



Workers' Breadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE POST OFFICE WORKERS.

By ARBEE.

"U.P.W." is a symbol known to all who work in the various departments of the Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone services throughout the whole of the "United" Kingdom. To our comrades in other employment, perhaps we might explain that the letters "U.P.W." are a contraction of "The Union of Post Office Workers." This Union recruits its members from all grades and branches of workers employed in the postal services. Prior to the advent of the present year, there were many officially recognised Trades Unions which catered for their members; and in doing so they often pitted their respective grade against another class of postal workers. However, with the cessation of the Great War, there were many determined forces at work to secure the complete amalgamation of the different unions, and in spite of the great hopes of the official chiefs, who had so long been engaged in the game of pitting one section against another, the fusion of forces was effected on New Year's Day, 1920. And the organised Labour world welcomed the Union of Post Office Workers, with its membership of a hundred thousand.

Although we mention that the U.P.W. embraces all workers of the P.O., it must be remembered that we mean WORKERS, and membership is not open to such classes as the supervising staffs, and in consequence there will not be any danger of Postman Jones being engaged in a heated debate with some exalted intellectual, such as the P.M.G., at a branch meeting.

Branches are formed at all post or telegraph offices throughout the country, but in the case of very small offices, such as a rural office, where perhaps the whole of the duties are done by one postman, the surrounding offices possibly for twenty miles are grouped together to form one branch. The branches are in turn organised into three districts—under a District Organiser—these combined, embrace the whole of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The U.P.W. has an official publication, *The Post*, which is circulated gratis to every member weekly. And although its "leaders" are not of a very revolutionary type, yet there is much food for thinking Trade Unionists contained in its thirty-two pages. Much space is devoted to "Branch Notes," and this is a most admirable feature of the publication, for it permits every member to be well informed of the doings of other branches throughout the whole kingdom. Also news of an international nature is supplied by notes from the postal workers of almost every country.

All established civil servants have a guarantee of continuity of employment, followed at the age of sixty by a petty pension. These two features of Government employment have been the bugbear of the "alert worker" in the Post Office. It has been frequently proved, that for fear of jeopardising their positions, and for fear of possible loss of pension, many men will put up with the most irksome conditions of employment rather than take part in organising for more humane conditions. Also it is to be mentioned that the postal work is a State monopoly, and a worker who has spent much time in the service is not sure of the possibility of obtaining suitable employment were he discharged for taking part in any revolutionary propaganda. Even after explaining some of the special causes of apathy shown by many of the U.P.W. members towards "trade union" and "rebel" work, it will shock and surprise many of our comrades to know that, up to the present, the U.P.W. has not yet adopted a "direct action" policy. And in consequence, only recently the Executive had to accept a most miserable "wage award" from the Treasury after many months of negotiation. The "present" from the Lords of the Treasury was a reduction of wages to many of the staff, while to the more fortunate members an increase of from one to approximately five shillings. In plain words, the "concession" was the abolition of the existing war bonuses, and replacing them by an all-round increase of wages to 130 per cent. above the pre-war standard.

The average pre-war wage of all London postmen was 29.92 shillings; the "award" was gratefully received by the average members of the rank and file. Another salient feature of employment in the "service" is the manner in which the "flat-rate" (maximum wage) is paid to established qualified workers of all grades. The earliest age at which the "flat-rate" is paid is at the age of forty, after twenty-two years of service. However, owing to the generous distribution of punishments for trivial and minor offences, this is usually deferred to a much later

date. For when a servant's confidential "crime sheets" are reviewed at the time of considering the award of his legal rise, the annual or triennial increment is most frequently withheld as an additional punishment. To state a mild case:—"The Chairman of the London Council of the U.P.W., although he has completed thirty years as a postman, has NOT yet finished serving "his apprenticeship," for he does not yet receive the "flat-rate" or maximum wage of his class." Even such glaring cases of injustice have not helped to make the rank and file rebellious; many are nervous of accepting office as union officials at the local branches, for they face a rupture with their respective overseers. The secret system of reporting, which is so successfully encouraged by the P.M.G. and his satellites, is much in vogue and dreaded, despite the educational work done by "unionists" in the past.

However, although the taking of the strike ballot was authorised by a national conference in May of this year, it has been delayed, apparently by the Executive, to give the class-conscious members time to infuse the new spirit into the apathetic individuals. At this late hour we would welcome the results of the ballot, so that we may know whether the membership of the U.P.W. is ready to take its stand with our "direct actionist" comrades in their fight for a new and better system of society?

Communist Comrades desirous of speaking at indoor meetings of the U.P.W. are advised to act in the following manner:—Address a communication to "The Local Secretary, Union of P.O. Workers, (address)," merely writing the name of the office if a large one, or in the case of isolated ones, write the name of the district or nearest town. Branch meetings are held at varying periods, monthly, quarterly or half-yearly, and if Comrades asked the local secretary to arrange, if possible, for them to address his branch at the next meeting, they will, quite possibly in all cases, have an acceptance of the offer, in addition to a warm welcome, for most branches are not blessed with very capable or fluent speakers.

CAPITALIST PROPAGANDA.

The question of raised postage on newspapers was opposed in Parliament by C. Palmer, who regarded the newspapers as doing "an enormous service at this time, when propaganda and real education of public opinion are so necessary." "This new impost is going to have a serious effect upon public opinion. To-day we want to educate the public into a sober attitude in regard to all the greater national questions which come up for consideration." "Ministers rely almost entirely on the newspapers for putting their case and the great base of the nation, before the public."

Sir J. Kingsley Wood: "And in what a funny way they do it!"

If only the workers realised that this propaganda is for the purpose of crushing them!

BELGIAN COMMUNISTS.

The Belgian Communists have passed at their Congress in Brussels the following declaration of principles:—

"(1) Parliament is the central political organ of the Capitalist State, completely dominated by the financial interests of the ruling class. In Parliament, the workers' representatives only advocated those economic reforms needed for the development of Capitalism. Social reforms were granted only in so far as they assisted the interests of the bourgeoisie.

"(2) For the last twenty-five years it was believed that Parliament could be used as a tribune for propaganda. It has only produced a distortion of the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

"(3) To-day, in face of the great development of Capitalist industry and of international commerce, Parliament has become powerless even from a reformist point of view.

"(4) Parliamentarism obscures the issue, and diverts the workers' activities in the wrong channels and leads them to believe that their condition can essentially be improved in a capitalistic society. The disadvantages of Parliament are great, its advantages nil.

"(5) The Communists cannot make use of the institutions of the Capitalist State. They must build up their own form of control and organisation.



RUSSIAN NEWS.

To LORD HARDINGE,
Penshurst Foreign Office, London.

I am instructed by Mr. Tchitcherin to acknowledge your message of July 2nd, No. 1312, transmitted through the Russian Trade delegation in London, and to point out that the Russian Government is in possession of a number of undoubtedly authentic information about the continuation of help to Wrangel by Great Britain. In particular, Batum continued to be the supply base for the Crimea. Small craft with supplies of war materials were being daily despatched to Wrangel from Batum. The British authorities in Batum were arresting workmen who refused to load these supplies. A transport of war material, petroleum and benzine loaded for the Crimea on June 17th was put on fire by the workers in Batum port. At the same time the British authorities organised in Batum the recruiting of soldiers for dispatch to the Crimea. Several thousand men were recruited in Batum in a short time in the middle of June. The Governor-General of Batum declared to a representative of the volunteer army, General Drotzenko, that England has sent out to Wrangel 2,000 guns, besides horses. In the middle of June British ships transported in great numbers, from Batum to Theodosia and Sebastopol, Cossacks going to join Wrangel. On June 21st, a large steamer, loaded with various war materials and goods for Wrangel, was to leave Batum for the Crimea. The Russian seamen were ordered to carry the goods to the volunteer army. When an attempt was made to replace them by Englishmen, the Russians raised anchor, intending to go out into the open sea, but the steamer was sunk by the gun-fire of British batteries. The *Daily Express* of June 25th publishes an account by its Constantinople correspondent of how the British authorities are forcibly sending Russians from Turkey to Sebastopol. There they are made to enlist in Wrangel's army under threat of being hanged. These few individual facts picked out of a large number in our possession undeniably prove that Great Britain or its Agents continue to give support to Wrangel, and that all the inferences the Russian Government formerly divulged of these facts thus remain in force.—

LITVINOFF.

This statement is interesting in view of the assertion of the British Government (made to the Russian delegation in London) that since June 1st all war materials destined for General Wrangel is being detained in Constantinople, and in view of Mr. Walter Long's answer to Commander Kenworthy in the House of Commons on July 28th that "General Wrangel had control of certain Russian men-of-war in Sebastopol, but that no coal, stores or munitions are being supplied by them to Britain."

On leaving the Internment Camp of Asinora (Italy) the Russian prisoners of war gave an equal sum of money out of their scanty savings to the *Avanti* and to two anti-Parliamentary weeklies, the *Soviet* and *Communism*.

The Italian Government has granted diplomatic privileges to Com. Volasky, who will be Soviet Russia's representative in Rome.

Do you remember the *Star* poster: "The Steam-Rollers?"

THE TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

The tendency of Trade Union organisations to unite into an International Federation was already clearly manifested in the First International at Geneva in September, 1866.

The Geneva Congress recognised the importance of the Trade Unions, in the daily struggle in defence of the interests of the working class against "the incessant abuses of capital," and at the same time emphasised the necessity for such associations to extend their activities by "rallying the organisations of the various countries under an international banner."

The Early Revolutionary Aims of the Movement.

The aims of the Trade Union movement as formulated by this first Congress, and which are still applicable to capitalist countries, were as follows: "Apart from the struggle against the abuses of capital these associations shall make it part of their activity to support every revolutionary, social, and political movement, the ideal aim of which is the complete enfranchisement of the working class." They will constitute active militant centres capable of defending the interests of workers less favourably distributed,

the movements appeared regularly. At the outbreak of the war the Trade Unions could already count more than 9,000,000 members.

Disintegration in 1914.

Nevertheless, in spite of this great influx of members, grave conflicts began to develop within the international Trade Union movement, which on the outbreak of the war produced almost a complete rupture of international relationships. The antagonism between the Trade Unions of the belligerent countries was so acute that each appeared ready to defend the particular interests of its own country by force of arms.

Since then an ever-growing animosity manifested itself among the Trade Unions, inspired by the rivalry of the capitalist countries for the markets of the world. At the various international congresses of metal-workers, skin-dressers, textile, and wood-workers, obstinate and fruitless discussions arose as to the place of residence of the Centre of the International Trade Union. Should it be London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, or Geneva? The French accused the Ger-

the proletariat received during the "armistice" into the true aims and consequences of the imperialist war.

Victorious and vanquished, not to speak of neutral, countries are alike faced with ruin. Everywhere triumphant and arrogant capitalism proved itself the irreconcilable enemy of the working class. Everywhere it has rendered the advantages conquered by the workers null and void. A simple stroke of the pen abolished the right of strike, of meeting, and the liberty of speech. Capitalism has established absolutism and its dictatorship with such insolence and cynicism that the working masses have found no other course open to them but to return to the First International, and, guided by its principles, to attempt to reconstruct the Trade Union edifice.

This revision is progressing rapidly. It has already led the proletariat of all countries to decide, not to renounce Trade Union action, but to give it a new direction and to make it a powerful weapon against capitalism in the great universal struggle. New principles are being elaborated; the movement is becoming "red" again and is denouncing its old "yellow" leaders and their assistants. The rupture between labour and capital has again manifested itself in all capitalist countries.

In England the old Trade Unions are losing their authority over the masses, and the great strikes of the last few months have taken place without them. The direction has in many cases passed into the hands of factory and workshop committees, which are assuming duties hitherto ignored by the Trade Union movement.

The same phenomenon may be observed in America, where the creation of the One Big Union relegates the leaders of the type of Gompers to the background and reduces their functions to a minimum.

No less remarkable is the re-birth of the Trade Union movement in Germany, where experience of the Russian organisations is being utilised. The factory and workshop committees are mercilessly sweeping away the old forms of authority of the "yellow" leaders who unexpectedly find themselves on the wrong side of the barricade. New problems are boldly tackled, the control of production is demanded, as is also the nationalisation of the large industries; the long, antiquated notion of the neutrality of the Trade Union movement is disappearing, and the tendency is to engage wholeheartedly in the political struggle with the rest of the proletariat.

The Trade Unions of a whole series of industries have already passed into the hands of the reds. This is the case with certain powerful organisations, such as, for example, the Metalworkers' Union.

The Revolutionary Challenge.

The revolutionary development of the Trade Union movement throws down the challenge to imperialist capitalism. If to-day the Italian unions oppose the sending of arms and munitions to Russian White generals; if the English workers organise monster strikes and demand peace with the Soviet Government and the recall of English troops from Russia; if the French Trade Unionists openly declare their solidarity with us—the logic of the class war, rendered acute by the general ruin and ever-increasing misery, will compel them to-morrow to make a decisive pronouncement on the affairs of their own country.

The general sympathy they display towards us, and the material aid which they sometimes afford us, prove their strength more than their weakness. In taking the Russian workers under their protection they are undergoing an apprenticeship in the struggle, without yet attempting to deliver a decisive attack on their own enemies at home. Our sympathy is with a school for the Trade Unions of West European countries; it creates a line of demarcation daily becoming more accentuated between red and yellow tendencies.

Methods of Reactionary Leaders.

The defenders of the moribund forms of the Trade Union movement are trying their utmost to galvanise the movement and to resuscitate methods which have long since been abandoned. With this object in view, shortly after the "Peace of Versailles," the yellow leaders of various countries made repeated, separate attempts to bring back the International into the fold of the old Trade Unionism. They imagined that by reviving the Trade Union International they would again dress the working masses in the armour of fictitious solidarity, which in practice reduces itself to an entente with capitalism and disguised hostility to the workers of different nationality. The check suffered by the miserable efforts of the Amsterdam Congress, where the representatives of the Entente countries could not resist the dubious pleasure of once again humbling the German workers in the face of the capitalists, is generally recognised even by the defenders of yellow Trade Unionism. These efforts were received without approval and without enthusiasm. The attempts made by the Trade Unions to come to an agreement with the employers and to establish the foundations of a new International of Labour at Washington, must also be regarded as a pitiable comedy. The progress of the labours of the Conference at Washington, not to mention the attitude adopted to the conquered, and even to neutral, countries, cannot but excite a smile of pity even among the very organisers of this hypocritical and unhealthy farce. The same unhealthy atmosphere surrounded the recent efforts of Leghien, formerly one of the leaders of the German proletariat, and a "yellow" *par excellence*. In the name of 12 million workers, organised, as he says, in a mythical organisation, resident no one knows where, he applied, if the newspapers are to be believed, to the Trade Unions of Moscow, Petrograd, and Odessa to furnish him with particulars as to their organisation and to enter into relationships with

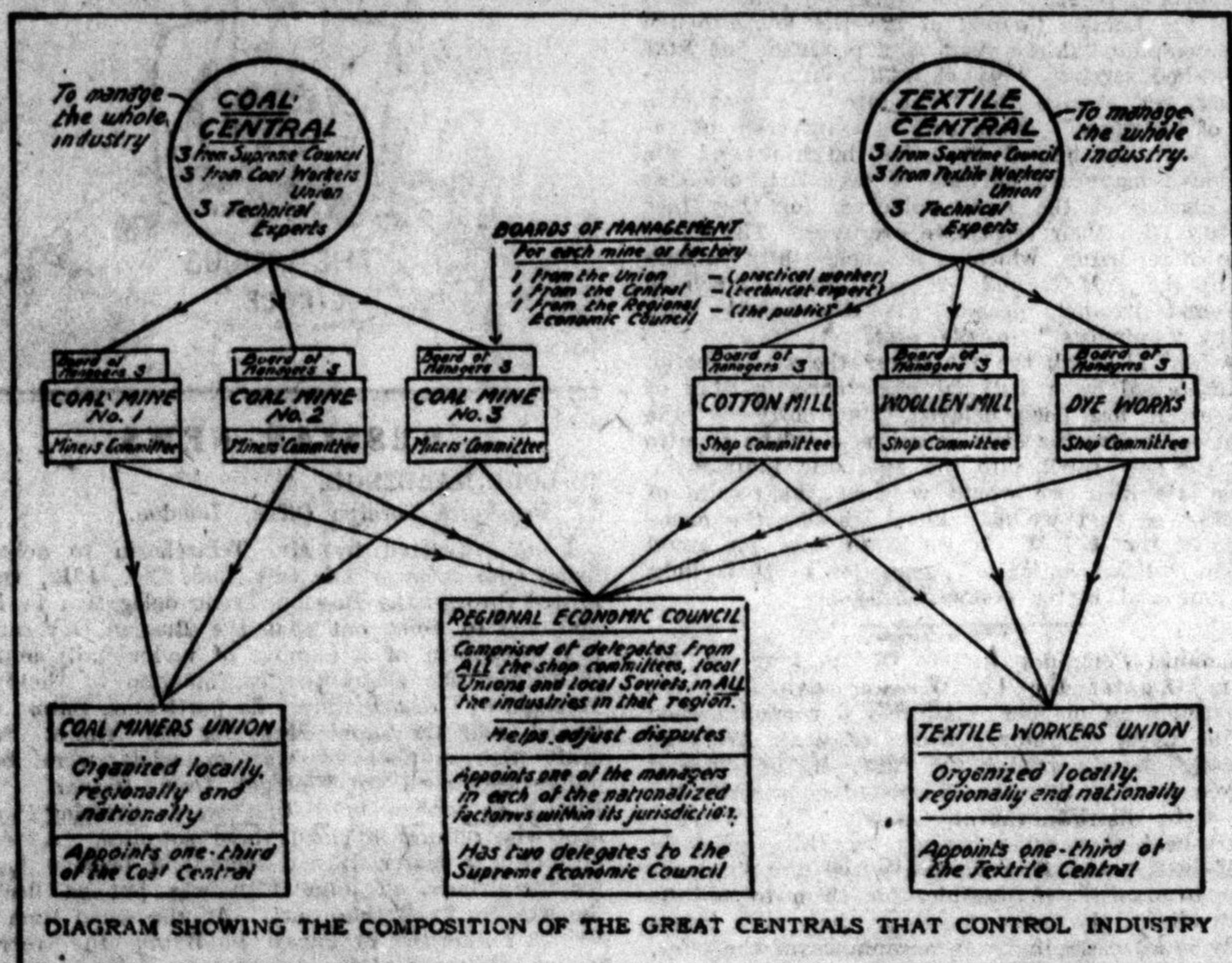


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE COMPOSITION OF THE GREAT CENTRALS THAT CONTROL INDUSTRY

especially rural workers. Such an attitude will attract to the International sections of the proletariat that have hitherto remained indifferent to the appeal of the militants, and will inspire the labouring masses with the conviction that the International, far from pursuing its own narrow interests, is fighting for the liberation of the oppressed millions.

The first attempts to put into practice the resolutions of the Congress of 1866 took place twenty-five years later at the Second International Congress at Brussels, in August, 1891. By that time the International was already in a position to exercise an effective influence on the working class movements of all countries.

To employ this influence the Congress recommended the creation of labour secretariats in every country, so that, in case of conflict between labour and capital, the workers of other States might be informed, and thus be able to adopt, without delay, such measures as might be useful.

The Congress of London.

The Congress of London took a further step in this direction by the adoption of the following resolution: "It is of urgent necessity to create a Central Committee of Trade Unions in each country so as to facilitate uniform Trade Union activity. These Committees will keep themselves informed of the situation of the labour market; they will keep up a regular exchange of statistical information, and will furnish reports of all the important events in the labour world of their respective countries. They will see to it that the Trade Unions of each country shall receive and strive to attract foreign workmen into their organisations, so as to prevent a decrease in wages, to the detriment of the workers of the country, resulting from the employment of foreign labour. In the case of strikes, lock-outs, and boycotts, it will be the duty of these Central Committees to afford material help to the local committees according to the means at their disposal."

Pre-War Solidarity.

Since then the Trade Union International has made striking progress. The creation of international unions of employers closely bound up with international capitalist syndicates and trusts gave a strong impulse to the development of the intelligence departments and increased the solidarity of the workers' organisations of the various countries. The Trade Union Committees united closely for the discussion of questions of general interest; reports on

mans of wishing to usurp power and establish their hegemony over the entire world; the Germans reproached the French with lacking the spirit of organisation; the English Trade Unionists shocked the susceptibilities of their colleagues by their aristocratic attitude and their lack of sociability.

National Suspicion and Rivalry.

The effect of the rivalry among the groups for individual preponderance, which in many points resembled the rivalry between the capitalist groups of the various countries for economic priority in the markets of the world, was to modify the resolutions adopted by the First International until they lost all their force; so that when the capitalist organisations of the rival countries, also vacillating between internationalism and the desire to make their internationalism the instrument of hegemony, found themselves finally plunged into the world war, they met with the opposition of only a fictitious labour organisation, and found the organised Trade Unionists disposed to second their interests.

The facility with which, from the first days of the bloody war, Leghien, Jouhaux, Gompers, Henderson, etc., renounced their international obligations, is explained by the fact that this renunciation had been preparing long before the declaration of war through the hostility developed between the Trade Unions of the different countries as a result of the imperialist policy of the principal Capitalist States.

During the war the same dissensions in the labour movement continued to manifest themselves, with this difference, that the state of war aggravated the acuteness of the conflicts and rendered a declaration of precise formula necessary. From that moment the Trade Unions, which remained "red" as long as they were in conflict with capitalism, became more and more "yellow," although they still remained under the pressure of the capitalist system. Towards the end of the war, and during the armed truce, the Trade Unions became altogether "yellow." The result was that in more proletarian quarters, notably among the class-conscious workers of Germany and Hungary, the Trade Union movement came to be regarded as an antiquated form of the working-class struggle, which henceforward could only be harmful to the interests of labour.

A Basis of New Principles.

Arising out of this attitude a revision in the principles of Trade Union organisation took place, facilitated by the clear insight which large sections of

the yellow unions, in the name of which he promised material aid to Soviet Russia. It is not known who authorised him to make these declarations. It was certainly not the factory and workshop committees of Germany, nor the revolutionary unions of Italy, nor the French, nor the working masses of England, for all these display an ineradicable opposition to the yellow leaders.

Wanted: A New International.

The only reply our workers can offer to the invitations of Amsterdam, Washington, and Leghien, all desirous of again abusing the trust of the masses, is to organise the true forces of revolution, in conjunction with the reds of the Western countries, for the creation of a new International which shall be separated by an untraversable ditch from the yellow organisations; to define the real position of the two parties, and in the international arena to prepare the way for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We are satisfied that the creation of this Trade Union International will not be long delayed. The international conference of Transport Workers now

fronts for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and henceforward to inspire new forms of international proletarian relationships and of the organisation of Communist life.

The First International only demanded from its members an exchange of information and of sympathy; what is now necessary is to make the experience gained in organisation and technique available to all, and to co-ordinate acts of demonstration and of offence; a uniform plan must be developed for the control of the production of the world, of food supply, and the division of the fruits of production; a single centre must be created for calculating and distributing the forces of labour, for the protection of labour, and for social insurance. Such, in broad outline, are the tasks of the new Trade Union International.

Far from isolating itself from the Third International, it should follow in the path it has traced out, everywhere establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat on the solid basis of the relationships existing between the producers of all countries. That

STRIKES IN THE CITY. PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDISATION.

ELECTRICAL TRADES UNION.

The ship repairing branch of the Electrical Trades Union has been on strike for five weeks. Some six months ago the National Federated Electrical Association made an agreement with the E.T.U. whereby all electricians were given a district rate of 2s. 3d. per hour. But the ship electricians were not granted the rate by the Ship Repairing Association, which is not affiliated to the N.F.E.A. The E.T.U., on behalf of the affected branch, presented their demands to the S.R.A. for the payment of the general shore rate. This was refused, and the men struck work. The ship electricians get 2s. 1d. per hour, and their dues are on a par with those of the men on shore.

Tactics of Shipping Combine.

The S.R.A. declare that they will not negotiate with the men until they return to work. And the wits of the men are now hard taxed to make the strike a success. The calling-out vote seems to have been rather hasty, the strike was crudely sectional; no steps were taken to gain the sympathy and active support of the ship electricians in other British ports.

On Wednesday evening, July 24th, the strikers held a meeting at the Memorial Hall to ascertain whether the shore men of the E.T.U. would help them to continue the strike or whether they were bound to return to work at the old rate.

The district committee thought that the marked absence of the majority of the shore men was an indication of their unwillingness. A letter was read to the meeting from the Ministry of Labour stating that the employers were willing to open negotiations on the condition of the men first returning to work; and a resolution was framed urging the men to go back, with the understanding that if the Shippers' Association, following upon the negotiations, did not grant the increase, the E.T.U. would support the men in a big, formidable strike!

By accepting the resolution the men would have won a single technical point, viz., the employers conceding to negotiate; before the strike they had refused to treat with the employees. Naturally, the men were chagrined and rebellious. Some of them felt that the District Committee and the E.T.U. had let them down to save their faces, and charged them with it; the vote could not be taken, and the meeting broke up in an uproar.

The Moral of the One Big Union.

There is no doubt about the men being badly beaten. Except for benevolent purposes there is no reason why the men who work on the ships should be in the same union with those working on shore because they happen to belong to the same trade. Any social association could serve the same purpose. It is just a few weeks ago that the wireless operators were on strike, supported by the dockers. It is a pity that the ship electricians could not then have made common cause with them. If the shore men should contribute to the maintenance of their striking comrades for a set period, or even if the E.T.U. should call a general strike, it is probable that the men could win in the long run. The E.T.U., which prides itself on being the premier and most militant trade union in Britain, has no control nor influence over the generating plants. It has not taken the step made towards industrial unionism by the miners and railwaymen.

Obviously the industrial salvation of electricians, carpenters, engineers, and other artisans that work in the ships lies in a One Big Union of all ship workers, including everybody, from the dockers who load the ships to the mess boys who clean the dishes. Thus, when the port workers strike for a principle, the seamen would refuse to man the ships, and when the latter had a grievance the former would rally to their support.

Comrade Tom Barker, who, during the war was deported from Australia to the Argentine, and who did splendid work there in organising the seamen along the lines of industrial unionism, is now in London with the intention of accomplishing the same task in the British ports. The shortest road to an English revolution and the complete collapse of British Capitalism should be by way of a revolutionary and international Ship Workers' Union.

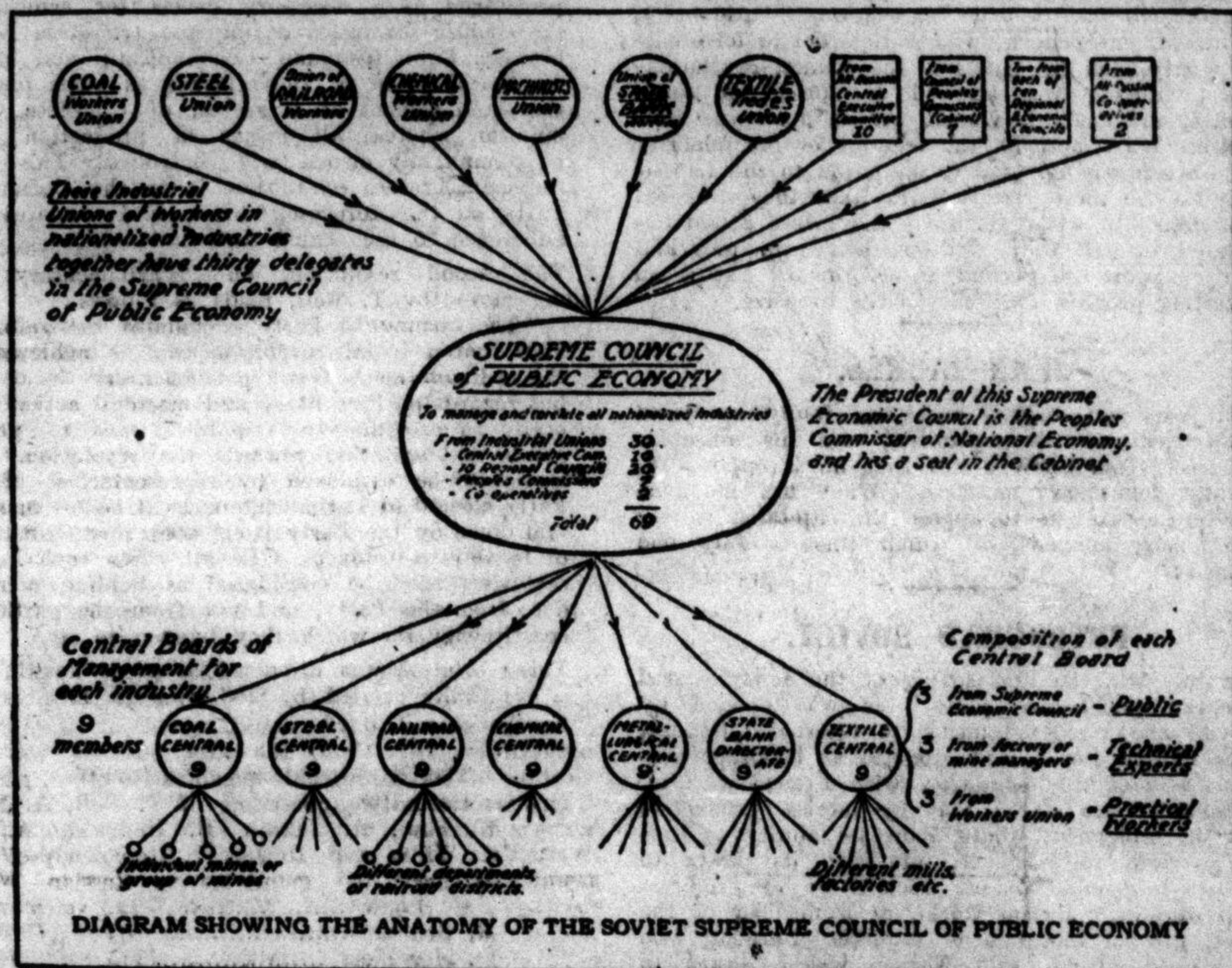
[Since the above was written, the men have returned to work.]

Strike in the Sawmills.

Nearly all the sixty sawmills in London are at a standstill since the men came out on strike about a month ago. A few mills without the Masters' Federation, that have granted the new scale of wages, are still going. The whirr-r-r of the Eadale mill right opposite the Dreadnought's office in Old Ford Road has not been heard for weeks. The men are striking for a standard wage of 2s. per hour for labourers, 2s. 3d. for skilled, and 2s. 6d. for the higher skilled men. It takes about ten years for the higher skilled men to become thoroughly efficient. Up to the time of the strike the wages, in some cases, was as low as 1s. 2d. for labourers and 1s. 6d. for skilled men.

In going the round of the mills members of the organising committee found that a couple of prominent mills in the East End had employed skilled non-union men for some time. They were immediately served with an ultimatum to join the Union, and have complied with the demands.

The sawmill industry is the key to the cabinet makers, piano makers, and building trades. All these should be united into a general union.—I.W.W.



being organised proves without a shadow of doubt that the sympathy of the majority of the workers is with the Third International.

Every day brings new evidence of closer union between the organisations of the various countries, and of the common aspirations of the workers in face of their new tasks.

The decay of the Second International and its capitulation to the Communist International furnishes the reds with a powerful weapon for the political struggle.

The first aim to be achieved is to strengthen the spirit of fraternity among the Trade Unions of all countries, and to unite ourselves, not merely in ideas, but also in practice.

The first task of the Trade Unions of all countries is to form in practice, as well as in theory, a powerful international organisation, prepared to fight side by side with the Communist International on all

the political problems of the industrial proletariat of the whole world are identical is proved by incontestable evidence; because of this fact we can to-day define the practical measures to be adopted on the new basis of class solidarity to re-establish the relationships momentarily relaxed between the Trade Unions of all countries. The fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is henceforward the sole motive force of the Trade Union movement, the establishment of universal Communism—its sole aim. One can prophesy without fear that the time is not far distant when the two great currents of the proletarian movement will merge into one in the Third International, when the Communist parties of all countries in full agreement with the red Trade Unions will form one united front against Capitalism. By doing so they will be following the vague, but undeniably wise, lead of the First International.—G. TSIPEROVITCH, President of the Professional Unions of Petrograd.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

By LENIN.

All democracy is relative, is class democracy. As an historical category, democracy is the instrument of a class; bourgeois democracy is the form of expression of the tyranny of Capitalism, the form of authority of the oppressing class over the oppressed class. The democracy of Socialism annihilates the democracy of Capitalism—relative, authoritative democracy is superseded by the actuality of the full and free democracy of Communist Socialism.

The proletarian revolution does not allow the "ethical concepts" of bourgeois democracy to interfere in its course; it ruthlessly casts aside bourgeois democracy in the process of establishing proletarian democracy. Capitalism hypocritically insists upon a government of all the classes, which in reality is the government of one class, the capitalist class; the proletarian revolution frankly institutes the government of one class—the proletariat—which ultimately means the end of "government" as hitherto constituted. The State is an instrument of coercion; but where the bourgeois State considers itself as sacrosanct and eternal, the revolutionary proletarian State considers itself a temporary necessity that will gradually become superfluous, in the measure that the process of reconstruction emerges definitely into the Socialist Communist society of the organised, self-governing producers.

The Constituent Assembly was an expression of government of all the classes, of the bourgeois

regime; it was, accordingly, necessarily and essentially a reaction against the proletarian revolution. Moreover, the Constituent Assembly was a phase of the parliamentary regime of the bourgeois republic.

The parliamentary system is not an expression of fundamental democracy, but of the ruling requirements of Capitalism. Parliamentarism, presumably representing all the classes, actually represents the requirements of the ruling class alone—with due consideration to "concessions" to the subject class. The division of functions in the parliamentary system into legislative and executive, has for its direct purpose the indirect smothering of the opposition—the legislature talks and represents "democracy," while the executive acts autocratically. Socialism cannot conquer Capitalism by assuming control of and using the parliamentary system: the system must be destroyed; and Socialism, accordingly, actually or potentially, prepares the norms of the proletarian State, the State of the industrially organised producers. The proletarian revolution annihilates the parliamentary system and its division of functions, legislative and executive being united into one working body—as in the Soviets of Workers and Peasants. The parliamentary State is purely territorial; the proletarian State, during its period of dictatorship, is territorial and industrial, until it emerges definitely into Socialism, when the State disappears, being replaced by the "administration of things," an industrial "state" functioning through the organised producers.

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OIL AND THE TROUBLED WATERS OF THE WORLD.

With the connivance of the British Government, the French militarists have invaded Syria, destroyed the Government, and set up one that will recognise and give free scope to French vested interests. Mesopotamia, like Poland, is also the protégé of that strange harlot, the League of Nations. Quite naturally the League is helpless and feeble of voice when she attempts to speak, for she has been so shamefully used.

The British are cynically silent, for they are in that country only by the strength of sheer brute force. They have reduced the Arabs to a state of sullen servility. Hence the reason for an armed force of 80,000 men and the setting up of institutions altogether foreign to the Arab mind.

The Unspeakable Turk.

Under Turkish rule these people of the plains enjoyed a greater measure of freedom than under the English. Quite natural, for the Turks were pirates of the land, stealing a little of the surplus value of the natives for themselves; the native workers were, however, quite free to live and toil in their own peaceful way, provided the Turks got their graft in taxes. It was a state of life that the wage-slaves of modern Capitalism might well envy. Happily the Turks were not efficient rulers, so the people were fairly contented; the small army was overwhelmingly Arab, "60 per cent. Arab in officers, 95 per cent. in other ranks," and "70 per cent. of the executive civil service" was also native. Now, British Capitalism has gone and set up efficient government in Mesopotamia. The country is overrun with hundreds of English civil servants and a large army of English and Indian soldiers. Here we come right up against the working of the System. While Capitalism is enthroned here in the interests of the privileged classes, the workers will be ground down in poverty, the overflow must become soldiers and the ambitions of the middle-classes must be satisfied, their overflow being sent out as clerks.

Blood for Oil.

In an illuminating letter to the *Times*, Col. T. E. Lawrence has ruthlessly exposed the callous methods of the interests in Arabia. He may rest assured that the Imperial capitalists will not trouble him with another job. Since then we are enlightened as to the real nature of the Allied Conference at San Remo. It was more of a brunette than of a blonde complexion. It was mainly to determine the Anglo-French exploitation of the Mesopotamian oil-fields. The terms that have been agreed upon for the division of the spoils are as follows:—

France, 18 parts.
Native, 20 parts.
England, 62 parts (the Lion's share).

The companies must be under permanent British control; the British and French Governments shall support their respective nationals in their ventures of exploitation.

About Russia we find that the two Governments will give their joint support to their respective nationals in their joint efforts to obtain petroleum concessions, etc. Of course, the Soviet Republic will never consent to give the sort of concessions that the Imperial capitalists value, and as oil is now the most prized commodity of the modern business world, the workers of the west must either be willing to accept a long drawn-out battle between the new forces of industry and the old, or bring peace to the world by destroying the old forces in Europe.

Parliament in India.

Westminster-on-Thames has gracefully condescended to grant Parliamentary institutions to India. In the constitution there are special clauses for the Christians of India, and Mohammedans, Hindus, and Europeans have all separate and exclusive representation. The fundamental idea is to perpetuate the caste system through religious differences, divide the people, and thus facilitate the system of alien exploitation. The debate in the Commons took a curious turn, when J. Wedgwood (Lab.), in advocating a non-residential clause, was opposed by the Secretary for India, who remarked that "the fundamental thing was to secure that the man who sought to represent a particular constituency, fully represented that constituency. They had embarked on a thing which was wholly unknown in this country in the shape of communal representation based on the desire to see the whole communities represented."

Capitalism is so adaptable! Here is one of its spokesmen pleading for a semi-Soviet parliamentary system that is "wholly unknown in this country," because it is convenient for Capital.

It may not be long before a scientific system of communal representation will be acceptable to this country. H.H.

WHAT DOES THE "MINORITY" SAY?

That moribund body, the Second International, which, to a large extent, is kept in being by the British Labour Party, held its Congress in Geneva on Saturday. Tom Shaw was elected president of the Congress, and in the course of his remarks said, that if the violent revolutionary methods of Russia were applied to England, his voice would be raised against such a policy. "His speech was a triumph of the English policy of mediation between the old International and the new." On the same day in London the second Communist Party was formed, which declared its adhesion to the Third International, and at the next day's session declared its adherence to the Labour Party, and through it, therefore, to the Second International. Alexinsky, the Russian ex-Socialist, who is reported to have carried money from the Allies to the counter-revolutionaries in Russia, was allowed to speak for seven minutes, and made a violent attack upon the Bolsheviks. What must be the feelings of the minority which is strongly opposed to affiliation to the Labour Party? Will these groups regret that they attended a conference to whose decisions they were bound beforehand, or will they swallow their principles and loyally support the Second International? It is an interesting problem that they have to solve.

JEAN JAURES.

Six years ago Jean Jaures was foully murdered by an agent of the capitalists, and his murderer goes free. Tom Shaw states that he is opposed to violent revolutionary methods. What has he done to rouse the workers to oppose the capitalist violent revolutionary methods, of which this is only one instance?

PETROGRAD SOVIET.

On July 6th, the first sitting of the newly-elected Petrograd Soviet took place. It was opened by Zinoviev and, besides relating to internal questions, it also elected Loriot and Monatte as honorary presidents as a sign of solidarity with French workers. A resolution also stated that by intense productive work the proletariat would show its ability to protect its right to existence, and also its power to establish a genuine human society in the interest of all workers. Maxim Gorki, as a member of the Soviet, greeted the famous explorer Nansen, who was present. Gorki said Nansen would return to Europe and relate how the Russian workers appreciate leading men, their deeds and ideas. Various other reports were heard. A plenary sitting of the Moscow Soviet took place on July 9th, at which reports by Krassin and Negina were heard. At the outset, Nansen was greeted amid great ceremony. He replied that men of science were happy to see the world war coming to an end, and the future widening out before humanity. He would, he said, do every thing in his power to aid Russian prisoners stranded in concentration camps abroad to return to their Soviet Fatherland. He expressed his firm hope that the negotiations between Russia and England would lead to the happy result desired, and that Russia would at last enjoy that peace which is so necessary to her and to all other countries. Krassin, in giving the history of his activities in London, said that he was considered, not as a representative of the Co-operative Society, but as an official plenipotentiary representative. The Soviet Government having decided to accept the basis of negotiations proposed by England, Krassin is to return immediately to London, accompanied by representatives of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The meeting carried a resolution approving the policy of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, which tended to lift the blockade and stop capital intervention in Russia. Since the opening of the navigation season, more than 503,000 passengers and 4,000,000 pood of merchandise, 34,500,000 pood of timber, and 22,000,000 poods of naphtha have been transported along the Volga. The leather central committee will turn out this year, besides military footwear, 5,000,000 pairs of civilian boots, 1,200,000 leather gloves, and 80,018 suits. The Karzan-Ekaterinenburg line has just been opened for traffic. Thus a new main line connects Siberia with the heart of Soviet Russia. Wrangel's *Golos*, published in Melitopol, printed on June 6th two significant reports. The first of them mentions that in Germany an expeditionary corps is now being formed to fight the Bolsheviks. The corps will be composed not only of Russian war prisoners, but also of German volunteers, such as General Erhart's brigade of General Litow's corps, and Bavarian troops under Colonel Enna's command. The corps will be called the Eastern army; and will be concentrated in Bessarabia. Its operations will begin on the Dniester, and will be supported by a 30,000 Ukrainian army, concentrated near Odessa. The second message mentions the arrival from England of a steamer with 12,000 machine-guns for Wrangel's army, out of which 9,000 are of the Vickers' pattern. These two messages prove once more that the Allies, while talking of peace are supporting with men and ammunition Soviet Russia's enemies.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

A Conference was held at the Cannon Street Hotel on Saturday, July 31st, where the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed.

Arthur Macmanus took the chair. There were 158 delegates present, representing 220 votes and a membership of 5,120.

After the Chairman's opening remarks, fraternal greetings were read from the German, Austrian, Dutch, Hungarian, and Swiss Communist Parties, the Italian Socialist Party, the Norwegian Labour Party, the Lithuanian Communist Federation, the Left Wing of the I.L.P., Comrades Clara Zetkin, Tom Mann, and a letter from Lenin, which had previously appeared in the Press.

The first resolution, on "General Policy," moved by A. A. Purcell, was carried unanimously, and reads as follows:—

"The Communists in Conference assembled declare for the Soviet (or Workers' Council) system as a means whereby the working class shall achieve power, and take control of the forces of production; declares for the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary means for combatting the counter-revolution during the transition period between Capitalism and Communism; and stands for the adoption of these means as steps towards the establishment of a system of complete Communism, wherein all means of production shall be communally owned and controlled. This Conference therefore establishes itself the Communist Party on the foregoing basis, and declares its adherence to the Third International."

The second resolution, on "Parliamentary Action," moved by T. Bell, reads as follows:—

"The Communist Party repudiates the reformist view that a social revolution can be achieved by the ordinary methods of parliamentary democracy, but regards parliamentary and electoral action generally as providing a valuable means of propaganda and agitation towards the revolution. The tactics to be employed by representatives of the Party elected to Parliament or local bodies must be laid down by the Party itself according to national or local circumstances. In all cases such representatives must be considered as holding a mandate from the Party, and not from the particular constituency for which they happen to sit."

This resolution was discussed at great length, but was eventually carried by 186 ayes to 19 noes.

At the second day's session, held at the International Socialist Club, the first business was the election of six additional members to the present Executive Committee, consisting of T. Bell, A. Macmanus, W. Paul, A. Inkpin, E. Hodgson, A. A. Watts, F. Willis and Hewlett. The newly-elected members are:—

Fred Shaw	123 votes
R. Stewart	117 "
D. Mortefiori	115 "
C. Malone	106 "
G. Dear	100 "
W. Mellor	100 "

The third resolution, on "Relations with the Labour Party," reading as follows:—

(a) "That the Communist Party shall be affiliated to the Labour Party," or alternately—
(b) "That the Communist Party shall not be affiliated to the Labour Party," evoked even more discussion than that on Parliamentary Action.

Hodgson put the case for affiliation, and W. Paul the case against it.

On a card vote, affiliation was carried by 100 ayes to 85 noes. Majority for affiliation, 15.

This voting shows an abstention of 20 from the vote on Resolution 2.

The closeness of the vote indicates a very strong minority in the newly-formed Party opposed to affiliation to the Labour Party, and places the Executive Committee in a very difficult position.

It will put a severe strain on the loyalty of the members of the minority, who may feel that they ought to secede and join the Party which stands for the views they hold.

The result of the voting on resolutions 2 and B is an endorsement of the correctness of the tactics advocated by the previously formed Communist Party.

There is a possibility that the essential question of affiliation to the Labour Party, carried only by a majority of 15 on a vote of 185, may cause a split in the Party. It is a full justification of the view that two Communist Parties in England are inevitable.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

We make a special appeal to all Communists to support the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT, by giving or collecting as much as they can. Collecting cards will be supplied on application. The actual cost of the paper alone for 26 copies has risen to 11½d.; add to that the cost of printing and office expenses, and deduct the discount allowed to newsagents and Branches, with free postage, and you will see that the paper is produced at a loss. If you want it to continue to fulfil its important function, you must rally to its support. It has been adopted as the official organ of the Communist Party, so that it is up to all members to push its sale to their utmost. We are having a series of articles on Trades Unions, and special attention should be given to selling it at their Branch meetings. This is an excellent way of introducing Communist propaganda and getting in touch with the Communist elements in the Unions.

Donations and collections received will be acknowledged weekly in the paper.

YOUNG COMMUNISTS' PROGRAMME.

The extraordinary development of the accumulation of capital and of production has led capitalism into a new phase of its development, into the phase of imperialism, which is shown by the formation of trusts, syndicates, and cartels, and by the domination of finance-capital. The colonial policy, called forth by the necessity of outlets for commerce and controlling the sources of raw materials, the competition of national capitalist cliques call forth with fervid urgency capitalist wars. The war of 1914-1918, the consequences of which cannot be settled by the powers of capitalist society, has disturbed and shattered the economic life of most capitalist States. . . . The frightful misery of the war, famine, financial and industrial ruin, the destruction of millions of human lives, has driven mankind into a position from which there is only one outlet—a world-wide Socialist revolution.

The material conditions are ripe for it. The class oppositions are extraordinarily defined; the triumph of the revolution depends on the will and energy of the international proletariat. The way to Socialism leads through the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is shown by the authority of the revolutionary Soviets. The first duty of the working classes of all lands is the fight for the overthrow of the political, economic and intellectual sovereignty of imperialism, and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only possible for this fight to be victorious if the proletariat turns determinedly from the Second International, which is corrupted by reform and compromise with the bourgeoisie, which attempts to save the old society and is therefore treacherous to the working class; and if the mass of the workers assemble under the banner of the Communist International, which is the leader of the revolutionary fight of the proletariat. During the revolutionary period, the means of the revolutionary class struggle must first pass over—demonstrations, general strikes, and armed insurrection—that the end may be reached. But the proletariat cannot on principle renounce any political means, not even Parliament. Entry into Parliament depends upon the existing political situation and ought to be decided by the organisations of each country.

Economic Conditions of Young Workers.

When the position of the adult workers, under capitalist domination, has grown particularly difficult that of the youth is intolerable. Small wages, long working hours, and barbarous treatment on the part of the masters characterise the situation of the young workers. It is still worse in handicraft, where the apprentices are completely at the mercy of the violence of their masters. This limitless exploitation of the young workers prevents their intellectual and physical development. The bourgeois State only gives to the young workers so much education and knowledge as is necessary to enable it to exploit them as useful and submissive beasts of burden. The bourgeois seeks to train Youth to its way of thinking. The schools, the clerical and lay societies for young people, and the military regime, aim at alienating the proletarian youth from the fight for Socialism and educating them to be devout soldiers of Imperialism. The world-wide war has considerably worsened the conditions of youth. Millions of young people were sent to the front as cannon fodder. More millions were trained in capitalist production.

Although the State and the master-class use the strength of the young people without limit, they possess the least political and personal rights. This condition of things forces the young workers, as part of the working-class, to the merciless struggle against imperialism.

The creation of special proletarian organisations for young people is determined: (1st) By their position in the process of production and in society, which compels them to fight in defence of their interests—changed conditions of work, re-organisation of the school. (2nd) By special psychology of youth—control of sentiment by reason, gift of easy comprehension, susceptibility for all things new, revolutionary ideas ready for sacrifice and death. (3rd) By the necessity for special methods of Socialist and revolutionary education—work of independent organisation, active participation in political action, application of all methods which enable young people to acquire these qualifications, as they will be required later as fighters of the proletarian class and leaders of the revolutionary movement.

Importance of Education.

The working-class youth is the most active and most revolutionary part of the proletariat. The chief duty of the Communist Organisation of Youth is at present an indefatigable political agitation among the great masses of the workers, the organisation and realisation of political action, the immediate fight for Communism, participation in the overthrow of the capitalist government, and the education of youth for building up the Communist State.

The organisations of Communist youth lead an energetic fight against all bourgeois parties as well as against Right Wing Socialists, the open lackeys of the bourgeoisie—Scheidemann, Renner, Bissolati, Renaudel, Henderson, Gompers, Troelstra, Branting, Vandervelde—and against the Centre Socialists—Kautsky, MacDonald, Robert Grimm, Bauer, etc.—who bolster up the capitalist society by their vacillating behaviour. They also struggle against the Syndicalist conception which is opposed to the political fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They struggle even against the anarchist conception which generally ranges itself against the proletarian state as the transition of capitalism to

Communism, and propagates the petty-bourgeois ideas on the economic field. They lead the same fight against all organisations of young people which are affiliated to the above mentioned parties. In their political fight, the organisations of young people take their stand on the basis of the programme of the party or section in their country which is affiliated to the Third International or of the programme of the Communist International. The relations of the organisation to the Party ought to be decided by two fundamental principles: (1) independence of the young people; (2) close contact and reciprocal help.

Although the Communist organisations of youth continue to struggle energetically against bourgeois Capitalism in all its ideal and practical forms, they do not, however, share the Liberal pacifist ideas. They know that the working class, in order to overthrow imperialism and defend a triumphant dictatorship of the proletariat against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, will be forced to have recourse to arms. "Against the bourgeois militarism; for the arming of the proletariat, for the Red army," that is the pass-word of the Communist youth.

Duties of Communist Organisations.

The struggle for the improvement of the economic conditions of the proletarian youth is one of the most important duties of the organisation of youth. Change of work for the young people is only possible in the Communist State. During the present period of capitalist rule, a partial improvement of the situation of the young people can only be gained by the revolutionary class-struggle and by no means through collaboration with the employing class of the bourgeois state.

The elementary duties of the Communist organisations of youth are: the creation of conscious proletarian fighters and future builders of the Communist Society. Communist conscience and ability, to fight, will be gained besides by participation in the political fight, by theoretic Socialist education, which is also a powerful weapon in the fight against bourgeois ideology. Socialist education in connection with active participation in the political fight is the educational method of the young proletarian fighters.

The Communist organisations of youth assume as their essential duty the education of young people in Marxist teaching, and thereby raise their level of culture. The young workers ought to draw from the middle class its wealth of human knowledge, which is necessary for the conduct of the struggle for the emancipation of the workers. They ought also to attain knowledge of science, art and literature. From their ranks there ought to come not only conscientious workers and brave Red soldiers, but also scientists, technicians, organisers, philosophers, poets and artists of the Communist Society. The young working class and its organisation is therefore called to create in the first instance the new proletarian culture inspired by the Communist spirit.

The Communist organisations of youth must educate the young working class to be healthy men, healthy in mind and body, that is why the Communist organisations of youth care also for their bodily health. That work, which to-day in the general activity can only be a part of the whole work, is of great importance for the young workers.

Although the Communist organisations of youth are anxious to win large masses of the young workers to their opinions, this gain must not, however, be made at the expense of the clearness of their programme and their Communist tactics. The agitation of the organisations of Communist youth is extremely important amongst the agricultural workers and poorest peasants.

Workers and Students must Unite.

The International League of Communist Youth considers the existence of Socialist organisations, particularly for young intellectuals, as superfluous. The most loyal revolutionaries amongst the young intellectuals ought to be members of the working-class organisations for young people, as equals among equals and comrades among comrades. The creation of groups of students within general organisations of young people ought to be regulated according to the particular conditions of the different countries.

In the present revolutionary epoch, the working-class struggle can only be victorious if it is carried on internationally. That is also so with the young people's fight. Therefore the working-class organisations of young people are uniting in the international League of Communist Youth.

The chief task of the League is the centralised management of all the work and the struggle of the various Communist organisations of youth in the different countries. Its decisions are the supreme law of all organisations of young people. Its practical work consists in agitation and the direction of political action. Its duty is to give its whole support to the activities of the organisations of youth, to sustain them morally and materially, to found new federations and to set up a close cohesion between the working-class organisations of young people of all countries.

The International League of Communist Youth is built up on the decisions of the first conference of the Third International, and forms a part of that Communist International. The centre of the International League of Communist Youth is bound in organisation to the Third International, and works with it in closest communion.

The Peasants of Russia, at their recent Congress, sent a vote of thanks to the British and Italian dockers who have refused to load arms for White Russia.

YOUNG SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

AUSTRIA.—The Young Communist Federation has accepted the decisions of the Berlin Congress on Revolutionary Tactics, and is daily gaining adherents. Their fortnightly paper, *Die Kommunistische Jugend* (The Young Communists), prints 3,000 copies.

JUGO-SLAVIA.—The Federation, distinctly Communist, has a membership of about 5,000 members. Their paper is the fortnightly *Crvena Zastava* (The Red Flag).

RUMANIA.—The movement here is still financially and intellectually dependent on the Social-Democratic Party. A small group has been formed of Young Workers, accepting the Berlin programme.

GREECE.—There are Young Communist groups at Athens, Piræus, Salonica, Volo, Karalla. A National Federation is spoken of.

BULGARIA.—There are two factions, the Social-Democrats and the Communists, which are very active. They have a fortnightly paper, the *MLADAYA PRAVDA* (The Truth of Youth), this is exceedingly good.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—Two organisations are in existence, one for the Czechs and the other for the German element. The former represents the Left element, and is in touch with the Communist International; the latter with offices at Teplitz-Schoenau publishes a paper, *Die Junge Welt* (The Young World), with a Social-Democratic programme.

LITHUANIA (White Russia).—All Young Socialist organisations were suppressed during the German military occupation. Now the organisation, under specially favoured circumstances, is a very strong one. There is a central organ—*The Young Communist*—and several minor ones. Many of the members are in the Red Army.

FINLAND.—Here, too, organisations, at one time flourishing, were destroyed by the armies of occupation. The present organisation is 20,000 strong, and the question of joining the Young Communist International is the question of the hour.

NORWAY.—The Federation, with 12,000 members, is united in accepting the decisions of the Berlin Conference. A weekly paper is issued, *Klass Kampen* (The Class Struggle), edited with great vigour by E. Clausen, which is doing good work in the local unions.

DENMARK.—Reformists and social-patriots have been eliminated from the movement here, which is 8,000 strong, with a weekly organ, the *Fremad*.

SWEDEN.—A Federation of 400 groups, with an aggregate of 35,000 members, is in existence in this country. The weekly organ of the Federation, *Sturm-Blocken*, has a circulation of 30,000 copies.

HOLLAND.—The party of Troelstra has a Central Young Workers' Organisation affiliated to the Young Communist International. The monthly organ is *De Jonge Socialist* (The Young Socialist), with a circulation of 2,500 copies.

BELGIUM.—The Young Socialists of Brussels have left the Belgian Socialist Party and formed a Communist Group. They issue *The Communist Worker* as their organ.

SPAIN.—The Young Socialist organisation has joined the anti-Parliamentary Communist Party. It has about 8,000 members.

PORTUGAL.—Only a Young Syndicalist organisation is in existence.

ITALY.—There are several papers for the education of the Young Socialists. The central organ, the *Avanguardia* (the Vanguard), has a circulation of over 30,000 copies. The Federation has 60,000 paying members, and it is rapidly growing. The last meeting of the Executive decided to accept in full the Communist programme.

SWITZERLAND.—At their Easter Conference the Young Socialists decided to break away from the Social-Democratic Party, it being considered revisionist. Their organs, *Die Freie Jugend* (the Free Youth) and the *Jugend International* were suppressed by the Federal Council. This last-named journal now appears in Germany and the former is resurrected under the name of *Neue Jugend*.

HUNGARY.—The White Terror has destroyed all organisations. There are several underground groups.

POLAND.—No organised movement owing to the prevailing reaction.

GERMANY.—Besides the organisations founded by the Social-Democrats, there is a weak organisation attached to the Independents. Distinct from the other parties, there is the organisation of the *Freie Sozialistische Jugend*, with 25,000 members, very active and purely Communist. Their fortnightly paper is *Die Junge Garde* (the Young Guard).

The *Jugend International*, published in Germany, is the organ of the International Federation. There is already an edition in Italian and one in Swedish. Editions in French, Norwegian and Czech are in preparation.

The *Jugend Correspondenz* is a weekly (8 pages), also issued by the E.C. and published in German. It deals with questions of tactics chiefly. Editions in French, English, and Italian are in course of preparation.

Pravda (Moscow) writes: "We agree with Tchitcherin that a common frontier between Russia and Germany is absolutely necessary for our work of economic reconstruction."

A marble bust of Peter Kropotkin has been erected in Moscow.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Dear Comrade,—May I offer two criticisms of your article, "A Constitution for British Soviets"? It seems to me of the utmost importance that we should take full advantage of the little store of revolutionary experience at our command, if we wish to avoid hesitation and mistakes in the critical period of the setting up of Communist Society.

In the first place, it appears to me that we must recognise three forms of popular organisation in a Communist state of society, three forms foreshadowed in the teaching of Marx and Engels, and realised to-day in Russia. I think your article confuses them rather together. The three forms are:—

(1) The State—Marx and Engels showed that the State is the organ of oppression of the poor by the rich, whereby they are kept under. We must replace the Capitalist State by the Proletarian State, the Soviets, the fighting organ of the workers. When we have finished the suppression of Capitalism and the setting-up of Communism, there will be nothing left for the State to do, and, in the words of Engels, it will "wither away." In the highest stage of Communism the functions of society will be carried on by the other two forms of organisation.

The Soviets, of course, consist of councils in each town or rural district of delegates from the workers of every industry; these councils send delegates to the higher Soviets, whereby the Proletarian State organisation is built up.

(2) The Bodies that Control Industry.—These are the "Professional Unions" of Russia, a kind of Trade Union for each industry, democratically managed and including every worker in the industry. All the Professional Unions combine together to make the "Commission for Economic Affairs." The embryo from which they will develop is the trade union of to-day.

This Commission will eventually manage industry. It must include, not only strictly "industrial" alliances, but organisations representative of workers concerned with selling (or actual distribution), with agriculture, with teaching, with health, and every other useful occupation. Everyone who works will be in one of these alliances, which will be built up of local soviets of workers in the industry concerned.

(3) The Social Soviets.—These have for their embryo stage the present Co-operative Societies (freed from usury) and the "Soviets of the Street," Tenants' Defence Associations, etc. To-day in Russia the old Co-operative Societies have been transformed into the means of distribution. Under Communism everyone will be in the Social Soviet for his or her street, co-operative household, or district. These Soviets will send delegates to the Social Soviet of the town or country district, and these again delegates to the regional or national body. These bodies will arrange for the supply and distribution of goods and services by the industrial organisations mentioned above. Besides controlling the distribution of food-stuffs, clothes, etc., they will control also housing, and questions of health service, education, etc., as they affect social life.

Two sets of organisations on these lines will together, before long, look after the greater part of the public affairs of the world. There will, of course, be free association for many other purposes—science and art, sport and mutual education—but the two I have mentioned will give to Communal Society its form.

To-day, however, the first thing is the Soviets, to fight Capitalism and build up Communism.

There is no reason why, in this country, our rural organisation should be different from that of the towns. In Russia there was no real rural proletariat, but only a small-holding feudal peasantry, largely reactionary in spirit, and requiring all the iron determination of the town workers to draw it into Socialism by sheer enthusiastic example. But here we have a class-conscious and dispossessed agricultural working-class, ready to take control of our communised farms. This country is more suited than Russia for Communism.

The other point is one connected with the position of women. Surely, comrade, you would not adopt a form of organisation that restricts household management to women? It seems to me that immediately we have made our revolution we shall all join up into Social Soviets for the purpose of managing social affairs, as I have described. As time passes, the influence of these will permeate the household with Communism, until the small, jealously independent households imposed by the present system will join together into groups for the purpose of co-operative house-keeping, varying probably in nature from one co-operative house-keeping unit to another, to suit individual preferences. Some of the household work required will be done voluntarily by all. On the other hand, some people, chiefly mothers, will continue to require to spend their working hours in house-keeping. These people must be paid by the community. Only by recognising the social utility of this work, and rendering women in this way economically independent of men, can we abolish the age-long enslavement of woman by man. This will be one of the greatest achievements of Communism.

The household workers will have their own Professional Union, united with all other workers; and, together with the delegates from other industries, they will send their delegates to the local Soviets.

That is my criticism. I hope you will accept it as an addition to your article.—Yours fraternally,
E. T. HARRIS.

Dear Comrade,—I noticed with some amusement that the newly-formed Communist Party did not find it necessary to lay down any general principles or objects, and that the delegates were satisfied to establish it on the basis only of a "general policy," sadly lacking in precision.

There is not a word in any of the resolutions recognising the existence of the class-struggle in the present society; not a word of the class-exploitation upon which capitalist society is based.

The answer that these things are to be taken for granted is not a satisfactory one, especially in the case of a propagandist body; in the case of an organisation that has to be differentiated, both from bourgeois parties, from Reformists, and from Socialists of the Second International.

The recognition of the class-struggle being, as it were, the corner-stone, the acid test for a revolutionary proletarian movement, this omission is surely to be regretted, and seems rather strange.

The general policy adopted (the current meaning of "policy" is a "guiding conduct") consists of two things, probably three, if the adhesion to Moscow is included: the declaration that two "means" "The Soviet system" and "The dictatorship of the proletariat" are steps towards the establishment of a system of Communism.

There is much loose thought in this resolution. The working-class is to achieve power through the system of Soviets, but not a word is there advocating the setting up of that actual means by which power shall be achieved, nor is there any indication when or under what concomitant conditions, at which stage of the revolutionary advance, if not at present, they may be set up or their advocacy considered an immediate necessity.

The dictatorship is declared to be "the means of combating the counter-revolution during the 'transitory period.'" In point of fact that is purely one of its functions, the primary one being that of putting the working-class in power.

Thus minimised—so, probably more palatable: no longer the forcible conquest of power by the working-class and the workers' control over the means (not the forces) of production—this essential principle passes almost unnoticed and loses its vibrant appeal and power.

At the gilded Cannon Street Hotel, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, described by Lenin as "not a mean thing," did fare badly, indeed.

Again: The order in which these two "means" the Party "declares for" should be inverted. In a fighting organisation the broader principle should be first, that which will bring about the clash with the enemy.

The system of "complete Communism" is defined only as a system "wherein all means of production are communally owned and controlled." Not a word to define this "complete" Communism with regard to the distribution of products and of commodities.

The definition here given covers only half the ground; being incomplete, it is not clear—it is even misleading.

The resolution on Parliamentary Action is none too happily worded, and any politician could drive through it the traditional four-in-hand without difficulty.

Parliamentary action is considered "a valuable means of propaganda"; a flabby statement, that would equally serve for a thousand and one other forms of agitation.

Never was Parliamentary action put at such a low level: not by its opponents, but, mark you, by a party seeking affiliation to the Labour Party, which has as the first of its five primary national objects, that of organising and "maintaining in Parliament" a political Labour Party.

Besides the above, the resolution makes only a negative statement about Parliament: the repudiation of the reformist position.

Any bourgeois politician, who naturally does not believe that the Social Revolution will be achieved through Parliament, could, with complete honesty, vote for this resolution.

Negative declarations are weak, and they are not a sure foundation to build a party upon.

Nowhere is there an indication how Parliamentary action is to be co-ordinated with the growth of the new authority and power of the system of Soviets.

We made the acquaintance of these Soviets early on the Agenda; they are out of sight where most needed, when they should supplant the old form of authority.

The drafter of the resolution, one would think, might have thought that some explanatory words were necessary on this very important point, from a new Party, with a new message. Nothing!

Representatives of the Party are deemed to hold a mandate from the Party itself, and the question presents itself: A mandate for what?

They will not vote, for the Revolution cannot be brought about by the ordinary methods of Parliamentary democracy. The vote is the only form of action for an M.P. A mandate for what? To talk; to do general propaganda? The thing needs defining.

In that same resolution, all of a sudden the representatives of the Party are assumed to be elected; a somewhat optimistic view if the real intentions of the founders of the Party are kept true and undiluted. The tactics to be employed by representatives of the party elected to Parliament are to be laid down by the Party. Not a word, not even a vague hint, as to the tactics to be followed in order to secure election; for instance, that candidates should advocate the Party propaganda only, without

any additional pledge, open or implied; that funds for the election should be subscribed only by members of the Party (under the present electoral law a Communist candidate, who stood little chance of election, may become the tool of one of the capitalist parties), etc., etc.

In view of the fact, admitted also by its supporters, that Parliamentary action easily lends itself to dupe, a few clear words, a few restrictive clauses, would not have been amiss. As it is, the resolution says nothing of import, and it is a misnomer to call it a resolution "on Parliamentary action."

One does not wish to pose as a carping critic, but it is evident that the resolutions upon which the new Party has been established, even if regarded simply as provisional, reveal little forethought and still less political experience.

They have to be re-written before they can be seriously considered.

One also wonders what Moscow will think of them, as a revolutionary achievement.

Fraternally yours,
NORAH JONES.

Dear Comrade,—The strength of the Socialist movement in South Africa is not great, and is mainly confined to the three towns, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. The International Socialist League of Johannesburg is fairly strong in numbers, but its activities are mainly confined to Johannesburg suburbs. Its activities do not clash with ours, as we are confined at present to Cape Town and suburbs. With the exception of smaller organisations in Cape Town and Durban (anti-Parliamentary groups), these two organisations constitute the movement in South Africa.

We are at present holding weekly five outdoor propaganda meetings and one lecture, and our journal, *The Bolshevik*, is going well. Whilst the International Socialist League (Johannesburg) has to fight the criticism of the Communist League, we have the field to ourselves in the Cape. Bitter indeed is the feelings that exist in Johannesburg between the factions in the I.S.L. and the Communist League over the question of Parliamentary action; a state of affairs which we are spared, as the comrades here are solidly against Parliamentary action. We are gaining ground slowly, especially amongst the coloured and native people, as the white workers are still obsessed with colour prejudice. This race hatred which we are fighting exists in all sections, Mahomedan, white, coloured and native, and is our greatest obstacle. Due, however, to our obtaining the services of a few coloured and Malay comrades in our propaganda, we are making better progress lately. This propaganda amongst the coloured and native workers is the work that counts and which directly undermines capitalism in South Africa as the capitalists can always count on a section of the white workers to shoot down the "niggers."

The few propagandists we have work hard, but help is badly needed. The speakers of our organisation are busy almost every evening in holding meetings, lecturing, etc. The movement in South Africa is also badly hampered by lack of funds. I would like to congratulate you on the splendid matter published in the "Dreadnought," and especially its firm attitude on the matter of Parliamentary action.

In a few papers here has appeared a report to the effect that the Executive Committee of the Third International has made a pronouncement on several controversial questions of the Communist movement, and has decided that failure to use the Parliamentary weapon is in flagrant contradiction with the interest of the working-class. We have not been impressed in the least with the case as put forward by Zinoviev and others for Parliamentary action, as they appear to base it on the action of heroic comrades such as Liebknecht, etc., and not upon the action of Parliamentary groups.

We feel that it is not right for the Executive Committee to decide definitely upon this important question, which should be left to a representative Congress to discuss thoroughly. The decision of the E.C. compares Parliamentary action to action in the Trades Unions. As the one is a capitalist institution and the other proletarian, they cannot be compared either from the view-point of propaganda or of utility in establishing Socialism.

With fraternal greetings from all comrades here,
I remain,

Yours fraternally, M. LOPES.

Communist Saturday.

Under this title a paper appeared in Moscow, as a single issue only, the joint work of the printers and of the editorial staff of five weekly papers and of the telegraphic agency *Rosta*.

It dealt purely with the question of increased production from a Communist point of view. Two hundred thousand were distributed in Moscow, and 400,000 in other Soviet towns and to the Red Army.

TO ALL FORMER W.S.F. MEMBERS.
NEW CARDS.

Communist Party Membership Cards are Now Ready. All holders of old W.S.F. cards should send these in for substitution to the

Secretary:

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, W.14.
Contributions, from June 19th forward, 3d. per week.
NEW CARD ONE SHILLING.

A GAS EXPLOSION. (PART II.)

By C. B. WARWICK.

It is rumoured that the sigh of relief was so great among the Mancunian Bourgeois Press (which is so interested in the "welfare of the community"), when, on July 15th, they were able to report hopefully regarding the gas strike, that somnolent Members of Parliament were suddenly awakened to the accelerated activity known as "making laws for the People, to do good to the People, and to create authoritarian respect amongst the People."

The *Dreadnought* was the only paper to give a full report of the Gas Workers' actions; the *Dreadnought* shall give the facts that preceded, and led up to the mis-named "Settlement."

The Men Ignore Mr. Clynes.

There was a "complete deadlock" on the 13th; Clynes and Company couldn't move the men, and the employers' demand was ignored. On the previous evening there had been a delegate conference, representing all the Northern strike towns, and Clynes had given vent to his usual honeyed pleas to the men, when the Manchester delegates became so disgusted that they lost patience and walked out of the meeting. At a mass gathering at Shamrock Hall (the city rendezvous for the strikers), the Conference had been discussed, and speakers referred to "the old, old story about want of discipline, indiscretion, wrong action, and so forth," and said Clynes tried "to coat things with French polish." When the count was taken on the motion to continue striking, there was not a single dissentient voice. And yet, three days later, there came the voluminous sigh of relief I have alluded to.

The Willingness of the Lord Mayor.

On the Deadlock Day, the 13th, our gracious lord, the Labour Mayor, expressed "a willingness to grant facilities for the subject of the strike to be raised after ordinary business"—this to be at the City Council meeting on the 14th. So Labour Group representatives "got busy," and, for once, displayed "impartial interest" in the cold-blooded aspirations of the much-maligned strikers. Salford Labour Group similarly acted; both Groups met the Strike Committees of their respective domains.

That same day, the Strike Committees received from the Dockers an offer of "moral and material support." This was variously translated. An official of the Dock, Wharf, and Riverside Workers' Union said it was an "attempt to help both sides to come to an understanding"—that was a delicate twist, ye ken! The *Daily Dispatch* added: "But if the latter [the Dockers] would not listen to reason, the Dockers would adopt a more serious attitude." That's nearer the mark, for the Dockers definitely were sympathetic, and ready themselves to strike, and to aid financially the gas workers. However one may look at it, the official elements "got the wind up"; the Dockers were serious, and, what the Press, at least, failed to report, the E.T.U. men were simply wild to come out solid with their fellow workers.

Wisdom for Labour M.P.s.

The *Manchester Guardian* appeared with sentences full of a wisdom Labour M.P.s might well imbibe, to their eternal mental uplift. This is what they might long ago have learned: "Modern Trade Unions are great organisations with a bureaucracy, and with leaders who live in a different atmosphere from the men they lead"; and it is just that different atmosphere that, even in the most sincere Trade Union leader or politician, creates an outlook far removed from the rank and file's industrial and economic outlook, and renders such impotent to worthy action as far as workers' interests are concerned. The *Guardian* continues, in reference to the strike position at that time: "Such a deadlock means either that there is something fundamentally wrong with the system and method of industrial diplomacy, or else that there is some capital difficulty in the temper and mind of the workers." Sure! Class-conscious workers (and "class-consciousness" is coming in leaps and bounds) have always pointed out that "industrial diplomacy" methods, or confabs, between "Haves" and "Haven'ts," are always, from the workers' class-interested viewpoint, "fundamentally wrong." And, of course, the "capital difficulty" is simply that impatience with Officialism and Bossism in general is making the tempers of the workers somewhat explosive, and experience, with a greater economic understanding, is developing the minds of the workers. So there, Mr. Capitalist.

Good Old J.R.C.

Good old J.R.C., at this Deadlockish Juncture, issued a statement, to the strikers to the effect that the Unions were anxious to resume negotiations again in order to get the men the terms they desired, and that to continue the stoppage is to continue with their own financial losses. They had struck because, in accepting the "Award," they would receive 3s. less than they demanded, and yet they were now losing four and five times as much each day. Terrible! And "we cannot get employers to deal with us when our Arrangements are repudiated and our Advice rejected." But it wasn't that whiny sort of stuff that brought the Great Relief!

At the usual strikers' mass meeting on the 14th the decision to continue had again been agreed to. Noon saw the City Council in progress, and A.W. Kay, Chairman of the Gas Committee, there promised the Labour Group that if the men would return, no delay would be experienced in their bringing forward demands for consideration. This as-

urance was emphasised by the Labour Group in an interview, later, with the Strike Committee. A mass meeting, representative of all towns concerned (except Bristol), was called for the evening; J.R.C. addressed the meeting, and said to resolve to go back for 14 days (as the Strike Committee then recommended) was "like holding up a pistol at the employers' heads." This gave rise to such opposition that the Employers' Friend climbed down, and eventually pledged himself to work during that time for the full demand, when, if it was not acceded to, he would bring the Union over to the strikers' aid, and so ensure, of course, the strike being "an orderly and constitutional" affair. Gas-workers, be vigilant ever!

Returning to Work.

The workers agreed to return (as from the 15th), on condition that fourteen days be granted for further negotiations, but also on condition that the Strike Committee remains in being (with two delegates from each town concerned), recognised by the Unions, and for as long as thought fit. Other towns followed Manchester's decision.

The less rowdy and more intelligent of the Capitalist Press, in commenting upon the change of attitude, sounded the note of fear in bold relief:—"The fact that they return to work as a condition of further negotiations vindicates the principle that unofficial strikes should not be allowed to prevail."

Why?

"Had it been unconditionally successful a dangerous precedent would have been set."

Quite possibly the employers will now give in and concede the whole demand; in order, as they think, to prevent further trouble and, of course, the gas-workers will be quite contented—for a while! They know the essence of officialism; they must understand the import of capitalist fears, and be ready for more valiant action than dreamed of. The time is drawing nigh when only direct opposition can be expected from the Master Class, as a class, and when into that class will be drawn most of their erstwhile leaders. The workers must rely upon themselves alone, be rebelliously solid, class-reliant.

Philip Snowden's Gas Paragraph.

The Capitalist Press hath uttered both fear and relief; a reference to the expression of one of our best-known Labour leaders will not be out of place. I refer the reader to Saturday's copy of *The Labour Leader*. In his "Review of the Week," Philip Snowden has a gas-strike paragraph. He says it is:

"One of those regrettable incidents which do much to undermine the authority of Trade Unions. . . . The action of the men in taking the matter out of the hands of their responsible leaders cannot be supported by anyone who recognises that no organisation can be kept together unless there be discipline and obedience to constituted authority. . . . The spread of irresponsibility in Trade Unionism is the greatest danger the Movement has to fear."

For "irresponsibility" read "class-consciousness," and translate "The Movement," as Philip means it, to signify "An organisation bent upon harmonious relations between Capital and Labour and a denial of the class-struggle in Society."

* *Manchester Guardian* leader, July 14th, 1920.

REVOLUTION.

Sons of Labour, Toil and Sorrow,
Rise and cast your chains away;
See, the Eastern skies are reddening;
Russia hails the new-born Day!

Born amidst the crimes of Czardom,
Born among Siberia's snows—
Hail the Soviet's grand conception;
Swiftly o'er the Earth it flows.

Everywhere the slaves are rising;—
Every land the Morning cheers;
Shaking off the bonds of centuries;
Now begin the happier years.

Now the tyrants' knees are quaking
As the shout of Freedom spreads
O'er the world, as every nation
Firmly on to Victory treads.

See the passing of an Order
As the New World comes to birth,
And the warring slaves of empires
Now become the Sons of Earth.

Let us rise and speed the dawning
Of that new and brighter Day;
Let us scan the East horizon,
Where our brothers show the way.

Where the thrones and crowns are falling,
And the nations are set free;
Where the lords of Mammon perish,
And the People are made free!

D. GREENLEES.

THE LEADER OF THE BRISTOL REVOLUTIONARIES.

It was the tram strikes that were organised in Bristol last May which brought Comrade Gilmore into prominence. Although an outsider, he put himself at the head of the strikers, carried on negotiations with the Company, and brought the strike to a successful end.

Comrade Gilmore has had a varied experience that makes him eminently fitted for the great work that lies before him.

He was born in London and forced through economic pressure to enlist in the army in 1904. After two years' service at home he was sent to South Africa, thence to Mauritius. He contracted acute malarial fever in these countries and was invalided home and discharged without a pension in 1908. As an ex-soldier he had a terrible existence in this country for four years. He was compelled to do the worst sort of work for a bare subsistence, and often went without food and a bed for days. He learnt to hate the army, the sight of a soldier's uniform turned him sick, but the battle against that relentless foe, unemployment, proved too much for him, and at last, beaten and embittered, he entered the army again in 1911. Before the war most people cherished the idea that the discharged and dismissed rank and file of the army, navy, and constabulary were practically worthless, but those who were reluctantly put through the mill deeply resented this unsympathetic feeling. It is sad to think that only wholesale conscription and a world carnage helped to change the general opinion.

In 1913 Comrade Gilmore's regiment was detailed for duty in India. During all his spare time he had read and studied a great deal, and in India he applied himself to the Hindu languages. But the regiment was recalled in 1914 for service in France. Our comrade was wounded and sent home in 1916, and was kept in different convalescent camps until 1919. He was not, like many thoughtless young patriots, eager to "recover" and return to the front.

Gilmore is, above all, a man of action. There is nothing forced about him. He doesn't assume an important air and try to make an impression on one, like so many propagandists who have nothing within to bring the pose off. He has a pleasant face, full of determination, and an odd manner of playing with his tongue in conversation.

A man of action I said he was, one that reads and hears of things being done in other places and, if he is impressed, immediately asks himself: "How can I bring to pass a similar line of action here?" To the international idealist he is disconcertingly practical, for he is neither sentimental nor emotional. He is a made rebel, not a born one. He became a revolutionary through great suffering. From his experiences in the army and of the world he has seen the working class, skilled and unskilled, as civilians and as the uniformed protectors of a privileged few, exploited and oppressed by a ruthless ruling class; and he has come to the conclusion that this widespread and immense economic suffering is unnecessary and should end. As he expressed it to me, his sole obsession is to "get even" with the "classes" that make profit out of the suffering of the "masses"—thereby living largely, recklessly, and luxuriously—and help to bring about a revolution in the modern industrial world.

Last December Comrade Gilmore started a branch of the International Union of Ex-Servicemen in Bristol. It was no easy task keeping the men together. At one time he fell ill for six weeks, and when he recovered there was only one member left. But he kept on working, and now there is an active membership of over 3,000 men.

The unique fact about the organisation is its influence upon the class-conscious proletariat of Bristol.

Its propaganda work is carried on among all workers, the unskilled and the organised. There is nothing sectional about it. The women of the proletariat take its advice in dealing with their landlords. All the exploiting and reactionary interests in Bristol are up against it. Besides being denounced by the capitalists, it has merited the disapprobation of the Town Council and the Labour Party. The candidate of the last-named party is seeking Gilmore's endorsement, but without any success. Still Gilmore is somewhat nonplussed. He doesn't believe in Parliamentary institutions, but, for tactical reasons, he would rather see a Labour man elected than a representative of the vested interests. He might finally decide to boycott the polls.

After a talk with Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, of the Communist Party, the Bristol leaders proposed to the branch that a delegation be sent to London to see the Government about the solution of the unemployment problem. The account of the march and the demonstration in Trafalgar Square was given in last week's *Dreadnought*. On Monday morning, the 26th, the Committee met Dr. Macnamara, Sir David Shackleton, and Sir Montagu Barlow and presented its demands, the chief of which were the absorption of all unemployed persons in industry and the removal of Winston Churchill from the Cabinet on account of his militant propensities. Alternatives were also presented which need not be published here. The delegates have returned to Bristol to work. From its great activity and militant measures the branch has made itself the nucleus of the Bristol Council of Soviets.

HUGH HOPE.

The Congress of the Third International took place in the Throne Room of the late Czar, in the Kremlin.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

The Emperor of the World and A Bit Over was having a confidential confab. with his Grand Pandrum.

"Things are looking sort of slack, my hearty," said his imperial guyness; "if they don't look up, it's sure to rain—and it will rain something stiff."

"Yes," said the Grand Pan, "and if it rains, it won't rain water; it is more likely to rain Bolsheviks."

Just then the Grand Pan's plumber's mate slid in, and, perceiving they looked as if the price of sardines had gone up, anxiously enquired. He was passed the glad news. Then he had an idea.

"An' it please your umptiousness," he said humbly, "what price packing off your majesty's eldest son on a Cook's tour before the fares go up and the rain comes down?"

Whereat he was hugged most handsomely. In fact he came out of hospital only last week. And that's why we have Our Dear Prince chucking fag ends away in a reckless manner "down under."

Our newspapers exist to give us news, Henry, my lad, and it were a sorry morning on which you opened your paper without there being something about Albert Henry George Andrew Patrick David Windsor of that ilk. So this is how the *Daily News* hands out the goods on the twenty-eighth of July, this year of disgrace:—

"The Prince at Warwick (Queensland) threw a cigarette end underneath the train. A girl picked up the cigarette end and commenced smoking, when the Prince remarked, 'Have a decent one,' and gave her another. The girl continued smoking and said she would keep the other as a souvenir."

There is such an air of innocent truth, a sort of smug satisfaction of the lick-my-boots variety about this story, that it is such a pity we don't have a few more details. We are not told if the Prince was seated in the train, and if so how he managed to throw a fag-end right under it without a special india-rubber arm. Nor does the honest, country-bred reporter tell us how the girl got the Royal damaged goods from underneath the train. A few years ago the girl would have wrapped the slightly soiled but never bent Woodbine in cotton wool and taken it home to mother. Now-a-days she puts the royal muck in her mouth. Our Press has certainly moved—in the depth of insult it hands out to the working class.

And this story is from a "Liberals" *Daily News*, the real friend of the worker, and a democratic organ which used to howl about the wickedness of Dukes. Of course, the above filth is circularised by an agency at so much the line; but what of the following:—

"Paris, Tuesday.—The Queen of Roumania, who is at present stopping at Brides-les-Bains, has lost a pet dog WEARING A GOLD COLLAR WORTH 15,000 FRANCS. She offers a reward of 1,000 francs to anyone who will return THE PRECIOUS PET."

And this sort of stuff is cabled over by "Our Own Correspondent." This is the degree of culture possessed by the middle-class intellectuals who edit papers for their capitalist employers, and tell the working class they are unfit to govern. This is the bad mess the directive abilities of our "technical experts" cough up every morning. This is the sort of hog-wash which, if the Trade Unionist comps. refused to set in type, would rally the Middle Class Union together in defence of the Liberties of the Press, to make itself a stinking nuisance.

As for these Royal walking tailor's dummies, who let out their Royal arms as a kind of pump handle, the less said the better. There is no need to point out that, taking poor darling Fido's 15,000-franc gold collar at £300, it represents one man's wages for two years at £8 a week. For every such expensive folly of the ruling class blurted out by the Press, there are hundreds which modestly hide themselves in the backwoods.

It is the function of the "better classes" to spend money; the working class is good enough to earn it for them. For the workers the early morning steam screecher, winter or summer, fog or frost, and a week's holiday once a year—at his own expense, and a farthing extra on fares. For our heaven-sent rulers the "season" of Ascot, Henley, Goodwood, Cowes; and when the leaves show signs of coming unstuck, off to Nice or Cairo, till the warm dlys come again to tempt "everybody" who has been "out of town" to come back and have their names in the morning paper and their insolent leer in the *Daily Blunder*.

You don't know what a parasite is, Henry, but you have heard of fleas. Also bugs. Those nice-smelling, blood-sucking pretty things that make your life an adventure. That is what the "better classes" are, with their dud culture, their Oxford "accent," which is like a tired pig trying to speak with its mouth full.

The shortest way with lice is to kill them; but it is more interesting to train them—to do some useful work. When the revolution comes each working-class family ought to adopt a louse and turn it into a performing flea.

TO HAMMERSMITH COMRADES

THE HAMMERSMITH BRANCH holds its Inaugural Meeting at Raper Hall, Cambridge Road, King Street, Hammersmith. On Monday, August 9th, at 8 p.m.

All Members and Intending Members Rally and give the New Branch a good send off.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD:—SECRETARY (pro tem).

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

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

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence.

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

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

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

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

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

Comrades.—The proportion of Communist Party members to *Dreadnought* readers is far too small. The great need of the moment is organisation among already existing Communists.

Wherever five class-conscious proletarians exist, there should be formed a nucleus of the Communist Party, in close touch with headquarters. The Communist Party must grow from twenty branches to two hundred branches, and then to two thousand branches before it will wield sufficient power to achieve its object—the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of Communism.

If you are not linked up in the Party, there is a clear call for you to join it without delay and get all class-conscious proletarians to do likewise. Only by thorough organisation and combination in a firmly welded party will results be achieved.

Applications for membership should be sent to the Secretary, Edgar T. Whitehead, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W.14. Membership card, 1s.; minimum weekly contribution, 3d. per week.

GORTON.

Change of Secretary.—Gorton Branch reports that a re-election of branch officials and organisation of sub-committees has taken place. The new branch secretary is Comrade Edward Redfern, Gore Brook Hall, William Street, Gorton, Manchester.

SHEFFIELD.

The Sheffield branch of the W.S.F. has decided to a man to accept the constitution of the Communist Party, and branch meetings are to be held on the second and fourth Sundays of the month in the United Socialist Institute, 198, West Street, at 3 p.m. Outdoor meetings will be held every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. at the bottom of West Bar Green, also in the evening at 7.30 p.m.; Pool's Square, every Tuesday; Lansdown Road, 7.30 p.m.; every Thursday, Attercliffe Baths, 7.30 p.m. All are welcome. Literature sellers, collectors, and speakers urgently needed. It has been decided to pay a part-time organiser £2 per week. All inquiries to be addressed to A. Carford, Hon. Secretary, 183, West Street, Sheffield.

CAMBERWELL.

Eighty-two copies of the *Dreadnought* were sold in connection with this Branch. Outdoor meetings are held Wednesdays at Grove Lane, and Fridays at Triangle, Peckham, at 7.15 p.m. Branch meetings, alternate Mondays. Materials for Communist Work Party will be gratefully received by Comrade E. Wilde Smith, 83, Clapham Road, S.W.9. Gratefully acknowledged: Wool from Florrie and Pat; literature trays, Anon.

EDMONTON.

A Branch is being formed immediately in this area. All genuine revolutionary Communists should get into touch with Comrade G. H. Crouch, 11, Warwick Road, Edmonton, N.9.

COVENTRY.

Comrade Emery, who is in charge of the Party's interests in Coventry, writes to contradict a statement in the *Call* that a U.C.G. Branch exists in Coventry, and reports that the minutes of the Coventry meeting of July 14th show that Coventry Communist delegate to Unity Convention was instructed to speak against Parliamentary Action. A definite branch of the Party will shortly be established in Coventry. All applications and inquiries to Comrade H. M. Emery, 153, Melbourne Road, Coventry.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, August 6th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop, Janet Grove.

Saturday, August 7th. The Triangle, Peckham, 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop, Janet Grove, David Maguire.

Sunday, August 8th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Jack Sullivan and others. Dock Gates, 7 p.m. Ph. Edmonds, Janet Grove, Jack Sullivan.

Wednesday, August 11th, Grove Lane, Camberwell, 7.30 p.m. David Maguire and others.

Friday, August 13th. Manor Park Road, 7.30 p.m. Fred Tyler and others.

INDOOR.

Monday, August 9th. 16, Peckham Road, 7.45 p.m. Camberwell C.P. Business Meeting.

Thursday, August 12th. 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Business Meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, August 8th. Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, August 12th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, August 10th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, Mrs. Sweet.

COMRADES IN COUNCIL.

Dear Comrade,—Things have been very lively in Sheffield for the last twelve months. We have had over 200 meetings for Communist unity on the basis of non-affiliation to the Labour Party and no participation in Parliament. We have come in contact with all kinds of reformers and reform organisations, and we believe our constitution and the Communist Party will outlive them all. We have enrolled many new members, and as the time goes on we intend to form Speakers' Classes and Economic Classes. We can safely say without fear of contradiction that the *Dreadnought* has the greatest sale of any Socialist or Labour weekly in Sheffield and district. On Sunday, July 11th, the Communist Unity Group or the Unofficial Socialist Labour Party met at Rotherham and had previously notified every branch and active Socialist to attend this Conference: it seems that one of our most active members of the Communist Party got one to attend privately. The branch decided to send Comrade Smith and Comrade Corford to act as delegates, as we had not yet decided to go over to the Party. When we got there Comrade Paul was the principal speaker, and various other members who had left the official S.L.P. were also there as delegates.

Comrade Paul made a long speech about what might be gained through the Labour Party affiliation and Parliamentary action, although he said he was entirely opposed to both as a means of emancipating the worker. Anyhow, he said if the majority vote went in favour of affiliation, he would go up and down the country making slashing attacks on the Labour Party until they were thrown out, and if the Communist Party formed in August was not a success, they would put the blame on the W.S.F. and the official S.L.P., and, under these circumstances, he appealed most pathetically to all the delegates to get as many groups as possible into the Unity negotiations, even if it meant Paul himself going to London to find the necessary expense (so you will perhaps not wonder why Arthur McManus and Inkpin are appealing for funds in the *Herald*). A comrade asked Paul if he agreed with the constitution of the Communist Party already formed, but he dare not reply "Yes" or "No," but simply made a slashing attack upon the organisers of the Communist Party and its membership. When the vote was taken, and the other members who had left the S.L.P. agreed with Paul, in order to justify their action for leaving the S.L.P., they were forced to accept the findings of the August Conference, and out of a delegation of 24, there were four dissentients. We of the Sheffield Communist Party came away all the merrier, knowing that the August Communist Party, having either a majority or a minority of reactionary elements, must sooner or later break up, and that our Communist Party, being composed only of Genuine Communists, would come out top at the end.—Yours fraternally,

A. CARFORD, Hon. Sec.

Dear Comrade,—Through urgent business I unfortunately had to leave London some weeks ago, and could not address the W.S.F. meetings I had arranged to. I have been closely following the activities of this organisation now that it has taken the name of Communist Party. This step would have been a most desirable one at any time, and, to my mind, it is more so, from the point of view of tactics, when we consider the forthcoming action of the ex-S.L.P. The Communist Party now, as the W.S.F. before, will have the support of all logical-minded and thinking men and women of the movement. I personally endorse (and can speak for the Communist League of South Africa) the actions of the W.S.F. and C.P. of England, and consider it an organisation founding its Socialism on a basis of sound logic. That there is at last an organisation in this country refusing to pursue the myth of political action, which recognises how everything is held from the proletariat by organised force, and that only by organised force will the proletariat come into his own, and that it therefore, very logically, goes all out for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet, is indeed very heartening. I applaud your action of offering to debate with Lenin on the question of participation in Parliamentary action. With logic on your side, there would be no question of the issue. While giving Lenin all credit for being a brave, intrepid and far-seeing man, too much importance is attached to his remarks re Parliamentary action.—Yours, etc.,

E. J. STEWART.

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