The W.S.F. delegates, who had hitherto taken part in the unity negotiations, reported:—

(1) That of the original four parties to the negotiations, the S.L.P. had withdrawn, and the South Wales Socialist Society had ceased to attend. There remained only the B.S.P., the W.S.F., and the Communist Unity Group recently expelled from the S.L.P.

(2) The withdrawals had upset the balance of parties, and had placed the right wing in a preponderant position.

(3) The right wing had used its majority power to insist that the organisations participating in the Unity Conference should be bound *beforehand* to accept the findings of that conference, and to merge their identity in whatever party might arise.

(4) Since, owing to the circumstances above outlined, and to the suggested basis of delegation, the Right Wing elements will dominate the Conference, the new body resulting from that conference will have Right Wing ideas, which include affiliation to the Labour Party and participation in Parliamentary action.

After discussion, the following resolution was adopted, with two dissentients:—

"We Revolutionary Communist delegates and individuals pledge ourselves to the Third International, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Soviet system, non-affiliation to the Labour Party, and to abstention from Parliamentary action; and decide not to take part in the August 1st Unity Conference, or in the Unity negotiations concerned with it.

As a logical consequence of this decision, the conference unanimously resolved to form the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International).

A provisional Organising Council of 25 members, with power to co-opt up to 30, was elected for three months.

The Councilmen resident in the London area, and such provincial Councilmen as are able to attend, will act as a provisional Organising Committee, pending the National Conference, which is to be held in September.

A full-time Secretary, a member of the Council, was elected.

Robert Stott, also a member of the Council, was appointed Honorary Treasurer.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* was adopted as the first official weekly organ of the Party. Sylvia Pankhurst, a member of the Council, was elected editor.

The second day's conference, under the chairmanship of Eden Paul, was devoted to drafting the provisional Party programme, and to detail work.

The Communist Party appeals for members who accept its programme. The minimum subscription is 3d. per week.—Edgar T. Whitehead, Secretary. Temporary address: International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, London, N.1.

OPPORTUNISM AND DOGMATISM.

By HERMAN GORTER.

The old dissention between "opportunists" and "dogmatists," which divided the Second International, seems to have come to life again in a new form in the Third International, whereas the struggle which caused the downfall of the First International was fought out in the Second, the dissention which split up the Second International seems destined to reach a solution only in the Third.

Opportunists in the Third International.

Moreover, it would be a wonder, nay, an impossibility, that with the erection of a Third International, opportunism should straightway



Capitalist Peace Negotiations.

disappear. On the contrary, and unless we are much mistaken, the opportunists will enter into the Third International in even greater numbers. The antithesis between the two trends, in Central and Western Europe, becomes ever more marked.

Two Distinct Trends.

We have clear examples in the two Communist parties (the Spartacusbund and the Kommunistische Partei) in Germany, and the W.S.F. with a few groups, and the B.S.P. in England.

Both trends are decidedly revolutionary, both want the subjection of capital, and the coming of Communism at the earliest possible date. Both accept the principal means towards the achievement of this aim, the Workers' Councils, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the unity of action of the proletariat.

But they differ in tactics, in the means by which they propose to obtain their aim. And this difference is most strongly marked in the conception regarding Parliamentarism and the Trade Unions.

Parliamentarism and Trade Unions.

These articles are written with the object of contributing towards as clear and keen an insight as possible into the general course of the world revolution. The view strongly taken by these articles is deeply tinged with a special tendency, to be sure, but it is as clear and true as the author can make it.

The revolution is an international matter. Fortunately the times are past when the proletariat of the country was only superficially and theoretically interested in the development in other countries. Our cause is one. We must learn by the struggle of the proletariat of other countries. International capitalism can only be overcome by all of us. We must come together in one battle with the same tactics. Capital unites more and more on one single front, the proletariat must do the same.

In a series of three articles we shall expose various opinions regarding the tactics that have

to be adopted in Germany. In the first we shall give the arguments of Comrade Pannekoek, against the use of Parliamentary action in Germany, and in favour of the institution of industrial unions. In the second we shall point out the dangers of Parliamentary action in Germany, by means of a report on the last rising of the German workers at the time of the Kapp-putsch, as delivered by one of the most prominent members of the Communist Party in the United States, an eye-witness of that rising. In the third we shall consider what lessons the other countries may draw from these events.

At no moment could these investigations be more propitious than to-day, now that the Soviet army is fighting Poland, and the invasion of Persia by the Red Armies causes the world empire of Britain to tremble to its foundations.

The German Situation.

In connection herewith we should also consider the elections in a part of Germany, Brunswick, where the Independent Socialists of Germany gained a large majority over the Noske Party, when the middle parties nearly disappeared, and the masses went either right or left. It is generally expected that the general elections will take the same course. This would make a new revolution probable.

With regard to the first article we should observe that Comrade Pannekoek, a Dutchman, was for many years a teacher at the party school of the Social-Democrats in Berlin, and later, after having been expelled from Germany by the Prussian Government, in the city of Bremen. He was a regular contributor to some twenty or thirty German papers, and before the War, he was with Rosa Luxemburg and Radek, one of the leaders of the left-radical trend in Germany which, even at that time, was already against Kautsky. He is thoroughly familiar with the German Labour movement.

During these last months, moreover, he has been the spiritual leader of the Bureau of the Third International in Amsterdam. From his article the English reader will learn at the same time the difference of opinion with Moscow, which led to the abrogation of this Bureau.

Pannekoek's View: Parliament—a Fight by Leaders.

The article is as follows:—

"Parliamentarism is the typical form of a fight by means of leaders, in which the masses play a subordinate part. The question is not, why Parliamentarism as a form of government cannot lead to self-government through the masses, and why we oppose it by the Soviet system. We treat here of Parliamentarism as a method of proletarian warfare. The practice of Parliamentarism accustoms the workers to letting others act for them; it creates the illusion that others can fight their battle for them. At a certain stage Parliamentarism is necessary. It is necessary when the workers are still unable to create for themselves the organs required for the management of society, when their spiritual orientation and their understanding of Capitalism are as yet in the very first stages of development, and when the Socialist Party must expose the governing system by means of keen criticism, and must attract the masses by demanding reforms. Then the leaders must force themselves into Parliament, and must carry on the political party contest in the elections.

The Masses Acting for Themselves.

When, however, the masses themselves have come into action, and are at the same time be-

ginning to build up their own organs, their Soviets, that is to say, when the revolution has begun, then the need for Parliamentary action becomes of ever less importance, as compared with the great drawback involved in keeping the workers from taking action.

The Masses Act from Necessity.

The workers do not feel or act in a revolutionary way because they are urged to do so, but from bitter necessity, and when they see no other way out.

To be revolutionary in deed means actually to take in hand the reorganisation of the great problems of society, to study them, to take momentous decisions, to convince others, to come to action.

These problems cannot be solved by clever leaders, a solution can only be found, first, by the Communist vanguard, and then the masses themselves taking them in hand, searching, propagating, struggling, trying, venturing, persevering, bearing the responsibility, and recognising it. All this is hard and painful, and as long as the working-class imagines there is an easier way, as long as the workers are told that others will do it for them, will carry on the propaganda from a high platform, will take the decisions, give the signal for action, and decide on the legislative measures, as long as they are not compelled by an iron necessity, the workers will hesitate from an innate inertia, and will remain passive, merged as they are in old modes of thinking and traditions.

The Russian Contribution.

The great, the really Communist character of the Russian Revolution, lies firstly in the fact that it called forth the activity of the masses themselves, in that it fired their physical and physical energy, so that they themselves are the makers and the bearers of the new society. This self-enfranchisement of the masses is not at once complete, it comes in stages, and the giving up of Parliamentarism is one of these stages. That the Communist Party in Germany in December, 1918, should have agreed to boycott the elections, was no foolish illusions of an easy victory, but the craving to throw off a mental subjection as soon as there had been found a way towards constructive activity of the masses, by means of the "Councils."

This new anti-Parliamentarism which has become manifest among the Communists of various countries, has nothing in common with Syndicalism or Anarchism—as has often been averred—it is closely connected with the Soviet principle.

Parliamentary and Trade Union Power over the Masses.

Whereas Parliamentarism stands for the spiritual power of the leaders over the masses, the Trade Union movement represents their material power. The big Trade Unions have grown to be institutions of the nature of State organisms, from being servants, the leaders have become masters, forming a caste that identifies itself with the organisation. They control all the engines of power, the finances and the press. Any attempt at revolt on the part of the members is shattered against the apparatus of regulations and the bureaucratic hierarchy, before it has succeeded in carrying through its opposition. It is only at the cost of the greatest perseverance and energy that an opposition current in the masses can in the long run lead to a moderate success, and in most cases such currents are confined to changes of personnel, which leave the system intact.

Over and over again, during the past years, in England, in Germany, in America, the members openly have rebelled, and gone their own way, in defiance of the leaders, and of the union rules and resolutions. That this is a common experience proves that the members do not control the union, and that the union, instead of being their collectivity, is a strange power by which they are dominated, though it springs from their own ranks. The union is, therefore, something analogous to the State. Once the rebellion has quieted down, the old domination asserts itself in the old manner. In spite of the impotent exasperation and hatred amongst the masses, it manages to maintain itself, owing to the support of the many indifferent elements, and especially because the need for the union is felt by all, as the only means whereby the workers can gather strength in a strong mu-

tual co-operation, against capitalism. The bureaucratic leaders are like the State bureaucracy, not only in their domination of the masses in the service of capitalism, which, through them, keeps the workers in check, but also in that their "policy" more and more becomes a cringing of the masses, through demagogic phrases, in favour of their agreements with the capitalists.

In Germany the trade union bureaucracy's rough and coarse in its manifestations, forcing the workers, by insidious or violent means, to accept once more piece-work and longer working hours. In England its method is more subtle and cunning; the British leaders to all appearances allow themselves to be shoved by the workers against their will, as does also the Government, whilst in reality they ignore the wishes of the workers.

The Counter-Revolutionary Force of Trade Unions.

The counter-revolutionary force of trade union bureaucracy cannot be weakened or done away with by a mere change of persons; it is the form of organisation itself which renders the masses wellnigh impotent, which prevents them from making the trade unions into organs of their proper will. The revolution can only be triumphant, if these organisations themselves are abolished, that is to say, if their form of organisation is to be so completely altered, as to become something altogether different. The Soviet system will form not only the new political organs of the proletariat as compared with the bourgeois Parliament, but also the new foundation for the trade unions. Some traces hereof became manifest already in the Syndicalist and especially in the industrial unions, in so far as the bureaucratic apparatus has been reduced to a small scale, all the strength being derived from the activity of the masses.

This was done more directly, and more consciously in the Shop Stewards' movement in England, with its organs of the masses created through practice, in opposition to the trade union bureaucracy. In the German unions it was done more consciously, but feebly, owing to the defeat of the revolution. Every movement of that kind, which weakens the inner firmness of the centralised unions, does away with some of the obstacles to the revolution. On the other hand, whereas, with a view to immediate success, the Communists strengthen the trade union form of organisation: they strengthen the obstacles that later on will hamper them most severely.

As long as capitalism still stands firmly upright, these new rank and file formations can attain but a limited state of development, except under very special conditions. In America, for instance, where the large numbers of the unschooled workers outside the trade unions caused the wide development of the I.W.W., and the big trade unions remain wellnigh intact as a reactionary force. It is only during the revolution, which awakens the action of the masses, that the trade unions are undermined, and that their character changes entirely.

The Mission of the Communist Party.

So far Comrade Pannekoek's article. I have but one thing to add to it; Pannekoek, in my opinion, omits one important matter, perhaps the most important of all.

It seems hopeless, and to many comrades it will seem hopeless, that the proletariat in this period of transition from evolution to revolution, should not join in Parliamentary action, nor be able to make any really strong economic league outside the trade unions. Is it impossible then that in this period the proletariat should form a strong organisation?

This question Comrade Pannekoek omits.

The answer is:—

Just now, in this period, the proletariat can constitute the strong Communist Party. The Party which criticises all other parties and the trade unions, itself remaining absolutely clear and guided by principle in its tactics. The Party which leads the way towards the revolution, and in the revolution, and which, thanks to that, small though it may remain in the beginning, already forms the core, hard as steel, clear as glass, around which the masses will rally once the revolution has come.

Ireland: the Achilles Heel of England. By HERMAN GORTER. From the W.S.F. Price 1d.

WHY POLAND FIGHTS RUSSIA.

A Letter From Warsaw.

It is long since I have been lying in wait for a chance of describing to you the situation which is created for us here, especially since Poland received from the Supreme Council of the bourgeoisie the mandate for the defence of their "civilisation."

Independent Poland, since her origin in the autumn of 1918, has had an evolution in her interior politics which resembles the gradual clarification of troubled waters.

The Nationalist Mirage.

At the outset the idea of national independence dazzled great masses of the population, and the nationalist idea contaminated even the industrial proletariat. But such class confusion could not hold out long in the face of realities. The Patriotic Socialists of the Polish Socialist Party (P.S.P.), which, when it came into power, formed a Government that was but a continual balancing between the people and the bourgeoisie, at last made their choice, and benevolently handed over its power to the reaction. Since then, this party of petty and pitiful caricatures of the Scheidemannists, has again skidded to the right, its sole ambition being not to be mistaken, even from afar, for Bolsheviks. The only legacy of the three months' reign of the Polish Socialist Party is the state of seige which has become permanent, thanks to the idol of patriotic class collaboration the P.S.P. impressed on the minds of the people.

However, the economic situation, becoming more and more lamentable, patriotic enthusiasm has almost disappeared in the great masses of the population. Each successive bourgeois government has worked desperately to create an efficient machine of bourgeois defense of the army and the gendarmerie, instead of the popular militia which had been spontaneously formed when Poland obtained its freedom as a nation.

In one year, a Polish bourgeois State has been created, oppressive and police-agent ridden. That demonstration of the truth of Marxist teaching has not been in vain. It has opened the eyes of numerous proletarians, and has rendered impossible that atmosphere of confusionism so necessary to the mountebanks of "Socialism within reason."

Polish Army Biggest in Central Europe.

To-day the bourgeoisie are armed to the teeth. The Polish army is the biggest of Central Europe. The minds of the soldiers are systematically worked upon in a reactionary sense. The whole civilian population is sacrificed to the army, yet, thanks to the incapacity, to the thefts, breaches of trust and stupidity of the officials, it is neither well clothed, nor well fed, and the first signs of demoralisation are distinctly visible in its ranks.

Motives of the War.

The effort of Poland is brought to bear upon two fronts:—

(1) Against Soviet Russia; occasionally, in point of fact, also against Germans, Ukrainians, Czechs, Jews, etc.

(2) Against the claims of the Polish proletariat. The motives for the war policy directed against the Soviets are various: fear of Bolshevism, annexationist rapacity, the interests of the nobles who own the great domains in Lithuania and Ukraine, the necessity of a diversion of ideas from the interior situation, and servility towards the Allies; all these motives intervene against peace.

The War Unpopular in Poland.

But since the pacific propositions of the Soviets are known, the war becomes more and more unpopular. It is urged amongst the bourgeoisie that peace with Moscow will second the filtering of Bolshevik ideas into Poland, but if war against Soviet Russia is insisted upon, in spite of the great popular opposition, the spread of the revolutionary spirit among the masses will be still more certain.

In the beginning the bourgeoisie were afraid of the workers and affected to treat them with consideration.

How the Polish Soviets Were Crushed.

The Polish Soviets were regularly elected and sat till the month of July, 1919, in all our big towns. Several of them, for instance, that of the basin of Dombrocol, had a distinctly Communist majority. The situation was then fairly analogous to that of the Kerensky epoch in Russia; that is to say that, beside the government, there existed semi-officially representative bodies composed solely of workmen.

The merit (?) of having liberated our governing classes from the Soviet nightmare is due entirely to the Polish Socialist Party. In this atmosphere of reaction and ever-increasing repression the leaders of this Party discovered a contrivance worthy of the traitors and cheats that they are. They summoned all the delegates who were members of the Soviets to declare their opinions upon patriotism and upon the refusal of the majority to make a profession of patriotic faith. The minorities, the patriotic Socialist factions, then separated from the Soviets and formed their own "Councils of Patriotic Socialist Workers' Delegates." The reactionaries having departed the Soviets were thus rendered purely Communist, and were dissolved by force of arms, their secretaries and other officials being thrown into prisons.

As to the patriotic Soviets, they vegetate as enemy little groups, representing nobody, and listened to by no one. They meet once a fortnight to adopt fortuous resolutions, dictated by the great masters of the Party. The bourgeoisie leave them to drivel on in freedom. At one sitting, a delegate, seized with disgust, uttered some words of truth: "This prating of ours is perfectly useless. Let us go to the cinema!"

WILL YOU BUY HOUSING BONDS?

The Workers' Socialist Federation has received a letter from George Lansbury, the Mayor of Poplar, the borough in which our headquarters is situated, asking us to buy Housing Bonds. All our neighbours have had the same letter.

He tells us that the Borough is in need of money to build houses for the people, and asks us to help.

We are fully aware that the people of Poplar need houses: they are living packed together almost like sardines in a box, and there are very few houses in the Borough that ought not to be pulled down, because they are so dilapidated, dirty, inconvenient and badly built. They are certainly not the sort of houses in which the Queen, Lady Northcliffe, and Mrs. Lloyd George would like to rear their children! We do not find the managing directors of Bryant and May, R. and H. Green, Silley, Weir; Compton; the London Small Arms Company, Allen Cockshuts, Lusty's Turtle Soup Company, and the rest coming to live down in Bow, Bromley, and Poplar. Hitherto they have one and all chosen to live away from this Borough, where their fortunes are made.

But perhaps the Borough Council, which has a Labour majority now, has resolved to transform neglected Poplar into a Borough fit for all the fine people whose incomes are made here to come down and live in amongst us.

What is the Borough Council's scheme for transforming the Borough?

The Town Clerk has very obligingly enclosed a prospectus to show us exactly what the Council proposes to do.

How many million pounds is the Council going to spend? How many thousand houses is it going to build?

The front page of the prospectus has some charming garden city pictures, with wide roads and pretty villas—and not small villas, either—surrounded by gardens. The trees in the pictures would take several years to grow, but if the great energy that was put into making munitions for the war were expended on this object, the houses might be erected very soon.

Is Poplar to look like this? What a transformation!

The circular says:—

"England's destiny is linked with England's homes.

"Until there are plenty of houses there will be no real happiness.

"Look at the back of this paper and see what your own Borough wants."

We turn to the back page; our Borough needs thousands of houses; but the back page says:—

"BOROUGH OF POPLAR.

"The Borough Schemes.

"The Ministry of Health has already approved of the following schemes, viz.:—

Area.	No. of houses.	Estimated Cost.
Chapel House Street, Cubitt Town...	120	£119,200
Ridgale Street and Baldock Street,		
Grove Hall Park, Bow	15	15,480
St. Leonard's Road, Bromley-by-Bow	9 (flats)	9,020

Total already approved £143,700

And the following is under consideration, viz.:—

Grundy Street, Poplar 6 (flats) 7,000

Grand total £150,700

Another area in Bow Road is also under contemplation."

So that is the scheme!

One hundred and thirty-five poky little houses and nine flats are decided on, and six more flats are "under consideration," whilst a few more houses are "under contemplation."

Even before the advent of Labour majorities on the Borough Councils (even before the East End Labour Councillors had decided to accept the office of J.P. they used to refuse), some new houses were built from time to time. There was a cessation of building during the war, but the cessation had to come to an end some time; it could not go on for ever.

One of the stunts the Government used for keeping the workers quiet at the close of the war was the promise of a great housing scheme for the benefit of the workers, but the scheme has turned out to be so small as to make practically no difference, and the Government is actually coming to the workers to ask them to raise the money to pay for it. For the war which was fought in the interests of the capitalists, unlimited money, material and human energy—even life itself—was recklessly poured out; but when it is a question of building houses for the workers, the nation is supposed to be too poor to pay.

The circular advertising the Housing Bonds that the Mayors, including the Labour Mayors, are circulating, says:—

"Help to build a house for your neighbour, and make sure of a home for yourself."

Is that intended to gull ignorant people into the belief that if they buy Housing Bonds one of the new houses will be assured to them? If the working people of Poplar and other boroughs were to sell every stick of furniture they have, to buy Housing Bonds, only a very tiny proportion of them could possibly obtain a room out of the proceeds.

We do not blame the Labour Councillors because they are unable to build the houses the workers need. They are mere puppets allowed to administer capitalist laws within exceedingly narrow limits, but we do not propose to join them in trying to help

the Government out of its difficulty. We are not going to follow the example of the Labour Councillors in trying to damp down the righteous indignation of the workers against the scandalous conditions under which they are housed.

The Government has promised to build houses for the workers, but the rich taxpayers refuse to foot the bill, and so the Government is trying to throw the responsibility for carrying out its pledges upon the shoulders of the Borough Councils and the general public. The Labour Councillors are falling into the trap the Government has set for them, and are accepting a share of the responsibility and making themselves responsible for appealing to the public to do the rest.

Instead of allying themselves with the discontented workers against the Government; instead of using all their efforts to stimulate the workers to revolt against the present system, the Labour Councillors are helping to maintain the capitalist system and to induce the workers to be content with this sham housing scheme.

Our very strong advice to our neighbours, Mr. and Mrs. Savoy, of Bow; Mr. and Mrs. Bird, Mr. and Mrs. Cressall, of Poplar, and all the rest, is not to put a single penny in the Housing Bonds.

On the contrary, we urge our neighbours to demand houses fit to live in for themselves and all their neighbours, rent free as they are now in Soviet Russia.

To secure that we shall have to establish the Workers' Soviets. When are you going to do it?

AN APPEAL.

From the Treasurer of the Communist Party.

Comrades,—The Revolutionary Communist Party has at last been formed.

It is the Party of the Communists who are out to organise the Workers' Revolution, determined to make no opportunist compromises and to sever all connection with reactionary and backward parties.

The Communist Party refuses affiliation to the Labour Party; it has no use for Parliament; it works directly for the establishment of the Soviets.

The Communist Party, which is the extreme Left Wing Party of this country, calls to all revolutionary Communist workers to enlist in its ranks, and to enlist with an iron determination to make every sacrifice that may be necessary for the cause.

The first task of the Communist Party is to build up a substantial fighting fund.

The minimum subscription to the Party has been made very small in order that the more grievously sweated proletarians may not be prevented from joining, but every member is expected to make a voluntary levy upon himself or herself and to subscribe to the utmost limits of his or her ability. This is essential to the building up of the Communist Party.

Donations may be sent temporarily to me at the International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, London, N.W.1.

ROBERT STOTT, Hon. Treasurer.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Is Discussed in Parliament.

June 17th.—A.J. Balfour, Lord President of the Council, made a long speech intended to prove that the League of Nations has already accomplished a great task. It has set up four permanent committees and created some boundary commissions. It has "appointed" an international body to govern the Saar Valley and (Oh, Democracy!) it has appointed a High Commissioner for Danzig, Sir Reginald Tower, and "thrown on him the duty of framing a construction" for Danzig.

Asquith attacked the League of Nations for not intervening to end the Polish War on Soviet Russia, and declared Poland to be the aggressor.

George Barnes, Labour renegade, said:—

"I view with positive alarm the action of the London dockers in deciding what goods they shall load and what they shall not load in our ships."

On Soviet Russia, he said: "I am not defending Russia. I have no love for either Lenin or Trotsky. I believe at the best they are a pair of doctrinaire fanatics, who have got the people of Russia by the throat. . . . Looking back on what we have done in Russia, I do not see anything to be ashamed of except that we stayed there too long. We could not come away when the Armistice was signed, as we should thereby have been leaving our friends in the lurch. Some time afterwards we decided to support Koltchak. When the White Terror was found to be a great deal worse than the Red Terror, it looked as though Koltchak were going to reach Moscow, and we had it in our minds that by supporting him we should avoid a repetition in Moscow of what happened in Finland."

Barnes remained in the Government in spite of the British War on the Soviets; now that he is out of the Government, he urges that the Soviet Government should be recognised.

Clynes, like Barnes, eulogised Balfour's speech, saying, on behalf of the Labour Members, that they appreciated the services it had rendered to the cause of the League of Nations. He declared that the League of Nations' policy alone "holds the field."

"I believe myself that the Ministers who have put their hands to this great document would act fully up to the faith of what is in it if they could be sure that they have the House of Commons behind them and the country behind the House of Commons, in carrying out this great purpose for the benefit of mankind."

The League of Nations offers a convenient debating ground from which Clynes and his kind can propound

their claim that there is no class war, and that there are no differences between Liberal and Tory politicians and the representatives of organised Labour.

Tom Shaw, whom Russia has somewhat influenced, reactionary as he is, said he had never seen militarism so rampant as in Warsaw just before the Polish attack on Soviet Russia.

The condition of affairs in Russia was "a most extraordinary mixture of the finest effort I have ever seen in my life, with a discipline, a rigidity, and a militarism greater than existed in this country during the War."

Shaw forgets that this country was removed from the war zone: it was not torn by civil war and cut off from the Governments of all other nations. We here were not acutely hungry; there was not a desperate shortage. We had not experienced six years of war. He added:—

"The notion that in some way the present Government of Russia is being imposed with absolute rigidity on an unwilling population is, I believe, wrong."

That is a large admission from Shaw. He advocated the raising of the blockade and the stoppage of the War. It was not a courageous speech, but it was probably a very courageous speech for Shaw. This was his most important statement: "Tchicherin said that over 12 months ago he offered terms of peace to this Government on behalf of the Russians—to pay every penny of British and Allied capital invested in Russia and to make valuable concessions of land after peace was signed."

"The Russians are no longer prepared to offer more terms . . . there is growing up in Russia a determination to fight through in spite of us."

Ex-Colonel Malone uttered the first truthful words on the League of Nations yet heard in the British House of Commons. He described the League as:—

"The international trade union of international financiers and capitalists, and . . . nothing more than a league of anti-Socialists. . . . No political movement can have any real foundation or true basis unless it is founded on an economic basis. . . . Unless the League is founded on a solid foundation of financial economics, it must prove an empty myth. . . . It will never be a real league unless it is based either on international capitalism or on the International Labour Movement."

"The ramifications of finance are extending everywhere, and such extensions, with the consequent encroachments naturally lead to war. They are faced with the growth of the Labour Movement, and really the League of Nations is nothing more than a league of anti-Socialists. I am surprised at the support given to it by a large section of the Labour Party. . . .

"If the Germans had won the War, there would also have been a League of Nations. . . . We were faced with the alternatives of a German league or an Anglo-American league. . . . There is really very little difference in the principles of the two systems."

"In connection with the Revolution in Germany, the difference of opinion between France and England was not as to whether Communism should be put down, but as to the method by which it should be put down. . . .

"Talk of shaking hands with murderers; talk about atrocities; history will show that some of the right hon. gentlemen on that Bench are as guilty as anyone in that respect."

"I am surprised that the Labour Party should pay tribute to the League of Nations. It is not an elected or constitutional body; it is elected by capitalists in the different countries. . . . it has not even a 50 per cent. representation of Labour. . . . The representative of the British Section is a noble Lord from another place. . . . he has no mandate to represent a single soul in this country except himself. . . . We do not know who represents Great Britain on the International Labour section . . . since the resignation of the Member for Gorbals (G. N. Barnes) I do not think anyone has been appointed. . . . They are appointed by the Labour Section . . . since the resignation of the Member for Gorbals. . . . What will happen when disputes are referred to this body. . . . We can imagine a date when a big Labour dispute will be referred to it."

How is it that a Liberal like Malone is able to realise the true position of affairs, whilst I.L.P.ers like Snowden and Macdonald and Trade Union reactionaries like Henderson and Clynes still line up with the capitalists in support of the League of Nations?

As to peace with Russia, Malone said:—

"I do not agree that real peace will ever be possible between this country and Russia. . . . I cannot conceive that real, durable, lasting peace between capitalist countries and the Soviet Republic can ever endure. . . . The Prime Minister last Monday week opened a great vista of peace with Russia. He was really only taking what I might say was the opportunist course. He sees the red light of the star of Asia, which will spread all over Europe next winter."

But where does Malone stand?

Will he come over to the Communists?

COMRADES AWAITING DEATH.

The White Terror in Estonia.

Many comrades have been murdered in the Estonian White Terror, which may be even more terrible than that of Hungary. When the Estonian First of May demonstration was being planned the Secretary, Wagner, and Comrades Waldeck and Kerpik were arrested at Reval on a "frame-up" charge. They have been sentenced to death by a Field Court, but their case has been remitted to a Military Court. The Workers' "Reval Central Committee" has demanded the proofs on which the charges are founded, but has been told to mind its own business.

Next week we shall publish an article by an Estonian comrade who has witnessed the White Terror on the spot, dealing with this case and the general position in Estonia.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE SCANDAL OF THE MANDATES. The League of Nations Exposed.

The tedium of the League of Nations Parliamentary debate was relieved by the whiff of Hyde Park oratory, with its blunt home truths, which Ex-Colonel Malone delivered. This is the first time that any Member of Parliament has told the truth that the League of Nations is "the international Trade Union of financiers and capitalists" and "really nothing more than a League of anti-Socialists," a "self-elected body of international reactionaries."

Colonel Malone is astonished that the Labour Party supports this Capitalist League. Certainly it is amazing that any working class organisation should tolerate leaders who slavishly support the international instrument of reaction. The bureaucratic structure of the Trade Unions; the fact that they are benefit societies flooded with politically unawakened masses must be held accountable for this toleration of such false leadership. But what shall we say of the I.L.P. politicians who boast of possessing a very superior brand of Socialism, who also support the League of Nations, and what shall we say of the I.L.P. rank and file which puts such muddleheads in Office? Ex-Colonel Malone, elected to Parliament as a Liberal, has the distinction of being the only man who has made a Parliamentary speech with any Socialist tendencies, at least since Keir Hardie's day.

In face of a world torn by war, the apologists of the League of Nations protest that the time has not yet come for it to act, that, as Mr. Balfour said, the Supreme Council of the Allies must first prepare the world for the League to work in.

But whenever we find the League actually at work we find it the obedient servant of the most sinister and rapacious capitalists of the Great Powers.

The law of the strong is the only law the League of Nations recognises. Its reactionary character is rendered the more odious by the smoke screen of sham ethics and pretended morality with which its promoters cloak their disgraceful doings.

Article 22 of the League Constitution deals with territories which "as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them," and which are inhabited by peoples "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

Article 22 declares that the "well-being and development of such peoples shall form a sacred trust of civilisation" and that their "tutelage" shall be entrusted to those "advanced nations" best fitted to undertake the responsibility. The "advanced nation" chosen to exercise the tutelage is to act as a "mandatory" on behalf of the League, and to render periodical accounts of its trusteeship to the Council of the League of Nations. But in practice the Mandates are allocated to the greedy Capitalist Powers without reference to the natives, and in close accord with the terms of the Secret Treaties, which all "Democrats" unite in denouncing, but only the Communists have ever seriously intended to break. The Secret Treaties are only departed from at the demand of some Government strong enough to threaten.

A study of the outrageous facts concerning

the British seizure of the little island of Nauru, close to the Marshall Islands and 50 miles from Japan, reveals the utterly callous and mercenary manner in which the Supreme Council and the League of Nations are dealing with the peoples of the world. Nauru is only a tiny island with a population of 1,700 people; but it is a solid rock of phosphate, and it is believed to have the largest reserve of high-grade phosphates in the world.

Germany before the war made an extensive use of superphosphates for artificial manure, in order to increase the food-bearing power of German soil, and to export to other nations. In 1913 Germany produced 3,500,000 tons of phosphate manures. Germany's main source of supply was the Island of Nauru.

Britain imported between 1909 and 1913 an annual average of 487,000 tons of phosphate, and exported yearly about 121,000 tons of superphosphates, of which the chief consumers were Australia and New Zealand. The phosphate ores imported by Britain chiefly came from Florida and North Africa. They were a lower grade than those of Nauru. The estimates of the Nauru phosphate reserve vary from 80,000,000 to 300,000,000 tons, visible at the present time.

In 1905 the German Government granted a concession to exploit the phosphates of Nauru and the Marshall Islands for 94 years to a German mining company. This concession was transferred and extended to the Pacific Phosphates Company, which also engaged for the same period the mining rights of the near-by Ocean Island, under the British Crown. Ocean Island has a population of 600 natives and 15,000,000 visible tons of phosphates. When the war broke out, Australia seized Nauru Island, and all the other German islands fell into British hands.

The Company was paying from twenty-five to fifty per cent. In 1917 the Public Trustee sold 187,179 £1 ordinary shares fully paid, 186,000 £1 ordinary 10s. shares paid up, 42,610 £1 seven per cent. First Preference Shares, and 19,535 £1 six per cent. Second Preference shares. These shares belonged to German people and were sold to British people for £574,818.

The Government has now introduced a Bill to buy out at the price of £3,500,000 the people who, owing to the war, secured these valuable shares at the low cost of £574,818.

This is a surprising piece of jobbery, but the Agreement Bill, by which the deal is being affected, contains very much worse features than that.

The British Government has bought up the inhabitants with the Islands. It proposes to appoint three Commissioners, one chosen by Britain, one by Australia, one by New Zealand. These Commissioners will appoint an administrator, who will possess complete autocratic power over the natives' whom Colonel Wilson, when introducing the Bill, described as "extremely handsome, intelligent, and Christianised races, fairly well educated."

Having been bought like so much merchandise, the people will become the cheaply hired excavators of the valuable phosphates taken from their islands.

But there is worse still to come; the world is in urgent need of phosphates to increase food production: millions of people are literally starving.

Colonel Wilson stated that the United Kingdom alone used 743,000 tons of phosphate manure in 1913, and that if the present agricultural policy is to be carried out, the quantity must be much increased. Other countries are in infinitely greater need of phosphates.

This infamous Agreement Bill indicates that it is the intention of the promoters to retain the phosphates of the Islands mainly for the exclusive use of Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Article 10 provides that

except with the unanimous consent of the three Commissioners no phosphates shall be sold to any other country. Moreover, whilst Britain, Australia, and New Zealand are to have the phosphates at cost price, other countries may only buy at commercial rates.

Said Colonel Wilson:—"As a result of the war we have collected many mandates, and evidently this is going to be one of the most satisfactory and lucrative."

European populations which before the war depended upon these phosphates will suffer starvation because the phosphates are to be prevented by Britain from replenishing impoverished European soil.

It seems that the skull and cross bones is the coat of arms most fitting to Capitalist Britain.

A REPLY TO THE "HERALD."

[A Statement sent to the *Herald*.]

In its issue of June 22nd, the *Herald*, in referring to the formation of the Communist Party last Sunday, states:—

"Attention is called to the fact that the W.S.F. has been party to the arrangements for the National rank and file Convention, and the present action of its leaders can only be regarded as a deliberate attempt, at the eleventh hour, to sabotage the efforts that are being made to secure complete Communist Unity in a Genuine Communist Party."

This comment is unwarranted, since the *Herald* published in its own columns the notice issued by the W.S.F. in convening the conference from which the Communist party was formed.

This notice, which was sent a fortnight ago to the secretary of the Unity Committee, plainly stated the objects of the conference to decide:—

- Whether the parties and groups opposed to Parliamentary action and affiliation to the Labour Party should take part in the August 1st Communist Unity Conference.
- Whether they should take other action.

The organisations which met to deliberate upon these two questions, with almost complete unanimity, decided:—

- Not to attend the August 1st Conference.
- To form a Communist Party on the basis of the principles of which these groups were united.

It should be remembered that in June, 1919, the annual conference of the W.S.F. decided to assume the name "Communist Party," and to negotiate for unity with other groups of like objects.

The B.S.P. had not then decided whether to affiliate to the Third International, and was still affiliated to the Second. It had referred the question of the Third International to ballot vote of its membership, which was not taken until the following October.

The W.S.F., at the request of the B.S.P. and that section of the S.L.P. which now calls itself the Communist Unity Group, refrained from adopting the name Communist Party, except as a sub-title, in the hope of facilitating unity.

The Unity negotiations proved abortive from the W.S.F. point of view. The S.L.P. and South Wales Socialist Society retired from the negotiations, and only the more opportunist right wing elements were left.

The B.S.P. and C.U.G. then used their majority power to impose the condition that organisations participating in the August 1st Conference must agree to abide by its findings, and merge themselves in the Party which would be formed at the Conference, however much they might disagree with it.

The W.S.F. therefore called together the Left Wing organisations with which its policy is in agreement. The new Party which has arisen from the fusion which resulted has assumed the name Communist Party (British Section of the Third International).

THE RED ARMY OF LABOUR.

Decree of the Workers' and Peasants' Council of Defence on the First Revolutionary Labour Army.

1. The Third Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is to be utilised for labour purposes. This army is to be considered as a complete organisation; its apparatus is neither to be disorganised nor split up, and it is to be known under the name of the First Revolutionary Labour Army.

2. The utilisation of the Third Red Army for labour purposes is a temporary measure. The period is to be determined by a special regulation of the Council of Defence in accordance with the military situation as well as with the character of the work which the army will be able to carry out, and will especially depend on the practical productivity of the labour army.

3. The following are the principal tasks to which the forces and means of the Third Army are to be applied:—

First:

(a) The preparation of food and forage in accordance with the regulation of the People's Commissariat for Food, and the concentration of these in certain depots;

(b) the preparation of wood and its delivery to factories and railway station;

(c) the organisation for this purpose of land transport as well as water transport;

(d) the mobilisation of necessary labour power for work on a national scale;

(e) constructive work within the above limits as well as on a wider scale for the purpose of introducing, gradually, further works.

Second:

(f) For repair of agricultural implements;

(g) agricultural work, etc.

4. The first duty of the Labour Army is to secure provisions, not below the Red Army ration, for the local workers in those regions where the army is stationed; this is to be brought about by means of the army organs of supply in all those cases where the President of the Food Commissariat of the Labour Army Council (No. 7) will find that no other means of securing the necessary provisions for the above mentioned workers are to be had.

5. The utilisation of the labour of the third army in a certain locality must take place in the locality in which the principal part of the army is stationed; this is to be determined exactly by the leading organs of the army (No. 6) with a subsequent confirmation by the Council of Defence.

6. The Revolutionary Council of the Labour Army is the organ in charge of work appointed, with the provision that the locality where the services of the Labour Army are to be applied is to be the same locality where the services of the Revolutionary Council of the Labour Army enjoys economic authority.

7. The Revolutionary Army of the Labour Army is to be composed of members of the Revolutionary War Council and of authorised representatives of the People's Commissariat for Food, the Supreme Council for Public Economy, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Communication, and the People's Commissariat for Labour.

An especially authorised Council of Defence which is to enjoy the rights of presidency of the Council of the Labour Army is to be put at the head of the above Council.

8. All questions concerning internal military organisations and defined by regulations of internal military service and other military regulations are to be finally settled upon by the Revolutionary War Council which introduces in the internal life of the army all the necessary changes arising in consequence of the demands of the economic application of the army.

9. In every sphere of work (food, fuel, railway, etc.), the final decision on the matter of organising this work is to be left with the representative of the corresponding sphere of the Labour Army Council.

10. In the event of radical disagreement the case is to be transferred to the Council of Defence.

11. All the local institutions, Councils of Public Economy, Food Committees, Land Departments, etc. are to carry out the special orders and instructions of the Labour Army Council through the latter's corresponding members either in its entirety or in that sphere of the work which is demanded by the application of the mass labour power.

12. All local institutions (councils of public economy, food committees, etc.) are to remain in their particular localities and carry out, through their ordinary apparatus, the work which falls to their share in the execution of the economic plans of the Labour Army Council; local institutions can be changed, either in structure or in their functions, on no other condition except with the consent of the corresponding departmental representatives who are members of the Labour Army Council, or, in the case of radical changes, with the consent of the corresponding central department.

13. In the case of work for which individual parts of the army can be utilised in a casual manner, as well as in the case of those parts of the army which are stationed outside the chief army, or which can be transferred beyond the limits of this locality, the Army Council must in each instance enter into an agreement with the permanent local institutions carrying out the corresponding work, and as far as that is practical and meets with no obstacles, the separate military detachments are to be transferred to their temporary economic disposal.

14. Skilled workers, in so far as they are not indispensable for the support of the life of the army

itself, must be transferred by the army to the local factories and to the economic institutions generally under direction of the corresponding representatives of the Labour Army Council.

Note.—Skilled labour can be sent to factories under no other condition except with the consent of those economic organs to which the factory in question is subject. Members of trade unions are liable to be withdrawn from local enterprises for the economic needs in connection with the problem of the army only with the consent of the local organs.

15. The Labour Army Council must, through its corresponding members, take all the necessary measures towards inducing the local institution of a given department to control, in the localities, the army detachments and their institutions in the carrying out of the latter's share of work without infringing the respective by-laws, regulations, and instructions of the Soviet Republic.

Note.—It is particularly necessary to take care that the general State rate of pay is to be observed in the remuneration of peasants for the delivery of food or the preparation of wood or other fuel.

16.—The Central Statistical Department in agreement with the Supreme Council for Public Economy and the War Department is instructed to draw up an estimate defining the forms and period of registration.

17. The present regulation comes into force with the moment of its publication by telegraph.

President of the Council of Defence,

V. ULIANOV (Lenin).

S. BRICHKINA, Secretary.

Moscow, January 15th, 1920.

PEACE WITH RUSSIA?

It is rumoured that the negotiations between Comrade Krassin and the other Soviet delegates on the one hand, and the British and Allied Governments on the other, have fallen through. We have never believed the British Government to be honest in proposing trade negotiations; we have always believed that it would attach such political conditions to the trading as would banish the Soviets and Communism from Russia and re-establish Capitalism there.

Lloyd George, the arch-intriguer, probably thought the Soviet Government wearying of its life and death struggle with an entire world of Capitalist foes; and he doubtless hoped that because of the superhuman difficulties it is facing the Soviet Government might be longing for an opportunity to compromise.

But he was wrong, and if proof were needed that our Soviet Comrades have refused to compromise vital principles, we should find it in the fact that the Government is showing in many ways that the threads of negotiations are to be snapped.

The frank and brutal announcement to the House of Commons that the negotiations between the British Government and the Soviets had fallen through on account of General Wrangel's offensive is a sign that the pretence of considering peace with Russia is about to be dropped.

Our view of the situation is that Capitalism is preparing for a long war against the workers and especially for a long and tremendously widespread war, stretching, if only in patches, from Central Europe right out to the Far East.

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE: Nothing Doing.

The North Wall strikers, still firmly refusing to carry troops and munitions, are experiencing to the full the treachery of British Trade Union officials and the apathy of the British working class.

The special Trade Union Congress called for next month is only another expedient for staving off any kind of action. At the Labour Party Conference, where the rank and file get a slightly bigger chance to make themselves heard than at the Trade Union Congress, the reply to all demands for Direct Action will be: "Wait for the Trade Union Congress."

Lloyd George's statement that he was prepared to involve the two nations in a five years' war, to face a million casualties and to introduce conscription rather than assent to an Irish Republic, will certainly help to arouse the fighting spirit of the working class, though its effect may not be immediately apparent.

The declaration should show us how serious will be the resistance of British Capitalism when the working class threatens its existence.

THE "JOLLY GEORGE" AGAIN.

The *Jolly George* is again being loaded for Poland, with boxes this time labelled "soap." It is safest not to send any goods to Poland till the Polish war on Soviet Russia is stopped.

SOVIET LIFE AT MURMANSK.

(Moscow Wireless of April 28th, 1920.)

A set of the *Izvestia* of the Executive Committee at Murmansk has just arrived at Moscow. This paper has been appearing regularly at Murmansk since February 23rd, two days after the Soviet Revolution in that city.

Death Penalty Abolished in Soviet Russia.

The first news met within its pages are orders intended to guarantee safety to all counter-revolutionists who have laid down their arms and to spread throughout the region the good news, hitherto no doubt concealed by the Whites, that the death penalty in Soviet Russia has been abolished. Beginning with the fourth number, it is apparent that the new power is not losing a moment's time in carrying out its functions. The Executive Committee at Murmansk have organised a workers' club, in which at all times political and literary conferences, as well as lectures on hygiene and on general subjects of instruction, are being held. Some of the earlier numbers likewise contain ardent appeals addressed to the intellectuals, calling upon them to co-operate with the people in the encouragement of the new regime. A railroad worker sends to the newspaper a letter dealing with the political section of the railroad, containing a fiery appeal to that effect.

Murmansk Unites with Soviet Russia.

Simultaneously, one beholds the development in this country, previously neglected, and then crushed under the boot of the Czarist generals, of all the living forces, which are encouraged by the Soviet Government. With an astounding rapidity these lands, almost in the polar regions and so long detached from Soviet Russia, are uniting with the latter. For example, there is the political and educational organisation for young people. Its meetings are increasing in number.

Work of the Soviet Congress.

This Congress is to examine all questions of administration, territorial production, local economic life, and, most important, transportation by railroad and by water. This province, so recently liberated, has already had the time to join in the great campaign undertaken by Soviet Russia for the improvement of transport. The transactions of the Congress reveal the desperate situation in which the carelessness and the financial incapacity of the Whites have left the Murmansk railroad. Thus, the wood reserves at the head of the line, at the time when Miller left the field of action, amounted to only 80 steres. Thanks to their extraordinary efforts, the workers were able to keep up the supplies of wood from day to day.

Communist Reconstruction.

All this new activity is inspired and maintained by the Communists, who are supported, in their turn, by the whole population, as may be seen in the resolution passed at numerous meetings.

There is no doubt that the people already understand the improvements made in the region; these are all the more striking, when we recall that the population is still enraged against the Whites, who ruined the country and deceived the people on the subject of Bolshevism.

Communist Saturdays are flourishing. Communist instructors are travelling throughout the country districts to acquaint the peasants with everything that has been going on for the last two years. Everywhere, the population receives them with enthusiasm and showers them with questions. In spite of the difficulties involved in the climatic conditions, everything is being done to increase the production of the country; so that the peninsula of Kola may become a self-supporting centre, such as it never was before.

Courses are being opened for the illiterate. An extraordinary commission has been created for sanitary control in all inhabited places, and a general house-cleaning week has been declared at Murmansk.

Capitalist Destruction.

The occupation of this country by the Allies has had the most disastrous consequences for the rolling stock. When the English began their work, there were at hand 195 locomotives in perfect condition. When Miller left, there were only 45. All the others were out of commission. The passenger and freight cars are now lacking to a point of almost complete absence. And yet, thanks to the measures taken by the new regime, already traffic is usual on two passenger trains weekly as far as Petrozavodsk.

Constitution of Murmansk Soviet.

Meanwhile, the general administration is being adjusted according to the principles of the whole republic. The Council of Commissaries, created spontaneously in the first days of the Revolution, has been replaced by a Revolutionary Committee, which, in turn, is to last only until such time as the convocation of the Soviet Congress. This Congress assembled on March 20th. It includes sixty members elected by the workers' organisations, one delegate for each . . . and for the rest of the population, one delegate for each thousand.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

"Snap" Strikes.

The number of "snap" strikes in the Welsh Coalfield shows no sign of diminishing. The action of the Park and Dare workmen during the last two weeks is typical and displays the method and cause of the "snap" strike. The Ocean Combine Committee, which comprises representatives of all the miners employed by the Ocean Coal Company, decided a short time ago to demand from their employers the concession of a shorter working shift for all work performed during the week-end.

The general manager of the O.C.C. refused to meet a deputation from the Combine, saying there was no dispute regarding week-end work.

In reply, the Combine Committee gave instructions to the workmen to refrain from week-end work. These instructions were, with one or two exceptions, loyally carried out at the whole of the Ocean Collieries.

The managers of the Park and Dare Pits were then informed by the superiors that they were not to give themselves any trouble to find work for the daymen on Monday and large numbers of men were turned back on Monday morning from the pit. In some instances the only cause was a small fall of roof that could be cleared in a few minutes and was not at all likely to cause delay in the work.

Mass meetings were held during the week and it was decided that unless the management were prepared to allow all the men to work, then both pits should be idle. Pithead meetings were therefore held on the following Monday morning at both the Park and Dare Pits. The managers refused to guarantee that every man should work and suggested that the men should descend the pit and see their respective firemen.

The men decided to return home. In the event of the workmen at one pit being guaranteed work, arrangements had been previously made whereby these men should also return home to support their comrades working in the other pit.

On the following Monday there was again no work at Park and Dare Pits, the only difference being that a mass meeting was held on Sunday night, instead of pithead meetings, as the latter necessitate the men having to dress in working clothes and being put to the inconvenience of walking to the pithead.

This is a fine example of working-class solidarity, inasmuch as the Monday strikes were not for any monetary advancement, but to insist on the principle of equality of treatment or sacrifice.

Officials Support Colliers.

Another example of the dawning of a realisation of the class basis of society was also manifested during the strike. The first Sunday night the workmen refrained from working, the officials (that is, the firemen and master hauliers) largely filled the places of the hauliers by driving the coal to the partings, from whence the rope engines, driven by other officials, took it to the pit bottom. The Park and Dare workmen then selected deputations to go to meetings of both the master hauliers and firemen. The result was that on the next Sunday night the officials refused to execute any work that should have been done by the workmen on strike.

Employers Summon Workers.

Summonses to appear at Court are, we understand, to be issued shortly against the Park and Dare workmen. This is the usual tactic of the employer; but the rank and file are beginning to rebel. The Executive Committee of the Rhondda No. 1 District has already been approached by deputations from various lodges where the men have received summonses with a request that a special District meeting be called to see what action can be taken to put an end to this pernicious system. (Of course, the only action is direct action.)

Lord Astor Appeals for Housing Bonds.

During the last fortnight the hoardings in the Rhondda have been covered with large posters in red, white and blue announcing a meeting at Porth under the auspices of the Rhondda Council's Housing Bond Committee. A large number of individuals, whose loyalty to the capitalist system is manifested by the long string of letters attached to their names, were billed to speak. As an exposition of true democracy, Lord Astor was the star turn invited by this Council, with a Labour majority.

Large numbers of Left Wingers were prevented from attending the meeting owing to being engaged on Federation work, otherwise the noble Lord would have had the unhappy experience of seeing the meeting reject the motion that he supported. As it was, distinct opposition to the basis of the scheme of loans was shown, and the official resolution was challenged by vote. Evidently our friend Astor is an optimist; he expressed the hope that the big unions would now reconsider their attitude and invest their funds in Housing Bonds. Judging by the response to date, the support engendered by the "platform of all stars," has not overwhelmed the clerical staff of the Bonds Committee.

£18,000 out of £26,000,000.

Of the £26,000,000 required, £18,000 has been promised, which, of course, does not mean actually invested.

In the near future, the Rhondda Urban District Councillors will undoubtedly be forced by events to emerge from their fools' paradise and realise that the workers are determined to get reconstruction, but on a new basis.

S.W.M.F. Annual Conference.

What has undoubtedly been one of the dreariest Annual Conferences of the S.W.M.F. has been held this week.

The great reason, no doubt, for the lack of interest exhibited by delegates in the proceedings was the fact that amendments to rules were referred to a Special Conference being called three months hence. Several

of the annual evergreen resolutions were passed before business began to liven up a little. The South Wales delegates to the M.F.G.B. have been instructed to press for the abolition of the rule that requires a two-thirds majority vote before a strike can be declared. Conference declared that all taxes on wages should be abolished on incomes under £400 per annum.

Wages and Prices.

Around the relationship of wages to prices, quite an interesting discussion took place. Everyone agreed as to the desirability of an increase in wages or a decrease in the cost of living, but differences of opinion were expressed as to which course should be adopted. When the workers are prepared to strike for higher wages the Trade Union leader uses all his influence to curb such action, and points out to them the need of lowering the cost of living so that the whole of the workers in the country may benefit. This happened in the miners' case a few months ago: there were quite a large number of delegates who felt that, even if the Triple Alliance, Trade Unions' Congress, or even the M.F.G.B. should refuse to force a decrease in the cost of living, then the S.W.M.F. should be prepared to take direct action to enforce the same. The Left Wing divided upon the issue, and the Executive, throwing their weight against the resolution, it was defeated.

A resolution was carried giving three months' grace to the National bodies, to decrease the cost of living, and in the event of failure, demanding increased wages to commensurate with the increased cost of living, with the threat of action to support such claim.

Good News for C.L.C. Students.

The dependents of married students who succeed in passing to the Labour College are to be financially supported by the Executive. This should give a great impetus to the Classes in the coalfield, as there are large numbers of men who, anxious to complete their education at the College, will now seize the opportunity presented.

Labour Councillors Called to Book.

Rhondda Labour Councillors who are not in sympathy with the new ideas are evidently in difficulties. At Ton Pentre, the Trades and Labour Council ordered their Councillor to explain his remark at a sitting of the Council that he did not intend to be a gramophone. He was asked if his ideas of democracy were that he should be the record and the Trades and Labour Council the gramophone for him. When the situation was brought before him in this manner, he capitulated and stated his preparedness to support any move that would make easier the task of setting up a Soviet in the Rhondda.

At Treorkey, also, the Labour representatives are to be placed on trial, and failing a satisfactory reform, the developments are likely to be highly interesting.

The time when the Rhondda Council shall function on Soviet lines can, we believe, be reasonably measured.

Dismissed for Not Doing Enough Work.

At the Ynysifao Pits the management have tendered notices to some fourteen workmen, their reason being that the men have not done sufficient work.

This is, we believe, the first time that the manager of any colliery in South Wales has taken such action during the last few years. Prior to the growth of the fine spirit of solidarity that now manifests itself in the ranks of the miners, such an excuse was always good enough to remove any man who appeared likely to become a dangerous agitator. Thus in the past, the pioneers of the working-class movement have been made to suffer, and once a man was "black-listed" by the coalowners, the possibility of his obtaining employment in the South Wales Coalfield became remote. To-day, however, the situation has changed, and with the growth of the canny spirit, immediate action should be taken to combat the manager who dares to dismiss men on such a pretext.

At Ynysifao mass meetings have been held, and had not the men appointed by the lodge to negotiate for the reinstatement of the discharged workmen camouflaged the case and encircled it with a garb of mystery, direct action would have been decided upon ere now.

Up to the present the intention is to fight the question constitutionally, but although the reinstatement of the men is a foregone conclusion, this is not a satisfactory proceeding. Immediate "down tools" by the workmen at the colliery is the best method: in this way the crisis is developed earlier and other managers are deterred from taking similar action.

The workmen in this case were prepared, and the lodge officials who, by their action, are responsible for the present state of affairs, will undoubtedly be castigated severely by the men when they understand the true situation.

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Points from the Nottingham Conference Agenda.

The final agenda for the Conference is now published, but so thoroughly had the branches attacked the old rules in the preliminary agenda that little is added.

One very dangerous suggestion is, however, made—that seeing that the alterations to rules are so many and so drastic the conference should not consider them at all, but set up a sub-committee of seven to go into the whole question and report in some far distant date to the branches.

This suggestion is contrary to rules, seeing that the specific purpose of an Annual Delegate Meeting is to alter rules. Moreover, in this case, with two-thirds of the membership agreeing, and without such two-thirds majority no rule whatever can be altered, such a proposal is a positive trap for the members.

It was precisely such a committee of seven experts that drafted the present disgraceful set of rules, when amalgamation was consummated last year. The experts could not have produced a worse set, more stinking with autocracy and more in the interests of the official grafters, than if such had been their avowed object. There is not the slightest hope that any further committee of seven likely to be appointed would improve in any way on the efforts of the old committee.

Every democratic principle, every provision for power being in the hands of the membership who are the Union, which had been won in the old society by years of assiduous rank and file agitation, was swept away at one breath, and amalgamation was made the pretext for binding a hundred thousand members hand and foot at the mercy of a snug coterie of "Labour bleeders."

Registered letters sent to the Registrar of Friendly Societies pointing out that such a set of rules had never been agreed to by the membership were naturally ignored by that official of Capitalism.

Members of all Unions should beware of such amalgamations in which the chance is taken to seize power for a caucus. Organisations generally spells strength, but when an organisation gets into the hands of a set of people whose main idea is to live on the movement, and not merely to live at the worker's wage of £4 10s. to £5 per week, but to live at £7, £8, £9 and even £10 per week, then organisation is a source of weakness, of servitude, and of impotence. This is well seen in the case of the political machine whereby Gompers and his gang have for so many years kept a strangle-hold on American Labour, also in the notorious American political bosses and their Tammany methods.

This conference and the purging agenda which has been prepared for it, represents the first effort of the rank and file to win back democratic principles and power over their own organisation of which they have been tricked.

How many Richard Bells, Shackletons, John Burns, full of personal ambition, are waiting to use the backs of the Vehicle Workers to vault into M.P.'s jobs and soft governmental funk-holes which they can win by making use of the reputation and power the Vehicle Workers place in their hands?

The membership through their directly elected delegates, are not likely to be fobbed off with any such transparent trickery as this proposal to refer the proposed changes of rule to a sub-committee. The Annual Delegate Meeting is the one occasion in the year when the members are in power, though in fact, even then, "gassing" and "chloroforming" by glib-tongued officials is often ingloriously accomplished.

A much better suggestion would be to postpone the presidential address and cut the Mayoral welcome (if one is contemplated), and start in right away on the alterations to rules, for which work the delegates have definite and explicit instructions from the members.

It is more than necessary, too, that the meeting should choose its own chairman; a meeting controlled by a chairman the delegates do not want, does not make for quietness and harmony. If the delegates should happen to elect the President to take the chair, well and good, but my own view is that the more democratic course is for the chairman to be not an official at all, but one of the delegates.

No possible good can come from another committee of experts working away in the dark, far from the fierce light of criticism of directly elected delegates.

An Annual Delegate Meeting is the "National Convention" for the rank and file—their political instrument (as it was in France in 1789)—for sweeping away incrustated barnacles and parasitic growths that have fastened themselves to the good ship of the Union—on which they batten. The Annual Delegate Meeting provides the only opportunity of the workers to make the Union an efficient machine through which the Vehicle Workers may move forward irresistibly to increased control over their own lives and over the industry to which they belong.

This Conference, at which some three hundred delegates will be present, meets at Circus Street Hall, Nottingham, beginning on Tuesday, June 29th, 1920. May the results of its labours be an example and an inspiration everywhere for the rank and file of organised labour. E.T.W.

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

GARDEN PARTY

AND

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SUNDAY, JULY 4th, 3 to 10 p.m.

CONCERT AND SPEECHES.

TICKETS ONE SHILLING.

Refreshments at Moderate Prices.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

White Terror in Hungary.

June 14th.—The Government refused to find time to discuss the capitalist atrocities in Hungary.

Allies to Meet German Government.

Lloyd George said the Allies will probably meet the Germans at Spa in July.

German White Guards.

Asked about German disarmament, Lloyd George said the German Army is reduced to 200,000, and that orders have been issued to disband the unauthorised reserves, the *Zeitfreiwilligen* (Reichswehr Reserves) *Einwohnerwehren* (Civil Guards) and *Sicherheitspolizei* (Armed Constabulary).

This is contrary to our information.

The German Government, Lloyd George added, is still pressing to retain the *Sicherheitspolizei* (Armed Constabulary). He added: "The civic guards are local organisations whose numbers fluctuate according to local conditions." These White Guards are evidently approved by the Allies.

Old Age Pensions.

J. Guest (Lab.), asked whether old age pensions are to be raised. The Chancellor of Exchequer refused. Meanwhile, Pemberton Billing (Independent), asked for an increase of the Parliamentary £400 a year, and Hogge (Lib.), asked that Parliamentarians should be allowed to send letters without stamps.

Argentine Wheat.

The export of Argentine wheat is no longer prohibited, but an export duty of £8 per ton has been established. This will help to put up the price of bread in this country.

£23,000 for the League of Nations.

The British Government paid £23,000 to the League of Nations last year.

What has the League of Nations done?

Lloyd George said that after careful consideration he had decided that his attendance at the forthcoming Council of the League of Nations "would not be desirable." He thought it "probable" that Poland's differences with her neighbours would be discussed.

Capital Levy in Italy.

Baldwin, for the Treasury, stated that Italy has adopted the capital levy on which the I.L.P. pins its faith. The levy is imposed on the basis of the total capital owned by each individual on January 1st, 1920. Capitals of less than 50,000 lire are exempt. The rate is 4.5 per cent. on 50,000 lire, and is graduated up to 50 per cent. on 100,000 lire or more. It is payable in 20 yearly instalments. A lira is nominally worth 10d., but the exchange value of Italian money is steadily falling.

The decision to impose a capital levy has in no wise checked the progress of Italy towards the Social Revolution. The capital levy is one of those palliatives that make little or no real difference to social conditions. The I.L.P. should wake up!

Switzerland Adopts Capital Levy.

Switzerland has also adopted the capital levy. On capitals exceeding 10,000 francs (£400) .1 per cent. is paid, which rises to 1.5 per cent. on capitals of 2,200,000 francs or more. Companies pay from .2 to 1 per cent., co-operative societies pay from .1 to .5 per cent. A proposal is under consideration to tax incomes over 10,000 francs. at rates rising to 25 per cent.

Are the Police Armed?

June 15th.—The Home Secretary was asked: "Are the police armed?" He replied: "No, they are not." But London mounted police have frequently been seen of late riding through the streets with a carbine and two holsters.

A comrade went to Camberwell Police Station recently, and as he entered, to his astonishment, a policeman pointed a rifle at him. Our comrade stated his business and the rifle was lowered. A Welsh comrade tells us that racks of rifles are now to be seen in Welsh police stations.

Churchill was asked whether the Irish and Welsh Guards are to be abolished. His answer was merely an evasion. Are these Guards not to be trusted?

T. Griffiths (Lab.), asked whether arrangements have been made for instructing the Metropolitan Police in the use of firearms, whether officers have been approved in order that instruction in .2 and .32 weapons may be given as quickly as possible, whether .22 ammunition is being distributed for instructional purposes, and 26,000 rounds of ammunition has been obtained from the War Department for practice and the use of rifle clubs.

Major Baird, for the Home Office, admitted the facts but dismissed them as nothing new.

Mesopotamia.

There have been 65 British, 1919 Indian casualties in Mesopotamia since the Armistice with Turkey.

Aircraft.

Britain has built 310 military aeroplanes, seaplanes and flying boats during the past six months; also 30 civil aircraft. "A number of machines of military type for civil purposes have also been constructed" said Churchill.

What for?

Anxiety in India.

June 16th.—The European Association in India has cabled to the Secretary of State demanding compulsory military service in India, and saying that it regards the Indian position with anxiety. The Government of India brought in an Auxiliary Force Bill establishing conscription, but the British Government, realising the fact that conscript armies are easily disaffected, refused to authorise the Indian Government's proposals except on a voluntary basis.

Hospitals Closing.

Dr. Addison admitted that the National Hospital for Epileptics in Queen's Square and two other London hospitals are closing for lack of funds. Nevertheless, he said: "I have never been in favour of nationalising the voluntary hospitals."

The Coming War with America

Ships which will exist in 1925:—

Capital ships mounting 16-inch guns:

U.S.A. ... 16.

Britain ... nil.

Capital ships with a speed of 33½ knots or more:

U.S.A. ... 6.

Britain ... nil.

Light Cruisers:

U.S.A. ... 10.

Britain ... nil.

Destroyers:

U.S.A. ... 266.

Britain ... 196.

First Lord of the Admiralty:—

"We shall not fail to ask Parliament for the necessary powers if we think we should otherwise fall behind our proper naval strength."

Only the Workers' Revolution can save us from further capitalist wars.

Effect of the War to End War.

French Army, 1913, 655,000 troops; French Army, 1920, 660,000 troops.

Of these 470,000 are white and 190,000 coloured.

RUSSIA.

A Nansen Relief Expedition—Watch It!

The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs said there are supposed to be 50,000 ex-prisoners of war in Siberia and that at the request of the League of Nations Dr. Nansen has undertaken to organise their relief and repatriation.

This expedition must be carefully watched. Allied expeditions in Russia are certain to be hostile to Communism, and hitherto have always meant mischief. We remember that the anti-Soviet War began with the pretence of helping the Czecho-Slovak ex-war prisoners to leave Russia.

British Firms Make to Munitions in Poland.

The Minister of Munitions admitted that British firms have sent representatives to Poland in order to establish munition works and to set up subsidiary companies.

This means that preparations for a long war in Eastern and Central Europe are being made. Remember that the habitual tactic of the British Government when engaged in war is to bide its time making extensive preparations and to wait till its opponent is exhausted before making a decisive and determined thrust. In the great international civil war between capitalism and the workers, the Government will use its accustomed methods.

Wrangel Peace Negotiations Have Fallen Through.

Cecil Harmsworth, for the Foreign Office, stated that the peace negotiations between the Soviets and the counter-revolutionaries in South Russia, in which the British were supposed to be mediating "have fallen through on account of General Wrangel's offensive."

The British Government assisted the Wrangel offensive, it is therefore responsible for the result. Our opinion is that the Allied capitalist Governments have never intended peace.

Asked how many demobilised British officers are serving with General Wrangel and the Poles, Churchill says he does not "keep count of demobilised officers."

British Recruits for the Red Army.

Colonel Malone asked whether British workers will be permitted to enter the Russian Red Army, and whether they may train and organise units in this country. The Home Secretary ignored the first part of the question and said no to the second.

Bolsheviks in Persia.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir F. Hall, one of the fire-eaters, complained that the German Consul, Herr Wustrow, at Tabriz, had given shelter to some "Persian Bolsheviks engaged in plotting under Russian instigation against the Persian administration." Harmsworth, for the Foreign Office, said the subject need not be carried further as Wustrow has been murdered.

The War on Soviet Russia.

Mr. Malone asked whether Mr. Sabine, the Russian representative nominated by the Tsarist Minister in Paris, still occupies the Russian Embassy at Chesham House. Cecil Harmsworth (Under Secretary at the Foreign Office) admitted that Sabine is in possession of the Embassy, but said the British Government only communicates with him in questions of Russian relief and refugees.

IRELAND.

W. Coote (C.U.), was anxious to get more people punished for promoting the £250,000 loan for Dail Eireann, the Sinn Fein Parliament. Earl Winterton (C.U.), was indignant that a guard of His Majesty's troops in Dublin had surrendered to what he called "armed desperadoes" without firing a shot. He also asked whether "disciplinary action" had been taken against the troops concerned in the disarmament of a military cyclist patrol and three military despatch riders by "armed desperadoes."

Earl Winterton feels that the prestige of his class and its Empire has been let down by these Tommies. He would have preferred them to sacrifice their lives for his ideals.

Moles, another Coalition-Unionist, was angry because, when the driver of a Waterford train refused to drive soldiers with rifles, the adjutant withdrew the rifles and the guard agreed to let the unarmed soldiers travel.

From U.S.A. Class-War Prisoners.

A Letter From Leavenworth Prison, Kansas.

Post Office, Box 7.

Leavenworth, Kansas.

[Censored.]

DEAR COMRADE,—You will be able to appreciate our natural curiosity for news from England. Of the goodly number of politicals in this penitentiary some twenty-five are Britishers, whose sentences range from five to twenty years. All the Englishmen here are Industrialists who were sentenced for their union activities during the war. After two years and more of gael experience, we are just about convinced of the futility of appealing for "justice" and "right," these elements having been banished completely from the moral code of the United States, hence we must be content to await the time when the workers give their verdict on these questions.

I wish you could manage to send along some copies of the *Dreadnought*, but I must tell you that only newspapers that are sent direct from the publishers are allowed inside the prison. [Will friends take out subscriptions for us to send copies of the *Dreadnought* to Leavenworth?] I should be grateful to comrades in England who would write me a line now and again.

We all sincerely hope that the workers of England are at last beginning to appreciate the true meaning of the word "Solidarity," and wish them speedy and permanent success in their struggle for freedom. Give our best regards to all the comrades in your vicinity.

Yours very sincerely,

JAMES H. MANNING.

An Open Letter to Harold Burgess.

DEAR COMRADE,—In your letter from the Police Court you say: "Do not mind me"; but you are one of the fighters in the movement, and just as you work and fight for the workers in society, we must work for the fighters in the movement.

Just as one producer is worth a million parasites, so you, who are a fighter, are worth a million of those who would like to see Communism, but leave it to others to fight for it.

If we believe that we shall be able to overthrow Capitalism by standing with folded arms, whilst the Capitalists use every weapon from the Press to the machine-gun, we are greatly mistaken. The master class are prepared, in order to guard their privileged position, to flood the world with the blood of the workers and to use the workers to do it for them. They would wipe out of existence every man, woman and child, rather than sacrifice the system of rent, interest, and profit. The late war and the fight against Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary are proofs of that.

I appeal to the fighting revolutionary element in all parties to leave that meek and mild section which still desires to remain clinging to Parliamentarianism, and the Labour fakirs. I appeal to revolutionaries to come over to the Communist Party. Let us show the reactionaries that it is not mere numbers that count, not fine talk and resolutions, not a paltry subscription to the Trade Union once a week, but a militant fighting spirit.

The master class show that they realise this when they send men like Burgess to prison. But we must resolve that though they may burn all our literature and imprison our comrades, they shall never stop the tidal wave of revolutionary ferment amongst the masses, and that we shall stop at nothing that will pull down the pillars of capitalist society and will finally free every man, woman, and child from wage-slavery.

Yours fraternally,

A. CARFORD.

Sheffield W.S.F.

A Children's Theatre.

An effort to form a working-class children's theatre in West-Central London is being made by Elsa Lanchester and a band of children.

They appeal for 100 subscriptions of 15s. each in aid of their work. Each subscriber will receive six tickets, two tickets for three performances of dancing, rhythmic exercises, plays and music. Subscriptions should be sent to Elsa Lanchester at 107, Charlotte Street, London, W.1.

Destitute Muslim Children.

The International Information Bureau points out that whilst the "Save the Children Fund" has been formed for the relief of starving Christian and Jewish children of Europe and Asia, nothing is done to aid the starving Muslim children of Constantinople.

Very true, but we put it to the Bureau that all the much-advertised relief funds hardly affect the situation; their charitable doles are as a drop in the ocean of famine, and achieve little more than providing occupation for the comfortable people who subscribe to them. If Capitalist Imperialism were overthrown and International Communism established, the famine could be attacked at the root.

TO MAKE SURE OF YOUR "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" ORDER NOW!

Please deliver weekly quires of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, commencing and until further notice.

(Signed)

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

I don't know why it is, but Old Creeps always seems to turn up at the wrong time. It's like this. I was just having a word or two about the "Jolly George" with my friend Henry, when Creeps put his face in between two words I was driving home. It was lucky I was not driving them home with my hands, or there would have been a fresh casualty in Ward B., down the Hospital way.

Of course, as you may guess, Old Creeps put it across me, although I just put in a word now and again, because it takes two to make a row. However, he slid off, and so I said to myself that I'd show him. I did. I didn't half show him. But unfortunately he kept out of the way all the time. So all my good work was lost.

I was pretty wild, as you may guess. Here I had been showing him all the afternoon—almost. But what was the good? Here it was nearly knocking-off time, and he hadn't put his face into this. It hardly encourages a man, especially with the "Gate-to-More" (profits for the boss) gang staring down at us from the poster on the walls. I just paused for a minute to imbibe a few words of wisdom from the Right Hon. Clynes, when— Oh, yes, you have guessed.

Trust a gaffer for keeping out of your way when you are putting the half-Nelson on a job; but the minute you just take a squint at some Labour misleader's photo on a More Production poster, you find the gaffer behind you taking an equal interest in it. But fortunately I was saved from giving him a peroration of my own by the buzzer going off for shut shop. So I slid off to the pumice stone and the horse trough where we carefully remove all marks of honest toil of an evening.

I had to wait for someone to take his face out of the trough, so Henry came up to me wanting to know about the "Jolly George." He said it was a funny kind of strike, if I asked him. I assured him that I didn't ask him. Would he take his face out of the way and give me a loan of his soap?

Henry passed the soap and at the same time wanted to know what the dockers were striking about a pub. Wasn't the beer up to mark? I said, what beer? He told me to "Go on," so I did. I put my face under the tap and gave it a once-over with the soap. Henry took a jump backwards when the tap accidentally turned the water his way and wanted to know what I meant by it. Me, mind you.

I pulled out my towel from my overalls and began scrubbing myself down. I took good care, however, to stand out of the way of the tap, knowing its queer little ways. So Henry gave the apprentice the benefit of a shower bath that came sideways all of a sudden.

On the way home Henry wanted me to tell him "all about it," meaning the "Jolly George." It did not strike me at first but he thought it was the name of a pub; so I handed the goods over to him. I was helped out a good deal by a friend of mine who met me outside the works. He was at the docks himself and told me how he had been round giving them "What for," as he put it. He said the dockers' leaders were a wash-out and he had a simple plan for doing the thing in a businesslike way.

"Now, look here, old man," he said, "what's the use of having all these night-hawks outside the Polish Legation? Do you suppose they care a red cent or a yellow one for the matter of that? I don't suppose they'd help if they could; but if they're wanted to do something, then why not stand them a champagne supper?"

Henry guffawed and said it was a good one. My friend assured him it was no joke. Wasn't that the way the capitalists treated the Labour leaders when they wanted things done?

And next week he is going round with the hat for that champagne supper. Who's on?

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Can be obtained from the following newsagents:—

PECKHAM, S.E. 15.

A. F. COMPTON, 93, Commercial Rd.

Mr. WREN, Evelina Rd., Nunhead Lane.

The Reactionary: A Tool of the Revolution?

By AUGUSTIN HAMON.

There is nobody as good as a reactionary or a Conservative—they are one and the same thing—for creating the conditions favourable to a revolution. This thought came to me while considering the numerous events for which the world has been the stage since the end of July, 1914. It was at that period that the dawn of the Revolution commenced, which will end in a new society based on the ruins of the decaying capitalist society.

Who were the initiators of that Revolution, if not the junkers and capitalists of Germany, aided by the junkers and capitalist gangs in Great Britain, France, and Russia? A wave of madness seemed to overtake these men. Like the simpléto who flung himself into the water from fear of getting wet, they set about creating the conditions for the Revolution from very fear of the Revolution.

During the whole course of the war the Conservatives of all countries competed in the task of rendering their chief support, militarism, detested and hated of all. Their one aim was to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses, and to exploit them mercilessly. They utilised the altruistic and generous impulses of the masses for vile, selfish ends, while the latter looked on raging, but impotent. The people revolted first in Russia, because the Government in Russia was autocratic, without the least pretence of democracy.

The Conservatives did not take the lesson to heart, but continued to cultivate the conditions of Revolution. Then the Revolution of November, 1917, succeeded that of March, 1917. Bolshevism appeared. The Conservatives said: "We must destroy it." And so they at once set about creating the conditions that would maintain and strengthen and even develop it. During 1918 and 1919 they strove to rouse up enemies against it, to destroy it by force of arms, and they starved it by a strict blockade.

Communism can only be implanted and developed in one nation if the same process is going on everywhere at the same time, unless that nation happened to be on an island, isolated from the world, without commerce or relationships with non-Communist countries. Bolshevik Russia, at peace with the rest of the world, would have been obliged to conduct commercial relationships with capitalist nations. Therefore, gradually, or even rapidly, the efforts at Communism would have been counteracted by its commercial and other relationships; thus it would finally have been annihilated. The "sanitary cordon" and the "barbed wire fence" prevented this from happening—fortunately for the revolutionaries, unfortunately for the reactionaries. The latter, not perceiving their first error in reasoning, added another, that of supporting armies with the purpose of destroying Bolshevism, which became a rallying call to the Russian nation and to Russian patriotism. What had been attempted in the Eighteenth Century against the French Revolution, was now being attempted by the descendants of the revolutionaries! Hegels was right when he said that the great lesson of history was, that the lessons of history are not learnt.

The Conservatives absolutely failed to understand the Russian Revolution. They understood the German Revolution just as little. Instead of seeking in their own interests to develop it, so that they might divert it, they grew frightened, and wished to dam it up. The Allied Conservatives made a tacit peace with the German Conservatives, from which it resulted that militarism was not dealt, and Germany was not disarmed. Our Allied Conservatives, like the monkey, forgot to light their lantern. It did not occur to them that they were reviving and strengthening German militarism with all its aspirations and appetite for hegemony. They revived what they wished to kill!

The German Conservatives, as stupid as the Allied Conservatives, failed to grasp the situation. They had only to let things take their own course, and abstain from attempting to re-conquer power violently, and little by little they would have acquired the greater part of it. From fear of losing something of their power they created the conditions which will lead them to lose the whole of it. They resort to *coups d'état*, they savagely repress popular uprisings. Anger accumulates among the masses. Poverty increases; production decreases; hunger threatens: and so the Revolution spreads.

Everywhere the reactionary-Conservatives are fulfilling the same task. Take those of Great Britain, for instance: they refuse to nationalise the mines, which the whole world of labour demands, and proclaim war against the workers. They deny the right to Irishmen to choose their own government, thus repeating in the Twentieth Century the fault their ancestors committed in the Eighteenth, when they lost the American colonies, now a separate nation—the United States. Their present error is creating a real state of war with Ireland, which will end in the same way, if this foolish policy is persisted in. In this war they are behaving precisely as the German Conservatives behaved in the world war. Indeed, actions are not functions of national mentalities, but of class and professional mentalities.

The French Conservatives and reactionaries are performing the same task as their British friends. They are placing the whole burden of the State debt upon the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. The rich strive to avoid payment of rates and taxes. They maintain and increase the high cost of living. They are undertaking new military adventures in Asia Minor. They oppose the resump-

tion of peace and commerce with Soviet Russia. In brief, they are sowing with open hands the seeds of discontent, rage, reduced production, poverty and famine. They are pauperising the small and middle bourgeoisie. They are flinging them into the ranks of the proletariat, thus destroying the buffer class between the working masses and the group of small capitalists.

In Italy the same spectacle is to be observed, although Nitti is a wiser pilot than the Millerands, the Eberts, the Lloyd-Georges, and the Müllers. Everywhere it is the same: in Belgium, where the Catholic Conservatives seem on the point of overthrowing the trembling edifice of the three-party Ministry (Catholics, Liberals, and Socialists), which assured a relative political and social peace; in Jugo-Slavia, in Roumania, in Bulgaria, in Poland—where the "Communists" are making uninterrupted progress, under the spur of the Conservatives aiming at Imperialism, centralisation, autocracy and the appropriation of wealth. Everywhere strike succeeds strike, even against the will of the official Trade Union leaders. The flock defies the shepherd because of the fault of the shepherds themselves.

Beyond the Atlantic the revolutionaries are performing the same revolutionary task. They destroy the efforts of Mr. Wilson, who alone among statesmen had a policy which would divert the Revolution, and make it flow without rapids and sudden leaps, in a slow and majestic path.

Everywhere the government of the Conservatives and reactionaries produced the same effects. Finance is chaotic. The European States are on the verge of bankruptcy. The superfluity of currency amongst the others hinders commerce and production. The cost of living increases steadily. Everywhere paper money loses value. Everywhere the masses are impatient of the yoke and ready to resort to violence to shake it off. Everywhere social upheavals are perceptible—strikes and massacres. The workers and peasants are restless. In a word the situation is everywhere catastrophic.

When will the social catastrophe occur? No one knows; no one can say. Like seismic and epidemic catastrophes, it will occur in different regions, and at different times. It has happened in the East, and seems to be marching West, and has apparently reached the central countries. How swiftly it will advance cannot easily be perceived, because of the multitude of human actions and tendencies. Nowadays events are moving fast. Humanity is passing through a period of feverish activity. But one thing is certain—that the most important cause of this rapidity is the conduct of the reactionaries. Acts are better propagandists than words. The reactionaries fear to lose their power. And as fear is a bad counsellor, everywhere they act in the best way to lose their power. There is no doubt God or the gods are displeased with these men, and because they wish to destroy them, they have first made them mad.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, June 22nd. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop and others. St. Michael's Church, St. Leonard's Rd., Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Edmunds, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, June 26th. Lewisham Market Place, 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, R. Bishop, Melvina Walker. Whitburn Road, Lewisham, 7 p.m. Clara Cole, Janet Grove, Melvina Walker and others.

Sunday, June 27th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. R. Bishop, Melvina Walker. Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Edmunds, Pyzer, Melvina Walker, George Hind and others.

Friday, July 2nd. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. S. Saklatvala and others. St. Michael's Church, St. Leonard's Rd., Poplar, 7.30 p.m. Louis Solomon, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, July 3rd. Meetings in Peckham.

INDOOR.

Monday, June 28th. 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. W.S.F. Business Meeting.

Wednesday, June 30th, Camberwell Labour Club and Institute, 16, Peckham Road, 7.30 p.m. to form local branch of the Communist Party.

Thursday, July 1st, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, June 27th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, July 21st, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, June 29th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Rev. H. Chalmers: "Illusions and Realities."

WANTED, by Comrades, FURNISHED or UNFURNISHED ROOMS.—Box A 1.

Comrades are asked to send second-hand clothes and other goods to LUCY BURGIS, 438, Old Ford Road, to sell for our funds.

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