

Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

COMMUNIST PARTY.

(British Section of the Third International).

Provisional Resolutions Towards a Programme.

[As outlined at the Conference of June 19th and 20th, 1920, for the consideration of branches and individual members, pending the National Conference to be held in September. Amendments and additions should be sent to the Secretary for the Conference agenda].

The Communist Party is based on the historic Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels.

The Communist Party bases its conditions of membership on the acceptance of the following cardinal principles:—

- (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.

PRINCIPAL AIMS.

Capitalism to be Replaced by Communism.

The Communist Party aims at the complete overthrow of Capitalism; the abolition of private property; the socialisation of the land, the means of production and distribution; and the establishment of Communism, a classless order of free human beings living on terms of economic and political equality, safeguarded from material want and assured of ample means of subsistence.

Substitution of the Soviets for the Parliamentary System.

The abolition of Parliament and of the existing local governing bodies and the substitution of this form of capitalist representation and control by a Soviet system of national and local councils.

Abolition of Wages System.

The abolition of the wages system, and the establishment of the right of all human beings to the free satisfaction of their personal needs from the collective products of the working community and from the natural resources of the country.

The Abolition of Social Classes.

The abolition of social classes and all titles of rank, the sharing by all able-bodied adults in the necessary labour of the community.

The Breaking Up of Empires.

The breaking up of all empires, since these are instruments of capitalist oppression and exploitation, and the establishment of a world federation of Communist republics, and the consequent abolition of all racial and national barriers. Whosoever lives and works in a Soviet republic is entitled to all the rights of citizenship.

The Workers' Revolution and Dictatorship.

The Communist Party recognises that the capitalists will not allow themselves to be deposed except by force, and that capitalism can only be overthrown by the workers' revolution. It also believes that the revolution will be accomplished by industrial mass action, leading to armed insurrection.

Therefore the Communist Party believes that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be vigorously applied until the transition period from Capitalism to Communism has been safely passed, and the counter-revolution completely suppressed.

The Party aims therefore at the disarming of the Army, Navy, and police force created under capitalism, and the creation of a workers' Red Army and Navy, and the arming of all trusted workers. All workers shall be trained to fight in defence of the workers' revolution. The military instruction of the Red Army shall be accompanied by the teaching of Communism and class solidarity. Trusted Communists, elected by the Soviets, shall work in conjunction with the military experts.

When the transition period is entirely over, and the world federation of Soviet republics is established, the need for Red armies and navies will have disappeared.

The proletarian dictatorship will not misinterpret the principle of the freedom of the press into allowing newspapers and other publications to advocate the return of a state of society that was based upon, class exploitation. With this limitation only, the discussion of ethical and economic ideals and principles of administration and social organisa-

tion will be unrestricted, and the Press will be entirely free.

The proletarian dictatorship will deprive of political power all those who attempt to perpetuate or re-introduce capitalist exploitation, and who refuse to do socially useful work.

METHODS.

The workers must be prepared not merely to "down tools," but to seize the power of government, to carry on production, and to defend their conquests by force. With this end in view, the Party will organise:

- (a) to seize control of production;
- (b) to win the allegiance of the Army and Navy to the cause of the workers, as opposed to that of the Capitalist State, in preparation for the revolutionary struggle, and the creation of a Red Army.

Industrial Organisation.

In the countries of bourgeois democracy and long-standing Trade Unionism, a tendency is evident towards Trade Union bureaucracy, which becomes more



Another War: Well may she cry!

and more an adjunct and support to the capitalist system. The Communist Party will therefore stimulate the growth of rank and file organisation, in order to undermine the influence of reactionary Trade Union leaders over the rank and file, so that the masses may learn to act in unison, that they may be ready to set up Soviets, and to seize control of production in the moment of crisis.

The old Trade Unionism is already in process of transformation. In some industries existing organisations are being adapted towards Sovietism by the force of rank and file effort, in others new industrial organisations are formed, in others unofficial rank and file organisations challenge the official institutions. When the revolutionary seizure of power has been accomplished, this process will be accelerated. The existing organisations will either be socialised with comparative rapidity or they will be superseded altogether.

After the crisis is passed, the existing unions may be converted for Communist administration, but experience teaches that in the hour of crisis no official revolutionary action can be expected from the general body of Trade Unions. The policy of the Communist Party will therefore be:

- (a) To form a revolutionary Communist group in every workshop and Trade Union branch.
- (b) To promote the organisation of unofficial industrial organisations.
- (c) To support all strikes, and to endeavour to give them a revolutionary trend, exposing the futility of efforts to secure mere increases of land-workers is an urgent necessity.

The propagation of Communist ideas amongst the land-workers is an important part of Communist work.

Co-operative Workers.

The Communist Party desires that the Co-operative employees shall form part of the revolutionary proletariat, and assist in organising the industries in which they work. The Co-operative stores and factories will be socialised like all others.

Not Parliament But the Soviets.

The Communist Party, believing that instruments of capitalist organisation and domination cannot be used for revolutionary ends, refrains from participation in Parliament and in the bourgeois Local Government system. It will ceaselessly impress upon the workers that their salvation lies not in the organs of bourgeois "democracy," but through the Workers' Soviets.

The Communist Party refuses all compromise with Right and Centrist Socialism. The British Labour Party is dominated by Opportunist Reformists, Social Patriots, and Trade Union Bureaucrats, who have already allied themselves with capitalism against the workers' revolution at home and abroad. The construction and constitution of the British Labour Party is such that the working masses cannot express themselves through it. It is affiliated and will remain affiliated to the Second International, so long as that so-called International shall exist.

No Affiliation With Opportunists.

The first essential of revolutionary propaganda and action is the existence of a Party with clear and uncompromising doctrine and policy, which will persistently unmask and discredit the parties of opportunism and compromise. A unity that is a unity in name only, is a source of weakness, and not of strength. The spirit of self-discipline and sacrifice which will animate all members of the Communist Party is a guarantee that in the coming struggle the Party will be faithful to the proletariat.

The Third International.

The Third, or Red International, is organised for the binding together of the workers throughout the world to fight the forces of International Capitalism and Imperialism.

THE SOVIETS.

The Soviets are built up mainly on an occupational basis, and are at once the instrument of the dictatorship of the working class and the means of organising the Communist Society. To them will fall the political direction of the Republic, its foreign and home policy, and the management of the land and the socialised industries; on them will rest the judicial power of the community. The Soviets appoint delegates to Soviets covering wider areas, which Soviets in turn elect delegates to National and International Soviets.

The Soviet delegates must be instructed by, and report to, those whom they represent, and shall be subject to recall at any time.

No person may vote, or be elected to the Soviets who refuses to work for the community, who employs others for private gain, engages in private trading, or lives on accumulated wealth. In the Soviet community such persons will soon cease to exist.

The Liberation of Mothers and Socialisation of Houses.

Communism and the Soviets will liberate mothers from their present economic enslavement and drudgery. They will share like others in the wealth of the community, and elect their own representatives to the Soviets. The introduction of communal housekeeping will open to them opportunities for leisure, recreation, and education hitherto unknown. They, especially, will benefit by the socialisation of houses, with the abolition of rent and the free and ample provision of furniture, fuel, light, and all household implements.

The Soviets will also make arrangements for the maintenance by the whole community, of the old and the sick, and assure to them the unquestioned right to the full satisfaction of their needs. Hospitals, maternity and convalescent homes, and sanatoria shall be socialised.

There will be generous provision of free schools of elementary, secondary, higher and vocational education, universities and colleges of arts and sciences. Books and apparatus for study and wide opportunities of recreation will be at the disposal of all.

The period of universal education and freedom from productive work, unless such work be undertaken with a purely educational motive, shall extend to at least 20 years of age. All educational institutions for people of all ages shall be free.

Education will be co-ordinated by the establish-

ment of teachers' soviets, pupils' soviets, parents' and teachers' soviets, and councils of education formed of delegates from these bodies and from the soviets. The maintenance of children and young persons shall be entirely free.

The Administration of Justice.

The judges in the Communist courts shall be men and women elected by the Soviets, and shall be subject to recall at any time. As far as possible, imprisonment shall be replaced by compulsory labour and all places of detention shall be educational institutions.

Under Communism, Courts of Justice will speedily become unnecessary, since most of what is called crime has its origin in economic need, and in the evils and conventions of capitalist society.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

All those who are in possession of private property shall be called upon to surrender it, and to work on equal terms with the rest of the population.

Landlords and capitalists whose property has been socialised shall receive no special compensation; they will be offered work or maintenance on the same level as the rest of the community.

The introduction of machinery, the spread of scientific knowledge, the growth of large-scale production, make possible the emancipation of labour, and the establishment of a Communist Society in which there shall be no need to maintain either rationing or the wages system, to limit the free use by the workers of the products of the community. But there will be a transition period between Capitalism and Communism, during which wages and other survivals of Capitalism will gradually disappear. Throughout the transition period the Communist Party will be guided by the determination to secure complete political and economic equality for all workers.

When the working class seizes power, the banks must be confiscated, and all private banking stopped. For the period in which money and trading still continue, local and national Soviet banks shall be set up and shall be the only banks.

Until the wage system has been altogether abolished, wages shall be equal for all industries and professions, and for all adult men and women in each industry and profession, from the principal manager downwards. Managers, foremen and others occupying organising and directive posts shall be elected by the workers under them, or by the Soviets. All Soviet officials and delegates shall receive the standard wage during the time they are employed on Soviet work.

The standard wage shall be paid during illness, and unemployment. Mothers who are wage-earners shall also be paid the standard wage when incapacitated from following their employment. Moreover, they shall be provided with skilled household help during illness, or if they are employed outside the home.

Even before the wages system is abolished the people shall be spared from all fear of want by the free provision of all staple necessities—essential foods, clothing, housing accommodation, furniture, fuel, transport, light, and medical aid; whilst education and full maintenance shall be free to the children. Scarce commodities shall be equally rationed, and housing provided on the principle that before anyone may have two rooms everyone shall have one.

THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BRITISH SECTION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL), WILL CONSTITUTE A BODY OF VOLUNTEERS, DISCIPLINED NOW FOR THE COMING STRUGGLE; A BODY OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE MADE UP THEIR MINDS TO ACHIEVE THE REVOLUTION BY WORKING THROUGH SELF-DISCIPLINE TO FREEDOM.

Down With Capitalist Tyranny and Corruption!

Hail The Workers Communist Party!

- G. W. AIRD, London. EDEN PAUL, London. R. BISHOP, London. R. PRITCHARD, South Wales. A. GARFORD, Sheffield. E. T. REDFERN, Manchester. H. A. DAVIES, S. Wales. E. T. REDFERN, Manchester. H. G. DURHAM, Norfolk. H. SIDDALL, Manchester. FRANK ELDER, Manchester. N. SMYTH, London. A. HAWKE, London. E. STEPHENSON, Oxford. T. KIME, London. ROBERT STOTT, London. W. LESLIE, Scotland. J. THURGOOD, London. C. LUGY, Exeter. G. H. THWAITES, London. O'SULLIVAN, London. SYLVIA PANKHURST, London. M. WALKER, London. W. PARADISE, London. EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, London. CEDAR PAUL, London.

If you wish to join the Communist Party, write to the Secretary: Edgar T. Whitehead, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W. 14,

Comrades are asked to sell the "Dreadnought" on commission at meetings of all kinds in their districts. Apply: THE MANAGER, 152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

The Situation in Germany.

(An excerpt from an Esperanto letter ('2/6/20) sent by a mechanic of Altona, near Hamburg; translated by Mark Starr.)

"You possibly already know about the results of the German elections. As expected, the Left parties, chiefly the U.S.P. (the Independents) and the Communists have become greater, the Middle Parties, the Social Democrats, have become smaller. Meanwhile, the extreme Right parties also, to some extent, have attained greater success. It is easily recognisable that the people have divided themselves into two classes—here, the proletariat, there, the possessing class. The Social Democratic Party, because of its anti-Labour policy in Parliament, has been halved, while the Independents have increased by four to five times. That clearly shows that the proletariat has become convinced that Socialism is not attainable by a political system of democracy, by discussions with the possessing class, or even by common action to reconstruct the economic life of Germany, because this means for the capitalists the re-establishment of capitalism.

"The failure of the S.D.P. clearly shows the way to be travelled in the near future. The S.D.P. wishes to incite the leaders of the Independents to take part in the coming Government. The Middle Parties, which formed the recent Government, are no longer sufficiently strong. Also the Right parties are not strong enough, although they are attempting to rule, not so much because of the election results, as from the fact that, owing to the foolishness and credulity of the recent Government, they have rifles in their hands. Now the S.D.P. strongly urges the Independents to take part in the Government. Although some of the Independent leaders greatly desire to take the Ministerial posts, the mass of the Party members do not agree with the proposal, and, therefore, it has already been rejected. The Party is convinced that participation in a capitalist Government would have for the Independents the same consequences as it had for the S.D.P. In a capitalist Government even the most radical person must rule according to capitalist methods. Workers' representatives there are only dolls to give to the working-class the sham of a democratic system.

"The task of the Independents and Communists now is to push forward the class struggle and shift it across from Parliament into the workshops and streets. The situation to-day in Germany is evolving to that. The reactionaries will not voluntarily resign their leadership, and the workers, equally in the S.D.P., the Independents, and the Communists, will not allow the White Terror. The problem will soon be solved. On our side we are vigorously preparing for the coming happenings. We hope they will lead us nearer to our aim."

AS TO PARLIAMENT.

The Communist Party has taken its stand on the principle of no compromise with bourgeois institutions, no compromise with pseudo-Communist organisations or persons. In our opinion it is a matter of first principle absolutely to repudiate the bourgeois instrument of class oppression, Parliament, and to get on with the work of forming the network of Soviets, which will be the corresponding proletarian instrument of political power, not only of maintaining that power, but of seizing that power.

A complete repudiation of bourgeois democracy is necessary, for the proletarian ideal of economic democracy insists on the following three cardinal points: (1) Only workers to have the vote. Persons living on the labour of others to be denied the franchise. The vote to be determined, not by property, not by age, not by sex, but by FUNCTION, by function of social utility the citizen fulfils. No function of social utility, NO VOTE. The performance of socially useful labour is the only natural right to the franchise. (2) Voters to be grouped industrially, according to industry, trade, profession or other function of social utility which they fulfil. (3) Delegates to be subject to recall and control by the persons electing them throughout the whole of their term of delegation.

PARLIAMENT FULFILS NOT ONE OF THESE CONDITIONS.

Persons who do not lift a finger in socially useful work are allowed the vote. Many workers of both sexes have not the vote.

The function of socially useful labour filled by the citizen has no direct representation, and in consequence the well being of the citizen is sacrificed to spurious ideals. IT IS THE HUMAN THAT MATTERS.

The elected member, once the vote is cast, is in the case of Parliament, out of the control of his electors, and may be helping somebody to sell cloth—having champagne dinners—in fact, doing anything except carrying out his supposed responsibility to his constituents. Parliament must be absolutely repudiated. A few specific and temporary palliatives are its highest possibilities. Parliament is a dangerous safety valve to dissipate the passion of the workers for social justice.

The absolute repudiation of Parliament is then essential. Participation in Parliament, even if it had the slightest utility, which we deny, would only confuse masses of the workers.

Talking of leaders of workers who are conducting a non-Communist policy, Lenin says, "such persons could only injure the proletariat to an even greater extent should it occur to them to call themselves Communists." We are convinced that in this country the parliamentary tactic is a non-Communist policy. No compromise is possible on this point. Persons who call themselves Communists and wish to get into Parliament should form their separate party. We therefore call on all class-conscious workers who realise the futility of participation in Parliament to join us without delay, and throw themselves into the work of organisation for a speedy proletarian dictatorship. Let us spread the ideal of Communism, spread the ideal of Sovietism, foster and prepare for incessant revolutionary and insurrectional action, for through this alone can we hope to displace the class that lives on us, and win through to economic liberty and economic justice.

The Communist party wants none but those who are prepared to work, and work hard for the ideal of Communism.

When the inhumanities of capitalist oppression and domination are realised, we know that our ideal is worthy of the adherence of every strong proletarian soul. Never in the history of humanity was a cause more worthy. Never did a cause promise to bring greater blessing to our fellow workers. Spare not in effort then, but throw yourself into the fight as if on your yourself depended ultimate victory.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

CHILDREN VICTIMISED.

The union for the protection of the children of Hungarian workers, a non-political organisation, has been suppressed without explanation. The working-class children of Hungary are excluded from almost all charities, and are even denied the public meals provided by foreign missions. "Az Ember" reports this.



THE BOOKSHOP

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SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

Victimisation Stopped at Mardy.

At Mardy, the colliery management has again tried to victimise one of their workmen. It was at Mardy, readers will remember, that an attempt was made to remove Comrade Horner, who was engaged by the men as a checkweigher. The promptitude with which the Rhondda miners rallied to the support of their comrade on that occasion should have shown the responsible officials that victimisation will not be tolerated in the Rhondda.

Attempt to Victimise Stone.

The lesson was evidently unlearned, and presently a dastardly plot was set on foot to remove Comrade Charlie Stone. The idea seems to have been to incriminate our comrade though he was innocent, and had he not been well supported by comrades and himself cautious in his dealings with the officials, the possibilities are that the plot would have succeeded. Seeing the trend of events in this frame-up, the workmen at Mardy decided to consult their agent, A. J. Cook, before taking action. The result has been that the management, fearing the consequences, have decided to reinstate our comrade, and, according to the latest reports, are to compensate him in full for loss of time. Were it not for the fact that the Rhondda miners have demonstrated their solidarity so clearly, events are showing that a wholesale policy of victimisation by the coal-owners would be adopted. This undoubtedly was the trump-card that the miners' agent was able to use in his deliberations with the Mardy management.

Ferndale Decides Against Municipal Action.

Ferndale Lodge, which has pioneered the Anti-Housing Bond Campaign, is again giving a lead to South Wales. The futility of running candidates for the local councils is being discussed, and the agreed policy of the Lodge seems to be "that nothing is to be gained from returning candidates to the capitalist administrative bodies at the present time." We may take it for granted, therefore, that the Ferndale Lodge from henceforth will not be responsible for candidates. As the resolution implies, some of the Ferndale workers, whilst realising the present uselessness of the local administrative bodies, believe that this is merely a passing phase. These people can be safely left to the future, because as capitalism gradually crumbles, the futility of returning working-class representatives to its council chambers will become more clearly demonstrated.

"Increased Output" Competition. The "Evening Express" competition, asking for methods of increasing output, etc., sails mainly on the perfect impartiality of the Editor upon all questions between labour and capital is shown by the prominence given, by headlines and priority of position, to the suggestions of the colliery managers, the abolition of the minimum wage, and the placing last of suggestions that might in some way assist the miner, as, for example, the need of a miners' lamp with increased candle power. The only real solution to the questions asked is barred by the rule of the competition: "No attack on Labour or Capital." With this condition, it was inevitable that the replies should be farcical in nature, and that they should fail to touch the real source of the grievances. Progress at Cwmpark.

At the present rate of progress the workers at Cwmpark will very shortly be in a position to claim, with Mardy, the distinction of being so revolutionary in outlook as to be merely "marking time" waiting for the rest of the workers to join them to carry on the revolution. Five or six years ago the Park and Dare Lodges were considered the most reactionary in the Rhondda, this no doubt being due to the strength of the theologians in this locality. Then came the war, and, to their credit, some six or seven prominent members of the Lodge kept clean the flag of internationalism. Long before the end of the war, their strength and power had grown enormously, and, like a giant aroused, the Park and Dare workers are snapping the chains that have so long held them bound. The old cringing fear of the manager has passed, and, in its place, a manliness that is glorious to behold has grown.

Park and Dare Workers and Their Doctor. Years ago an agreement with a local doctor was made, under the supervision of the management. Under the terms of this agreement the workmen were shamefully exploited. This week, after a series of enthusiastic meetings a ballot has been taken and an overwhelming majority secured in favour of bursting this shackle.

Park and Dare Workmen's Hall. At the Park and Dare workmen are reputed to be the owners of a magnificent hall. Up to the present, so cleverly has the dodge been worked, the control has been in the hands of the directors of a Limited Liability Company that was formed at the commencement of the building operations. Confining to pay "poundage" towards the building, and failing to get a really satisfactory explanation as to the position, the Park and Dare workmen decided to take matters into their own hands. When committees for the hall are to be selected, it has been the custom to call a meeting of Park and Dare workmen resident in Treorchy. This line of demarcation drawn between Treorchy and Cwmpark workers, the Park and Dare workmen refuse to accept, and at the meeting recently called in Treorchy, the Park and Dare workmen, both from Cwmpark and Treorchy, marched in several hundred strong. Manager and Secretary.

The chairman should have been the General Manager of the Ocean Coal Co., and the secretary the head clerk of the same company. Whilst not suggesting that they feared what was likely to occur, the

fact remains that substitutes were appointed to fill their places. These men had received their instructions, and after appealing to the Cwmpark men to withdraw, they themselves withdrew from the meeting. The meeting then appointed a chairman and secretary, and one of the most inspiring and enthusiastic meetings it has been the writer's pleasure to attend, was held. The fighting spirit displayed by all sections was shown by the remarks made by a large group of greybeards, who gathered together after the meeting. "It is a real pleasure to attend meetings these days; a pity we are not younger," they remarked. A provisional committee has been formed, who are to see to the transference of control of the hall into the hands of the workers.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "A WAGE SLAVE."

Ogmore Valley as a mining district can be fairly compared with other districts in so far as financial loyalty to the miners' organisation is concerned. While in the past it was continually disturbed by the presence of non-unions, to-day that is an exceptional complaint; nevertheless, while we may appreciate the progress made in that respect, it should be impressed upon the miners that their duty is not by any means fulfilled by merely contributing to their organisation. The object of contributions is merely to assist it to fulfil its function, which is to prevent its members from underselling themselves to the boss class, i.e., instead of every workman selling his labour-power individually, they now sell themselves in bulk. Therefore the function of the organisation is collective bargaining, and contributions are for the purpose of paying our sales managers—the miners' agents—their salaries for their arduous endeavour in trying to get the highest possible price for that which we have to sell—our power to work. Pit Committees.

"That being the case, it naturally follows that the workers' interests lies in the policy of demanding the maximum price for the minimum of expended physical energy, but also in the demand that the employer is out to get the maximum of labour for the minimum of price, or wage. The mining industry, being of an intricate nature, innumerable disputes arise at every colliery, which can be settled only by those who are acquainted with the conditions that generate them, hence the pit committees, which consist of representatives of the various grades at the colliery, and who are in daily contact with the ever-changing conditions. These committees, whose members are selected by the workmen, are of paramount importance in so far as the general conditions of employment are concerned. It can be truly stated that the various customs and practices that prevail in the different collieries are primarily the result of the activity or inactivity of the pit committees. When a dispute takes place which involves an important principle, whatever the settlement, whether for or against the men's interest, it becomes an established custom at the colliery; hence it behoves the workmen to be cautious in the selection of that body. It is not those who have a lot to say at meetings who are always the best when facing the boss, neither are they those who are very frank in their declarations in the tap-room; the man for the committee is he who will stand by what he says, on or off the colliery premises, irrespective as to whether it will please or offend the boss, the workers, or the miners' agent.

Custom, the Hauliers' Mistake. However, in addition to the wise selection of a pit committee, the workman should be fully acquainted with all decisions arrived at between their committee and the managerial staff, especially on those issues which create precedents for customs to be acknowledged at the colliery, the tendency is to minimise the importance of those decisions. The committee's arrangement is very often undermined by the workmen themselves, who, ever ready to listen to the boss, will accept his statement as to what is an acknowledged custom. An instance of this kind has quite recently come to light in one of the local collieries, among that section of workers who in South Wales are recognised as the most scrupulous guardians of old-standing privileges, viz., the hauliers, who, owing to their indifference as a whole, have allowed a small, greedy section—in the anxiety for overtime—to cut down the acknowledged extra payment for extra time worked, which resulted in their receiving a quarter of a shift's wage less than surfacemen on the same colliery when working an equal number of hours extra time. Victims of the Lamp. In mentioning this little incident we are not condoning the practice of overtime. In fairness to those hauliers, it should be stated that the pit committee, receiving complaints about these selfish few as being in the habit of staying behind at the end of the shift to see if there was a chance of working an extra shift, immediately called a special meeting of the hauliers to consider the position, and it was there decided that no more extra time was to be worked. In connection with this, there is one point that cannot be left out, which is probably one of the reasons for the attitude of this section. Since the amendment to the Mines' Act which demands certain qualifications for an examiner (fireman), a large number of young men in every colliery sit on these examinations in order to get a qualifying certificate; to their credit the majority succeed, and place their certificate in the hands of the management, which means that they desire to be put on the official staff. The manager, by virtue of his position, an alert person, having so many aspirants, takes full ad-

vantage of this by allowing each one to have in his turn the "sacred lamp" for a day when any of the permanent staff are absent, with the consequence that all having received a taste of the job will afterwards do anything rather than offend the manager in any way; they thus become a pack of puppets in his hands, to be used in any way to further exploit their own working mates. Now, the writer has no desire to belittle those who go in for a theoretical knowledge of mining; it would please him to see all young miners doing so, but when the object is simply to attain the position of slave-driver, and to sacrifice any principle to attain it, to them I should like to say that their ambition is the product of ignorance, and the absence of dignity, inasmuch as the "Bradburys" they draw from the pay office are tainted with the same servility and degradation as those of their mates who have not become victims of the lamp.

THE CASE FOR INCREASED CONTRIBUTIONS.

By A. J. COOK.

(Member of the S.W.M.F. Executive).

The more democratic the organisation, the greater the cost of administration. Therefore, being a democratic organisation, the financial needs of the S.W.M.F. are becoming greater. The rank and file have full power of control by conference and ballot vote. Money alone will not beat the boss, but I am sure everyone must realise that you cannot run a trade union on wind. The activities of the organisation determine the amount of contributions necessary. No man can take the S.W.M.F. on money; it has something higher than a cash value basis.

The present weekly contributions are as follows: 6d. for all members above 18 years and 3d. under. This is divided as follows: lodges or branches, 1d. weekly, for working expenses, viz., pit, grade and minimum wage committees, delegates to conferences, deputations to management, compensation, lodge secretaries' meetings, printing, examination of colliery re-safety, etc. etc. District, 1 1/2d. weekly, viz.: solicitors, court cases, disputes, compensation, agents, organisers, clerks, out of work and strike pay when a certain number is involved, deputations on safety, hours, wages and customs, district committee and other meetings, and every conceivable question under the sun sent on from lodges, etc. etc. Central, 3 1/2d. weekly, viz.: E.C. expenses, conferences, ballots, M.F.G.B., trade union, congress and Triple Alliance dues, education expenses, running a college, strike and out of work pay (10s. and 1s. each child weekly), printing agendas, etc., Conciliation Board and Disputes Committee, etc., etc.

Time and space will not allow me to elaborate on the above; but surely this is sufficient to prove that the South Wales miner not only wants, but gets, value for his tanner.

Money has depreciated in value, therefore 6d. is only worth 2 1/2d. now. Surely, nobody but a fool would suggest that the S.W.M.F. can be run for 2 1/2d. per week per member.

The majority of lodges are bankrupt, so they cannot pay after the interests of their members, especially the small lodges of about a hundred members. They cannot send delegates to conferences, or take ballots. Their members are being left to the mercy of the employers. Not only do we desire to maintain our pre-war activities, but our activities and responsibilities have increased enormously. We jointly run a college, send students to college, run classes; in fact, send thousands of pounds on education. We have purchased a press to run a paper and do our own printing. We have set up a statistical department, an educational committee to arrange classes, propaganda, meetings, etc. More classes are needed; hundreds are applying for scholarships. More conferences and ballots are required by the rank and file, and these cost thousands of pounds. Strikes are taking place, and will take place at the collieries where there are grievances which are burning local questions, but over which it is impossible to have a coalfield strike. No one would suggest that it is possible to have a coalfield strike every week, so these grievances must be dealt with locally. Then there is out of work pay through breakage of machinery, water-falls, etc.

A few so-called intellectuals have sought cheap popularity by urging the men to oppose the increase, but these men are the greatest reactionaries in the coalfield.

We must remain linked up to the M.F.G.B. It is either make or break this time; either a bob a week or no organisation at all.

If there is anything wrong with the organisation, change it, but do not smash up what it has taken years of sacrifice and toil to build up for an extra tanner a week.

IRISH PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES TO TAKE THE OATH.

For Sinn Feiners the question of Parliamentary action now assumes a new aspect, because the latest amendment introduced by the Government to its own so-called Irish Home Rule Bill makes it necessary for candidates seeking election to the proposed Irish Parliaments to take an oath of allegiance to the King of England. As it is common knowledge that no Irish Republican representative will take such an oath, it is clear that the only object of this amendment is to exclude four-fifths of the Irish people from any participation in the proffered measure of "self-government."

Were British Communists to adopt Sinn Fein tactics, refusing on election to take the oath of allegiance to the Throne, a similar regulation would speedily be introduced for candidates to the British Parliament.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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ANOTHER WAR!

Another war, comrades, and you are all so calm about it! Another war to add to all the many that have followed the war to end war.

This new war with Turkey seems that it may touch you seriously, even here in England, although you scarcely summon up the interest to read the press accounts. You have grown too weary of battles in foreign places. 20,000 more recruits are called for; soldiers who have already seen war service and have suffered in it are being hurried off to the fight. Conscription may be introduced.

This war with Turkey may mean a war with all the Eastern peoples, but even if Turkey alone is involved, it may entail enormous cost, enormous loss of life. Though one of the defeated nations in the last war, Turkey was not drained of vitality like France and Germany and Austria. Turkey was not starved as Russia and the Central Empires were starved before and since the Armistice. During the War Lloyd George raised jingo cheers by declarations against "the blasting tyranny of the Turk," but afterwards the Allied attitude towards Turkey seemed less hostile towards Turkey than towards Germany and Austria. In spite of many protests from some of his supporters, Lloyd George definitely stated that Turkey should remain in control of Constantinople in deference to the wishes of the great Muslim population in India and other parts of the British Empire. But in the same week the policy of the British Government was suddenly changed, and British forces occupied Constantinople. What caused the change?

We are inclined to think that had the British Government been anxious to keep the peace with Turkey, it might have done so, and at the same time have wrung out of Turkey many substantial concessions for British capitalism.

We believe that the British Government has failed to come to terms with Turkey because it is growing exceedingly anxious about the entire Eastern situation. It fears to modify its demands in any way lest the Orientals should suspect that the power of the British Empire may be on the wane.

Moreover, we believe the British Government is seriously alarmed by the spread of the Russian Soviet influence amongst Eastern and Middle Eastern peoples. The Russian Soviet Republic has granted self-determination to all the peoples who suffered under the Tsardom, and Soviet Russia, a great Eastern power, is proving to all nations that her policy is totally opposite to that of the grasping capitalist exploiters which all the other great Powers have proved themselves to be. When Tsarism reigned, the Eastern people might prefer the exploitation of British capitalist-imperialism to that of Russia, because, though both were exploiters, the British were more efficient and on the whole less bloody in their methods. But now the choice is a different one, for the Russia of the Soviets extends the hand of genuine fraternity to all nations.

Vast Eastern populations have long been held subject by aggressive Western capitalism. This domination was only possible because the West discovered the power of machinery and developed large-scale production. The domination was bound to be broken some day, and the capitalist-imperialists who to-day are so eagerly expending their wealth and energy in the industrialising of India are helping to undermine the Western domination. Till the other day they imagined that India had no Labour problem, but industrial India is now seen to possess an industrial proletariat, already organising gigantic strikes and banding itself together in industrial unions, an

industrial proletariat which is developing power to think and act as a class-conscious mass. Already India shows signs of possessing an industrial Communist revolutionary movement, a development which is very recent in this country.

The bourgeois Nationalist politicians of India are endeavouring to use the working-class movement purely for Nationalist aims, purely to undermine the British domination, so that they may secure, at the least Home Rule for India, and at the most, complete independence. It is the old story of the masses being used for the advantage of the bourgeoisie. A generation ago the Indian capitalists would have succeeded fully in using the masses for their own ends. But to-day a new sun has arisen; the influence of the Russian working-class Revolution has now to be reckoned with.

Soviet Russia, attacked by all the Western governments, promises to become the leader and protector of all Eastern peoples. Communist Russia will presently outdo the capitalist civilisations of the West in large-scale production, the use of mechanical power and modern methods of organisation. She will become more than a match for the West in these things, and therefore will be able to help the East to liberate itself from the West.

Were Russia not Communist, the teeming millions of the East might presently enslave in their turn the once-dominant West; but Communist Russia ensures all peoples against conquest and domination.

Communism is the hope of both East and West.

Meanwhile, it may be that we are on the threshold of the break-up of the British Empire. That would inevitably produce the Workers' Communist Revolution on this island.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFLAB.

The chairman's speech at each Labour Party Conference may be taken as a barometer of moderate, majority opinion in the Labour movement. The speech of this year's chairman, W. H. Hutchinson, therefore shows quite unmistakably that there has been a marked advance in working-class opinion since last year, and a very striking advance since the conference of 1918, which was the first Labour Party conference held after the Russian working-class assumed the power of government. In 1918, Arthur Henderson introduced Kerensky to the conference to plead for Allied intervention, and hardly a score of voices were raised in protest. This year, 1920, Hutchinson said:—

"The struggle of the Soviet Government against capitalist reaction, both within and without, is of immense moment for the workers. The best argument for British Labour to support Russia is the fact that all the world forces of capitalism and all the capitalist governments have shown their determination to compass its overthrow by every means in their power."

"Hungary, the Labour movement thrown from power by the intrigues and military forces of the Allies, has been almost exterminated. . . ."

But in 1918, when the capitalist attack on Soviet Russia started, representatives of the Labour Party then in the Government, supported it. When Soviet Hungary was crushed the Labour Party made not even a formal protest, nor did the Second International, which was in session just about that time.

Irish Independence?

As to Ireland, Hutchinson said:—

"Ireland must have the form of Government she desires. If it be an independent and separate Republic, can Labour deny her that right?"

This is not the attitude which has been hitherto adopted by the representatives of the Labour Party, but words like those bring rounds of cheers, because they are what the crowd, in its present mood, likes to hear.

Hutchinson further declared that the workers are, to an increasing extent, working consciously and deliberately for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Conference cheered all this sort of thing, but a resolution to strike in support of Soviet Russia was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

The Bridge of Compromise.

Robert Smillie provided a golden bridge by which the Conference with threat of action might march over to the safe harbourage of inaction. It is Smillie's usual tactic, grown a very stable stage play now, though it seemed dramatic when it was new and the public thought it would really lead to something serious. His proposal was to send a deputation to Lloyd George and then to call a conference to receive the deputation's report. Oh, Smillie, Smillie, do you really think the capitalist class believes in the threat of those conferences any longer?

We regret that the strike resolution did not advocate, instead of a general strike, though that would be a magnificent demonstration, the continuous refusal to handle any goods intended for the counter-revolution, or any munitions for use at home or abroad. Experience proves that this method is, at least for the present, the most practical, bodies of workers being actually prepared to put it into practice without waiting for executive sanction.

Ex-Colonel Malone, elected to Parliament as a Liberal, and actually making distinctly Liberal, distinctly non-Socialist speeches in the House until the other day, now suddenly appeared as a representative of the British Socialist Party. We were disappointed a few weeks ago to find Ex-Colonel Malone an enthusiastic advocate of "Hands Off Russia," making a Parliamentary speech in which he advocated recognition of the Border States of Russia on the ground that they were not Soviet states, and that if the British Government failed to recognise them they might go Bolshevik, which would entail the losing of British money lent to their present capitalist and capitalist governments.

In reproducing extracts from that speech in our columns, we appealed to Ex-Colonel Malone to study Communist principles and to consider whether he ought not to come definitely over to the side of Communism.

A subsequent speech in the House of Commons, denouncing the League of Nations as a capitalist organisation against Socialism, and now this appearance at the Labour Conference as a B.S.P. delegate, might indicate that Ex-Colonel Malone had taken us at our word. May the sudden conversion prove lasting and genuine!

On Ireland the Conference refused to take the responsibility of declaring whether the Irish people shall or shall not be left free to come out of the British Empire if they so desire, and to form an independent Republic. The official resolution stated:—

"The Conference accordingly demands that the Government should at once provide for an election by proportional representation of an effectively open Constituent Assembly for Ireland, and the withdrawal of the British Army of Occupation."

Words stating that the British Government should abide by the findings of the Assembly were withdrawn by the executive.

An amendment definitely stating that the Irish Parliament must deal only "with exclusively Irish affairs" and "within the British Commonwealth" was defeated.

The Labour Party Conference, the "do-nothing" Conference, always avoids the adoption of a definite stand!

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

We are not surprised that the Labour Party refused affiliation to the Third International by 1,010,000 to 516,000 votes. Indeed, the Third International could not possibly have admitted the Labour Party to its ranks in the present unregenerate state of the Labour Party. Even amongst the 516,000 whose votes were ostensibly cast for the Third International were many quite unsuited to be members of it. Witness the editorial in George Lansbury's paper, the *Herald*, on the following day:—

"We would appeal once more, both to Geneva and to Moscow to sink all mere thoughts of dignity or of personalities. The movement is bigger—far bigger—than these things. And the need of the movement is for a real International."

Lansbury has been to Russia, but he is as far as ever from understanding the spirit of the Communist Revolution.

THE BRITISH DELEGATION TO RUSSIA.

By KARL RADEK.

The famous Russian Communist, Karl Radek, wrote as follows on the British Labour delegates in the *Pravda* of May 15th, 1920.
"Macdonald Candidate of Expediency and Compromise."

"When the British Trade Union Congress decided to send a delegation to Russia with the object of studying the conditions there, it was intended that Arthur Henderson, Sidney Webb and Ramsay Macdonald should be at the head of the delegation."

"Henderson had been, during the War, a member of the British Government, which he only left when he realised that, under the influence of the Russian Revolution, the masses in Great Britain were veering to the Left, and that it would be more expedient to reserve himself for the future Labour regime than to go under with the Coalition Government. Macdonald, as the leader of the I.L.P., was during the War in verbal opposition to its Government, but this verbal opposition was the result of his Liberal-Pacifist, and not by any means proletarian-revolutionary convictions, for he is a consistent reformist."

Sidney Webb, a leader of the Fabians, has for more than twenty years shaped and guided the Labour policy of the English Liberals. At first he was even in favour of intervention against Soviet Russia, but at the present time he is declaring himself in his organ, *The New Statesman*, against intervention, expressing the view that, although the Soviet Government is, 'of course,' an 'autocratic' Government, yet it is more enlightened than was the Tsarist Government, for which reason peace should be concluded with Soviet Russia. All these three statesmen are the most prominent candidates of the future Labour Government of expediency and compromise (soglas-hatelstvo).

"There is not much doubt that their visit was planned with the consent of the present British Government, which 'used the Right-Wing of the Labour Party for effecting a change in its policy towards Soviet Russia."

"As it would be rather awkward for high-born Lords to sit down at the same table with revolutionaries, they began by sending their O'Grady and Hendersons, so that the change in the governmental attitude should not be too startling."

"That prominent leaders of British expediency and compromise have at the last moment fallen ill (diplomatic illness is at times in the nature of an epidemic) is symptomatic of a new turn in British policy which, at the given moment was, if not of an immoral character, at least of the character of 'wait and see."

"The Right Wing Afraid to Know."
"There were no Left Wing trade union leaders in the original British delegation. Among the members of the new delegation is Robert Williams, secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation and a leader of the Triple Alliance of British trade unionists. Robert Williams is for the Soviet idea, and for direct mass action against capitalism. Another member of the delegation is Wallace, chairman of the I.L.P., and one of the leaders of the Left Wing with Communist tendencies. Then there is Ben Turner, a leader of the textile workers, a revolutionary and an internationalist by temperament. There are in the delegation people who, while not being Marxists, have, nevertheless, given proof of great revolutionary and moral courage during the War, as, for instance, Clifford Allen. Thus the Centre of the British Labour delegation has shifted from the Right to the Left Wing."

"The reasons for this change are not known. Diplomatic considerations have probably influenced the Right Wing leaders. They were afraid of having brought to their notice here facts about British policy towards Russia on which it would be impossible for them to remain silent on their return to England."

"A Cold Greeting for Henderson."
"The visit of the Left Wing leaders has been sanctioned by the British Government, either, because the refusal of passports would have been a proof that the Government is afraid of letting the trade unionists know the truth about Soviet Russia, or because, as a bourgeois Government, it is really not capable of understanding the situation in Russia, and is imagining that the Left Wing leaders, on seeing the real conditions in Russia, will be horrified, and will lose all sympathy with Soviet Russia."

"But whatever the cause of this change a the personal of the British delegation, it alters, to a certain extent, our attitude to the delegation. Our attitude towards a delegation headed by Henderson would have been one of cold reserve. This does not mean that we intended to hide anything from such a delegation. The things which are hard to bear in Russia are a heritage of capitalism, and therefore are an indictment of capitalism, Tsarism, and the policy of expediency and compromise. They are an indictment of the Allies who are ruining Russia. Russia's wounds are the work of the Allies, and the fact that we have not yet led to death speaks for us, and not against us. In the course of two and a half years our achievements have been such that we can point to them with pride to any foreigner. But the Hendersons are, in reality, not friends, but enemies of Soviet Russia, just as they are not leaders, but 'misleaders' of the British working-class. If their speech is radical in tone now, it is because the wind is blowing from the Left, because they have to accommodate themselves to the revolutionary tendencies of the workers. In order, when the decisive moment comes, to be able to deceive and sell them. We were obliged to receive them and to help them in their investigations in Russia, and

sidering that they are the representatives of many millions of organised workers who are beginning to awaken, after a slumber of more than half a century, to the recognition of the class struggle, and are day by day becoming more revolutionary."

"As long as these masses of workers are prepared to tolerate the Hendersons, we are obliged to receive them as the representatives of these masses, and to do everything in our power to make them (much against their wish) tell the workers of Great Britain what Soviet Russia really is."

"Williams, Turner, Wallhead, Not Communists."
"Our attitude towards the delegation headed by Robert Williams, Ben Turner, and Wallhead is quite different, although they also do not represent Communism and a class-conscious proletariat, ready for a life and death struggle. They are Left Wing Centrist, but in the English setting they are playing, to a certain extent, a revolutionary part, and some of them are perchance capable of acting as wholehearted Communists in the future. As far as they are concerned we must receive them as the representatives of the revolutionary-inclined workers, as people who have done much for the revolutionary awakening of the English proletariat."

"At the same time it is our duty to point out to them, quite sincerely and without any diplomatic finesse, the harm done by their indecisive policy, which is delaying the day of crisis. It is our task to unfold before their eyes the banner of the Communist International in order to show them the crossroads on which they and the British Labour movement are standing."

"This task must not be left entirely to the leaders of the trade union movement who are in charge of their reception. All Soviet Russia must speak with Robert Williams, Ben Turner and Wallhead. Soviet Russia must demonstrate to them what the proletariat is like which has decided to carry the fight for its emancipation to a definite conclusion. Soviet Russia must show the British Labour delegates what the dictatorship of the proletariat really is."

"If our task, as far as Henderson was concerned, would have consisted in making him (against his wish) tell Great Britain the truth about Soviet Russia, then we have every reason to believe that Robert Williams and his friends, on themselves anxious to lift the veil and disperse the poison gas in which Soviet Russia has been enveloped by her enemies."

"The Russian Communist Party and the Third International have renounced the policy of the Second International. We know that we should not grow in strength if the big Labour parties of Western Europe were to effect their adherence to us in words only. We know that, on the contrary, this would only enable the opportunists to carry out their policy under the banner of the Third International. Our policy towards the elements which are moving from the Second towards the Third International, is the policy of attraction, not by fair words, but by honest and decisive criticism, which will repel the opportunist and place-seeking elements, and will create a real unity with the honest elements who have not yet made up their minds."

"These are the tactics we shall follow in our relations with our guests who, in a few days' time, will be the guests of the Moscow proletariat."

"Had Radek Met Them Then?"
"It seems to us that that Radek must have written these lines before the opinions of the Labour delegates were fully known to him. He certainly places them very much further to the Left than we are able to consider justifiable."

"It is for the Labour delegates now to show how far they can live up to Radek's generous estimate of them. Ben Turner has already fallen far below the standard."

"How will Wallhead, Williams, and Clifford Allen stand the test?"

THE BOYCOTT OF HUNGARY!

The boycott of Hungary by the International Federation of Trade Unions as a protest against the Hungarian White Terror, is a splendid example of international working-class solidarity. (British workers asked by your employers to handle goods intended for Hungary, are you doing your part to maintain this boycott, and has your union officially joined in?)

We regret profoundly that the working-class boycott of capitalist terrorism and counter-revolution should be applied so very tardily; and that it should only be applied to check the gross cruelty of the reaction which has overthrown the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Had the workers of Europe boycotted the counter-revolutionaries who were encircling Hungary whilst the Soviet Republic still lived, Bela Kun's administration could have been preserved, and no Hungarian White Terror would have disgraced the annals of history.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, and especially the British section, should at once turn its attention to establishing a workers' boycott of those who are attacking Soviet Russia. Such a step would entail the boycott especially of this country, or at least of all munitions and military stores for Government use.

THE POLITICS OF THE PROLETARIAT.

By H. COLLINS.

The action of the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas, Mr. C. T. Cramp, and the N.U.R. Executive in relation to the handling of munitions for Ireland and Poland, appears to have raised quite a hornets nest around the head of the Member for Derby, and we find the Labour and Socialist Press full of justifiable vituperation and condemnation of the treachery of J. H. Thomas.

That the action of Thomas and Cramp is both cowardly and treacherous is beyond dispute, as an examination of the facts will easily show. First of all the East India Dock workers rightly refused to load the *Jolly George* with munitions for Poland, their action being endorsed by the Executive Council of the N.U.R. in the following resolution, adopted at one of their meetings, and copies of which were, presumably, sent to all branch secretaries.

"The Executive Committee, being convinced that the policy of Poland is being carried out at the behest of the Capitalist nations of Europe, feels compelled to recognise that, in order to render humane service to the nations, the action of the dockers in refusing to load the *Jolly George* is worthy of support. We therefore instruct our members to refuse to handle any material which is intended to assist Poland against the Russian people."

Acting upon these instructions, some N.U.R. members at King's Cross station refused, on June 1st, to handle munitions for Poland, whereupon the General Manager of the G.N.R. threatened to dismiss them, but the men, to their credit, stood absolutely firm.

"Not being able to coerce the men, Union House was approached with far greater success. For the following letter was sent to the General Manager:—

"Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst., and note the contents. In reply, I desire to say that the instructions under which the men acted have now been withdrawn.—Yours faithfully, C. T. Cramp, Industrial Gen. Secretary."

So the instructions of the Executive to the members not to handle war material for Poland is withdrawn, and the men ordered to return to work, as also were the men of North Wall who refuse to touch munitions for Ireland; and, to make sure that they obey, strike pay is stopped. Truly it would be extremely difficult to find in the whole annals of the British Labour movement, such an example of panic-stricken cowardice and treachery on the part of a Trade Union executive or official.

But my mind the trouble is far more deep-rooted than the vacillation of a few Trade Union officials, and the solution will be found to be political rather than industrial. The incident raises the whole question of Parliamentary Action versus Industrial or Direct Action, the application of direct action for political purposes, and the efficacy of the Labour Party to secure the emancipation of the workers. How ever much we might feel inclined to abuse men like J. H. Thomas, J. B. Clynes, Arthur Henderson and others who oppose direct action, we must ask whether their past actions justify us in expecting them to support the action of the Irish railwaymen, the King's Cross workers, or the *Jolly George* strikers, or any other body of workers who are forced to resort to direct action to gain a particular objective? On the contrary, rather than be surprised at the attitude of these men, we should realise that it is in strict conformity with their past actions, their public utterances, and it is the consummation of the policy of a Party that pins its faith to the efficacy of a Parliamentary machine.

Speaking at Battersea Town Hall on Sunday, June 6th, Mr. J. H. Thomas said: "When first the question of direct action was introduced, he took his stand unhesitatingly against it. It would be ruinous . . . we cannot, and will not, endorse the murders of innocent soldiers and policemen doing their duty" (forgetting that he endorsed organised murder for four and a half years). "Whether it be a Coalition or Labour Government, the responsibility of defending those charged with a difficult task is one that must be accepted by any Government worthy of the name." In that pregnant statement, Mr. Thomas not only reveals his own attitude towards direct action, but he also states the avowed policy of the Labour Party.

It means, if it means anything at all, that a Labour Government would adopt exactly the same attitude towards Ireland, Egypt, India or Russia, as that of the present Coalition Government. Let us table more evidence of this.

Some weeks ago, speaking with emotion in the House, Mr. Thomas said: "I am jealous for the constitution of the country." In the interview between the N.U.R. Executive and Lloyd George, Mr. Thomas said: "I believe the constitution of the country provides the maximum opportunity for the workers without direct action." "I recognise that to support the men at North Wall means a declaration of war on the Government." "We recognise it is the duty of the Government to protect and assist those called upon to discharge difficult and responsible duties"; and he finally told Lloyd George that the trouble would have been avoided had the munitions been sent in naval vessels instead of merchant ships. Mr. Thomas is jealous for the constitution of the country, he believes that constitution to be all sufficient for the workers.

The leading article in the *Daily Herald* for June 15th deals at great length with this burning question of Direct Action and Democracy, and is on the whole clearly and logically written, expounding as it does the myth of capitalist democracy, and, one might say, of Labour Party democracy also. In summing up, the writer says: "The Labour Party has broken into the old system; but it only half appreciates as yet that its mission is of necessity either

its function is to break, not to conform to, the schemes and plans of the old order. It still shows at times an unhappy tendency to heed and to take for realities the myths that Capitalism has invented for our amusement and destruction."

Some time ago, Neil Maclean, who is looked upon by some as the Bolshevik M.P., told the House that a Labour Government would tear up all secret treaties. However much Neil Maclean might personally like to tear up those treaties, the chances of a Labour Government doing so are very remote.

And the reason is that the policy of the Government is not determined or controlled by Parliament or the Cabinet, but by the Privy Council, behind which is the power of big finance. The whole of the Cabinet are members of the Privy Council.

It is a characteristic of the small-bourgeois democrats to abhor the class struggle, to endeavor to devise means to avoid it, and to aim at conciliation and at smoothing and rounding off all sharp angles.

In Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat must inevitably differ in some respects from that of the predominant countries, owing to the backwardness and small-bourgeois character of our country.

Perhaps the reader will begin to understand why it is that J. R. Clynes wrote those articles for the Sunday Express, why it is that the whole forces of the Labour Party are arrayed against direct action, why Thomas is so jealous for the constitution of the country, and why the railway workers were ordered back to work.

"The swarms of cringers, dough-faces, lice of politics, planners of sly innovations for their own preferment."

Fellow workers, we must devise a new method of political organisation, an organisation that shall supersede Parliament and the Bourgeois State.

HEADQUARTERS OF SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

The moving of the headquarters of the Second International to London means that it will be still further controlled by the British Labour Party and by Arthur Henderson, who has lately had a dominant voice in its Councils.

Economics and Politics During the Period of Transition. By LENIN.

I had intended to write a short pamphlet on this subject for the second anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Power. Pressure of work has prevented me from getting beyond the preliminary preparation of the material.

It is inevitable that the transition period should be a period of struggle between the dying Capitalism and the newly-born Communism, or, in other words, between the vanquished, but not destroyed Capitalism, and the newly-born, but as yet weak, Communism.

These figures show clearly a slow, but steady improvement, and a triumph of Communism over Capitalism. This improvement has been obtained in spite of almost insuperable difficulties caused by the civil war, which Russian and foreign capitalists are engineering against the Workers' Republic.

Therefore, notwithstanding the lies and calumnies of the bourgeoisie of all lands and of their avowed or unavowed helpers, the "Socialists" of the Second International, the fact remains that, as far as the economic problem is concerned, the victory of proletarian dictatorship, of Communism over Capitalism, is assured.

How far we have already beaten Capitalism is shown in the following table of the Central Statistical Department on the production and consumption of cereals, not in the whole of Soviet Russia, but in 26 of her provinces (gubernii):—

Table with 6 columns: Producing Provinces, Towns, Villages, Consuming Provinces, Towns, Villages, Totals. Data includes production and consumption figures for various provinces.

1. Population (millions). 2. Production of cereals, not including seeds and forage (million poods). 3. Delivered by the Comprod (million poods). 4. Delivered by illicit traders (million poods). 5. Total quantity of cereals at the disposal of the population (million poods). 6. Consumption of cereals per person (poods).

State Supplies Halt, Illicit Traders Half. An earnest consideration of these statistics will provide the investigator with material explaining the fundamental characteristics of present-day Russian economics.

The Police at Hyde Park. Return of Number of Arrests Made by Police at Socialist Meetings in Hyde Park During the Four Weeks Ended 19th June, 1920.

Insulting words and behaviour whereby a breach of the peace may have been occasioned, under 2 and 3 Vic. Cap. 47, Sec. 64 - 26 males, 10 females. Ten were fined 10s.; three 30s.; five 20s.; twelve 40s.; one 12s.; one 5s.; and four bound over.

Insulting behaviour and assault on police: one male (six weeks' imprisonment). Obstructing and assault on police: one male (fined 40s.). Obstructing police in execution of duty: 10 males, 2 females. Three were fined 40s.; two 20s.; two 10s. 6d.; one 10s.; and four were bound over.

The White Terror in Esthonia. By an Eye-Witness (Since Murdered).

When the German Army of Occupation evacuated Esthonia in the autumn of 1918, the Esthonian bourgeoisie immediately set to work to establish the present provisional Government. At that time I was in an Esthonian prison and couldn't see how the Esthonians welcomed their new-found "liberty."

From newly-arrested prisoners we soon learnt of the terrible happenings outside. Fellow-worker O., who was shot shortly afterwards, told me in December, 1918, that a large, orderly demonstration had been dispersed in Reval by the most wanton bloodshed on the part of General Pöder and his savage White Guards of the so-called Ministry of "International Defence."

General Pöder's Orders. Martial law was declared on December 17th. No one save the authorities was allowed to use the streets between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m., even funeral processions were prohibited during the daytime.

On the same date Proclamation No. 10 was issued. "1. No more than three persons shall remain together in the streets. 2. All such groups must immediately disperse upon order from a patrol.

After the departure of the German mercenaries the hard-working Pöder and his friends soon filled the streets with militant members of the working-class. Daily the automobiles brought in new prisoners, and nightly they took away the old ones, who never returned.

Anyone who had the courage to oppose this wanton and unjustifiable slaughtering was speedily dragged before the Court, shot, and thrown into the common grave. The wildest excesses of Tsarism could never be compared to the White Guard Terror perpetrated upon the Esthonian workers by the Esthonian middle-class.

An Esthonian Saghain was established upon an island named Naisnar, which lies near Reval. The first prisoners there were Russian sailors, but latterly their places have been filled with courageous workers.

Workers Retaliate with a General Strike. At this grim act of ruthlessness, a general strike broke out, but it was soon crushed. The Workers' House was sealed and closed for a month.

Stalking the Human Deer. On February 3rd, 1919, the shooting season started in the island. The Russian sailors, who were suspected of being Communists, were all shot.

During last summer there were many epidemics in this goal, including spotted typhus and diphtheria. There was no medical attention, consequently more than half the prisoners died.

Following upon the massacre of the leaders, the White Terror worked with all its brutality, but other leaders came forward in the fullness of their manhood to fill the shoes of the heroic dead.

Reval Committee sends greetings to all the world, and calls for speedy organisation to counteract the reactionary efforts of the League of Nations, which is merely an international police force to be used for stifling the legitimate aspirations of the working-class.

A "Frame-up." It was planned to hold the first of May demonstration as usual. The Social Democrats applied to be allowed to send their speakers to the meeting, but the Reval Committee refused all co-operation with people whose hands were red with working-class blood.

The men were sentenced by the Field Court, but the Minister remitted them for a further examination by the Military Court. They are still awaiting their trial at the hands of the Court, and all workers are requested to take this matter up and demand their release from the White Guards.

The Reval Committee has demanded the release of the three comrades and has called on the Government to prove its allegations. The Committee was told to mind its own business, otherwise methods would be taken to force it to do so.

All the unions held job meetings to back the Reval Central Committee. The Premier Hennatz handed the protest on to Interior Minister Hellatz, with instructions to take action against the valiant Reval Committee.

On May 14th the Workers' House was again raided by the police and militia under the orders of Hellatz. All books and papers were seized, but returned three days later. The R.C.C. went on with its work, and formulated new demands for the railway, telegraph and postal workers.

In Esthonia, fellow-workers, the goals are ever full, and executors are always at their dread trade. It acquires strength, and to-day is making its grip in the very offices of the Government itself.

Down with the Social Democratic Republic of Esthonia! Long live the free industrial republic of the earth!

[The writer of this document has since been killed. It was brought to England by one of the oppressed.]

RE-AFFIRMATION.

I am downhearted not, although it seems The new birth is abortive in the West, And men are turning from long-cherished dreams Of world-wide freedom to ignoble rest.

HUGH HOPE.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

We always have a good deal of adventure at our workshop. You might not believe it perhaps, just to look at it—or rather us: there are about three hundred checking in every morning, and I agree none of them look anything like a Wild West show or a Bolshe delegate, or anything very exciting. However, we do have our adventures.

Of course, these adventures are what clever people call "vicarious," meaning that they happen to us second-hand; in fact, they do really happen to other people, but we sort of adopt and nationalise them. In that respect, then, we are Bolsheviks. Just let anything happen in the papers, and you can hear us going it strong when Creeps comes in.

That itself is an adventure. Most of us drop in about ten to eight and get some hot water for a drink of tea about ten. Seems queer to make tea at eight to drink at ten, but we have a kind of patent vacuum flask of our own. Naturally none of us can afford those half-guinea affairs, so we just wrap our cans round with strips of old printing blankets, old only in the sense of age, for it is as clean as anything can be with soap and water. But that's by the way.

As I said, we all of us troop in by eight. Then we sort of get busy and look it, too. But old Creeps won't believe his eyesight, although he wears rimless glasses. (I had it from the Dubb who "sucks up" to him that he really sees better with "specs," but he considers he has to look smart as an overseer, hence the rimless.) When he comes in about half an hour after us he expects every machine to be rattling away as fast as it can, *en route* to the old-iron shop. He never can believe we have to go carefully over them with an oil can before they will budge. He is an old "comp.," is Creeps, so we machinemen despise him. These little things happen in the best regulated shops, which proves ours is one of the best regulated, for you never saw so much mutual contempt between the compositors and the machinemen, the engineers and the guillotine cutters.

When old Creeps comes in, we are usually going over the morning's Great Adventure, with an oil can in one hand and an oil rag in the other. This ought to convince Creeps that we mean business, but his idea is that we just idle around talking about race-horses. Which shows, as Henry told me once, what a fat lot old Creepy-weeps knows about horses.

As a matter of fact we were talking about Mary and Duggie the last time we got blown up. Of course, I need not mention the surnames of these two historic personages. Henry said he didn't know what people could see in them two, what with craning up their necks at the Hotel Ritz and howling like mad.

Our Soglashatelist said it was Hero-Worship, and began to hand out huge chunks of Carlyle. At least,

MRS. SNOWDEN LEARNT NOTHING.

Bourgeois journalists have been converted to admiration for Communist Russia against their will; but Mrs. Ethel Snowden has returned as she went. Soviet Russia has taught her nothing: she says it has nothing to teach.

The Workers' Republic lay before her, holding at bay a world of capitalist enemies, contending with famine and disease. The people Mrs. Snowden saw were hungry, they had little to eat, and what they had she did not like: half a red herring, a little bird seed, and a dish of kasha, without milk or sugar; at least that is what Tom Shaw tells us.

So Ethel Snowden did not find Russia a Utopia. She did not go down the Volga to see the great Putiloff works, which awoke admiration in some of her colleagues, and even if she had done so, perhaps the unpleasant impression of poverty would not have been swept away.

She has come back to her neat little home in Hampstead, glad to have left behind that terrible nightmare—Russia.

She has not seen the soul of a people awake to freedom, she has not seen the birth of the great new age.

A Lesson of Ireland.

The Irish situation has one decisive lesson for every Socialist: it is that Capitalism defends its privileges by force. To keep Ireland within the Empire is a small matter to British Capitalism as compared with the overthrow of the landlord and capitalist system; yet observe how tenaciously the rulers of Britain maintain their clutches upon Ireland, in spite of all this bloodshed! Lloyd George is the mouthpiece of British Capitalism when he threatens conscription and a five years' war to subjugate Ireland. British Socialists who fear that the Communist Revolution might mean bloodshed should contemplate the bloody conflicts within the Capitalist system.

he said they were Carlyle. He was tackled on the subject, and of course it all went the wrong way round the mulberry bush. "Who was Carlyle, anyway?" asked Henry. The Soglashatelist said he was a great man, a well-known philosopher, who wrote a book on "Heroes and Hero-Worship." The people nowadays were just crazy about their two film favourites, whom they had made into heroes, and worshipped accordingly.

"A nero and heroine, you mean," said young Bert, with an air of being precise. He also said that he had heard Carlyle was a pro-German. The Soglashatelist denied this. It was true that he had written a book on Frederick the Great, but he was far from being a pro-German, and if he had written a book about a German, what did it prove?

"Nothing," I said. "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, young Bert," I added, turning to him. "I see you reading the *Police News*, but that does not prove you are a policeman, does it?"

"Don't be sarcy," he said, "and never mind the police. We was talking about Mary Pickford."

"Yes," said Henry, "and what I want to know is, would Communism pinch all she has earned?"

"The question," I said "is—has she earned it?"

"Now, come along," he said, "don't tell me she is one of these here profiteers." And a laugh went round.

"It is the system," I began—

"Look here," remarked Henry, "we are fed up with hearing about the present system being the cause of everything. Now I don't pretend to know all what you mean by that. You would think it was a kind of Bolshevik going round making a hash of things. What I asked, and what I want to know is this here: 'Would or would not the Communists pinch what Mary Pickford earns?'"

"I never heard an argument put more clear in all my born days," said Bert. "Good old Henry!"

"No," I said, "the Communists would not pinch what she earns. She would simply not earn so much, that is all."

"Well, isn't that the same thing as pinching it?"

"You can say so if you like," I remarked. "Not that it matters one way or another. Mary Pickford hasn't fourteen months, and she cannot wear forty dresses at once; what she needs is the same as most of us—good food, good clothes, a good house, and a good job. And when a few people are enabled to 'earn' in a year what it would take the whole three hundred of us in this shop forty years to save up, well, it is hardly what I'd call fair, let alone the rights of the matter."

"You seem to make out as what Mary has pinched her money, then?"

"Well, you can put it that way if you like," I said.

And then Old Creeps crept in.

GUILTY OR NOT GUILTY?

Under the above title, Mr. Harry Boote, the fearless and capable editor of the *Australian Worker*, has produced a 52-page pamphlet, in which he analyses clearly and logically the evidence that was given against the twelve I.W.W. prisoners at their trial in 1916, in Sydney, Australia. This is one of the most sensational documents dealing with the Labour movement, as the Sydney trial was by far and away the most important in the annals of late years. In this pamphlet, Boote shows you the witnesses, skilfully analyses their evidence and scathingly shows the class struggle running throughout the whole case. This pamphlet is now for sale, and we predict a wide circulation for it. Single copies will be forwarded upon receipt of 8d. in stamps. They can also be obtained at 4s. 6d. per doz., or at the rate of 4d. per copy if one hundred copies be taken. Cash with order to the Australian Workers' Defence Committee, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Can be obtained from the following newsgents:—

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THE LOGIC OF THE MACHINE.

By F. W. HAY.
PRICE FOURPENCE.

Notice to Quit!

The resignation of J. H. Thomas from his post in the N.U.R. is to be moved by the Kircaldy branch of the Union at the annual conference on July 5th.

This resolution should be vigorously supported. Thomas cannot be regarded merely as an individual; he is an exponent of a policy, and that policy is reactionary. His official position gives him considerable power to impose that policy upon the N.U.R. Moreover, his influence in the Triple Alliance, the Trade Union Congress, and the Labour Party makes strongly for reaction. He denies the existence of the class war, but has taken his stand on the side of capitalism. He has declared, both in Parliament and out, that when the workers engage in a political strike, or any strike which dislocates the ordinary life of the community, the Government is entitled to use force to break the strike.

Until it became unpopular to attack Soviet Russia, Thomas joined the capitalists in attacking Bolshevism, even to the extent of writing anti-Bolshevik articles in the capitalist press. Now that, in spite of reactionary leaders like himself, the organised workers fully understand the capitalist war on Russia, desire to use the machinery of their organisation to put an end to it, the action and influence of J. H. remain a great source of weakness.

No sentimental considerations should prevent his dismissal. Let him be pensioned off as a recognition of any good he has accomplished and removed from the position in which he is a stumbling block to progress.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, July 2nd. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. S. Saklatvala and others. Beckton Road, Canning Town, 7.30 p.m. Louis Solomon, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, July 3rd. Outside Jones' Bros., Holloway Road, 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, William Leslie, Melvina Walker.

Outside Pentonville Prison, 7 p.m. Janet Grove, Wm. Leslie, Louis Solomon, Melvina Walker.

Sunday, July 4th. Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. David Maguire, Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. W. Leslie, A. Rosenthal, Melvina Walker.

Friday, July 9th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Wm. Leslie and others. Beckton Road, Canning Town, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker, May Edmunds.

Saturday, July 10th. Meetings in Peckham.

Sunday, July 11th. Outing, 3-10 p.m. at Federation House (see advertisement).

INDOOR.

Monday, July 5th. 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Educational Class.

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

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
Sunday, July 4th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, July 8th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Tuesday, July 6th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Christy and others.

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AND EVERY WEDNESDAY FOLLOWING.

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AND

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AT FEDERATION HOUSE

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