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WEEKLY.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

TER TO BERNARD SHAW.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

Do you as the Intellectual Leader of the Labour Party, support the Labour Party's Unemployment Bill?

DEAR BERNARD SHAW,-I once heard you say, "I don't object to the Servile State, if I can get my oar in," and since you are the intellectual leader of the Labour party, I appeal to you to state whether you approve the instalment of the Servile State which is included in the Labour Party's Unemployed Bill, now being thrust on the attention of the Government. Mr. Lloyd George may, very probably, adopt this measure, stating that it is 'he Labour Party's own Bill, in order that the popular discontent, which would certainly result from it, may fall upon the Labour Party instead of on his own Goverment.

The Labour Party Bill leads off with a clause placing the unemployed problem under the Ministry of Labour. Presumably, the provision is inspired by the curious illusion, widely current amongst Fabians, that to name a Government Department appropriately, or transfer powers from one Department to another may sugar the ing scale of benefits:pill of ignomy, which the poor are expected to swallow at its hands.

The Bill then proceeds with provisions for receiving houses and colonies, where the unemployed are to work, apparently without wages.

Clause 9, Section 7 provides:colonies as he shall deem requisite."

The intention of this Bill seems to be to give all power," not " to the workers," but to the of that immaculate Government official. Do you think they have cause to be entirely satisfied with the achievements of the various holders of that office since its creation?

views, that, because a man or woman has the misfortune to be unemployed, he or she should be segregated in a colony and parted, whether he in respect of any dependents." or she will or no. from family and friends?

It is certain that these colonies and receiving houses will be hated as prisons by the workers who come to be sent there. The Bill, it is true, declares that the institutions are to be voluntary; but, to the out-of-work who is offered no other option, the unemployed colony (I had almost written penal colony) may present the only means of subsistence.

ment at this stage, the Labour Party would have raised an outery. Moreover, the proposal is peats the provisions of the Unemployed Workman Act, which was the creation of a Tory Government in 1905.

As to the dependants of those who are in the colonies, the Bill says:

"Where any person, who is admitted to any such institution, has a wife, or a child, or children, or any person legally dependent on him, the Minister of Labour may, if he thinks fit, grant to such person so admitted, or the person in charge of such child or children, such amount of assistnce, under such conditions, as the Ministry of Labour may direct."

The Labour Party shows here, either that it is possessed by a tremendous and wholly un-Justified faith in the generosity of the Minister of Labour, or by an awful callousness towards the women and children, and aged parents concerned. It ill becomes a " Labour" Party to

leave the dependents of the unemployed to the does not seem to have occurred to the comfortmercy of a capitalist Government, without even able Labour leaders! attempting to establish a charter of rights to which they may appeal.

The Bill makes no mention of any payment to the colonists who are not eligible for benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act. Presumably they are to work as unpaid slave gangs, perhaps for the making of roads, harbours, and so on. This is indeed a measure befitting the Servile State! Are you willing to take a share in advocating it?

As to those of the unemployed who are eligible for benefit under the Insurance Acts, I cannot believe that any of them will go to the colonles, but, presumably, this may be made compulsory, by refusing to continue benefit if the offer of work on the colony is refused.

The Bill rovides that the Unemployment Insurance Act shall be amended to give the follow-

25/- a week for unemployed persons over 18 years of age; 10/- a week for the first dependant, 5/- a week for every additional dependant.

Do you not think if the Labour Party is determined to adhere to the advocacy of the dole "The Minister of Labour shall establish system, it might have asked for maintenance for and maintain, in such district as he thinks fit, the unemployed, at what would be their average such accommodation and day and residential rate of pay were they employed in their usual occupation?

I am not putting forward such a proposal as my own scheme, as I am not a Reformist; but I Minister of Labour. The Labour leaders evi- ask you, as a Reformist, whether such scales as dently can see see no need to check the doings those I have indicated are not more in character with what one is entitled to expect from the Labour Party, than the scale of unemployment benefit recommended by this Bill?

There is, however, worse to come. The Bill May I ask if it is in conformity with your lays it down that the unemployed young person under 18 years shall be paid only 13/- a week, and that " no additional payments shall be made

> I ask you, as a supporter of the Labour Party, what can be the motive of such cruel stinginess, conceived in the spirit of a Bumble?

How can any self-supporting lad or girl exist

on 13/- in these high-priced days?

Why are the unhappy dependents to be denied the relief granted to the dependents of older workers? Why is the widow, perhaps in broken health and with a large family of young children. Had the proposal come from a Tory Govern- to be refused assistance when her boy and girl of 16 and 17, who helped her to maintain the home. are out of work? Why is a mother, supported absolutely lacking in originality; it merely re- by her young son, to get no relief, because he happens to be less than 18? It may be said that youths of 18 ought not to be burdened with any part of other people's maintenance; but since some of them are so burdened when working, why should the Labour Party deny them the recognition of that fact when it is making schemes for unemployment benefit?

The Bill proposes to set up local unemployment authorities composed of representatives of the local Borough or Urban District Council, including managers of Labour Exchanges and representatives of the employers and employed, in equal numbers. It is strange that the Labour Party should always be careful to see that the employer is represented, especially as the Government, in this case through the Ministry of Labour which will hold the main power, is representing the employers all the time! The idea that the unemployed might justly claim representation in the administration of their affairs,

Persons who are not entitled to benefit under the Unemployment Insurance Act must apply for work to the Employment Exchange, and if no work is provided and the applicant is not admitted to an institution, the unemployment authority shall consider the case, and with n three days provide work or such benefit as is

given to insured persons. How pettifogging! And what cruel delays! One would think that the Labour men who drafted this measure were without even a bowing acquaintance with poverty and unemployment; that they had never known what it is to be without money for a loaf or the baby's nilk, or to be short of a penny to put in the gas, or to lack fuel for the fire in winter time. Why not have set up uniform treatment for all workers, instead of maintaining distinctions between those who happen to be able to obtain unemployment insurance benefit and those who are not-a matter which is usually outside the worker's own control?

"Unemployment or maintenance," says the Labour Party Bill, "shall not extend to any person who has refused employment under conditions which in the opinion of the Council, on the report of the manager of the Employment Exchange, are not lower, as regards wages and hours of labour, than those commonly obtaining for such employment within their area; or who has been offered and refused reasonable employment in connection with the execution of work provided under this Act, and who, in the opinion of the Employment Committee, upon a report of the Medical Officer of Health of the Council, is physically able to take such work."

What extraordinary phraseology for Labour people to employ; does it not recall to your mind the edicts of the Charity Organisation Society? Moreover, how strange for Trade Union officials to stipulate for "wages or hours of labour commonly obtaining." Surely the demand for "Trade Union conditions" might have been expected from such a source?

Is not the spirit of this "Hard-Faced" measure completely anti-proletarian? Are you able to approve it in any particular? Does it not display a total lack of constructive ability in those responsible for it?

As a Reformist and the intellectual leader of the Labour Party, will you not persuade the Labour Party to withdraw this ill-conceived measure before Lloyd George adopts it? Will you not assist the Labour Party to save its face by issuing a new Bill, which would establish productive work in nationalised industries, in which the unemployed could obtain work under conditions as to pay, hours, and general environment superior to the best obtainable under capitalist employers to-day? In such a scheme, coming from such a Continued on rage 6.

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A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

October 22, 1921.

THE COAL SLUMP.

untries in 1913 was as follows:-

Norway.

Country to which

German W. Africa.....

German E. Africa ...

French W. Africa..

French Somaliland.

Canary Islands ...

Austria-Hungary...

Turkey, European ...

Cape of Good Hope ..

Straits Settlements.

British Hondurae.

British Guiana ...

British West India Islands.....

rates. The resultant fall in coal exports and the

simultaneous enormous rise in prices is shown in

the following figures, which show how capitalism

displayed its patriotic fervour and love for the people

of the Overseas Dominions in the national emer-

South Wales

Quantities.

United Kingdom. (including Mon.).

43,534,560 36,391,690 18,601,896

38,351,553 46,386,297 17,417,707

1917 ... 34,995,787 46,547,621 19,893,015

1918 ... 31,752,904 48,026,492 17,000,834

1919 ... 35,249,578 83,213,714 20,229,802

Prices and export quantities for South Wales are

well-displayed in the following table, from which

t will be noticed that the ending of the war

caused no decline, but added great impetus to the

39,862 008 24,475,551

Turkey, Asiatic ...

Bulgaria ..

Portuguese W. Africa

Italian East Africa...

Spanish Ports in Africa.....

Netherlands ...

Madagascar.

Dutch Borneo ..

Dutch Guiana ..

John Thomas, B.A., miners' agent in the S.W.

M.F., has written a useful pamphlet entitled, "The

indescribable. He was an honest man, and actly the same. would not have lied if Havelaar had ap- "Even should a higher power than yours statements. But even without that honesty, if it were so, I have done my duty. he had not always been able to avoid the "I am sorry, yet without being aston- give the following note from his hand:

said that, if Havelaar chose to recall the wise than I have served at Lebak, I cannot. without danger to Verbrugge." documents, it would be agreeable to him to "If the Government desires to be served It was evening. Tine was reading in the consider them as not written; this Havelaar otherwise, then I am obliged, as an honest inner gallery and Havelaar was drawing an

firmly and politely refused. against the Regent.

wounded by the thorns in the ravine, how is approved more than that of my soul. seemed to have fetched from a well-secured anxiously would your hearts have beaten "But I cannot, and will not, believe that cupboard in her room, for the noise of many could you have heard this request!

which lay on the table under Havelaar's to the Government:

Havelaar replied:-

Havelaar's words.

"Mr. Resident, I am Assistant Resident of Lebak; I have promised to protect the population from extortion and tyranny; I accuse the Regent and his son-in-law of Perang-Koodjang; I will prove my accusation as soon as that opportunity is given me which I proposed in my letters. I am guilty of slander if this accusation is false!

How freely Verbrugge breathed again. And how strange the Resident thought

The conversation lasted long. politeness-for Slymering was polite and well-bred-he urged Havelaar to turn aside from such wrong principles; but with as much politeness, the latter remained immoveable. The result was that the Resident had to yield, in saying as a threat, which was to Havelaar a victory, that he should be compelled to bring the matter under the notice of the Government.

The meeting was ended. The Resident paid the visit to the Regent, to put to him the questions already mentioned, and then dined at the scanty board of the Havelaar's, after which he returned in great haste to Serang, "because-he-had-still-so-much

The next day Havelaar received a letter from the Resident of Bantam, to which he

replied: 4 93.—Private.

"RANKAS-BETONG. 28th February, 1856.

"I have had the honour to receive your missive of the 26th instant, containing mainly the following:-

"That you had reasons for not accepting the proposals made in my official letters of well, I pledge my word." 24th and 25th instant; that you had desired Then Verbrugge told Havelaar about the from Perang-Koodjang to the capital to work you do not approve of my transactions de- himself had told Verbrugge, asking what they have nothing to eat; they sleep on the scribed in those letters; and lastly some reasons the Resident could have for this road and eat sand. Can you eat sand til

"I fully respect the legality of your him money. power to decide whether to accept my proposition or not. The orders received shall pledged his word. with exactness be obeyed-with self-sacriwitness all I do or say, or, more properly, all I do not do or do not say.

"I take the liberty solemnly to protest against the least semblance of disapproba- pledge tion of any action, any word, any phrase, done, spoken, or written by me in this down. matter. I am convinced that I have done my duty: in my object and the manner of executing it. I have long pondered before —timorous before he was awakened by the acting. In the same circumstances I should reproaches of Duclari-dared to trust Have-

What Verbrugge suffered in listening is do again—but a little quicker—exactly, ex-

pealed to him to confirm the truth of his disapprove-but, no that cannot be even

truth in many written reports, even where ished, that you judge differently in this, it was dangerous to tell it. How would it but I have conscientious reasons which rebe if Havelaar made use of those reports? quire that it shall be decided which opinion be now Resident of Djocjocarta. I can

man, to ask the Government to discharge embroidery pattern; little Max was putting Having in vain tried to move him, the me;—then I must endeavour, at the age of together a puzzle picture. Resident said that he must investigate the 36 years, to commence a new career; after "Whose bed-time is it?" asked the charges, and that he had, therefore, to re- seventeen heavy difficult years of service, mother. quest Havelaar to summon the witnesses in I must again ask society if it will give "Mine, but I have had no supper," said support of the accusation he had brought me bread for my wife and child-in ex-little Max. change for thoughts, or for labour with "You shall have some first, of course."

your opinion is shared by his Excellency locks had been heard. And you, poor Verbrugge, you first wit- the Governor-General, and I am therefore "What are you giving him?" asked ness, chief witness, ex officio witness, a compelled, before I pass to the bitter ex- Havelaar. witness in virtue of office and oath, a witness treme of which I wrote in the last para- "Oh, don't be uneasy! It is biscuit out

"To order the Resident of Bantam to Havelaar's thoughts turned to the point approve so far the transactions of the Assis- where they had been interrupted. tant Resident of Lebak, including his letters of 24th and 25th instant;

to be given by the Resident of Bantam." and then all will be arranged."

cerning the cause which made her children unwilling to leave Lebak . . . poison-even if that connection only existed General." after the visit of the Resident, I need not said something wrong. paint the anguish of a mother, who, when "Dear Max!" she began-her darling?

A short time after the vain endeavour "A curse on this indifference, this shameto move Havelaar to withdraw his letters, ful indifference! Here I have waited a or to betray the poor people who had con- month for justice, and meanwhile the poor fided in his magnanimity, Verbrugge entered are suffering terribly. The Regent seems Havelaar's house. The good man was to count on nobody daring to take it up deadly pale and had some difficulty in against him-look . . .

"I have been with the Regent," he said. with a letter in his hand: 2 It is scandalous . . . but do not be-

trav me ! " "What must I not betray?" "Do you pledge your word to make no

use of what I shall tell you?" "More halfness," said Havelaar; "but,

previous confidential communication; that Resident's visit to the Regent. The Regent for him—there are no more men! And questioning him about Havelaar and giving I am Governor-General? Curse it!"

The next day Verbrugge returned and said "And this is all on my responsibility. fice, if need be, as if you were present to that Duclari had told him how ignoble it Perhaps at this moment some of these poor was to leave Havelaar, who had to fight creatures are wandering there outside, and such opponents, so completely alone; where- seeing the light of our lamps, they say: upon Verbrugge released Havelaar from his There lives the wrethch who ought to pro-

Verbrugge did so. It was touching to observe how Verbrugge

laar's pledged word, in a matter which so

induced its violation.

Years have passed since the events which I relate. Havelaar has suffered much during this time, but he has waited

Having read these letters, the Resident is correct—yours, or mine. Serve other- therefore now speak of the affairs of Lebak

Ye poor creatures whose sides have been spade or barrow, if the strength of my arm She gave him his simple supper, which she

who had already borne witness on paper graph, to beg you respectfully to propose of the tin-box from Batavia, and the sugar, too, has been kept under lock and key."

> "Do you know we have not yet paid that doctor's bill."

"Dear Max, we live so economically, we "To call the Assistant Resident of Lebak shall soon be able to pay all; beside, you to account on the points of disapprobation will certainly soon be appointed Resident,

Without deciding as to the correctness "That is exactly the thing that makes of the suspicions of Slotering's widow, con- me sad," said Havelaar, "I should be so

orphans and only accepting what may be "Al. will be right, Max; even if you proved, that there was a strong connection had to go from here, you could help Lebak in Lebak between fulfilment of duty and afterwards, on being made Governor-

in public opinion—yet it may be conceived Then came wild lines in Havelaar's patthat Max and Tine passed sorrowful days tern . . . Tine understood that she had

offering food to her child, has continually "A curse on it! Will you have them to ask whether she is not perhaps murdering starve indefinitely? . . . Can you live

Little Max was an adored child, who had He jumped up from his chair and went stayed away seven years after the marriage, up and down the inner gallery. At last he as if the rogue knew that it was no advant- spoke in a tone which would have sounded age to come into the world as the son of rough and hard to any stranger, but was thought of indifferently by Tine.

He went into his office and came back

"Look in this letter, he dares to make proposals to me about the kind of labour he intends to have done by people he has summoned unlawfully . . . Do you know who these labourers are? They are women with little children, with sucklings; women who are pregnant, who have been driven

Tine knew very well with whom alone Havelaar was indignant, but he had Max was angry when he spoke thus to her whom he loved.

tect us; there he sits quietly with wife and Very well," said Havelaar, "write it child and draws embroidery patterns, while we lie here like dogs on the road and starve with our children!' Yes, I hear it, I hear it; that cry for vengeance upon my head.

"Here, Max, here!" He kissed the child

with a wildness that frightened it. (To be Continued)

* 10, Johnson's Court, E.C. 4. Price 8d. May Cutters' Repairers be obtained through our Book Service from the Assistant Cutters' Re-Workers' Dreadnought Office.

steady rise in prices:-

73,400,118

Highest and Lowest Prices, F.O.B., 1913-1920. Best Large Best Large Best Large

Miners' Conflict with the Mineowners," which has been published by the International Bookshops, Ltd.* He shows that according to the Custom House Returns he coal export of the United Kingdom to foreign (000's omitted) . 117/6 90/- ... 115/- 87/6 ... 120/- 90/-Special prices to Allied countries during war period

> The reduction in exports from Britain during the war was made to the countries deprived of British coal by exports from U.S.A., especially in the case of South America. Between 1919 and 1920 John Thomas attributes the decline in British exports to export restrictions made in anticipation of a

> national coal strike. America has secured some British markets owing to these restrictions, and to those made during the war. The Treaty of Versailles has struck a further blow at Britain's export coal trade. Under the Treaty Germany undertakes to deliver to France seven million tons of coal per year for ten years, and in addition for a period of ten years an amount of coal equal to the difference between the annual production during those years and before the war of the Nord and Pas de Calais mines, such deliveries not to exceed 20,000,000 tons a year in the first five years, and 10,000,000 tons a year in the second

Germany undertakes to deliver to Italy:-July, 1919, to June, 1920 ... 41 million tons. July, 1920, to June, 1921 ... 6 million tons. July, 1921, to June, 1922 ... 71 million tons. July, 1922, to June, 1928 ... 8 million tons. July, 1923, to June, 1924 ... 8\frac{1}{2} million tons. Germany undertakes to deliver to Luxemburg, if

directed by the Reparation Commission, a quantity of coal equal to the pre-war annual consumption of German coal there. Germany further cedes to France the coal mines

in the Saar Basin, also Alasce-Lorraine, where there capital, which still remained intact, produced in are also coal mines. We need not be surprised after considering the

foregoing facts to find the decline in the Welsh coal export illustrated by the following figures, and provide you with an annual bonus which in five we must expect a still further decline, since the reparation clauses give to Belgium, France and Italy you that bonus all the years of your life; the £19 considerably more coal than they imported from

ritain in 1913, a	nd four	times more	than these	
ountries exported	in 1912:-			
Principal De	estinations	of Welsh	Coal.	
	1913.	1919.	1020.*	
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	
France	7,245,000	9,674,000	7,600,000	
	5,565,000	2,677,000	2,150,000	
Argentina	3,194,000	622,000	250,000	
Egypt	1,982,000	1,342,000	850,000	
Brazil	1,619,000	175,000	150,000	
Spain	1,309,000	616,000	230,000	
Portugal	782,000	457,000	300,000	
Algeria	746,000	335,000	420,000	
Canary Islands	697,000	255,000	350,000	
Uruguay	608,000	166,000	120,000	
Malta	579,000	697,000	400,000	
Russia	560,000	83,000	10,000	
Belgium	483,000	10,000	70,000	
Chile	444,000	2,000	5,000	
Greece	385,000	123,000	80,000	
Cotal from				
Austria-Hungary	322,000	1,000	60,000	
Germany	294,000	4,000	5,000	
Gibraltar	231,000	1,185,000	1,000,000	
South Wales 2	9,876,000	20,229,000	15,500,000	
	THE RESERVE THE PARTY OF THE PA	The second secon	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE	

Moreover, new coal resources are daily being opened up and oil is replacing coal to a growing extent. The pamphlet gives a valuable survey of wages pre-war, war, and post lock-out, and a chronicle In May, 1915, the export of coal was prohibited of lock-out events with particulars of the various except by licence, later it was prohibited except to claims and offers, and the terms of settlement. British Possessions and Protectorates and Allied shows how tremendously wages are reduced by the ountries. On August 15th 1915, export was prohibited except to British Possessions and Protecto-

Here are a few examples from the tables given:-Wages in South Wales and Monmouthshire, including Pembrokeshire.

Period

		Santa and the san and	and the second	Caroa
	Pre-Loc	k-out	New	1921
	Daily M	inimum	Min	imum.
Grade.	Was	ge.	1914 W	Vage plus
				er cent.
Colliers' Timbermen,	8.	d.		d.
Pieceworkers	The second secon	10.27	8	9.6
Day Hauliers, under	3-21 - 212	1.86	7	6.74
Underground Electri-				5
cian's Cogcutters	Committee of the Commit	11.83	6	6.72
Colliers' Helpers, As				
tant Limbermen, e		91	6	4.8
	embroke,			
Mines We		THE RESERVE TO SERVE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY	eddan.	
				manent
	Pre-Lo	ek-out		eriod
	Daily M	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE		v 1921
Grade.	Wa		The second second	nimum.
O Later Co.		80.		Wage plu
	376		The second secon	per cent.
			THE RESERVE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN	per cerro.

3 10.08 3 6.42 pairers' Hitchers 11 3.42

Trammen, Beammen, Unskilled Labourers. 10 10.47 Boys under 20 years 10 1.39 Boys under 18 years 8 4.04 Boys under 16 years 4 9.64 In conclusion, there is a chapter on the profits made by the coal owners from which we take the following table:-

ollowing table:—	
rofits in South Wales Collieries from 1914 to	1919.
Dividends	
Name of Colliery Capital (or Profits for	
Company. Shares. the above	
6 years.	
£	
1. Celtic Collieries, Ltd 250,200 156.180	
2. Consolidated Cambrian,	
Ltd 1,791,211 824,892	
3. D. Davis & Sons, Ltd 962,500 1 391,836	
4. Great Western Colliery 749,944 894,682	
5. Guest, Keen and Nettle-	
	AR
7. International Coal Co.,	
Ltd 85,000 75,592	
8. Lambert Brothers, Ltd. 750,000 1.037,240	D.L.
9. Locket's Merthyr Col-	
lieries, Ltd 300,000 201,221	
10. Newport Abercarn Black	
Vein Steam Coal Co.,	-
Ltd 325,000 209,009	S.F.
11. North's Navigation Col-	
lieries, Ltd 860,000 802,529	
12. Penrhikyker Navigation	
Colliery Co., Ltd 350,000 295,254	
13. Powell - Dyffryn Steam	
Coal Co., Ltd 3,348,077 2,942 635	A.F.
14. The United National	
Collieries, Ltd 1,578,020 1,461,377	A.F.
Total #19 020 452 #13 267 548	

Total ... £19,020,452 £13,267,548

N.B.-A.F. means all free from Income Tax. S.F. means some years dividends were free from Income Tax.

Had the income tax not been deducted from the profits as shown here they would appear very much larger than they do in this table, but even as shown here it should be observed that 19 millions pounds five years 13 million pounds in interest. Would you not be pleased, Mr. Worker, if some convenient relative would present you with £19, which would years would amount to £13, and continue to give being kept for you quite safely, so that you could spend it if you wished at any moment. You would be pleased at that, Mr. Worker; but if, instead of £19, you had £1,900 or £19,000, what would you say then? You do not get such profits from your labour, Mr. Workman, but you produce such profits for people who have money to lend. Look at this table, Mr. Workman, and especially Mr. Miner; it is also taken from John Thomas's excellent pamphlet:-

Profits and Wages in the United Kingdom Coalfields.

	1920			
Est	imated numbe	ar		Average
1920.	of people	To	tal.	annually
	receiving		EAST WAS	per head.
Profits	37,316*	£27	millions	£724
Wages	1,185,108†	£264	millions	£224

Difference per head between Profits and

So you see, Mr. Miner, whilst last year (1920) you and your mates who work down below made an average annual wage of £224 per head (about £4 a week), the capitalists who had invested money in the mines and did nothing whatever to produce the coal got each an annual wage of £724 (nearly £14

After exploiting you like that in 1920, and making £14 a week out of you in return for the £4 a week they paid you, the capitalists have turned on you in 1921 and reduced your wages by about half. At the same time they continue putting up the price

You are certainly a fool to tolerate it, Mr. Miner; are you not? John Thomas concludes by advising the miners to read a number of papers, including the Workers'

Dreadnought, and says:-"Local conferences and mutual discussion between miners' lodges, railwaymen's, and transport workers' branches will be the only safeguard against a repetition of the betrayal of 'Black Friday.'

"The walls of Capitalism, unlike those of Jericho of yore, will not crumble at the blast of big trumpets blown by big leaders. Capitalism will only fall when undermined by powerful rank and file organisations making united assaults upon it. The loyalty and sacrifice of the miners during the lock-out is an earnest of the spirit needed to win ultimate victory for the members of the working class." A valuable pamphlet. We gladly add it to our Book Service, and advise our readers to buy it.

* 1920 returns include estimated figures for De-

* These are figures given by Mr. Birtles, an official from the Registry of Joint Stock Companies, Somerset House, on page 317, Vol. I., Royal Coal Commission Report.

† Compiled from Mines Department Statistical

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor Business Communications to the Manager: Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240,

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Vol. VIII. No. 32. Saturday, October 22, 1921.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Though the Prime Minister's statement as to what the Government will do for the unemployed has not been made, as we write, we know that unfortunate people who are out of work. embodied in the Bill it introduced last session, power. are thoroughly bad. Moreover, the Labour Party shows no disposition to put up a strong fight against the Government.

Mr. Henderson, whose policy is at present dominant in the Party, is protesting that the Labour Party "has not refused to co-operate with the Government, but has merely refused to accept responsibility which belongs to the Government." As we explained last week, Mr. Lloyd George desires to implicate the Labour Party and secure the assistance of Trade Union officials and employers in the scheme to cut down wages and extend hours of work, and on resisting the demands of the unemployed. We are inclined to think that Mr. Lloyd George will get from the Labour leaders at least some of what he

fighting force within the Labour Party to combat such treachery.

were something to be proud of, and made no had never been opened. adverse comment upon the speech in its leader It is hard to be doctrinaire in these days, themselves from the polls. The French Revolu-

George Lansbury and his fellow Councillors in ism, when millions are dying of famine and had taught the English aristocracy that behind Poplar made an adroit and tactically able move disease, and it is said that if concessions are made the abstract ideas of 'equality' and "natural when they refused to levy the L.C.C. and to Capitalism, Capitalism will come in to aid rights" was the treacherous snake that goaded M.A.B. Rates, and are to be congratulated the famine sufferers. But the straight path is on the people to demand concrete equality in the on going to prison; but they declare them- the true path; Capitalism will do little for the d'stribution of wealth. They determined to selves ready to accept a compromise, and famine sufferers in any case, and every Russian avert this at any cost. Hence, the reaction at their present fight is mainly for the equalisation peasant life that to-day is saved by concessions home and the war with France in 1793, which of the London Rates, which will not help to Capitalism, will be paid for in the untold was principally a war against Jacobinism. the unemployed. The Poplar Councillors suffering and future deaths of thousands of lowing the Napoleonic wars, England apparently cannot be counted on to do anything appreciable people through the prolongation of the interna- followed a policy of Liberalism—at least, in her to ginger up the official Labour policy. They tional class war. In the Nansen Agreement foreign relations. This manifested itself chiefly have not even protested against the London between the International Commission and the in assisting the Spanish Colonies in America and Labour Party circular, in opposition to their Soviet Government, a reference is made to safe. Brazil to separate from their former mother

The only people who can be relied on to ginger Soviet Government in its early days recognised commercial considerations than to love of up the unemployment policy of any Party are the that to re-establish the economic life of Europe democracy. At home the Tories were in power, unemployed themselves; but since few of them before the Workers' International Revolution and the landed aristocracy, as if feeling that its are yet sufficiently class-conscious to understand has been effected, is to postpone the Revolution days were numbered, attempted to strengthen Communism and the Workers' Revolution. Com- until the appearance of another world catastrophe, its position. During the single reign of it was possible to have a united political organimunists, both employed and unemployed, have a tremendous work to do amongst them. Especially to those Communists who are unemployed we say: Get Communist literature to your unawakened comrades; talk Communism to them; take them to Communist meetings.

SOVIET RUSSIA v. CAPITALISM.

RUSSIA'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICY.

The account which the Russian Soviet Govern- Communist Manifesto written seventy-three ment itself gives of the new economic policy years ago. Yet how true the statement rings towhich it has accepted under the pressure of the day! How truly and accurately those words encircling Capitalism, makes doleful reading.

"One interesting aspect of this side of the new Communism." policy is the necessity it creates for reforms" [Reforms, oh, what a misuse of the term] "in the legal sphere, practically untouched since the November Revolution owing to the exigencies of the

ssing. Legal protection must be afforded to private its tendencies as laid down in the Commi be permitted, transport facilities granted to private Socialism, it is but meet that we pause for individuals, and so on. For these purposes special moment in order to acquaint ourselves legislation is being worked out by the People's Com- events leading to the writing of this missariat for Justice.'

How sad to witness Soviet Russia returning to the legal and financial apparatus of Capitalism once it had been dispensed with! Now will be re-established in Russia all the calendar of crimes that are made and punished in the interests of private property, Revolution towards the end of the 18th centur to protect the things that are possessed by the "Haves" from the unfortunate "Have Nots."

Now will be re-established all the army of who gamble in stocks and shares. How heavily fifty years, Europe witnessed the spectacle of the knowledge of these retrograde steps must weigh upon the spirits of all sincere and intelligent Communists.

cause the Communists remain in power; because the scheme will not be acceptable to the proletariat remains in power, and so on, Alas! those are in power who hold the natural The workless have little to hope from the wealth of the country and the means of produc- as long as there was a semblance of life in them Labour Party: the Party's own proposals, as tion, and who manipulate and control the labour

> The workers who are the wage slaves of the ing the prostrate corpse of feudal society. The capitalists are not in power: we in Britain gave rise to the Quadruple Alliance, composed of have surely learnt; that!

The small capitalists and merchants who will Prussia-with Metternich at its head, formed now grow up in Russia in enormous numbers, will with the avowed purpose of strengthening the This situation, so unbearabe for the exploited such unmistakable language that every procoalesce into a great force of opinion and power old order by crushing every tendency toward re classes, can only be altered by the destruction of letarian must notice in which direction the Comagainst the growth of Communism in Russia. volution. At its Congress at Trappau, 1820, the stablishment of a munist Party has turned. This is perhaps more cessions on the expiration of the terms for which have undergone a change of government due to they have been granted, with a ferocious ten- revolution, the results of which threaten other acity. The national governments of those States, ipso facto, cease to be members of the historic necessity to raise the condition of the Party. The deal by which the revolutionary foreign capitalists will uphold their interests by European Alliance and remain excluded from it a working class, as a preparation for undertaking district executive of the Halle Metalworkers was arms if need be. The reactionary steps, so easily until their situation gives guarantees for legal the final struggle for political and economic united by the Communist Party with the Central

of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Mining Com- or if need be, by arms, to bring back the guilty pany, was unable to come to an agreement with State into the bosom of the great alliance." There is at present no sign of a considerable the Soviet Government for the company to re- For a time reaction triumphed. In France commence its old operations. The breaking off there was the restoration of the Bourbon family. of the negotiations shows that the Soviet Gov- in the person of Louis XVIII; the White Terrer The Daily Herald displayed Henderson's Edin- ernment is displaying some resistance to capital- and the election of the "chambre introuvable," burgh statement on its front page, as though it ist demands, but we wish that the negotiations composed almost entirely of reactionaries, since

hard to stick to the straight fight for Commune tion was still rampant. The French Revolution guarding the economic life of Europe. The countries. But this policy was rather due to

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. By Charles Brower.

"A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre." Such is the opening paragraph of the describe the condition prevailing in Europe to- membership of co-operative in 1914 and 1918 Says the Russian Information and Review, day! "A spectre is haunting Europe,"published in London by the Russian Trade Dele- "and," we might add, "the remainder of the globe" . . "the spectre of

In view of the fact that events since 1914 have proved to any one, having a mind and a heart capable of imbibing a new truth, the corhistorical period through which Russia has been rectness of the analysis of bourgeois society and

Manifesto by the founders of modern scient Workers' Bible.

The transformation of society from fendal: into capitalism begun at the time of the P. testant Reformation in the 16th century tinuing through the Cromwellian Revolution the 17th, was finally completed by the Franch The bourgeois principles of equality, liberty of fraternity, were proclaimed in France, and the Napoleonic wars served to communicate these the bourgeoisie struggling for the extension of its power, for the capture of political power which still remained in the hands of its adver-We are told that all this is unimportant, be- saries, and for the final destruction of all remnants of Feudalism.

But Feudalism and its political expression the monarchy-were not to abandon their nower The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo seemed to have inspired them with new hopes of resuscitat four monarchies--England, Austria, Russia, and

due to the White Terror, the Liberals absented George III, 3,209 private inclosure acts were passed, affecting over six and a quarter million acres. Likewise, the Corn Laws were strength ened. In 1815, a new Corn Law forbade importation of grain into the country, so long as the price of home-grown wheat was under 80/- a quarter. (to be continue

CO-OPERATION: ITS GROWTH AND IDEOLOGY

In our review of Professor Gides book on " sumers' Co-operative Societies," published last week two errors occur. The footnote stating that figures had been multiplied by four because co-operator stands for a family was inadverted attached to the succeeding table of figures givin

France .. s table should have read:-Britain 3,054,000 Germany Russia.. 1.500,000 France.

WHY WE NEED THE FOURTH COMMUNIST WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL By HERMAN GORTER.

money press, which causes a fallacious deprecia- clearly as the official Moscow policy. tion in the value of money. The rise in the In Germany the participation of the Communvicious circle continues.

their revolutionary energies.

national is the organisational unity of the bourgeois character of the Third International. together political conceptions which were dia- ism and its adherents in the proletarian camp. were as the poles apart, when regarded historic- to this end. ally, is seen to have been possible only because, during the period of the Second International, social reform and revolution did not confront each other as dialectical antitheses. Both principles formed then a united whole in sation, as represented by social democracy in the pre-war, period.

The characteristic phenomenon of the postwar workers' movement is the organisational sruption on the political and economic field. splitting of the organisationally-united ramework is a clear proof that the political opsitions within the working class have acquired aite a different significance from that they presented during the Second International period. The mass of the proletariat to-day groups itself ound the two poles: Social Reform, and Revo-. The position to-day differs from that of the pre-war period in that these two poles represent absolute opposites, which mutually exclude

the policy of Social Reform is synonymous

and labour to breaking point. The general dis- union of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

tion of the capitalist system of production In this sense the Moscow International works has lowered enormously the standard of living quite openly with the Amsterdam Trade Union being, which will incorporate the interests of the of the world proletariat. Nevertheless, the International and the "Two and a Half Interworking class of the entire world, without ex- national." To most of the sections adhering to fall of the Third International take place. cention, undoubtedly remains content to better the Third International, this is neither repug- A crystalised kernel must be formed to which useless people who advertise goods for sale, and principles to Europe. During the succeeding its condition, if it can, within the capitalist nant nor surprising, because they have remained those elements and groups which are opposed to evstem, by the old pre-war methods. Especially inherently the same Social Democratic Parties the Moscow International and are comprised of in the countries which are directly affected by which they were before their baptism in the holy what is known as " Left " Communism. the war has the vicious and fallacious running water of Communism. The only new circumround in a circle, from which there is no escape, stance is that the language as well as the compobeen developed. It is clearly proven here that sition of the Third International can no longer every apparent increase in wages is automatic- be distinguished from that of Social Democracy. ally nullified through a corresponding rise in the No longer will it set aside any manifestoes as Communist Workers' Party of Germany to fall price of commodities on the one side, and on the opportunist; the call to participation in the reother, through the greater output of the paper construction of Capitalism resounds ever more

price of commodities, which is simultaneous with ist Party in the united front presented by those the depreciation in the money value, is naturally sections of the proletariat which have made followed by fresh wage demands, and thus the common cause with bourgeois democracy for the protection of the capitalist Republic, speaks in tactics of opposition to the reactionary Trade had the small socialist societies. Whilst the policy of social reform was once an Unions, on the part of the German Communist taken to-day, will be retraced only with appalling order and stability. If, owing to such alteration power; to-day social reformist tactics are proved. Union, from which it had seceded, was not extions, immediate danger threatens other States, to be wholly illusory. To pursue them further actly honourable. In fact it was a suspension The development sketched here in outline, has To-day the Moscow International finds itself in called forth, within the working class itself, far- tow to the Amsterdam International, which haracteristic of the epoch of the Second Inter- towards Capitalism, the more apparent will be the

workers' movement. Social Democracy* was, Therefore we must admit that, regarded from Le Populaire, which has become considerably smaller in effect, the united political organisation an international standpoint, there is at present of the proletariat, whilst the Trade Unions no organisation capable and willing of stepping fulfilled the same function on the economic forth as the instrument of the revolutionary field. This organisational unity bound world proletariat in the struggle against Capital-

metrically opposed. Thus the German Social International Capitalism, aided by the Trade Democracy united the Revolutionary Wing Unions, will make desperate attempts to over- breach with the Right Wing of the Trade Union of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Mehring come the present economic crisis. The overwith the revisionist tendency of Bernstein, coming of the economic crisis is largely depen-Heine, David, etc., and between these two ex- dent upon the opening of the Russian market to tremes was the famous Marxist Centre. The West European capital. The English and uniting within one party of tendencies which German capitalist groups especially are working the Labour, Socialist and Communist Movement.

As a significant new sign, the tendency of the capitalist Great Powers to come to an understanding amongst themselves must be emphasised. In spite of the deep-rooted opposition of economic interests between Britain and the class-war. That is the real reason why America, Britain finds herself compelled to avoid moters of Le Populaire could have made the paper every open conflict with the great trusts across a daily had they happened to live on this side of the Atlantic. The same is true of England and France, and of America and Japan.

The national antagonisms within the sphere of world capitalism pale ever more and more. The its publication. economic and political collapse in the world standard of values rises as a threatening spectre before the proletariat of all countries. The Imperialist conflict of the capitalist Great Powers against each other is sunk in the class-war of international capitalism against the world proletariat. The withdrawal of Russia as a factor than any other paper in this country. in the world revolution has completely altered the whole situation. A united bourgeois front for the reconstruction of Capitalism in conjunction with the Amsterdam Trade Unions and the Third International, has become an accomplished fact.

The revolutionary working class of the whole day with a Reformist policy. The leaders of world stands powerless before the situation. It formism, as in the pre-war period, are the has no class-war organisation which would be Trade Unions; but equally so to-day are those capable and willing to lead the revolutionary parties which are working in league with the struggle aiming at the dictatorship of the pro-Trade Unions. The chief aim of the Trade letariat and Communism by proletarian methods.

The post-war situation of the international Unions is to reconstruct Capitalism. This aim is The longer the situation remains which secures corkers' movement is distinguished from the quite clearly formulated by them. Therefore, to Capitalism an unbounded playground for the re-war period by certain fundamental changes. for them, alliance is only possible with parties reconstruction of capitalist economy, so much Through the war a great world economic which stand for the reconstruction of Capitalism. harder will it be for the proletariat to maintain risis has increased the tension between capital and accept as a basis the political and economic its defensive position towards the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois position.

The sooner an international centre comes into proletarian revolution, so much sooner will the

If the construction of a Communist Workers' International does not take place at the right moment, we must expect those organisations in all countries which now stand for the platform of the back to the level of the Third International.

The Conference of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany (the K.A.P.D.) has shown that it understands the signs of the times, and is willing to undertake the mighty task to be accomplished in the interests of Communism and the World Revolution.

* In Britain, where the masses have long been politically backward, as compared with the Continent, the Labour Party, a later growth and a makeshift, The foreign capitalists will cling to their confollowing protocol was signed: "States which clearly apparent in the abandonment of the unit of the working class, side by side with it we

LE POPULAIRE ATTACKS THE DREADNOUGHT.

We are glad to learn that Mr. Urquhart, of the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means will cause ever-increasing misery to the prole- of the fight against the Amsterdam International have had many a spar for his counter-revolu-Le Populaire, with whose editor, Jean Lonquet, we tariat, a misery which as it grows will stimulate and a direct participation in the reconstruction tionary tendencies, contained in a recent issue an of Capitalism under the wing of Amsterdam. erroneous paragraph concerning the Workers' Dread-

> Le Populaire is on our exchange list, and we reach the Paris office of that paper every week: therefore reaching changes, which have led it far from its means that it is actually in tow to the inter- it is surprising, and perhaps hardly excusable, that position before the world war. The outstanding national bourgeoisie. The more Russia develops Le Populaire should describe the Dreadnought as "a little sheet, published fortnightly." A comparison of the Dreadnought and Le Populaire shows that the Dreadnought is not far short of twice the size of in recent months, though we must bow to the superior position of our French contemporary as a daily organ. Le Populaire declares that the Workers' Dreadnought is only read by some dozens of readers. The statement is both untrue and absurd. It is probable that Le Populaire has a larger circulation than our own since Le Populative is a paper and Parliamentary Socialist movement, and containing general news on all topics, including sporting and Stock Exchange news. The Dreadnought, on the other hand, is an extreme Left Wing paper, which openly tilts at all reactionary tendencies in

Nevertheless, Le Populaire must be fully aware that a newspaper cannot be issued to a few dozen subscribers unless it is heavily subsidised. This is not the case with the Workers' Dreadnought. The donations we receive from our supporters, who are mainly poor people, are published in our columns. The cost of production in this country is much

Le Populaire describes our title as bombastic and a little ridiculous. Our name was chosen by majority vote of the East London workers, who first backed

The title may not be an ideal one, but just as Le Populaire justifies its own opportunist title by the popularity hunting which has dictated its Right-Centrist policy; so we find that the Workers' Dreadnought has been more raided and persecuted by the British Government, and had more fines and imprisonments of those connected with its publication,

FOR THE BELFAST EXPELLED.

On October 16th a meeting was held in Trafalgar Square in support of the 10,000 Trade Unionists expelled from Belfast workshops on account of their Trade Union views. Though the speakers included Belfast Trade Unionists, Tom Mann, W. Gallacher and Neil Maclean, the audience mainly consisted of London Irish. Socialist literature sellers were frequently greeted with the answer: "No thank you, I'm just Irish," or by a stony silence.

The Communist, in its "Notes of the Week," contains a curious comment on Irish affairs, from which we take the following passages:-

fact. . . . Did they wish for a monarchy, tyrannical on some occasions! an oligarchy, or an anarchy, our attitude would be the same. . . . Upon the Irish people as such, we, as the organ of a British political party, assert no claims. . . . We would, we confess, be best pleased to see Ireland a Workers' Republic-but we are quite definwhich the Irish workers must take the initia-

Communist Party, that expelled Sylvia Pankhurst pass on :for editing the Workers' Dreadnought and for opposing Parliamentary and opportunist tactics on the plea that Party discipline would not permit her to express an opinion without obtaining first the sanction of the Executive?

Does not Communist theory and practice extend, then, across the Irish Channel? Is there no means of learning what the leaders of the people (who speak the British tongue, too) are doing on the other side of that little strip of

Surely this vague indecision, this inability to formulate a definite policy befits rather the composite Daily Herald, than the organ of the Com-"For us the Irish Republic is an established munist Party, which is so dogmatic, not to say

But to proceed with our quotations:-

"This does not mean, necessarily, that we agree with him, or that we do not. So between, for instance, those Irish comrades who have re-established the Socialist Party of Ireland and those who prefer to remain a itely of the opinion that this is a matter upon Left Wing of the Labour Party, we have neither preference nor choice."

tive. We disclaim any desire or intention to The Irish Communists, it should be observed, dictate to the Irish workers what they shall are not mentioned. Has the Communist Party do, or when they shall do it. We have no no choice in regard to them either? If Russia means of judging between rival personalities had adopted the same indifferent attitude towards in the Irish workers' movement. . . . To the Communist Party of Great Britain, that say that our Irish correspondent has particular Party would have been distinctly poorer; inopinions and prejudices is to say that he is a deed, as at present manned and constituted, it would never have come into being. We have the Shades of Communist discipline! Is this the best of reasons for asserting that! But again,

> "Several of our correspondents have written to complain of our correspondent's references to certain prominent personalities. If the impression has been created that we wished to Ireland, as potential soldiers in the class war convey that at this office we held those persons which we ourselves are engaged. Messrs. O'Shannon, O'Brien and Johnson) to We regard the proletarian movements in it be either objectionable, or untrustworthy—to countries, including Ireland, as parts of the many in France are soldiers and we are citizens. be lacking in either knowledge, courage, great international movement, and as far as a citizenship is another occasion for pride! honesty or reliability—if this has been con- lights will carry us, we shall comment upon, a veyed, and correspondence to hand seems to vise, and criticise the movement in all countries indicate that it has, we make haste to assure The Class War is international!

IRELAND AND COMMUNIST POLICE

everybody concerned that we have not, do no and do not expect to hold, any such opinion

We of the Left Wing Communist Movem (the International Communist Workers' P. find that our views are in conflict with the the Communist Party of Great Britain or

We are for the Irish Republic against a British Empire: (1) because we desire to see break-up of the British Empire as a strong wark of the capitalist system; (2) becan believe that the Irish workers will continue be hindered in their progress towards Workers' Revolution so long as their attenti is taken up by the Nationalist struggle.

We are for the Irish Proletariat against Irish landlords and bourgeoisie. We are for the Irish Communists agains

Irish Labourists and " Pink " or " Vella-

We recognise no division between ourseln and the Irish workers, just as we recognise division between ourselves and the French German, Italian, Russian, and other works We regard the workers of all countries, include

WISDOM OF CHOULETTL.

racks are a horrible invention of modern They originated in the 17th century. there was nothing but the guard-house. veterans played cards and told fairy Louis XIV is the precursor of the Conand of Bonaparte. But the evil has

a head in the monstrous institution of military service. To have forced men ch other is the disgrace of emperors and the crime of crimes.

the so-called barbarous ages, cities and entrusted their defence to mercenwho made war deliberately and prudently great battles there were only five or six And when the knights engaged in war were not forced to it; they were killed of efficient system to take their place. In other words, section of the membership of the National Guilds own free will. It is true they were good othing else. In the days of Saint Louis no

ing and intelligence into battle. Neither he labourer dragged from his plough and d to join the army. Now it is considered duty of a poor peasant to serve as a soldier. he is driven from his home, with its evs smoking in the golden evening light, meadows where his oxen are grazing, s cornfields and ancestral woods. In the and of some miserable barracks he is taught Unions. o kill men methodically; he is threatened. ted imprisoned; he is told it is an honour, if he desire no such honour, he is shot. hevs because, like all the gentlest, gayest most docile domestic animals, he is afraid. the poor it consists in supporting and main-

ning the rich in their power and their idleness. his task they must labour in the face of the equality of the laws which forbid rich poor alike to sleep under the bridges, to in the streets, and to steal their bread.

v is one of the benefits of the Reand idiots who had acquired wealth of the crown. It resulted in the enbourgeois. In the name of equality it nded the empire of wealth. It delivered and masters. The so-called Government, osed of poor creatures, pitiable, miserable From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE

inplaining, is in the pay of financiers. oughout the last hundred years, anyone g for the poor in this plague-stricken atry has been held a traitor to society. are dangerous if you assert that there are who suffer poverty. There are even laws

ng now, cannot be printed." 'The Red Lily," by Anatole France

inst indignation and pity. But what I am

"DREADNOUGHT."

g the tide of the traffic, the "Dread-

of broken old women, a parish's

only one apple-cheeked grannie, more brisk

membering, with youth in her eyes, and

issing her hand to the drivers who follow

Comrade,—The attached I found enclosed

my pay packet at the Chadwell Heath

PAY DAY TALKS.

WILFRED WILSON GIBSON.

the old dreams desired,

ses teach Economics.

on the Red Trade Union Congress organised by the the Secretary of the Red Trade Union International and cheers for the Revolution. We are always red himent of cunning peasants and money-lend-

BERNARD SHAW-continued from page 1. source, the administration should naturally

Such a measure is what we are entitled to pect from the Labour Party, and it seems to incumbent upon you to lead the Labour Party

For my own part, I expect no solution of unemployment problem till capitalist governme is overthrown by the Workers' Soviets.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

G. B. S. REPLIES.

10, ADELPHI TERRACE, W.C.2 October 17th, 1921. Fing them out for the day, from grey alleys

As long as you have the capitalist system, will find that every practicable scheme will Read the Labour Monthly, and you will what I have to say about the foundations of Labour Party is asking. They made their 1918 quite deliberately and with their

Ever,

these was placed in each man's packet; thus compelling him to accept it:-

> PAY-DAY TALKS-No. 1. There is a lot of hot-headed talk going about to-day which you are entitled to know the rights

Agents of the Russian Bolsheviks are busy in this country telling the Workers what a Paradise Russia is now. Paradise indeed! when eye-witnesses come back and tell us that there is not such thing as

a free man in Russia to-day. In Russia you are compelled by armed guards

you are fit to or not. Is that freedom? In Russia everything is so higgledy-piggledy that millions are going short of food, and many are starving to death. This is mainly because the Bolshevik revolution destroyed the previous orderly arrangements of the country for the growing and the transportation of food, and have set up no "Thus, at the present moment, a considerable

are identical. Many a big employer of to-day started administration of it themselves, and to secue uninlife as a workman. This is a free country, and terrupted smooth running of the wheels of producanyone has the opportunity to rise to any position tion, it seems to me futile to expect the realisation his abilities entitle him. Remember that, and do of Guild Socialism or of any kind of democratic your best to make and keep our country the most social system."-From the Kaizo of Japan. prosperous in the world.

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50 to 75 marks, pocket knives (would cost 1s. to 10s. in London) 10 to 55 marks, table knives, stainless silver-plated, 35 to 40 marks, binoculars (would cost £7 7s. in England) 850 marks, two unfurnished rooms cost a worker from 80 to 100 marks a month,

tram fares 1 mark in Greater Berlin. If it costs a man nearly a week's wages to buy a pair of shoes for one of his children and more than a week's wages to buy an inferior pair that will only last a few weeks, for himself, and two week's work to get himself an overcoat, how can he make ends meet? If it costs him nearly a day's wage to get a pound of butter, ham or cheese, he to work whether you want to or not, and whether will not be able to buy much of those commodities!

COMMUNISM v. GUILD SOCIALISM.

they have made a complete muddle of things. More- League-how large a section it is impossible to over, money has practically ceased to have any value. determine-has joined the Communist ranks. I am So now if you hear anybody talking about better- not one of those because, although I recognise that would have dreamt of sending a man of ing the condition of the country by any other the circumstances and the time are adverse to the means than the straightforward and constitutional successful working of the policy of encroaching conway of Parliament, tell them that it can't bei done, trol, I have not lost faith in that policy, nor do I and let them see that you know the truth about see any hope in the alternative which is put forward by the Communists. In common, I think, with Our present system of Government has gradually the main body of Guild Socialists, I envisage the been built up as the result of the accumulated ex- form of transition from capitalism to Socialism as perience of a thousand years. Help to keep up the one not merely of strength inaggression, but also traditions of our country by discouraging all Bol- at least as much of fitness for administration. Until shevik talk. Guard your privileges as free men. the workers through their organisations are not merely See your true opinions are expressed through your strong enough to wrest the control of industry from those who at present exercise it, but also strong Your interests and the interests of your employers enough and well enough organised to carry on the

> [A plainer statement on the part of Guild Socialism than any we have had here. I

ON SALE NOW.

Why, that revolution was effected SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

152, FLEET STREET, E.C. 4.

FORCED TOWARDS REVOLUTION. Wages and Prices in Germany.

The average wage of the German workman is 300 marks a week. Porters get 200 marks a week, hotel cooks get from about 380 for the chef down to 200 marks a week, dockers get 55 marks a day, sailors operations, etc., the Czar spent 23 percent. of the 700 marks a month, firemen on ships 765 marks a Budget in 1914, and 7.8 per cent. in 1916. The month, and stewardesses 350 to 400 marks a month. Soviets are spending 49.5 per cent. of their Budget A chambermaid in an hotel gets about 170 marks a on these services in 1921; 90 per cent. of the Soviet week, neither board nor lodging is previded, and she Budget is spent on the economic field. has to pay from 1,25 to 150 marks a month for a The circulation of paper money under the Czar

a shilling before the war. cost 2s. in a London restaurant costs 15 marks. transactions. The following prices were current in Berlin about a month ago:-

Potatoes, 10 lbs., 750 marks, cabbage 1 mark per lb., flour 1 mark per lb., sugar 8 marks per lb. by All these works may be obtained through our Book ration and 14 marks in open market, unions 11 marks per lb., beef 16 to 18 marks per lb., veal 15 to 17 marks per lb., pork 20 to 22 marks per lb., cheese 22 to 36 marks per lb., bread, 4 lbs., 7\frac{1}{5} to 10 marks, bacon 26 marks per 1b., ham 34 marks per 1b., coffee 24 to 32 marks per 1b., tea 24 to 34 marks per lb., beans 2 to 4 marks per lb., butter 28 to Scheme. By W. Makram Ebeid. Cairo, Egypt. 3d. 32 marks per 1b., fish 4 to 8 marks per 1b., smoked eel 32 marks per 1b., smoked salmon 54 marks per 1b.

Coats 400 to 500 marks, suits (which would cost about £4 10s. in London) 1,200 to 1,000 marks, overcoats (like London's £4 4s. quality) 500 to 700 marks, women's coats and skirts of poor quality

to 200 marks.

Soap tablet (costing 3d. or 4d. in England) 3 ocheme, where I am employed. One of 50 ph. each, razors (would cost 12s. in London) Office.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

H. Branting, the leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, has been summoned to form a Cabinet. After trying unsuccessfully to form a Coalition Government with the Liberals, Branting has fallen back on his own Party entirely. He has only 110 votes in the Second Chamber, and is in a small minority also in the First Chamber. He is said to be "counting on the impossibility of a union between Liberals and Conservatives." That means that he will not attempt any measures more extreme than the Liberals will support.

Krestinsky People's Commissary for Finance reports that whereas the Czar's Government in 1914 spent 34,000,000 roubles for industry (i.e., 1 per cent. of the Budget), the Soviet Government in 1918 spent 7,633,000,000 roubles (i.e., 16 per cent.). In 1921 the Soviet spent 9 millions on industry (40 per cent. of the Budget). This is evidence of the great efforts made to develop Russian industry.

The Czar spent 27.5 per cent. of his Budget on the Army in 1914. The Soviet Government in 1921 spends only 2.1 per cent. of its Budget on the

On railways, post, telegraphs, agriculture, food

furnished room. A mark used to be counted about in 1914, according to its worth in gold roubles, ten times greater than at present, owing to free Prices are rising steadily. A meal that would rationing and barter taking the place of money

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"What Will Happen to Wages in Agriculture?" Published by the N.W.A.W., 72, Acton Street London, W.C. 1. One Penny.

"Egypt": Complete Independence and Milner

THE FOURTH COMMUNIST WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL.

If you are an out-an-out revolutionary Communist 800 to 1,000 marks, cotton blouses 200 marks, caps opposed to all participation in the Parliamentary 45 marks and upwards, neckties 40 marks and up- and Local Government machinery of Capitalism, and wards, men's socks (cotton, very poor quality) 7.50 if you have done with the Labour Party and the old marks, men's socks (cotton, fair quality) 16 to 18 Trade Unionism, and believe in revolutionary inmarks, children's stockings 12 to 20 marks, men's dustrial unions, enroll your name as an adherent of shoes (which would cost about £1 in London) 200 the Fourth Communist Workers' International at the to 400 marks, children's shoes, 8 to 12 years, 148 Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street. If you belong to a "Left Wing" Anti-Parliamentarian Communist Group bring the question of adherence to the Fourth International before your organisation. marks, cigars 2 to 15 marks, cigarettes 30 ph. to and notify the result to the Workers' Dreadnought

RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON

Memorial Hall to receive the report of Tom Mann British workers ready for Revolution Harry Pollitt, their Trade Unionism, the singing of the Red Third International in Moscow; 633 delegates were in London, would not have been announcing that the to cheer; it is good for our lungs. present from 326 branches of Trade Unions, 10 next Conference in December would be called to One observes with interest that the pink pack

Congress, but contented himself with an eloquent introduce a longer working week on January 1st. If gatherings; Daily Heyald posters decorated the plan working her for a century. Now they are our address on what he saw in the famine area, what even the leaders of the Red Trade Union organisation form. he thought of Lenin and Trotsky, and how the in London were prepared for Revolution, we do not Russian Proletariat has fought the counter-revolution. think their attention would be monopolised by unem-

to report was that the Russian delegates there were pace setters and not "go slow, come and have a drink sort of people." He said, however, that he had told the Moscow Conference "that fully 20 per cent. of the seven

and a half million organised workers in Britain is definitely out for the Revolution. One and a half million of them would be prepared to declare themselves at any sacrifice for the Revolution." Amongst the cotton operatives he thought that 5 per cent. were ready for the Revolution, but in the engineers he said: "I believe there is 33 per cent. ready for the Revolution now." As a proof of that statement he said: "75 London branches of the A.E.U. are here, 147 delegates, and two from the London District Committee.'

Dear Comrade Mann do you really think that attendance at a Conference to hear a picturesque speech from you on the Red Trade Union International is evidence of readiness for the Revolution Let us not dwell in a fool's paradise; let us not degrade our revolutionary enthusiasm by empty If there were one and a half million organised workers ready for Revolution we should see something doing in this country of ours to-day. If there were really one and a half million organised workers the Conference would not have contented itself with passing a resolution on the Russian famine and the following resolution on unemploy-

"This Conference pledges itself to support ment, and directs attention to the fact that work or adequate maintenance at Trade Union rates is the only sensible proposal, and pledge oursecure this; and demand that militancy be shown who moved the resolution. by Union Executives and a stop put to the humiliating and degrading impositions of the capitalists, who, in addition to forcing down wages, are now impudently seeking to extend the working hours. We refuse to further acquiesce in this outrageous tyranny, and pledge ourselves to work increasingly in the Unions, and prepare for drastic action to meet the requirements; not as dumb-driven cattle, but

as free men taking all the consequences." Note the vague and slovenly opportunist character of the resolution, and the phrase "any reasonable remedy." The Red Trade Union International incident will not occur. is evidently not ready to give a straight clear lead in policy.

On October 15th a Conference was called in the __ If there were one and a half million organised Unionists expelled from that city on acc formulate tactics on the questions of unemployment paper, the Daily Herald, always manages Tom Mann did not give a report of the Moscow and to combat the efforts of the employers to advertising capital out of such Red Revolutions and to combat the efforts of the moneyed classes who have been All he said about the Conference on which her was ployment and resistance to a lengthened working

We do not agree with Comrade Tom Mann that placed in the hands of organised Labour, a 20 per cent. of the Trade Unionists and 33 per cent. of the engineers are yet prepared to make the Revolution; but whilst not so optimistic as to numbers as he is, we yet want to see a Red industrial movement that, instead of running about after red herrings, will concentrate on preparing to set up the Soviets, to seize control of industry and make war on capitalism and its government; in short, for

We see no wisdom in crying Revolution and at the same time merely directing the attention of the workers to a fight against a shorter working day. We want to see a clear cut, definite propaganda for the overthrow of the capitalist system. We want to see the building up of bands of revolutionaries out for the Revolution itself, not a conglomeration of elements which have come in merely to secure work or maintenance for the unemployed. a reduction of working hours or an increase in

An interesting interlude took place when a delegate from the Bermondsey A.E.U. moved an addendum to the unemployment resolution, declaring "the necessity of an armed force of the working class for its own

protection against the Government tools." The chairman said he would take the motion not as an addendum, but as a separate resolution. The virulently capitalist Government? mover of the addendum objected, and delegates cried world you have to take what you can get, or out, asking whether the mover and seconder of the original resolution were willing to accept the addenevery reasonable measure to remedy Unemploy- dum. It seems strange that on one observed that it is not for movers of resolutions to decide whether addenda shall be added or amendments be made to place down until the Government tided over the their resolutions, and that such changes are often selves to use our influence in the Unions to made in spite of the bitterest opposition from those

W. Gallacher, the mover of the resolution, said that if the Comrade who moved the addendum desired to see it carried, he should have had the courage to a considerable flavour of the C.O.S. about move it as a separate resolution, and not have made the mover, Gallacher, responsible for it.

Of course, Gallacher could not have been made responsible for someone else's addendum. The farce question. Meanwhile, tell the workers that concluded by the mover of the addendum announcing will be jolly lucky if they get as much as that if it were to be taken as a separate resolution he would withdraw it.

When we have 20 per cent. of the organised workers ready for Revolution that sort of silly little wide open; and now they must lie on it

The Conference closed with a moving speech by a

delegate from Belfast on behalf of the 10,000 Trade

control by the workers in the nationalised dustries in question would, of course, be essential feature of the scheme.

that direction.

Yours for Communism,

Of course the Labour proposals would and slumsridiculous in Moscow; but where would be sense of presenting Communist proposals to away empty. If I did what you want me to and the Labour Party withdrew its propositive bundles of patience outworn, half-deaf the unemployed would starve, or tear the wa emergency by doles and baton charges,

perhaps a little machine-gunning.

G. BERNARD SHALL

THE GUARDS OF YOUR EMPIRE.

"Plan to Cut Down the Guards!" screams the Daily Sketch, and if the attempt be really made, there will be a call to you to protest against the "cutting down of our Army!" from the capitalist Press, your bosses' Press, which they maintain by their advertisements, appeals to you; orders, not to allow it. That will make you feel powerful and brave, Mr. Workless and Mr. Workman.

You are unemployed now, Mr. Workless, and if you happen to live in London, you will be able to work up your patriotic feryour to protect "our Army," by going down Whitehall to see the Guards keeping guard there in all their splendour. It is a long tramp down there from Poplar, or Bethnal Green, or Hammersmith, or Woolwich; but since you have nothing to do, and nowhere to go, and no money to help you to idle away an hour or two behind the bar, you might as well tighten your belt and set out for a sight of scarlet and bearskin and splendid horses.

If you are coming across St. James's Park when the Guards are ready for changing, you will be attracted by a crowd of people, seen through the Palace archway—a crowd always attracts an idler with nowhere to go and nothing to do. If you attempt to pass through to Whitehall under the archway to see what the crowd is doing, soldiers and policemen will shout to you to get out of the way. The Guards are there: what splendid fellows, what magnificent horses! A row of six of them stationed on either side of the archway. The Guards, in their scarlet coats and gleaming armour, brandishing naked swords: what a splendid sight! There they sit, motionless: "What are they doing, and what is going to happen?" You ask the crowd of people dumbly staring, but no one answers. "What are the people waiting for?" Nobody says a word. People think you are a fool for not knowing: you might as well say: "What is a lamp post?" But at last, out from the arches on either hand, come twelve more beautiful horses, black as the raven, taking their station beside the others. The Guards brandish their swords with meaningless passes; twelve of them ride away under the great arches into the park; twelve dismount and salute the right hand arches, waving their swords in more of those stupid passes, then lead their beautiful raven chargers out of sight. It is over; the crowd moves off. Only the tired lads in the niches beside the entrance sit on in their gaudy and foolish trappings; the helmet weighing so heavily on the head. pressing so heavily on the nose. Well, Mr. Workless, are you not proud of these Guards of your Empire? Look at the fine red cloth of their coats, and their snow-white breeches; that bearskin under the saddle would be uncommonly fine before Mrs. Workless's parlour fire!

And you, Mr. Workless, with your broken boots, your shabby clothes, and your empty

stomach: what is the Empire going to do for you?

Mr. Lloyd George's latest proposal is to make your fellow-workers pay 2d. a week for you, the boss, who does not want you for the present, to pay another 2d. a week, and the Government, that is, the people at large, to pay a further 2d. It is not 9d. for 4d. this time, but 6d. for 2d.: it will not carry you very far, Mr. Workless.

You looked like an army, a very large, formidable army, when you and your fellows marched through the London streets the other day, Mr. Workless. We say marched, advisedly, for you do not slouch along the road any more, as you did in the old days. Your masters trained you to march and to fight when you were winning their war. You look like an army. You give the impression that you are a power; but you do not behave like an army; you run away. You make no attempt to make the country your country; to take the management of your own affairs into your own hands. Your bosses turned you adrift because it did not pay them to employ you; and now you let them decide what sort of dole they will give to keep you alive till they need you again.

What about those Soviets?

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