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WEEKLY.

SYLVIA PANKHURST

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## SOUTH WALES COLLIER WORKS THREE WEEKS FOR NOTHING

comrade writes from Nantyiyllon,

"Collieries are idle about half their time, and ome collieries are refusing to pay the minimum wage, which, as you know, protects the intersts of the men employed in difficult working

"I spoke to one man to-day who has worked three weeks and received nothing in wages.

#### Miner Loses 2s. 6d. on His Work.

"He showed me his pay ticket, which was for 11 6s. He had to pay his boy £1 8s. 6d., so that e had a loss of 2/6 for the pleasie of

#### Miners Have to Pay Boys out of Their Savings.

"It happens, in this particular case, that the hov is his own son; but there are many such cases in the same colliery where the boy is no relation o the collier he works for, and men have had o go home to get money as best they can to pay

#### A Serious Charge Against Vernon Hartshorn.

"This is in the district of Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, M.P. He has been urging more production in his very district, and has advised the men not to instruct him to fight for the minimum wage for men who are not doing their best."

The only chance of getting the legal minimum wage observed is, of course, to insist on its unitersal application. The employer can be trusted le dismiss the man whom it, does not pay him to employ. No one can serve two masters, and Vernon Hartshorn cannot serve both the emlovers of labour and the workers.

#### Deductions from Wages.

In the House of Commons, on October 26th, ernon Hartshorn himself quoted some bad cases funder-payment in South Wales.

He said: "I was at a meeting last night, and one workman asked me, 'How is it possible for man to live on what we are getting at present?'

" He gave me a record of his earnings for the four previous weeks:

" One week I got one day at 9/11, on each of two other weeks, three days at 8/11, and the other week I got two days at 9/11.'

' Totalling that up for the four weeks, one comes to £4 3s. 3d., or an average of £1 0s. 10d. a week over four weeks.

" Let us see what has to come out of that -

"Fourpence, doctor's fund;

"Threepence, library fund;

" Fourpence, hospital;

"Fivepence, Health Insurance;

"Sevenpence, Unemployment Insurance;

"One shilling and fourpence, coal; "Seven shillings and sixpence, rent;

"Sixpence, South Wales Miners' Fede ation.

"This made a total of eleven shillings and threepence per week continually deducted.

"The average earnings for the four weeks work out at only £1 0s. 10d. That leaves the man an average of 9s. 7d. per week to maintain his wife and children.

#### Working but Destitute.

"There are tens of thousands of men at work in the South Wales coalfields to-day who have to go to the Guardians, on the ground of destitution. So far from the Guardians being in a posttion to deal entirely with the relief of unemployment, they have actually got to face the problem of dealing with men who are in work, Lut are destitute.

"I have hundreds of complaints in my office to-day. I asked my secretary, when I was leaving home, to give me the first twenty cases on his list, and these are the figures he gave me:-

"One man worked three days last week and got 5s. 10d. to take home as his week's wage. "Another worked three days and got 3s. 9d.

"Another worked three days and got 15s. 6d.

"Another worked three days and got 5c. 2d. "Another worked three days and got 5s. 1d. "Another worked three days and got 3s.

"Another worked three days and got 2s. 9d. "Another worked three days and got

#### 12s. 6d. Minimum Wage Gone.

"That is the type of wage that is paid to scores of thousand of men in the Welsh coalhelds. . . . As a matter of fact, the Government scrapped all the machinery we had in the industry for administering the minimum wage." Hartshorn omitted to state that men dare not claim the minimum wage.

Mr. Hartshorn did not mention the boy's wage which the miner has to pay out of his ea nings. His calculation as to what the miner can provide for his family out of his earnings has the bottom knocked out of it unless the boy's wage is taken into account. But even if he has deducted the boy's wage, his figures reveal a desperate position indeed, for the unfortunate people of the mines

#### No More Talk of Nationalisation.

The Government and the mine owners are wholly callous. Sir Alfred Mond merely suggests an extension of the miner's working day.

The Labour Party seems asleep to the tragedy. Of its old demand for the nationalisation of the mines no more is heard. It gives its bland assent to the Government schemes to provide more capital for the capitalists, though even that lardened old Tory financier, Sir Frederick Banbury, warns them that the Government ought not to do it, and that they ought to protest. Banbury, knowing the advantages which the capitalist will derive by the deal, will, of course, see that the companies he is interested in are not left out when the £25,000,000, plundered from the taxpayers to aid the capitalists, comes to be shared out.

## RAMSAY MACDONALD, THE LAW LOVER, ADVOCATES LAW BREAKING.

onstitutionalist and law lover. His line of Scottish Forward .jument, as a rule, is that we must not weaken Il social sanctions by failure to obey the laws dopted by our duly elected constitutional organ, farliament, and propounded by its constituonally appointed Government, whose leader, everyone knows, is appointed by the

Law-loving Mr Macdonald has, however, more han once advocated law-breaking in the course his career, but he has taken care on each ocasion not to countenance law-breaking unless he been sure of a strong middle class backing. He was a strong advocate of passive resistance to the Balfour Education Act, in the early nineties, and approved both refusal to go to hool, by children and teachers, and refusal pay for the State education by Noncon-

One might have thought that MacDonald had utgrown such rebellious tendencies but now he recommending predisely similar action and ven urging industrial action, which, for political irposes, he has repeatedly condemned, in op-

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, if he may be judged position to the new Unemployment Insurance.

"This tax on wages is one of the most un principled things ever proposed, and the Trade Unions ought to take steps to resist the imposition. Employers ought to be approached at once and be informed that their workmen will not accept the deduction. I am sure that a good many will join with the workmen to resist the impost, and an arrangement should be come to for their defence if prosecutions follow. This ought to be supplemented by industrial action if need be. For there come times when 'ne unjust action of a kept Parliamentary majority should be resisted."

Boiling hot, is it not? Mr. MacDonald will cool down very quickly though if his proposal is not widely and influentially adopted. He is not a man to back lost causes, or lead desperate ventures. We remember him on the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils which so speedily expired.

It is interesting that Mr. MacDonald should be so heatedly opposed to this latest "tax on wages," since he was a supporter of the original Insurance Act when it was introduced by

Messieurs Asquith and Lloyd George. It was his utterances, is, perhaps, our strongest Read him as he expresses his views in the on account of the Insurance Act and other such legislation that Mr. MacDonald was moved to take a leading share in manœuvring the newlyelected Labour Party into becoming a mere appendage of the Liberal Government. The guiding principle of Mr. MacDonald and the others who led the Labour Party in those days was to keep the Liberal Party in power, for the sake of such legislature as this.

When the workers bring out the big guns of the general strike, as Mr. MacDonald suggests, we advise them to do it for something more important than 2d. a week.

#### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

The state of the s

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Questions and answers revealed that the Sinn Fein Courts still function actively in Ireland, that people are arrested, fined and punished in various ways, including deportation, a sentence which they are ordered to carry out on their own account.

Twenty-four persons were reported as actually under Sinn Fein arrest at the present time, and, during the truce, soldiers and policemen, as well as civilians, have been kidnapped and kept under arrest. Motor cars and farm carts are commandeered, and Irish Republican soldiers are compulsorily billeted even upon unwilling people. The Republican Army has commandeered a workhouse in Donegal. A Protestant "loyalist," named Woods, was kidnapped on October 3rd, tried by Sinn Fein Court-martial and fined £20. He was informed that if the money were not paid before a certain date both he and his father would be taken next time. A Bantry bank manager named Ringwood was compelled to leave for England, and when his furniture was sold, those who attended the sale where told that his furniture was forfeit

to the Republic. Exchequer. Printed Circulars were issued to farmers The French Republic had the same share in the war "In my youth I good about a variety of Utopias, and and others in East Donegal and elsewhere from the as the other powers; still more; it even afterwards each one left me more depressed than the last Trish Republican Army demanding sums varying from £5 to £100 for its maintenance, and stating that itself. evasion of payment will be dealt with as the act All over Europe, wherever she could obtain of an enemy of the Republic.

certain firms and banks, and is issuing a black list restoration of monarchies, or what is worst still, only of persons who have flouted its orders by dealing suffers republics that resemble monarchies. Everywith such firms. British goods, including agricul- where she allies herself with the White Terror and tural machinery, are being boycotted, and a German seizes on every means for the suppression of a genuine cream separator is on show at a Dublin exhibition. liberation of the nations. She gave her alliance,

Compensation to Loyalists.

The Irish local authorities are not paying to the so-called "loyalists" (anti-Sinn Feiners) the compensation for damage to their property which the British Government has decided the Irish local authorities shall raise from the ratepayers. Consequently the Government has withheld from the Irish local authorities £1,650,000 and £200,000 a year. which is due to them. These monies the Government is paying out in compensation.

As may well be imagined this has been throwing the finances of Irish local government into a state

The Criminal Injuries (Ireland) Act, 1920, provides that rates payable by ratepayers to the County, Council may, on application to the High Court, be set off against the amount due by the Council for the above-mentioned damage. Sinn Fein has warned solicitors in Ireland against instituting such proceedings, and solicitors are fearfully complying with the Sinn Fein command. Sir H. Greenwood (C.L.), British Chief Secretary, has promised the solicitors the protection of the British Crown, but the solicitors fear Sinn Fein more than they trust the British Government, or perhaps they sympathise with Sinn Fein; at any rate, they continue to obey the Sinn

#### dein order. A "Dose of Lead."

Colonel Newman (C.U.) offered to send to Sir Hamar Greenwood a regulation issued by the Sinn Fein Minister of Defence "prescribing a dosc of

Court in Dublin district Courts, in which two out of disease of the respiratory organs, or whose general five members may be priests, and parish Courts, in health is not satisfactory. The medical examination which one of five members may be priests. (The is very strict. Since the Cornish pits have been inclusion of priests in these Courts seems to us a closed down, numbers of miners have emigrated from most reactionary proceeding.) These Courts are in- Cornwall to South Africa, but many have failed to tended to supercede the Courts held under British pass the medical examination on arrival, and with

in causing that during the truce. Sir Frederick Banbury (C.U.) attempted to move cate. the adjournment of the House to discuss the Sinn Wages are being reduced in the South African Fein Courts, but the Speaker objected that the matter mines. The Transvaal Gold Mining Estates, Ltd.,

an Official Circular to British troops in Ireland had meeting, "prevailing conditions and the high cost declared gun-running in Ireland to be general and of living, and so deduction is being made gradually.' free from molestation. Sir H. Greenwood: "I am He paid a tribute to "the willingness of our men to sure the hon, and gallant gentleman would not expect listen to reason." me to discuss the contents of any confidential orders.

#### Volunteers Red or Yellow?

On the other hand, the Ulster Volunteer Force is being reorganised, but Lloyd George, although he In November, 1920, the agricultural workers of admitted knowing this, said: "I am not aware, the province of Cremona, being in dispute with the however, that any action has yet been taken by the landowners, the members of the Catholic trade union promoters of the movement which could be regarded of the province, seized the estates and began to work as a breach of the Government of Ireland Act." them on their own account. This occupation lasted being organised? Perhaps if the movement were August 19th, 1921, an arbitration committee gave

strong enough to make itself feared.

Provocation.

Sir T. Bennet't (C.U.) declared that the display of Sinn Fein colours over the doorway of the house under the control of the wage-earners. where the Irish delegation is staying is a provoca- (2) The workers sharing in the profits shall name tion to the people of the neighbourhood. Lloyd two delegates charged with the control of the busi-George: "I quite agree. . . . I cannot imagine ness, and to take part in the inventories and the why all these follies are being perpetrated."

Such statements in Parliament, widely reported as they were in the press, seem like an invitation to foolish people to go and make trouble.

It transpired that the famous truce now supposed be in operation was not signed by anyone.

#### REFORMISM. By Henri Barbusse.

It is clear that, if in a social organism in which the ruling oligarchy holds all the means of power in its hands, measures are passed ostensibly serviceable to the commonweal, these can only be insignificant or illusory or of temporary effect, because they would otherwise be directed against the interests of this oligarchy. . . .

where. It is now half-a-century that France has and something for the personal service she rend been a Republic. If there were a grain of truth to her children. "The mother should be free in the reformist theory, we should be witnessing an render it herself or pay someone else to render ever-widening evolution of democracy towards free- If she neglected her duties . dom; equality and justice would have come nearer. tion of the grant should be temporarily or perma-Yet, in the chaos of our laws and industries we find nently given to another person." This, in our Sinn Fein is levying taxes for the Irish Republican on the constrary an evolution in the opposite direction. opinion, is not socialism at all. Says Mrs. Swanwick. fostered the spirit of militarism and the state of war one wanted something ranker and racier.

influence, she assisted the triumph of the principles The Sinn Fein Dail has ordered the boycott of of reaction and conservatism. Now she works for the our money and our soldiers to Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel, Horthy, to these goldlaced pirates butchers and aristocratic scum. . . The government of the fifty-years republic dissolves the trades unions. and on the emptiest pretexts organises the hunt after socialists with her whole rabble; she seeks to murder free thought legally with a strictness that carries us back to the dark ages, renews the once broken alliance with the Church, the systematic and sanctified embodiment of reaction, pays a lieutenant as highly as a university professor, glorifies Napoleon Schreiben des Exekutivkomittes der Kommunisthen and canonises a clerical counterfeit of the Maid of Internationale. Orleans. The organism of France is preyed upon more than ever by the cancer of the military budget Hillquit's "From Marx to Lenin." By Albert Verkin whose growth, calculated soberly, allows one to Price 15 cents. A useful reply to many fallacious predict the end of the nation's life. In reality Arguments. All these may be obtained through our reformism is nothing but an ingenius and picturesque Book Service. organisation of social stagnation. It is the tragi- "The Defence of Terrorism": A reply to Karl

comedy of reaction. change things. There is only one means of bringing observation: about the reign of true order, and that is-force. the ranks of the working class is only now blazing Only through force and the revolution can the absurd up as it should . . . Kautskianism as a bourgeois laws, the senselessness of a mechanical and militarised community existence and social falsehood be abolished. -From "The Knife between the Teeth."

### EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Owing to the existence of the South African Miners' lead to anyone who makes an application for com- Phthisis Act, which provides compensation for miners who contract phthisis, no person is employed under-Dial Eirann this year issued orders for a Supreme ground in South Africa who is suffering from any their families have been miserably stranded. The Sir H. Greenwood (C.L.) at the beginning of the Cornish Miners' Association of the Transvaal has week tried to cover up the Government's powerless- appealed for a preliminary examination in London, ness by stating that the Courts are voluntary arbitra- and has asked, in case the South African examination Courts. At the end of the week he admitted tion reverse the London decision, that the miners that the police had received complaints of the hold- should nevertheless be allowed to work six months ing of 94 such courts, and said that the British to earn his passage money home. The Minister Government would not tolerate them, but to disperse replied that the preliminary examination in London them meant bloodshed, and he did not feel justified must be at the applicant's expense, and that he could not agree to the provisional six months' certifi-

have reduced wages by 25 per cent. "The Board Lieut.-Colonel Archer-Shee (C.U.) declared that do not forget," said the Chairman at a company

#### CREMONA LABOURERS.

Would he be so complacent if Red Volunteers were the whole of the first half of the year 1921. Finally, judgment instituting workers' control in the enterprises. Here are the chief items of the judgment:-(1) The engagement of labourers shall be carried on

regulation of expenditure.

(3) The employees shall share in the capital vested in the business by the farmers. (4) Besides their wages the workers shall partie; in the profits of the undertaking to the amount 85 per cent., the rest falling to the share of farmers, who will receive for their work in direction and administration a salary proportionate to importance of the undertaking, and may also free use of the houses, means of transport, etc. exist on the lands of the concern. -L'Exploite

#### RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

Women in the Socialist State." By Mrs. H ; Swanwick. International Bookshops. author's vision is of a kind of State socialism, in wh there will be maintenance grants for mothers, i For the rest, facts affirm the truth of this every- ing the cost of lodging, food, warmth and clothic Quite so; (that is an appropriate comment upon Mre

Swanwick's own production. It is strange that she should be able to find it superior to Morris's "News from Nowhere," or Bellamy's "Looking Backward" to name buy two of the socialist Utopias, which like everyone else, Mrs. Swanwick must have read. We could not bear to live in Mrs. Swanwick's socialist world, which smacks of the social welfare uplifters But on one point Mrs. Swanwick has something

say, in which she breaks away from to-day's bourgeo conventions. She says it a little vaguely, in a brief passage. Nevertheless, we welcome the courage which has led her to say that she is opposed to the legal marriage, that the need of it will disappear w the private property system, which entails provide for dependents, and that sexual unions should be purely personal affair-at least, that is what we

"Die Internationale Kommunistische Werbewoche

"The Struggle for Power": An answer to Morrie

Kautsky. By L. Trotsky. The Labour Publishing The evil must be taken at the root in order to Company. 3s. 6d. Trotsky makes this interesting the intellectual struggle attitude, as a tradition of passivity, as political cowardice, still plays an enormous part in the upper ranks of the working class organisations of the world, in no way excluding parties tending to the Third International, and even formally adhering to it! Indeed, we thoroughly agree with this statement Trotsky has a word of criticism for the French Longuetists, the Italian Socialist Party, the German Independents. Of Britain he says nothing. The Russians are not quite sure of their British policy, and they are not quite sure what sort of pig in a poke they have bought in the British Communi

'Russia in 1921." By Tom Mann. 6d. "Reds in Congress." By J. T. Murphy. 6d. Constitution of Red Trade Union Internationa

All these man be obtained from our Book Service.

A deputation of wives, widows, sisters and mothers of unemployed on Wednesday, November 2nd, e deavoured to see Lloyd George and force the needs of the unemployed upon his reluctant attention.

#### 'LEFT WING' COMMUNIST MEETINGS

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5TH, Chrisp Street and Grundy Street, 3.30 p.m. Dock Gates, Poplar, 7 p.m. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12TH,

Church Road, Camberwell, 6.30 p.m.

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# SOVIET RUSSIA

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BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

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## US'I DRIC BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

(Continued from our last issue).

in 1840 the Chartist leaders, Collins and vovett, emerging from prison, adopted a more poderate programme. The second London Conintion, held in April and May, 1842, and the local Board of Guardians, and the following cases jection of the Second National Petition were were cited: llowed by the turn-out of August, 1842. On wust 3th, the factory hands at Ashton in Lancashire struck work, and their lead was folwed in the textile districts of Lancashire and grant.

On August 7th, a great meeting on Mottram gant. Moor resolved that all work should cease until the Charter became the law of the land. From neashire the strike spread southwards through e pottery towns and the Staffordshire coal On August 16th, a Trade Conference ssembled at Manchester voted a general strike or the Charter, and if this failed, an appeal to The Chartist organisation issued mathetic resolution in the name of the ex-

As in 1839, there followed disturbances, riots and arrests. Thus ended the second chapter of

the Chartist movement. The third phase of the Chartist movement is at a record of disintegration.

The National Chartist Association became the National Land Company, engaging in land rojects similar to Owen's New Harmony.

In 1848, enthused by the revolution in France, he Chartist Novement again showed signs of life. It changed back into a political organisation and arranged a convention to present a National Petition to Parliament. On April 10th a procession was held, and then the petition was carried by the executive to Parliament.

entire affair ended in a fiasco. While many internal factors had contributed to the failure of the Chartist movement, division in its leadership as to the use of physical or moral force; frequent changes of attack from industrial to political fields, etc., were but factors common to all working-class movements of the rimefactors which merely indicated the immaturity

of these movements. There was, however, a more fundamental cause—the free-trade agitation for the repeal of

the Corn Laws. In 1838 the Anti-Corn Law League was formed, and for the next eight years, until the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the free rade agitation forced all other movements into the

The Chartist movement was succeeded shortly afterwards, 1848, by a new wave Party. Trotsky gives Kautsky an able trouncing on of revolution throughout the Continent. Here, again, the working masses came to the foreground for a time. This was especially true in France, where a workers' party—the Mountain actually held the State power for a brief period. But the erstwhile "revolutionary bourgeoisie" ted into the fold of the Royalists, whose aid they selicited in crushing the proletarian movement.

As Marx stated: "All classes and parties joined hands in the June days in a 'Party of Order' against the class of the proletariat, which was designated as the 'Party of Anarchism, of Socialism, of Com-

half of the nineteenth century-feverish, imretuous; as vet but half conscious of its own aims; its power as yet latent; its class-conscious

solidarity as yet but a dream. As a result of these activities, the working between ourselves and them. masses became disillusioned with all the o'd traditions. They learned, in the words of Marx, that "the social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, it can draw that only from the future; that it can-10t start upon its work before it has stricken off all superstition concerning the past."

Now set in a period of patient organisation and enligtenment, which was to bear fruit in 1871. (To be continued.)

"Dreadnought" Development Fund. MONEY URGENTLY NEEDED! A Sympathiser (per Mrs. Cahill) 2s. 6d., J. Leakey £1 1s., W. Watson 2s. 6d. Dr. Eades How £1, Mrs. E. £2, C. T. George 1s. 9d. Total, £4 7s. 6d.

#### THE UNEMPLOYED AT A TOWN'S MEETING.

Some remarkable statements were made at Southwark Town's Meeting, held on the demand of the local unemployed.

A spokesman for the local unemployed organisation complained of callous treatment by the

Man unemployed, wife expecting confinement, rent 14/-, no income: no grant from Board. Man with dependent mother, no income: no

Man unemployed, no income, rent 5,-: no

Man with wife and children, income 8/-, rent 8/-: grant 5/- cash, 2/- in kind.

No income, rent 5/-: no grant. Wife and one child, disability pension 10/-

grant 4/- in food. Man 50 years of age, lost room through in-

ability to pay rent, no income: no grant. Shopkeepers were unwilling to receive the food lickets issued by the Guardians; all butchers had refused, and unemployed had to stand in queues outside the two grocers who were willing to accept the tickets. Cheese was charged 1/3 on the tickets, but could be had for 1/- and 1/2

The Labour Mayor, Mr. Isaacs, expressed willingness to investigate the charges made and to call a conference between the Council and Board of Guardians.

Later in the meeting, Mr. Evans, who had assisted in the original organising of the unemployed in Southwark, alleged that they had captured premises, which they had named "Poverty

The Mayor had then asked the unemployed to confer with him, and had told a deputation: If you'll chuck out those Red Flaggers. I've enough food in the Town Hall to last you six

The Mayor nere interjected: "It's not true!" Mr. Evans: "It is."

The Mayor: 'I challenge that statement." Cries from the audience: "We all know it's

An agreed resolution moved by a Labour, a Progressive, and a Moderate member of the Council, asking for work or adequate maintenance as a national charge, was amended by the inclusion of a demand for work or maintenance at "full Trade Union rates." Resolutions were also carried, demanding the resignation of the

#### A CHALLENGE TO THE "COMMUNIST."

The Third and Fourth Internationals.

Says the Communist:

"We have been asked something about the proposed Fourth International. We should have preferred to leave the movers of this project to speak for themselves, as nothing

space upon it." We quite understand that the Communist South Africa would now do a bigger trade with Thus ended the proletarian activity for the first should prefer to ignore the Fourth Interna- Germany than with Britain. This would come tional: where the arguments against a propo- about, not because the South Africans would sition are weak, the boycott becomes a stronger prefer it, but because economic conditions would weapon! We agree that the Parliamentarians enforce it. Britain's trade would fall off, and have nothing to gain by a discussion of tactics Germany's trade would increase, not only with

The Communist continues:

"The project has arisen from the Commun-

of the 'Infantile Left.' " The Communist Workers' Party of Germany

early days was mixed up with the national Capitalism which must be overthrown.

Bolshevism, or patriotic Bolshevism of Lau-

Laufenburg, it is true, was a member of the K.A.P.D., but at the first conference after its formation, the K.A.P.D. repudiated his theories. The KA.P.D. is at present repudiating the patriotism of its rival Third International Communist Party, the K.P.D., which is advocating a patriotic struggle for the German bourgeois republic against the Allies.

The Communist at length comes to the point: "Its later differences with the Third International have concerned the use of the Parliamentary platform for propaganda, and work within the existing Trade Unions. In both of these questions the Party takes the Simon

Pure revolutionary attitude." Thus the Communist admits that this is the correct uncompromising "pure" attitude for revolutionaries to take. The contemptuous epithet, "Sim n Pure," does not matter.

The Communist adds:

"It is quite possible to disagree with particular rulings of the International on special questions, such as Parliamentary action. etc. . . . but an individual may honestly hold such a view and hope that the International may reverse its decision, which he accepts in the meantime. But if, as soon as any s bordinate disagreement arises, he chooses to break away, that is an end of the International . . . the questions of Trade Union policy and the use of Parliamentarism are minor

Such remarks are quite out of keeping with the fact that the Editor of this paper was expelled from the Communist Party for editing a paper opposed to Parliamentarism and the Labour Party affiliation, they are inconsistent with the expulsion of members of the Party for seiling the Workers' Dreadnought. Moreover, the refusal, by the Third International majori y, to permit the affiliation of the K.A.P.D., on ac count of its anti-Parliamentary and revolutionary policy, shows that the Right majority desires to prevent the Left minority from converting the International to its view.

The Communist further states that the criticisms of affairs in Soviet Russia, which are to be found in some of the newspapers of the Fourth International, are the same as "the attacks and calumnies" to be found in the Right Wing Socialist papers This is incorrect.

#### A Challenge.

The Editor of the Workers' Dreadnought is Council, since it had failed to deal with the situ- prepared to debate the policy of the Third and ation, and calling upon the workers to set up Fourth Internationals with the Editor of the Soviets, on the ground that unemployment will Communist, or any speaker whom the Communist never be ended until the capitalist system is Party may nominate, either in the columns of the two papers, or at a public meeting to be held on a mutually agreed date, either in London or the provinces.

We hereby formally issue this challenge to the Communist and the Communist Party of Great

#### GERMANY WILL CAPTURE BRITAIN'S TRADE.

Remarkable Statement by General Smuts. is to be gained by spending much time and According to the South African Dutch paper, the Volkstem, General Smuts declared that South Africa, but with other parts of the British

The Volkstem also quotes General Smuts as ist Labour Party of Germany " Ithis should be saying that his followers and the South African Communist Workers' Party] "a small party Nationalists are being drawn closer together; c: ch appreciating the other's good points.

If this statement is genuine, it would seem that (K.A.P.D.) actually numbers between 70,000 Smuts is determined that South African Capitaland 80,000 members; so the Communist Party ism shall not be handicapped in its business by in this country cannot reproach it on the score any kindness or forbearance towards the mother of its size; but principles are not measured by country, and that they shall by no means be involved in her financial embarrassments. That The Communist further says that the coes not distress us: we wish to see the close corporation of the British Empire broken asunder, " has always had an erratic history, and in its because its unity makes it a strong bulwark of

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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#### WAR WITH IRELAND? Labour Party Support?

If war is declared on Ireland, will the Labour Party support the Government and the war? This is what everyone in the Labour Movement must seriously ask to-day. The statements of Arthur Henderson and J. R. Clynes m the House of Commons, on October 31st, strongly infer that the Government can count on such support, if the policy of these men remains

Incredible as this statement appears, we ask our readers to consider it carefully, to remember the record of the Labour leaders, especially that of Henderson and Clynes, during the late war, and to analyse with the greatest possible attention the speeches of Lloyd George and Henderson and Clynes in the Unionist Vote of Censure debate last Monday

#### Lloyd George Threatens War.

Take first these passages from Lloyd George's

"If the Southern Parliament did not come nature of Crown Colony government to be set he said:up; then the powers were to be conferred simultaneously upon the Crown Colony and the Ulster Parliament. . . .

"Therefore, unless something happens in the course of the next few days, one way or another, that puts the position right from the point of view of the Act, we shall either exercise the powers we have got-and in that matter we are obtaining the opinion of the Attorney-General—or confer the necessary powers on the Northern Parliament, or ask the House of Commons during the present Session to pass a short Act dealing with the matter. . . .

"If this conference is broken off, and it might, I am not asking the House to face anything which someone at this box may not be inviting you to face in a few days, but I want the House to face it squarely. . . You have to surround them, hunt down small elusive bands over very considerable racts of territory, a good deal of it over highly difficult mountainous country, where the Lopulation is entirely in sympathy with the guerrillas. . . .

"We all know how gigantic were the forces that had to be put into Africa to accomplish

"If it has to be done, and if the people of this country are convinced that it must be done, it can be done, and will be done."

"I cannot conceal the possibility that I may have to make this grave announcement— factor. that it is impossible to settle without danger of dishonour.

"If the security of the country is menaced opposition to an Irish Republic. if the Throne is repudiated;

#### A Re-Hash of the Old Terms.

This statement seems to mean that unless Sinn Fein agree, at least, to the following propositions, the Lloyd Geoge Government will enforce Crown Colony government (which means the for a General Election before the commenceme abolition of all forms of representative government) in Ireland, and make war on the population of Ireland :-

(1) Ireland to remain in the British Empire; (2) British Navy to control Ireland and its

(3) Free Trade between the two countries: Ireland to be debarred from making commercial or other Treaties with foreign countries;

(4) Ireland to shoulder the share of the British War Debt apportioned to her by the British Government;

(5) The partition of Ireland.

The phrases in the Prime Minister's speech this, as on many other occasions, to justify of October 31st, imply no change in the terms existence. Its leaders continue to make already offered by his Government to Ireland in mere echo of the capitalist parties on all by August, and then emphatically rejected by Sinn issues, differing merely in minor details. Fein on Ireland's behalf.

whatsoever has been made by the Downing Street ecutive of the Labour Party declared its opposition conference, and no avenue of agreement dis- tion to war with Ireland; yet the Trade Ur covered in any direction. Lloyd George's Congress and Labour Party passed the resolution speech strongly confirms that view. Indeed, it quoted by Arthur Henderson, stating that there is remarkably like a preparation for war.

#### Henderson's Statement.

Let us turn now to the speech of Henderson. Irish Independence. He, of course, spoke ostensibly as a member The Daily Herald professes to stand for Iri of the opposition, of an opposition that had re- Independence and peace with Ireland. In its ceived very serious rebuffs on the Unemployment leader it made no reference to Henderson's Bill a day or two before. He blamed the Gov- speech: in its news columns it approved ernment—it is popular to do so—for having tried Where does the Herald stand? to settle 'he Irish question by force. He also If the sympathy which the Labour Party has deprecated the partition of Ireland: the Liberals professed with the Irish people were genuine. up according to the Soviet system. into existence, there was something in the do that whilst prepared to assent to it. Then Henderson, as the Party spokesman would have

carrying on the negotiations. When the time Ireland, the Labour Party would offer its mo comes to examine their proposals we shall apply determined opposition, and would instruct certain tests:-

" (1) Whether the proposals satisfy the majority of the Irish people. . . .

" (2) Having regard to the long religious difficulty, there must be some form of protection for the minority.

" (3) We shall examine the position from the standpoint of the security of our own

In political parlance (at which Mr. Hender son is an adept; in the House of Commons he deals in no other) the two latter passages mean:

(2) weighting the scales in the Unionis' favour to give their small minority as much power as Sinn Fein Ireland's great majority: a proposition to which it is unlikely Sinn Fein

(3) Retaining Ireland within the Empire and keeping her under British naval and military control. Probably the commercial stipulations made by Lloyd George are also included. This knocks the bottom out of the Sinn Fein demands and is in line with Government attitude which is creating the

probability of war with Ireland. Clynes, who spoke later in the debate, spoke more than once of retaining Ireland within the Empire, as though that were an unchangeable

There seems no doubt that official Labour is prepared to support the British Government in

At first the Labour Party, whilst refusing to "If this Empire is to be mutilated and declare for the Irish, might attempt to Ireland established as an alien country, in that remain neutral on the question of war; she is free to make war on our commerce; but when war is in progress, all who "And British commerce is to be liable to work must help or hinder, and official attack on the Irish coast without any right Labour would soon be giving the Governfor Britain to use the shores of Ireland for ita ment open assistance. This view is confirmed by Henderson's many statements on this question. "If Ireland walks off with her freedom, When Sinn Fein rejected the Lloyd George Govleaving Britain staggering along under hre ernment's terms in August, Henderson stated burden, which Ireland joined in incurring . . . that it was a pity Sinn Fein had not accepted SIXPENCE "If an arrangement is insisted upon which them; he made no criticism of the terms, nor means that the fires of civil war are to rage has he since done so. On October 22nd, speakwhile we look on-then Great Britain, Irish Conference does break down, it will be no Street, Strand, W.C.2.

feel confident, will take the necessary justification for plunging this countrie. immediate General Election."

Those words must mean, if Mr. Henders to be taken as a serious person at all, that view, the Lloyd George Government's towards Ireland is the correct and, indeed only policy, otherwise he would necessarily of war with Ireland, in order that the elec' might at least be given the opportunity of versing the Government's policy.

#### Is This the Labour Party Policu?

It is only too clear that Mr. Henderson's policy is identical, or practically identical that of Lloyd George.

Is the policy of Henderson the policy of Labour Party? That is a question of tremendon importance to-day.

The Labour Party has failed completely

On September 9th, the Parliamentary Co Capitalist Press gossips say that no progress mittee of the Trade Union Congress and the Ex must be security for Great Britain; a stun that have been attached to it, shuts the door to

announced that if the Conference should bre "We are prepared to trust those who are down and the Government attempt war up members to refuse all work connected w transport to and from Ireland, and supplies the British Army and Navy, as a prelimina to any more drastic action that might prove necessary to stop the commencement

If the Labour Party were sincere in its professions towards Ireland, it would have instructed Mr. Henderson to declare (indeed, it would have of the Irish Republic.

chart or compass after the will-o'-the-wisp- capital and the working class.

Those members of the Labour Party and the Trade Union movement who sincerely oppose war with I eland and who genuinely desire Ireland' independence and the maintenance of her Regress and the Labour Party, to decide wh official Labour's policy is towards Ireland present, Labour has no policy) and to prepar of ACTION TO PREVENT THE IRISH WAR.

Those who realise that the British office Labour movement cannot be moved to such actio will endeavour to stir up the rebel sections of the rank and file to take what steps are necessary and possible, without waiting for official

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Read Tom Mann's Booklet RUSSIA IN 1921.

JUST OUT.

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at our doors between Catholics and Protestants, ing at Portsmouth, Henderson said: "If the 4/- per dozen, carriage extra, 3, Wellington

## GERMAN ONE BIG REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

Programme and Rules of the "Allgemeine Arbeiter Union" of Germany, or General Workers' Union, a Revolutionary Workshop Organisation.

nalgamation of capital in the victorious, well society. as in the conquered countries, for the purpose of a united holding down and more intense ex-

November 5, 1921.

oitation of he proletariat by Capitalism. The Parliamentary governing machine-outinped by the economic development-falls to eces in this process. Capital has already begun create, internationally, political machinery

adapted to its changed economic conditions. In face of this, the proletariat must unite as war. class and fight in an organised fashion, by tactical methods closely connected with the basis f production. The workshops, which correspond the development of class-consciousness in the workers, alone can can form the starting-point to seize political power.

Such unity has come about through the shape of the "Allgemeine Arbiter-Union."

The A.A.U. is a union in the workshops of phrase which, owing to the political implications the proletariat as a class, for the purpose of fighting the capitalist economic system, with the mediate object: Conquest of the means of roduction, and the dictatorship of the

It is also the present embodiment of the organisational principle of Communist society. Communist society is based on the system of production on a common principle for use, and is built

which corresponds to the method of common pro- the dictatorship of the proletariat.

duction. The gradual realisation of the Soviet Capital has moved since the war in an un- system as a revolutionary process is the thermo- The A.A.U. wages war against all Parliaerrupted and continually advancing crisis. meter of the proletarian progress in class- mentary parties, which, as bourgeois structures, It seeks to stay its bankruptcy by striging at consciousness. The progress of the A.A.U. is are doomed to collapse.

The A.A.U. rejects, on principle, eve y kind of reformist and opportunist, Parliamentary recognises the political organisations united in Trade Union politics, especially participation in Parliament, in official workshop councils and conciliatory methods, these being incompatible with the actual necessities of the class-struggle in the situation which has developed since the world

The A.A.U. recognises in the old Trade Unions one of the main bulwarks of the counterrevolution. They are organisational forces of for the final struggle to take over production and a pre-revolutionary period, and as such are incapable of the revolutionary struggle. The demolition of the Trade Unions is an historic necessity of the revolutionary process, in the necessity in the interest of the proletarian revo-

> The A.A.U. opposes the cell-tactic, the object of which, the conquest of the Trade Unions, is an illusion. The champions of the cell-tactic force their adherents into subjection to the counter-revolutionary fighting methods of the Trade Unions. Therefore the A.A.U. rejects the Red Trade Union International and opposes all the organisations affiliated thereto.

The A.A.U. rejects Syndicalism, especially its unhistoric method of thinking, its petty-bourgois attitude towards the necessities of the classstruggle, its veiled rejection of the political The Soviet system is the organisational form struggle, the separate political organisation, and

ternational trustification, through commercial the thermometer for the ripening of the new The A.A.U., however, stands for the uniting of the most advanced revolutionary proletarians in a separate political organisation. of purely proletarian-Communist character. It thereby the Communist Workers' International as necessary to the class-struggle.

> The A.A.U. is in close touch, in fighting union, with the political organisations referred to in paragraph 7. The organisational independence of the Union remains thereby untouched.

The A.A.U. strives for the international alliance of organisations that adopt the objects and fighting methods of the A.A.U.

The immediate objects of the A.A.U. are:-1.—The revolutionising of the workshops

by propaganda and action. 2.—The promotion of partial strikes, general strikes, and workshop struggles of every kind that have a Communist aim.

The methods of the proletarian struggle are: strike, revolt, passive resistance, occupation of the workshops, and systematic sabotage. 3.—Active participation in every revolution-

ary action, national and international. 4.—Struggle by propaganda and action for revolutionary workshop committees.

5.—Closest unity and solidarity of action with the unemployed, through revolutionary

6.—Furtherance of the responsibility for action, instead of a policy of giving out watchwords, through developing self-consciousness.

## THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

(Continued).

The Immediate Political Effects of the Policy of the Soviet Government.

independence of Ireland and the maintenance posal of capital—the proletariat. Cap alism the bourgeoisie must help its class enemy."

the same class struggle:

of a joint Conference of the Trade Union Con- return to Capitalism. Freedom of turnover and capitalist society. freedom of commerce mean exchange of com modities between individual small farmers. We all know, if we understand the A.B.C. of Marxism, that from this free turnover and free commerce arises the division of the producers of commodities into owners of capital and owners of labour-power, the division into capitalists and wage-workers, that is to say, the re-introduction of capitalist wage-slavery.

With the recognition of the demands of the peasantry, in the way of free production and free commerce and the foreign political concessions, the Soviet Government has ceased to be a Soviet Government, that is to say, a Government of the proletariat. No man can erve two masters; it is an impossibility to be at the same time political leader of the bourgeoisie and

of the proletariat. The Russian proletariat has, in that way, already lost control of its State. The Soviet Government has fallen a victim to its own policy. The Soviet Russia of the Russian peasants change; into the Soviet Russia of the Russian peasants and the Russian bourgeoisie. The Soviet Government, compelled by economic conditions, be- almost without animation, but, numerically,

We are not, with the best of intentions, capab'e into them.

Russia through world-capital, which is now setting in, with the most active aid on the part of the Soviet Government, not only means the end of Soviet Russia as a proletarian State, but at the same time also provides fresh enormous facilities for world capital towards the surmounting of its crisis, and places new tremendous difficulties and obstacles in the way of the proletarian world revolution. That, and nothing else, is the inevitable effect.

The Soviet Government must become a Government in opposition to the Russian working class, having openly taken sides with the bourgeoisie. The Soviet Government is the Communist Party of Russia. Thus the Communist Party of Russia has become an antagonist of the working class, because it champions, as Soviet Government, the interests of the bourgeo sie at the expense of the proletariat. This state of affairs will not prevail long; the Communist Party of Rusia will be split.

Also, the Trade Unions in Russia, to-day

#### MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

comes, therefore, itself a representative of tremendous organisations, will have to be split before they are able to have new life instilled

Capitalism has, besides the object of in- of the fantastic ingenuity of the Rote Fahne When the Trade Unions, under economic dustrialising, another historic aim, namely, the ('Red Flag''), which unblushingly declares, in pressure, are split like the Communist Party, creation of the great masses of those who have all sincerity, that here "a highly paraloxical they will most likely consist of three lepartdone so long ago) that it stands for the complete to place their labour power for wages at the dis aspect appeared in the final crisis of Capitalism ments: organisational and functionaries' de partments, which will, as to-day, remain affilicreates the distinction of classes in society, the The Soviet Government is, on the contrary, ated as State-labour Departments to the Russian, The Labour Party leaders are mere followers division into the two irreconcilable classes: the forced by international capital into the cle of State: a second part of the workers will unite of the capitalist party leaders and of the varying bourgeoisie and proletariat. Capitalism produces champion of its interests in the way of profits, economically in similar organisations to those of winds of public opinion; they are sailing without and is thus compelled to assume a hostile attitude the West European Trade Unions, and will towards the proletariat, just as the German Gov- pursue the struggle against the selling of labour. The introduction of Capitalism in Russia, as ernment is. World capital aims at making Soviet power too cheaply, but not against the sale of it is now inaugurated by the Soviet Government, Russia, like Germany, a branch concern for the labour-power altogether. The remainder will must be attended with the same class division, realisation of profits. To consider world cap'tal unite in a revolutionary organisation, with revocapable of such stupidity as to help a class enemy, lutionary proletarian weapons. Owing to the class "Freedom of turnover means freedom of as the U.K.P.D. (United Communist Party of antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, public, should demand the immediate summoning commerce, but freedom of commerce means a Germany) does. is to become the jester of which, in the large towns, has become acute, and is still further aggravated by recent events, The capitalist penetration of Soviet quite new, independent structures of organisation of the Rusian proletariat will develop. These, in respect of the structure of organisation, tactic and aim, will be much more advanced than the present Communist Parix of Russia, and in course of time, in its entire aspect, will come to approach the Communist Workers Tarty and the General Workers' Union of Germany. They will go far beyond the merely oppositional factic of the present Russian Workers' Opposition and assume a pronounced proletarian revolutionary character.

(to be continued)

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Food Ministry.

Eight hundred and ninety-one persons are still employed in the Food Control Department. Since the people for the means of development. The trade he had "been inclined to vote against it. April 1st they have liquidated stocks amounting to facilities scheme, as it is called will lead to tre- reasons given by the Minister of Labour." £50,000. Their salaries cost £20,000 a month. The mendous jobbery, of course, and the Government, to men were found to vote for the amendment Food Ministry's accounts are expected to be completed shield itself from the inevitable scandal which will Astor and Mrs. Windringham, two cowardly canit by 1922, when the payment of this £20,000 a month arise, has decided to appoint a committee of influential party servants, who wish to pose as advanced wom will cease.

Unemployment. The callousness of the Government and the capiof their children up to a maximum of 4s. during 26 weeks, was carried by 226 votes to 70.

Trade Union Rates Refused. The Bill immediately went into Committee. Niel MacLean's amendment to strike out the existing money provisions, and to substitute payments to the unemployed equivalent to their trade union rates of wages, to be provided entirely by the Treasury, was then negatived without a division. The Minister of Labour, Dr. Macnamara (C.L.), declared the proposal "perfectly hopeless." Not a single member of the Labour Party had the courage to speak for it, so spiritless are they! Niel MacLean has shown himself unquestionably the best of the bunch.

Agricultural Labourers and Domestic Servants It was pointed out that agricultural labourers and large numbers of women are outside the Insurance Acts altogether, and that there is more unemployment in agriculture than in any other industry. The Government reply was simply that when employment was good the agricultural workers had not shown any great desire to be insured, and that the women could always go into domestic service. Lady Astor. who made, on the whole a silly and superficial speech, said that the women are not suitable for domestic service and must be trained.

The Widow. She had the good sense, however to point out, as others also did, that the unemployed woman who is supporting an invalid husband and children only gets a maximum of 12s. plus 4s. a week, whilst a unemployed man breadwinner gets 15s. plus 5s. plus 4s. Eventually the Government agreed to allow such a woman 12s. plus 5s. plus 4s., but whilst allowing a widower 5s. for his housekeeper, the Minister of Labour did not make the same concession to the widow, who frequently has to pay more than that for putting her youngest child out to nurse. Lady Astor forgot that point, and the voice of Mrs. Wintringham was not raised in the debate.

The Government's wretched measure only proposes to allocate £6,000 000, to extend the unemployment insurance benefit, and of this sum the State will the war, that £320,000,000 a year is being paid in against it." Linterest on war loan, that the Government gave Amendment to Bar Capitalist Concerns. £3,000,000 to help the British Dyes and Cellulose

Workers help Workless. Compare the grudging aid of the Government with the fact that in the 12 months ending September 30th nine of the large trade unions paid £4,267,119 in unemployment benefit. The South Wales miners till recently were levying themselves 7s. 6d. per Graham obligingly withdrew his amendment. Meanmember per week for the unemployed, and o'thir unions have paid levys of 3s., 2s. 6d., 1s. 6d. and

ls. a week. Some have imposed a capital levy of

£1 per head. Will the Scheme be Solvent?

Considering such large sums raised by the workers the big firms. themselves for their unemployed comrades, one sees how ridiculously small is the Government proposal. Members alleged that the Bill had been drafted without actuarial calculations, and it would appear that the scheme will probably be bankrupt before the six months end.

In spite of the smallness of the Government proposal the well-to-do regarded it jealously: "I intensely dislike the entire system of Government unemployment benefit," said Sir S. Hoare (C.U.). Like many more he prefers that the unemployed should be spurred by complete destitution to work

on any terms. Barnes stands up for Capitalist.

G. N. Barnes, still classed as a Labour representative, adopted the capitalist standpoint. He said that the men who have got work must think themselves lucky, and be glad to contribute to the unemployed. "Therefore," he said. "it is not from the point of view of the worker that I regard this Bill as faulty, but from the point of view of industry as a whole, which is heavily saddled at the present moment with taxation." He urged the workers to produce more, telling them that the employers would no longer take advantage of them as they did in the bad old days when he was young. Now, he said: "We have managed to supply the collective principle; we have the power to apply commonsense." Evi-

dently he shuts his eyes to the tragic exploitation of the workers which is going on in South Wales and other places to-day.

Barnes then opposed additional benefit for single men which had been advocated by Colonel Penry Williams, a mere Coalition Liberal. More Capital for Capitalists.

The Labour Party has looked complacently upon the Government proposal to provide more capital Wife's 10s. Refused. for the capitalists, and formally announced that it

instead of pressing for common ownership of the Barnes majesterially decided, however, to vote concerns which are now obliged to come back to the amendment, having heard the speeches t men in the money-making world, in order that the were absent from the divisions on unemploymen various biggest interests may fight for the plunder Child's 5s. Refused. amongst themselves, and keep the jobbery quiet Neil MacLean then moved to give the first a talists, the weakness of the Labour Party, were strik- according to the code of "honour amongst thieves." 7s. 6d., and 5s. each for all the others, instead ingly evident in the unemployment debates. The It was left to the free Liberals to move an amend- the 1s. each for the first four children dictated second reading of the Bill to give 5s. a week to the ment giving the committee advisory powers only, the Bill. wives of unemployed men, and ls. a week to each and making the Government actually responsible The Government felt itself forced to accept this

Attack on Trades Disputes Act.

Sir Frederick Banbury (C.U.), in the course of the to those we represent outside this House if we to debate, made the sinister proposal, not merely that any part in the committee stage." the Trade Boards should be abolished, but that the Clynes, however, did not withdraw at this innet. Trade Disputes Act should also be repealed. That another incident was to take place first, and o would mean that picketting in strikes would virtually Labour Members actually took the initiative in cease to be legal, and we should have wholesale im- parting. prisonments of the workers in every lock-out and Child's 2s. Refused. strike. Banbury further pressed for the reduction Neil MacLean was appealed to by both Libera of taxation and of the death duties. The Banbury and Labour Members to withdraw his motion policy is now in the ascendent; he and his kind will favour of one by Jack Jones (Lab.) to make the probably get what they desire.

Great Leap in Prices.

Tom Myers, a careful man with figures, but, as he would doubtless say, "No Bolshevik," and a sadly tame fellow, drew attention to the enormous rise in prices. Iron exports cost £11 a ton in 1913, but £40 in 1920; coal exports 14s. a ton in 1913, £4 in 1920; cotton piece goods exports 3d. per vard in 1913, 1s. 6d. in 1920. Over 75 per cent. of the firms in the cotton industry had written up the value of their property three to seven times its pre-war value. Cotton yarn exports in 1913 were 1s. 6d. per lb., in 1920 6s. 6d. per lb. In consequence, Lancashire was now exporting textile machinery to other parts of the world whilst there was a slump in Lan-

Two Jewish Tories each dropped a few words of truth into the discussion. Samuel Samuel said: 'The proposal of these loans is purely political. and is simply brought for the purpose of pretending to do something for unemployment." A. M. Samuel said that certain people are shipping cotton thread to explain his reasons, but the Chairman objected and yarn to Prague and Bohemia, where the exchange value of money is low, and where the ill-paid spinners turn it into textiles, which are sent back and keep Lancashire workers idle.

Jack Mills and Communism. Attempts were unsuccessfully made to secure Government pledge that part of the £25,000,000 contribute only £2,538,000. Yet this tiny grant was might be sent to Russia. Jack Mills (Lab.) spoke: meanly haggled over, in spite of the fact that "As one who has spoken against the Communist £8,000,000 a day was spent in the latter stages of theory of Government and will continue to speak

W. Graham (Lab.) moved to leave the private capitalist concern out of the trade facilities scheme, and to confine it to local authorities, co-operatives, and colonial and foreign governments. But when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir R. Horne (C.U.), replied that he wanted to exclude no one. as his great eagerness was to provide work, Mr. while Morgan Jones, the new Labour representative of Caerphilly, was pleading for the small local authority in districts where unemployment is great, and declaring that such authorities would get nothing, because all the money would be given out to

No Treasury Supervision. Tom Shaw (Nat.) tried to secure Treasury supervision for concerns that get a share of the Government credits, but capitalism, through its spokesman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would not tolerate

such interference, and Shaw blandly withdrew. own proposal to put a Government nominee on the Nall (U.) and Mr. A. Williams (Lib.) feared, a man Board of Directors; there is something wonderfully clannish about these business men!

A Protest by Clynes.

October 26th saw an extraordinary thing; a protest by J. R. Clynes, who walked out of the Chamber followed by other Labour Members. There was reason enough in the Government's callous attitude to rouse even the most slavish to rebel, but we fancy there was more in the matter than appeared on the surface. We believe there was an understanding, either expressed or implied, that in return for the Labour Party support of the Trade Facilities Bill some concessions would be made to the Labour Party on Progressive Scotland! the Unemployed Workers Dependants (Temporary Provision) Bill. As it fell out, however the Labour Party was met on every point by the cool statement that their proposals were either impossible or out have been mooted since 1866. A Bill to abolish

The Labour amendment to substitute "dependants" the relief, passed its Second Reading on October 27th for "wife and dependent children," in order that So progress bounds ahead in this progressive mothers and other persons supported by the unemployed worker, might benefit, was declared out of

All attempts to increaset he scale of benefit were met with the statement that since the money resolution had been passed by the House, the funds to be up a small committee to lay down a general scale distributed could not be added to.

Neil MacLean (Lab.) moved to give 10s. to the would give a "general support to the measure," wife instead of 5s. Dr. Macnamare (C.L.) replied Guardians."

that as the State contribution could not now increased, the cost would fall on the workers employers, and it would be £4,400,000.

J. R. Clynes then said that if the Ministry inter to adhere to the statement that there could be variation of money benefits: "it appears to me would be an act of futility and an act of distought

child's allowance 2s. a week, and to abolish the limitation to four children. Finally, MacLean agreed to withdraw his amendment, though Dr. Macnamara would give no undertaking to accept that of Jones but when MacLean attempted to withdraw there were some shouts of "No." The Chairman therefore refused leave to withdraw, and immediately declared the amendment negatived. Though a division wa challenged, the Chairman said he had not heard challenge, and declared that Jack Jones's amendment

could not be moved. Will Thorne (Lab.) shouted: "You are a lot of political tricksters," and Jack Jones added: "We took you for gentlemen." The Chairman ordered them to either withdraw these remarks or to leave

the Chamber; they left the Chamber.

Neil MacLean Walks out. Neil MacLean had an amendment down to abolish serlin greetings were received from a part of the the limitation of the weekly rate of 9s. He said: Slavonic Communist Party, which had formed "I intend to move nothing further on the committee of apposition group called the "Revolutionary Orstage; I am sick of the proceedings." He attempted anisation of the Communists." that he was not entitled to make a speech.

Finally, most of the Labour Members left. Major Barnes (C.U.) moved to let the State bear stional, however, not only gave them no chance of the whole of the burden, and abolish contributions bing so, but further declared itself for the opporby employer and employed, but secured only 14 mist policy of their deaders, and thus showed its supporters in the division. Major Gray (C.U.) upsuccessfully moved to exempt from contributions. To the same effect spoke the Bulgarian Left-Wing workers not employed more than four days a week. Tommunist Prodanoff. He said further: "At the

but two days work. Dr. Macnamara, by a new amendment, secured welf ever more and more opportunist. We saw that power to himself to reduce the benefits if it appears wanted large masses, even if uncommunistic, but to him that the scheme does not pay.

Mr. Broad (C.L.) moved to abulish the 4s. maxi- mainely revolutionary. The Moscow Executive told mum, and let every child get its weekly shilling. I clearly that we Communists of the Left Wing, Machamara refused to accept it. A. Williams (Lib.), wished to carry out the revolutionary tactics, Sir R. Adkins (C.L.), Sir D. Maclean (Lib.), W. Cheyne (C.U.), to prevent infant mortality; W. Wilson (Lib.), Sir Watson Rutherford (C.U.), and D. Cowan (C.L.), all begged the Minister to do this . The Swedish Young-Socialist Party wrote: "We, little thing for the little children: it was such a gourselves, stand in opposition to the III. Intervery little thing, and would cost such a tiny, sum stional. Good luck to the fight against the tyranny that their hearts were really quite melted.

Dr. Macnamara said he would consider the matter; " if this proposal were carried there would be m limit to the number of children. I do not say shall go that length. I may make a proposi of a different character," he said.

After that there was much discussion as to whether a man would or should get an allowance on behalf of a woman with whom he was "living in sin" Wedgwood protested, but presently withdrew his [Oh, these hypocrits!]-and whether, as Colonel might claim 5s. a week for his wife, and 5s. a lam expecting to become a mother, and I am week for another woman having charge of his chil- sorry for what occurred. I was in very dren," and any number of 5s. for maid servants at difficulties att the time, and I am quite willing looking after the children.

> including children's benefits, is the maximum to be paid appeared to escape observation. Some Members were afraid that a man might invite a woman t live with him purely to get the princely 5s. ! Kenworthy moved to let the 1s. be paid children at school up to 16 years, instead of 14

but Macnamara was adamant.

Poor Law Guardians in Bonnie Scotland are still and Anton Pannekoek, has been formed. legally prevented from relieving the able-bodied poor, and the Fourth International. The new though proposals to change the law in this respect the prohibition, without making much provision for

What Poplar Won.

On October 28th the Local Authorities (Financial Provisions) Bill passed the Second Reading. Its purpose is to equalise the London poor rate, set of relief and provide inspectors "to see that so far as is humanly possible," as Sir A. Mond put it, "there is no undue extragavance by any Board of

NTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Inemployment Deportation Swindle.

me New Zealand Transport Worker says:the present political heads of the country, evifor political purposes, allege that there are ployed in New Zealand worth talking about. at there is plenty of room, employment, and for the worker immigrants the Government ensible for bringing to the country at this What the real motive is one can only conbut the opinion is general that the Governent in this matter are acting as agents for the vers in an effort to reduce wages and general conditions of New Zealand workers."

rates. Nevertheless, says the Transport materially and morally. Worker, a paragraph appeared in the Wellington rived in New Zealand with only 20s. between rest at £2 a week "had gone begging till the widow umigrant came on the scene stoney broke. The occupation of a laundress is one not governed an award of the Industrial Court.'

The Transport Worker further complains of underably below the standard wage arranged and German bourgeoisic may gain breathing space. One manifesto for our criticism.

ourth International Conference.

At the Communist Workers' Party Conference in

They stated they had hoped to link up with all arties and groups of the Left, and with the Neil MacLean thereupon walked out, and shortly LA.P., to form a united nucleus of opposition afterwards Henderson, Clynes, and Sexton followed. within the III. International, and so give it the researy revolutionary tendency. The III. Interpportunist character.

Macnamara would not exempt even those who have third Congress we understood that we could not rolutionise this International, which is showing have none of the "Left" elements which are hasten the world-revolution, might no longer main in the ranks of their International, and that by were preparing places for us in the prisons."

South African Widow loses her Pension,

ath African soldier's widow receiving a pension is, a day for herself and 1s. 2d. a day each; children was expecting another baby, and ancial difficulties. She altered her pensions ther from £6 5s. 4d. to £16 5s. 4d., and suced in drawing the larger sum. She was sentenced days hard labour and the total loss of her on. In vain she pleaded:

you to receive my pension until I have paid The folly of the discussion when 9s. a week, the money, if you would only let me have would be a support for my little children such time as I am able to find something I hope you will consider my case be very lenient for my dear children's sake." oder Communism such cases can never occur.

Ith International in Holland.

ch C.W.P. publishes a weekly organ, De Komut, the first number of which has just reached The organ of the Dutch Communist Party, of th Wynkook is the leader, is De Tribune.

WORKERS' PARTY.

own Special Correspondent

liberating as to the possibility of escape from this a strike on that score. 'awful" political and economic dilemma. The only Party showing no appreciation of the "disgust" over the "vast injury" inflicted on "poor" down-trodden Germany is the Communist Workers' Party which, as we have already pointed out in these notes, pursues steadily and consistently the path of truly revolutionary Communism, and therefore takes up a corresponding attitude on all questions.

The Expected Coalition.

You Zealand there are few housemaids and waitresses question of Upper Silesia—an attitude it shares with themselves. the get less than £2 a week with board and lodgings. the German-National Party, namely, to offer the most difference in the purchasing power of the pound determined opposition to the Entente concert in their munist Workers' Party) to gather again the actual New Veiland must be taken into account in judging endeavour to still further "humble" poor Germany forces of revolution in face of the stagnation that

uning Post stating that a mother and daughter Left Socialists Council submission to Entente. The Left Socialists (Independents) impress upon but the mother had secured employment as a the workers the need of the immediate acceptance of aundress at £2 a week with board and lodg- the decision, seeing that Germany is compelled to This was recorded as a stroke of luck; but, bow to the inevitable on patriotic grounds. The the Transport Worker, the billet of head laun- Right Socialists (Ebert-Noske Party) adopt a very similar attitude, and point out at the same time the need of the Wirth Cabinet remaining in office. The Communist Party (the Section of the Third International) again denounces with hot indignation the "game" of dependent and independent Socialists, loved being engaged at the public works at whom these opportunist Communists accuse of recomskdale on railway and read construction at wages mending to the working class to bear patiently these

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with your help. Meanwhile, help to carry on.

need hardly claim the power of prophecy to be able to foretell that in spite of all the "fuming" on the part of the German-National and Stinnes Parties the Entente decision as to the boundaries of Upper Silesia and the control of its mineral treasures will LIBERAL be accepted by the German Government without flinching, and that eventually the Stinnes Party will join the Democratic bloc of the Government together with the Social Democrats. The trade unions in Upper Silesia have publicly demonstrated for unions belong all shades of Socialists, including the Communists of the Third International.

Socialists lose Municipal Majority.

The communal elections last Sunday were of a very tame character. The bourgeois parties, as well as the three Socialist Parties, had for several weeks previously indulged in a "heavy tongue-campaign to rally the workers to their respective camps, but the "red house," as the town hall owing to its having been controlled by a Socialist majority was called, is no more, the bourgeois parties having obtained 114 seats out of a total of 225.

The parliamentary Communists and Socialists are, of course, most indignant at this "disgusting result! and indulge in vehement abuse of the workers, "who have again given their masters the majority." But, in fact, a large percentage, quite 30 per cent., have abstained from recording their votes as a result of all the three Socialist Parties having demonstrated in a "united front" in order to mourn the loss of poor Erzberger (the one-time-renown Chancellor of split has occurred amongst the Dutch Communists, Germany), and lowing to all these working-class Communist Workers' Party, led by Herman parties joining hands with the "bourgeois parties of the middle" in order to protect and safeguard the black-red-gold Republic against ill designs of the extreme right party-the Autocratic Monarchists.

Eight Hour Day to be scrapped.

In economic respects the situation is quite as troublesome as it has been since the "glorious re- the world movement of the revolutionary vanguard. volution" in November, 1918. The breaking through I am therefore forwarding my name as an adherent the legal eight-hour working-day is proceeding apace. of the IV. Communist Workers' International. I have Now, the State railway authorities are endeavouring worked in the Workers' International Industrial Union to emulate the private employers of labour. At inside the Trade Union and at the street corner. This Flalle a vote has recently been taken among the organisation is opposed to the Red Trade Union liamentary-political parties here in Germany railway workers on the question of abandoning the International, because it is opposed to the violent ly excited about the "unheard of" deci- eight-hour day. Over 90 per cent. voted for a strike overthrow of the capitalist class, and desires a e Entente Powers through their useful tool against the intended encroachment. The prominent peaceful solution. My intention is to withdraw from League of Nations—in the question of Upper leaders of the railway workers are already prepaing this organisation and start propaganda on behalf of and their executive bodies are seriously de- them for the need of submitting to the inevitable the Communist Workers' Party.

by arguing that they must preserve their strength for coming fights for wages, also that there are no reasons nor the necessary courage for entering into

The general lock-out of the printers has just come to an end. The Minister of Labour has succeeded in bringing the two parties together. The dispute began in the Mosse concern about some paltry deduction of wages: As all the employees stood firmly together against interference with their tariff they were all locked out. Thereupon followed a strike in sympathy by all those engaged in the production The bourgeois parties of the Left, Centre and of the bourgeois press. The employers in the print-Democrats, would, of course like to fight against the ing trade had just resolved to lock out all workers enforcement of the Entente's decision, but strong employed in the trade when a settlement was reached. As New Zealand' workers well know, there is both still is their desire and need for sticking to office. The strike of the hotel and restaurant employees playment and overcrowding on the island; de- and saving the "dear fatherland" from despoil- still continues, and leads at times to violent scenes betions of unemployed are waiting upon the Govern- ment and ruin by either the "Left or Right Ex- between strikers and strike breakers. A good number and conferences of workers and workless are tremists." The joyful expectation of an early coali- of employers have conceded the strikers' demand convened to deal with the pressing question tion of the German People's Party (Stinnes Party) (wages of 400 marks per week), others have closed with the Social Democrats is at the moment somewhat their establishments, some employ strike-breakers and Transport Worker goes on to state that in damped by the attitude of the Stinnes Party in the others manage by getting the customers to serve

It has been most difficult for the K.A.P.D. (Comhad set in after the March rising, and the Party's secession from the Third International. But the struggle of the Moscow followers here to establish an "all-Socialist fighting front" is hopeless, and their great anxiety to protect the black-red-gold Democratic Republic, togather with all other loyal Republican Parties (as Clara Zetkin recently expressed it in the Reichstag). This policy and tactics is rapidly bearing fruit, and can only tend considerably to strengthen the revolutionary movement.

B.S.I.S.L.P.

The British Section International Socialist Labour anging from 8s. to 10s. a day, "which rate is con- fresh blows of Entente Imperialism, so that the Party of Edinburgh has just sent us its election

In our opinion Socialists should take no part in elections to Parliament or the local governing bodies. The manifesto calls upon the electors to "vote for Socialism." They cannot vote for Socialism through the Borough Council. At the present time the local councils and boards are faced with the unemployed problem; they have no power to solve it; small power to ameliorate it. By attempting to administer the machinery they have been elected to control they are making themselves responsible for the system, for the paltry, doles meted out to the workless, and for the refusal of such doles. The business of Socialists, in our view, is to lead the workers against all the macinhery of Government under capitalism, not to take part in administering it. We will put the matter in an extreme form by asking a question: Would the B.S.I.S.L.P. send one of its members to take charge of the police, the army or the navy for Lloy 1 George's Government, and thus assist in main-

taining the order and security of the capitalist State? To sit on a Borough Council, in our opinion, is the same, in principle, as to accept a seat in a capitalist Coalition Government; the Borough Councils administer the laws of the Government.

ORGANS AGAINST IRISH

These passages from leading articles on the vote of censure debate in the two leading Liberal newspapers mean that the Government can count on national resistance of the Entente decision. To these Liberal support for war with Ireland should the Conference break down:-

"There are certain things which no statesman in this country can surrender, and Mr. Lloyd George does not propose to surrender them."-Manchester

"Mr. Lloyd George himself issued a grave and terrible warning as to the consequences of failure. While we deplore the alternative which he thought fit to suggest to the House, and should oppose it with all our might, we desire to emphasise its significance in order to make clear to the Irishl leaders that if this conference breaks down through any stubborn pursuit of shadows on their part or any lack of true statesmanship it will mean the utter failure of all their hopes and the hopes of all the sincerest friends of Irish freedom."-Daily News.

Dear Editor,-It was with great pleasure I read the inspiring article in the Workers' Dreadnought on "New Tactics." The failure of the III. International and the large Communist Parties has become obvious within recent months. The birth of the IV. International is the first step in cleaning up

the Communist movement. Opportunism and reaction must have no place in

The East I Knew (Claudet) ...... 3/-

#### LABOUR OUT OR IN.

The Labour Party walked out of the House the other night, as a protest against the Government's cowardly treatment of the unemployed. This is the first time in its history that the Labour Party has departed in the least degree from the most strict and punctillious respect for the procedure of the bosses' House of Pretance.

It is a curious coincidence that in our issue of last week, we stated that if the Labour Party were well led, it would walk out of the Chamber, but we did not say that the Party, if well led would appear tamely on its benches the following day. No, indeed; we said that if it were well led; if it really had the will to become the Government of the country, it would walk out and not return until a General Election had taken place. We said that at all costs it would divest itself of any shadow of responsibility for the neglect of the unemployed and the coming Irish war.

Mr. Henderson and his colleagues do not want an early General Election; because they do not feel sure that it would bring them into power, and it would cost money; moreover, it seems to them that things are in such a mess with the country, that they think they would rather not be the Government just now. Trade is so bad: they are afraid it might be said they had hindered the recovery of trade if they were in control. They know, also, that neither the unemployed, nor the Irish will be satisfied with the Labour Party proposals for them, because, as a matter of fact, the Labour Party proposals differ very tittle from those of Lloyd George.

A General Flection might not give a majority to the Labour Party; but it would quicken the pace, and so bring nearer the day when the Labour Party will come into power. But the Labour Party is timid: it does not want to find itself on the Treasury bench in all this chaos; it does not know what it would do if King George were to summon it to form a Government.

Of course, as King George's Government, it could do nothing for the workers: it would be more helpless than Lloyd George; for he gets the help of the capitalists, and the Labour Party could only get the same assistance on terms so stiff that the Labour lieutenants, to say nothing of the rank and file, would soon become restive.

If the Labour Party were really a party working class emancipation, it would walk out of the House of Commons, not to force an early election, but to set up the Soviets and repudiate the power of Westminster. It is large enough to do that if it desired, but it does not. The Labour Party will never do any such thing: Lloyd George and King George may have perfect confidence in Mr. Henderson and his Party. Did not Mr. Henderson express his fealty to the capitalist Empire Constitution in the debate on the Unionist Vote of Censure? Did he not insist that there must be "security for Great Britain"? Has not Mr. Lloyd George defined that as meaning that Ireland must remain within the British Empire?

Indeed, the established Order has nothing to fear from Mr. Henderson and his Party: nothing whatever.

Nevertheless, we want to see a Labour Government in office, not because we are under any illusions that our Right Wing Communist friends will capture the Labour Party: on the contrary, we know that if they are received into the Labour Party, they will either be swallowed up there, or come out of it sadder and wiser people. We are under no illusions about that bloc with the Labour Party, Comrade Paul; either it will not come off, or you will have to sucrender every ounce of your Communism.

We want to see a Labour Government because we want the workers to realise that it will do nothing for them; because, so long as the capitalists control production and hold the wealth of the country, every Government, whatever may be its name must obey the dictates of the capitalists.

Whilst we shall be pleased to see a Labour Government in office, we know that it will get there wi'hout our assistance in due time, and since the task of preparing the workers for the Soviets is not the spare-time play of a child, but the most gigantic effort that humanity has ever faced, we refuse to be deflected from that effort by the fugitive object of getting a Labour Government into office.

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