

The Gramophone Labour Party.

Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURSTLook
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for
our
next
issue.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1922.

Weekly—PRICE TWOPENCE.

OIL AND THE WAR CLOUDS.

Oil concessions are those for which the great capitalists scramble most eagerly to-day.

Oil shares are amongst the most profitable of all shares.

Oil is the fuel which gives the greatest proportion to-day of all-round efficiency, combined with cheapness, both for manufacture and transport.

Oil is the principal fuel of the world's navies.

Whoever owns the oil in peace-time; in war-time the oil will be seized by those armies and navies which control the road to it and the territory where it lies. They will seize it for their own use, and prevent its use by others.

Possession of the Narrow Seas was always hotly contested because of their war-time importance. Now that oil is the fuel of navies, those narrow seas, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, have assumed an enhanced importance, because there are rich oil-bearing lands beside them.

Turkish Oil.

The Turkish Petroleum Company was formed in London before the War to exploit the Mesopotamian oilfields. Originally it was an Anglo-German company, but the Germans lost their money in it as a result of the War. Mesopotamia having been captured by the British Army during the war, and subsequently retained by the British Empire, the British Capitalist oil company is sure that the Government of Mesopotamia will place its interests before all others, unless the Turks oust the British and recover Mesopotamia.

With the support of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne and of Thalmann and Company, a French Capitalist group was formed in Paris to exploit the oil wells of Syria. During the world-war the French captured Syria from the Turks, and have kept it since. A French administration therefore at present safeguards the interests of the French oil company.

A British company before the war secured an oil concession from the Turks at Adrianople, in Thrace. The Allies took Thrace from the Turks and gave it to the Greeks as the price of Greek assistance in the War; and, of course, according to custom, it was arranged that the British company should be undisturbed.

The American Standard Oil Company secured an oil concession at Rodosto, in Thrace, on the north shore of the Sea of Marmora; but that is only a "notoriously inferior" oil region—the Americans have largely been "done" over the oil. No doubt they arranged that the Greeks should respect their concession, poor as it is.

There is a vast oil region in the Armenian playets of Erzerum, Van, and Bitlis, covering a stretch of 220 miles; it is held by the Turks. This oil could compete favourably in price with Mesopotamian oil, because it could more readily be transported westward to the Mediterranean. French Capitalists are said to have got a promise of this oilfield—or something more substantial than a promise.

There are also other oilfields in Turkey, upon which both British and American concession hunters have cast jealous eyes, but the Turks are apparently more favourable to the French.

This is why British Capitalism supported the Greeks in their attempt to drive the Turks away eastward; for the Greeks, in return for British assistance, would have shown the favour to British Capitalist exploiters which the Turks are showing to the French in return for French support. This is how the Eastern people use the cupidity of the Western Capitalists to serve their own ends.

This is why, when the British prepared to fight the Turks after the Greek defeat, the French refused to assist.

Russian Oil.

Russia is rich in oil. Before the War the United States, Mexico, and Russia gave nine-tenths of the world's oil production. Between 1901 and 1905 Russia produced 374.5 million barrels of oil, which was 38.4 per cent. of the world production. After that Russian oil production decreased: the wells already sunk had evidently passed the highest point of their productivity, but there are other sources and experts say that the Russian output could be greatly increased beyond its hitherto highest point.

Nevertheless, the experts are agreed that there will presently be an acute shortage of petroleum products in Russia, even with the present great reduction of transport and industrial production, which has arisen owing to lack of rolling stock and machinery, and other causes. The oil shortage is partly attributed to the burning of eight million tons of oil in the Grosny new oilfield during the Civil War, and to "the practical loss" of the present producing strata of the Baku fields, by far the richest Russian oil region; this loss being attributed to lack of material and skilled engineering labour. As we have seen, however, Russian production was declining even before the War.

In spite of this approaching great shortage, plans by the Russian Soviet Government and by foreign Capitalists are going forward for a great export of Russian oil.

It is difficult, with the data available, to pronounce judgment on this matter; but the policy of great export appears to conflict with the Soviet Government's professed anxiety for the internal development of Russia—an anxiety supposedly so great that it is made the excuse for abandoning all vestiges of Communism and for calling in foreign Capitalism to accelerate the development. The increased export of oil would seem to be a short-sighted and spendthrift policy. Is it dictated under threat of war?

What Secret Negotiations will presently be revealed?

The Soviet Government some time ago decided to hand over Russia's oilfields to the foreign Capitalists who had already made vigorous war on Russia, largely for the very purpose of securing these oilfields. The Soviet Government at first proposed to form a unified oil company, 25 per cent. of the shares to be held by the Soviet Government, 25 per cent. by the former Capitalist counter-revolu-

tionary owners, and 50 per cent. to be bought by three great oil companies—the Royal Dutch-Shell Combine, a British company in which 60 per cent. of the shares are Dutch, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, an all-British company in which the British Government owns the majority of the shares, and the United States Standard Oil Company.

This project was abandoned, partly because Standard Oil and the Royal Dutch-Shell refused to enter into the same combination.

Lloyd George and the Shell Intrigue.

During the Genoa Conference, as everyone knows, it was reported that the Russian Soviet Government had entered into an agreement to give the Royal Dutch-Shell Combine a concession to exploit all the oilfields of Russia.

This aroused the anger of America and France. The Soviet Government and the British denied that such an agreement had been made; but it has since transpired that an agreement was either made, or discussed, by which the Soviet Government was to form an oil-exporting company, the agency for which was to be given to the Royal Dutch-Shell Combine, so that all oil exported from Russia would pass through the hands and be subject to the control and the profits of the Royal Dutch-Shell Combine. In war-time, of course, the Royal Dutch-Shell would not supply oil to countries opposed to Britain.

A Clever Bit of Diplomacy this on the part of British Imperialists.

The Royal Dutch-Shell has acquired more Russian oil properties than any other. It has acquired the Rothschild Company at Baku, and the Rothschild distributing agencies throughout Russia. It has subsidiary companies in the Grosny and Emba (Urals) fields.

In 1920 the American Standard Oil Company purchased control of the Nobel Company in Baku.

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company has since acquired a considerable block of Nobel shares.

British Capitalism does not cease its struggle.

to control the world's supply of oil.

British and American Capitalists meet as the great competitors in Russian oil, but British Capitalists have secured the greater part of the spoils.

France at present has little or no part in Russian oil.

Before the War the shares of two big Russian oil companies, the Neft and the Bakinski, were freely dealt in on the Paris Bourse; and the French bankers, Dreyfus and Company, assisted in raising the capital. The enterprises were controlled and operated, by Russians.

After the Revolution the owners of Russian oil properties fled to Paris, and there obtained Continued on p. 5.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

The high cost of production of the paper necessitates prompt payment.

ON THE RAND.

By B. Kreel.

The mine-workers' unions are broken down entirely, and the other and weaker unions are feeling the pinch. The destruction of such old-fashioned trade unionism is not a matter of regret—it is part of a necessary evolution. It was bound to happen in the development of Capitalist industry, and the unions must give way to a better form of organisation.

Nevertheless, the destruction of the unions cannot be received with gladness, because their collapse did not come about as an evolutionary extinction of a certain school of thought and its replacement by a newer and more suitable one. The collapse of the unions was the destruction of an out-of-date form of organisation before the workers had prepared another form of organisation, and before they had developed a new school of thought.

Before the workers had this bitter experience of the inefficacy of the trade unions they did not realise the inadequacy of the old unions.

For every individual worker the loss which has followed the mine conflict is great. Unemployment is unprecedented, and Smuts is imitating the methods of the Czars in putting forward the death penalty as punishment for a simple bread-and-butter strike.

The English representatives of the South African magnates are not mistaken when they say that South Africa to-day offers no prospects to working-class immigrants, but that it offers great prospects to immigrant Capital. The fundamental lesson of the late struggle is, to the capitalists, that Labour is of very minor importance, and that Capital is the only thing which counts in the creation of wealth. The humble servant of the capitalist, the great man Smuts proved it, to their satisfaction, at the point of the bayonet.

Foreign Government agents are constantly warning South African workers not to dream of selling their Labour Power in Great Britain. Perish where you are, useless worker, is the decree of Capitalism; and the South African worker, with his wife and children, is literally perishing—black-listed by the gold and coal magnates.

The cunning exploiters are fearful of the hidden revolutionary power of their victims. After the destruction of the workers' unions, the employers now seem to be noble enough to recognise some union, so they have found a rock breakers' union, which they can recognise as a legal workers' organisation.

Moreover, they have created a new and proper form of organisation for the workers—namely, the conciliation scheme.

Fellow-workers, it is not necessary for you to examine every item of the scheme to discover that a trap has been set for you.

The magnates know that with your strength grows your desire, for revenge, and that sooner or later, you will be united again, in a unity stronger than before. That is why they seek to appoint leaders for you (not your leaders), and to create a brand new scheme of organisation for you. Here are some points from the scheme:

Firstly, every worker is at liberty to be, or not to be, a member of the union.

Secondly, of the twelve members of the Conciliation Board, six are to be appointed by the Chamber of Mines, six by the workers. Then comes the secret ballot conducted by the Inspector of White Labour.

Think, fellow-worker, are you not entirely in the trap of your bosses? What benefit can you have from such a machinery?

After every single honest worker had been black-listed and the mines were re-opened with scabs and traitors, you, fellow-workers, are expected to accept this scheme for two years under a Capitalist Director. That two years is half the average mining life of a worker, as it is estimated that a South African miner can only work continuously for four years.

The worker of South Africa is still under the thumb of Czar Smuts. He showed his teeth not only to the white worker, but also to the

native worker whom he so kindly protected from all the harm the white worker could do to the native in time of strike. This servant of South African Mammon has openly declared that he wants to build a stable white South Africa. Even in the mining industry a great revival is anticipated, he said. The greatest present difficulties are in the farming industry.

Everything is supposed to have returned to normal life in the mines—the worker is entirely ignored.

The mine magnates, in combination with the Government, are strong, whilst the workers remain weak; but let the workers of South Africa unite in one big union of all workers, regardless of colour or race. Then the worker will realise where lies the weakness of his enemies.

Take a lesson from the Capitalists, fellow-worker. See how united they are; how they tolerate the niggers of all castes, so long as they serve them. See how Smuts uses the Kafir against the white worker, and the white worker against the Kafir. See how he is promoting negotiations with the robbers of Rhodesia in order to unite the Capitalists still further before the next Rand revolution comes.

Follow your masters in this, fellow-workers: unite with the Rhodesian workers; otherwise they will be used against you.

When the Government next uses the gun and the bomb against you, they may employ the Rhodesian workers for the job.

LORD FISHER TO EDWARD VII.

In 1907, Fisher states that he urged upon King Edward VII. "to repeat Nelson's Copenhagen"—i.e., to "seize the German fleet" in time of peace without any declaration of war. It was "peculiarly timely" to do so, in view of the "time of stress and unreadiness in Germany."—Fisher's narrative.

HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

We have already published a number of articles on this subject. Back numbers containing the whole series may be obtained from the "Dreadnought" Office.

The resolutions for the abolition of feudalism which the National Assembly adopted in August, 1789, were opposed by the King with careful diplomacy. He at once wrote to the Archbishop of Arles: "The sacrifice of the first two orders of the State is fine, but I can only admire it; I will never give my consent to the spoliation of my clergy and nobility. I will not give my sanction to decrees which would despoil them."

Publicly, however, the King showed no opposition to the resolutions. On August 11th, when the Assembly decided to publish the resolutions, it accorded the King the title of "Restorer of French Liberty," and ordered that a "Te Deum" be sung in the chapel of the Palace. The King accepted the title with professed gratitude, and agreed to the "Te Deum."

When, in September, the King was asked to promulgate the resolutions, he replied, after some delay:

"I approve the greater number of these articles, and I will sanction them, when they shall be worded as laws."

Finally, in response to popular excitement, reflected in threatening language in the Chamber, the King reluctantly agreed to publish the resolutions.

The "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," which the National Assembly drew up in 1789, was largely based on the American Declaration of Independence of 1776. It was not until 1791, when the Assembly drew up the French Constitution, that it added to the Declaration of the Rights of Man a "Preamble to the Constitution," which stated:

"The National Assembly . . . abolishes irrevocably the institutions that are hurtful

to liberty and the equality of rights. . . . There no longer exists either nobility, or peerage, or hereditary distinctions, or distinctions of orders, or feudal system, or patrimonial courts of justice, nor are there any titles, denominations, and prerogations which were derived from them, nor any order of chivalry, nor any such corporations which required proofs of nobility for entering them, or decorations which supposed distinctions of birth, nor any superiority except that of the public functionaries in the exercise of their functions. There are no longer any guilds, nor corporations of professions, arts and crafts. The law does not recognise any longer either religious vows or any other pledge which could be contrary to natural laws and to the constitution."

The Democratic State is the ideal dominating this preamble. Its defiance of feudalism was only brought about by the popular revolution which had effectively destroyed the feudal system.

The King refused to sanction the Declaration, which, in 1789, did not yet contain the passages quoted above. On October 5th, 1789, he wrote to the Assembly:

"I do not quite understand the Declaration of the Rights of Man: it contains very good maxims, suitable for guiding your labours; but it contains some principles that require explanations, and are even liable to conflicting interpretations, which cannot be fully appreciated until the time when their true meaning will be fixed by the laws to which the Declaration will serve as a basis."

More than a third of the Assembly was anxious to preserve amicable relations with the King. It would have liked to create a Second Chamber, like the English House of Lords; it desired the King to have an absolute veto on legislation. The Assembly as a whole always lagged behind the requirements of the situation, and decided to allow the King a suspensive veto, which would enable him to suspend decrees of the Assembly without altogether annulling them.

Meanwhile, the people outside talked of massacring the members of the Assembly, who were suspected of complicity with the Court. There was a serious bread shortage. Queues of men and women waited outside the bakers' shops all night, and many were turned empty away. The measures taken by the Assembly to assure the food supply were insufficient, and paralysed by fraud.

Meanwhile, the luxury of the Court and aristocracy increased, and the Royal Family was suspected of speculating in the rise of food prices.

National bankruptcy was imminent; expenses were increasing, interest on State debts had to be paid, and the Treasury was empty. With the old regime the tax collector seized everything in the peasant home; but the Assembly created by popular uprising depended on popular favour, and dared not resort to the cruelties by the old regime. We have seen in our own time a repetition of the same circumstance in Soviet Russia.

(Continued.)

WINCOBANK BUMBLES.

At Wincobank, Sheffield, 85 unemployed persons and their dependants were deprived of Poor-Law Relief because they had been on a trip to Doncaster.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £283 12s. 9d. H. G. Russell, 2/6; G. Sear, Jr., 5/-; A. Pannekoek, £1; Meetings: Wayside Restaurant, £1 6s. 6d.; Victoria Park, 11/11; Finsbury Park, 9/9; E. H. Fox, 5/-; C. T. George, 4/7; A Friend, 10/-. Total for week, £4 15s. 4d. Total, £288 8s. 1d.

CIVILISATION IN THE FRENCH CONGO.

"Batouala," translated from the French of René Maran, by Adele Szold Seltzer. Published in U.S.A. by Thomas Seltzer, 5 West Fifth Street, New York, 1.75 dol. (8/-). The book is also published in England by Jonathan Cape, price 10/6, but the English edition does not contain the preface which appeared in the original, and which is an important feature of the book. The English, French, or American editions may be obtained through the "Dreadnought" Bookshop.

The author, himself a negro, has been awarded the French Prix Goncourt for this book. The story is one of negro life in the French Congo. It reveals the negroes driven from district to district by the white invaders, forced to undergo excessive, and, to them, useless toil, and debased and induced to abandon their old customs, by the cruelties and evil example of the whites. The negroes hate and fear the whites, and are nevertheless used by them to oppress each other. Thus:

"Then I'll go to Bangin to enter the service. A tourougon carries a musket, cartridges, and a big knife fastened on the left side to a leather belt. He is well dressed: he wears a chechia and sandals, and he receives pay. . . . Instead of paying taxes, we tourougons help to collect them by pillaging; both the villages that still have taxes to pay and those that have already paid. We make the villagers pound the rubber; we gather in the recruits for carrying the sandoukous. . . . Wherever we go the chiefs and their men, to secure our good will, heap us with presents. These little privileges make the life of a tourougon pleasant. . . . Supposing a certain village hasn't been very generous with gifts. We invent one of those delightful stories which have neither head nor tail. We tell it to the commandant. He, always being a just, sensible, clear-sighted man, begins by imprisoning the entire population—chickens, chiefs, children, dogs, women, goats, slaves, crops. Then the chickens, goats, dogs, crops, and women are sometimes auctioned off, and the money so obtained swells the taxes. Occasionally the goats and chickens are distributed amongst friends—that is, if they are not presented to the governor, who will remember the courtesy when the time comes for promotion. . . . To be sure, it is only the peaceful commandants who use these deplorable methods. There are warlike commandants, too. . . . They start off to war against the poor wretches who have reached the end of their resistance. When the expedition is over, the commandants send piles of letters to the Government, telling of their prowess. . . .

In his preface René Maran refers to the little village of Ouahm that in 1918 had only 1,080 people left of a population that was 10,000 at the census seven years before. "Ah, Mr. Bruel," says Maran, "you spoke of the wealth of that immense region. How is it you failed to remark that famine is queen there?"

"I know, yes. What difference does it make to Sirius that in their last extremity ten, twenty, or even a hundred natives went to the dung of the horses, owned by the vultures who dub themselves their benefactors, and hunted for undigested grains of maize or millet to feed upon."

"After all, if they fall like flies by the thousand, and rot in starvation, it is because their country is being 'developed.'"

"Civilisation, civilisation, pride of the Europeans and charnel-house of innocents. . . ."

"You have built your kingdom on corpses. . . ."

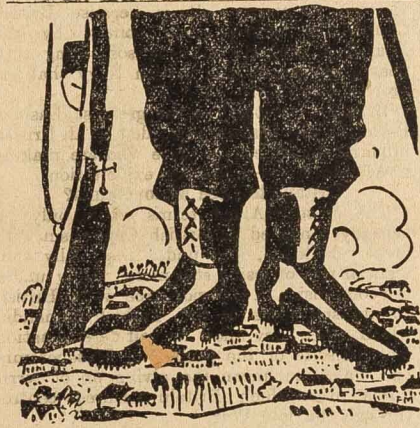
"If we knew of what villainess the great colonial life is composed, of what daily villainess, we should talk of it less, we should not talk of it at all. It degrades a man bit by bit. Even among the officials the man who cultivates his mind is a rarity. The Colonians haven't got the strength to stand

up against the influences of their surroundings. They take to drink. Before the War there were very many of Europeans who could make away with fifteen quarts of Pernod (absinthe) in a month. Since the War, alas-a-day, I have met one man who beat all records—eighty bottles of whisky in a month, that was what he could consume, drinking steadily."

Poor René Maran, he sees the evil; he has no conception of the magnitude of the task of uprooting it. He says that the French officials in the negro country conceal the evils existing there, for "if they are to be promoted to higher posts they must have no tales to tell." He appeals to his "brothers in France, writers of all parties," to raise their voices against iniquity. "It will be a sharp struggle," he says. "You will attack the slave drivers. Fighting them will be harder than tilting at windmills. Your task is a splendid one. Put your shoulders to the wheel, then. Waste no time! It is the will of France."

René Maran, René Maran: have you not heard of Multatuli, who carried on a crusade like yours to root out corruption in the Dutch Government of the West Indies? Multatuli was a Dutch Government official: he was dismissed, ostracised, and condemned to poverty. He failed to achieve the object of his crusade.

The struggle with Mammon is sharper and harder and infinitely longer than you imagine it, René Maran.



RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

All books reviewed can be obtained from the "Dreadnought" Bookshop, 152 Fleet Street.

"Kuzbas," a bulletin devoted to the affairs of the industrial colony in Kuznets Basin, New York, 4d. Our views on this scheme were given in a recent issue of the "Dreadnought," a few copies of which can still be supplied.

"Red Revolt," the Rand strike, January-March, 1922, by S. P. Bunting, C.P., South Africa, 1/6. This pamphlet shows that the employer insisted that the ratio of white to coloured labour should be 1 to 10.5 for a period of two years.

"The Fair Wages Clause." (National Joint Council, Eccleston Square, 3d.) Complaint is made that the Government Departments are allowing the fair wages to be violated. We are not surprised. Don't tinker: smash the system.

"The Blind Persons' Act, 1920" (National Joint Council, 3d.) explains the Act, and complains that local authorities are not putting it into operation. Communism, which will give to each according to his needs, and ask service from each one according to his capabilities, is the only hope of the physically afflicted.

"The Poison that Destroys," by E. D. Morel. (I.L.P., 2d.) This pamphlet contains information about the War which those who are not already in possession of it should certainly procure. The information has been compiled from official documents and the memoirs of Lord Fisher, Lord Haldane, Col.

Repington, Francesco Nitti, and others whose high official posts enabled them to play a leading part in making the war and to know what was going on amongst the Governments of the world. The pamphlet is decidedly anti-French.

The Communist will read it for its industriously compiled information, and then lay it aside with the verdict: "Yes; this is all very horrible, but wholly typical of Capitalist imperialism. We shall see no substantial change in international politics until Capitalism is destroyed." This is a useful pamphlet for speakers, provided they will remember to add a running commentary of Communist explanations to the narrative.

"Bars and Shadows," by Ralph Chaplin. (Leonard Press, New York, 4/6.) Ralph Chaplin is a member of the I.W.W. serving a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment for the expression of his opinions. He was editor of "Solidarity," one of the I.W.W. official organs. These poems, which are being sold for the benefit of his wife and boy, have been written in prison. Every one bears the impress of that fact.

Their writer is obsessed by the prison and its bars, and every verse reveals his longing to get outside into the world of life.

Ralph Chaplin Prison Poems.

ESCAPED!

(The boiler-house whistle is blown "wild-cat" when a prisoner makes a "get-away.")

A man has fled! . . . We clutch the bars and wait;

The corridors are empty, tense and still; A silver mist has dimmed the distant hill; The guards have gathered at the prison gate.

Then suddenly the "wildcat" blares its hate Like some mad Moloch screaming for the kill, Shattering the air with terror loud and shrill, The dim, grey walls become articulate.

Freedom, you say? Behold her altar here! In those far cities men can only find A vaster prison and a redder hell,

O'ershadowed by new wings of greater fear. Brave fool, for such a world to leave behind The iron sanctuary of a cell!

TO FREEDOM.

Out on the "look-out" in the wind and sleet,

Out in the woods of fir and spruce and pine, Down in the hot slopes of the dripping mine We dreamed of you and oh, the dream was sweet!

And now you bless the felon food we eat And make each iron cell a sacred shrine; For when your love thrills in the blood like wine,

The very stones grow holy to our feet. We shall be faithful though we march with Death

And singing storm the barricades of Wrong, For life is such a little thing to give.

We shall fight on as long as we have breath— Love in our hearts and on our lips a song— Without you it were better not to live!

NIGHT IN THE CELL-HOUSE.

Tier over tier they rise to dizzy height— The cells of men who know the world no more. Silence intense from ceiling to the floor; While through the window gleams a lone blue light

Which stabs the dark immensity of night. Felt shod and ghostly like a shade of yore, The guard comes shuffling down the corridor; His key-ring jingles . . . and he glides from sight.

Oh, to forget the prison and its scars, And face the breeze where ocean meets the land;

To watch the foam-crests dance with silver stars,

While long green waves come tumbling on the sand . . .

My brow is hot against the icy bars; There is the smell of iron on my hand.

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THE WAR: IS IT OVER?

Britain, France, and Italy have sent a joint Note inviting Turkey to a Conference, and offering certain peace terms which are regarded by the average Western politician as very much more generous than the Turks could even have hoped for recently. Turkey, however, has a vast population, and is becoming a well-organised nation from the fighting standpoint, and the Eastern peoples are steadily progressing towards decisive revolt against the domination of Western Imperialism.

Moreover, it is evident that French and British Capitalists are bitterly hostile rivals in the disputed territories, and that whilst British Capitalism has been using the Greeks to advance its interests, French Capitalism has been making a pawn of Turkey in the same way.

The question is not only whether the terms offered to Turkey will satisfy Turkish ambitions for the moment: it is also whether the French and British rivalry can be patched up for the moment. Oil—especially Turkish-Armenian—control of Batoum, the port of embarkation for Caucasian oil, and control of the Dardanelles, the gateway to the Orient, which the British Government eagerly desires, in spite of its denials, are the points around which dissension crystallises. When the dissension comes to a head it will lead to another world war. This will happen before long, even should a peace be patched up for the present.

The text of the Allied Note is most conciliatory. Its tone is an evident reflection of the growing power of Turkey.

Let us compare, however, the Allied terms to Turkey, and the demands of Turkey as set forth in its "National Pact."

Allied Terms.

Eastern Thrace to be restored to Turkey. Certain zones to be de-militarised.

Allied troops to be withdrawn from Constantinople.

The freedom of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus to be "assured efficaciously under the auspices of the League of Nations."

The protection of minorities of races and religions.

The Allies to support the admission of Turkey to the League of Nations.

Allies to use their influence to bring about the withdrawal of Greek troops on a line fixed by agreement between Turkey, Greece, and the Allies.

Turkey to undertake not to send troops into the zones declared neutral by the Allies, or to cross the Straits or the Sea of Marmora.

Turkish Demands.

Eastern Thrace to be returned to Turkey. A plebiscite in the territories peopled by Arab majorities—Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine.

A second plebiscite in the sandjacks of Kars, Erdehan, and Batoum.

Self-determination for Western Thrace.

Constantinople and the Sea of Marmora to be protected from hostile attack. Measures for the freedom of the Dardanelles to be agreed upon between Turkey and the Powers interested.

Protection for minorities on the same basis as agreed between the Entente Powers and other adversaries.

Abolition of the Capitulations (protection for foreigners in Turkey).

It will be observed that these Turkish demands are very much greater than the terms offered by the Allied Note.

As to the Dardanelles, Turkey demands that measures to secure the freedom shall be agreed upon between Turkey and the Powers interested, which, if Turkey is in militant humour, may mean that Turkey, Russia, and other near-by countries, should decide the question without interference from the Western nations.

Russia versus the Allies.

The Turks have already announced that Russia may be brought into the negotiations, whilst the Allied Note only announces that Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, and Turkey are to be parties to the peace conference. The Turks are likely to insist on the admission of Russia, since the Soviet Government has been helping them with war material, and the assistance of Russia in Turkey's struggle with Western Capitalism is of great importance.

The Allies might agree to admit Russia to the Conference, since they have already conferred with the Soviet representatives in many conferences, and are entering into commercial agreements with them; but British Capitalism especially will be anxious to prevent Russia from again becoming a serious competitor in the East.

British imperialism, with its overwhelming ambition to maintain its domination in the East, would only agree under bitter necessity to return the control of the Straits to the Eastern countries. It is because British Capitalism believes that control by the League of Nations may be something very near to control by the British Navy that the proposal is made.

Britain's prestige, as the greatest Eastern Power, is very jealously guarded by all British imperialists, especially those who are making direct profit out of Eastern exploitation.

Britain to Lose Mesopotamia?

The present Allied terms would only be actually conceded by British Capitalism with great reluctance, and under the really substantial risk of losing still more. Only under the compulsion of superior force would British Capitalism agree to the Turkish demands, which, since they allow for self-determination by plebiscite of the peoples of Mesopotamia and Palestine, mean the giving up of territories over which Britain secured control through the late War.

It is true that France, in the same way, would soon be voted out of Syria; but France is acting as the protector and the, as yet, unofficial Ally of Turkey; and, as the price of its support, French Capitalism undoubtedly has already secured from Turkey substantial oil concessions, which are considered more valuable than the surrender of Syria, where they still continue the oil exploitation which they began there before 1914.

The Angora Government has under its control a rich oil region, the last-known virgin oil fields of importance near Europe not already secured by concession hunters; it is situated in the Armenian vilayets of Ezerum, Van, and Bitlis. This oil, because it can be more easily taken to the Mediterranean, will be able to undercut the Mesopotamian oil, which is being exploited by British Capital, in territory now under British control. The present Turkish law forbids the granting of new concessions for the time being, but con-

sions are probably being granted nevertheless, and France, it is said, has been careful to secure her position in this respect. According to the "Manchester Guardian" Reconstruction survey, it is whispered that in the vilayet of Van, a provisional transaction has taken place between a group of French Capitalists and the holder of the most important concession still existing there, which was obtained in 1910.

Batoum.

The plebiscite which the Turks propose for Kars, Erdehan and Batoum might also return these territories to Turkey—evidently the Turks believe there is at least a prospect of the vote being favourable to them. To the oil interests the control of Batoum is of great importance, for to Batoum comes the oil of the rich region of Baku by pipe line, the oil of the Caucasus, but also for that of Whilst Baku is the refinery, not only for all North Persia, Turkestan, and Siberia, Batoum is the export centre of all such oils.

Batoum in the hands of Turkey means an advantage for France so long as the French Government remains Turkey's friend and the British Government pursues an anti-Turkish policy.

J. R. Macdonald and Batoum.

Since the leaders of the British Labour Party are the ever-willing servants of the British Government in matters of Imperial policy, counting themselves patriots before anything else, the journeyings of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and his colleagues to Georgia, which at present owns this most important part of Batoum, may have a special, though not generally suspected, motive. Certainly the interest of the Labour Party, and the Second International, which it controls, in the little country of Georgia has been unique. Their desire for it to be independent of Russia has been, to say the least of it, surprising, in view of their belief that Ireland, even at the point of the bayonet, should be retained in the British Empire.

The World Oil Contest.

The British Government, with considerable cunning, in 1904 set out to secure control of the greater part of the world's oil resources. This enterprise was not fully discovered by other countries until after the War. Because of it, Britain now faces the bitter hostility of America, France, and Belgium. Presently a great war will develop, in which Britain will have to fight Britain, France, and Belgium; presently, also, the British Government will have to fight the revolting Eastern peoples, whom it holds under its dominion, with Turkey and India at their head.

Whether they come immediately or a little later, these great contests will certainly arise, unless the world proletarian revolution comes to sweep away Capitalist rivalries and free the Eastern peoples.

If these contests develop whilst the Western proletariat remains in subjection, these wars will bring with them the incentive to, and the possibility of, the proletarian revolution in the Western world.

To prepare for that revolution, however it may arise, is the urgent task of our time.

The propagation of Communist ideas by the propaganda of the word and of action is of immense importance. The building up of the Soviets in industry is also an urgent necessity.

The Communist Workers' Movement urges its members, and the working class as a whole, to offer every possible resistance to this Capitalist war.

It urges that Workers' Councils be formed in every workshop, farm, railway centre, dockyard and ship, and by the women in every street to devise active measures for attacking the war and the Capitalist system.

Every individual is called upon to act individually when collective action cannot be secured.

The War Communist Workers' Resistance Publicity Campaign for London is being organised by C. Burn and C. T. West. Offers of assistance should be brought or sent to them at the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152 Fleet Street.

Industrial activities are in charge of the Industrial Secretary, at the "Dreadnought" Office.

Funds are urgently required for the publication of leaflets, etc.

Donations should be addressed to N. L. Smyth, "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

Next week, ending October 7th, the price of the "Workers' Dreadnought" will be reduced to one penny.

This step is taken in view of the urgency of Communist propaganda at this time, and the great unemployment and serious reductions in wages, which make it difficult for the workers to spend even pennies upon anything beyond the bare necessities of living.

We appeal to all who have bought the "Dreadnought" at twopence to buy at least one extra copy of the paper, and to assist us in increasing its circulation.

To those who take a number of copies we also say: "Double your order and join us in the effort to quadruple the circulation as quickly as possible."

The "Workers' Dreadnought" remains the most advanced and outspoken Communist paper. It has earned your support.

GREAT WAR DRAWS NEARER.

As we anticipated in a previous column, the Turks have not agreed to the conditions set forth in the Allied Note, and the great Capitalist war for oil is drawing nearer.

Again Lloyd George has proved himself an utterly callous liar.

The plea that he made for ignorant popular support for the aggressive war policy for which his Government is making itself responsible was that the Turks had burnt Smyrna, and that for the sake of elementary human decency they must be checked from further destruction. The plea was hardly uttered before it was exposed.

Turks Did Not Burn Smyrna.

It is evident that the Turks did not burn Smyrna.

An official account of the burning of Smyrna, issued under the authority of the French High Commissioner at Constantinople, relieves the Turkish Command of any intention to cause the disaster, in contrast to the testimony of certain American witnesses.

The account comes from French officials who helped in extinguishing the fire. Several fires unaccountably broke out in the European quarter. Under a favourable wind, the fires spread beyond the control of the Turks.

The account of one of Reuter's correspondents is published in the "Manchester Guardian." He says on arriving at Smyrna:

"I saw tins of benzine and incendiary bombs being distributed throughout the town, and I was personally warned by Greek officers that the town would be burnt. As I was leaving Ushak I saw three villages close by which had already been set on fire. Two hours after I had left Ushak itself was set on fire, and from eye-witnesses I afterwards learnt that practically the whole town was burnt and that a good many of the Turkish inhabitants had been massacred by the Greek soldiers, and also that pillaging and looting had been the order of the day."

This sort of thing continued throughout the Greek retreat. The following towns were burned: Ushak, population 25,000; Alacheir, 15,000; Salikli, 5,000; Cassaba, 5,000; Magnesia, 40,000; Menemen, 2,000. These were on the Cassaba Railway. On the Aidin Railway the same procedure seems to have been followed. Sokia, with a population of 50,000, and Thyra and Odemish, with populations of 10,000 each, being burned, as well as nearly every village on the retreat.

This, of course, is war strategy. During the Boer War the British commanders gave orders for South African farms and villages to be burnt systematically, in order that the Boers might not use them as cover.

The Lloyd George Government induced the Greeks to fight the Turks, and gave the Greeks secret assistance in their struggle, simply to advance British Capitalist interests. From one point of view it is but fitting that Lord Balfour, on behalf of the Government, should give £50,000 towards the succour of Greek refugees, and should lead an appeal for more. The £50,000 is, in fact, a very small sum for the British Government to find, in view of its primary responsibility. We common folk, who were neither consulted in the war-fomenting intrigues of the Government, nor in its present war policy, will be made to shoulder the financial burden. The

new war expenditure by Monday last, September 25th, was already estimated at £20,000,000, and every movement of ships and troops adds to the expenditure. Troops and ships are steadily proceeding towards the Dardanelles from every part of the British Empire.

The Turkish reply to the Allies is not yet to hand, but it is rumoured that they will fight for the terms of their "National Pact," which we give on page 4, and that they will not enter the Conference unless Britain and the other Powers abstain from further movement of troops and warships. They also demand that Turkish ships shall at once enter Thrace. It is said they will only accept the demobilisation of the Marmara Coast on condition that Turkey shall be allowed to construct fortifications to protect Constantinople from surprise attack. The Turks, according to Major-General Sir T. F. Maurice, are also demanding that Russia and Bulgaria shall attend the Peace Conference.

That the Kemalists have the Turkish nation behind them is evident. The Sultan, who accepted the peace which the Allies imposed upon Turkey after the Great War, is expecting to be deposed, and the chief Ministers in his Government have already resigned. A National Ministry under Kemalist influence will be formed.

The Neutrality Sham.

Greek Warships in Bosphorus.

Not only are British reinforcements streaming out to the storm centre, but shielded by British battleships, the Greeks have brought two warships, the cruiser Averoff, and the torpedo-boat Velo, into the Bosphorus, the neutrality of which it is pretended that British warships are protecting. This is but one more proof of the falsity of the British Government's profession of pacifism which are capable of deceiving only the most ignorant.

Continued from p. 1.

advances from French banks by pledging their confiscated oil holdings. Thus many shares in Russian oil are held by French banks.

Belgians also pledged their oil shares in the same manner. Before the War the Akverdoff Russian Oil Company was acquired by Belgians. The American Standard Oil Company and the French bankers pursued a united policy at Genoa on the question of Russian oil, demanding that the Soviet Government should return all confiscated properties.

Lloyd George and the other British Capitalist representatives, eagerly desirous of obtaining the fullest opportunities for British Capital to purchase all properties from the Soviet Government, declared that in the interests of democratic government, Russia must be allowed to maintain the nationalisation of the oil properties, provided she made compensation to those from whom they had been confiscated. Nationalisation merely to sell again to a higher bidder, or more powerful interest, is hardly a Communist or even a democratic proceeding; but Lloyd George and the Soviet Government were agreed on this policy. Honesty gets short shrift in international politics, you must know, fellow-workers.

Week by week we shall continue to give the true and secret history of the great Capitalist War now developing.

(To be continued.)

THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS.

Is It Communist?
Is It Anti-Parliamentarian?

In moving that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain affiliate to the Red International of Labour Unions, Mr. S. O. Davies, at the recent M.F.G.B. Conference in Blackpool, made two important and very remarkable statements.

He said in the first place:

"I hold no brief here for Communism, nor the Communist movement. Incidentally, I am not a member of it."

Secondly he said:

"Now, when Mr. Hodges stated that the Third International was anti-Parliamentarian, he knew well that was not true. Some of the leading figures, some of the outstanding personalities in connection with the Third International are Deputies in the French Chamber."

Those who believe the Third International, and its creation, the Red International of Labour Unions, to be still Communist organisations, standing for the abolition of Parliaments and the substitution of Soviets, would naturally expect these utterances of Mr. Davies to be repudiated by the custodians of the Third International and R.I.L.U. policy.

On the contrary, the speech of Mr. Davis evidently received the official approval of the R.I.L.U., for it was printed by the "Worker," the official organ of the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U., which is under the close control of the Communist Party of Great Britain. There has been no repudiation of the extraordinary passages we have quoted, either by the Communist Party or its International, or by the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. or its international.

We may take it, therefore, that the statements of Mr. S. O. Davies are officially approved.

If, therefore, the R.I.L.U. is not Communist, and not anti-Parliamentarian, we must ask: What is it? What is the reason for its existence?

We urge Communists who are working for the Third International and the R.I.L.U. to consider the position in all seriousness.

The policy of the United Front and support of the Trade Unions inevitably leads to the abandoning of the struggle for Communism and the revolution. This was our contention from the first. Those who hesitated to agree with us now see before them the object-lesson which proves the correctness of the theoretical teaching they rejected.

It is commonly argued that we who are working for the establishment of the Communist community administered by the Soviets are in advance of our time, and are, as yet, too few in number to achieve success. That is true; but were we to abandon our principles and forsake their advocacy in order to join the many who are striving for other causes, we should merely leave the necessary spade-work which must eventually be done for the Communist Soviet ideal, to be done some day by others. Until the necessary spade-work has been done, the Communist cause will not advance. Only the indolent and superficial-minded can permanently gull themselves with the delusion that opinion created for other causes, and organisation built up for other ends, can be used for the Communist struggle and the Communist victory.

The tasks to which sincere and clear-sighted Communists must unceasingly apply themselves are the propagation of Communist ideas and the creation of the industrial machinery which shall presently function in the overthrow of Capitalism and the administration of the Communist community.

Put Communist thoughts into the minds of the workers.

Build the All-Workers' Revolutionary Union of Workshop Committees.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By TOM ANDERSON.

We were homeward bound, going back to "Homeland." Strange feeling, is it not, "Homeland." No matter where we may be, the feeling is the same. It was a big Atlantic liner, and she carried a goodly number of steerage passengers. But we were "seconds." We were not workmen; we were rovers—men who refused to work for any master. It may be in the "Wild West," or at the "gold fields," or away out in the "bush." Or we may be buying or selling cattle. We were rovers, that's all. Each of us in his own particular way had that spirit of Communism in him, that he could not go into a factory. We were rovers, and we were going to see the "Homeland." Just fancy; you may call it so if you will, but you would be more correct if you said a call of the past, a call of the long ago.

We all foregathered in the smoke-room, when we were well out at sea. Each looked at each other, six of us in all, six rovers, each knew. We sat down to play "poker" by mutual consent, and we played and we joked over short yarns and drinks for many nights in the smoke-room, and each one played "straight."

We became known as the six "Jocks"—i.e., the six Scotsmen; but we were not six "Jocks," we were only four "Jocks" and two "Paddys." But that did not matter. We allowed our small money-grubbing "seconds" to think we were, and accepted the name of the six "Jocks."

We were nearing the Irish Sea, and the storm had been raging all day, and our noble boat kept in tune with the waves and seemed to enjoy the fun. It seemed to us "Jocks," as we played away, that the storm was just part of the journey, and had to be gone through, or else the finish would not be complete. It was growing dusk, and we sauntered round the boat. Nobody was about, the great storm was at its height, and it had frightened all the children of men aboard, with its angry wail. Have you ever been out in the storm? Have you ever looked at the big angry sea, rolling mountains high, roll after roll, and then the great waves wash over you, taking no mercy, taking no heed? The storm was at its height. We "Jocks" walk round. Down by the steerage the women are counting their "beads."

"Holy Mother," you can hear them whisper. We have no religion, but we "cross" ourselves to be in unison with the scene. Children are crying, and cannot be comforted, for the dear mother that bore them is helpless, and so we "Jocks" start too. We are human. We are the "humans in the storm." We lit a child here, another there, and put it more secure. A woman here, and a woman there we aid with a word of comfort and a drop of spirits. An old man and a young man, a boy and a girl, and so on, they right round the steerage, and then back to their own quarters.

The travel round it, and also round the first cabin, the people are not the same there. The stewards, doing the best they can for them, but there is life in them; they cannot even count "beads." Slightly they have no Gods, these rich passengers. So we turn, and back we go to the smoke-room. Empty. The great big storm is the master, and everyone is hiding. The steward is at the bar; he is an old Scot of some forty-five years. "Stiff night, lads; Providence is angry to-night, lads." "Aye, aye," we say. We look out the smoke-room door. Auld McLachlan's on the bridge. That was quite sufficient. We sit down to play "poker." It was on the stroke of midnight, when the ship's bell rang out the warning: "All hands on deck!" We drop our cards as if the gods from below had summoned us, and bolted.

The crew had assembled, and Auld Captain McLachlan, speaking in clear, steady tones, said: "Men, a ship in distress. All boats to be lowered; there are some 300 passengers to save."

There was no reason to question. McLachlan had spoken, and every seaman on the boat knew it was life or death, and they were prepared to act.

Brady, one of our "Jocks," raised his hand to the salute, and said: "Captain, we are six, and we can all row." In an instant the six of us were at the salute. Old McLachlan looked at us and raised his hand, and we joined the crew.

We brought from that sinking ship 250 passengers. By the God that made us, it was a great night—waves, mountains—and we stuck it; and each man of that British crew was a man, and no one will ever write the story of the heroism of that night in its true colour. We could never paint the picture, for it is too grand for us to do. Then they worked till early morning finding them beds and food, and our "Jocks" worked just as we used to, as free men work.

The next day the Captain called the crew on deck to thank them, and after having done so he asked for us "Jocks." We had not been seen. They found us fast asleep on the floor of our own cabin, for we had given our beds to others. There were the six "Jocks," lying like schoolboys after a day's sport, some of them with their arms round each other's neck. They wakened us, and we went on deck. The old Captain said: "Men, I desire to thank you, on behalf of the crew and the passengers, for your splendid work last night." None of us could speak; we simply came to the salute, and as we walked away we could hear the ringing cheers following us.

And they tell the children of men that Communism is dead fruit. They don't understand. Every brave act that you see done in the world comes from the Communism of the race. We did not start to live yesterday, nor did we start to live 10,000 years ago. We started long, long away back in the dim distant past, and that's the reason why some of us are Communists.

(Continued on p. 8.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

IRISH COMMUNIST POLICY.

DEAR EDITOR,—

I have read with much satisfaction your article on the programme of the Irish Communist Party, and I think you are perfectly right in calling it a non-Communist programme. Indeed, the essence of Communist thought is that the great transformation of society from Capitalism to Communism can only be accomplished by the common efforts of the workers themselves, all of them acting where they stand in the process of production.

The belief that some foreign power, the State, may accomplish it for the workers by decrees and laws is a social-democratic belief—nay, only the most narrow-minded social-democrats believed it; most social-democrats in former times knew quite well that the chief force of transformation must come from below.

The State is not a supernatural being; it is the organised host of politicians, leaders, and officials backed by armed force. The belief that the State may establish Communism by legislative means is the belief that this small host of officials and leaders, by their wisdom, may save the mass of the workers from slavery—these workers having nothing to do but vote for them. Now the experience of Germany has proved that placing Labour leaders at the head of the State is simply a change of rulers, which cannot bring any real revolution.

On the other hand, Russia in the first years of the revolution showed that after the workers had already seized the power in the workshops, in the Army, and on the land, by their committees, the revolution could be accomplished by seizing the State power—i.e., all this activity was centralised, united, and organised by central organs, and made a strong, united body against attacks from the Capitalist side.

The programme of the Communist Party of Ireland is not only non-Communist because it appeals to the State for everything, but also because it asks from this State only reforms. It would have been, though not Communist in its means and ways, nevertheless Communist in its aims, if it had constituted measures for abolishing Capitalist exploitation and introducing Communist ownership. But even this it doesn't do.

It supposes a State Power ruled by the workers—for awaiting these measures from a State ruled by Capitalists would be pure nonsense—while private enterprise still dominates the economic field; but it does not make use of this State Power to attack and destroy private enterprise, but only to reform it to somewhat less intolerable conditions for the workers.

The model of this programme probably must be sought for in the Russian conditions, where the Communist Party tries to keep its political domination at the same time that it must allow Capitalist Western European conditions we may find the roots for Capitalist enterprise to come on. But also in our own it. It tries to combine the interests of the working class for reforms with the interests of the petty bourgeoisie; by the State ownership of banks, railways, and big industries, it promises to free petty enterprises from the crushing domination of big finance and heavy industry. That is the reason why it does not proclaim the abolition of private property: it desires to eat from two cakes; at the same time, it does not attempt to win solely the workers by the great ideal of Communism and revolution, to which at this moment the great mass is indifferent, which thus exact great pains and long waits. It also attempts to win the petty bourgeois class, and also the middle class minded mass of the workers. It attempts to win both these classes within a short time, not raising their mind to the higher standing of great Communist prospects, but vanquishing their bourgeois narrow-mindedness, but baiting them with the programme of a reformed petty capitalist world, wholly in line with their inherited thoughts.

It is nothing else than the "New Zealand Socialism" of twenty years ago, invented by bourgeois reformers wanting the aid of the small working class against foreign finance, and resulting in strangling the class struggle and the freedom of movement of the workers.

In Ireland it has its roots in the economic backwardness of the country, with its small proletariat, its great mass of petty bourgeoisie, its great mass of small land holders and labourers who hope to become petty owners. It tries to give them a common programme, which, of course, cannot be Communist.

Perhaps it may be said that, as Communism is not yet possible in such a country, this programme of a reformed society of petty enterprise controlled by the working class is to be preferred to everything else, and the best possible way out. But the idea of a stable society on this basis of peaceful co-operation of classes is an illusion. You have already shown it in your article with regard to workers' control.

The same impossibility may be seen regarding unemployment. "Full maintenance for the unemployed at full trade union rates" is asked for. Where would the State get the funds necessary under this programme? The funds must in some way come from production; either from the profit on State industries, or from taxes paid by small enterprise. Of course, these capitalists would not be content to pay to the unemployed such rates; they would try to lower them, in order to restore the pressure of unemployment on the wages. Here arises the natural and fundamental enmity of the classes, the chief opposition of their interests, the impossibility of peacefully combining their efforts. As long as peace

enterprise exists, it must try to hold itself against competition by lowering the cost of production, or else be ruined. It cannot be content to secure a fixed living to the workers.

In 1848, in Paris, this payment of unemployed was the chief cause of the shopkeepers and other petty bourgeois becoming furious against the "do-nothings" and crushing the proletarian revolt in the June massacre. But also from the Communist point of view this leaving the workers unemployed and paying them a life rate is not right. Communism means production of an abundance of goods; leaving people idle who are desirous to work is spoiling the resources of the community. A Communist society will not leave them unemployed, but will let them produce goods for the community, thus for themselves and others to increase the general wealth. Thus the so-called Communist programme is not the programme of Communists desirous to show to the workers the difficult but only real way to freedom; it is the programme of politicians desirous to win the great mass of adherents from various poor classes, by a programme of reforms that means coalition of workers, small farmers, and petty bourgeois.

When you say about the results of the coalition in the States of Eastern and Middle Europe shows that this coalition uses the force of the proletariat to promote the formation of a numerous class of small land owners, extremely hostile to any Communism, thus it throws obstacles in the way to Communism. It does still more so by filling the minds of the workers with illusions, and by diverting their eyes from the only way to freedom: the way of class struggle, clear class-consciousness and confidence in their own power.

Yours very truly,

A. PANNEKOEK.

SHIP-OWNERS FIGHT CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

The following interesting document has reached the hands of a comrade in Liverpool: STEAM AGENTS AND OPERATORS, GALVESTON.

July 12th, 1922.

To all Masters in the employ of S. Spicovich and Co. Gentlemen,—We are quoting herein District Circular 252 from District Director of Operations, U.S.B., New Orleans, La. Please read carefully, and be governed accordingly.

"It has come to the attention of the U.S. Shipping Board that in some instances there has been trouble with I.W.W.s and other agitators boarding Shipping Board vessels with the intent to cause unrest among crews."

"Managing agents are urged to call the attention of masters of their vessels to the existing conditions, and instruct them to post reliable members of the crew at all gangways to prevent any undesirable going aboard a vessel. We fully realise that when a ship is discharging or loading, that among the steady stress of stevedores and others who are passing over the ship's gangway in connection with the unloading or loading operations of the vessels, there are bound to be some of these I.W.W.s and others get aboard, which should, however, be prevented by all means possible. Managing agents will issue instructions to masters of Shipping Board vessels under their jurisdiction to have all packages and baggage thoroughly searched for I.W.W. and other seditious literature, and when such literature is found, same is to be confiscated, turned into operators with report, and that members of crew to be discharged at once and full report to be sent to Marine Superintendent, U.S. Shipping Board, New Orleans."

"Also advise the masters that should they at any time, whether ship is on voyage or in port, have cause to believe that this literature is being circulated about the vessel, they are to make strict search in order to apprehend the guilty party."

"Frequently masters of vessels do not reach operator's office for a considerable time after ship docks, due to no fault of their own, and it is not difficult during this period for an I.W.W. agitator to board a vessel and circulate his seditious literature and talk. When the master is absent he will issue prior to his departure from vessel instructions to officer in charge to see that a strict watch is kept for I.W.W. and others."

Kindly acknowledge receipt and understanding of this letter.

Yours very truly,

S. SPICOVICH and CO.

(Signed) JOHN J. COHOLAN.

Marine Superintendent.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

WORKS FOR COMMUNISM.—A classless order of society in which there shall be no rich and poor, no masters or servants, no landlords and capitalists, no buying and selling, no money wages. Each shall work according to his ability, and desires of the earth's fruits and the product of the common labour. Each shall give to the service of the community according to capacity. Production and distribution shall be organised by those who do the work through the Soviets.

TACTICS.—No compromise with non-Communists and Reformers. No affiliation with the Labour Party. Continuous teaching of Communism. Continuous struggle for Communism. Preparation for the Soviets: that is to say, organisation of the workers to take over and administer the industries of the creation of One Big Revolutionary Union with industrial departments built up from the workshop basis on the Soviet model. Continuous teaching of the futility of Parliamentary action.

THE APOSTLE. By Guy A. Aldred. CHAPTER III.

For the Assembly and the Conventions were representative institutions. Here was the Parliament that betrayed and assassinated the rights of the people. The Commune and the Sections were not representative institutions. They were the people themselves—the forums of discussion and decision. From them proceeded the life of the revolution. From Assembly and Convention the decrees to arrest the revolution.

He spoke as the champion of the forum, as one who had been selected and who had elected to defend its cause. He boldly placed the forum on a level with Parliament as an historic institution, and claimed that the people had but to realise its claims in thought to more than realise them in fact, as Paris had done in those years of heroic striving. He confessed that oratory reach a high level in both Assembly and Convention. But it was only in response to the demands of the Commune and the Sections, who would stand no halting phrases and demanded the oratory of the Rights of Man, of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

He warned them against centralisation and partyism, which robbed them of their direct authority and initiative, in the following eulogy of forum and denunciation of Parliament, contrasting them as historic and parallel institutions and tendencies:

"How the Parliamentarians sought to delay the triumph of the Republic! How they laboured to preserve the Monarchy! And when the Monarchy fell of its own worthlessness, when in rage and anger Commune and Sections urged its abolition, when in fear and trembling the legislators bowed before the storm, then was invented the grotesque and tremendous sham that prepared the way for Napoleon and Empire—the Republic One and Indivisible!"

"The idea seems magnificent, does it not? The Monarchy is dead—long live the Republic One and Indivisible!"

"And then the Republic begins to think for the people, to feel for the people, and to act for the people. At last it calls itself 'the people' and wars on the people. It proclaims martial law, and proceeds to deprive the Commune and the Sections of arms and the power to resist the Central Authority. It denies Equality of Fact and proclaims a false and metaphysical equality before the law. It crushes the life of the people, the power of spontaneous revolt, of immediate vital action in the departments, and substitutes representative action, uncontrolled decrees, oligarchic and bureaucratic committees, all leading to misery, terror, and Empire. All that was Republican was destroyed by the Republic One and Indivisible! If only it had not been One and Indivisible! If only it had been multiple and divisible! If only the Republic had been Federal, drawing its vitality from the Commune, the Sections, and the Primary Assemblies, instead of deriving its authority from a stagnating life-destroying Central Enacting Authority! Then it would have been a Republic of Fact, of Life, and Reality; a true Republic, One and Indivisible!"

"So that Parliamentarianism destroyed the Revolution and the Republic. It neither served nor conceived it. It preserved the Republic much as the Church preserved the teachings of Jesus. Much as the rats preserve the manuscripts of genius."

He brought them back to the forum. To this gathering of the third-rate in the land of the third-rate he delivered the message of the law and the prophets, the way of deliverance as proclaimed by the third-rate apostles of all ages. He enunciated it not to intensify or to exaggerate class-hatred, but to end the war and struggle of classes.

The squalor of the gutter elevated him. Its want filled him. Its misery cultivated him. The rays of poverty became the vestments of the prophet. From court and alley, tenement and gin-palace, workshop and prison, casual ward and lodging house, he drew his inspiration. The wrongs of his class made him in

They discovered in him wit and worth and words with which to stir the stones of cities—the pavements of civilisation, the huge flat blocks of disinherited, hopeless, ignorant, de-based humanity.

Wrong moved him to passion. Passion roused thought. Thought prompted study—and self-consecration. His oration had been a sermon of final and complete consecration to the cause of the people, the great slumbering, tragic, mighty mass.

And so culture spread—oozed through the gutters into the tenements, the prisons, and the casual wards.

It wandered through many a household, and even went to church and whispered in the pews whilst shallowness and cant prosed from the pulpit.

It got taken into Law Courts and mumbled and grumbled, and sometimes breathed defiance from the dock whilst wig and gown and ermine suavely commended the excellence of club and dungeon and metaphysic.

The wise ones of the earth, the first-rate men with their first-rate ambitions and scandals, their dinners and their politics, their philosophies, and their diplomacies, like the hypocrites of other days, understood not the signs of the times. Such knowledge they relegated as so much nonsense to the third-rate men—the unknown ones of the twentieth-century streets.

That night, alone with his thoughts, the Apostle sat by the side of his bed, deep in meditation. His meditation was a prayer. The words were few: "How long, oh! my people, how long!" It seemed that, in the stillness of the night the silence supernal answered him: "Be ye patient, my son. Not so very long. Yet a little while and I will be avenged."

He felt that the days of tyranny were numbered, and that the future was laden with change. The leaden sky was heavy with the clouds of social revolution, and his heart rejoiced that it should be so.

THE END.

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 14.

Mother!—What do you want, little dear?—You know I planted potatoes, but you do not know what came!—Potatoes!—No, not that, a pig came who ate them.

An artist showed a friend a piece of white paper. "That picture," he said, "represents the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea."

But where is the sea?—It is already gone.—And the Israelites?—They have already passed.—And the Egyptians?—They have not yet come!

EKZERCO No. 15.

Vi malbona infano! Kial vi batis otan fraton?—Car li trinkis inkon, kaj poste li ne volis manĝi la sorban paperon, kium mi donis al li.

Meztempe, la vendejaroj daŭre kreskis, la postuloj ĝiam pligrandigis. Eĉ la fabriko ne plu sufiĉis. Tiam, la vaporo kaj la maĝinaro revolucioigis la industrian produktadon. La fabrikado cedis lokon al la giganto, Moderna Industrio, kaj la industriaj mezklasoj estis anstataŭigitaj de industriaj milionuloj, estroj de tutaj industriaj armeoj, la moderna kapitalistaro.

VORTARETO.

bati	to beat	kial	why
bona	good	li	he
ĉar	because	manĝi	to eat
diri	to say	papero	paper
frato	brother	sorba	absorbent
infano	child	trinki	to drink
kaj	and	voli	to will

NOTES.

The prefix MAL reverses the meaning of a word: MALBONA, bad.

ET is a suffix used as a diminutive, and A added to it makes it an adjective, meaning

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

(By Defense News Service.)

Jackson, California.—The entombment of 47 miners 3,100 feet below the surface when fire broke out in the Argonaut gold mine here, was unquestionably due to criminal negligence on the part of the owners. Exactly as in the Spectacular mine fire at Butte, in 1917, these workers were trapped by a bulkhead of concrete at a point where a safety exit originally existed. Up to three years ago, there was a safety exit leading through an adjacent mine, the Kennedy. But one day there was a disastrous fire in the Argonaut, which necessitated flooding the mine to get the flames under control. The Kennedy, of course, was flooded at the same time. Owners of the Kennedy demanded that the Argonaut company pay the cost of unwatering the Kennedy. There was a conflict, a law suit, and the bulkhead was built. So there was no safety egress in the Argonaut. And it is to be expected that the doomed miners will be found, as many were in the Spectacular mine, lying dead in front of the bulkhead, their fingers worn to the second joint from clawing at the concrete in their frenzy to escape. It was generally supposed among the workers in the Argonaut that the old exit still remained open. The fact of its being closed for three years was disclosed after the 47 were buried alive on August 27th. And when the fire came, thirty-one hours passed before the first digging began in the Kennedy and an effort to rescue the miners. This criminal delay was one more symptom of the feud between the rival mine companies.

It is reminiscent of a similar delay sanctioned by the Illinois State mine inspectors when 300 coal miners were buried alive at Cherry, Illinois, in 1909—an act of negligence which undoubtedly cost the lives of many of the 280 who died.

George Gabardini, president of the Argonaut company, has decreed that no photographs of the death mine be made public. And his orders are recognised as law, even though local photographers have negatives of the scene, made before Gabardini issued his mandate.

Coffins for 47 men have been ordered. The gold diggers here are largely Serbs, Croatians, Italians, and Spaniards. Numerous miners in this field have signed a pledge never to work again in the Argonaut mine, and to boycott every mine which has only one outlet.

Boston, Mass.—"Those fellows had nothing to do with the murder. I was the driver of the automobile in the shoe-factory killing at South Braintree. Sacco and Vanzetti had nothing to do with it."

Newspaper men attending a divorce trial in the Superior Court at Needham, twelve miles south-west of here, were treated to a sensational surprise when Mrs. Jessie H. Dodson attributed the above statement to William F. Dodson, from whom she presently obtained a divorce.

Dodson is now serving a term of from three to five years in Charlestown State Prison for the theft of an automobile. By a strange coincidence, the stolen car belonged to Superior Judge Webster Thayer, of Worcester, who presided at the famous trial in Dedham, at which Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Labour organisers, were convicted of first-degree murder.

When questioned after Mrs. Dodson had launched her startling charge, counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti declared that the story of Dodson's alleged boast that he drove the bandit car at Braintree was already known to them. The story has many angles which are being investigated, they say, and may prove of large importance.

The defence also knows definitely that Mrs. Dodson's accusation against her husband has been in the possession of both State and Federal police for many months. It came to the defence, however, through a leak. The police did not feel called upon to advise the defendants that they knew of a circumstance which might lead to their liberation.

While Dodson is serving sentence only for the theft of Judge Thayer's car, there is reason to believe that he is implicated in the theft of at least 70 Buick automobiles, this type being his specialty. The fact that the murders of Frederick Parmenter and Alexander Berardelli in Braintree were committed by bandits in a Buick automobile stolen at Needham on November 23rd, 1919, and that Needham was Dodson's home, lend colour to his wife's charges. About the same date three automobile number-plates were stolen in Needham, within a short distance of Dodson's home.

Mrs. Dodson declares that shortly after the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti her husband returned home after a prolonged absence, displayed a roll of bills, and offered her money. During the conversation which then ensued she spoke of the two Italians who were being exhibited in one shoe town after another, in the hope that some eye-witness of the killings would identify them.

It was then, she says, that Dodson made the statement she now attributes to him exonerating Sacco and Vanzetti and implicating himself.

The significant circumstance in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti trial is that the bandit car was never connected in any way with the two Italian defendants. In its opening statement the prosecution promised to establish that connection, but it never made good.

St. Clairsville, Ohio.—Amid the same anti-alien prejudice which sent Dominick Venturato to prison for life, Dan Agesti, also a member of the United Mine Workers, will be placed on trial here on Sep-

The Gramophone Labour Party.

I read the "Daily Herald," fellow-worker, because the workers have not yet got a class-conscious daily paper in this country. I hope we may have a fighting class-conscious daily organ. In the meantime, I am obliged to put up with the "Daily Herald."

When I opened the "Daily Herald" on Saturday, September 23rd, I saw that some wag of a cartoonist had been pulling the leg of the editor, and had very neatly shown up the hypocritical futility of the Labour Party.

The drawing of the sarcastic cartoonist was entitled: "His Master's Voice." It depicted a gramophone, entitled Labour, from which was issuing that historic phrase which the "Herald" has lately borrowed: "Not a man, not a gun, not a ship."

Beside the gramophone, fellow-worker, sat a knowing little dog, entitled "War Monger."

Neatly put, thought I, and I fancy you will agree with me, fellow-worker; but to interpret the picture to the dullards, the embarkation of the Guards and the warships going full steam to the Dardanelles, should have been shown, and Lloyd George and his Cabinet chuckling together.

"That gramophone will continue diverting the workers whilst our dog is robbing the henroost."

And what does Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railwaymen's Privy Councillor, say of the situation, fellow-worker? Read his remarks, as reported by the Labour Party's own faithful daily, which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald tells us is not likely to repeat "some of the little antics that weakened the old paper," now it is edited by "a very distinguished journalist, who has earned his distinction by the excellence of his work," and, moreover, "has a conscience." We should say that Mr. Hamilton Fyfe earned his distinction by his adaptability to the requirements of Capitalist propaganda, fellow-worker; but let that pass, for the moment only; what has Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., P.C., to say to you and your class, fellow-worker, about the latest filibustering expedition of our masters out in the Dardanelles?

What says the winner of £2,000 damages for libel, who declared in the witness-box that he is not a Socialist? What says this candidate to be Prime Minister in the first Labour Government?

The "Daily Herald," on Friday, September 21st, in the first column of the front page, reported the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas as follows:

"It was our duty, Mr. Thomas added, not only as Labour people, but as citizens, to keep clearly in mind that if a war took place, we could not disown ourselves of some responsibility, although we might say to the Government: 'There will come a time when we shall hold you to account for your sins of omission.'"

What does that mean, fellow-worker? It means that Mr. J. H. Thomas expects you to support the war, and to provide all the men, the guns, and the ships that may be necessary to carry the war through to a successful conclusion. In short, Mr. Thomas says Labour has got to make itself responsible for winning the Capitalist war. The gramophone song: "Not a man, not a gun, not a ship," is only camouflage.

But you, fellow-worker: are you willing to work and fight for the present Capitalist war and for every Capitalist war in which your Government may embroil itself in the future? That is what Mr. Thomas and his colleagues expect of you.

If you are not willing to be cannon fodder in any Capitalist war that may develop, make up your mind to end the Capitalist system: fight Capitalism and its wars by mass action when you can; fight it individually all the time, and by any means to your hand.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

SECRET AGREEMENT OF THE IMPERIALIST LABOUR LEADERS WITH JINGO GOVERNMENT.

The Labour Party remains inactive: it talks peace whilst the vast membership of the Trade Unions which compose the Labour Party continue to carry out the Government's war work with docile slavishness.

J. H. Thomas, in his declaration that if war comes the workers, as citizens, must take the responsibility for the prosecution of the war, indicates what the policy of the Labour Party will be so far as action is concerned.

J. R. Clynes, in a speech at Bridport, on September 25th, revealed the fact that the Prime Minister had imposed conditions of secrecy upon the "Labour" deputation which waited upon him in relation to the war. Clynes said:

"The Labour deputation which stated its views to the Prime Minister was disabled by an arrangement which I cannot explain without making those views known to the country."

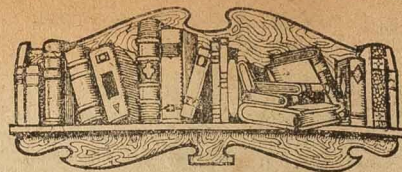
Thus Clynes reveals that the Labour leaders have a secret understanding with the Government which is not to be disclosed to the public.

The fact is that the Labour leaders are under the influence of the Imperialist madmen behind the Government. They are afraid to protest against the plan of world rulership by a clique of very rich British Capitalists lest they be accused of lack of patriotism by the powerful scoundrels who control the Press.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION. (Metropolitan Branch.)

A class in the social history of England from 1450 will be held at Graystoke Place Training College, Breams Buildings, Fetter Lane, on Tuesday evenings, from 7 to 9 o'clock, beginning on Tuesday, September 25th. Tutor: Mr. W. Lowth, Dip. Econ. and Pol. Sc. (Oxon.).

A class in the appreciation of literature will be held at the London School of Photo-Engraving, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, on Monday afternoons, from 2.30 to 4.30, beginning on Monday, September 25th. Tutor: Miss Joan Beauchamp, M.A.



HAVE YOU READ?

The Conquest of Bread, by Peter Kropotkin, 2/- The best book on Communism as it will be when it comes, and on the scientific possibilities of realising it. *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, by Peter Kropotkin, 2/-, on the science of feeding the people under Communism.

The Ancient Lowly, by Osborne Ward, two volumes, 12/6 each. The history of the working-class movement from the earliest times. Tells you of strikes under Pharaoh in Egypt and in early Greece and Rome. Tells of the Communist life led by the Greek slaves, and the Industrial Union Communism of the early Christians.

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

The Second Congress of the Communist Workers' Party (Fourth International) will be held in Berlin on October 1st, 1922.

The agenda will cover the following subjects:

- Report of the Executive;
 - Reports of the affiliated Parties;
 - The split in the Bulgarian Party.
- The economic-political situation.—Capitalism in its death-throes.
- The class situation of the proletariat in the post-war period.
- The results of the development in Russia.
- The form of organisation of the proletariat in the class war. (From the T.U. to the Revolutionary Workshop Committees.)
- The youth within the Communist Workers' Parties.
- Questions of the organisation of the Communist Workers' International.
- Decisions of the Congress on the principal questions.

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Continued from p. 7.

tember 14th for the killing of John I. Major, mine operator, who was slain in a riot at New Laferty on June 27th.

Unless the defence attorneys succeed in obtaining a change of venue for Agosti, there is every reason to expect that he, too, regardless of lack of evidence against him, will be railroaded to the penitentiary. Necessarily the prosecution will use against him the same witnesses who were enlisted to testify against Venturato.

Stanley Kubiack, the seventeen-year-old former inmate of the reform school and self-confessed liar, whose testimony was the principal factor in convicting Venturato, is being closely guarded by the prosecuting authorities. It is said that Kubiack went to pieces after he left the witness stand, and expressed the fear that something "might be done to him."

Friends of Venturato declare that they now have evidence that Kubiack was threatened with being sent back to the reform school unless he testified against the accused president of the Oco miners' local.

Members of the jury which convicted Venturato refuse to discuss the case. They grow red in the face when asked why they accepted Kubiack's testimony after he admitted that he had told his step-father and other persons that he was not in New Laferty on the day of the shooting, but they avoid answering.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Willesden Communist Workers' Group.—Secretary, A. Jarvis, 95 Minet Avenue, Willesden. Meetings every Sunday, Manor Park Road, Harlesden, 7.30 p.m.

Portsmouth Communist Workers' Group.—Secretary, H. Godden, 5 Purbrook Road, Portsmouth.

Sheffield Communist Workers' Group.—Secretary, F. Horsfield, 437 Langsett Road, Hillsborough, Sheffield.

LONDON OPEN-AIR CAMPAIGN. COMMUNIST WORKERS' WAR RESISTANCE PROPAGANDA.

Friday, September 29th.—Whitecross Street, E.C., 1 p.m., C. Burn.

Saturday, September 30th.—Pitfield Street, 7.30, C. T. West, C. Burn.

Sunday, October 1st.—Victoria Park, 11.30 a.m., N. Smyth. Clapham Common, 5 p.m., G. Wood, C. Burn, N. Smyth.

COMMUNIST FIGHT THE WAR POSTER PARADE.

Meet

"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE,
152 Fleet Street, 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.,
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th.