

Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE CLASS WAR: THE FIGHT FOR THE MINES!

The Home Front Battle. Enlist on the Workers' Side.

MAKE IT A FIGHT FOR THE SOVIETS IN BRITAIN.

The Government Attacks You: Turn Out the Government.

WHAT TO STRIKE FOR:—

- AGAINST CAPITALISM.
- TO PUT THE WORKERS IN POWER.
- FOR THE SOVIETS.
- FOR SOCIALISATION AND WORKERS' CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.
- FOR THE WORKERS TO SHARE EQUALLY THE WEALTH THEY PRODUCE.
- FOR OLD, SICK, AND DISABLED WORKERS AND THEIR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS TO SHARE ON EQUAL TERMS WITH THE REST OF THE COMMUNITY.
- FOR THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOSS: GIVE HIM A JOB AT THE USUAL RATE.
- FOR THE SOCIALISATION OF THE LAND.
- FOR THE SOCIALISATION OF FOOD; NO MORE HUNGER AND PROFITEERING.
- FOR THE SOCIALISATION OF HOUSES; NO MORE RENT.

Do not appeal to Parliament to settle the strike. Parliament is the Executive Committee of the Capitalist Class.

Set up the Soviets of delegates from the workers in the mines and factories, the land, the armed forces and the working-class women at home.

FELLOW WORKERS:—

Our comrades the miners, have entered upon a great struggle which may prove to be an important stage in the struggle of the working class to capture the power of Government, and the Capitalist System.

Fellow workers, your place is with the miners in this fight which is being carried on by the Government which is the Executive Committee of the capitalist class. You must fight to turn out the Government and overthrow the capitalist system.



ment benefit; the men and women who lose their work through this strike. This is done by means of the proviso that unemployment benefit under the new Act, will only be paid to persons who have been employed during the four weeks prior to December 6th, or who afterwards qualify for benefit by four weeks continuous employment. This move is part of the capitalist tactics for defeating the workers in this struggle.

The capitalists are equipped with the weapons of militarism and the hunger blockade to fight the workers; they do not hesitate or scruple to use the most cruel and ruthless tactics in the struggle.

What have the official leaders of the working class done to prepare to combat the employing class and to advance the cause of the working class in this struggle?

Nothing, absolutely nothing!

Some of the leaders of the working class have behaved so treacherously, that Lloyd George is able to say:—

"The proposals of the Government have been supported by many of the responsible leaders of the Miners' Federation."

It is a sad and shameful fact that these words cannot be contradicted; but put aside what the leaders did when the strike issue hung in the balance—what will the leaders do, now that the battle is joined?

From all over the country, messages flow from the rank and file, eager for sympathetic action;



The Italian workers seized the metal factories; the Russian workers seized the entire machinery of State and set up a Soviet Republic.

The cost of living rises steadily; bread has gone up another 4d., and its quality is constantly growing poorer; the sugar ration has been reduced; all prices are rising; the unemployed are thrust aside with callous brutality; and unemployment is growing. The only hope of the workers is to smash the capitalist system!

Lloyd George says: "The nation," (he means the capitalist class), "will resist the miners' strike, with all its strength."

He declares that "all citizens," (he means all capitalists, all bourgeois hangers-on of capitalism and any poor working class dupes of whom capitalism can make tools, any workless blacklegs, who can be driven by hunger to forget their manhood and womanhood), "must help each other to lessen the inconvenience and suffering which the miners' strike will cause."

Thus the Ministries of Food and Transport are enrolling blacklegs for the strike, all soldiers' leave is stopped, cavalry is transported here and there, and great military arrangements are being made to fight the working class.

Wherever the capitalist class considers it advantageous from its own standpoint to deprive the workers of employment, either to terrorise them and persecute them, or to save coal for more strategic purposes, employers of labour are turning workers adrift into the street; great blast furnaces, steel works, tin plate works and other manufactures in various parts of the country were shut down on the very day of the strike, before there could be any possibility of their feeling any shortage of coal, since they store great stocks. These stocks they had greatly added to in view of the probability of this strike that has so long been looming ahead.

In order to heighten the misery of the workers whom the capitalists have decided to disemploy, the Government, acting for the capitalist class, has cunningly arranged to deprive of unemploy-



The East and West Scotland Councils of the N.U.R., on October 16th, wired the officials of the M.F.G.B., expressing their readiness to cease work next day in support of the miners. 25,000 commercial road transport workers have decided to strike on October 23rd, in support of the miners, and for wage demands of their own. The Labour world seethes with the impulse to sympathetic action.

But what say the leaders?

Robert Williams Afraid of Action.

What says bold Bob Williams, who sought a decoration from Soviet Russia "for Direct Action service on the Home front?"

This is how the Herald reports him:—

"There is no need to consider precipitate action by any section of Labour, the miners can go on for a week or two without any assistance, but we, when the time comes . . ."

Oh yes, "when the time comes . . ." To-morrow, always to-morrow, never to-day, always to-morrow; to-morrow never comes! The capitalist class that can so much better afford to wait than can the workers, has always the whip in its hand, for it pursues a decisive policy, whilst the tactical leaders of the workers drift with the stream, and so sell the workers' cause.

Thomas, the Betrayer.

And what says J. H. Thomas, leader of the railwaymen, and would-be Labour Prime Minister?

The *Times* praises him, saying that he made "a very judicious speech." That speech was one of gross treason to the working class.

He admitted that railwaymen desired to act in solidarity with the miners, but sought to deter them.

We quote from the *Times* :—

"Speaking for himself, and with a full sense of responsibility, he said that the railwaymen would not be doing their duty, and would not be helping the miners, because they would not be playing the part of real Trade Unionists, if they did anything that would precipitate a crisis. It was their duty to wait for the instructions of those who had the control and were guiding them through this crisis. (Cheers.)"

That if he could influence them, those instructions would be to remain at work and leave the miners to their fate. Thomas left no shadow of doubt. He took his stand on the side of capitalism.

"The strike was taking place at a time when the financial, economic, and social position of our country was never worse. No nation was so dependent upon its credit as this country, and no section of the people would suffer more from the absence of credit, or the shaking of credit, than the working classes. (Cheers.) Therefore, it was their duty to keep their heads. (Cheers.) Passion and prejudice would avail them nothing; abuse or ill-feeling would not settle the dispute. (Cheers.) He warned those people on both sides who assumed that they had got to make this a stand-up fight to a finish between Capital and Labour, that there was a grave danger that to pursue a policy of that kind would mean, not a finish between Capital and Labour, but a finish of the old country of which they were citizens."

"It was a good sign that instructions had been given that the pit ponies were to be fed and looked after, and that the pumps were to be kept going. That was a clear indication that the miners' leaders were not unmindful of their responsibilities, and that they recognised that the time must come when work would have to be resumed."

"It was their duty, regardless of their positions, to see to it that the door was not closed. It must be kept open for a peaceful and just settlement, if that could possibly be attained."

He declared his faith, not in the solidarity and fighting power of the workers, but in the bourgeois Parliament, the Executive Committee of the capitalist class.

"The third hopeful factor was the reassembling of Parliament on Tuesday. Whether they agreed with the Government or not, the fact remained that the Government was elected by the people and they must bear the responsibility."

"Justice" from the capitalist representatives in Parliament to the miners!

How foolish such talk would be were it not so knowingly false!

Clearly, in the following words, Thomas revealed his readiness to betray the workers, even those of his own Union, in the interests of Capitalism :—

"This being a dispute between the miners and the Government, there was no tribunal which, in his judgment, was more fitted to face their responsibility than Parliament. (Cheers.) Parliament, on Tuesday, ought to apply itself to ascertaining the real facts and to seeing whether it was not possible for them to show that they were not unmindful of their responsibilities and that they wanted to do justice to the miners as well as to the nation. (Cheers.)"

Clynes Aloof and Superior.

J. R. Clynes, M.P., quite ignores his working class origin and the Socialism he once professed, referred to the strike as though he had no connection with either party to the struggle :—

"Twelve months ago, during the railway dispute, he had recognised that, however strong or powerful any section of the people might be, the State was stronger and more powerful than any section, and in these matters it ought to be supreme."

"If Parliament viewed the matter in the right spirit it might well be that, in the course of a week, that this unfortunate quarrel, which put into peril the whole material prospects of the country, might be brought to an end."

Those callous words, expressive of the business man's anxiety for his dividends, robbed of its sting the patronising impertinence of "Featherstone" Asquith, who referred to himself as "an old friend of the miners," and urged them to "find a saner and humane way of pressing home their claims."

Fellow workers, you cannot safely follow the advice of such leaders, they have left you behind and entered the ranks of the employing class. It is not worth while to blame them; they never recognised the class war; they never enlisted to fight in its ranks. They never desired to overthrow the capitalist system, only to modify it, to make it a little pleasanter for the workers. They found it impossible to do that for all the workers, so have made peace with the capitalist class on their own account.

We cannot depend on these men, fellow workers, we must disregard their advice.

The workers must act for themselves, and in unity.

The Time is NOW.

SMILLIE, HODGES, BRACE AND HARTSHORN.

Rank and File Calls Upon Them to Resign

By T. J. WATKINS.

Never in the history of the working-class movement of this or any other country have we seen such a landslide from the original demands as the present position of the miners' claims. For sheer ineffective presentation of these demands, coupled with a complete misunderstanding of the temper of the rank and file, the Executive of the M.F.G.B. has gone from blunder to blunder, until it is now absolutely discredited. The miners of the country have spoken in no uncertain voice through the ballot. Smillie, Hodges, Brace and Hartshorn, the Datum Line advocates, show that they have lost all conception of a working man's struggle against the Capitalist Boss, and, without shame, are prepared to hand us over to these gentle angels without any compunction; to make us the slaves of more production, and profits. For sheer treachery to our constitution (which is upheld by these gentlemen) and absolute cowardice, it stands as a classic example to future historians of the utter disregard of fossilised Trade Union leaders for the constitutional rights of the workers, when they must face problems too big for them to deal with. In common decency these spineless traitors should resign now that they have betrayed the miners and sabotaged the strike that would have brought the Government to its knees and struck terror in the hard hearts of the capitalists.

A Summary of Recent Events.

At first the demands were indivisible; there was to be no compromise. In the interests of the public the 14s. 2d. could not be taken off. But our so-called leaders soon surrendered. The last point, the 2s. demand, which was considered unconditional, was the next to go by the board, by the acceptance of a Datum Line or output chicanery. There again they were cleverly beaten on tactics, when they were forced to discuss output, not wages. The E.C. of the M.F.G.B. :—

- (1) Accepted the Datum Line;
- (2) That wages should be paid on the basis of the Sankey award;
- (3) Only provisionally for three months; with the
- (4) Setting up of National and District Committees.

What, then, is involved in the first point of this agreement?

First it cuts across every advance movement in the mining industry, and in every part of the coalfields the lower-paid men could no longer be brought up to the higher standard of living. The higher paid workers must work harder (and their work is already too arduous) before any increase is possible; and only 50 per cent. of the miners are actual coal-getters, the other half being employed in repairs, transit, or staff work. It being based on the Sankey award means that payment can only be made on an actual day's work, no matter upon whom the blame of a stoppage may fall, and under this Datum Line the management's and bosses' interest must be to keep production as low as possible for the following reasons :—

- (1) The six-hour Sankey award (if economic conditions permit), in 1921: Accepting, for argument's sake, their contention of supply and demand determining prices, then obviously a small supply means a higher price per ton, and profits will be determined by this rather than by more output, for
- (2) The more men they can place to open new work and to work their seams of inferior coal pending decontrol (as they have profits guaranteed), the more profits will they reap.
- (3) With the present high cost of material, the sinking of new shafts, with the necessary machinery, must increase the cost of production, and reflect itself in a still higher cost of living, and this will be used as an argument against any demand for more wages.

Third Point of Argument.

A three months' experimental period will give the master-class more time to gather strength for their attack on the working-class and rivet the chains of wage-slavery more firmly on their necks; and the fourth point of argument—the setting up of

National and District Committees on output—just clinches the whole business.

The Boss Class can use the official oligarchy to do what they have already failed to, i.e. to effectively smash the M.F.G.B. and accomplish a real split among the rank and file. Should any dispute arise in any part of the coalfields the employers will use the output stunt to get us back to work, and no appeal to the other coalfields would succeed. We should become worse than capitalist beasts of burrowing-class organisation. Its representatives deserve praise for out-manceuvring the Unions' representatives and making them look like mere babes at the game. To the rescue, then, fellow miners, and let us work out for ourselves *our own* salvation in *our own way*, realising our duty to our class!

Were the foregoing all, I think I have made out a case for the resignation of our permanent officials of the E.C. of the M.F.G.B.

Before us is the stormiest fight ever yet waged. Do not let us underestimate the forces opposed to us; the Boss Class will not stop at the use of machine guns, yet under these conditions we remain an unarmed mob. We can tell what lies in store for us by remembering Featherstone, Llanelli, Tony-pandy, Aberdeen, Dublin and Glasgow.

Fellow workers, damn the obsolete Trade Union Boss and throw off the capitalist yoke by seizing and administering our industries.

THE CRISIS: By R.P.

At the moment of writing a national coal strike appears inevitable in spite of the vacillating policy of the M.F.G.B. leaders.

To understand the difficulties, the rank and file are likely to have to meet, it is desirable that a brief review of the developments of the present struggle should be taken.

At Leamington, in July, the annual conference of the M.F.G.B. first formulated their demands for an increase in wages and a reduction in the selling price of home-consumed coal.

In August the strike ballot was taken, and in spite of the fact that large numbers of miners voted against a strike as a means of showing their opposition to the dual demand, a tremendous majority was secured in favour of a strike.

To leaders with courage this should have been sufficient, and a strike should have been arranged, as determined by the men on the expiration of notices.

Thinking only of the "community," and, by the way, the possibilities of a general election and the consequent position of the Labour Party, the notices were not only postponed, but the miners were faced with the calamitous situation of seeing their representatives closeted with the coal-owners, discussing a scheme whereby wages should be dependent on increased output.

This, whilst thousands of workers are unemployed owing to the fact that they have produced, not more of the particular commodities than could be consumed, but more than could be consumed commensurate with a high rate of dividend for the Boss. Still the policy of postponement went on, whilst the stock of coal increased.

Three months after the demands were formulated, another ballot is taken on the now historic Datum Line. The answer is unmistakably a crushing indictment of the people responsible for the policy of delay, and a command to immediate action.

Therefore the situation that confronts the miners is a serious one. Not only have they to meet the Government, who boasts of a three months' stock of coal, but they must also be prepared for weakening and utter collapse on the part of a large section of their leaders.

There are men in high official positions, whose beaming smile has confronted millions of workers with a beseeching appeal for increased production.

In spite of the majestic refusal to consider this question, as expressed in the ballot by the rank and file, these men are always likely to come forward with a similar scheme.

In spite of the preparation of the Government, one has only to look back and remember the determination of the miners in previous conflicts to be assured that once the die is cast, the miner will fight to the end.

The class-conscious miner, however, does not anticipate, or intend to allow, the present fight to be a protracted one.

The workers of Russia and Italy have pointed the way, and one can anticipate that should the struggle show signs of being a long one, in South Wales at least, the miners will take control of the mines and the first stage of the British Revolution will have been heralded.

Already in some collieries the question has been discussed, and every one seems to be prepared for such an happening.

Having once taken control, it seems impossible to believe that the miner will ever relinquish his hold.

Two courses, and two alone, are possible to the miners, defeat and consequent impositions that would reduce their status to that of slaves—or victory; how sweet it sounds! and the foundation laid for an era that will bring happiness and a full and beautiful life for our children.

The life of any individual is surely of no account when such great possibilities, for evil or for good, hang in the balances.

Comrades, the choice lies with you. Builders of the future, see to it that your handiwork is such that posterity may know of you as the men who dared and made possible the joy of countless millions.

The Castaways of Capitalism.

A Manifesto by Industrial "Crocks": to the Miners.

Written by T. J. Watkins.

FELLOW WORKERS:—

After a great amount of consideration on our part, and the great pressure of our home difficulties, we venture to suggest that no organised workers have a greater claim upon your active co-operation in the agitation we are about to launch, than those who are injured in the industrial arena.

In making this appeal, we are mindful of the fact that the struggle to make both ends meet is exceedingly great with you now, because of the continued soaring of the cost of living. Indeed, you have found the struggle so great as to call for National action. And we agree that National action is necessary.

We ask you: What is our plight on £1 16s. per week?

We should have commenced the work early, but not wanting to give a handle to the Capitalist to show the lack of altruism in our demands for increased wages, which is clearly indicated in the following arguments used by H. Twist of Lancashire.

The dangerous nature alone of the occupation in which the miners are engaged, calls for a higher rate of wage.

Take also the resolution of the Executive of the South Wales Miners' Federation, the final clause of which says:—

"We demand a wage commensurate with the dangerous character of our calling."

We do not find fault with either of these statements, but would point out that if the dangerous character of the miners' occupation is an argument for more wages for those fit for work, then it can, and must be argued, with even more force, that the position of our fellow-workers injured beyond repair, demands the attention of every worker in the mining industry. Those of us who are thus injured, are reduced to a poverty line more real than most people imagine. We ask you to answer the above question, as to our condition, how we live on £1 16s. per week?

During the first few weeks following our accident, some, more fortunate than others, draw on the few pounds they have managed to save, when things were rosier. With each £1 spent, they begin to realise their nearness to utter poverty. When all is gone, some, who never before asked for credit, now either plead for it, or seek Poor Law Relief. Both these things are so distasteful to them, that they drift along as best they can, until at last, driven by sheer desperation, they must go to one or the other source.

Comrades, many tears have been shed by our wives, and, to state frankly, by ourselves, before this stage has been reached. Many a time have we cursed our very birth. Many an hour of miserable depression have both our wives and ourselves spent, worrying how to get boots for our children, and clothes to cover them; how to keep them dry and warm.

Have you ever stood at your door and seen other people's children happy, fairly well dressed, perhaps going for a day's outing, whilst your children, clean, but poorly clad, must stay at home?

Have you ever had one of your children run to you and say: "Daddy, can't I go with Tommy Jones; he is going with his father and mother to-morrow?" This with tears in the lovely eyes, not yet shrunk by anxiety, but soon to know what it is to go hungry? Have you had to turn away to hide a sob, not to dishearten those you love most?

Some of us have had these experiences, and they raise Hell within, but our determination to fight is soon damped down by the callous indifference of those Trade Union leaders who prate on public platforms and feed us on fine phrases. So a large number of us lose courage. All the manliness that once we exhibited dies out: We become the easy prey of some disease or other, and finally crack up under the strain.

This is a true picture of our plight. We now ask you to demand through our organisation, that direct action be taken to enforce for us a wage equal to what we should be getting had we not undergone those accidents.

Again, what of those widows and their families left by our fallen comrades. They have an equal claim on our attention; we should demand for

them a standard of comfort equal to our own.

Finally, this agitation needs help, and we appeal for whatever little mite you may give, to speed this project to success.

How soon it may be your turn, you know not.

Therefore speed on the agitation, or the "Hell" we have described may be the picture of your fate. Fight for the abolition of Capitalism. That is the real remedy.

On behalf of the Compensation Men.

We remain,

Yours,

G. BOLTON, Secretary.

T. HUGHES, Chairman.

The Injured Miners.

There is one great evil prevalent in the mining industry, for which the miners themselves are largely responsible, i.e. the treatment meted out to the injured miner and his dependents. The indifference shown by the majority towards their injured comrades, is largely responsible for the totally inadequate amount of compensation paid to the injured and their dependents.

You can work up enthusiasm, and even bring off a strike for more wages, victimisation, and many other disputes, but you never hear anything about a national strike to obtain what is due to the injured more than to the able-bodied worker, i.e. a higher standard of living.

Take the case of the married man with the average family of four children. His income for a full week's work (minimum wage) would be £5 6s. 8d. If he is fatally injured, what becomes of his wife and children. The maximum amount of compensation is £300, and this is at the disposal of the judge in court. Generally the widow and children will be given about £1 a week till the £300 is exhausted. What a parody of justice!

The husband and father has given his life to produce coal for the benefit of the employers and the Government, and the widow and children are expected to live on £1 a week in these days of high prices and costly living.

Are not the widows and orphans entitled to the standard of living provided by the father, who has lost his life in the service of the community? Surely they are. Their treatment to-day is well worth a national strike!

The Permanently Disabled.

Large numbers of men and boys continually receive injuries, which permanently disable them. What a sorry plight is theirs! Broken and helpless in body, they sit and pine, starving, with their families, on 35s. a week.

Every week they slaved to get coal and profits for their employers, they paid 5d. out of their wages towards Lloyd George's insurance scheme. Now when they have been struck down by a falling roof, or broken by an explosion of gas, or mangled under a journey of trams, this wonderful insurance scheme has nothing to give them. Broken and mangled, they are thrown on the scrap-heap of capitalist exploitation. Unable to produce more profits, they can starve and die. After contributing to Lloyd George's insurance scheme all their life, they cannot get a penny out of it in the hour of their trouble.

This is worthy of consideration in your lodge meetings, your district meetings, and executive meetings. Get a move on fellow-workers and demand that your wounded and disabled comrades shall be removed from the gutter of penury and poverty and given at least the standard of living enjoyed by their fellow-workers.

The "Light Employment" Men.

One of the clauses of the Compensation Act gives power to the exploiters to call an injured man periodically for medical examination, and if the doctor says the man is, in his opinion, able to do some work, he must report for light employment. What generally happens is the man is put to do ordinary labourer's work and paid the lowest rate in the colliery. If his earning previous to his accident were more than his light-employment wages, then he can claim 50 per cent. of the difference. This means of course, that because of his injury, the man is to be penalised by a reduction in wages, whereas he should get a reward in addition to his ordinary wages as compensation for injuries received while profit-making for others.

The greatest injustice of all in regard to these men occurred when the last 2s. advance was awarded. Take the case of a light-employment man who was in receipt of 12s. per week light-employment pay. The 12s. per week advance in wages increased his earnings by 12s., but at the same time it reduced his light-employment pay to 6s., so that these men who are disabled through accident, are punished by only getting 1s. per day advance instead of 2s. If we get another 2s. per day, away goes the other 6s. light-employment pay, and these disabled men are reduced to the lowest-paid grade in the mining industry.

Fellow-workers, shall this continue? It is your duty to see that every disabled miner, every widow and orphan, and every light-employment man shall get a standard of living from the profits of the industry, equal to that obtained by their able-bodied comrades.

T. YOUNG.

TOWARDS REVOLUTIONARY MASS ACTION.

In order to understand the probable trend of future events, and, in a small degree, to postulate what they will be, one must understand the present economic tendencies.

Whilst economics, according to the apologists for the present system, is a dismal science, and, on the surface, may appear to be rather "dry," yet, after a little study, becomes fascinating because of the light it throws on the path of social forces making for Revolution.

Students of economics should link up their studies with those of present-day events, and analyse present-day manifestations to discover their revolutionary significance.

For instance: "The rate of profit tends continually to fall," is a maxim of economic science. The increasing amount of capital necessary for production, the relatively decreasing amount of value creating (profit creating) material, i.e. labour-power employed, and also the effects of competition enforce this law with inexorable ruthlessness, compelling the capitalist to exploit more intensely his workers to gain a temporary advantage over his competitors. As the employment of huge masses of machinery manipulated by a decreasing number of workers progresses, the capitalists must still more increase the devices for getting out of the worker every ounce of energy to maintain his old rate of profit.

Again, the increasing variety of luxuries and forms of enjoyment makes the social status of the capitalist more expensive, and gives an added impetus to the increasing exploitation of the worker.

On the worker's side we find developments quite as important. In industry, they are drilled into productive battalions, which gradually give shape to their unions and organisations. The mean ruthlessness of the employers in squeezing every ounce of energy out of them, through the Taylor System, creates sparks of revolt and supplies the conditions for a class-conscious outlook.

As the law of the falling rate of profit exerts itself, the screw will be forced tighter upon the worker, who in turn will kick harder against it. The desire of the workers to share the increasing good things of life manifests itself in the ever-greater demand for a higher standard of life. Each improvement causes an appetite for still a further one, eventually producing an increased facility for the development of the working-class mind.

The next tendency which we have to note is the ever-growing productivity and expansion of industry, not only in this country, but in all parts of the world. The available markets are decreasing and countries which once were markets, now themselves are seeking markets. It is the story of America over again. About 100 years ago this country supplied America with practically all the manufactured goods it required, now it can easily outdo this country in this kind of production. This means greater competition, which in turn means the survival of the most productive sections of industry, and the establishment of still more productive works. This again brings about a limitation of markets.

The most productive industry is that which uses the most up-to-date machinery, instead of the older types, and consequently needs less labourers. Labour-power being the value-creating material, relatively, less new value is created, and thus less surplus value or profit. Thus again do we arrive at the falling rate of profit.

Industry will become less profitable, and at the same time the increased demands of the workers is bound to lead to revolutionary action. The subsidies given by the State to a number of industries already points to the arrival of the period of crisis.

Artificial support of an industry is a sign of the decay of the capitalist system. Eventually, as already is the case with the anthracite area of the South Wales coalfield, the present form of ownership will be unable to satisfy the demands made by the workers. And to the extent that the present system fails to satisfy the normal demands of the organised workers, to that extent will the workers, unconsciously for the most part, be compelled to adopt revolutionary tactics.

The function of Communists should be to give direction to these forces, and explain them in terms of revolution; to show to the workers the justice of their demands and make them powerfully enthusiastic. This will make the Communists the accredited leaders of the rank and file, and supply that confidence in Communist tactics which is essential to win the fight.

NESS EDWARDS.

Ness Edwards says that the continuous falling tendency of the rate of profit is a maxim of Economics, and that this fact is due to two causes: (1) The introduction of machinery necessitating the employment of less labour than formerly. (2) Market restrictions due to the growth of industry in countries lately in a backward stage.

These premises do not seem to tally with the facts. The introduction of machinery, besides being the inevitable result of the advancement of positive science, is due to the desire to both increase profits and to make them more quickly—in short, a more rapid accumulation of capital. The rate of profit is higher and fortunes are more rapidly made in Birmingham and Manchester than in countries where production is still in the pre-industrial stage.

The closing of a market does not prove our correspondent's case. On the contrary, it merely indicates that in another country a number of workers is brought under industrial conditions of em-

(Continued on last page.)

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RE-OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

The official leaders of Labour, who have so valiantly helped the Government and the capitalists to defeat the miners, have their eyes fixed on Parliament. J. H. Thomas and Arthur Henderson think that they will soon be the dominating personalities in a new Cabinet.

To gain their ends, they have intrigued with the Triple Alliance to desert the miners in their hour of travail and they have made an idiot of Robert Smillie, who is still convinced that he can lead the working class to victory via the ballot box.

The Council of Action which Thomas, caught unawares, was forced to recognise, is practically a dead thing. In this great industrial struggle, which is of far greater magnitude than the Russian crisis, the well-paid leaders of Labour are not lifting a finger to show the workers what road they should travel towards industrial freedom. Considering the part it played in bringing those lovely Councils into existence, the *Daily Herald* is remarkably passive. Robert Williams who makes hot, boastful speeches about the class war, talks mildly of occupational representation.

The Leaders Preach Compromise.

In these stirring times, the privileged leaders of the workers find voice only to utter the word "compromise."

The majority of the Executive Council of the Miners' Federation were compelled to recognise the strike vote, solely by the sheer power of the tricked miners, who, angry and overwrought, broke out in denunciation of their treacherous leaders and brought about sectional strikes. Not one leader, not even the Calvinistic Bob Smillie, will come out and tell the truth—inform the men of what is taking place behind the scenes; how their just claims are being manipulated and sold by unscrupulous politicians in the Parliamentary market. For many of the Labour officials are merely thinking of gaining what Thomas, Bryce and Clynes have gained. The young, ambitious Labour men are only thinking of eking out their present Trade Union pay with a Parliamentary salary.

The Rank and File Aware.

But happily the rank and file are fully aware of what is taking place. The ardent working leaders are making their influence felt. They are winning through, ever gaining new accessions to their revolutionary ranks. And even the most apathetic of workers must now realise that their former leaders cannot be trusted; that they have not the interests of the workers at heart. While the old labour crowd are fooling the workers about Government and Parliament, leading the deluded unemployed to Downing Street, on futile marches, and sending useless deputations to the Ministry of Labour, the young leaders of the rank and file can only turn the workers' thoughts away from Parliament. Their salvation lies in themselves. Why should a great body of hungry and ragged workers leave the East End to demonstrate in the West End? Are the food and clothing warehouses in the West End? And the time is here when we must ask ourselves, why be locked out of our mines, our shops, works and factories? Why be starved into submission to the might of Capitalism? We must yet seize and work the productive machinery of the Nation. The workers

are capable. Whilst official Labour is looking to Parliament, fellow workers and comrades, let us look to the jobs, to gain power by dominating and controlling the fighting forces of the State.

RIGA, A DEFEAT OF THE COUNCIL OF ACTION.

In Riga, the peace preliminaries between Soviet Russia and Poland have been signed.

The Riga agreement means a strategic defeat of Soviet Russia, because Soviet Russia has dropped the condition of disarmament of Imperialist Poland, and leaves to the Polish exploiters large Russian districts.

The European Jingo press is full of jubilation over these preliminaries. It sees in this pact, the downfall of Bolshevism. At last, it thinks, Bolshevism has shown its weakness! The capitalist papers are full of sensational reports of counter-revolution going full-swing in Moscow, of Budenny going over to the Whites, and so on.

But Soviet Russia is not defeated, she only retreats to recover, that is all.

DREADNOUGHT IN DANGER.

Comrades, do not forget our urgent S.O.S. to keep the "Dreadnought" afloat. Some of you have responded. Many have failed to respond. Send your contribution to-day without fail. Give what you can and collect from your comrades.

The circulation is still rising, but too slowly. What are YOU doing to increase our sales?

Send your donation to the "Dreadnought" fund TO-DAY!

Apply for a collecting card!

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Miss Chappelow	1	1	0
Miss Swift	1	0	0
F. Lawes	1	8	0
Wm. McDougal	0	10	0
V. Lemmon	0	5	0
F. Shawrowski	0	2	0
Mrs. Sizer	0	5	0
S.G.	1	0	0
Miss Nathan	1	0	0
Miss L. Somerville	0	2	6
F. Petrie	0	5	0
Comrade George	1	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. Roodzant	1	4	8
Portsmouth Branch	0	10	0
A. D. Moore (Norwich Branch)	0	3	8
Total	9	16	10
Brought forward from last week	23	13	3
Grand total	£33	10	1

The strategic defeat of Soviet Russia at Riga, is only the logical consequence of the failure of revolutionary action by the working classes in Western Europe, Germany, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and above all, of the English working class, with its Council of Action.

The Churchill-Lloyd George Plot.

What have the proletariat of Western Europe done in this great, big struggle? What has the English Council of Action done? Nothing! True, Lloyd George was forced to leave the door open as he puts it; but he left the door open on both sides; through the one door Lloyd George talked peace, whilst through the other, Churchill plotted with the French reactionaries, how to go on with the war.

Riga is the test of the European proletariat, Riga is the judge of the Council of Action, and Riga says this:—

"The retreat of Soviet Russia is not a failure of Bolshevism, it is a failure of the proletarian Revolution in Western Europe."

The Polish war was the first great opportunity to build a bridge between the Russian and the West-European Revolution. The sword of the Red Army could have been but the knocker at the door of the proletarian revolution in the West. Revolutionary war depends upon the revolutionary mass action which brings it about in the countries directly or indirectly engaged in the conflict. What was the reply to the knock of the Russian Red Army?

The War of Resolutions.

Instead of a pressure to revolutionary action, millions of sympathetic resolutions were passed,

and—irony of irony—the Council of Action cried for peace!

This cry for peace it was, that pressed Joffe, with pen in hand, in Riga, to sign this pact of shame. Of shame for the West-European proletariat. The shame is with the reformist leaders and Councils of Action, who did not see the necessity of action, who did not hear the call to rally to the front of the European Revolution.

The rank and file has yet to recognise, that as long as the working classes cannot and will not fight the enemies of the World Revolution in their own ranks, the Hilferdings and Legiens in Germany, the Longuetists in France, and the Hendersons and Thomases in England, as long as they keep these social-patriots and pacifist reformists in power, so long will these traitors still help the European Counter-Revolution.

The revolutionary workers must break the chains which keep them actionless; it is their highest duty to free all organisations from their reformist elements and leaders, to go shoulder to shoulder into action with their Russian brothers, in order to shake off the capitalist yoke throughout Europe.

One thing we know: when peace in Riga will be definitely settled, then the European proletariat will have to declare his war against European capital. The Red armies of Russia have done their bit; not so the European workers, who have yet to square their account. It is their own fault if this is only possible under harder internal and external conditions than it would have been before Riga; their own fault if the Russian proletariat has laid aside the sword which it drew, not only for itself, but for the World Revolution.

The Whitehall Riots.

We are not sorry the unemployed hit back last Monday; we congratulate them, and only wish they had hit out harder. The capitalist press alleges that the stone balustrade of the Privy Council office and the ground floor windows of that building were broken before the police began to harass and bludgeon the people. If that is so, the unemployed have no reason to apologise for it: their sufferings are more serious than that little damage. Before the Capitalist System goes crashing down, much more than ballustrading and windows will be smashed up with it.

The *Herald* states that the London Mayors "had pledged their honour that there would be no disturbance." Such a pledge was valueless; Mayors were not entitled to give pledges for other people, certainly not for the unemployed. They are not unemployed; their speeches and deputations will not fill the larders or pay the rent of the workless.

The unemployed will get nothing they do not win by force, or the menace of force. When they have fully realised that, they will join the ranks of the Social Revolution.

Happily, the capitalist class in plunging humanity into a world war, in which entire populations were engaged, produced a change in the mentality of the workers of this and other countries, which will presently end the capitalist system.

Hoist the Red Flag!

Speed the Soviets!

Sylvia Pankhurst Arrested.

Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst was arrested on Tuesday afternoon, the 19th inst. On Monday afternoon, Scotland Yard sleuths visited the office of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, and returned on Tuesday and put Comrade Pankhurst under arrest for sedition. She had just made arrangements for a series of meetings among the miners in South Wales, during the week-end. Let us be of good cheer. Other comrades must try to carry on Sylvia Pankhurst's work until she is released. The arm of the capitalist is heavy and strong. It is put forth to crush the revolutionary workers and their leaders. Let us brace ourselves for the battle.

John Reed Dies in Moscow.

Typhus Takes its Toll of the Author of "Ten Days that Shook the World."

Jack Reed is dead. A great heart is stilled. A vivid pen will flash no more. A light has gone out in the American revolutionary movement, and for the moment all is dark. It is another blow to the Communist movement in America. Jim Larkin, Ben Gitlow, Carney, Lloyd, and a thousand others are in gaol, and Jack Reed is dead.

But it is our boast that our movement depends not on one or a hundred men, and our American comrades will not pause to mourn their loss. They will march onward inspired by the great courage of this man whom we counted among our best. As the men and women in gaol are a living inspiration to those outside, so will Jack Reed continue to inspire those he has left behind. And the momentary darkness will pass, though hearts will ache for many a long day to know that Reed will not come again. His staunch courage, his happy smile, his brilliant wit, his stirring word-pictures, his great example, will live in the hearts of his comrades.

Reed's life as a Communist has been short-lived. He was scarcely 33 years old, but ever since he left Harvard University and launched into a brilliant career as a journalist, he gave ample evidence that he was a rebel born. He started as a reformer, and practically his first story was a protest against the brute prison system of New Jersey. He was sent to cover the Patterson strike for a big New York magazine, but his sympathy with the strikers led to his arrest and imprisonment in the local gaol, where he was detained for a few days. His subsequent story, uncovering the graft, the brutality and the filth of that hell-hole created a sensation. For some time he advocated reformism, but he soon sick-

ened of its uselessness, and the record of his subsequent life is as steady drift to the Left.

In the Thick of the November Revolution.

It is as a revolutionary journalist that Reed was known to the world at large. He was associated with "The Masses" from its beginning, and his articles contributed in no small measure to the success of that paper and its successor, "The Liberator." When the March revolution broke out in Russia, Reed was sent by "The Masses" to study the Kerensky regime. Arriving in Russia, he wasted little time over Kerensky, but associated himself with the Bolsheviks, and followed their progress through the stormy days of the November revolution. He entered the Winter Palace in Petrograd in the front ranks of the revolutionary sailors, fought behind the street barricades, and attended the first meeting of the revolutionary Government in Smolney.

He returned to America in response to a cable announcing that he was to stand trial along with the editors of "The Masses" for sedition. On his return he threw himself into the developing fight between the Right and Left Wings of the Socialist movement, and all through that stormy struggle Reed was a tower of strength to the Left forces. In spite of his impending trial and court orders to the contrary, he lectured on Russia throughout the country, reaping a rich harvest of indictments for sedition. His stand in the courts during "The Masses" trial was a triumph of courageous propaganda, winning him an acquittal from the jury and a grudging tribute to his courage from the judge.

Founded the Communist Labour Party of America.

He founded the "Voice of Labour," the Labour propaganda organ of the American Communist Labour Party, of which he was one of the most prominent

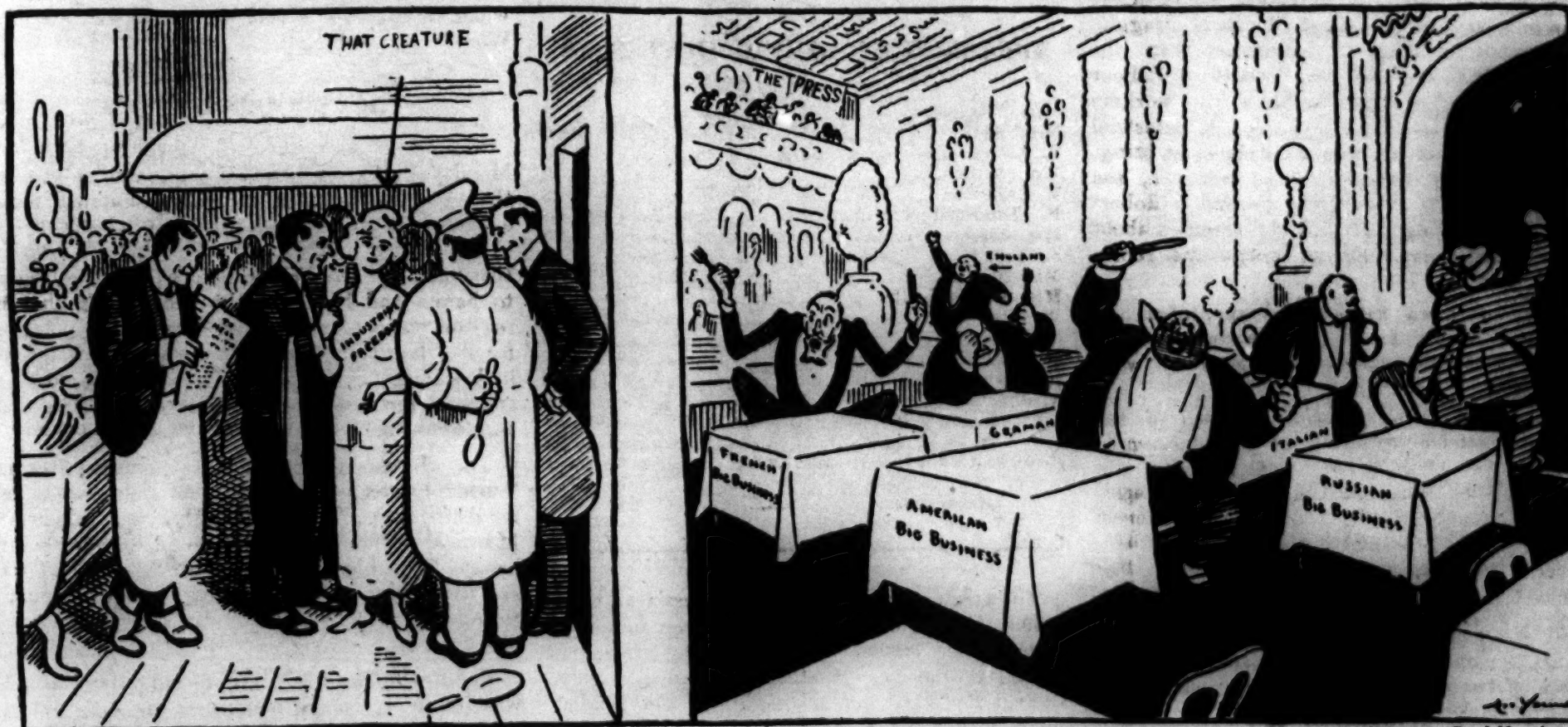
organisers. During the Party fight his brilliant pen and biting satire was one of the greatest assets to the Left Wing. He led the fight against the Second International, and was elected by the greatest vote ever polled as the international delegate of the Socialist Party. When the split occurred between the Right and Left Wings, Reed was elected to the National Labour Council of the Left Wing, and when the Left forces further divided he, along with Ben Gitlow, led the attack which resulted in the founding of the Communist Labour Party. This Party once founded, Reed commenced to work for unity with the Communist Party, and it is largely as a result of his efforts that such unity was achieved at the last Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.

Reed was sent to Russia at the beginning of the year by the Communist Labour Party and remained behind to represent America after the International Congress. It was while so engaged that he contracted typhus and died. American capitalism will rejoice that he is dead; it showed when he was under death sentence in Finland in the beginning of this year that it would not consider the death of this "American citizen" as a *coup de main*. The American authorities were anxiously waiting for his return that they might put him behind the bars; they even sent two of their spies to Moscow to beguile him "home." But he has cheated the jackals of American capitalism. He is dead in the land he christened "Red Russia."

Jack Reed will lie under the Kremlin walls in the Red Square in Moscow, in the ground that the Russian proletariat have dedicated to the heroes of the revolution. And the workers of Russia will keep green his grave.

EADMONN MacALPINE.

Everything Was All Right Until That "Creature" Got Into the Kitchen



British Terror in Ireland.

"They [the British police in Ireland] found the men, who were undoubtedly the assassins, and they shot them."—Mr. Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, at Carnarvon, October 9th, 1920.

The following is the signed statement of Joseph Connole, of Ennistymon, co. Clare, brother of Thomas Connole, who, with three other men, was murdered by British troops on September 22nd:—

"On the night of Wednesday, 22nd September, hell was let loose in Ennistymon. The deadly work began at 9 o'clock, when the Town Hall was set on fire. Shortly after, about 10 o'clock, a party of some two dozen British soldiers, with an officer, arrived at the house of Tom Connole, on the outskirts of the town. Tom Connole was reading the paper, his wife was rocking the cradle in which was a child of about four months. Another child of about two years was in bed. There was a knock, and Tom Connole opened the door. He was asked whether he was Tom Connole, and, having answered in the affirmative, was told to 'come along,' that he was wanted. His wife asked them to allow him to bring his coat, but the officer roughly said 'No.' Fearing by their demeanour that they meant no good, she got on her knees and begged the officer and soldiers in turn to do no harm to her husband, who was as innocent as the child in the cradle. They threatened to put the bayonet through her if she did not leave the house immediately, which she did, carrying her baby in her arms. She asked to be allowed to return, for a shawl, to cover her half-naked child who had just got out of bed, but this also was roughly refused, and she was driven at the bayonet's point to a neighbour's house, where

she got shelter for the night. This house was about fifty or sixty yards away. Immediately she saw her cottage on fire, and heard two shots. These two shots sent Tom Connole to Eternity.

Military Murder and Burn Their Victim.

"All that night Ennistymon was in agony—houses in flames; bullet-swept streets; men, women and children fleeing in terror. And all that night the wife of Tom Connole prayed and sighed and wept and hoped that her husband was alive. Yes! Notwithstanding these two shots and the sight of her cottage in flames, she still hoped and believed that her husband was safe, for how could they do anything to him, she argued, who never harmed anybody? Next morning somebody who ventured out early noticed blood and a piece of a skull on the footpath about twenty yards from Connole's house. Later his charred remains were unearthed from the debris of his burned cottage. Evidently they had thrown him in the fire, dead or dying, and had left the flames to complete their work. These are the unvarnished facts which can be attested on oath.

"Tom Connole made his living as an Insurance Agent. He belonged to none of the political associations labelled 'dangerous.' He was secretary of the Ennistymon branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and therein, presumably, lay his crime. These were no drunken soldiers who broke loose from barracks, but disciplined men who knew what they were about, and, acting under the orders of their officer, did it only too effectually. Tom Connole, with the other victim, young Linnano, was buried without even a pretence of a military inquiry."

Drunken Fiends Let Loose in Lahinch.

A letter from an Irish woman, whose home at Lahinch, County Clare, was burned on October 9th, appears in the Sion Fein circular, vol. 3, No. 56, October 12th. She was awakened by shots at 2.30 a.m. She saw the houses of four neighbours in flames, before her own was reached. In the first, Tommy Flanagan's the soldiers "drank all the whiskey they could find—raw—in pint glassfuls." At Paddy Walshe's they shot a young man named Salmon, who was helping an old man of 75 years to escape. The soldiers came yelling up the street breaking windows and set the house of Mick Vaughan on fire. Then the woman who tells the story heard a bomb explode in her own house. The house burst into flames. The woman, her husband and aunt ran out, carrying the baby. They had only gone a few steps when the soldiers came running round the corner and fired at them. The fugitives ran down to the shore, clambering over rocks and, reaching the sandhills, lay flat in the wet grass for three and a half hours in fear of discovery. People were as a rule given a few minutes in which to escape before their houses were burned with petrol. An old man, Dan Tekan, was dragged out of bed, dragged to a hill, and shot in the presence of his wife. Another man, Pake, was burned to death in one of the houses. "Poor mother! . . . it is a great blow to her to see the fruits of her life's saving deliberately burned to the ground . . . she never had any comfort or pleasure in this life. She worked early and late, slaved when other people were in their beds to make a comfortable home for us, and now it is all gone. . . ."

SOUTH WALES NOTES. The Voice of the Rank and File.

Merthyr Tydfil Notes.

By H. GRIFFITHS.

Beware of the Mis-Leaders.

What have the miners been taught during the last three weeks of crawling to and fro from Downing Street? In the first place Hodges, our Secretary, told us that we were entitled to an advance in wages and also a reduction in the price of coal to the consumer of 14s. 2d. per ton. We miners ballotted on that, and the ballot carried by a huge majority.

The Government point blank refused to concede these demands.

Then, instead of Smillie and Hodges coming back to the men and asking for orders, they played other proposals off their own bat, dropping the 14s. 2d. and modifying the terms.

Still the Government refused to concede anything. Meanwhile Conferences were called and the Executive, without consulting the men, suspended the strike notices. The Government, or Lloyd George and Sir Robert Horne, then submitted to the miners' leaders the Datum Line proposals, under which wages would be based on output. Some of the leaders favoured this, whilst others wanted an "impartial tribunal" to settle our affairs.

It was then decided to suspend the notices again for another week, whilst another ballot should be taken. This was resented in many districts, with the result that many sectional strikes occurred. The ballot took place for or against the Datum Line, and, to the surprise of Smillie and Hodges, and the other leaders, it carried by a majority of no less than five to one against the Datum Line.

Now we are waiting the next move from the Government. Our leaders tell us they have finished crawling to Downing Street. They are beginning to realise that the men are not to be doped any longer by J. H. Thomas and his partners.

The leaders have been crying out for unity for a number of years. Now they have got it they get "the wind up" at the first sign of a real fight. It is time for the miners and other Trade Unionists to wake up and realise that to follow men who made their names at Coal Commissions, etc., is to play with their own lives. When the workers realise that these men are their servants, paid by them to carry out their wishes, and not to dictate their own proposals, then we shall get a move on towards the higher standard of life that we speak about so much and act upon so little.

In South Wales the feeling is very bitter; the men are determined to fight to the bitter end. They realise that the leaders have sold them.

These leaders are supposed to be class-conscious men. I ask: "How can they be class-conscious when they exist in a totally different environment from us miners?" They cannot preach the class-struggle when they do not feel it. Karl Marx said: "A man's outlook on life was determined by two factors, viz., the amount of his income and the way in which he earned it"—which is perfectly true.

Workers, do not let yourselves be led; think for yourselves, act for yourselves. A man who can lead you right, can also lead you wrong.

Local Notes.

By HORACE PRICE.

General Industrial Unrest.

Local disputes have been dwarfed into insignificance during the last few weeks, but the strike in the Garw Valley on the hauliers' question is only a rumble of trouble to follow. While for the moment the hauliers have succeeded in gaining their immediate demands, the greater question of increased standard rates remains to be solved.

During the last month there has been trouble at Dowlais amongst the men employed by Guest Keen and Nettlefold. Some surface men employed in that steel works are members of the Miners' Federation. The question arose as to whether these men came under the South Wales Miners' Conciliation Board agreement, or under the conciliation scheme of the steel workers. This has been partially arranged, but not finally disposed of.

At Merthyr there has been a stoppage of the municipal employees over the question of the employment of non-unionists, and the men have gained the victory.

In the tinplate trade at Morristown, Llanelly, Neath and Britonferry, a number of works are closing down through over-production.

At the Bute Merthyr Colliery, Treherbert, 700 men are on stop because of a dispute of shot-firing (safety). At the Raven Colliery, Garnant, a stoppage has taken place because of a dispute over non-payment of some arrears in wages.

At Swansea we have a strike of waitresses, and so determined is the Dockers' Union to which the girls belong, that there is now a threat of a sympathetic strike by the electric men throughout the town. Upwards of 100 girls are on strike, and on Thursday last the Corporation Scavengers refused to handle the firm's accumulation of refuse.

The Operative Bakers are threatening to give notice to demand £1 per week more in wages.

At Barry 2,000 men are now on the unemployed list.

Our Comrade, Treasurer Tom Watkins Victimised.

At the Bedwas Colliery the double-shift question is still a sore point of grievance.

A question of far more importance has developed during this week, which, if not remedied, may in-

volve the whole coalfield in a stop peculiarly its own, as no organisation can allow any one of its representatives, however insignificant, or even an ordinary member to come under the lash of the smarting mentality of a managerial staff. The management having in its wisdom decided to stop our Comrade, Tom Watkins, we can very well afford to treat the matter with a certain amount of contempt, as his reputation is too great in the South Wales coalfield to be ignored by any individuals, whoever they may be. But we have every confidence that the reputation of the men at Bedwas and its local lodge officials will not go begging for the want of a scrap and, whatever happens, the management will still have to put up with the presence at the colliery of this tireless and consistent fighter for the interest of the working class. The reason advanced by the management of the Bedwas Colliery for the dismissal of our Comrade Watkins is irregular attendance at work. This is quite an interesting reason in the light of the "more output cry," but we are not concerned at this juncture with more output but with less, and we say that the proof of our intelligence under a Capitalist system is how to work as little as possible and get as much pay as we can. We realise that those who do the least work get the most and best out of life.

What need to look further for the proof of a class-struggle? This is not a thing to be looked for in the air, but is clearly demonstrated in the actual facts of life, particularly in our relationship with the master-class in our daily life.

Surface craftsmen have, by a majority of over 20 per cent., decided to amalgamate with the South Wales Miners' Federation. Hail the day when a system so contradictory as this of Capitalism shall be swept out of existence, and the working-class come into their own!

For the shareholder in the company, a Rolls-Royce. The worker is lucky if he can hire a pair of roller-skates at a rink.

For the boss, a Havana cigar.

For the worker, a Wild Woodbine.

For the employing class, champagne.

For the worker, half a pint of home-brewed ale (this despite "Pussyfoot").

TO WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

A MINER'S CALL.

By TOM WATKINS.

Fellow Slaves.—Never has the Capitalist class stood so solidly together as in the present struggle. The whole of its forces are arrayed in readiness to give battle to maintain its power, (not its right) to exploit still further our capacity to produce.

This power the capitalists can only hold over us so long as they can maintain the ownership of the machines of industry.

Their ownership of these huge complex tools involves the power to starve out the worker in any demand we may make, no matter how good or clear may be our case. The capitalists do not scruple to use this weapon, and during the last few weeks they have, through their Press, made use of the following threats:

"A strike means starvation of the less fortunate workers. It means more suffering for the children, and fireless grates for the poor." With all this we agree, but we differ as to the cause.

The Capitalists endeavour to convince the miners of the horrors of such a strike in order that they may go on piling up more profits and enjoy all the privileges they now have.

What care they for fireless homes and starving children?

Ask yourselves, fellow-workers.

What is the history of the capitalist bosses?

Since when have they become so concerned about the welfare of the homeless, the fireless, the foodless, the shoeless, and clothless?

Trade Union Turn-coats.

Their history is red in tooth and claw. When an individual steps in their way, they remove him without mercy. A perusal of any Trade Union minute book will soon convince those who doubt the truth of this statement. A large percentage of the present Trade Union officials have come into prominence because the iron heel of capitalism pressed heavily upon them in the days of their youth. They were hot-blooded revolutionaries then, but since the boss-class has fawned on them and praised them as good moderate chaps all is now dead that was real in them.

Victimisation means starving into submission any worker who has the manliness to oppose the tyranny of capitalism, whatever form it may take. If there rises in our ranks a worker of keen mentality, who cannot be bought by the boss, then he, too, must come under the iron heel. The boss class only cares for individuals as long as they suit its purpose; the moment they cease to do that, go they must. The boss class cares not what may happen to them.

When the workers took to organising along the lines of Trades Unionism, a weapon unconsciously brought into being for the waging of the class-struggle, the boss class was compelled to treat them with a little more respect. The early success of Trade Unionism, however, soon brought down the mailed fist, as a few examples will show.

The Upward Struggle of the Workers.

As early as 1719 the weavers of Stroud (Gloucestershire), Wiltshire and Somersetshire, in 1726, appealed to the King for aid against their masters. In 1766 the Gloucester operatives had a table of

wages fixed by Parliament, only to be soon repealed, and all later petitions were useless.

From this time on to 1800 a fierce struggle was taking place, all the complaints and claims of the workers were ignored, and the strikes that followed were denounced as a conspiracy to raise wages. Plagued by petitions, and alarmed by the ever-growing Trade Union activity, Parliament passed the Combination Act. This Act made combination of any kind illegal; thus the unions had now to become secret societies or perish, and now the class-struggle took definite shape. The Combination Act was administered without mercy, but, nevertheless, small organisations sprung into being, and strikes occurred among the Durham and Northumberland miners in 1810. There were continuous attempts to repeal the Act, and in 1821 success crowned their efforts; but in 1825 the old Act was reinstated, with a slight modification.

From 1825 to 1841 attempts were made to link up the miners' movement into a national union. In 1860 the Yorkshire miners won the right to appoint a check-weigher. After two other attempts, the M.F.G.B. was formed in 1885, but it was not until 1898 that the whole of the coalfields were finally linked up.

During this period attack after attack had been made by the Capitalist class on the workers' organisations. A notable case was that of the Saff Vale judgment in 1901, when the A.S.R.S. had to pay damages to the tune of £45,000, because some of the members, acting under instructions from the Union officials, tried to prevent blacklegs working.

Again, more recently, came the Osbourne judgment; also the damages against the South Wales miners' leader known as the "Stop Day Action."

Rank and File Force the Issue.

When the capitalist class thinks everything favours their chances of defeating the working-class, they will not burk the issue. That time has come and they will use every kind of weapon to win out. Their action on the miners' question indicates that they are prepared to go to any length to stay the onward march of our class to power.

During the last five years, owing to the nature and character of the mining industry, we have had to fight the governing class more than any other organisation, and all along the cry has been "more output." Not being able to get coal from mother earth like sending out printed circulars from a machine, we had to defend our condition of safety, and that had to be done at any cost.

Again, as mining is a key industry, any demand for more wages must be resisted from the capitalists' standpoint with more force than that of any other body of workers. Thus our antagonism is a natural consequence and now culminates in this huge struggle, and our Trade Union leaders, knowing this all along the line, burked the issue.

It was this knowledge that gave rise to our dual demand for increased wages and reduced price of coal, to enlist the support of public opinion. The leaders (not the rank and file) of the other Trade Unions, being only prepared to give lip service to working-class aspirations, caved in under the strain, only to find a rank and file more determined than ever to carry on the fight.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "PLEBIAN."

Education.

A new era has dawned on the Ogmore Valley, and great preparations are being made to organise social science classes, debating societies, and a course of lectures for the coming winter. We hope that the workers throughout the Valley will avail themselves of these opportunities. Our heartiest congratulations to the committee of the Ogmore Vale Workmen's Hall in giving the lead.

Education is the greatest need of the Labour Movement to-day; without it, progress is impossible. We appeal to all young men to be more attentive to their Trade Union branches in order to make them live institutions. It is not only on such questions as wage demands that we need your presence, but on every occasion. Rally to your organisations, and make yourselves active workers in all spheres appertaining thereto.

Co-operative Employees and Working Class Education.

We are glad to know that our fellow Trade Unionists are supporting the Co-operative workers and that these workers are supporting working-class education in our district. The Ogmore branch of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees and Allied Workers has passed a resolution urging the Executive Council of the A.U.C.E. to link up with the South Wales Miners' Federation and the N.U.R. in supporting the Central Labour College in London. The resolution also called upon the Shop Assistants' Union and all other unions to support the college and extend its activities and foster the teaching of the Marxian school of political economy to emancipate the workers of the world.

In an A.U.C.E. meeting previously held, a resolution was passed urging upon the executive to give all the help possible to the Shop Assistants' Union, in securing the reinstatement of the employees of Lyons' Tea Company, who have been on strike for the recognition of their Union, which is a vital principle, and to make a national move if necessary to compel same.

Thus we see that workers in all spheres are gradually becoming class-conscious. In the near future we hope to see one Industrial Union of Shop Workers. Let us unite in saying: "All Power to the Soviet Republic."

TWO "BRICKIES," AND A DINNER-HOUR TALK.

"Say, Bill, now that you have consumed the contents of your nose-bag, get a light on, and sit down right here. I want to lecture you, as the bloke said last night, at the street corner, when he talked of ekinomicks."

"Alright, Bert, I'm glad to know you are beginning to interest yourself in politics and economic questions; you will find it more instructive than discussing football or horse-racing. I suppose you have been at a Communist meeting?"

"No, Bill, you're quite out by a long way, he was a bloke as knew what he was a-talking about. He said he was an Empire man and that you "Commonists" wanted revolution and civil war, and to rob us workers of our wages, and to pull down the Empire, the Constertution and Parlerment, and that is just your own words to me; so he's right about you Comminists, and we British workmen don't want revolution. We are not like them 'ere furiners, we are free and can vote for our own men to go to Parlerment and make laws to suit ourselves."

"Now I know, Bert, you have been around the meeting of the "Resurrection" Party's platform. They claim to be reconstructing capitalism; you know it received a nasty knock during the war, and everything is topsy-turvy."

"Say, Bert, do you not remember another Empire man who told us, long before the war, that 12,000,000 British people were continually on the verge of starvation. If Reconstruction means nothing more than that, had we not better discuss Destruction?"

"Oh yes, Bill, I remember all that, but this other Empire bloke as told us about Ekinomicks, says you Bolshies are to blame for all that, and you know as our big Labour leaders say the same, so he must be right; and he said as to unemployment, that we workers were to blame ourselves, as we did not produce enough for our guv'ners to sell; and that's just it, for one of our own working chaps in Parlerment said the same thing. I mean Barnum, the big Labour man, as sets things right for us in Parlerment. He said, and it was in the papers, that increased production was the only cure for unemployment, and all the papers says the same, and so does Lloyd George, and he is a clever man, and so does Henryson and Climbs, and Smodge, and the bloke from the railways, John Thomas, so it must be right. I told my missus last night, as I was a-goin' to lay more bricks every day, so as the other men can get a job. And I am not a-going on strike any more, as strikes only make the way for revolution, and play into the hands of you streemists, Comminists, and then where would we working chaps be with no one to pay us wages of a Saturday?"

"Well, Bert, I am not prepared to deny that the Labour men offer "increased production" as a panacea for all social ills, including unemployment, and that they have the support of the Capitalist politicians and the press. I know they are praised as sane Socialists, patted on the back, and rewarded with titles to their names for services rendered, but to whom?"

"Why these decorations, Bert? I presume for some act of valour on the field of battle during the Great War. Perhaps you lead an attack upon the enemy, that saved a dangerous situation? Just so. Now we are at war again, a class-war, Labour versus Capital, this time a war that will end all war, the big Labour men have taken sides with our enemy; they seek to divide us against each other, and they are decorated with titles for leading the attack against us. These men betray us, they are traitors to our class. Say, Bert, what decorations would your widow be wearing had you led an attack of the enemy against a British position?"

"Get a move on, Bill, there goes the Guv'nor. Let's get stuck into them 'ere bricks."

Bert, toying with brick and trowel:

"Deckerations, deckerations, why that's lojuck, as the Empire man said last night. Yes, ekinomick lojuck."

JOHN STEELE.

J. H. Thomas and Communism.

By T. YOUNG.

The *Daily Herald*, of October 11th, gives a brief account of an interview with J. H. Thomas at Prague, which contains some interesting statements, alleged to have been made by him. In reference to Communism in Great Britain, he makes the assertion that it is unimportant. Either he is wilfully ignorant of the growth of Communist ideas in the Trade Unions, or he is wilfully misrepresenting the true state of affairs amongst the workers of this country to-day.

J. H. T. is certainly cognisant of the fact that there exists in the ranks of the workers to-day, a powerful Left Wing, which, to a great extent, moulds the opinions of the rank and file, and forces the pace for progress, in spite of the compromising tactics of the Parliamentary leaders and the capitalist press.

We are all aware that Labour leaders of the J. H. Thomas type are not friendly towards these extremists, and would like to ignore them, by making contemptuous statements regarding them for publication in the capitalist press. But the Left Wingers refuse to be ignored, and by their insistence, compel the recognition of their policy by the official leaders of the Labour movement. This was recently manifested, by the manner in which such men as Clynes and J. H. Thomas were stampeded against their will into a declaration of direct action for political purposes, admitting at the same time, the utter futility of their dearly-loved Parliamentary action.

The Revolutionary Rank and File.

The Left Wing are not in every case officially connected with any Communist Party, some of them prefer to carry on their propaganda as Trade Unionists. But whether J. H. T. is aware of it or not, the workers of this section are, in their political outlook, Rebels to a man. Large numbers of them have are exercising a great influence in this direction amongst their fellow-workers, in fact, they are getting redder every day. If J. H. T. thinks this movement is unimportant, he is making a great mistake, as he will some day find out to his cost. He may persuade himself that Communist action is confined to the parties bearing that title, but the education afforded by our Russian comrades in Soviet Russia, is working fast amongst the workers of Britain.

On all sides, among railwaymen, miners, transport workers, engineers and the factory slaves, continually we hear members of the rank and file declaring that the time has come to seize the railways, the mines and the workshops, which

they have built up, and set up Soviets for workers' control of production and distribution for use instead of profit. The psychology of these men and women is decidedly Communist, and it is the leading and most advanced psychology in the ranks of British workers to-day.

Communists Demand Full Ownership and Control.

J. H. Thomas says Labour is to have a share of control, but he will shortly wake from the coma of capitalist Parliamentarism to find that the erstwhile sheep refuse to follow their deceitful leaders into the pastures of compromise any longer. The workers are sick unto death of this continual selling process. The Communist element in the Trade Unions demands full control. No half-measures will satisfy them now, and the great majority of the workers are in sympathy with this demand. Experience, the great teacher, has taught them that there is nothing to be gained by the compromising attitude which would accept a share of control, on Whitley Councils and industrial courts, impartial tribunals and other such shams. Their past defeats have taught the workers more than anything else, that nothing short of full ownership and control, will, or can, give them satisfaction.

Whilst the Left Wing are fully conscious that they are heading for Communism, the importance of this movement is fast growing in the minds of the semi-conscious majority, who readily follow the lead of their Red Comrades.

J. H. Thomas and his colleagues, who move in the charmed circle of capitalist Parliamentarism, cannot see the importance of this movement towards Communism. Puffed up by the seeming power of their position above the class they are supposed to represent, bloated by the adulation bestowed upon them by crafty statesmen, they are meekly led into the net of compromise and failure. Moving in a different sphere, these men fail to observe the changing psychology of the class they once belonged to.

These men regard "Soviet Russia as a danger to Europe." Undoubtedly it is, to capitalist Europe, which men like Thomas wish to perpetuate. They are afraid of Communism, and by closing their eyes to facts, endeavour to persuade themselves that it is unimportant.

J. H. Thomas and his like will go down under the rising tide of Communism in the Trade Unions. The Red dawn has come, and the bright flame of Communism will burn out from the ranks of the workers, the unhealthy and degrading compromisers, and bury them in well-merited political oblivion.

Baton Charges in Whitehall.

The Labour Mayors gave the authorities a guarantee of good behaviour on the part of the unemployed in the recent demonstration. It would have been more fitting if the Mayors had demanded a guarantee of proper conduct on the part of the blue-uniformed thugs whose function it is supposed to be, to keep the peace. From beginning to end, the police acted in a provocative manner. All violence might have been avoided, if the deputation had not been so long winded.

The poorly nourished, badly clad unemployed, were kept shivering too long, waiting on the embankment. They had been marching long distances, many of them on empty stomachs. They became restive. Although the main body of them waited with long-suffering patience for the Premier's reply, many broke away and gathered round Downing Street. The crowd grew larger and then the police got the wind up. When they saw a banner amongst the crowd, it was as a red rag to a bull, they thought the revolution had come.

An eye-witness states that many of them acted as if they were drunk. This eye-witness was not near enough to them to smell their breath, but he can at least swear to it, that they were drunk with a distorted sense of power over a harmless crowd. They bullied the crowd right and left. The crowd was in no mood to be ridden over rough-shod by these animals. The front lines indulged in all sorts of harmless sarcasms against

the police, and then the order was given to charge the mob with drawn batons. Naturally, men who had fought in the great war showed that they still had some spunk left in them. Whitehall became a battlefield. Only when the brutal policemen mercilessly rode down upon the crowd, did the brickbats begin to fly. Many were injured, police as well as civilians. The crowd was beaten, but not before enough damage was done, we believe, to make the authorities realise that even an unemployed crowd will not tolerate too much insult added to injury.

Hunger Striker Murdered.

Michael Fitzgerald, one of the hunger-strikers in Cork Gaol, is dead—murdered by the British Government at the behest of the Bosses.

It will not be long before the Terror in Ireland comes stalking through England. We revolutionary workers need not think we will remain immune, unless our will to economic freedom is dead. Our own political prisoners will also be allowed to die in gaol. We shall also come under the iron heel—unless we speedily bring about the Revolution.

COMMUNIST PARTY (B.S.T.I.)

A DEMONSTRATION will be held in TRAFALGAR SQUARE on SUNDAY NEXT, the 24th inst. Branches should attend in full force with flags and banners.

COMMUNIST PARTY (B.S.T.I.).
Stepney and District Branch.

SOCIAL AND DANCE.

In Aid of the *Workers' Dreadnought*,
and to Celebrate

The Third Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Revolution.
will be held on

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1920, at 8 p.m.

at the
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CLUB.
28, East Road, City Road, N.

WELCOME TO HAROLD BURGESS.

(BUSINESS MANAGER OF *The Workers' Dreadnought*),

ON HIS RELEASE FROM SIX
MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

AT 400, OLD FORD ROAD

On Saturday, October 23rd, at 7.30 p.m.

TICKETS PRICE SIXPENCE.

From 152, Fleet Street, the Branches of the
Communist Party, and Comrade Sacharine, 35
Homer Street, Marylebone.

ALL T.U.'s AND WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS
SHOULD INVEST IN

THE JEWISH LADIES' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY
89, CHURCH STREET, BETHNAL GREEN, E.2.

Butchers' Shops already opened:—

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4, Mercury Street, E.2.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CLUB.
28, East Road, City Road, E.C.

An EXHIBITION OF POSTERS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Brought from Russia by JACK TANNER, illustrating
SOVIET RUSSIA AT WORK.

will be held at above address for one week,
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from 6 to 10 p.m. week-days.

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Admission Free. Silver Collection.

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by all married people and those about to marry."
THE TRUTHSEEKER.

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

A CENTRAL LONDON BRANCH
HAS BEEN FORMED.

NEXT MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE ON SATUR-
DAY, OCTOBER 23rd, at 8.30 p.m.
AT 152, FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

ALL COMRADES wishing to join this NEW
BRANCH should communicate with the Provisional
Secretary at above address.

ALL WORKERS SHOULD READ THE NEW PAMPHLET OF
A. LOSOVSKY (S. A. DRIDZO).

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

This pamphlet is written in English, and explains the aims and object of the new revo-
lutionary International of Trade and Industrial Unions.

By Money Order. Price 9d. Payments for one or more copies should be sent to:—
DET NORSKE ARBEIDERPARTIS FORLAG, CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

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

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence.

Entry Fee: One Shilling.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

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

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

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

BRANCH NOTES.

Hammersmith.

At Monday's meeting, the 11th October, the dele-
gate on the Executive Council gave his report of
the Executive meeting. The remainder of the meet-
ing was taken up with a discussion on the rela-
tive value of tactics and the probable development
of the class-struggle in this country.

Soho.

A well-attended meeting was held on Wednesday,
the 13th inst. Comrade Fabian was elected to the
chair. Comrade Cornwallis gave his report of the
Executive meeting, which was supplemented by the
National Secretary, who was present.

Considerable discussion took place on questions con-
cerning the development of the Party, and a very
lively meeting did not close until 11 p.m. Comrades
Wilde, Smith and Daly were present as visitors from
Camberwell, and Comrades McKay, Bishop, and other
visitors from the Central branch.

Fifty Pounds Wanted.

In order to clear the deficit on the first
quarter's working and renew necessary stocks,
the Communist Party requires a sum of Fifty
Pounds.

The Party Membership has more than tre-
bled since the Party's inception in June, and
we are getting some real power into the re-
volutionary machine we are building.

We are called the Communist Party. Our
work is vital for the destruction of Capital-
ism. See to it, Comrades, that the sinews
of war are provided.

All donations should be remitted to the
Treasurer,

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

Gorton.

Gorton branch is holding a social evening on Satur-
day, October 23rd, at 7 p.m. Admission, one shilling.
Proceeds to Party funds. On Saturday, October 31st,
an outdoor meeting will be held at Mount Road,
Gorton, at 11 a.m., and evening at 7.30 p.m., a
lecture will be given, the proceeds to be devoted to
Party funds. Classes on Industrial History, Sundays
at 3 p.m.; classes on Economics, Fridays, at 8 p.m.
Lecturers supplied by Manchester and District La-
bour College. All enquirers welcome. Branch Secre-
tary: E. Redfern, Gore Brook Hall, Gorton, Man-
chester.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Hull Comrades, £1 1s 2d; Exeter Comrades, £5
10s; Birmingham Comrades, 15s.; Portsmouth Com-
munists, 10s; Barking Comrades, 18s 4d; Ham-
mersmith Comrades, 3s. 4d.

LOUIS FRAINA.

In view of the fact that certain allegations are
still being made against Louis Fraina, of the Com-
munist Party of America, it should be made known
that the Executive Committee of the Third Inter-
national in Moscow has investigated the political
frame-up against Fraina and has declared him en-
tirely innocent of the charges levelled against him.
The Menshevik organ, the New York "Call," has
given much currency to the charges against this well-
known Communist.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.

Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.

Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.

Saturday 23rd. Hanover Park, Rye Lane, 7.30.
Sunday, 24th. Peckham Rye, 11 a.m. Mrs. C. Cole.

Soho.

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

Hammersmith.

The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Willesden.

Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station.
Every Friday at 7.30 p.m.

Bow.

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

Birmingham.

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

Stepney.

Mile End Waste (opposite Stepney Green). Every
Wednesday at 8 p.m. Local Communist speakers.
Every Friday at 8.15 p.m. Osborne Street,
Whitechapel. The City of London branch has
now been affiliated with this branch.

Barking.

October 17th, at 6 p.m., near Barking Station.
Speaker: Miss Birch.

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

Soho International.

58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednes-
day at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

Bow.

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

Poplar.

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

Camberwell.

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

Hull.

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

Hammersmith.

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

Barking.

All indoor meetings are held at Glenhurst, Ripple
Road.

HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.

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

Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Mar-
ble Arch.

Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrould's Corner, Edg-
ware Road.

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

Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Mar-
ble Arch.

(Continued from page three.)

ployment. Whilst a given centre of industry may
be wholly or partly superseded in another centre,
another set of capitalists is making the profits be-
cause of the introduction of machinery there. Pro-
bably the capitalists in the new centre are making
greater profits than the old, because they are em-
ploying cheap native labour. Probably, too, they
are the same set of capitalists—for instance, we
find Lancashire cotton manufacturers running cot-
ton factories in India also.

The increased demands put by the employing class
on the workers, of which Ness Edwards speaks,
are not due, generally speaking, to the falling or
rising rate of profit. It is the constant tendency of
capital to obtain the largest possible share, both
of the purely worker-produced and of that produced
by the worker plus the machine. In the long run
and in most cases the employers cannot allow wages
to fall below the actual subsistence level, but above
that bare limit the tendency of capital to squeeze
all it can out of the workers is only checked by
their consciousness and capacity of organisation.

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