**EMIGRATION! See South African News** ONE PENNY

# Workers' Dreadnought

PRODUCTION FOR USE, NOT PROFIT.

Vol. X. No. 31. October 20, 1923. WEEKLY.

## The Putty Users

By TOM ANDERSON.

(Proletarian Schools.)

The "putty"-users are the well-meaning reformers who desire to "putty" up the cracks in our social order. Some of them apply the putty through Parliament, others again want to build houses for you; some favour birth-control, others again want you to become vegetarians or spiritualists.

A big section use the putty by telling you "to trust in Jesus." "Try dear Jesus," they say; "He will cleanse you from all your sins." "Only trust Him, trust Him now." This section uses an enormous amount of putty. They have no sooner filled up the cracks and made them quite respectable, when lo! and behold, the putty hardens, and the first storm that blows, the putty all falls out, and thus the cracks are more numerous than ever.

Others again say, "If it were not for drink, the workers would be happy, and everyone would be well off." A good deal of putty is used in this way—nearly as much as that used by "The Trust Jesus" crack-fillers. They have never heard of our 400,000,000 Indian subjects who get 6d. a day and never drink alcohol. You see you can only drink when it is included in your subsistence rate. If it is not included, then you cannot drink. For proof, take our one million paupers. But then it is splendid putty, and what more do you want.

Then we have the State Socialists: they use the putty with liberal hand; they would give you all "work," and a State suit, the same as the Post Office slaves. They would brand you with a number, but then you would have work and you would have some chance of getting margarine on your bread. We have also the "simple lifer." They don't use so much putty as some others, but they say, "It would be grand if we all could live the simple life." It is a beautiful idea, the "simple life." By using this brand of putty, we believe you could bring down the subsistence rate to zero. Think over the idea, my dear fellow wage-slave. If you did not drink, smoke, wear clothes, or if, at least, you wore very little clothing, if you did not rent a box-room, but got hold of an old bag, and went out to the common—if the police would allow you—and hopped into it and went to sleep, the cost would be nil. Again, there is no valid reason why you should join a trade union, or a burial society; the parish would bury you. There is no reason why you should get married or go to church, music-halls or cinemas; all these things can be done without, and in due course you would find yourself happier and healthier without them.

Even with all the putty, the cracks still remain as numerous as before. The political land-reformer protests that the reason of all the poverty and destitution is because the land does not bear its fair share of taxation, and these putty Socialists say: Tax land values and all would be well. They have been using this brand of putty now for fully fifty years, and it has not filled up as much as one crack in our social order.

So long as you believe in applying putty to fill up the cracks, so long must you endure things as they are. To the crack-fillers the work is quite congenial; but remember that they are not on your plane—they are removed from you ever so far. They don't require any putty for their own special use; the putty is for you.

All these putty-users are parasites; they may call themselves by whatever name they choose: Labour, Socialist, Christian, Spiritualist, Free Thinker, Liberal, Tory, Salvation Army, Church of England, Scotland, Ireland or Rome; all the charitable and ethical societies are in the same boat, they are all putty-users and parasites. You, my dear fellow wage-slave, are a dumb animal bred and reared in superstition and destitution, and so you quite naturally think that putty should be used.

If you would waken up, if that were possible, there would be terrible consternation in the camp of the putty-users. They know that they are "coming it" on your mentality, and whether they be "Come to Jesus" users of putty, Labour leaders, simple-lifers, or Free Thinkers, they know, right down at the bottom, that they are parasites, and they would tremble if you showed signs of life. But then they know you wont, you have been too long "a drawer of water and hewer of coal."

In plain language, they know you are the "bottom dog," the slave, their slave to do their will, and it is beyond the vision of any of the users of putty to think of the world in which there would be no slaves.

"It is God's will." That chunk of putty has filled more cracks than all the others, and this kind of putty costs nothing; but its value is greater than many of the other kinds. Patriotic putty is very cheap: it consists of "Your king and country need you." When they don't, it is simply because the cracks are filled up. Political putty is the freedom your bourgeois gave you some fifty years ago. You can now vote for who you like, and the boss—that's if you have got one—will not know. It is good, is it not, a slave having a vote, a Saviour and a God, a king, and a country! What more could the slave want, you might ask; and the thought might occur to you: Bread! But they cannot get bread, they cannot get bread because they are slaves. That is beyond the conception of God or man.

"And must they remain slaves?"

"Yes, until they secure the 'Conquest of Bread.'"

"Then all the struggle is for bread?"

"Yes."

"I thought that God ruled the world?"

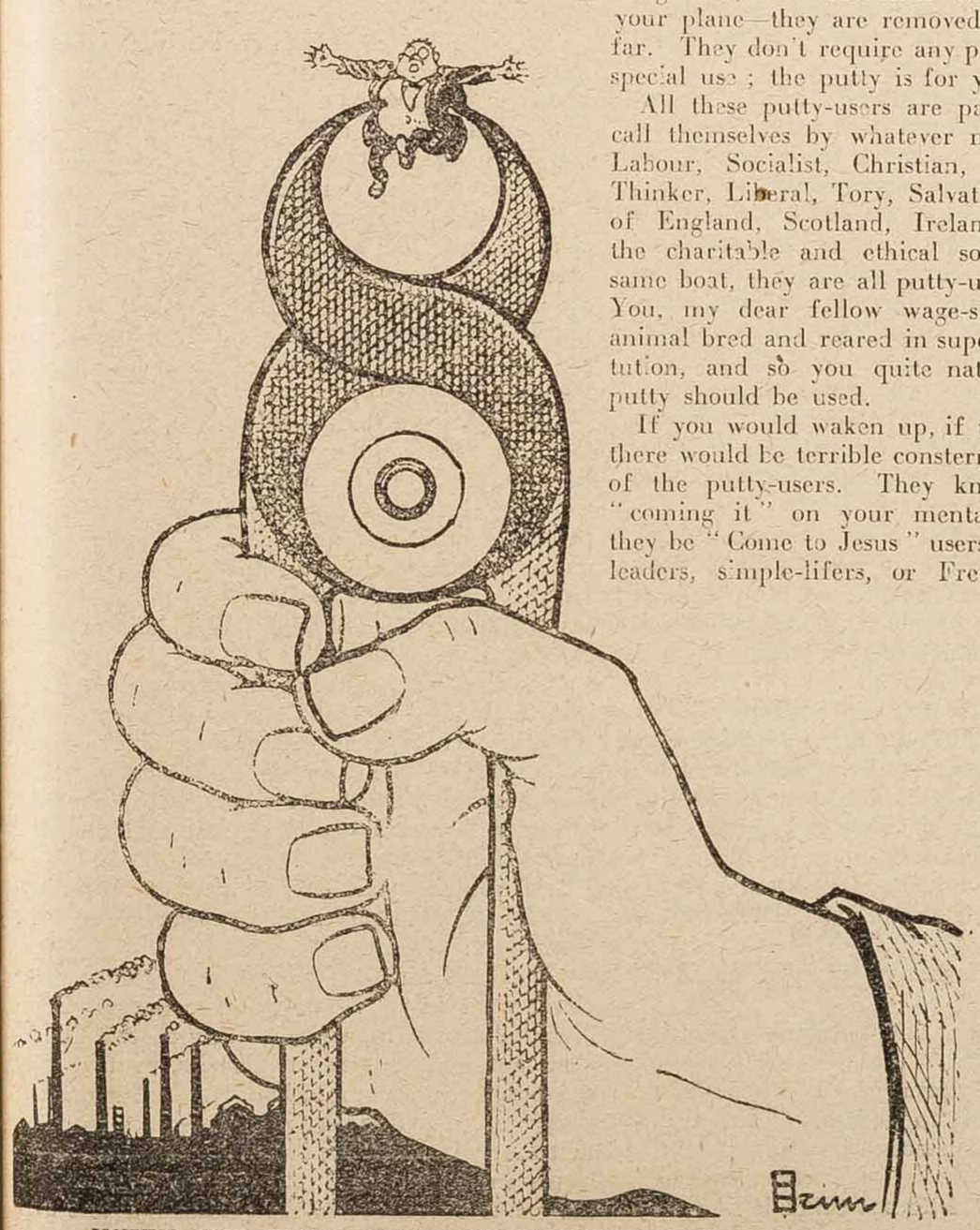
"That's only Christian putty."

"How can they get bread?"

"They can only get bread by fighting for it. They must make it a bread fight and leave all the putty-users on the one side. Once the conquest of bread is secured then mankind would start to live and to grow, and none of the putty would be needed."

My dear fellow slave, think this over; it might dawn upon you to throw away the putty and fight for bread.

If you did, we would then get "Bread and Roses," and on that day none would say unto the other: "You should be pure, holy, noble and virtuous," because we would have left the beast stage, and have entered into the kingdom of Equality. The battle for bread would have been won, and there would be no slaves in the land. To-day we are still beasts—everyone of us, and the big ones devour the little ones. That is why we require putty.



WHEN THE WORKSHOP COMMITTEES TAKE ACTION.

## FROM THE PUBLISHERS

ULVEN. By Ulv Youff. Chapman and Dodd. Five Shillings.

The story of a young pianist who, in the struggle to acquire his art in poverty, contracts tuberculosis. He says:

"The fact that one is a first-class artist guarantees him nothing. After study and struggle, comes the insurmountable barrier, the impresario. One is forced to buy one's career. Concert opportunities are guarded and controlled by enterprising managers whose commercialism amounts to a fine science. New York especially is a glaring exposition of musical graft and crime, so glaring that most people are blinded to the fact.

"Who does not hate a go-between? They are as invincible as Gibraltar and made of even harder stuff. There is no choice, their laws are absolute, and to denounce them means oblivion.

"They all have the same methods, and they all hold together."

# Frank Penman in London

Frank Penman went down to Poplar, believing that there at least he would find that wholehearted unanimity and that healthy indignation which the batoning of the unemployed at the instigation of the Guardians seemed to him to call for in full measure. Miss Mayence also was eager upon the subject, and the two arranged to go together. On the way they met Miss Goodman, and when she heard where they were going, she insisted on coming too.

They found a tall boy who seemed as though he had overgrown his strength, standing on a little stool, talking to an earnest crowd of sad-eyed men and women, whilst the police passed frequently to drive away those of the listeners whom they considered to be impeding the traffic.

"Who is that nice-looking boy?" asked Miss Goodman, who had never been to a street meeting before; "he seems so young."

"That's Gape," a woman in the crowd answered. "One of the unemployed."

"No. Really?" exclaimed Miss Goodman. "But he looks so well dressed!"

"The Guardians give him that," said the woman, "when they sent him to convalescent after he had pneumonia."

"Couldn't he buy his own clothes?" Miss Goodman asked.

"Hush!" said Miss Mayence, tugging her sleeve. "Of course on relief he couldn't."

"But I thought in Poplar the unemployed are so well-to-do."

"It's a shame!" growled Frank Penman. "Some people think others can live on nothing."

"Gape hasn't anything at all to live on now," said a man who was selling papers.

"Why is that?" Miss Goodmann asked.

"Through speaking for the unemployed and getting up against the Labour Party," several voices answered.

"Oh, that couldn't be! I'm sure you must be mistaken," Miss Goodman protested.

"Anyway, the Guardians have stopped it," said the man.

"Have they got the power to?" Penman asked.

"They say he hasn't been living here long enough to get it," the man replied. "Of course they can count the time he was at sea as part of the qualifying period, but they need not. They did for fifteen months and gave him relief, but since he got active they've refused it. He had a fortnight in hospital through what the police gave him on the deputation."

"Where is his legal habitation, then?" asked Miss Mayence.

"Hendon," the man answered. "He was at school at Wembley: that comes under Hendon; and ever since then he has either been at sea or in Poplar. He hasn't got a home."

"Poor dear," said an old woman, "what a difference between him and Lansbury's sons!"

"Don't bring in personalities," said Miss Goodman; "but, do tell me, can't he get relief at Hendon."

"Well, no," said the man; "you see in a district like that there hasn't been any unemployed movement."

"What will become of him, then," asked Miss Goodman.

"Well, he can go in the workhouse, or starve, or get a job, if he can."

The policeman came up. "Move on now: keep the pavement clear, please."

The little group was scattered. The three friends found themselves in quite another set of people.

A pretty, rather well-dressed young working woman, with a baby in a perambulator, was talking with another, who was laden with parcels.

"The unemployed are a lazy lot," she said. "They are better off than we are! Look at the wireless you see them putting up! They can't do that without *some* money. My husband hasn't got the head to bother with that when he comes in tired from work!"

"You're right there; nor mine neither. I think the unemployed should be made to do *something* for their money at any rate."

"If they did," said an elderly woman, "you'd only call them blacklegs. They'll work fast enough if they can get the trade union rate, and you know it."

"Well, I don't care: I don't see why they should have as much as some of those that are working—they don't work for it!"

"Only those with very large families get as much as the poorest paid. I'm surprised at you: a working woman ought to have more heart: suppose it was your own man; do you want them to starve?"

"Not much starving when they can put up the wireless! I don't get the chance to listen in and my husband's working—it must cost *some* money you know."

"So it does—a few shillings. My boys are out of work and they've got the wireless—went short to get it. A lad must do something with himself all day. I think it's grand to see them making something. My boys have made all sorts of things—I like to see them. I'd rather see them making something than buy boots for them—and that's saying a lot!"

"You're right," said Frank Penman. "It's splendid of you. I'd like to have a mother like you!"

"My boys are in the organisation, too," said the mother; "and I'm glad they are—gives them some hope and something to work for! You seem to forget," she said, turning to the younger woman, "that the unemployed are men and women like other people, with the same feelings as yourself. Why shouldn't they have a little enjoyment: why should you want to see them starved and crushed down? You talk about them not working—but what about them at the top that never work? What about the rich people with their motor-cars and their servants? You don't expect them to work."

"What about the landladies?" cried a stout red-faced woman.

"What about mine: do you know, she lives rent free and has five shillings over. Could you believe a woman would do it? Could you believe a woman would go against her own sex like that?"

"Yes, but what about the big landlords?" protested the elderly mother. "What about the man who has a hundred or a thousand houses and draws rent from them all and never thinks of working, and lives in luxury? What about him: you never speak of him?"

"What about the Guardians?" cried a hoarse-voiced man. "I could tell you of Guardians that were poor like you and me a few years ago, so they know what it is to be poor—and to-day they have got several houses in Poplar and they draw the rents, and they are ever so different from you and me. They sit on the relief committees and they are cutting down the relief to-day. They couldn't live on it. What about them?"

"Well we know all about that—it's the system," the young man who was selling papers interposed. "It's the capitalist system: the private property system. When we get rid of that, there'll be plenty for all; then you won't be jealous of each other any more."

"I say," said another man, "do you think it's right for men who are getting £4 a week from the Council to be putting on a uniform at night and standing outside a picture palace to get more money—doing another man out of a job. Why, I know a chap . . ."

"Oh, stop it!" said the paper-seller. "Why don't you fix your mind on the only thing that matters—breaking down the wage system and the private property system and getting plenty for all? You are playing the capitalist game when you go running off on side issues."

The meeting was over, and Penman and his friends moved out of the crowd. Dick Bolton came up.

"What sort of meetings are you having?" Penman asked him.

"Oh, pretty good: this batoning affair has caused a bit of a stir."

A tall young clergyman in a cassock came across the road to talk to Bolton. "This Guardians affair is a sad business," he said.

"I'm sorry for those who were injured," Bolton replied, "but I do not think it is wholly a bad thing that the Guardians have been revealed in their true colours. It shows clearly, too, that we are right in saying that the Boards of Guardians are a failure and that we revolutionaries must have nothing to do with administering them or any other part of the capitalist machinery."

"Do you think the Guardians really gave the police written instructions to break into the Board meeting?" the cleric asked.

"Certainly I do," said Bolton, "but I do not think it matters whether they wrote or not: they certainly telephoned—they said so themselves."

"One hears a good deal against Peters," said the cleric. "Do you think he is sincere?"

"As far as I know; but I don't see that the personality of any man enters into this affair."

"I don't agree with you," replied the cleric. "The governments of to-day are everywhere getting their spies into the most extreme revolutionary organisations, and we have to be as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves."

"Look here," said Bolton, a little roughly, "you mustn't expect me to waste my time curing you of spy-mania. I've better work to do. The question is: are the principles of our organisation right or are they wrong? Were the Guardians right to call the police or were they wrong?"

"It is no good dismissing suspicions as spy-mania," protested the cleric. "The Government's game is clearly to use the extreme revolutionary organisations, such as yours and the C.P., to discredit the ordinary Labour Party, which is the immediate menace."

"The Labour Party a menace? If you mean to the capitalists or the Government, I call that rubbish," interposed Penman. "The Labour Party is doing its best to keep the capitalist ship afloat—it is Capitalism's best friend."

"In any case, it is regarded as a menace by the capitalists."

"It isn't," said Bolton.

"Well, I think it is regarded so," the cleric protested; "and I say to you: don't prevent the Labour Party getting in by constitutional means if they can."

"We can't prevent them, but we aren't going to help them," said Bolton. "We aren't going to deceive the workers into thinking they can get their emancipation in that way."

"I think the capitalists will help the Labour Party into power when they are in a tight corner," said Penman. "I think they will use Ramsay MacDonald as they used Lloyd George to popularise the next war and to quieten the people when they are on the verge of revolution."

"Get the Labour Party in," persisted the cleric, "and the blatant ignorance of Ramsay MacDonald, Clynes, Snowdon, and the rest will do more to discredit it than anything else. I think it is bad tactics on your part to get people to withhold their votes from the Labour Party."

"We don't do that," said Bolton; "we simply tell them the Labour Party won't help them: they can vote as they please."

"The same thing applies to the Guardians," the cleric went on, unheeding. "Poplar Guardians, within the system, through the humanitarianism of George Lansbury in the past, kept above water many old men, widows and orphans, and are still doing so."

"A kind-hearted pro-capitalist could do that," said Bolton. "We don't want to keep people lingering on in their misery: we want to end the wretched Poor Law system altogether. Why even the Webbs and the others who signed the Minority Report a generation ago said the Poor Law should be scrapped!"

"If you see your way to getting revolutionary Guardians in power by all means do so," the cleric said.

"We don't want to," answered Bolton: but the cleric went on: "Attacks on the present Guardians, if successful, will do either of two things: show up their Liberal tendencies, so that they can become more revolutionary, which seems unlikely, or prejudice the people against them, so that they will let in the Municipal Alliance, which seems more likely. I admit all you say about the crime of calling in the police, but just as I think the attitude of 'my country right or wrong' damnable, so do I think the unemployed 'right or wrong' to be damnable. I suggest we keep our eyes open. It seems strange that Peters should be allowed to say the things he does and isn't arrested, if he is not a police agent. In view of the fact that the Governments are using the extreme Red organisations whose menace is comparatively remote to attack and discredit Labour organisations, it is quite possible that there are spies in the unemployed organisation. The Government would naturally argue: 'It is doing good work for us in discrediting the immediate danger, the Labour Party. Even if its views should become acceptable to the masses, it won't be in our life-time, and when we are dead what will it matter what happens?'"

"What a lot you have to learn!" sighed Penman. "One scarcely knows where to begin with you, but since you are an official of the State Church I imagine it is hopeless to try."

"Oh, you don't know him," Bolton interposed kindly. "He is trying to break away from that sort of thing. He is a Communist, or wants to be; but I admit he sounds pretty hopeless to-cleric. "the things you say about Peters might well be turned against yourself. People might just as well say it seems strange that you are allowed to say the things you do: that anyone else would be arrested for sedition or at least turned out of the Church; that either you must be a police agent or else you are simply told off by the Church to get an influence over the people so that they can be led back into the dope fold and persuaded not to act at the critical moment. All that spy talk of yours is a boomerang that will return against yourself as soon as you've got the mania fully under weigh. Now that's my prediction; it will be turned against you. I know you're honest, but plenty of others won't think so; they'll say that Father Gapon in Russia was a spy, and they'll say the same of you once they are fairly inoculated with spy-mania. Any intelligent person who is a friend to the movement will try to damp down spy-mania as a disease of cowardice.

"As for your fear of getting the Municipal Alliance on to the Board of Guardians, you needn't worry yourself. Unemployment is going to be a national charge, and the scales of relief are going to be dictated from Westminster before long. Destitution in general will be treated in the same way, most probably, and the Boards of Guardians are likely to disappear altogether. But those are minor matters to the genuine revolutionary. Our object is to destroy the existing system altogether.

"We have got to build up something that will put the machinery of capitalist society out of court altogether, and that something is the Workers' Councils. We are out for the Workers' Councils in Poplar and everywhere else—and that being so, we have no intention of wasting our revolutionaries by putting them on the Board of Guardians, where they can perform only one function—that of standing between the Government and the people, and plastering up the cracks in the capitalist citadel.

"Try to understand that, young fellow; and don't come back here arguing as if you did not understand our position."

## SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

*Reservoir of Wine Destroyed.*

At the annual meeting of the Co-operative Wine Farmers' Association, held at Paarl, the chairman, Mr. C. W. H. Kohler, stated that some 40,000 leagues of vine had been destroyed on which the Association had spent £3 per league, involving a sum of £183,975. He advocated that no wine be made this season. By this means he anticipated the 1924 season would be stabilised, by clearing South Africa of spirits on hand. Oh! what a system!

*Serious Strike Threatened.*

Another general strike on the Rand may arise in the New State Area Mines. The Mine Workers' Union has appealed to all Trade Unions to support the strike. The cause is the general policy of the Chamber of Mines of levelling down the earnings in the highest mines to approximately the average. Mine managers in low grade mines complain that the best men have been attracted to the high grade mines through the higher prices, and it is on this account that mines like the Modderfontein, Modder B, which could afford to pay more, nevertheless fixed low prices to which the men objected, according to the statement of Mr. A. Crawford, general secretary of the S.A.I.F.

In the meantime a notice has been sent by the Union to every shaft stating that the men on the New State Areas may have to make a stand against the cut in the contract prices and: "This fight is yours; what concerns them to-day will affect you to-morrow."

The men on the other mines are further asked whether they are prepared to support financially, and to what extent weekly.

The Mining Companies are pocketing money that should go to the workers who earn it. They have filled our cemeteries with their victims, and South Africa with poor. Miners to-day are being spoon-fed by the newspapers on the low cost ideal. They are being told how happy we should be and how little cause they have for discontent compared with other countries not so blessed as theirs. The press sedulously cultivates the idea that what little prosperity we have will vanish unless we get more and more natives, reduce the costs on the mines lower and lower, and generally bring South Africa down to the economic level of India.

In mining there were 273 less white men employed at the end of August than at the beginning. Natives were displacing white workers. The colour bar has been declared illegal, and the mines will now get native engine-drivers.

The object of the white miner should be always to raise the native miner higher, and to accept him as a member of their Union, so that the native miner-dog and the white miner-dog will not in future fight for a bone while the Chamber of Mines runs away with it in the shape of cheap labour.

ISAAC VERMONT.

[Since the above was written, a Reuter message states that a sensation has been caused in South African Labour circles by the announcement that a meeting of the South African Mine Workers' Union, last week, recommended that a proposal to admit natives to trade unionism, and organise them for that purpose, should be placed on the agenda of the Annual General Council.]

## SACCO—VANZETTI CASE.

Evidences of prejudice in the trial by which Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned to death continue to crop up. Now W. H. Daly, a contractor, has filed an affidavit that the foreman of the jury, Walter Ripley, discussed the matter with him a week before the trial. When Daly said he thought the men not guilty, Ripley answered: "Damn them! They ought to be hanged, any way."

The defence alleges misconduct by Ripley in the jury room. Ripley is alleged to have taken three cartridges into the jury room and placed them beside those from Vanzetti's gun for the purpose of making comparisons. Ripley seems to have been acting as counsel for the prosecution inside the jury room. It is argued that Ripley was trying to prove that Vanzetti was lying as to where he got his gun and the age of his cartridges, and that to non-experts Ripley's contention that the cartridges were the same age as his own might appear conclusive.

The hearings for a new trial will again take place on October 22nd, when it is thought the case will run on till its conclusion.

Any action to support these men should therefore be taken at once.


## RATIONAL LIVING.

**A radical, independent magazine for the workers, devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living in present society, always emphasising the social-economical-industrial background of wrong living. Stands for prevention of disease, for conservation of health, for drugless healing, and against all swindles in the healing professions. Special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6 for 12 numbers). Our famous book, "The Child and the Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical upbringing of children, special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6). Address: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New**




# Mexican Reformers

In "The Freeman," a reputable New York weekly, I read the following, under date of Aug. 29th:—"According to a report from Mexico City, the Mexican and American officials who are there in conference have compromised the issues on the basis of an acknowledgment of special privileges in respect to lands acquired by Americans before 1917." The article goes on to say that the Americans are still bargaining for reservations of mineral rights, and have also "secured a promise of special treatment for the American owners of expropriated farm lands." Those who read the details of plutocracy's annexation of Mexico, given in my previous article, will understand something, at least, of what the foregoing signifies. I suggest that it is the price being paid by Obregon's reform Government for recognition by the United States, and that it represents a betrayal of everything for which Mexican revolutionists have bled and suffered. They have been struggling for the restoration of the land to the people; that the Mexican, having free access to the soil, might be master of himself and no more a tribute-paying slave. Once more their Government, the official machine to which they foolishly entrust their liberties, defeats their aims.

Governments always act thus. Always they calmly assume that *they* own the country, and that they are entitled to sell or bargain it away as suits *their* interests. Already the alleged revolutionary Government of Russia is doing that very thing; and, as it is certain to hunger more and more for recognition by, and strengthening alliances with, other Governments, it will continue to do it on an ever larger scale. If this is to be the end, the struggle for the overthrow of human slavery is a waste of time and effort.

My remark that Mexico is a long way off was prompted by my conviction that we have to fight the battle for freedom, not at a distance, but wherever we happen to be living. We are seldom, if ever, correctly informed as to what is going on thousands of miles away, and what we may say or write about it has little or no effect on the actual struggle in those countries. Nevertheless, at bottom, the struggle is always the same, and I write of Mexico only for the purpose of showing that all Governments, being consumed by the desire to maintain themselves in power, invariably act alike. Indeed I consider it proved that reform Governments are actually the worst, for they prop up the tottering structure and prolong the agony. If all the slave-owners in the Southern States of America had been as kindly to their slaves as many unquestionably were, chattel slavery would still be in existence. It is not the benevolently-paternal, but the heartless landlords who are digging Land Monopoly's grave.

If the Mexicans have developed into a revolutionary people within the last two years, it is, in my judgment, because among them a most uncompromisingly revolutionary movement developed. So far as I can gather, officialdom—and quite conspicuously the officialdom of the Labour movement—is now engaged in putting the revolutionary spirit to sleep again with the soothing syrup of reform. As to Mr. Hopkins' remark that the Revolution also, like Mexico, is a long way off, I reply that he has furnished us with a conclusive reason for going as straight as possible to our destined goal.

W. C. OWEN.

W. McCartney writes that he attended the meeting held by the Workers' Union for Catering Trade Workers at Essex Hall on October 9th. The burden of the meeting was:

"There shall come a time when the conditions of the catering worker will be equal to the conditions of all other organised workers."

He observes:

"I am sure, dear reader, you are proud of your position in society and your conditions industrially. NO—well you are ungrateful."

It was also stated on the platform that there are some good employers who would welcome the union of the catering workers to help them to abolish the stain on the good name of the employers caused by the bad ones.

"I don't think!" observes W. McCartney.

# Workers' Dreadnought

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**Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.**

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## Our View.

MR. W. GALLACHER, of the C.P.G.B., at Canning Town Hall declared that the calling in of the police to baton the unemployed, in which some members of his Party joined, was a "mistake which can be made and can be forgiven." This seems a funny view for a revolutionary Communist to adopt. We cannot subscribe to it.

*Mistakes*

Mr. Gallacher then told that he, David Kirkwood and Neil McLean took a deputation to Glasgow City Hall. He was left in charge of the deputation, he said, whilst McLean and Kirkwood went inside to interview the local authorities. The police began to baton the crowd, and Gallacher says he was standing alone, and could easily have gone into the City Hall to save himself. We are not quite sure that he would have been allowed by the authorities to do that, since he had not gone in with the deputation; but we admit Gallacher showed no lack of physical courage, when, as he said, he ran up to the Chief Constable and struck him. As a result he was batoned by the police. The deputation inside the City Hall suffered no violence. From this version of the story Mr. Gallacher drew a comparison between his own conduct and that of Mr. Soderberg and others of the Unemployed organisation. He says they were in the Board-room at Poplar and that they should have run out to be bludgeoned by the police and apparently should have tried to get in a "heavy right swing on the Chief Constable's jaw" as he did.

The fact is that the unemployed who were in the Board-room when the police broke in were obliged to run the gauntlet of police violence. Of four who were either speakers or officials of the organisation, or both, who were well known to the police, and who were in the Board-room when the police went in—Soderberg, Bellamy, Robinson and Gape—the two former went out through the batoning, and got some minor body blows from the batons; the two latter were so seriously injured that they had to be taken to hospital. It is largely a matter of luck in a baton charge whether one is seriously injured or not. Dozens of comrades testify that Bellamy and Soderberg were beside them in the fight, and that the latter returned to assist in bearing away the wounded.

It is also important to observe that Mr. Soderberg was recently released from several weeks in hospital, and is still attending as an out-patient. He is suffering from heart failure, following rheumatic fever.

The "Workers' Dreadnought" avoids personalities as far as possible, but we feel it incumbent upon us to intervene with a protest and a statement of fact when those who have made what are called "mistakes" endeavour to hide them by making unfounded charges against others.

* * *

AN EARLY MEETING OF PARLIAMENT is the demand of the National Joint Council of the Trade Union Congress and Labour Party. The demand is urged on account of "the peril of the unemployment situation"; but the same demand was made before the last session of Parliament. Even a week or two before the date fixed for the meeting of Parliament the Labour Party was actually holding a Trafalgar Square demonstration to call for an earlier meeting. Yet when Parliament met nothing happened. The Labour Party put forward only a vague general resolution on unemployment and gave no more prominence to the unemployed question than to several others. The big scene of the session, in which only a few of the Labour Members took part, was not in relation to unemployment at all, but to Glasgow hospital accommodation and milk for necessitous mothers and infants.

*Unemployment and the Labour Party*

The Labour Party demand for an earlier meeting of Parliament is, as a matter of fact, simply a cloak for the fact that the Labour Party is not at all sure what to put forward as a panacea for unemployment.

The Labour Party demands the recovery of foreign markets, but does not explain how. It also asks for the recognition of Soviet Russia, but anyone can see that, at the best, this does not provide an immediate or early solution for unemployment.

* * *

THE RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA is a demand which some time ago was seized upon by the Labour Party as a highly convenient slogan with which to attack the Government, without running the risk of stirring up any serious body of prejudice against the attacking party. The Liberals have used the same slogan for the same reason. When Soviet Russia was a land of revolution, carrying on a vigorous struggle for the destruction of the private property system, the Labour Party and the Asquithian Liberals were as much opposed to entering into relations with Soviet Russia as the Government of the day, or the veriest Tory "Die-Hard." The Labour Members of the Coalition Government even favoured the intervention. Now that the Soviet Government is asking for permanent capitalist investments, and protesting that the capitalist investor will have the protection and support of the Russian Government, the smaller fry of believers in Capitalism, who do not take part in high politics, are all ready to support extended trade with Soviet Russia. They hope that such trade may better the general business of this country, and so improve their own personal affairs. Therefore the cry, "Trade with Russia," is apt to win their support.

*The Trade with Russia Solution*

The "Trade with Russia" slogan is, moreover, a specially useful one for the Labour Party, because to thousands of busy (and shall we say slow thinking?) proletarians, who were waked to a tardy sorrow and indignation by the support which their reactionary officials gave to the war of Capitalism upon the workers' revolution in Russia, this cry of trade with Russia seems a break away from the treachery of their leaders to the proletarian cause. Trade with Russia seems to them to mean support to a workers' republic. The fact that Russia is being re-built as a capitalist country, and that, just like the Liberals and Tories, the reactionary Labour Leaders are giving their support to trade with Russia merely because of that, is, as yet, only observed by the wide-awake minority in the workers' movement of this country.

* * *

NEVERTHELESS, though the great masses in the workers' movement of Britain may still be duped in regard to the meaning of trade with Russia, the workers' actual day-by-day experience of the unemployment problem at home is forcing the Labour Leaders to profess a less remote attitude towards unemployment than they have hitherto taken up. The unemployment policy of Messrs. Henderson, MacDonald and Clynes, and the majority of the Labour Party officials and representatives, has been to claim that the only solution is the recapture of Britain's foreign markets, and to protest that the Government's bad management of foreign affairs is the cause of the failure to re-establish and develop foreign trade. The Liberals have adopted the same attitude. This attitude is, nevertheless, most appropriate to the Tories, and the Tories would certainly have resorted to it as an excuse for refusal had the Labour Party made a strong demand for Government measures to find work for all the unemployed.

*The Unemployed and Foreign Markets*

We have seen in these latters days the curious spectacle of Labour Leaders adopting the pre-eminently Tory policy of deprecating State maintenance of the unemployed, and relief work, and insisting that the only proper course is to stimulate capitalist enterprise, in order that the workless may be taken back into capitalist employment. We have seen the Labour Party of this country supporting every step taken by the Government to give State subsidies to capitalist enterprise, whether at home or abroad. At the same time the Labour Party has continued to preach that the normal flow of private capitalist trade must be restored, as the proper and only means of solving all social ills.

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., and other prominent Labour leaders have even referred with indignation to the vast sums spent on unemployment relief, which they insist could have been saved if the Government had taken proper steps to restore capitalist foreign trade.

* * *

THE PRESENT POLICY of the official Labour Party, as expressed in its Parliamentary resolutions, has been the direct opposite of the pre-war Labour policy. This remark must be modified by the reservation that the Labour Party policy, as is always the case, has not been expressed with full consistency.

*Labour Policy, Pre-War and Present*

The official Labour Party pronouncement: unemployment can only be cured by restoring British capitalist trade, is essentially the most extreme capitalist policy: hence it is the typical Tory policy. The Tories have not applied their own policy to the full because they are in office and are faced with the responsibility of preventing serious unrest amongst the dangerously large body of unemployed.

* * *

LAVISH State and municipal charity to relieve the misery caused by Capitalism, which is now called "Poplarism," was the pre-war policy of the Labour Party. It is a policy which in the long run annoys the small capitalist, the professional people, the salaried employees and the better paid workers, and even the poorer paid workers, in so far as they do not receive benefits from State and municipal charities.

*Poplarism*

"Poplarism" is called Poplarism in so far as the Labour Party has abandoned what was once the established Labour Party policy. Lavish State and municipal charity is of course a costly policy, especially in times of bad trade and widespread unemployment. Its advocates declare that they will keep down the cost by State and municipal trading, but, thus far, they have not had the opportunity to put their policy to the test as a Government. They have the majority on many local bodies, but they have taken no large steps to put their policy to the test there. They have made no strong move in Parliament to obtain the necessary legal powers, nor have they attempted any extra legal action. Apparently it takes a revolutionary to be a good reformist, and a revolutionary understands that reformism is bound to fail.

* * *

AS WAS INEVITABLE, the Government is turning to Imperial Preference and other efforts to develop the trade and resources of the British Empire, in order to deal with unemployment and to re-establish the prosperity of British Capitalism. The Labour Party and the Asquithian Liberals will criticise, of course; but they also would turn to Imperial development to re-establish the Capitalist system, and to restore British trade therein, if only they knew how to do it effectively; for they also are shrinking from the breakdown of Capitalism; they also are eagerly searching for any means by which it can be bolstered up. Did not Mr. Asquith and Mr. Clynes go together on a deputation to Premier Bonar Law, asking for a Government grant to develop imperial cotton-growing in the Soudan?

*Imperial Preference*

Opinions may differ as to the soundness of the particular measures which the Government may adopt to hasten Empire development, and to secure Empire trade and Empire markets to the Mother Country; but, to a man, all the pro-capitalists and all the reformers will eagerly support the general policy, and, as a matter of fact, imperial development is one of the important last resorts open to those who would prolong the capitalist system, though it is also true that imperial development means the building up of competitors with the Mother Country and with the other older countries, which eventually must accelerate the breakdown of the present parasitic position of this country and the fall of Capitalism.

* * *

FACED by the Tory promises of social salvation through Imperial Preference on the one hand and on the other by the discontent both of the unemployed and the employed workers, the Labour Party will find its talk of restoring foreign markets too remote to maintain its prestige. Already it has two additional unemployment panaceas which at present are only occasionally brought forward. One is the very harsh and bureaucratic Bill for dealing with the unemployed which the Labour Party has already introduced to Parliament, the main feature of which is the drafting of the unemployed to what must inevitably prove to be semi-penal colonies, leaving their wives and families behind. This Bill will be strongly resisted by the unemployed, if ever it becomes an Act.

*Labour Party's Next Move*

The other Labour Party panacea is the granting of State subsidies to municipalities and to private employers on a commencing scale six times larger than all that has hitherto been done in this direction. This scheme was urged editorially in the "New Leader" some weeks ago, where it was pointed out, with approval, that the same scheme, at least as far as private Capitalism is concerned, is being advocated by a committee of Tory industrial capitalists in the House of Commons. As we have already observed, State subsidies, if granted on the lavish scale demanded, must inevitably make for a great inflation of the currency, and a speedy rise in the cost of living. As we have explained before, and has happened in Germany, the favoured great firms which are granted the State subsidies will presently be the only sections to benefit, though a fictitious prosperity may seem to exist for a time. The wages of the workers will not keep pace with the rise in the cost of living and the re-employed may shortly find themselves worse off than they are at present on the dole.

* * *

AS HAS BEEN RIGHTLY SAID by a member of the Unemployed Workers' Organisation, Poplarism died in the baton charge of September 26th. As we have shown, Poplarism was a relic of the spirit of pre-war Labourism, and has been on the wane during the past two years. The alternatives to Poplarism are, on the one hand, subservience to the conditions of Capitalism and its law of supply and demand, on the other a definite struggle to overthrow the existing system—root and branch.

*The Death of Poplarism*

It is easiest to succumb to prevailing conditions and to drift with the stream, yet those who really believe that the existing system actually can be broken down, and replaced by a free industrial Communism, will be so much inspired by the prospect that they will avoid all temptation to choose the easier path of compromise.



# Letters from Germany

## III.

### THE SEPARATION OF RHINELAND.

It is worthy of remark that the opinions expressed in British publications regarding the separation of the Rhineland are extremely confused. This is due to the dexterity used since the war by the Germans, and especially by the Prussians, to keep this country in German clutches.

The war lies of the German Government have become famous all over the world. When Sleswig was about to be returned to Denmark, the Germans redoubled their lying activities, and during the plebiscite in West Prussia, and still more in Upper Silesia, unheard of lies were circulated, history was falsified, the German Government's own peace-time statistics were denied. The Pan-Germans published before the war, periodical almanacks, in which the truth was stated that Upper Silesia and the parts east of the Oder river are countries peopled mainly by Poles. Yet when asked to give up this country, they told the world: There are hardly any Poles there. For eight hundred years it has been a German land. The population is almost wholly German, with but a few Poles.

When these lies did not help them, as they had expected, the Pan-Germans made the population believe the lies by the argument of the guns. The terror practised by the Prussian military and civilian troops upon the Polish, and the population friendly to the Poles, has rarely been exampled, except by the big butcheries of the German workers and revolutionaries.

On no question have the Germans lied more than on the matter of the separation of the Rhineland.

*The Economic Cause.*

The economic cause is very simple. The industrialists of the Rhineland need the iron-ore possessed by the French industrialists. From this main source spring all the other economic causes.

*The Political Cause.*

The industrialists of the Rhineland and the Ruhr are said to be good German patriots. Therefore they cannot tell frankly what they want, they cannot write in their papers that the separation of the Rhineland is necessary in the interests of their business. They must seek for other reasons to make the Rhenish people believe in the necessity of the separation.

*The History of Rhineland.*

The Romans.—Of all parts of Germany the Rhineland has the oldest civilisation; it was joined to the Roman Empire by Julius Cæsar. In the Rhineland, especially at Cologne, Trier, Aachen, Gerolstein, Coblence, and the Jaunus Mountains, are still to be found fine Roman remains, buildings, baths, graves and hundreds of other remembrances of the old Roman culture. No more perfect examples are to be found in any country north of the Alps.

Cologne, the biggest city of the Rhineland, which with its suburbs has nearly 800,000 inhabitants, had already become a free and independent Roman city in the year 50 A.D. Its citizens were free-born Roman citizens, with all the privileges possessed by citizens born in Rome. But few towns in the Roman colonies received this high honour. At that time Cologne had about thirty thousand inhabitants, amongst them many discharged Roman legionaries, who had settled at Cologne after having married Rhenish wives.

Cologne had its own money, its own law, its own Courts and Senate, and was entitled to settle all its affairs as it pleased. Cologne is thus the oldest republic in Europe north of the Alps.

Roman soldiers and officers brought the Christian religion to Rhineland. We see in Cologne the first Christian Church built in the year 275 A.D. The foundation of the church, though of course many times re-built, is still in existence. It was founded by Saint Ursula.

Many of the other churches in the Rhineland are 1,200 or 1,400 years old.

The Romans remained in the Rhineland until the end of the fourth century. No wonder that in this long period the Romans, with their fine civilisation, had a lasting influence on the country.

Passing through the Rhineland, especially in the small villages in the Eifel Mountains, and in the valleys of the Moselle, you will see hundreds of men, women and children, looking as though they had stepped out of the old frescoes of Pompeii and Herculaneum; they cannot deny their Roman forefathers.

*The Franks.*

In the following centuries we see the Huns and the Normans as conquerors of the Rhineland: as incendiaries, robbers and destroyers.

The Rhineland, through its industrious, educated and intelligent inhabitants had become one of the most flourishing countries in Europe. At the harbour of Cologne were the vessels of Normans, Britons, Danes, and even craft from far Egypt and Phœnicia.

Meanwhile the noble Frankish family of the Merovingians had built up Francon'a, and Rhineland became the most important part of this mighty empire. (The Franks are like the Saxons, Angles, and many other tribes of the old German race.)

Charlemagne, the greatest Kaiser of the Frankish Empire, had his residence and headquarters in Aix-la-Chapelle, a very old town in the Rhineland, already known to the Romans for its famous mineral baths.

*The Affinity of the Rhinelanders for the French.*

At that time, when the Rhineland was the cultural centre of Franconia, the Rhinelanders in their manners and culture, their arts and customs, their relationships, in short, in all their affinities, considered themselves as belonging to the sphere of French culture, in all its different branches, rather than to their eastern neighbours. In the last hundred years, since the Rhineland was bartered to Prussia, the Prussian Government filled all the official positions in the Rhineland with men of the farthest Eastern provinces of Prussia, bought over the newspapers, and controlled the Rhenish schools and universities. The people of the Rhineland were thus forced to consider themselves genuine Prussians. In spite of these hundred years, and the terrible treatment often meted out to the Rhenish people; when in the last war Rhenish regiments were sent to fight the French troops, they proved very bad soldiers; either they fraternized with the French, or they mutinied in face of the French troops and refused to fight them. Some of the Rhenish regiments were therefore dissolved, put into good Prussian regiments in small groups, and sent to the Eastern front.

*Rhineland in the Middle Ages.*

After Franconia had fallen through discord amongst the successors of kings, the Rhineland was divided between several counts and bishops. Only Cologne kept its independence and defended it against knights, counts, princes and bishops with the greatest bravery. When the fights against the outside aggressors were over, the rich families of the town tried to secure the reins of government; but the proletariat and the middle-class soon swept away even this Government by hard-fought battles and revolution. No power was able to overthrow this proud city republic. It became one of the richest and most famous members of the Hanseatic League.

Then came the time when the Rhineland belonged to the cultural sphere of the German-Roman-Nation, which is characterised by such places as Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Florence and Venice, and marked by the names: Michel Angelo, Rembrandt, Rubens, Durer, Holbein, Visher, Cranach. The most famous writers and artists of that time were visitors to the Rhineland. Rubens was born at Cologne. Whatever these men tell about the Rhineland, it is in highest praise.

*The Growth of Prussian Power.*

At that time Prussia was a desert, and Berlin a village inhabited by poor fisher-men. The

half-barbarous population remained at a low stage of culture and education, and lived in abject slavery to brigands, who called themselves baronets. The electors of Brandenburg, later Kings of Prussia, thought of nothing but increasing their power. They cared neither for the security of the Reich nor for the Kaiser, and fought and robbed their neighbours in the same empire whenever they saw a chance to benefit themselves.

They allied themselves with Sweden, France, Russia, England and Holland in order to reach their aim: the increase of the power of their house. It is a fact that the Kings of Prussia were the destroyers of the old German Reich.

The French revolution was welcomed in the Rhineland with indescribable enthusiasm. Napoleon, at that time considered as the messenger of the revolution, and liberty, fraternity, and equality, which was to prepare a new century of happiness, met nowhere a more inspiring welcome than in the Rhenish towns. To-day you still find more of his portraits and busts in Rhenish houses than those of any other man.

High as had been that enthusiasm was the dejection deep when the Rhineland, by the Treaty of Vienna, in 1875, became, quite unexpectedly, a province of Prussia.

*The Congress of Vienna.*

The delegates to the Congress of Vienna were unable to come to an agreement about the Rhineland. There seemed only one alternative: to let the Rhineland be an independent country; but this country could become nothing save a republic, because its population had never accustomed itself to a king. All the delegates at Vienna were representatives of kings who had fought for their own houses when attacked by Napoleon; they could not vote for the creation of a republic. To make this country a bishopric because some parts of Rhineland were bishoprics could not be agreed to because that would have strengthened the power of the Pope, and so weakened the power of the kings.

When big dogs quarrel, the little one gets the bone. So Prussia secured the Rhineland, claiming to be entitled to this country, because of possessing some very little counties which former Prussian kings had received by a settlement of successions. In order to set at rest the mind of the Russian Czar, who was not pleased by this enlargement of Prussian territory, the Prussian king made over a big part of his Polish booty to the Czar.

The Congress of Vienna was nothing but the assembling of a band of brigands who took their meal on the body of the murdered French revolution.

No country, no people were asked whether the new master would suit them. Their duty was only to shut up, to keep order and to become obedient and high tax-paying subjects of their robbers.

By means of the big stick, the Prussians forced the Rhinelanders to love the Prussian king, and to believe in Prussia as the country chosen by God to enjoy the salt of a rotten earth.

## WAGES IN GERMANY.

Before the war the average wages of a German worker was four shillings a day—the price to them of half-a-ton of coal. On August 13th, 1923, a German worker got two-and-a-half million paper marks a day—the price to them of one-twelfth of a ton of coal.

## IMPORTANT!

**We urgently suggest that comrades should endeavour to secure new subscribers to the "Workers' Dreadnought" and that they should collect at meetings and from their friends whatever is possible. However small the sum you can collect, it will be welcomed. Send it in stamps or postal orders. The "Dreadnought" is not self-supporting: the editing and managing is unpaid.**

# Unemployed Workers Organisation.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

All we want is the gift of Nature to all men, namely, Land, the source of the means of sustenance and enjoyment.

If the thieves will not disgorge, we will take land and support ourselves.

WANTED, for this object, gifts of tents, blankets, agricultural implements, bootmaker's tools, preserved food, etc., etc.

Offers of assistance should be sent to U.W.O., Poplar Branch, Town Hall, E.14.

The date and whereabouts of the first swoop will NOT be announced.

The Poplar Branch of the Unemployed Workers' Organisation sold forty-five quire of the "Workers' Dreadnought" giving the account of the batoning of the unemployed by order of the Guardians.

Comrade Robinson, the secretary of the Poplar branch of the Unemployed Workers' Organisation is still in the infirmary suffering from injuries received in the batoning, together with six others.

# *CORRESPONDENCE.*

WHAT THE "WORKERS' WEEKLY" SAID.

I was one of the deputation to Poplar Board of Guardians on September 26th, 1923, and I am not ashamed of it. I write to say that the statement about Mr. Soderberg, which appeared in the "Workers' Weekly," is a lying one. I am not getting money for my work for the unemployed. Mr. Soderberg is not paying me and he does not know I am writing. He does not know that I went to 16, King Street, on Friday, October 12th, and told the man who said he wrote the article that he is a liar.

It is a shame that because a man is a foreigner he should be pulled to pieces and hounded down wherever he goes.

I am a member of the Bow Branch of the Unemployed organisation, and I say Soderberg was not the leader of the deputation and did not take any part in organising the deputation to the Poplar Guardians.

When the deputation was first spoken of Mr. Soderberg was in hospital and knew nothing about it whatsoever. The night of the deputation he was at Greenwich Hospital from 5.30 to 8.30, and did not come into North Street offices till just on 9 o'clock. The deputation had been into the Board-room and was out long before he came into the hall.

It is said that Mr. Soderberg caused the breakaway from the old unemployed organisation. The reason is that the old organisation did not do enough. The unemployed of Bow, Poplar and Millwall woke up one day and said they would not pay any more pennies to the old organisation, but would form the U.W.O., which they have done, and stand in Bow 600 strong.

The man who as reported in the 'Workers' Weekly' said he struck the Chief Constable and was knocked about; well, I should like to give him a banging for what he says about Soderberg.

Soderber did go out and he had his share and did his best for the men. Soderberg did put out his strength to help the men. The "Workers' Weekly" says Soderberg is one of the most active men in Bow. Is that a reason for slamming a man?

The "Workers' Weekly" writer says Soderberg should never be allowed to speak. I can tell you most of our comrades would rather believe him than anyone at 16, King Street.

You say mistakes can be made and forgiven. May you be forgiven for bringing the marchers to London, and when you saw police turning them away to Hyde Park. The best work one of the leaders did was to carry a jam-jar on a stick.

Bow is not run by Soderberg, but the old organisation lost a good worker, and Bow found him.

M. PARKER.

*Dear Comrade,*

I visit St. Andrew's Hospital twice a week to see the comrades who were wounded at the Guardians' offices on September 26th. Three of them are still very ill. Comrade Robinson is very ill indeed. His head is cut and body injured. He seems strange in his mind at times and does not know what he is saying. He is a married man living in Poplar, and was Hon. Secretary of that branch of the U.W.O.

Another very bad case is that of Comrade Bertram Farminuse, aged 30. He is unmarried and lives at 28, High Street, Bromley. He has been in hospital since the batoning on September 26th, with injuries to the head, broken ankle and injuries to the body.

G. Hall, 40, High Street, Bromley, has a cut on the head 1½ inches long. He is also very ill indeed.

These are a few of the worst cases. Some are coming out, as they feel they want to be at home.

I take fruit and cigarettes to the comrades in hospital twice a week. I ask those comrades who can afford to send a few stamps for this purpose to me, c/o Comrade Mommery, Hon. Secretary, Unemployed Workers' Organisation, Bromley Public Hall.

It is always the poor who help the poor.

(Mrs.) M. PARKER.

## The Case of William Gape

Comrade William Gape is 23 years of age. Born at Ipswich, he lived at Wembley, where he went to school from 1910 to 1915. He then went to Poplar to become a seaman. He worked on the ships in Port till he got a job going to sea, and stayed when on shore at Jack's Palace, or Victoria Institute, Poplar, or at Ashburton House, Canning Town. Since 1916 he has stayed in one of the seamen's houses in Poplar when on shore. In February, 1921, he began what has proved a long spell of unemployment. The Guardians said they could not grant him relief till he had been on shore twelve months. From February, 1921, till February, 1922, he lived on the unemployment insurance dole. After that Poplar Guardians granted him relief for about eighteen months.

He had joined the Poplar Labour Party, and moved some resolutions, one of which dealt with the treatment of political prisoners in America. The resolutions were not accepted, the meeting broke up in disorder, and there was a rather heated discussion between Gape and the chairman of the meeting, a Guardian named Sells. This happened on a Monday night. The following Wednesday Gape says that Sells moved on the General Purposes Committee of the Guardians to inquire into the question of his title to relief. Relief was granted one more week, then it was stopped, and the question referred to a later meeting of the General Purposes Committee. Left without money (his insurance dole had long stopped), Gape got diphtheria, and was removed to Brook Hospital, Shooters Hill. His case was brought before the General Purposes Committee by the unemployed organisation, and the Guardians agreed to send him to a convalescent home on his recovery and to grant him relief till he got a ship.

The relief, however, was never granted. After discharge from the home Gape was offered the Workhouse or nothing. He went into the House for a few days, but naturally finding it too much like a prison he left. Since then he has existed precariously; given an occasional meal by comrades, and sleeping wherever he can get a free bed. His comrades are too poor, too overcrowded, to take him in.

The Guardians, after granting relief for 18 months, declare that they are basing their present refusal on the fact that Gape has not resided continuously in the Borough for three years, his period of residence having been broken by his work at sea. In February, 1924, he will have been three years on shore.

The Poplar Guardians tell him he must go to the Hendon Guardians, within whose district he was when at Wembley, which he left in 1915. Hendon being mainly a well-to-do residential district, has no labour movement and no large body of unemployed. Consequently Gape would get no relief if he were to apply to the Hendon Guardians.

Gape's case is obviously one of victimisation: he has been active in the Left Wing movement and he is being made to suffer.

The Guardians must ask themselves what is to happen to a young lad who cannot get work and who has no money and no home? Suppose William Gape were a son of theirs?



## Poplar Unemployed versus Guardians

A DEBATE.

Councillor C. Key, the prospective Mayor of Poplar, having thrown out a challenge to the unemployed to debate the question of the baton charge and the general policy of the Guardians, a meeting was held at Bow Baths Hall on Monday, October 15th. Councillor Key, who is not a Guardian, alone appeared to speak for the Labour administrators of the Borough. Another Councillor was present in the audience.

The unemployed speakers were Comrades Bellamy, Soderberg and Mommery. Sylvia Pankhurst was asked by the unemployed to take the chair.

The case of the unemployed and the views of the chairman are familiar to our readers; we shall therefore devote our space to the defence put up by Councillor Key.

He said that the Guardians were tired of being menaced by the unemployed, and that no party or body of elected representatives would stand being ordered to do things under menace. They must come to a decision according to their own judgment.

*This contention of Mr. Key is not new. It is as old as Parliamentarism. Elected persons habitually say to their constituents, "We will not do what you ask, but what we think right." If the elected persons were really the representatives of the unemployed, instructed by them, and subject to recall, they would be compelled either to do what the unemployed desired, or to forfeit their positions. The present so-called representative system is not representative at all: for apparently representing many diverse interests, elected persons actually represent no one, and in practice usually do as their party dictates, not as their constituents wish. Indeed, their constituents have diverse wishes and diverse interests.*

Mr. Key contended that the unemployed, having locked the Guardians in, had used force. The Guardians were, therefore, entitled to use force to get out: the only force they could use was that of the police.

*He evaded the point that the Guardians could have got out, once the police had opened the doors for them, without having the unemployed ill-treated, since the unemployed used no violence and offered no resistance.*

*That the Guardians should have made common cause with the unemployed did not occur to him.*

Answering the argument that the capitalist system should be broken down and Boards of Guardians are merely part of the capitalist machinery, Mr. Key said he used to preach that also, but had made no headway, because the psychology of the British worker demands an example of what can be done by Communism before he will accept it. This example had been given by Poplar Poor Law Guardians.

*He failed to see that even lavishly given Poor Law relief would not be an example of Communism: and had admitted that the scale at the best had been too low to keep people healthy. He also failed to notice that in other countries also the masses have passed through a period of faith in reformism before coming to an understanding that the capitalist system must be destroyed: indeed, the attitude of the workers has, broadly speaking, developed on similar lines in all countries.*

Comrade Soderberg pointed out that many others, beside Councillor Key, had deserted the hard path of the Left Wing to take that of Right Wing reformism, which has brought them an easy popularity and a "soft job."

Mr. Key protested that he had risked his bread and butter for the movement.

Replying to the charge that the action of the Poplar Councillors in refusing to levy the rate, for which they were sent to prison, had mainly benefited the great ratepayers, Mr. Key admitted it was true. If the Guardians could get the money out of the big ratepayers without raising the rents they would do it.

*This was an admission that Boards of Guardians can do little to help the workers and that the Labour Party can do little more than the Moderates when it gets a majority on the Board.*

The Guardians had decided to reduce the relief, he said, because otherwise rents would be raised. That would not be fair to the wage-earners paid less than the Poor Law scale.

*Mr. Key is not prepared to adjust that by giving relief to those who earn less than the Poor Law scale because he considers that would be subsidising the capitalist system. He does not realise that Poor Law relief is fulfilling the same purpose.*

If the relief were not cut down, he said, the Guardians would not be able to keep themselves financially sound and the Ministry of Health would come down to administer the Poor Law on its own account: that will be the worse for you he told the unemployed.

*Mr. Key adopted the usual Labour fakir attitude: we can do better for you than you can do for yourselves. The unemployed and all those subject to the Poor Law should however remember that they are dealing with the Government now through the Board of Guardians. If they deal with the Government direct, they will still be faced with the same authority. Those who are out to destroy the entire capitalist system must not shrink before the little matter of sweeping away the Boards of Guardians.*

Mr. Key declared that the next move of the Government would be to prevent Poplar Guardians paying out more in relief than is paid in other London boroughs. If the unemployed should weaken the hands of Poplar Guardians by attacking them this would be sure to happen.

*On the contrary, the only claim of Poplar to higher relief than Kensington, in the eyes of the Government, is that Poplar people are so turbulent that it is not safe to reduce their subsistence too far. That should be obvious even to Mr. Key. He has said as much himself, and so has Mr. George Lansbury.*

*We must observe, however, that the Poplar Labourists, as well as those of other places, are asking for unemployment to be a national charge. When that happens the scale of relief is bound to be made virtually the same throughout the country. Poplar does not get a higher Old Age Pension than other places. Those who object to equalisation should not ask for unemployment to be made a national charge.*

Mr. Key said that the Labour Party was "not attempting to burst up the capitalist system by disruptive tactics." There was a shout at that: he added "in Poplar alone."

Comrades Soderberg and Mommery emphatically denied that they had walked out of the Board-room behind the inspector, as alleged by some Guardians. Mommery said that he refused to apologise because the police had not broken his head. The following resolution was carried with enthusiasm, with three dissentients—the two councillors and one man in the gallery:

The resolution is as follows:

"That this mass meeting of employed and unemployed, assembled here at Bow Baths Hall, condemns the action of the Poplar Board of Guardians in calling in the police to the unemployed on the night of the 26th September. We view with alarm the decline of the fighting spirit of the Poplar Board of Guardians, and their retrogressive policy of the last 18 months."

## THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WORKSHOP COUNCIL COMMUNISTS IN GERMANY.

The A.A.U.E. — Allegemeine Arbeiter Einheitsfront (united all-workers' industrial union)—in its struggle against the old methods of reformism and opportunism, opposes Parliamentarism, and "legal" Workshop Councils. The A.A.U.E. regards the Trade Unions, and the political parties, as bulwarks of the counter-revolution. It considers the destruction of all these organisations to be a necessity because their purpose is to prevent a proletarian revolution. Its immediate aims are:

(a) To unite the proletariat as a class.

(b) To arouse the proletarians in the workshops by propaganda and by action.

(c) To increase mass-struggles, to extend partial strikes to mass strikes, because partial strikes do not help the working man.

(d) To organise community of action with all members of the working class and all other organisations having the same will to fight.

(e) To prepare methods of action to increase the power of the proletariat and to build up Communism.

(f) To fight for the taking over of all the means of production by the proletariat and to establish the Communist system of production.

The perfect liberation of the working class is an international matter, therefore the A.A.U.E. works for the unity of the entire world-proletariat in an International of Workshop Councils.

THE FORM OF ORGANISATION.

1. The members of a workshop elect a number of members in whom they place confidence. These form the Workshop Council, which settles all matters according to the policy of all members of the workshop. The Workshop Council must be re-elected every three months.

Members not being employed in a workshop form an organisation for the district where they live. Such organisations are merely interim ones.

2. Every workshop and interim organisation has to appoint a delegate to the Local Council.

All the members in a town form the town group. The town group form an economic department with a special council.

The latter is the office for information and it is the executive council for all jobs ordered by the members. Further it convenes economic conferences when necessary.

The members are entitled to recall the delegates from their positions at any time.

3. All money wanted for administration and other expenses is to be called as required; there are no regular contributions. Official positions are unpaid.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Editor,

I seldom read a letter that has given me greater satisfaction than Mr. McCartney's in last week's "Dreadnought." He who runs may read and learn from his straightforward outlook on strikes; it should be studied and stand for a valuable guide.

Direct action, organised from the workshop, is the only course possible to ensure success, if an act is wrong we refrain, if it is right we do it.

Allowing overpaid middlemen to step in obscures the issue, and generally scotches a strike.

A traitor is more easily discovered on the premises. Had McCartney's tactics been adopted in the case of the railwaymen, miners and workers in key and other industries, wages could not have been brought down as they have been, for, "automatically" as the key industries cease, the paralysation of the others quickly follows on.

Here is proof that unofficial strikes are effective.

One of the most successful ones was the Chinese seamen's strike, which was won without a trade union, or any organisation, save that of the workshop. Fifty thousand struck for three months, and *held solid*. A win for the workers of the world! Public sentiment amongst the Chinese was so universally in favour of a strike that it was difficult to recruit from strike breakers; "most of them were obtained from the riff-raff of the city jails. Criminals were given freedom if they would strike-break."

In India the East Indian railway strike was won "despite the fact that there was no union to guide and control the men," so says a Labour paper. I say, *because* there was no union to let the men down.

For seven weeks they were solid, and no case of loot or disorder occurred. At Lahore the women went on strike in the same way, and won.—I am, yours truly,

C. G. COLE.

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Friday, October 19th, 8 p.m., Hyde Park.—N. Smyth and others.

*Indoor Meetings.*

Sunday, October 21st, 8 p.m., Shakespeare Café. 11a, Stonecliffe Street, Edgware Road.—Sylvia Pankhurst.

Saturday, October 27th, Workers' Friend Club, 8 p.m.—Sylvia Pankhurst, Norah Smyth, J. Bellamy and others.

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