



# Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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## The Retreat of the Miners.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

In the spring of last year, the miners were demanding the Nationalisation and workers' control of their industry. It was a confused demand, varying with the source from which it came. To the advanced left wing in the pits, it meant the abolition of the capitalist boss and shareholders. To the Executive and officials in the M.F.G.B. Office, it meant Nationalisation under a capitalist Government, tempered by joint committees of safe, and moderate Union officials.

Nationalisation and workers' control within a capitalist state, can never emancipate the workers, and will not materially improve their conditions—that is an established fact.

Nevertheless, the demand for Nationalisation and workers' control was a great advance. The miners in making it, took a great mental stride towards Socialism, asserted their dignity as workers, and displayed confidence in their own solidarity and power. But how dismally they have fallen from their proud assertiveness of 1919!

They are no longer fighting an offensive to improve their conditions, but are retreating in a miserable defensive in which they are beaten at every point.

### Leaders' Disastrous Blunder.

The acceptance of the datum line by the leaders, is a disastrous blunder; if it be actually accepted by the miners it will mean a set-back which will greatly transcend the tiny, temporary advantage that may be gained by an additional 2/- a day, even if that be actually gained at present, which is by no means certain.

### Evils of the Datum Line.

The expedient of making wages dependent on the output of the mines is advantageous to the capitalist, disadvantageous to the miner, for many reasons.

It tends to undermine the independence of the workers, and to link their interests to those of the employer, thus weakening the vigour of their struggle in the class war. It tends to develop a non-revolutionary psychology, and that is its greatest evil.

It places an additional penalty on the strike, by lowering the wage in conformity with the reduction in output consequent on a strike. This applies not only to the big strike, extending nationally or to one coal field, but with even greater force to local snap strikes and the stay-in strikes which are especially common in South Wales, and by which the miners prevent the victimisation of their comrades and keep active and vigorous their fighting spirit. The employing classes are perpetually casting about for expedients to prevent strikes, and especially guerrilla strikes of this character. The datum line expedient—which makes all the workers pay for strikes and lost time—is likely to have more success than any D.Q.R.A. regulation, because

it attacks the pockets of the timid and unenlightened.

The datum line expedient may tend to increase unemployment. Should they reduce the number of miners employed, the mineowners would reduce the output. At the same time they would reduce the wage per man, as well as the aggregate wages bill. Thus, more profit might conceivably be made on a greater than on a smaller output.

The datum line plan gives the mineowners the

ate demand for 2/- and decided to try and get a vote of the miners to enable them to wait for the 2/- till an output of 248,000,000 tons is reached.

### The Betrayal.

The leaders have sacrificed, as far as is in their power, the future for some small gain in the present. They have pledged themselves to co-operate with the mineowners in securing increased output. In that pledge lies their betrayal of the workers. They cannot serve the cause of the workers, and and at the same time co-operate with the capitalists.

### Resentment of Left Wing.

The miners have been badly led; numbers of them are protesting that they have been "sold." The Left Wing in the coalfields is turning, not only from the well-known reactionaries amongst the Trade Union leaders, but also from those old leaders, who, until yesterday, they cheered as the advanced opponents of the reactionaries. Robert Smillie has shown himself as pliant in compromising the demands, as fearful of the strike, as ready to pledge co-operation with the mineowners as any of the rivals who have opposed him for his I.L.P. brand of Socialism these twenty years past. The Left Wing is disappointed. The Left Wing is growing in size; the Left Wing is growing in influence; above all, the Left Wing is determined to act.

The Left Wing has not awaited the result of the official ballot which is intended to stage manage the miners into accepting the coal-owners' terms. It has already begun to strike work.

The rebel element, which is strongest in South Wales, is even threatening a complete or partial breakaway from the M.F.G.B.

We do not know, at the time of writing, how the official ballot may turn out. We do not know whether the unofficial strikes will become powerful enough just now to effect the immediate situation seriously. But we know that they are an important symptom of the discontent with the old leadership which is spreading apace throughout the industrial world. We know that that discontent should be seized upon by the Communist Party, which should show forth clearly that the old leaders have not failed because they were dishonest men, but because they were not Communists. They have failed because they refuse to recognise that the capitalist system must go, that there can be no compromise with the employers, no patching up of the difference, no attempt to stave off the bankruptcy of the capitalists and the system that maintains them. The old leaders have failed because they are not Communists and not revolutionaries. If the new Left Wing element is to succeed, it must be Communist in conviction and determined to make revolution.

Smillie, the best of the old leaders, is a Re-



THE DATUM LINE: PROFITS GUARANTEED.

Scalorini.

power to cut down wages or to prevent them rising, by limiting the production of coal. The mineowners have more control over output than have the miners.

### Weakness of the Miners' Leaders.

The Miners' leaders have shown deplorable weakness and poor generalship throughout the struggle. They have receded from every declaration and held fast only to one thing, the 2/- per shift increase. They have begged the Government in the most contemptible way not to force them to declare a strike, intimating to it that this 2/- the masses in the mines refuse to surrender, and letting it be seen quite plainly that they, the leaders, would have abandoned the claim for it but for that fact. They have abandoned the claim that the 2/- shall date back to July; they have abandoned the claims that it shall be paid on an output of 232,000,000 tons, on 236,000,000 tons, on 239,000,000 tons, and have slid back to the claim that it shall be paid on 240,000,000 tons, simply because they think that on that basis the 2/- can be got now. They clung to the 2/- because they feared the miners would not be persuaded from striking unless that increase were granted without delay. And now, finally, they have abandoned the immedi-



formist; he believes that by a gradual process, the lot of the workers may be improved, until finally Socialism is established. He believes that this will be done through Parliamentary and Industrial Union action. He is not a revolutionary; he belongs to another epoch.

Perhaps Smillie would like to see a great strike in which the miners would win great concessions. He is probably ashamed of the vacillating policy he and other leaders of the M.F.G.B. have pursued. Nevertheless, he prefers the present ignominious retreat to a serious clash with the Government. And what is true of the miners' leaders, is even truer of those of the other Unions. The Executives of the N.U.R. and the Transport Workers made it clear to the M.F.G.B. that they would not take sympathetic action in the event of a mining strike. For the hundredth time, the much-vaunted Triple Alliance was proved to be a sham, which, with its offices and officials, makes a costly drain upon the workers, but is useless to them when the time for action comes.

#### What We Should Do Now.

*The duty of the Communist Party in this crisis, is to urge on the unofficial strikes, to work for a strike vote in the official ballot, and to induce sympathetic strikes by the workers in other industries.*

Communists must urge also that the object of the strike must be widened, it must be control of the mines and the other industries by the workers, the setting up of Soviets and the overthrow of Capitalism.

These great aims, the Communists must urge upon the workers, but if the workers are not yet ready to accept such aims, the Communists must nevertheless work for a strike. A serious clash with Capitalism is necessary for the development of the proletarian movement in this country—the class-consciousness of the workers needs quickening by actual strife; only by struggle will the workers be aroused from their present apathy and lack of confidence.

#### A Trial of Strength.

A great strike in so vital an industry as that of coal mining will mean a trial of strength between Capital and Labour which must inevitably create a serious situation, because the Government is determined to fight the workers in the strike. The railwaymen, the transport workers, the engineers, the seamen, the workers in the food and clothing trades, must all be called in on the side of the miners. The workers in every industry must add their demands to the miners' demands.

If the workers fight with courage and determination in the great strike, the Government must fall. Then a new era will open in this country, a new stage towards the Communist Revolution will be reached.

*Workers, Communists, join the strike, aid the strikers, sweep away the old leaders, who have outstayed their time.*

That is the first step. Then must come the seizure of the means of production, the seizure of the seats of Government, the centres of finance, the coercive power.

### WORKERS! SEIZE CONTROL OF YOUR INDUSTRIES!

The Coventry unemployed who marched to the Armstrong, Siddeley, and Triumph Cycle Works, demanding *Workers' Control of Industry* are animated by the self-same spirit that caused the Russian Revolution, and so recently spurred the Italian Metalworkers to the seizure and control of the factories in which they were employed. The spirit of the International proletarian revolution is spreading the world over: Lenin was right when he said that the revolutionary microbe had taken root also in Britain.

The fact that the Coventry unemployed marched, not to the Town Hall, but to the factories and actually entered one of them, seems to have aroused consternation in the breasts of the authorities. The Mayor hastened to issue a proclamation convening a meeting to deal with the unemployment question.

Our advice to the Coventry unemployed, amongst whom we see that our Communist comrade Emery is playing a prominent part, is to drop all minor demands and concentrate on the seizure of the factories by the workers, as a step towards the final overthrow of Capitalism.

## RUSSIAN WOMEN IN THE RED ARMY.

The Russian women—peasant, working-class and bourgeois—have played an important part in all revolutionary movements which have swept through Russia. Amfiteatov, the Russian writer, acknowledges the importance of the Russian women's efforts, looking towards the emancipation of the working and bourgeois classes in Russia, in the following words: "The women have taught the Russia people to read and write, they have established new teaching methods and have borne the whole martyrdom imposed by the work of enlightening the proletariat." As a matter of fact, the Russian women are entitled to a large share of the credit for the liberation of Russia's working classes. Their solicitude, their devotion and spirit of self-sacrifice, intensified to the point of fanaticism, enabled them to bear quietly and with patience all these tortures which were a consequence of illegal activity—the only possible method of agitation and propaganda in Czarist Russia. For many decades the woman revolutionist stood watch at her quiet, hidden, and often most dangerous post. She organised secret printing shops, manufactured bombs, planned assassinations (fighting methods brought about by the peculiar conditions existing in Russia), carried on the propaganda in the army, fought on the barricades—everywhere, at all dangerous posts, we meet the Russian woman revolutionist, whose self-sacrifice and revolutionary energy served as an example for others.

#### The "Battalions of Death" Defend the Bourgeois State.

After the fall of Czarism the energetic revolutionary activity of the women continued. Unfortunately it was put to a base use by the bourgeois democracy. The so-called "Battalions of Death," composed of inspired women of the bourgeois democracy, were used chiefly in the fight against the revolution of the proletariat. And in these fights against the revolutionary labouring class the famous women's "Battalions of Death," defending the bourgeois democracy with tenacious energy, were almost completely destroyed.

The successors of the bourgeois women in the bourgeois-democratic era were the women of the proletariat, whose readiness to fight and determination in all things revolutionary were the means of lighting the spark of the revolution of the proletariat. For it was the strike of the women textile workers in the large factories on the Vyborg side of Petrograd which gave the impetus to the Bolshevik uprising in October, 1917. These very women, leaving their places in the textile works in a body and pouring in a seething mass into the inner city, gave the signal for the beginning of the proletarian revolution in Petrograd.

#### Women Fight Side by Side With Men.

It is sufficient to cite these incidents to explain why Russian women of the proletariat are to be found in the Red Army. But here there are no separate battalions of women. The women volunteers (during the general mobilisation they swarmed in great numbers) are attached to various units and sent to the front. Side by side with their men comrades the women soldiers of the proletarian army fight their battles, fight them with the same degree of fearlessness and heroism as the men. And all this is done quietly—modestly. No one in Russia thinks it necessary to make special mention of the fighting spirit and the fearlessness of the women—or to praise them: it is all taken for granted.

The women soldiers are chiefly active in the auxiliary service. Thousands of women were attached to the sanitary branch of the service. They were first thoroughly trained and then sent to the front or to field hospitals as hospital troops and to hospitals in the interior as nurses. These female sanitary troops perform their duties at the front with marvellous fearlessness. They do not wait until the front is moved forward—while still under fire they rescue the wounded from the line of battle and thus save the lives of many of their comrades in arms.

Women soldiers are also utilised in the auxiliary service behind the lines—at the supply stations, in the transportation service, as couriers, at the army offices and post-offices—everywhere women are to be found, everywhere they offer their strength and their labour in the defense of the Soviet Power.

The women spare no efforts and no sacrifices and willingly submit to the rigid war discipline, for well they know that their services constitute a strong support for the defensive system of the proletarian state.

But in all other agencies, too, that serve educational purposes, women are used almost exclusively. For the troops of the Red Army have their libraries, reading rooms, etc., besides which they are treated to lectures, meetings and debates for the purpose of socialistic enlightenment and education. All this affords the women a further field for their activity. How much the efforts of these women at the front have accomplished is shown by the marked self-discipline and fitness of the men composing the Red Guard. Above all the troops are taught self-respect, and they are thoroughly imbued with the realisation of the honour, the privilege that is theirs in defending the cause of the revolution and of Socialism; but it is not forgotten to also impress them with the obligations which this honour places upon them.

#### City Women Mobilise Against White Guards.

The women inhabitants of large cities like Petrograd, Odessa, Samara, and others were given the

opportunity to take a hand in the defense of these cities. They were mobilised for the auxiliary service, and it was chiefly their task to replace the men, who were leaving for the front, in factories, offices, and other places of employment. Many women even volunteered for the actual defensive service under arms, were equipped and drilled, and by the side of their male comrades of the proletariat, awaited the approach of the White Guard, ready to defend their proletarian homes to the last drop of their blood.

According to their ability the women are being trained for military service. In fact, military service is just as obligatory for all organised women Communists as it is for their men comrades. Once or twice a week armed detachments, composed of both men and women, may be seen marching to the district training posts, where they are drilled in the use of firearms, and where a general military training is imparted to them. The labour organisation, "General Military Training," the "Voevobuch" as it is called, counts among its members many hundreds of women proletarians. On May 1st, when the volunteer labour battalions paraded, there could be seen in their ranks splendidly drilled detachments of women soldiers. Women members of the "Voevobuch" do garrison and guard duty in the cities, and women soldiers are to-day a familiar part of the daily life of these cities. Women are also trained for officers in the proletarian officers' training schools. It was in the fall of 1919 that the first woman officer left for the front—one of those women from the ranks of the youthful working women who form so large a contingent of all volunteers.

The Russian working woman performs her duty with enthusiasm, limitless devotion and quiet modesty. Hunger, privation, and cold are forgotten, family cares and affairs are pushed aside when danger threatens the Proletarian State. They are not willing to give up without a struggle the fruits of their heroic fight with their former oppressors, their deliverance from capitalistic exploitation, their complete economic and political equality. The very thought of a return to the old slavery of the working woman, to the yoke put upon woman by a tyrannical State, appears unbearable to them. It is for this reason that they fight with such passionate enthusiasm at the front of the Russian Proletarian State, why they so willingly bear all the burdens and hardships of the auxiliary military service. Not for the defence of capitalism do they wage their fight, as was the case during the war in the west and middle-European States: their fight is for the preservation of the fruits of the proletarian revolution.—"Die Rote Fahne," Vienna.

### RUMOURS FROM RUSSIA.

The stories of strikes, riots, assassinations of commissaries, general disorder and opposition to Communism in Russia, which have been recurring in the Capitalist Press during the last few weeks, are all coming via Helsingfors, well-known to be a manufacturing centre of false news.

Those of us who have been to Russia and have seen the great strength and power of the Soviet Government, the complete order, the fine enthusiasm of the workers, the splendid appearance of health, freedom from anxiety and general well-being of the masses, will not place credence in such stories. In Russia one hears much of shortage, one does not see the evidences of it in the expression and physique of the people as one does most terribly in Germany and in the poorer quarters of British cities. Everywhere one sees amongst the Russian people the signs of their joy and confidence in the great proletarian Communist State which they are building. Especially is this apparent amongst the young. The meetings and lectures teem with them well grown, well clad, well nourished, buoyant and confident. Regarding them and realising the immensity of Russia's population, one knows that there is here a bulwark, here an engine of progress, which Capitalism never can overthrow, and which will assuredly vanquish it in the end.

Why are these false stories of disaster to the Soviet sent out from Helsingfors and telegraphed throughout the world?

These lies are intended to influence the proletarian movements of other countries, to weaken the courage of the workers, to dampen their spirits, to deter them from action and betray them to compromise. These lies are aimed at Italy, that the leaders of the great Socialist Party and Confederation of Labour may be afraid to throw in their lot with the workshop struggle and lead it to revolution. They are aimed at Germany and Austria that the Communist Parties there may think this is no time to rise. They are aimed at Poland to discourage the revolutionary forces and encourage the counter-revolutionary forces there. They are aimed also at this country, where the word Soviets is now heard more often than Capitalism approves.

Sylvia Pankhurst.

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# GIOLITTI PLAYS LLOYD GEORGE'S GAME.

In last week's issue, we published an article on the Italian situation, by an English visitor to Italy. We now publish a contribution from the opposite standpoint, by an Italian correspondent. Our correspondent of last week, eulogised the part played by the Italian Socialist Party in the struggle of the metalworkers for the control of their industry, and he declared that the Italian Parliament had been made by the Socialists, to serve the Revolutionary struggle.

## Third International Complains.

The facts proved, however, are in direct contradiction to the conclusion of this correspondent. The Italian Socialist Party absolutely failed to rise to the great occasion; indeed, the Executive of the Third International addressed to it a reproach for its inactivity and an urgent call to lead the masses to revolution, a call to which the Socialist Party did not respond. The Third International complained that the Socialist Party, by its refusal to lead the workers to revolution, was flinging them into the arms of the Anarchists. An Italian capitalist journal showed its agreement with Lenin in this matter, by publishing a cartoon in which Treves and Serrati, leaders of Socialism, watched Malatesta, the Anarchist leader, cutting the grapes from a vine which they had grown.

## The Revolution that Might Have Been.

The great and powerful Italian Socialist Party might have brought about the Revolution in Italy, during the past few weeks, had it called all sections of workers to follow the example of the Metalworkers; had it called into being the Soviets and fought in earnest for the complete conquest of the State power by the proletariat. The Italian Socialist Party made no attempt to do this. It even stood apart from the Metalworkers' struggle, and gave to it merely a verbal approval. On September 11th, Egidio Gennari, the political Secretary of the Socialist Party, issued on the Party's behalf, the following Order of the Day:—

"Between the Party and the General Confederation of Labour there exists a pact or alliance which neither body desires to break. The Executive of the Party, in view of the necessity of the struggle, accepts the decision of the National Council of the General Confederation of Labour, and proposes to assist the movement without intervening, reserving to itself the right eventually, should the occasion arise, owing to a change in the political situation, to take control of the movement."

## Socialist Party Refuse to Act.

The occasion had arisen, but the Socialist Party failed to realise it. It was the Socialist Party which should have changed the political situation, which had in fact the power to change it, had it thrown in its lot with the Metalworkers. The only change in the situation which could have made it more easier for the Socialist Party to act, would have been the seizure of power by the masses without the Party's official aid, in which case, the Socialist leaders would have come in, asking to be allowed to take the positions of power, after the struggle had been won.

## Parliamentary Group Disqualified for Third International.

The Parliamentary group of the Socialist Party also showed itself incapable of rising to the occasion, and quite false to the tenets of the Third International. Instead of throwing itself into the struggle of the workers to overthrow capitalists, it called for the summoning of Parliament. Instead of declaring that the capitalist system must go and that the bourgeois Parliament must be swept away, and be replaced by the workers' Soviets (a standpoint to which the Italian Socialist Party pledged itself in the Bologna Conference, in September, 1919), the Parliamentary group asserted that the contest between Capital and Labour could only be settled with the assistance of the bourgeois Parliament. This resolution, proposed by Treves, and adopted by the Parliamentary group, qualifies the Italian Socialist Party for expulsion from the Third International, for it denies one of its essential principles—not bourgeois Parliament, but the Soviets—unless the Italian Socialist Party repudiates the resolution

of its Parliamentary group, it also is disqualified for remaining in the Third International. Here is the Treves' resolution:—

"The Parliamentary Socialist group, believes that the present struggle of the metal workers, although continued in its immediate aims to economic Trade Union demands, yet clearly emphasises the existing crisis in the capitalist system of production and the growing reluctance to harmonise the opposing interests of private capital and labour; believing that this struggle, which arrests the national life, cannot be fully settled without the assistance of Parliament, which must be seized with the profound meaning of this movement, which is the clear condemnation of as system, which, even by the merciless exploitation of the workers, cannot increase production . . . demands the immediate convocation of Parliament, to study the situation, and to take prompt and radical measures, which, through the requisitioning of the factories, and their control by the workers, would prepare for their direct administration in the interest of the community."

## Giolitti's Cunning.

The Prime Minister, Giolitti, as our Italian correspondent points out, made capital out of the situation, which, though the masses had turned it in their favour, the Socialist leaders were too timid to use. Giolitti issued a decree, which has the force of law, stating that as some factory control by the unions seemed the only way to secure improved relations between the employers and the workers and increased production, and as the Masters' Association was not opposed to it, an experiment in control, not by the workers in the factory, but by the Trade Union—a very different matter—should be tried.

Giolitti's decree further dictated that a Commission should be set up, composed of 12 members nominated by the General Confederation of Labour, and 12 members nominated by the Employers' Association, including two experts on each side. This Commission should formulate proposals to assist the Government in preparing a Bill for joint control. Meanwhile, the workers must return to their employment, and a Commission of two members nominated by the Trade Union, and two by the employers, should settle any question of dismissal.

According to the terms of the settlement by which the workers were to surrender the factories, they were to have also certain small increases in pay, and a sliding scale to meet the increased cost of living; six days a year holidays, paid for after 12 month's service. Workers who have served three years or more to be entitled to two day's pay for every year's service beyond the usual notice if discharged for any reason other than misconduct, all those now working, to be treated as though they had worked 10 years; no discharges as a result of this rebellion; no pay during the time the workers were in control of the factories.

## Italian Sankey Commission.

The Italian Metalworkers have been sold, just as the British miners were sold by accepting the Sankey Commission. This Commission set up by Giolitti will lead first to a compromise, on what was already a feeble, unworkable compromise, just as the Sankey award was a whittling down of the weak, unworkable scheme of joint control and Nationalisation, put forward by the Executive of the Miners' Federation. Then, just as the British Government's pledge to accept the Sankey award was broken, will follow the breaking of the Italian Government's pledge to accept the findings of this other Commission—unless, when the time for the fulfilment of the pledge comes, the workers are prepared to fight to enforce it.

If the Italian workers prove strong enough and determined enough to hold the Government to its pledge, they will be strong enough to overthrow the Government; if they prove strong enough to enforce Trade Union control of the factories, they will be strong enough to smash the capitalist system.

The same thing is true of the workers of Britain also.

Workers, seize the machinery of the industries in which you are engaged!

Set up the Soviets!

Build the Communist State!

## THE METAL WORKERS' STRUGGLE

By NEMO.

The struggle of the Italian metal workers, on which the expectant eyes of the working classes of Europe were rivetted, has come to a sudden and sad end. For this the present leaders of the Italian working class are to blame. As it is known, in August last, the Metal Workers' Federation claimed an increase of wages on account of the high cost of living. The masters, on the pretext of the precarious condition of the metal industry caused by the cost of raw material and the high foreign exchange, refused the workers' claim.

Under the circumstances no other means was left to the Federation but to use the strike weapon to enforce their demand, the justice of which was proved by figures and data that the employers could not refute.

In Italy, however, strikes have not been lately so favourably looked upon as in the past, as they entail sacrifices on the side only of the working classes. The metal workers, therefore, decided for "obstructionism," or, as it is called in England, the "go slow" method.

## The Workers Seize the Industries.

Milan, the greatest industrial city of Italy, set the example, but the movement soon changed its character and aim because of a blunder made by one of the leading firms—the Romeo—which, in order to defeat the workers, conceived the foolish idea of closing its factory.

The workers, fearing that the lock-out would be extended, decided to occupy, by an energetic and sudden move, the factories all over the country.

Before a move of such magnitude the Government felt itself powerless. As the Prime Minister stated a few days ago in the Senate, in answer to the critics of his lukewarm policy, the Government could only have prevented the Workers' seizure of the factories by filling the factories with all the police and soldiers at its disposal, thus leaving itself without forces to maintain order outside!

The occupation of the factories, therefore, proceeded in the country quite regularly and without much trouble. Once inside, the workers immediately entrenched themselves, putting barbed wires all round, placing machine guns on the roofs, constituting an armed Red guard. They hoisted the Red Flag, and created soviets and committees to maintain discipline amongst themselves, and cheerfully started to work on their own account.

It is easy to imagine what kind of feelings and hopes two weeks of undisputed possession of the factories aroused amongst the other sections of the working classes. Engineers, seamen and others began to give proof of their solidarity with the metal workers by occupying the factories of other industries, by supplying and transporting raw materials. The peasants in several parts of the country, especially in the South, in squads of 20, 50 and 100,000 men, marched with bands and Red Flags to seize large landed properties.

One felt all over the country that revolution, the end of capitalism, and the dawn of a new era were drawing near. But other forces were also at work, those of the pusillanimous leaders of the General Confederation of Labour and the reformist section of the Socialist Party. Because of these the movement crumbled down. A meeting was held in Milan between the General Confederation of Labour and the officials of the Socialist Party to decide whether the struggle of the metal workers should be extended to all the other industries of the country, and become a political movement to enable the proletariat to take power. To this meeting the Syndicalist Unions and the Anarchist groups were not invited. The moderate elements were in the majority, and the direction of the movement was confided to the reformist General Confederation of Labour.

## The Confederation of Labour Compromises.

In such hands, the movement could not go beyond a Syndicalist conception. The first thing that the Confederation of Labour did was to approach the employers and the local authorities, and come to a compromise. Finally they met Giolitti, the Prime Minister, a man who in point of ruse and shrewdness is only second to Lloyd George. Giolitti seized the position at a glance, and did not miss the opportunity of mystifying both the leaders and the workers by adopting as his own a scheme of the Confederation of Labour for joint control by the workers and employers. This, by a special decree, has now become a law of the country.

As soon as the news of the agreement, or concordat, as it has been called, jointly signed by the officials of the Confederation and the Government, was made known to the workers of the occupied factories, a chorus of protests arose against the leaders, whom the workers accuse of having betrayed the cause of the proletariat and of revolution.

The concordat was submitted for the ratification of the workers, who, after three weeks of struggle and anxious expectation, and finding that the leaders had failed to call the rest of the working class to aid them, in despair agreed to approve it and to evacuate the factories they had hoped to retain for ever.

The Confederation of Labour justifies its action by saying that the struggle has resulted in a great

(Continued on page five.)



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## ARE WE IN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL?

Our statement in last week's issue, that the Communist Party is part of the Third International, is challenged by W. McLaine, of the Communist Party (B.S.P.). We quote, therefore, from the thesis governing this question, which was carried by the Second Congress of the Third International:—

The Second Congress of the Third International considers as not correct, the views regarding the relations of the Party to the class and to the masses, and the non-participation of the Communist Parties in the bourgeois Parliaments and reactionary Labour Unions, which have been precisely refuted in the special resolutions of the present Congress, and defended in full by the Communist Labour Party of Germany and also partially by the "Communist Party of Switzerland," by the organ of the West European Secretariat of the Communist International "Communismus" in Amsterdam, and by several of our Dutch comrades; further, by certain Communist organisations in England, as for instance, "The Workers' Socialist Federation." Also by the "I.W.W." in America, the "Shop Steward Committees" in England, and so forth.

Nevertheless, the Second Congress of the Third International considers possible and desirable, the immediate affiliation of such of these organisations which have not already done so officially . . .

The Congress having passed this resolution, the Executive of the Third International declared that a new United Communist Party should be formed in Britain, and asked the delegates from the two Communist parties, the English Shop Stewards', and Workers' Committees and the Scottish Workers' Committees to recommend the following proposal to their respective Parties. This the delegates from the respective parties, including those of the Communist Party (B.S.P.), unanimously agreed to do; not a protest was raised from any quarter. The proposal is, that within four months, a Conference shall be called, at which shall assist the two Communist Parties, the English and Scotch Workers' Committees, the Welsh Unofficial Industrial and Communist Movement, and any other Communist Organisations desirous of being represented. A Committee of two representatives of the Societies above named, is to make the arrangements for the Conference.

The Communist Party, at its Manchester Conference, decided to accept the call of the Third International, to take part in this proposed Conference. Is the Communist Party (B.S.P.), also prepared to do so?

## IRISH OUTRAGES.

Having left England for Russia, in July, the Editor of this paper returns to view with amazement, the pass to which things have reached in Ireland during the last three months, and the indifferent manner in which the extraordinary happenings in Ireland are viewed in Britain. The forces of the British Crown are engaged in sacking, burning and firing on Irish towns and villages, reducing the population, the old people, the mothers and children, to such a state of terror that they leave their homes and flee into the open country. Extraordinary! Indeed, this condition of affairs would have seemed incredible ten years ago!

And how is the matter received in England? With a futile babbling about a "truce of God," and feeble discussions as to whether the Government can really be held responsible for the actions of its own forces.

Of course the Government is responsible—what folly to doubt, even for an instant, such an entirely obvious fact—of course the Government is responsible. The *Daily Herald* has just published a "Secret" order issued to his subordinates by Brigadier-General Brind, of the Staff General Headquarters, Ireland, on September 23rd. This order, the *Herald* takes to be a confirmation of the view that the Government is responsible for the attacks, termed reprisals, which the British military and police are making upon the Irish population. The circular refers to the "measures recently taken by the Government for suppression of disorder in Ireland," and speaks of "maintaining the pressure." We agree that the "measures" referred to in the document are precisely such raids as that of Tubbercurry, when shops, creameries, and private dwellings were sacked and burned, and to many other shooting and looting outrages, in which defenceless people have been killed and maimed, as well as to such horrible murders as that of the Lord Mayor of Cork, who was dragged out of his bed and killed by a gang of men in the middle of the night.

## You and the "Dreadnought."

The circulation of the *Dreadnought* has risen during the past two months; but the cost of production has increased so greatly during the year, that we are faced with heavy liabilities which must be met. Therefore we appeal urgently to comrades to give at once, and to give as much as they can, to the organ of revolutionary and uncompromising Communism.

Support our Development Fund!

Do not wait till to-morrow!

Send your contribution to-day. All donations will be acknowledged in the *Dreadnought*.

Undoubtedly the document refers to such incidents, but no such document was needed to prove that the Government is responsible, and is actually approving and directing the raids and outrages perpetrated by its forces in Ireland. Any Government would be terrified indeed, which found its forces taking such action without its sanction—its days would be numbered unless it could immediately withdraw and punish the lawless elements and replace them by obedient and disciplined forces.

A Government which permitted, or was forced to permit, lawlessness amongst its forces, would be entirely at their mercy. The present British Government is not yet reduced to that pass of impotence—it is still the complacent instigator of the crimes committed by its troops.

The raids and outrages carried out by the forces of the British Government in Ireland, are not lawless, because as a matter of fact, they are carried out in obedience to official instructions and desires. They are in line with the punitive expeditions against native tribes in India, and other subject parts of the British Empire, in which whole villages are burned and their populations fired upon by British troops, because some individuals in the district are suspected of propaganda for independence, or "stealing," in other words, taking back a little of the wealth which the British foreigner has annexed.

When perpetrated against Indian and coloured people, outrages like those being committed by the British forces in Ireland, have always been regarded as legitimate, by the mass of the British public. Hardly a single prominent politician has ever raised a serious protest against them, but many of the Radicals of our fathers' days would have cried out against the Government's present action in Ireland. Indeed, they cried out against actions less dastardly than these.

Our goody goody Labourists, some of whom were such enthusiasts for the war to end war, hesitate to denounce the Government's present atrocities with emphasis lest it be said by their political opponents that they approve the murder

of policemen. They hesitate also, because they are influenced by the glamour of Imperialism; either they are Imperialists, or fear to have it said that they are not. Therefore, they will not declare for Irish independence; for though they refuse to admit it, they know that no offer of Home Rule within the Empire, will satisfy Sinn Fein and make it easier for a Labour Government to govern Ireland than for a capitalist one.

So they babble of "a Truce of God," and of the sad results of relying on violence.

They disregard the fact that whilst the Sinn Fein is using violence against the armed forces of the Crown, the armed forces of the Crown are using violence against the unarmed population; and that whilst the Sinn Fein man is fighting men, the British military and police are fighting women and children.

Henry Dubb is not yet a Communist, his eyes are seldom even partially open to the class war in which he is exploited; his moral code has been formed by the bourgeois-controlled elementary schools, and by the cheap bourgeois novelist, playwright and journalist; but even according to the ethical concepts given to him by these, the Government's present conduct in Ireland is flagrantly outrageous. The Labour leaders might appeal to him on this matter, but they do not, and not one of them has expressed the generous, wholehearted indignation which would have possessed an old-fashioned Radical. They do not even play the part of competent politicians in strongly castigating the Government in the effort to overthrow it.

Those Labourites and I.L.P.ers of the Macdonald-Snowden wing, who profess enthusiasm for the League of Nations and its value as a protecting bulwark for weaker nations, do not refer to it where the Irish question is concerned. If they are sincere in their false valuation of the capitalist League, they should be calling upon it to put its machinery in operation against this country in order to secure the Independence of Ireland. Many of these Labourites and I.L.P.ers have declared that they approve the use of the economic boycott against nations which defy the fourteen points of President Wilson and the dictates of the League of Nations. Why are they not proving the sincerity of their declarations, by urging that the boycott be put into operation in Ireland's defence? Arthur Griffith, Laurence Ginnell and the other Sinn Feiners, for a time, placed much faith in President Wilson and his fourteen points, and believed that the Peace Conference, or if not, the League of Nations, would secure Irish Independence. They are now undeceived; they have realised for some time past, as all Socialists ought to have done from the first, that the League of Nations is the machinery of peace Imperialism of the great capitalist Powers.

As Communists, we stand for the self-determination of peoples and the breaking up of great Empires. In so far as the Irish Sinn Feiners weaken the power of the British capitalist Government, we recognise that they are doing our work, although we have no illusions as to the value of mere national independence under capitalism.

We desire to see a Workers' Communist Soviet Republic in Ireland, and as a step thereto and as a blow at the strength of capitalism in Britain, we welcome the brave struggle of the Irish people for Independence.

Our duty as Communists, is to say to British workers, whether they be employed on the railways or ships, in the factories or docks, in the Army, the Navy or the police:—

"Do not help your Capitalist Masters to oppress the Irish People."

"Show solidarity with the Irish people against the great Imperial Capitalism that holds us all in chains."

"Show solidarity with the Irish workers against the National Capitalism under which the Irish workers will still suffer, should they gain National Independence without the establishment of the Communist Republic."

The great struggle going on in Ireland is not one we Communists can afford to dismiss or ignore as though it were of little importance to us. We must be actively building up connections with the Irish workers and stimulating Communist thought and the spirit of international working-class solidarity amongst them. Above all, we must give proof of our solidarity with them.



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## Communist News from Switzerland.

BALE, 13th September, 1920.—The so-called "Left-wingers" of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party who assembled at the end of June in Olten again held a meeting last Saturday and Sunday in Olten to consider the situation created by the resolutions passed at the second congress of the Third International. After full consideration and clear discussion, the following resolution was unanimously carried and issued:—

"That this conference of the Socialist Left-wingers held in Olten on the 11th and 12th September has not the slightest reason to go back upon its earlier resolutions after the publication of the 21 conditions for the affiliation to the Third International. It stands now as before on the ground of the principles of the Third International and agrees also to those theses accepted by the Congress of the Third International, which are the logical consequences of the well-known 21 conditions.

"The conference expresses its disapproval of the majority of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party in regard to the latter's vacillating attitude on the question of affiliation to the Third International, and considers its recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat a mere pretence again to deceive the masses. The Social-Democratic Left Wing will double its efforts for affiliation to the Third International and for the revision of the programme of the Party in the interest of the principal and tactical principles and thesis of the Third International."

## Unmasked Secret Agent.

BIENNE (Switzerland), 14th September, 1920.

In the "Bieler Vorwaerts" the Executive of the Communist Party of Switzerland states that its last President of the Executive, Jean Suppiger, has been clearly unmasked as a secret agent, being in the services of the Entente.

## Wrangel and the Bank of England.

BALE, 27th September, 1920.—A radio from Moscow reports that Kamenoff has arrived there. He said that the interventionists again raised their heads. The Allies are preparing a new campaign to overthrow the Soviet Government. "On the very day," Kamenoff said, "when Lloyd George asked me to leave England, the Bank of England accepted the cheques of Wrangel. Public opinion in England is against an open war with Russia, and Lloyd George had to invent other reasons for my departure. Fu-

ture events will depend upon whether the Soviet Government can beat Wrangel or not."

## Lenin's Letter to the Revolutionary Workers of Western Europe.

BERLIN, 28th September, 1920.—The organ of the Communist Party of Germany, the "Rote Fahne," produces a letter of Lenin's published in "Pravda," addressed to the German, English and French workers, in which they are called to separate themselves from the Right opportunist wing of the German Independent Social-Democratic Party, the English Independent Labour Party and the French Socialist Party. It is high time that the working-class clears its parties of these elements and builds a real united Party of the revolutionary proletariat.

## Prostitution in France.

"Die Neue Generation," the excellent monthly published by Oesterheld, Berlin, and edited by Dr. Helene Stoecker, gives a sordid picture of the rape and degradation of French women as contrasted with what is taking place to-day in the districts of occupation on the Rhine. We read:—

"The soldiers on leave—and daily 25,000 pass through the city of Lille—spread venereal diseases to a very great extent. Mention not prostitutes! It isn't fair to say 'prostitutes.' A better name would be 'oppressed.' It is true, nobody has compelled them, they came themselves, these poor women, because those who didn't come had to face the alternative of starvation. The charges are a piece of bread and one franc. Polonaises were formed of three, five, eight, or even more. One waited until all men ahead had passed by the prostitute, paid one franc and a bit of bread, and then also went in to her."

## Hungary.

From a reliable source in Vienna we learn that the White terrorists of Hungary are engineering a great anti-Jewish and monarchist plot, with ramifications in every part of what was once known as Austria-Hungary. In Central Europe, as in Ireland, the Catholic Church makes itself the centre of political intrigue. The Jesuits, gazing through the purple-coloured spectacles of Medievalism, still cherish the hope, sacred to the pampered parasites of the order of celibacy, that the Gentile-Italian Vicar of the Jew, Jesus Nazareth, will some day again lord it over the meek and pious workers of the world. Was there ever such faith in Israel?

## J. H. THOMAS FOR CAPITALISM.

J. H. Thomas, at New Cross Empire on October 4th, made another pro-capitalist speech, declaring that the only cure for unemployment is for the workers to be at peace with their employers. "Let us make a supreme effort," he said, "to find the only safe road to success—confidence in each other."

Thomas and his Labour Party colleagues are still trying to mend the Capitalist system; we are endeavouring to end it.

The railway workers should realise that J. H. Thomas prides himself with being as much the friend of their employers as he is of theirs. He said at New Cross: "The problems ahead will only be solved by all parties recognising that there are two sides to a question." Thomas desires the railwaymen to see things from the employers' point of view: we desire them to abolish the employer.

All this the writers of the Socialist organ know and understand perfectly well, but I think they are afraid that criticism might make havoc amongst the rank and file of the Confederation of Labour and of the Socialist Party, and cause defections in favour of the extremist wing of the economic and political organisations, viz., the Italian Syndicalist Unions and the Anarchist Federation, so as to make them lose control of the masses.

The Italian proletariat will soon discover the uselessness of the concordat, and will consequently, seeing that their leaders have put them once more on the wrong track, follow another path after having pitilessly got rid of them.

(The same thing will occur in England.)

On the other hand there are already unmistakable signs of a split amongst the Confederation of Labour and the Socialist Party. The latter, especially, contain such heterogeneous elements—the anti-parliamentary Bordiga section, the Bonomi Serrati Maximalists and the Turati and Treves Reformist wing—that a separation is bound to take place one of these days, unless a smashing victory of the Socialist Party in the municipal elections, which are just going on, should reconcile them all and induce them to continue the old policy of "wait and see."

## A Monthly for Communists.

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## Black Troops in Poland.

It is stated unofficially that French colonial troops are reinforcing the Polish armies fighting against Soviet Russia. Poland is swept by a wave of White patriotism. The sons of the bourgeoisie have volunteered in large numbers, while the reservists of the Great War are not called upon to bear arms.

## Russian Railways.

"People abroad have no conception of the damage that has been done by the Whites. These bandits have thrown hundreds of locomotives into the rivers and destroyed countless railroad bridges. They have not only burnt down entire railroad stations, but even systematically wrecked all brick structures on the station grounds. Thus, for example, on the railway line from Borisoglebsk to Tsaritsyn (over 350 kilometres in length) all station structures have been destroyed. The tracks have been torn up and special machines have been used for the purpose of twisting them so as to make them completely worthless. The Whites blew up all electric power stations; under every machine that they could not take with them they placed dynamite cartridges. They also blew up all water works, so that for instance Tsaritsyn not only lost all its railway connections, but also its water supply, and the whole population was deprived of water."

## Chinese Workers Send Greetings.

A Chinese labour union, organised in Shanghai in April, 1920, sent the following telegram to the Siberian Soviets in the name of the "Chinese Labourers and Peasants":—

"To the Russian Labourers and Peasants and the Red Army in Russia: We, representatives of the Chinese workmen and peasants, offer our hearty congratulations to you on the success of your revolution and hope that some day the capitalists of the whole world may be put down, to the advantage of our brother workers, so that all of us can gain liberty, freedom and equality in the true sense of these words. We welcome the Russian Red Army because its members have made great personal sacrifices for the benefit of our working brothers throughout the world, so that we Chinese labourers and peasants are quite willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with you under the flag of the army of right in the hope that ultimately we shall uproot the evil of capitalism and class distinction."

—From Soviet Russia.

## GIOLITTI PLAYS LLOYD GEORGE'S GAME

(Continued from page three).

conquest for the working-classes from a Trade Union point of view. It may be so. But once the joint control of the factories by employers and employed be tried in practice, it will be seen that our hopes of solving the social question by collaborating with the capitalist class are in vain.

## And "Avanti" Apologises.

The official organ of the Italian Socialist Party, "Avanti," in an editorial of a few days ago, in answering the critics of the concordat, amongst them the "Umanita Nova," daily organ of the revolutionary Syndicalist and Anarchist movement, was compelled to admit that if the control of the factories established by the concordat is a victory for the workers, it is also a victory for the Government.

"This time," says "Avanti," "perhaps the grumblers are right, if one considers the problem from the political standpoint. It is indeed self-evident that this is not only a victory for the metal workers, but also for Giolitti. It is also quite evident that the factory control that has been won, even should it succeed in working properly, will represent either a sham or a corruption. Joint control of the factories is in itself collaboration with the employers, and, if carried out in earnest, it will inevitably transform the workers into interested partners in the capitalist concerns. The capitalists will have the beef and the proletarians the smell; this is quite clear. And the revolution—as our Government wish—will recede further away unless the rank and file will open its eyes and see clearly into the situation. The critical hour of the national life will not pass with an agreement of merely Trade Union character. The Italian bourgeoisie will not save itself by a signature put by the employers at the foot of an agreement imposed by Giolitti. If the grumblers, the dissatisfied, the critics, the mourners, mean this, they are right a thousand times. But they must not dishearten the masses, they must not create discomfort and scepticism."

One could not put the position better, but the organ of the Italian Socialist Party is wrong if it thinks that the criticism and dissatisfaction of the Syndicalists and of the Anarchists will create scepticism amongst the masses. On the contrary, their criticism will contribute to maintaining alive amongst the working classes the enthusiasm and the revolutionary fire which their lukewarm leaders—the D'Aragonas, the Buozzis (who are the Hendersons, the Smillies and the Thomases of the Italian Labour organisations)—try to extinguish by changing the class war into a compromise with the enemy.

In my opinion, it would be a misfortune for the Italian proletariat, and the future of Socialism itself, if the "grumblers" ceased to "grumble," as dissatisfaction and discontent are the leaven of social progress.

## VERSE.

## BATTLE.

Last night I dreamed that in the deadly strife,  
Where privileged power rules with ruthless might,  
I saw my body, a corpse still breathing life,  
Trampled and mangled, a bloody, blackened sight.  
If such should be my fate, I pray it will  
Come to me sudden-swift, a keen sword-dart,  
Sent deeply through my burning breast to still  
The rhythmic beat of my rebellious heart.  
So, I should have the grand end come to me,  
While following the only way of duty  
And questing for the soul of truth and beauty!  
I'd go convinced that there could never be  
A fairer life for truth or beauty's flower,  
While earth is ruled by man's imperial power.

## BIRDS OF PREY.

Their shadows dim the sunshine of our day,  
As they go lumbering across the sky,  
Squawking in joy of feeling safe on high,  
Beating their heavy wings of owl's gray.  
They scare the singing birds of earth away  
As, greed-impelled, they circle threateningly,  
Watching the toilers with malignant eye—  
Birds of the darkness—human birds of prey.  
They swoop down upon us in merciless might,  
They fasten in our bleeding flesh their claws,  
In citied places bathed in bright daylight,  
And tugging and tearing without rest or pause,  
They flap their hideous wings in wild delight,  
And stuff our gory hearts into their maws.

HUGH HOPE.

## DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Mr. Scourfield (Pembroke Dock) 41, F. Houghton 41, I.R., 5s. W. Barker 1s 6d, A. E. Tilley 2s 3d, G. Sear 45s, W. Krissan 41 9s, Mrs. Brimley 41 2s 6d, Mr and Mrs Roodzant 5s, G. Voudsen 2s, D. A. Davies 14s, Anon. (per Mrs Cahill) 5s, collection (per Mrs Walker and Miss Bergis) 44 3s, J. Wilquet 10s, Stepney Branch 10s, "Reds" 4.

## Norah Smyth in Hospital.

Comrade Norah Smyth, who has been working very hard as Literature Secretary of the Communist Party, was taken suddenly ill on Sunday, and she is now in the Homerton Hospital. On going to Press, we learn that she is making fair progress towards recovery. We hope that she will soon be with us to take up her duties again.



## The Door-Step Campaign.

By FRANK ELDER.

Many Communists do not fully realise the utility of the house-to-house canvas, but perhaps the least enthusiastic are to be found amongst those who have not yet tested this direct action method of Communist propaganda, whilst the more ardent believers in this system of propaganda are to be met among those who have already had a trial run with a Red team.

### Every Member a Communist Advocate.

The Red team, elected from the Communist Party, and composed of every member of each branch, turning out twice a week for a period of six months, would accomplish more communistic education among the workingmen and women than twenty years of periodical public meeting propaganda.

These few remarks are not intended as a cheap slur upon the speakers within our Party; they could accompany the Red propagandists into the streets. The various householders very soon get interested and will crowd around, talking about the coal situation, the food question, clothing problem, and the advanced rents; all these questions can be shown to the people through Red glasses—that is, that the private ownership of the means of life can be enlarged upon by our conversationalists, and if a Communist speaker chances to be with the team, he will soon see how easy it would be for his power of speech to be utilised for Communism upon that portion of the proletariat which does not, and will not, attend the public hall or Labour college. This being true, it is clear to me, that our duty is to wait upon the proletariat instead of, as in the past, waiting for it to wait upon the colleges and meetings.

### Working-class Education Served at the Door.

After your members have plucked up sufficient courage to knock at the street door, just with the same kind of fortitude as is necessary for the insurance agent or Singers sewing-machine man, it will be found that the rest of the business is easy, because the people are ready for anything, and will not only give an answer in the affirmative to your request for a few moments' conversation, but in most cases but in most cases will give a real lead with the left, that is to say, that they have shed illusions in regard to the possibility of their emancipation coming as a result of voting for Parliamentary candidates (only 50 per cent. voted at the last election). This fact will give surprise to many, who still believe that our greatest difficulty is the shattering of the parliamentary ideal, be assured the parliamentarians themselves have discredited beyond all hope of repairment, their much-loved machine.

Therefore, intending canvassers need have no diffidence or nervousness in knocking at the door of any householder: the simple and polite statement that you have called from the Communist Party to request their attention for a few moments' conversation upon the points laid down in the handbill which one of your members left with them a few nights ago, will be sufficient to focus attention.

After your position has been laid down, allow the householder to have his or her say, and very often this will have the effect of bringing all the members of the household to the front door. This is just what is wanted, and the same performance is being enacted next door, and next door but one, until the whole street of people become mentally awake to the gospel of working-class administration.

If strong opposition be put to your ideas, do not rant and foam at the mouth like unto many old-fashioned ragtime speakers, but remember that you desire another interview. Do not jeopardise the future visit by tantalising knock-out blows at some unconverted and traditionally enslaved person; do not revile their opinion too scoffingly; do not lecture: they are far more susceptible to the conversationalist; do not affect the high-minded mannerism of the parliamentary canvasser, nor yet an off-handed attitude, but as worker to worker, mutually suffering from the nightmare and brutality of this atrocious system.

The superiority of social and industrial soviets, based upon the workers' delegate system, of subject to recall delegations, over the present system of life-long parliamentary misrepresentation, is very soon seen and understood by your listener.

A good impression will be left behind by leaving some free pamphlet or a back number of the "Workers' Dreadnought."

If a sufficient number of people congregate in one street, get your speaker addressing them; just a ten minutes' ovation will be sufficient, whilst the conversationalists of the party stride into the next street, and carry on on the door-knockers, until another congregation is manufactured for your orator. By this method, five or six addresses could be administered during one evening.

This method of propaganda should appeal strongly to the real Communist orator, one who has a real "red" pill for administration unto the pale proletarians.

If a night is set apart for this form of reddening, do not dawdle away the early evening chatting in the club-room, but take time by the forelock, and do your chatting on the proletarian doorstep.

There is at the present time a golden opportunity to redden your city, town, or village, before the parliamentary adventurers begin their process of adulteration. Therefore, do not tarry at the cross-roads of committee work and actual Communist propaganda, but rather defer the former than the latter.

The old excuse, "all in good time," must give place to "now or never," and the fitful flickerings of "next week, next month, next year programme,"

## Who Sold the Miners?

By T. YOUNG.

The history of the past two weeks' negotiations between the Labour representatives and the Government affords us a vivid example of the way the workers are "sold" by the Parliamentary Labour fakirs, who are supposed to carry out their instructions. The ballot vote of the miners carried with it an irreducible demand for 2s. per day advance in wages and 14s. 2d. reduction on domestic coal. No power was given to the representatives to reduce this demand; the men decided by their vote that it was to be a fight for all or nothing. Of course this was ignored by their compromising leaders in the auctioneering firm of Smillie, Thomas, Williams, and Co., who, immediately they got on the job, started selling the miners without reserve. Their bold declaration of an "indivisible" demand began to melt away very early in the sale; first the 14s. 2d., then the unconditional 2s. per day. Going! going!! gone!!! till nothing of the original demand was left. The bidders at the sale were crafty Davy and Co., who had the auctioneers "on toast," and played with them like a fish on a hook. The only bid they offered was an advance conditional on an increase of output. The great talking revolutionary auctioneers were so much afraid of the situation, and the possibility of the capitalists being defeated by the workers, that they agreed to sell the miners rather than oppose their dearly-loved Capitalist Government. In order to save the exploiters the just and reasonable demand must go. Thomas, Williams and Co. could not recommend the railwaymen and transport workers to support the miners in their demand by a general strike. No! the miners must give in and accept "crafty" Davy's offer of an advance conditional on an increased output. And so the miners were sold.

### The Price of the Miners.

Marxians know quite well that price in this instance is a very much different thing to value, and needs a little examination. A South Wales Conference has decided to abolish piecework, and this was well-known to the Welsh delegates. Notwithstanding this, a large number of them voted in favour of consideration of the control of wages based on output. What would be the result of the inauguration of Davy's scheme to the colliery workers?

Probably we should get an increase of 1s. or even 2s. for the first month. We all know that it would be a very easy matter for the owners to increase output, if it paid them to do so. No one will question the point that it would pay the owners to give much more than this, in order to establish the control of wages by output. This would be all right for a month or so, but afterwards it would pay the owners to "cut canny"; reduced output would mean for them increased prices, a natural result of the law of supply and demand; at the same time for the colliers it would mean a reduction of wages. Who sold the miners?

### Wage Men.

South Wales miners have for a long time agitated for a unification of wages. We recognise that it costs the labourer and the haulier just as much to live as the collier or the official representative. If this new scheme is established the wage-men's rates will be fixed at their present standard—the war wage and bonus. This means that all hope of an improvement in the wage-men's standard of living is gone, and he must remain at his present low status for all time. It is time you day-wage men woke up to the fact that you are being sold into perpetual slavery by your Parliamentary Labour fakirs. Attend your lodge meetings, friends, and take an interest in your own and your children's welfare, remove the compromisers from their exalted position, take charge of your own affairs, and put up a fight against your exploiters. To-day it is a case of "Hobson's choice" with us; we have got to fight or go under. Some of us may go down in the fight, but in the end we must win, for the workers are indispensable, and, when they like, invincible.

must be replaced by the slogan: "Every day, every hour, every moment."

To begin this work well, transform every member of your committee from a mere C.P. voting unit into a C.P. quoting unit, and insist upon the quotations being given gratis to some unconverted person or persons.

This revolution within the very committee-room would kill off the drones, and moreover would constitute a far fairer test of Communist sincerity than mere attendance at a comfortable committee-room, or even regular payment upon a card. Even those of the Unity, B.S.P. who admit that they have no faith in parliamentary action (there are a good many), might, instead of kneeling at the feet of their "four just men," get a real red move on in the streets.

In a little while the people will be destitute of further confidence in their present leaders, and fully awake to the futility of parliamentary action. Therefore, if we are only enthusiastic enough about industrial soviets and Communism, if we can prove to them that our Communism is something more than a straw for them to catch at in their desperation, if we can dispel the illusion of the horror of Bolshevism, if we can assure the people of their ability to take over their own affairs and help to inspire this confidence by breaking their traditional modesty, if we carry on with this, employing tact and resourcefulness, we can, and will, embolden the Great Proletariat toward the fulfilment of its historic mission.

## Workers' Shop Committee v. Bosses' Committees.

The smartest among the capitalists who own the industries are beginning to understand that the time when they can act as Czars and Kaisers in their factories is gone. They see that something new is on the way—that the workers are going to have a voice in the management of the shops and factories.

These capitalists have come to the conclusion that there is no use trying openly to fight the workers' movement towards industrial democracy—control of the shops by the workers and for the workers. But that does not mean that they are going to give in and let the workers take control. Since in an open fight they are bound to lose, they are trying the trick of seeming to give the workers what they want without any fight. At the same time that they are seemingly making their surrender, they manage to trick the workers into maintaining the same old system.

That is what the shop organisations and shop committees, which are being organised under the direction of the bosses, mean. There are now hundreds of industrial plants in which the bosses have given the workers some sort of part in the management through committees or some other organisations within the plant. There are a number of concerns that have houses representatives, senates and cabinets, organised within the plant, all for the purpose of making the workers believe that they really have something to say in running the institution.

The reason why the bosses can control these organisations is clear. Usually when there are elections, they are conducted under the direction of the management of the shop. There are enough willing tools of the bosses in every shop so that a committee satisfactory to the bosses can be elected. Furthermore, if aggressive workers are elected, they are usually afraid to take any action contrary to the wishes of the management. They know that they have been elected by instructions from the bosses, that the whole proposition came down from above, and that there is no solidly organised body of workers behind them, and consequently they are afraid to take independent action for fear of losing their jobs.

In practically every instance where such "industrial democracy" has been established, it has proven worse for the workers than if it did not exist. By clever manipulation the bosses can always get these committees or other organisations, which are under their thumbs, to make rules which are harsher than those the bosses could make on their own account, and if there is complaint, the workers are told that they themselves are responsible for these rules.

The workers should boycott shop organisation and shop committees, which the bosses offer them as a gift. Such organisations only fasten the chains of wage-slavery tighter. They play the bosses' game, and that is the reason they are organised.

In place of this fraudulent "industrial democracy" from above, the workers must independently create their own shop organisations and shop committees. The first thing to do is to get together the most active group of workers in the plant. Organise them to conduct the propaganda for a shop organisation and a shop committee to represent that organisation dealing with the management. When enough workers have been won over to the idea, a committee should be elected, either by representatives from each department being elected, either by the workers in the department, or from the shop as a whole.

This committee should receive all complaints in regard to the conditions in the plant. It should be empowered to make investigation and then submit the workers' demands to the management. It must seek to encroach upon the power of the bosses in every way possible, transferring the right of decision to the workers.

Of course, such a shop committee will soon come into open conflict with the bosses. There will be a "showdown," and in such a case the workers must be prepared to stand behind their committee as one man.

It is through such tactics that the workers will gain the training and discipline for the management of industry after the class-struggle against the capitalists has been won, and their power wiped out, and not through the fraudulent "industrial democracy" which some of the bosses are now offering them.

—The Toiler.

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# The Martyrdom of Ireland.

THE "TIMES" TURNS SINN FEIN.

## WILL SINN FEIN GO RED?

News matter from the "Times," September 27th:—  
Early this morning the town of Trim was partially wrecked by armed men.

### Large Force of Invaders.

Two hundred of the "Black and Tans" entered the little town of Trim early this morning, singled out the shops and business establishments of those residents alleged to be in sympathy with Sinn Fein, and ransacked, pillaged, and burned all. At noon to-day the town had all the appearance of a bombarded town in the war zone of France. Furniture is piled in the main street, houses are still smouldering, and the people are panic-stricken.

At three o'clock this morning a force of "Black and Tans" entered the town. They visited the Town Hall in Castle Street, licensed premises and a mineral water factory in Market Street, and a drapery establishment in High Street. The doors were smashed in. Petrol was commandeered and poured over the shops, and soon all were on fire. To-day nothing remains but the charred walls.

Editorially the "Times" says:—

"Recognising that they had failed to wean Ireland from Sinn Fein by their proposals for self-government, Ministers have sought an alternative policy in revivifying the intimidation of the Irish Republican Army. Their agents are the 'Black and Tans,' whose methods have, apparently, been borrowed from their opponents. Presumably they hope that Ireland, between the upper and the nether millstone, will be ground to docility. The hope may be vain. Even if we discount those racial characteristics which sustained the cause of Irish nationality against the oppression of long centuries, we cannot discount the intelligence of the Irish people. The reign of the coercionist is conditioned by the life of the Government; there is no time limit to the reign of the local terrorist. [Italics ours.] No Government can conceal from the Irish people the immense progress which their cause has made, and is making, in this country and overseas. Ireland may conclude that she can wait and that the Government cannot. The present conditions in Ireland will not react effectively against Sinn Fein, whose power will remain."

In thorough Northcliffean style the "Times" does the Salome wriggle before stern Sinn Fein. But will it be seduced? Will Sinn Fein make a deal with the life-long imperial enemy of Irish labour and freedom to sell the sacred cause of the working people of Ireland? Who can say? Nevertheless, the duty of militant English revolutionaries is plain: Support and aid the Irish Revolution and when Sinn Fein seizes the reins of political power, carry on the revolutionary fight with the Irish workers, whom a bourgeois government of little local capitalists will not be able to dope with reforms after Ireland's industries have been destroyed and disorganised in her struggle against imperial capitalism. The situation of Sinn Fein in Ireland can stand comparison with organised Labour in England. Carson and his vicious crew in their crazy cupidity are but preparing the ground for Irish Communism. When British Capitalism, beaten and confused, decides to withdraw its shameless adventures—the "Black and Tans," the regulars, the raw recruits of the B.I.C., its monolithic top dogs and those in Dublin Castle—the inexorable law of self-preservation will force socialisation and make close co-operation a necessity in Ireland. If the sepulchral White "Times" turns green

to-day, the peasantry and proletariat of Ireland may turn Red to-morrow.

### British Labour Impotent.

The solid phalanx of the bourgeois Press raises its voice in protest against the machinations of the British militants in Ireland. The "Manchester Guardian" calls upon British Labour to put an end to the indescribable agony of the Irish workers—an agony that is well-nigh impossible of visualisation. No sensitive mortal mind can bear to contemplate events in Ireland and the inevitable aftermath. And British Labour refuses to take action. Is there anything that can stir the beer-sodden emotions of the sluggish British mind? (Thomas, Clynes, Smillie, Bob Williams, Bevin and Gosling will not raise a finger to help Ireland. To offset criticism they ask: Is public sympathy behind us, can organised labour stand the consequences of a general strike? Well, even Liberal public opinion is in sympathy with Irish Freedom. The cocoa millionaires and the Quaker bourgeoisie would even pledge themselves to put the Labour leaders in power, and yet these creatures of preferment are afraid. Because they feel they are an incompetent lot. Are they not fed, fat, and contented with their comfortable houses, their salaries and emoluments? Why should they jeopardise their splendid positions? The Labour delegates jauntily proceeded to Russia; they returned lauding and criticising, but they learnt nothing. Whenever the officials are pressed to take action they conjure up the bugbear of the general strike. They will not follow in the steps that Italian Labour took to stop their Government taking any action, open or covert, against Russia. These methods might easily be copied by organised Labour here to stop England's war on Ireland. The issue could be localised—the dockers, the seamen, the transport workers and the railwaymen could prevent the perpetration of this great Capitalist crime upon their brave fellow-workers across the channel. And if the local workers were victimised by the British Capitalist vultures, should not organised labour in Great Britain, the greatest and richest in the world, give them security and protection. Are not the poverty-stricken and ruined Irish compensating their men who, refusing to fight against their country's freedom, resign from the R.I.C.? Are they not supporting the victimised railwaymen who refuse to transport arms and armed men and the Carson-terrorised workers of Belfast? A scheme of local action, properly worked out, to prevent all munitions and all military officers and men being transported from England to Ireland can and should be put into operation immediately. It would demoralise and disintegrate the forces of reaction and even win public approval. The Labour leaders will not act. They tacitly approve of the Government's war in Ireland. The Imperial rape of the Irish people must be laid squarely at the door of British Labour. The Irish workers may well hate and despise the British workers, who benefit by their martyrdom. The Labour leaders who told Lloyd George during the Council of Action crisis that if he persisted in his aggressive attitude toward Russia a situation would arise in England which they could not handle, the Labour leaders who are now selling the miners by way of a datum line to Capitalism, these men will never budge to save the honour of British Labour unless the Rank and File put a bayonet behind them and force them to move.

C.E.E.

## WHO ARE WORKERS, AND WHY USE FORCE?

By EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

The Rev. G. T. Sadler writes:—

"May I ask two questions in connection with the views of the Communist Party, such as I read in 'The Workers' Dreadnought'."

"(1) WHO ARE THE 'WORKERS' to whom you would give all power? Are the following 'workers'? Shopkeepers, salaried managers, clergymen, makers of millinery, workers in breweries, in munition works, men who make the motor-cars for the rich, entertainers, soldiers, cricketers, wives with no children? None of these do USEFUL WORK apparently. What of people living on pensions or their savings?"

"(2) WHY DO YOU ADVOCATE FORCE? Force means soldiers, killing men, and holding down the opponents by more force, and a huge army (as in Russia). You don't want force; no one does; but you will use it if the capitalists do. A burglar could say the same. Is it the sure way to a happy Social Order? Is not the war-method played out now? It brings misery to the conquerors even, and leads to more and more force and murder."

My reply to the first of the Rev. G. T. Sadler's questions is that shopkeepers, being engaged in distributive work; makers of millinery, being engaged in the manufacture of headgear; workers in breweries, being engaged in the manufacture of liquid refreshment, are undoubtedly in large measure doing "socially useful labour."

Persons engaged in luxury trades, such as building motor-cars for the rich, makers of jewellery, etc., and people engaged as entertainers, such as music-hall artists and cricketers, though not engaged perhaps in socially useful labour, are none the less often genuine proletarians in that they have nothing to sell but their labour power and are

genuine wage-slaves. They are undoubtedly workers, though not socially useful workers."

As regards parsons, they are not only socially useless workers, but even socially harmful workers, being specially employed by the monied interests to spread ideas and propaganda narrowly directed to the class interests of the bourgeoisie, such as the dogma about "The station of life in which it has pleased God to place you," and such like tomfoolery, meaning "the station of life to which the struggle for existence within the capitalist system has doomed you." Likewise parsons propagate a lot of foolish ideas about rewards in heaven and the evils of force, the divine rights of property—if you take an apple, you go to Hell; if you take a rabbit you get three months Hell—or what is worse, "H. L."—and so on—ideas specially designed to serve the bourgeois to maintain their class domination.

However, all such are undoubtedly "workers," though not necessarily useful workers. Their class interests are definitely proletarian\* and should lead them to unite to establish Communism, wherein the workers themselves shall determine what is socially useful work.

As regards the second question, "Why do you advocate force?" Well, it's not much use giving a man-eating tiger a tract, and the brigands of humanity, the capitalists, can only be prevented from anti-social plundering by the use of force. The bourgeois dictatorship and the bourgeois control of the whole of the amenities of life, of all the land and fine houses, fine clothes and fine food, is only maintained by force—by the policeman's baton and the soldier's bayonet. There is no way whatever of dispossessing the bourgeois class of the whole of the land and the whole of the houses, the whole of the means of life and the tools of production and dis-

## DOING THE ROUND.

By C. B. WARWICK.

It was before the Printers' strike. I read in an evening paper about it. Some unemployed busy-bodies, called commissioners, had been "doing the round" of the city's police cells. They had expressed themselves rather strongly—for State officials. Certain cells ought to be demolished. They were unfit for humans, however criminal they might be.

All? Well, one would have relished a public exposure of the damnable conditions, rather than mere negative impressions (half-suppressed at the fountain-head) by State lackeys "going the round." The public know little, or nothing, of the true condition of the police cells they are taxed to keep in existence. (Ah! Citizens, there are many matters you know not of!) The majority of the unfortunates who become, from time to time, fated to spend a night or more in such places, are usually too ignorant to even attempt to give vent in public to their impressions.

Where the scot-free cotton gamblers carry on their anti-social machinations in progressive Manchester and salubrious Salford, the said commissioners had been out and about, viewing the savoury cells. They said things. But the noxious dens remain in perfect working order, where, night or day, some poor devils are given a few hours of perfect peace—for a while. Yes, friends, they said things; but not much. They didn't experience the cell-nocturnal, nor yet did they gaze deep into the mire. Still, the cells were condemned. That's something! Ah! but—the condemned murderer is murdered, whereas ("likewise wherefore," as Motter would say) the motto emblazoned over each condemned cell is: "Business as Usual." They may get a coat of whitewash; veneer jimcrack furniture to keep up appearances!

What more can I do than condemn? As a reformer I would say: "Yes, the places are unfit to house respectable criminals in; let us pull them down, brothers, and let us erect nice clean cells in their places." But a revolutionist am I, I hope, and as such I can only agitate for the total demolition of the unclean, the ugly, the debasing, the tyrannical, the hypocritical. What follows? Well, comrades, we shall have changed the System and the police cells and such barbaric relics of civilised intelligent capitalism will join the limbo of the rack and thumbscrew, likewise the Capitalist Press, which dare not expose its own iniquities to the full.

Some time ago militaristic circumstances forced me to experience personally the conditions within the very cells condemned. It was before the "peace that is pieces"; before the Armistice. I was but one of a scattered outlaw gang, in and out of prison, barrack, and other places of detention, "on the run." It just happened that we were uninterested in the financiers' schemes to control Ukrainian corn, Ruhr iron and coal, Mesopotamian oil, and proletarian margarine—so, now and then, we donned the felon's garb, rather than aid the blood-letting for the property determination of rival parasite cliques. We could a tale unfold! That tale we should unfold; 'tis stranger than the recommendations of the Penal Reform Society. To use the city's police cells as a prelude, let us divulge!

Imagine a cell, the usual size, but with the solitary stained-glass window (stained with dirt) extra high-placed. The walls are sometimes whitewashed. More often than not they exhibit unsavoury blood patches left by annihilated bugs. The place seems super-heated (there being little ventilation, and that not rose-scented, by any means), especially after a "night of sleepless silence." In one corner there is a water-closet. This necessary article can only be flushed from outside, consequently one is at the tender mercy of ignorant police servants in the matter of keeping it clean and wholesome. So, in the silence of the night, and often through the day, the place often stinks with heated urine-vapour mingled with volumes of second-hand breath. This is breathed over and over again. It is madly nauseating, especially to the fresh-air fiend such as myself. Down each side of the cell are three-foot boards (some cells have only one board); which are the couch, bed, table, and all; such a cell, during "busy times," is occupied by two persons; violent or "auspicious" folk are "kept" in cells with a single "bed." Mind you, you endure the atmosphere of such a place before you are convicted. To have to "sleep" a night in such a place must be undecipherable terror to the juvenile "first offender," just about calculated to make that one squeal and show fear when fronting the head of the local Law-and-Order Tribune. After a night in here one feels a sickly dizziness on awakening (providing sleep has visited you). The eyes, the nose, and the throat are "banged up." Such are, of course, only symbolical of the hellish system we must burn up our energies in ceaselessly fighting. Push aside all who counsel reform: they are afraid of the Red Dawn. Ignore schemes for negotiating for puerile palliatives; urge only the direct labour revolt. In the preparatory transition days after the Dawn, before Communism and Freedom are achieved, if this Hell persists in our lives, fear it not, but fight on still; the Hell is age-long; we must educate to emancipate fully, materially and mentally.

tribution, except by force. It cannot be done by preaching; one might as well open the Bible and preach to a rhinoceros. It can be done by force. Nay, it has been done by force—in Russia. It is going to be done here. That is why Communists are advocating force to win the world for the workers.

\* We strongly disagree with these statements. Entertainers are, in our opinion, socially useful workers, and the class interests of parsons are bourgeois. —Editor, "Workers' Dreadnought."



## BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Somebody had managed to get a "First Winners" edition of the evening paper in, and there were a few of us round it in the Plate Room. It might be thought that our factory is a pretty strict place; well, it isn't exactly a prison. You can go and come as you please, under certain conditions.

You come in by a small door at the side. We have a nice front door with a big brass plate at the right as you go up the marble steps. But the front door is only used by the typists and our directors and the secretary. The workers, being more modest, come in at the side.

There is a big commissionaire with uniform and medals to note the fact that you actually come in. Although he wears spectacles, he is not to trust to his eyes, but you ask for a number and he gives you a metal disc; on receiving it, you have "officially entered" into the factory. You are allowed to come in any time between eight and nine. If you drop in a few minutes after nine, you will find the door shut. This means you are free to go home till the door is open again at two.

Once inside you won't stop to linger and admire the wall-paper, because there isn't any to admire. The walls are all whitewashed. But the monotony is broken here and there by a notice or two. One is entitled "Factory Acts" and another is "Electricity." Nobody ever reads them; they are there to prove that you have had due warning if you break any of the sections and sub-sections therein. If you should stop to read them, you would probably find old Creeps behind you to know what you were waiting for.

There is also a notice up about "Loyalty to the House." It tells you all about the kind-hearted capitalist keeping you from the workhouse, and it winds up that if you want to criticise anything you had best get outside to do it. Sort of "We own the earth, and if you are not satisfied with the way we run it, get off to some other planet."

My fellow workers never bother about the "House," though. It is only in Italy, which is notoriously "red," that the workers ask questions. Sometimes they even take over a factory and try and run it for the benefit of the workers.

If you have a headache and want to go home, you go and see old Creeps and tell him all about it. He will assure you that it will pass off; just do a bit more work and you'll forget all about it. If you are persistent, however, he will write your number on a printed slip: "Mr. Blank, please pass bearer out at 4 o'clock, number 88. Signed, W. Creeps." You take it to the commissionaire, and he stares at you and shakes his head and opens the door to let you out.

So you see it isn't easy to smuggle in a paper, but the workers are always ungrateful to their kind masters and will persist in doing things to please themselves now and again. That's how we formed round the paper and asked questions.

"Lord Mayor still at it?" asked Jack, bending round the stop press column. No answer was returned, as they say in Parliament. They were too busy looking up the St. Leger and wondering whether their favourite horse had come in last but one.

"And my friend the jockey said it was a dead cert.," said Jim Crow, looking aggrieved. This was to comfort his fellow-losers; you see Jim has the reputation of knowing a jockey who gives him "dead certs." He probably gets them from a "Sealed Envelope," price 1s., from his newsagent. Anyway, he passes the news round, and as even a jockey has a winner at times, it keeps his "clients" from being utterly discouraged, and helps him to sell the "Sealed Envelopes" and so pay his rent, and a few other items.

"I see the Italian workers are still at it," remarked Mac. He is always keen on politics, is Mac.

"Fat lot of good they do," said Jack, closing the paper and putting it in his pocket. "They simply get turned out by the military."

"Well, of course," said Mac, "you can't have Communism in a sea of Capitalism, and with the bankers holding the cash; it is the same with Russia. The reason they don't get any forrarder is that the workers in other countries don't help any. But what the Italian workers have done is all to the good. It shows what can be done, once you start."

"I suppose," sneered Jack, "that you'd like us to take this hole and try to run it?"

"Why not?" asked Mac, pertinently. "The bosses have run it for their own benefit, and I guess it's about time we tried to run it for ours. If we have a revolution, we'll have to run it, and we might as well try it on now when things are comparatively quiet. Joe has been telling you how to get up a Workshop Committee, and a few of us are working for that. If you talked less and joined us on it, you'd soon see his idea is the right one. Just you ask him about it at dinner time."

### South Wales Provisional Committee.

The above Committee met at Pontypridd on Saturday, October 2nd, to receive report of the Manchester Conference and other business.

The Secretary gave the financial report, which was accepted; while it was agreed that the question of finance be left over till next meeting.

T. J. Watkins (chairman) then gave a report of the Manchester Conference. After many questions had been asked and answered satisfactorily, the report was accepted.

It was then decided to call a South Wales Conference at Cardiff on November 15th, at 8.30 p.m., inviting all groups to send delegates in order to

## COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

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

**MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION:** Threepence.

**Entry Fee:** One Shilling.

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

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

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

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

### BRANCH NOTES.

#### Soho.

Reports sale of 26 quires of "Dreadnoughts" in the last four weeks and £4 10s. worth of other literature.

#### Tre Thomas.

Comrade Horace Price reports the formation of a branch at Tre Thomas, commencing with a membership of forty. The secretary is Comrade H. Price, 14, Glyn Gwyn, Tre Thomas, Monmouthshire.

#### South Shields.

We were successful in forming a group at our first meeting, with a membership of seven. There was no misunderstanding as to what our position would be as members of the Communist Party, B.S.T.I. For the time being we have levied ourselves 6d. per male member and 3d. per female. Our affiliation fees and contributions will be forwarded on later. Having in mind that a conference was to be held, we decided to wait in case there was some re-arrangement. Offices of the group are filled by the following members:—Secretary, J. Beadham, 18, Osborne Ave., South Shields; Treasurer, R. Crawford, 34, Erskine Rd., South Shields; Literature Agent, W. Cooper, 43½, Alderston St., South Shields.

### APPEAL.

The Inaugural Conference has just been concluded, and as an outcome, plans for work will now immediately be made. There is no need to urge that there exists a great field for Communist activity—work. Unfortunately, funds are needed to ensure that future work is carried through. The Communist Party also urgently needs funds for the payment of past or current expenses. Those whom this appeal affects are requested to send donations to:

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

#### Merthyr.

Comrades here have definitely decided to form a branch of the Communist Party, and the event took place on Sunday, the 26th. Officers were appointed to formulate local rules, etc., and it was also decided to communicate with the general secretary to secure the immediate affiliation to the Central body. The numerical strength at present is about thirty. Comrade Bishop was present, and formally opened the branch. A successful week of propaganda work was carried out; this was due to the presence of Bishop, who has been amongst us for the last six days. All meetings have been successful. Crowds of quite 500 persons have been present at practically all meetings, close on £4 worth of literature has been sold, and collections also have been good. The local parasites and bigwigs are very much upset, which in itself is sufficient evidence of our success. Secretary, Harold Griffiths, 60, Quarry Row, Merthyr.

#### Stonebridge Park.

Communist Party, Stonebridge Park, N.W. 10. Stopwatch competition: Watch stopped at 5.47, the nearest receipt sold being 5.45, which was held by W. Hatten, 1, Conley Road, Willesden, N.W. 10. The second prize went to H. Sergeant, 30, Byron Road, Wealdstone, for a receipt bearing the time 6.46.

#### Stepney.

A branch meeting of the Stepney and District Branch was held on Thursday, September 23rd, 1920, at 8 p.m. A good number of members were pre-

hammer out all differences, and get one movement for South Wales.

A sub-committee was elected to draft the agenda, and to make other recommendations for the said conference. The names of the sub-committee are: T. J. Watkins, D. A. Davies, R. Bennetta, R. Pritchard, and A. J. Cook. This sub-committee will meet at Porth on Wednesday, October 13th, at 6 p.m. sharp. The sub-committee is also to draft a short circular explaining the position in South Wales.

The delegates present included two from Cardiff, three from Rhondda, four from Pontypridd, one from Garw Valley, one from Dowlais, one from Rhymney Valley, one from Caerphilly, and one from Bargoed.

### LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

#### Whitechapel.

Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

#### Poplar.

Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

#### Camberwell.

Grove Lane, Fridays, at 7.30.

Hanover Park, Rye Lane. Saturday, at 7.30.  
Sunday, 10th, Peckham Rye, 11 a.m. Mrs. C. Cole and J. A. Sullivan.

#### Soho.

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

#### Hammersmith.

The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

#### Willesden.

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

#### Bow.

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

#### Birmingham.

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

#### Stepney.

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

#### Barking.

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

### INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

#### Soho International.

58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

#### Bow.

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

#### Poplar.

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

#### Camberwell.

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

#### Hull.

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

#### Hammersmith.

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

#### Barking.

All indoor meetings are held at Glenhurst, Ripple Road.

### HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.

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

Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrould's Corner, Edgware Road.

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

Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

sent. It was decided that the City of London and Stepney District Branches amalgamate. It was decided that as soon as possible a Soviet house-to-house campaign would begin. For propaganda meetings, watch outdoor meetings notices. If any comrade has any money to spare to help the Branch, send it along to Miss E. Berger, Treasurer, 30, Laleham Buildings, E.2. The Branch is putting on steam, and Camberwell and Poplar must look to their laurels. But speakers are needed as the Branch has but two at present. Intending members and members, rally, and join the only Communist Party branch in Stepney that counts.—Alf. B. Cohen, organising secretary, 30, Laleham Buildings, E.2.

#### Barking.

Last Thursday we had a fine indoor meeting, at which the Secretary spoke about the seven points of our programme for members and intending members.

### GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Soho Comrades 2s 10d, Camberwell Comrades 12s 6d, C. Lucy 5s, Stepney Branch (c/o Comrade Katritsky) 10s (and 10s to "Dreadnought" Funds), J. Phillips £1, K. Khesainow 4s, James Hill £1.

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