# Dreadnoug Workers

Vol. X. No. 29.

October 6, 1923.

WEEKLY

# The Big Stick in Poplar

# Who Called in Police to beat Unemployed?

Upwards of forty people badly hurt, hundreds of slightly wounded cases

Much has been said and written of love and hate and violence in Poplar. One thing stands out clearly: it is that the result of working-class representatives taking part in the administration of capitalist machinery, is that working-class reor capitalist machinery, is that working-consider presentatives become responsible for maintaining apitalist law and order and for enforcing the regulations of the capitalist system itself.

The Labour Guardians, who hold all the seats

on the Board save two, have deducted the 1s. 6d. a week coal allowance, and are contemplating a reduction in the scale of relief, though the winter is approaching and the cost of living rising

The Deputation.

On Wednesday, September 26th, a deputation of the Unemployed Workers' Organisation waited

upon the Guardians to ask for the restoration of the coal allowance and an increase in the scale of relief to single men and women.

Relief to be Reduced.

The Guardians refused both requests, and Mr Edgar Lansbury, Chairman of the Board, told the deputation that a reduction in the scale of relief is being considered in order to reduce the call on the ratepayers by £85,000.

Guardians Locked In.

Thereupon the Unemployed locked the main doors of the building and told the Guardians that they must remain for the night unless they would reverse their decision.

This is not the first time the Unemployed have taken such action. Guardians have been

locked in many times before in Poplar and in other Boroughs. The Unemployed officials declare that Mr. George Lansbury and other members of the Board have in the past expressed approval of such tactics; but if that is so it was no doubt in the shape of platform perorations not intended to be taken too literally. Certainly the Board resented the locking in on this occasion, and though some of them are members. sion, and, though some of them are members of Parliament, accustomed to all-night sittings at Westminster, and others hope to be, they were not willing to make this sacrifice of comfort to oblige the Unemployed.

Some two hundred Unemployed were in the hilling and should trunk to provide the Board.

building, and about twenty were inside the Board-room with the Guardians. A few were in the public gallery. The rest of the two hundred were downstairs in the entrance hall of the Guardians' offices

A crowd of men, women, and children were

At this time it seems that the Board meet-At this time it seems that the Board meeting came to an end and that it was decided there should be no further business done by the Board that night. The Labour members, who form the great majority of the Board, remained wrangling with the Unemployed.

Police Refuse to Enter.

The Unemployed assert that Mr. George Lansbury went downstairs and broke a fanlight, saying that that would be the signal for the police to break in. The police did not come in. The "Daily Herald" and the rest of the press assert that the police refused to enter without a written order from the Guardians.

The Ambulance

The Ambulance.

Comrades Bellamy, Johns and Gape spoke to the crowd outside from the Board-room window. Presently a London County Council Ambulance drove up. The summoning of the Ambulance was a gruesome act, whoever was responsible for it. It proves that the local authorities expected—and also intended—that people should be wounded. This is a borough "where Labour rules!" Noske and his tactics are undoubtedly to have their counterpart also in this country. It is strange that the lesson should first be given in Poplar. Seeing the ambulance, Comrade Bellamy said. "We don't want that yet"; but the police began to beat the crowd of men, women and children with their truncheons.

Who Sent for the Police!

Meanwhile certain Labour Guardians were clamouring for the police to be sent for to break into the building, release the Guardians, and clear out the Unemployed.

As to what happened then there are differ-t versions. The "Daily Herald" says: ent versions.

"When the police arrived, in response to a telephone call, they declined to force an entry to the building, without written authority, and some time elapsed before the Guardians decided to give this."

The "Daily Telegraph" report agrees with that of several other papers. It states that Alderman John Scurr, Mayor of Poplar, a magistrate, and a Guardian, took the chair, "and it was decided to give the police requisite authority." The members of the Unemployed organisation say, as the "Telegraph" does, that Mr. Edgar Lansbury was willing that the police should break in the doors, but not that they should enter the building. The Board meeting, they say, came to an end, and Mr. La sbury, left the chair. Then the Labour members of the Board



BROTHERLY LOVE

held a meeting. Mr. Scurr, Mayor of Poplar (I.L.P., Theosophist, etc.), took the chair. Mr. A. A. Watts (Communist Party of Great Britain) moved, and Mrs. Scurr seconded, that authority be given to the police to come in. The Unem-ployed say that this motion was carried. They police, which was thrown through the window by of Guardians : Mr. Watts, Mr one of a group of Guardians: Mr. Watts, Mr. Partridge and Mrs. Scurr, who were standing at The police inspector was seen to

Mr. Edgar Lansbury, questioned at a Bow Baths meeting the following Sunday, did not give a clear account of the facts. He did not of Mr. Watts; he was speaking against it, he said, when the police came in. He would not of Mr. Watts; he was speaking against it, its said, when the police came in. He would not deny that the police had had authority given to them by the Board, by Mr. Scurr, or someone else to enter the building, nor would he admit it.

#### Police Break In.

All other reports agree that the police were ummoned by the Guardians. The police then broke the window and climbed into the waitingroom below the Board-room.

Mr. George Lansbury had told Comrade Bellamy to go downstairs to the Unemployed and ask them whether they would open the doors and go quietly, or be batoned down by the police. He said that they would be given a quarter of an hour to make their decision. Mr. Lansbury said: "Someone has telephoned to the police." This was before the note was sant.

Comrade Bellamy went down to deliver the

Conrade Bellamy went down to deliver the message to the Unemployed, who were all unarmed, and had come to the Board meeting, expecting no violence would result. He had scarcely left the Board-room, when the police

#### A Terrible Scene.

A terrible scepe ensued. The police fell upon the unarmed people in the building, beating them cruelly with their truncheons. Not only members of the Unemployed organisation were ill-treated, but also individuals who had come of men were felled to the ground and

#### George, Can't You Stop It!"

Men rushed to Mr. George Lansbury, crying:

"George, can't you stop it?"
Mr. Lansbury spurned them: "They have asked for it, and now they will get it. It will e a lesson to them," he answered.

Mrs. Scurr shrieked at Comrade W. Gape,

who is only about twenty years of age, and has lived in the borough about two years: "You go back to Hendon, Gape!"

Mr. Lansbury also called to Gape to go away.

Comrade Bellamy stood arguing with the Guardians: "You have 'phoned for the police, now 'phone for the ambulance," he said to Mr. George

Mr. Lansbury answered, as though inciting the police to seize him: "You are one of the

unemployed: go with them."

"I know," replied Bellamy, "what I shall get when I go outside. I am ready to face it."

Comrades Bellamy, Gape and Robinson, secre-

tary of the Poplar Branch of the Unemployed Workers' Organisation, and crippled by the war, went out together. The police fell upon them. gerous condition with injuries to head and back. to head and legs. Yet it was Gape who had taken off his cap and respectfully begged Lansbury to intervene to stop the scene of brutality taking place downstair

#### Sit Quietly "

While the police were breaking in Mr. George Lansbury told the men in the Board-room that they should sit down quietly, and no harm would be done to them. The Unemployed relied on this assurance and, considering themselves overwhelmingly out-matched, they offered no opposition to the entry of the police. foreseen what was to happen, they declare to preven \* police climbing in.

#### The Terrible Queue.

Mr. Edgar Lansbury said at Bow Baths that he asked the police inspector to take the Unemployed who were in the Board-room out with him and see that they were not hurt. The Unemployed in the Board-room were told to go out after the inspector, and Mr. Edgar Lansbury accused those men of hiding behind the insp tor, but whatever may have been intended Mr. Edgar Lansbury, the men who followed the inspector were not spared the violence which befell their fellows. Freeman, who went out in the queue behind the inspector was seriously assaulted about the head, and is thought to have lost the sight of one eye.

Some Guardians have accused the Unemployed f hiding behind the chair or amongst the Guarians. We do not think they did; but we do not know why an unarmed man should be blamed for trying to avoid a beating with a truncheon-let the Guardians try a taste of it!

The police continued beating the people as they went down to the door, and some of them ould hold up the stairway till a man had been

beaten enough.

Only one-half of the double doors into the street was open; the other half the police kept closed. It was not fastened, but, as it opens in-ward, it did not give before the Unemployed, who were being driven out.

#### Beaten at the Back of the Head

As the Unemployed moved towards the door, they were beaten in the back again and again. Heads were bleeding from the blows of the truncheons, and now and then someone was felled to the ground. A. Burles, of 4, Cording Street, Poplar, saw in front of him in the press a man, the back of whose head was streaming with blood, and who was attempting to staunch the flow by pressing his hands to it. As that man reached the doorstep the police, who were striking every man as he passed, struck him again on the back of his head. He fell on his face down the steps, and Burles fell upon him. By falling, Burles missed the blows which were being dealt out to every man as he crossed the threshhold.

An old man with a wounded head had fallen and sat on the floor by the door. Some of the Unemployed men tried to lift him, crying out

he police to let them stay to do so.

Where is he?" asked a policeman, and struck the old fellow another blow on the head with

#### A Victim Aged Eighty-Three.

Thomas Clasper, a ratepayer aged 83, is partially crippled with rupture. He is recently out of hospital and still attending as an out-patient. A policeman, respecting his great age, endea voured to protect him; but another snatched him away, dragged him along the passage, and m to the ground. His arm was injured; is obliged to wear a sling. A. E. Radley, of Wellington Road, Bow, declares that the lics knocked his cap off and then hit him on

#### Beating the Wounded and their Bearers.

Outside in the street the violence continued. and women were attempting to carry those who had been struck down to Poplar hospital, but the police were driving the people away from the hospital, beating with their truncheons both the bearers and the wounded. Two mem-bers of the Unemployed Workers' Organisation found unconscious.

A policeman cried "Where are you going?"
"To see Dr. O'Brien," one of them answered.
"You want to see Dr. O'Brien? Well, you shall see Dr. O'Brien!" the policeman answered.
At the same time he struck the man who had spoken, who collapsed under the blow. His mrade was jostled away by the police, and neither of them saw the unconscious man again.

Rose Bowler, of 44, Bargrove Street, saw an unconscious man lying on the ground. She attempted to raise him, but a policeman struck her in the face with his hand and drove her away.

they foreseen what was to happen, they declare they would have used their position of vantage. Numbers of wounded people were unable to several men are still in Poplar hospital and they would have used their position of vantage. were taken in by the neighbouring residents, who received on September 26th;

bathed and bandaged their wounds. home as best they could. Some of them, cluding the Secretary of the Poplar branch the Unemployed Workers' Organisation, who seriously injured in the head, were obliged

#### One Shilling for X-Ray Treatment

One of the wounded was ordered an ex-ray examination at the hospital, and told that he must pay is. for it. Not having the money he went to Mr. Scurr, the Mayor, who had acted as Chairman of the Board of Guardians, and aske what the Guardians would do for him. Mr. Scu gave the man a shilling and told him that as peaceful citizen he had no business to have gon

the Guardians' offices.

Hundreds of witnesses are forthcoming, eage testify to the action of the police and Guardians on this amazing occasion. We had apposed only those sayings in the Board-root which a number of witnesses have corroborate without being present when the same statemen were made to us by others. We have recorded only a few of the acts of violence on the pa of the police reported to us. We have only give names where these were specially offered, a we know that some of the Unemployed are afra having their relief cut down.

The Unemployed who were present declar that many of the policemen were drunk. We are not surprised if it be found necessary to fortify men with strong drink, in order to prepare them to attack defenceless, unresisting p le whose physique has been reduced by po

We are making no charge against the police our complaint is not against them, but against those who called them in to punish the peopl for having locked the Guardians in: our charge is against the Guardians

#### Confidence Betraved.

The Unemployed declare that they were le into a trap by their confidence that they won not be subjected to violence with the sanction one whom they now bitterly call "Jesus Chr Lansbury," who preaches of love and forbea

#### Deputation to the Councillors

On Thursday, September 27th, a deputation of the Unemployed waited upon the General Purposes Committee of the Poplar Borough Council to raise the question of Wednesday night's

happenings.

A strong force of police was present, and the deputation of the deputation of the deputation. Council informed the members of the deputation that the police were ready to give them more of the treatment they had had the night before The Councillors who are, of course, the same is dividuals who form the Board of Gnardian

adopted a railing tone.

The Unemployed complain that Mr. George Lansbury belittled Soderberg, a Swedish seaman, who is active in the Unemployed organisation, on the score of his being a foreigner. Many of Mr. Lansbury's old fellow Socialists protested against

#### Hiding Behind the Chair?

Mr. F. J. Isley, of 26, Lion Street, Poplar, unemployed member of the Labour Party, complains that Mr. Lansbury called him a "cowar and a sneak," and accused him of hiding behind one of the big chairs whilst his comrade being batoned, and of going out with the is spector in the end. Mr. Isley has written the secretary of the Poplar Labour Party d manding that Mr. Lansbury's attack upon h character be brought before the Party, in ord that he may have an opportunity of defendin himself. He declares that Mr. Lansbury refuse to remain for him to give his answer at th time. He insists that no man is better than an other, and that either the accusations must

proved, or Mr. Lansbury must apologise.

Mr. Isley is but one of many who are bitterly ing the Labour members of the Popla local authorities

The Moral of it.

This is where participation in the administraion of the capitalist system has brought the abourists, Socialists, and even some who call hemselves Communists; in Poplar.

But what could the Guardians have done?"

The answer is manifold: the Guardians have at themselves upon an inclined plane which is led them to their present disastrous pass; any and worse incidents than those of Septem-26th are certain to follow.

#### What Could the Guardians Have Done?

We will take the points in succession, beginning ith the end of the series. How might the Pop lar Board of Guardians have avoided the incoming of having beaten their unarmed neighbors. ours; their poor, unemployed working-class heighbours, whose cause they are supposed to hampion? Do not forget that it was the will

which thus cruelly assaulted the people.

How might the Guardians have avoided the

they avoided it when the Unemployed ocked them in a year ago, by making a virtue ocked them in a year ago, by making a virtue of necessity; by preserving an appearance, at east, of good nature; waiting quietly till the Jnemployed themselves were tired of the siege. Why did the Guardians submit on the last oc-

sion, and call the police this time? cause on the previous occasion the Unemployed were more numerous and more militant in tem-per, and had made preparations for resisting attack from outside? Or did considerations of attack from outside? Or did considerations of party or policy play their part? Suppose the well fed Guardians had spent a night on the not uncomfortable chairs of their Board-room, would that have been too large a price to pay to preserve the respect of their fellow workers in the proletarian movement of Poplar, to prene appearance of solidarity in spirit with

Was it your dignity and your vanity, that. were assailed, O Labour members of the Poplar Board of Guardians? Shall your dignity count when others are in need? Shall your dignity ount when the class struggle is being fought? What would you say of the Liberals and the ories had they thus preserved their dignity with

So to our first question and last point in our so to our first question and last point in our seeries we say the Guardians could and should have avoided the batoning by waiting quietly till the Unemployed were tired of the siege. On this occasion, at least, it would not have been ong—as the Guardians knew—for the police were outside and the Unemployed had no provisions nothing more than an all-night sitting was con-templated by the Unemployed.

#### Reliet versus Wages.

Now as to the second question: Can the Guar-Now as to the second question: Can the Guar-lians restore the coal allowance and raise the relief to single people; can they refrain from further reducing the scale as they intend? Mr. Edgar Lansbury answered this question at

the Bow Baths meeting. He said the Guardians must reduce the scale of relief to the Unemployed because some who are working are getting lower wages than the relief scale. He said that men with large families who are in employment are coming to the Guardians asking that their low wages shall be made up to the relief level. Mr. Keyes, who spoke at the same meeting, said hat to subsidise wages by Poor Law relief, would ring down wages in the long run.

What does that mean in its last essence? It

eans that if men can get low wages made up the Poor Law Guardians, they will not fight employer for higher wages.

Ir. Keyes and Mr. Lansbury surely must

realise that to lower the scale of Unemployment relief will not tend to raise, but to lower the of wages. It is difficult to get men to work for lower wages than the relief scale; lower the relief scale and you bring pressure pon men and women to accept wages only a ittle higher. Mr. Keyes claimed credit for the Labour Party in Poplar on the score that they have assisted the workers to refuse work at sweated wages precisely by paying a high scale of relief. Mr. Edgar Lansbury said that to

maintain the present relief might mean 3d. a many. The Labour Party of Britain is followweek on someone's rent. Shall principles be sacrificed for 3d. per week, or is it a question of the Guardians being surcharged by the Gov-

When the miners were fighting the lock-out to reduce their wages, which was the test struggle of the British working class at the beginning of the present wages slump, the Poplar Board of Guardians reduced the wages of its employees and so lined up with the capitalist employers. The present reduction of relief in accord with falling wages merely assists in preparing the way another fall in wages. What did the Po another fall in wages. What did the Poplar Labour leaders do to help the striking dockers

#### The Fighting Ranks

But again, it is argued, the Guardians are reducing the relief because the Government insists upon it. Those of them who are Councillors have been to prison once for refusing to levy a rate, and they don't mean to go to prison again

If that were the view of the Poplar Guar-dians and Councillors, their place would be out of the fighting ranks. Those who are not pre-pared to stand by their principles at any cost should retire from the struggle. The Unemployed protest that the action which led the ouncillors to prison did not benefit them, but the ratepayers, especially the big ship-builders and manufacturers.

All the Guardians agree, we think, that the scale is already too low. They should refuse to make themselves responsible for reducing it. They should demonstrate with the Unemployed, not against them.

#### Reformist Expedients.

Most of the Poplar Guardians are reformists: they are fond of preaching social regeneration by taxation. They have not explored what they might do by a great raising of rates in Poplar in order to mulct the big industrial concerns and a compensating Poor Law relief grant, or rebate on rates, to all the poorer part of the population. Such manipulations might be declared illegal, but if the Poplar Labourists went to prison again in support of their ideas they would do cellent propaganda for their views.

We do not believe in the milennium via graduated rates and taxes, but those who do should seek every means of giving their views a trial

#### Government versus Workers.

We have always declared that working-class representatives who become councillors and guar dians assist in the maintenance of the capitalist system, and, sooner or later, must inevitably find themselves in conflict with the workers.

When the great slump in employment loomed into view at the close of the war was emphatically the moment when all those who desire a change of system should have said: We refuse to accept responsibility for adjusting the difficulties which have been created by the system. We know that these difficulties cannot be solved, and we not wish to assist in maintaining the system.

It was obvious that any attempt at adequate maintenance of the great unemployed army must challenge comparison with the poor wages of a large proportion of the employed workers, and with the small income of the struggling little shopkeepers.

#### Illogical Position of Communist Guardians.

Two of the members of Poplar Board of Guardians, Messrs. A. A. Watts and Edgar Lansbury, are members of the Communist Party of Great Britain (Third International). Their party preaches—or used to preach—that its members shall stand for publicly elected bodies, purely to use them as sounding-boards for propaga against the present system and to disrupt t administration from within. Can it be that the Third International has now changed its policy, and that it now expects from its mem-bers the careful administration of the existing Government machinery, with every regard for finance, in order that Capitalism may continue

ing the same disastrous road. Its first lesson in the art of crushing the revolting masses was

taken in Poplar on September 26th.

Let not party prejudices, personal antipathies, or disputes on points of detail, blind any one of us to that fact.

#### E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Dr. K. S. Bhat, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., has examined a ffew of the slightly wounded cases, and reports :-

I have examined to-day the following persons and found on their persons the injuries men-tioned in each particular case. All the injuries

Mr. William Bell, aged 59 years, of 353, Grosvenor Buildings, Poplar, boilermaker, out of work since 1919, has (i) a bruise on the back of his head on the left side, about the left of one hand, with a hard mass in it, which feels like fresh callus over a fracture of the middle metacarpal bone; (iii) a bruise over the left buttock; (iv) an abrasion over the lower part of the right thigh; (v) a bruise over the middle and lower portion of the inner surface of the left tibia; (vi) a bruise and abrasion over the back of the left elbow; and (vii) an abrasion on the top edge of the right ear.

2. Mr. John Bigden, aged 54 years, of 94, Suffolk Street, Poplar, labourer, out of work since 1921, has (i) a bruise over the whole length of the left arm from the armpit down, and over the top of the forearm; (ii) the lower end of the left humerus is bruised, with callus forming from the clot.

Mr. William Keen, aged 51 years, of 6 White Post Lane, Victoria Park, varnish maker, out of work 2 years and 9 months, has (i) a wound on the back of the head, and (ii) stiffness of the left deltoid muscle, giving pain with and limitation of movement at the left shoulder.

4. Mr. Arthur Thomas Peacock, aged 54 yrs. of 345, West Ferry Road, Millwall, plate punche

of 345, West Ferry Road, Millwall, plate puncher and shearer, out of work for a year, has a bruise on his head over the right parietal bone.

5. Mr. John Payne, aged 50 years, of 23, British Street, Millwall, general labourer, out of work for over one year, has an ecchymosis of the left orbit, with a wound on the outer edge.

6. Mr. James Murphy, aged 43 years, of 58, Augusta Street, Poplar, out of work since Dec.

1922, complains of acute pain over the spine of the scapula near the beginning of the acromion process, due probably to a slight local injury to the bone.

the bone.
7. Mr. Charles Long, aged 50 years, of 28,
Manchester Road, Cubitt Town, labourer, out of
Manchester Road, Subitt Town, labourer, out of

#### K S BHAT

Next week we shall give as complete a list of the injured as possible. Those who have been injured, or who desire to testify to the illtreatment received by others, or to give any evidence respecting the incidents of September 27th, are requested to communicate with "Workers' Dreadnought."

#### IMPORTANT!

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

In response to this appeal Mr. Henry Marchant sends us six new readers this week, and usefully notifies their occupations, in order that we may know for what sort of service to appeal



# Workers' Dreadnought Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication— To The Editor:
Business Communications— To The Manager.
WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT, 152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.
SUBSCRIPTIONS. Post

1s. 7½d. 3s. 3d. Three months (13 weeks) .... Six months (26 weeks)
One year (52 weeks) ... Re 6d Subscriptions can start from any week.

Vol. M. No. 29. Saturday, October 6th, 1923.

#### Our Diew.

THE BATONING of the Unemployed in Poplar is the first instance of the Labour Party Capitalism and Labour Party
being brought into forcible conflict with the labouring population in defence of the population in defence of the capitalist system. In the second dock strike the Labour

capitalists, but in the Poplar batoning of September 26th, the Labour leaders were the active onists against the workers. As the capiprotagonists against the workers. As the cap-talist system nears its end, the reformists who desire to prevent the catastrophic breakdown of the system will inevitably find themselves in a position of acute antagonism to the people who are striving to destroy the system which oppresses them. Germany has hitherto furnished the most striking examples of this phenomenon; but the equivalents of Scheidemann, Noske, and their German Social-Democratic colleagues, are beginning to appear in this country also.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH at the Church d: "It is far more common that those who have gone wrong in the country eventually come forward to be married—though what a ghast-ly thing it is to think that our again read over to those who have already dis-

A large source of unnecessary sorrow and cruelty will be removed when the point of view thus expressed has been altogether eliminated. mating of men and women either right or wrong. The sexual functions must be regarded as natural functions and freed from the conventions by which the private property system and religious officialdom have surrounded them.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY is organising a campaign for what it describes as Socialism. This, as explained in The Goal its circulars, constitutes a number of piecemeal reforms, which are supposed to be leading to the socialisation of instry at some time.

We cannot too often explain that our own goal is a free Communism, in which there shall propertyless have not had the opportunities to be no money and wages; neither shall there arm themselves that have been open to those who be no money and wages; neither shall there be barter or any form of buying and selling. The land, the means of production, distribu-tion and transport shall be held in common.

THE ALLIANCE between the South African Labour Party and the Nationalists is on both sides purely an expedient for gain-ing power, because neither party is powerful enough to overcome the South African Party on its own account. The coalition is not one

of principle: the Labour Party is imperialist: the Nationalist Party has no proletarian sympathies. The first result of the coalition will be to make the South African Labour Party still less apt to serve the interests of the workers than it was before.

THE BREAK-UP of the German Reich, and the break-up of the present political economic system in Germany seem only prevented because many different par-ties are fighting for different sorts of separation from the Reich, and different sorts of political and economic change. There are the Bavarian Monarchists who desire Bavaria to remain in the Reich, there are the Bavarian Monarchists who desire an independent Bavaria. There are the Bavarian Republicans who desire a bourgeois republic, and the Bavarian

The Parliamentary Communists of the Third International are supporting the Government in its efforts to prevent the German Reich from being broken up; its various components becoming independent entities. At the same time they do not support the Government in having abandoned passive resistance to the French, and have endeavoured to organise strikes to maintain pas-

The Left Wing Communists, workshop movement, Syndicalists and Anarchists, on the other hand, welcome the breaking up of the Reich into independent republics. They observe the assistance which the French are giving to the Separatist movement. They know that the French are do-ing this for their own political ends, but they are not concerned by that; they are working for the break-down of the capitalist State, and they welcome the embarrassments of the German Government and the growing weakness of the Reich, because they are hoping for such a break-down of the forces of capitalist government as will assist the workers to overthrow the capitalist

The people with property interests to protect are fighting in their various ways to safeguard those interests. Those who think their special interests will thus best be served are endeavouring to get their property into an independent State under French protection. Others are en-deavouring to make arrangements with French or British Capitalism for the carrying on of their businesses. Others are fighting for mon-archy, others for the preservation of the Reich. The patriotism of the various factions is largely formed by their interests. Some are patriots for United Germany; some are patriots for some German State; and some are wearing masks and pulling strings behind the scenes.

THE REPORTS in the press and otherwise coming over from Germany seem to indicate, on a superficial view, that the The Propertied people who have property interests in the existing system are more prepared to fight, than those to whom the present system is growing continually less tolerable, and whose interest it is that the present system

should disappear.
It must be re remembered, however, that the

have a stake in the existing property system. So long as it is a question or organising unauthorised armies, the proletarian forces are tion and transport shall be held in common.

All shall share the productive work without direct reward for services rendered. The common product shall be freely used, as and when desired by each and all, without payment.

There shall be no State Government, or Parliament.

The development of Imperial resources and markers the protestrian forces are largely handicapped, both by their lack of money and by the sharp vigilance which the Government, the army, and all the capitalist interests which have set up their various armies have all their friendly factions in the official army and police.

The development of Imperial resources and markers the protestrian forces are largely and confining the resources and markers the free more closely within the Empire within the Empire itself. Measures of protection and tariff reform will inevitably result from this conference, whatever friendly factions in the official army and police.

The organisation of production, distribution and transport shall be by those who do the work, organised on a voluntary autonomous workshop immensely greater than that of the various in the various department.

Yet in spite of all this, the people who have no stake in the existing system possess a power immensely greater than that of the various for which exist through the system; for is the propertyless who man the armies, navi and police force, and, what is more, who car roduction, distribution and transport. Whi they fight the armies must be provisioned a munitioned, and when they turn exhausted from unprofitable fighting they must still be fed and

When the working masses seriously revol against the private property system it must in mediately end.

The progress to the realisation by the pertyless workers that they should arise to troy the system seems long, interminably lo Yet in the great theatre of evolution events moving with much relative rapidity in these da It is a gigantic fundamental change in hum ve are awaiting; vast striving, vast effor and the birth of a new consciousness within ou selves, are necessary for the accomplishment of the stupendous transformation which is prepar

ing.

We had thought, perhaps, that the great struggles, catastrophes, and sufferings of German would have brought the end of Capitalism lor ago, and some are heard to express impatient pointment with the German people. Eve teaching us, however, the great magnitude of the cleavage there is between Capitalist and Communist society, and the immense efforts r quired to pass from the one to the other.

A monarchist revolution may come in (

many, a Fascist reaction may cover Europe, fore the triumph of Communism is won. these things are inevitable, they must be striv through without despair—our goal lies on fore, and we struggling humans will reach

A GRADUAL CHANGE in social standards taking place in Germany, long the most order disciplined and State-ridden of The Break-up tions. Stealing is rife. Arres for stealing are relatively few, a the thieves are no longer cres fallen when they come into cou they laugh at their crime, for everyone re nises that innumerable people would die if t did not steal. When the sentence is pronoun the thieves are sent home till there is room them in prison. If they present themselves

the gaol, as some do, they are told: "Go bar to your home; there is no room for you here For the political offender room is always fou and too little condemned by the social conscio

So the authority of the State declines. same tendency is apparent also in regard marriage: free unions are more and more many other directions a growing independence

IS IT POSSIBLE that a people, which has advanced so far towards freedom as the Ger mans, that has suffered an A Reactionary struggled so much, and seen t the power of the hereditary m to be voked to a harsher, more blighting author tarian reaction than that which existed in Germany before the war. We do not believe the the reaction can secure anything more than temporary triumph.

ONE OF THE PURPOSES of summoning the Imperial Conference at this time is to revi-British trade, by stimulating the development of Imperial resource and confining the resources and ma

akfully to anything, if it will but stimu-British trade.

Another purpose, perhaps the principal pur-ose of summoning the conference, is to secure the co-operation of the Dominions in Empire and to inform them that Empire nce, which in practice means Empire aggression becoming a pressing problem. Imperial Con-prences are ominous things: they mean the asmbling of the forces of Big Capitalism. They tent, and the negation of democracy under the oak of democratic procedure. To offer the ominions a share in determining Imperial olicy is, of course, represented as a step for-ard in democratic government. As a matter ace of the Dominions, and from the power of national Parliaments, just as it me ecting from the already much reduced power of in the hands of the British Parlia onference" will now be the bogy held up be-bre those who desire to leave the House of mons free either to decide or to protest. ommons free, either to decide, or to protest, any large question of policy. We are ruled a Cabinet controlled by powerful vested interests. The Imperial Conference is a buttress the Cabinet system. Our boasted democracy

Preparations for the next war will play an imt part in the present Imperial Conference was indicated, clearly enough, by Mr. Baldguarded references to France, to European litarism, and to the air force.

IT SHOULD BE NOTICED that whilst the Treaty, the Bulgarian Governm ernments during its recent contest with the Communists, applied to the Allies to be allowed to enlarge its army. Needless to say, the request was granted, although, be it rememred, the Bulgarian Government is a reactionary ictatorship which secured power by a military oup and the murder of the late Bulgarian

# Herr Stinnes and the Ruhr Adventure

pecially written for the "Workers' Dreadnought" by our German Correspondent.) Germany is very rich in coal, but very poor

France, on the contrary, is very rich in iron-

Both these facts make plain to every one of mmon sense the cause of the quarrel between

ince and Germany

of iron-ore each year. Before 1913, France capitalists?
Yes then

Porters of iron-ore for Germany.

The most important iron-ore mines Germany ssessed before the Treaty of Versailles are situ-ed in Lorraine and in the Saar district. Lorseed before the Treaty of Versailles are situ-in Lorraine and in the Saar district. Lor-Germany has lost; the Saar district is by the Entente. No effort was made to destroy der French control. The proprietors of the these mines by bombing them.

On the other hand there were the coal mines business and money.

Germany is rich in coal. But to turn the coal into money iron-ore is needed. In order to get control over all iron goods, price dump-ing is necessary until all the sources of iron and coal are in the possession of a few magnates.

After working with great efforts for years

and years, keeping the wages as low as possible, building up by the best and most modern forms of organisation, there was at last but one way of dumping the production on the world-market of organi to cheapen the iron-ore. This could be done only by uniting the proprietorship of the coal mines and iron mines. If political frontiers should frontiers must be re-drawn to the order of the disadvantage in passports, registration, emigration laws, etc., they will all be annulled at once.

Besides cheapening the iron-ore, there is another way to raise prices in the world market, If the production is very short, the value of the product must rise.

225,000,000 tons of hardware if they can get the same money for 125,000,000 tons? Why should the united German-French industrial mag-nates buy expensive iron-ore from Sweden and Spain—expensive because of higher costs for 125,000,000 tons of hardware from raw mateial from German and French mines?

To settle this business the amalgamation of

the German and French magnates is necessary. Since about the year 1900 the above-mentioned

agnates have been working to this end.

The great war—which both these parties did their best to make—has cleared up the situation and opened the way. For this purpose it did not matter whether the Germans or the French won

been the same in every respect.

Remember the result of one of the first attacks of the German army after war broke out was the occupation by Germany of the rich was the occupation by Germany of the Figure iron mines of Longwy and Briey, situated near the Franco-German boundary and geographically belonging to Lorraine! When Lorraine was captured by the Prussians in the year 1871 Bismarck took no notice of the basins of Longwy and Briey, because at that time nobody knew the real value of these basins, a value discovered very much later when new inventions were made to treat this iron-ore by use of the Thomas pro

From these basins, through the war, the Germans took all the iron-ore they needed for producing their ammunition, when the import from Spain was stopped by the British blockade. With out these basins Germany would have been com pelled to finish the war within six months for

Why was it that France and England throughout the war made no effort to take these two important iron mines from the Germans? If unable to take them, why did they make no attempt to destroy them? Was there any contract

That year France passed Spain and stood exporting to Germany 3,811,000 tons but the longer the war the better the business. m the Briev basin, only 400,000 tons less than The business of all the internationalist capitalists in particular the German and French capitalists.

Do not forget the best buyers of iron and Sweden stood (and stands) first on the list of the best payers for iron are the armies in war.

In no time is iron more wanted than in war-

the single through the structs have remained the structure of the structur

ection pledges. The Free Traders will submit which will suit them better and secure their and this business with their lives and their blood.

Who are the proprietors of the iron and coal mines? On the German side: Herr Stinnes, Herr Thyssen, and the firm of Krupp and Herr Wolff. On the French side: the family of De Wendel, and the ammunition plant of Schneider and Cie. The banker of this Committee is the international banking family, Rothschild. One member of the De Wendel family was a member of the French Parliament. His brother was a member of the German Par-liament. So much for the patriotism of the capitalists! Who were the officers who commanded the armies attacking the iron mines of Briev and the coal mines of Bruay? On both sides these officers were officials of the coal and iron industry. Hearing these things, you will understand the true cause of modern war. You will also understand the cause of the swer for yourself the question, why Europe cannot be at peace. There can be no peace whilst individual capitalists possess all the sources of iron and coal. Take the mines from the capitalists talists and their power will be broken. Make the mines belong to mankind and not to a few capitalists, make all the goods and gifts of nature one commonwealth, and no League of Nations will be needed to stop war for ever.

Do you know how strong in the League of Nations the power of the proprietors of iron and coal mines is? They have a majority-75 out of 100. Perhaps more; certainly not less. Thus you will understand why the League of Nations is unable to prevent a war. The League of Nations is only an instrument for concealing of the next war will be just the same that has been the cause of all the wars of the last fifty, years - the business and profit of the individual proprietors of coal and iron. To serve the interests of these capitalists there is one sure method: "Is there no war? Then we must make a war. Meanwhile, since there is no war we must stir up all the world to think a war-danger is threatening. We must not allow men to think of an eternal world-peace. We are here to arrange trouble, and trouble, and trouble again! When trouble is asleep, our profits are also

So long as we have capitalists and a capitalist system, the world will never have world peace.

#### FROM THE PUBLISHERS

TOM MANN'S MEMOIRS. Labour Publishing

Company. 12s. 6d.

IF LABOUR RULES. By Philip Snowden, M.P.
Reprint of "Morning Post" articles. Labour Publishing Co. 1s. We cannot recom-

FASCISM. By Oden Por. Labour Publishing. Co. 7s. 6d. We cannot recommend it.
LABOUR AND CAPITAL ON THE RAILWAYS.

Labour Research Department. 18.
THE FEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES and LABOUR AND CAPITAL IN SHIP-PING. Labour Research Department. 18.

FROM PIT TO PARLIAMENT. Life of Keir Hardie. By David Lowe. 3s. 6d.
SHORT COURSE OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE. By A. Bogdanoff. Labour Publishing Co.

THE RUHR. By Ben Tillet, A. Creech Jones and Samuel Warren. Labour Publishing
Co. 9d. Views cannot be recommended.

#### THE BULGARIAN REVOLUTION.

The "Klassenkampf," a German Communist newspaper, of September 27th, reported that the whole of Bulgaria was in the hands of the peasants and workers with the exception of Sofia, which was besieged by them. The revolutionary troops, according to the latest information, num bered 500,000, and they had taken much artillery and a very large number of prisoners, who were allowed to go free after they had been disarmed. Political frontiers separating men from men e not made for the great capitalists. The capitalists know no frontiers. If the frontiers are their way, they cut them and make others

And why not?

Because of the existence of this contract mentationed above between German and French capitalists. Poor men had to pay for this contract mentationed above between German and French capitalists. Poor men had to pay for this contract mentationed above between German and French capitalists.

## A Social Outcast

By TOM ANDERSON. (Proletarian Schools.)

She was a lowly proletarian, a woman about fifty years of age. Her face was weather-beaten and her clothes bore undoubted testimony to her social status. She was going through one of the ash-bins which are attached to every working-class tenement in Glasgow. They are

known as the "midgy."

As I passed through the back court, she said to me, "I am looking for jewels."

"I am afraid," I said, "that the jewels are

all locked up in the homes of the rich."
"Well, well," she replied, "that may be so,

but then it is God's will." This reply gave me some food for thought, and so I said, if that is so, then He has made a very

eved me as if to read my thoughts, ar then she replied, "If it's not God's will, then it's

That may be so," I said.

With that she picked up her bag, saying:
No jewels to-day."
I caught the words that she hummed, "No

from on high deliver," as she passed out of the court.

Here was a "social outcast" hitting back in a way that no one could make a mistake about, and I raised my hat to her as one of the few "outcasts" I had met. To me she was a woman.

After she had gone, my brain kept working. This woman, I said, is a social "outcast." She was once a little child whom a fond mother was once a little child whom a fond montelloved, and nursed. She grew up as other children do, betwixt mirth and play. I pictured to myself her laughter, what it would be forty or more years ago. Then she went to school as we all do, and her little playmates and she had many splendid days: days of rain and suntain the content of the c shine. She becomes a young woman, and I could see her walking out with her lover, and she is all smiles, her arm is in his, and her eyes are speaking, and each of them are laughing. I see her at the dance, and she is all life, ever so strong and brave. A beautiful world; she has no knowledge of the ash-bin yet, nothing but love and life. Then I see her again and has a child in her arms; her dream has been realized, she is a mother, and the smile is still on her face, and her step is that of one who Again I see her : she is more careworn, her figure is slightly bent, the furrows well marked all over the once-bright face. Her children are grown up, her husband is dead, and finally all her children have left the home nest. She is now the rag-picker I met at the ash-bin, and no one cares. Your respec table worker passes her by, he never thinks she is anything but what she really is at present-a "midden raker." Everyone above her socially looks down on her. And this is the world we

In Glasgow to-day we have three grades of social outcast. First, the Unemployed; second, the Casuals; and third, the Paupers. To the first two grades they have the charity to give the privilege of having "a vote"; the third grade, the paupers, have no vote; they have nothing; they are in the institution merely

the day of death. Might I mention the super-social outcasts, that is, the great mass of the working class who happen to be working? They too are outcasts, but, being working at present, they are blind to the fact. If you would but look at the homes of the working working-class, and at their lives, the tragedy of it all would be thrust uponeyou. They are even worse outcasts than our woman of the ash-bin, because they are unable to "hit back," for fear of losing what little they have but the woman of the ash-bin could hum men in England to the hundred know anything about it; they think it is "God's will." And about it; they think it is "God's will." And the priest prays, and our Labour Party joins in the chorus. It is a beautiful world—when you are on the same side as the oppressor. You are getting a share of the crumbs that fall from his table, and so the crumbs that fall from his table, and so the crumbs that fall from his table, and so the crumbs that fall from his table, and so the crumbs that the Mexican are now more hopeful, you are ethical, you are cultured, you are poli- the "International."

### Between Two Worlds

TO FRIEDRICH ADLER. (Translated from the Dutch of Henriette Roland Holst, by Th. W. DE Witte.)

Once more I come to wrestle for Your soul, Friedrich Adler, to pray you that You may return to those whom you betrayed.

Behold-I'm not like many of my comrades: Cast of one gulp of red-hot metal; My being does not plunge to one side only Steep like a chasm down. I know my soul To be a land so full of cracks,— My spirit flows, by its own nature, Like water to all sides, my heart Is apt to take all forms like wax.

In one thing only I am strong and steady: I've heard the call of Life renewed, Which, snorting, rushes in with shocking hoof.

I jumped on it and firmly cling
On to its flying mane, and only this
Is always in myself of everlasting steadiness. And through whatever terrors it may carry me, I shall hold fast, I'll never turn away.

My brother-you and I were born Rather to love than to hate. Rather to dream than to do. Hate And to be hated makes our souls feel sick only thrive if we can love And bask in love as fruits do in the sun So you and I we cannot march in front In these wild days that stride on now Over the world. Their brazen mouths Call for the forceful Doers, the great Haters, to stimulate them, not for us. I know that and submit in resignation To what is unavoidable, although my days Are often heavy with an inward struggle And sometimes, in nocturnal visions, The hankering of old wells up in me.

This poem is the poetical expression, not only of an individual, but also of a political attitude. The above lines were written, in Dutch, by Henriette Roland Holst, Holland's greatest poetess, who is a member of the Communist Party Holland, affiliated to the Third International unist Party of

It is curious to note that she belongs to what is called the opposition in the Communist Party. True, it is a "loyal opposition," striving for democratic centralisation, firmly believing in Moscow and adhering to the old-established policy of boring from within, speeches in Parliament, etc., but at the same time it does not wish to exagthe dangers of such a policy if carried through in all its consequences. The members of this opposition, like the parties of the Third Inter national, are hanging between two worlds, unable to get rid of the old hankering after "influence," consequence of the instructions from "Mos"which is likewise in a similar position.

I am not going to blame the Russian leaders for the ambiguous position of their country in the present constellation of world Capitalism, because this is not due to their personal and political behaviour, but to the development of international conditions. However, it would be wrong, like H.R.H., to call the foremost reful Doers and great Haters, in the sense of their being revolutionary politicians. If we look at the leading personalities in the Dutch C.P., namely Wynkoop and van Ravesteyn, we are bound to say that those gentlemen have never been more than social democrats. It was only personal ambition which brought them into opposition to the S.D.L.P., and again it is personal ambition only if the younger leaders of the opposition are now discussing the possibility of driving Wynkoop and van Ravesteyn away and also their supporters, in order to pave the way for their own election in the Executive of the C.P. of Holland. Such being the case, the struggle between the old leaders and the leaders of the opposition is no struggle between two worlds, because the latter show nothing of the spirit with

It is merely a quarrel between leaders of the o

The policy of the Third International finds best expression in the political attitude of German C.P., especially where it shows its pathy for the "revolutionary middle class." natter of fact this counter-revolutionary app a matter of fact this counter-revolutionary ap-to the German petty bourgeois, with a view backing up the State and national unity, is flagrant violation of the A.B.C. of Marxi For the middle class is the most obstinate ment in capitalist society, always ready to fit Communism and to protect the modern sli-state. In fact, Stinnes' centralisation of in-national and gigantic concerns far across ( national frontiers is revolutionising the capita world more than the politics of the Third In national, whose principal aim is to keep up trade unions and their backward mentality.

No the forceful doers and great haters still on the background of the political str Nevertheless, they are working hard, and t voice will be heard soon all over the world the final combat between Labour and Capit, ism. TH. W. DE WITTE.

### Mexico Slill Hopeful

By Prince Hopkins
Not only Mexico, but the industrial revo tion, "is a long way off" for those, especial who scorn to travel except by an undeviati route. But so long as a steamship line runs New York and another thence to Vera Cruz sensible Englishman will avail himself of the rather than try to swim the Atlantic in the sence of a direct-sailing liner. And as long there exists in Mexico, or in any other countra regime embued with revolutionary ideals whi it is visibly putting into practice, I for one w rather give my allegiance to that regime, at try to make it at once successful and liber without them refuse to cooperate with any my rather than refuse to co-operate with any

who isn't a hundred per cent. of my ideal.

To return my friend Mr. Owen's complin I hold him in the highest esteem, as one who had sacrificed all which most men value in life to conception of what is right, and I bow to his timate knowledge of conditions as they were Mexico a few years ago; but, as an artist revolution, I find him unwilling to underst the material with which he must work-exist mis-educated beings. To his accusation tha believe in compromises, I assent. The ques is not the academic one of whether we c rise but of whether we compromise in am sure Mr. Owen himself made a comp every broiling hot day in Mexico that he pu pectable " clothes, instead of sallying in just a happy smile. The man who will adaptation to the popular mind and realities is as useless, as the man who adapts much is pernicious, and is rightly called in nd sent to the foolish-house

In his entire article occupying nearly whole front-page of the September 29th "Drea nought," Mr. Owen made only one specific char against Obregon—namely, the persecution of rique Magon. Bad, undeniably bad—unless, s there was some other justification than Mr. Owen mentions (for martyrs of the re are sometimes men with an inherent cra ing from insulting the public authorities to son." But surely Mr. Owen will be the last forget the regimes in Mexico which preceded of Obregon. He will hardly claim that an them would even have given the public fur to Ricardo Magon. Had there been no Obre will Mr. Owen tell us who would be trium to-day in Mexico? Magon? Or the arch throat and ultra-capitalist, Francisco Villa?

And has Mr. Owen no choice between Me under Obregon, and Mexico as it was under ors, or would be under Villa? he believe that by weakening the Obregonfaction in the face of the only opponent has any strength, the reactionary De La Hu he is aiding the emancipation of the people? Mexican workers disagree with him. The change effected—a change of inestimable value have become a frankly revolutionary people.

### Unemployed Workers Organisation.

The action of the U.W.O. during this last k has brought sharply to the surface great problem which is confronting society ny, namely the unemployed question. In ar, at a public meeting some little time ago Great George Lausbury expressed indignation disgust with the unemployed—why? Because had locked the Guardians in, or raided the neil Chambers? Oh, no; but because the ployed, he alleged, had gone to sleep

Wake up; come around and worry us; uploved can have is, 6d, coal money if you e and ask for it. Do something, wake up, show that Poplar spirit!" So said George

to the Board of Guardians last Wednes-night. The result of this action we all . It is strange, but true, to relate that the who suggested this action should be the men to call in the police and get the un-

unsbury tried to defend himself in his arti-'Herald" on Saturday by copying the italist stock phrases, saying that the men were away by leaders. If he was thinking of him-as the leader he is perhaps right; but at same time a great man like George should ble to make an excuse of his own, instead of the same dope as our opponents. What-he says may go down outside Poplar, but in ar are people who saw the raid and know full facts, and these, with many more, he not be able to mislead by whitewash

rge Lansbury is not the worst; J. Scurr, A. Watts (the Communist), A. Partridge, Mrs Watts (the community), A. Fartungs, such as bad, and I may say were very eable in the agitation to have the police d in. Already we have held a number of est meetings throughout the borough, and people have unanimously declared their dis-with the cowardly action of some of the

dians on Wednesday night. volutionaries, and we proved beyond doubt elessness and futility of Boards of Guars to abolish poverty. The result of this brutal k has not damped the spirit of the unem-ed. On the contrary, hundreds of Labour abers have torn up their cards and ty members have torn up men members in U.W.O. has made so many new members in the days that we have run out of cards. The isation is progressing in spite of the fact we are being persecuted, and I must add the more determined they are to crush us. more determinedly we mean to carry on.

J. T. BELLAMY,

Area Organiser Poplar Town Hall

BOOKS JUST PUBLISHED IN POPLAR. hristianity in Practice." By George Lansbury and Rev. Langdon.

Short Cut to Communism." By Edgar Lansbury and A. A. Watts. owards the Graveyard." By a Lone Person.
With a chapter on how to save the rates by

the starving and freezing process. ow to Display your Ignorance from the Bench By Mr. Cairns (Thames Police

New pronunciation of "Guardians"-Gore-

How to produce a "Red" borough.—Have lough blood shed to produce the necessary shade.

SALARIES RISE, RELIEF FALLS. Poplar Board of Guardians, while raising tries, is cutting down relief. The cases of

-bodied persons who have been receiving re six months are to be reviewed.

the Workhouse Master has been pensioned at £282 5s. 2d. a year and the Matron at 15s. 5d. A new Master is appointed at , rising to £275, per annum, and a new on at £190, rising to £250. Board, fur-

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

to-day. The remedy in our view is not the creation of new unions, but the creation of shop committees linked in an all workers' union of workshop committees.

Dear Editor.

Another attempt is being made to organise ne Hotel and Restaurant Workers. I have been thirty years in the catering trade and a member of every union for that trade that has come into existence during the period. I was a member of the French Cooks' Union about 1911—14, and went all through the forty "lightning strikes." I joined the Workers' Union (catering section) after the war, and left in disgust. I joined the Catering Trade Union and became vice-president.

According to the "Daily Herald" five different unions, among them the Workers' Union, are now to organise the workers in the catering

I should like, with your permission, to re-view the record of the Workers' Union as it affects the catering trade workers. The British and Allied Catering Trade Union, the secretary of which is T. Cann, called a strike of catering workers in the city. At that time I was a memworkers in the city. At that time I was a member of the Workers' Union and very closely but quietly watching its actions. In order to be more "in the know," I got a friend of mine more "in the know," I got a friend of mine take it, not the E.C. or secretary.

The rules, benefits, and subscriptions differ in the control of the city. The members themselves, and no one else, should decide what action to take, and how to take it, not the E.C. or secretary. Union appealed to the Workers' Union for sup-port. That support never came. The Catering Union asked the Workers' Union to stop its members from delivering food, etc., at the strike establishments. No satisfaction was given, and cases of blacklegging were denied by the Workers' Union officials, although proof was given by the strikers. Ultimately the strike failed.

Please notice particularly these events.

Then the Workers' Union commenced in earnest to organise the catering trade employees, mainly in the West End. The British and Allied Catering Workers, at a meeting of mem-bers, had adopted my resolution changing the name to the Catering Trade Union, with offices in Newport Street, W.

The workers in the catering trade section of the Workers' Union were becoming very impatient at the inaction of the Workers' Union, and so a meeting was called at Central Hall, Westminster. The meeting was packed, and now comes the gem: Dallas and Gibson practically said that, as the Workers' Union had not called a strike, there was no claim on the funds of the Workers' Union. Nevertheless, Dallas, Duncan and Co. were there to give the strikers every encouragement and support in their fight. In other words, "Do not come to us for strike

Again the strike failed, again the Workers' Union sold the workers. Hundreds of earnest, good trade unionists became bitter, tore up their cords in Compton Street, and once again were the employers triumphant. I was one of those who became very bitter towards the Workers' Union. I joined the United Catering Trade Union, was placed on the E.C., and made vice-

Co. A strike was called, and every morning during the strike trade union carmen delivered trade union made bread, etc., to the strike shops. Once again the workers of the catering trade were sold by members of other trade unions, including the Workers' Union.

The French Cooks' Union worked with the

Waiters' Union during 1911—14. During that time we, the members, decided what to do and when to do it, not the E.C. We were always in debt. We had no M.P., but got restaurant workers included in the Shop Hours Act. We did not walk the streets on strike for months, and yet we won thirty-eight out of forty strikes, simply by keeping silent, doing our work till the and yet we won unity-right out of the simply by keeping silent, doing our work till the simply by keeping silent, doing our work till the simply by keeping silent, doing our work till the simply by keeping silent, doing our work till the simply by keeping silent, doing our work till the simply by keeping silent, doing our work till the signal was given (always during a dinner or bandure doctor sixteen guineas for the same period; signed by the manager or proprietor. I regret Part to the second of the

the break-up of this union, which was caused by the war, its members being mostly Frenchmen who had to join France's capitalist army or navy, and Germans who were interned. The direct and failures common in the Trade Unions action work of this union will long be remem

I have written to the "Daily Herald" a statement of the above facts, but this great Labour paper, always for truth and justice, refuses to open its columns to one of the rank and file. The "Herald" has only room for Bobby Bear muck and letters from parsons re the Singapore millions, or else reports of the great speech by Jack Beard, of the Workers' Union.

Now we turn our attention to the five unions catering for the hotel and restaurant worker, which is being fathered and blessed, with the penediction of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. They have at last waked up to the fact that all unions should support the

one on strike. My word!

But how do they propose to organise the catering trade worker? Each union will take a given area, with paternal guidance from the Council.

Let us see how it would work. My friend joins A area, I join B area. A dispute arises in A area; result, a strike. I am out to support my friend, so I insist that B area strike also. Question: will B area and all other areas support A area by striking or not? Please notice it is left to the Council to decide. Not good

these five unions. Therefore we have this posi-tion: Thousands of men, women, lads and lasses all engaged in the same industry, will be told to submit to rules that they had no voice in making, and pay subscriptions they did not decide upon. There are to be different rules and different unions for the same industry. There will be the petty jealousy of rival unions, the autocratic authority of the Council which the catering workers never helped to build, never heard of, and do not care about

What is needed is an organisation composed of men and women in the catering trade only, who scriptions, and appoint their own officials. Only those actually engaged in the same know all about it. This union should be open to all nationalities and all grades of workers in the industry. One industry, one class; not five unions to one industry. Each industry should be complete in itself in organisation. All in-

dustries work in unison every time, all the time.

The rank and file should decide and control the union, not the officials,

Yours fraternally, M. McCARTNEY

THE WRITING ON THE PAVEMENT

Poplar unemployed have been writing on the avement. Outside the Guardians' offices they have written: BUTCHERS

PLAY THE GAME, LABOUR PARTY.

The same message has been written in front of the houses of the Labour Guardians. Out-side the door of the Mayor they have written

THE GENERAL STRIKE.

The "New Leader," the I.L.P. organ, is advocating a one-day demonstration strike to induce the Government to deal with unemployment. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, an I.L.P. leader, condemns the proposal in that other I.L.P. publication, "The Socialist Review."

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £76 16s. 10d. Per A. Hodson, 6s.; Tovarish, 5s.; F. Brimley, 10s.; Irene Smith, 1s. (weekly); Hackney meeting collection, 4d.; J. Leakey, £20; per Mrs. Cahill, 4s. 6d.; P. F. Malnik, 5s. Total for week, £21 8s. 10d. Total, £98 5s. 8d.

1,750,000 elementary school children are massed in classes of upwards of 50.

#### Karl Liebknecht's Letters.

Luckau, 20th May, 1918.
... In July, in three week's time, it will be your visiting day again. Two months already since your last visit. I hope then to get all the news in detail, and to hear more about your relations with the Russian "deputation." You

know what I think about it.

I was very pleased to hear Helmi's account of the new turn of affairs in Rostow. Do they expect a regular correspondence to be kept up on both sides? I have put in a couple of lines, anyhow, but it is impossible to write anything, not even to our "ally" Ukrainia.

even to our

As to what you say about the money question and similar problems, of course it is not desirable to accept assistance from any but one's near relatives. I neither can nor will hang myself from all sorts of moral ropes in the future. Certainly you will take care of all my papers.

Certainly you will take care manuscripts, and everything. But you must not think they are all equally valuable; only a few parts of them are useable, and I should like, if possible, to do something with them. You brought a MS. with you in April to be corrected. Of course, heaps of other things occurred to me at once, things to be completed or corrected.

You will find somewhere a chapter on "The Dilemma"; please insert the following passage

"In the social struggles of all countries and peoples, class opposition, which is not to be confounded with the constant class war, is often reciprocal, is often found below the level-ing influence of capitalistic and proletarian migration, and does not abolish the inter-national character of capital and labour, but the contrary stimulates the tendency to demonstrate it.

Towards the end of the chapter you must put

in something like this:

something like this:

"Expansion comprises both production and distribution. It takes place in a double and ever broadening spiral, etc."

At the end of the chapter please insert this:

"Thus, imperialism, if it is not first over-thrown by social catastrophe, leads automatian economic catastrophe, to its own annihilation by the social forces which will crush it, annihilation by the abolition of own reasons for existence; so is its doom doubly sealed.

Now a word or two of business. So far, the now a word or two of business. So lat, the newspapers have always come punctually, but the last twice I got them two or three days late. This is really much more important to me than the parcels of food which I care about much less. You complain that you cananout inter less. For companing that you cannot understand from my letters whether I have sufficient or not. But my dearest Sophy, I have plenty, plenty, really. Please believe me. I do so wish you would keep most of these things for

Now I want to talk about you again

Not long ago, in looking for the third chapter of Ecclesiastes, my eye fell on the seventh chapter of the Proverbs. They are like wild hissing flames in form and style. There is no-

ing that surpasses them.

My present tremendous flow of thoughts is erwhelming—indeed, it makes my work very ficult. I have so little time for myself now. difficult. although these are the longest days of the year

am not slacking down.

Kurt looked very well. You wrote me that he was stationed in a small hamlet away from the front. Unfortunately, such is not the case. He is as near the front lines as it is possible for a doctor to be. You must know that we have been intimate friends from our earliest years. I was his master in many things, especially in the rearing of butterflies, which formed

The newspapers have just arrived, early, and with Sturday's included. Many thanks. I have had a dirty bath—phew!

My dear child, I often wonder if you are strong enough to bear the daily attacks of the

present on all that is good, noble, sacred, and to bear the sight of the daily triumph of cowardicc, meanness, bestiality, servility, of everything that is low and vile. This is the greatest hardship of the present day. But you will not quail. The consciousness of superiority and the firm faith in future victory are the best helps in similar hardships. A reasonable sur-vey of what is happening, of its causes and its action, is the best support, in these times, for it transports our participation in the events from the stormy atmosphere of passion to the cool heights of rational observation,

heights of rational observation.

My cardboard business interests me more than you think. I meditate on the psychology of invention, on the conception of human capabilities. You will laugh at me, and certainly such experimental psychic research has often been made, and accounted for scientifically. But only careful personal observation can give one a clear idea. Every smallest movement of the body, or even of one member, its mode of action, the smallest modifications in the use of the senses, especially of sight and touch, the part played by the spiritual functions and by mental states, by the kind and class of material and the continual repetition of analogous movements, the rythm of manipulation, the observation of others and learning from them, as well as by one's per sonal experience, innumerable peculiarities trifles of all sorts, from all these things spring finally one of the most important laws of movement in human development, a law which applies equally to the greatest things and the

But scientific theories notwithstanding, I have never yet succeeded in completing my allotted task. Time and again I have to return to the directions of Mephistopheles—I can demonstrate with beautiful clearness that it must be done so—but still I have not yet become a satisfactory weaver. But I still hope. The work is so easy that even a numskull like me must learn it in e partly by practice, and partly by watching others, and such an opportunity can only

the others, and such an opposite the found in prison.

To-day is the 590th day of my sentence and there are 870 more yet. I have been shut up for 775 days. When you come to see me in it will want two or three weeks to the half of the time, from my arrest to the end of the sentence. The serious things that I have in my Last year you were kau. You had even heart I cannot write you. Last thinking of settling in Luckau. looked for a house, so the rooks whispered to me. But you are still a long way off. What will you do this year? I leave it to you. Good-bye, my sweetheart, my dearest; think of your-self a little more now you have settled all the others—and think of me. Love to you and many kisses. Your KARL.

HEAD READING, by an expert phrenologist.

Proceeds to "Workers' Dreadnought." Proceeds to "WApply, H., Box 20

# Read EIRE The Irish Nation

Weekly Review of Irish Republican Opinion

RICE TWOPENCE

On Sale Saturdays

To the readers of

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

All you have to do is to cut this coupon out and write your name and address in ink and send it to the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4., when you get 24 coupons.

Address

WATCH THE "DREADNOUGHT"

Butte



JUST OUT RIGHT MAGAZINE for all WORKERS



Good Stories Pictures Poetry and Leviers

Take a copy on your Holiday! 32 Pages-Sixpence

#### THE RED COTTAGE.

Woodford Wells. For Outings and Week-ends. Parties catered for.

126 Woodford High Road Buses 34, 40a, 10a pass the door. Opposite " Horse and Well."

THE "ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN"

(Canada's Foremost Labour Paper).

The One Big Union seeks to organise the workers on class lines. Read about it.

Eugene Sue's marvellous story: "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," now running in serial form.

10/- per year; 5/- six months.

Plebs Buildings, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Canada.

FOR SALE. — Engineer's Taper Guage, £1 Radius Guage, 7s. 6d. (Starrett's). Proceed us Guage, 7s. 6d. (St. "Dreadnought" Fund.

FOR SALE.—"Oliver" No. 9 Typewriter, purchased May last: very little used; £9.—Apply Box 21, "Dreadnought" Office.

SYLVIA PANKHURST is booking provincial lecturing engagements.—Apply for dates "Dreadnought" office, 152, Fleet Street. dates 1

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, meet ings to explain the policy of this movement can be arranged on application to the Secre-tary, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

Those desiring to learn GERMAN, either by private lessons or in a class, should wi G.N., Box 10, "Workers' Dreadnought.

#### COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Outdoor Meetings.

Friday, October 5th, 8 p.m., Paragon St., Hackney.—N. Smyth and others.
Friday, October 12th, 7.30 p.m., The Grove, Hammersmith.—N. Smyth and others.
Sunday, October 14th, 3 p.m., Peckham Rye.—N. Smyth and others.

"Mile End Green, 7.30 p.m.—N. Smyth and others.

A Branch of the C.W.M. is being started in ppney. Those wishing to join should write to Goldstein, 26, Apsley Streef, E.1.

#### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

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

The high cost of production

of the paper necessitates prompt payment.

FOR SALE.—Bound Volume of "The Common No. 4, 1888, Official Journal of the Socialist League, edited by William Morris. Very rare. Good condition. What offers?—

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by the Agenda Press, Ltd. (T.U.), at 10, Wine Office Court, London, E.C. 4.