Co-operation and its History.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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SHALL SACCO AND VANZETTI DIE ON NOVEMBER 1st?

Innocent Men Face Execution.

On April 15th, 1920, a van belonging to a shoe factory of Braintree was assailed by two persons who, after having killed the driver and paymaster, succeeded in running away with 18,000 dollars.

The police did not manage to capture the two men; but, as public opinion in this society of ours must be satisfied, they found two scapegoats (this is a common occurrence in the United States) in the persons of two revolutionaries, Sacco and Vanzetti, notwithstanding that these two men at once cleared themselves by establishing an alibi, as, on the day of the crime, they were away from South Braintree and had credible witnesses to prove what they were doing and where they were. Nevertheless, the authorities insisted on placing them on trial, and although several witnesses called for the defence had proved the alibi, the jury found them guilty and they were sentenced to death on November 1st, 1921. The judge exhorted the jury to show "loyalty to Government," and to "seek courage in their deliberations, as did the American soldier boy as he fought and gave up his life on the battlefields of France." He said the accused showed "consciousness of guilt, either as murderers, or as slackers and Radicals."

Sacco and Vanzetti, on trial for their lives, testified to their political ideals, but denied any connection with the murder and protested against the charge. The public was much impressed when Sacco, before leaving the Court, turned towards the jury and pointing at them with his finger, shouted: "Cowards! you are murdering two innocent men!"

L'Opinione, an Italian paper published in Philadelphia, which, so far from being a Red paper, is actually a Conservative organ, says:—

"The free press, civilian and working-class organisations, Italians and Americans, men and women, raise their voices in defending Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the two Italian workers who, having been arrested on the charge of subversive propaganda, were tried on a charge of murder, of which they were innocent."

The prosecution did not even try to prove that Sacco and Vanzetti had killed with a view to robbery, but only alleged that, as Anarchists, they might have committed the crime they had been charged with by the police.

Another paper, the Minnesota *Daily Star* of Minneapolis, has an article on the front page by the editor himself, Herbert E. Gaston, with the heading, "*When They Will be Dead*," in which he says:—

"Probably Sacco and Vanzetti will be put on the electric chair for the murder of the two men belonging to the firm of Braintree. and when they are dead it will be of little importance to ascertain whether they have been guilty or not. As far as the two men, personally, are concerned, the question is settled. If they had been found innocent, they would be dead just the same as if they were found guilty. There has been a jury which has given a verdict on certain facts; but one must do all that is possible to have the two men re-tried, as, during the trial, many faults and mistakes of procedure were made. The jury did not give their verdict on sound proofs, but on the assumption that 'whoever is a rebel, does not go to church, or submit meekly to the exploitation of those belonging to the privileged classes, is, and must be, a murderer, and that if he has not yet murdered anybody, he will no doubt, one of these days kill somebody, and it is therefore better to put him out of the way.'"

The Labour and Socialist movements of both France and Italy are campaigning to save the lives of these two innocent comrades; but the British movement is not yet awake to their position. We all remember how narrowly Tom Mooney was saved from the electric chair, and that, in spite of the monster campaign carried on on his behalf, he is still retained in gaol.

Democratic America has certainly a terrible way with her political opponents, and American methods are all too apt to spread to this country. This is just one of those individual cases where the pressure of working-class opinion may take effect, as it has done partially in Tom Mooney's case.

Will the working-class organisations do for Sacco and Vanzetti what they did for Tom Mooney? These two comrades of our have wives and children who are suffering with them.

A Release Meeting

In response to the appeal of comrades, a Sacco and Vanzetti release meeting will be held at Osborn Street, Whitechapel. on Sunday week. October 23rd, at 3 p.m., and a march will be organised to the American Embassy.

LLOYD GEORGE'S GAME WITH LABOUR LEADERS.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

LABOUR LEADERS TO BE INDUCED TO RECOMMEND REDUCED WAGES IN ORDER TO RE-ESTABLISH FOREIGN TRADE : CLYNES GOES HALF-WAY TO MEET THE PREMIER : LABOUR PARTY BILL

Mr. Lloyd George's manœuvring with the Labour Party, his expressed desire for a committee of Labour leaders to confer with him, his statement that the Government cannot take full responsibility for solving the unemployed problem, and that workers and employers must co-operate with the Government; all amount to this: Mr. Lloyd George is trying to manœuvre the Labour leaders into a scheme for cutting down wages, on the plea that industries may thereby be continued which would otherwise have to shut down, because no profits could be made out of them if the Trade Union standard of wages were maintained.

Mr. Lloyd George wants to abolish Trade Unionism, as it has hitherto been known, and establish instead Wages Boards which will adapt wages in the employers' interests, so that he may compete successfully with foreign rivals and at the same time continue to make what Capitalism considers legitimate profits.

When, during the war, the workers showed signs of taking advantage of the labour scarcity to force up their wages, the Government rushed the Munitions Act on to the Statute Book to keep wages stationary. Mr. Lloyd George induced Official labour to join in the administration of the Munitions Act and to use all their power and influence to enforce it upon the workers. Will Mr. Lloyd George succeed in his present attempt to secure the aid of Trade Union officials in destroying Trade Unionism and thrusting the workers down into the lower depths of economic slavery and oppression?

It is only too probable that he will be at least partially successful.

The much-advertised observation of Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., to the King, the other day, that the re-establishment of Britain's foreign trade is the most essential step in dealing with the unemployed problem, shows that he has already gone at least half-way towards the Prime Minister's standpoint. Shades of Keir Hardie and the other pioneers who toiled and sacrifieced that the I.L.P. might be; what think ye of this successor of yours? Clynes came into politics through the I.L.P., and now, instead of urging some immediate assistance for the poor comrades out of work, he tells the Sovereign that the overseas business of the capitalists must be the nation's first concern.

The agreement by the Trade Union in the Cornish tin mines, that the workers shall accept any wages the employers can pay without making more than a certain loss, shows us what we may expect in other industries. The part which Clynes and his Union may be expected to play in Labour's struggle with capital is shown by the fact that his Union is joining in the effort to break up the united front of the workers in the South Wales coalfields, by endeavouring to capture sections of the membership of the Miners' Federation, and approaching the employers with a view to making agreements with them.

Lloyd George has asked the Labour Party to appoint representatives to confer with him. The Labour Party, standing a little on its dignity just now, has replied by agreeing to send representatives to explain to the Prime Minister its own unemployment proposals.

The Labour Party's programme may best be understood by a study of the Labour Party's own Unemployment Bill, introduced into the House of Commons on February 21st of this year. This Bill we shall be pleased to supply to any comrades who may have difficulty in obtaining it.

In our opinion, this measure is grossly inadequate, and is inspired by an absolute lack of working-class solidarity and sympathetic understanding. Needless to say, it is by no means revolutionary!

The Bill begins by placing all questions of unemployment under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Labour: its promoters are evidently misled

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by the foolish notion that a change of Government department may sugar the pill of humiliation which the unemployed are presently asked to swallow.

The first proposal for meeting the needs of the unemployed is the establishment of "Receiving houses and residential colonies for workless people."

Were this the proposal of a Tory Government, what an outcry would be raised! We ask the Labour Party why, because a poor man or woman is unemployed, he or she should be segregated in a special institution and separated from family and friends? That such separation is intended is clearly shown by the Bill; for it 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, and to such wife, or the person in charge of the child or children, such amount of assistance, under such conditions, as the Ministry of Labour may direct.*"

The Labour Party is content, it seems, to leave the dependents of the unemployed to the unregulated mercy of the Minister of Labour. The dependents are given no charter of right to which they may appeal against the hard-faced Government department.

The Bill makes no mention of any earnings by the unemployed whilst they are working in the colonies. Are they to be unpaid slaves?

The Bill proposes that the unemployed shall be free to leave such institution at will—naturally so; for people cannot yet be imprisoned for poverty—but economic need is often the strongest form of complsion, and if this is the only form of relief provided, the unfortunate may be left with no other alternative than to remain.

The Bill proposes to set up local unemployment authorities, composed of members of the local Borough or Urban District Councils, managers of Labour Exchanges, and representatives of employers and employed in equal numbers. There is no class-consciousness about that proposal; the Labour Party still defers to the privileges of Capital!

The Bill further provides that the Unemployment Insurance Act shall be amended to provide the following scale of unemployment benefits:—

25/- a week for persons over 18 years of age without dependents; £2 a week for persons over 18 years with one dependent, and 5/- a week for every additional dependent.

18/- a week for unemployed insured contributors under 18 years of age.

In the case of persons under 18 years, the Bill lays down: "No additional payment shall be made in respect of any dependents." The treatment of the unfortunate self-supporting boy or girl under eighteen, and of their dependents, if they have any, is callous in the extreme.

Benefit may be paid for six months, and afterwards for a further six months, if application is again made, and the authorities think fit to grant it—a doubtful question.

Persons who are not entitled to unemployment benefit under the 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 within three days provide work or such benefit as is given to insured persons!

How pettifogging! And what cruel delays! Why not have set up uniform treatment for all workers, instead of maintaining distinctions between those who happen to be insured and those who are not—a matter which is usually outside the individual's own control?

"Employment or maintenance," says this Labour Party Bill, "*shall not extend to any person who has refused employment under conditions which, in the opinion of the Council, upon the report of the manager or advisory committee of the Employment Exchange, are not lower, as regards wages or hours of labour, than those commonly obtaining for such employment within their area; or 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 undertake such work.*"

What extraordinary phraseology for Trade Unionists to employ! "Wages or hours of labour commonly obtaining." Surely the phrase "Trade Union conditions" might have been expected from such a source?

How terribly anti-proletarian is the spirit of this "Hard Face" Bill!

If a capitalist Government put it into operation, terrible days are before the unemployed; the prison-like unemployed colony will await them, whilst their families starve "under such conditions as the Minister of Labour may direct."

We do not think the Labour Party can really have thought the matter out.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN.

A tragic and cruel spectacle: Prisoner Jennie Mackay, taken by a wardress to visit her dying father in hospital; the old man, distressed by the constant presence of the stranger; the daughter forced away from her father before his end came.

To those who have not been in prison and have not endured political persecution by our ruling classes, it seems scarcely credible that such an unnecessary piece of cruelty should have been perpetrated; for Mrs. Mackay is not a criminal, but a political reformer; she is not liable to run away, the authorities could seize her again at any moment if they set her free on parole.

Finally, after all that had been her father was no more, the Home Secretary released her to follow his cold clay to the grave.

Oh, feeble conventionalist, by whom an empty ceremony is more respected than the affection and suffering of living creatures!

More callously still, the same poltroon in office dealt with a Communist prisoner, Colonel Malone, who was not released to go to his dying mother, only to her funeral.

The ordinary prisoners, the prisoners of poverty, who have no influence behind them, are made to serve their sentences, be they short or long, with no hope of parole, whatever may be the fate of their families outside.

CO-OPERATION—*Continued from page 6.*

In the Belgian societies, a large part of the profit is devoted to education. Moreover, the movement exercises considerable influence over the lives of its members, by newspapers, meetings, conferences, excursions to Socialist centres in other countries. It carries on an anti-alcoholic propaganda. The Belgian Co-operative Stores do not sell alcoholic liquor.

The large Socialist Co-operative Society called the *Vooruit* in Ghent, distributes dividends of 30 per cent., but only in the form of dockets which may be exchanged for goods at the Co-operatives. From its surplus it supplies:—

(1) Free bread in the case of illness or unemployment equal to the members regular weekly purchase up to a maximum of six loaves.

(2) Free medical advice and medicines in the case of illness during six months.

(3) Superannuation pension at 60 years after 20 years' membership, the exclusive purchase of bread and, at least, £120 worth of goods at the stores during the 20 years.

(4) 10 loaves and cakes and groceries free at every birth.

(5) 7s. 6d. to the nearest relative in case of death.

(6) Savings bank giving 4 per cent. on deposits.

(7) Technical instruction subsidies to musical societies, theatres, gymnasiums, travelling, etc.

In France, the Co-perative Federation has established an education committee and "groups of pupils." Some societies have established libraries, halls theatres, conference rooms, consultation rooms, dispensaries and gymnasiums. Both in Belgium and France these are housed in fine buildings called the *Maisons du Peuple*. Italian Co-operatives have established similar institutions. Belgian French, and Italian Co-operatives make subsidies to the Socialist Party.

In Spain the Co-operatives have established children's schools, owing to the deficiency of secular education.

Some Co-operative Societies refuse women members; some, though allowing them membership, exclude them from management committees. The Delft Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance passed a resolution against such exclusion.

Co-operation (if not a "milch cow" and money-making apparatus for the Socialist movement and a definite auxilliary of that movement), is merely a method by which the better-to-do sections of the working class seek to palliate the capitalist system, as it affects them as consumers, and to secure some of its advantages for themselves.

The question which mainly interests the revolutionary in connection with the Co-operatives, is whether their machinery can be used to assist the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle?

The present indications are that the British Co-operative movement would oppose the proletarian Revolution.

PROTESTS.

FEDERATION OF YOUNG COMMUNISTS OF ITALY.

Casa del Popolo,
Rome, 3.9.1921.

Dear Comrade,—The last meeting of our Executive Committee has voted unanimously the following resolution:—

"The Executive Committee of the Federation of Young Communists of Italy learns with great regret of the expulsion of Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst from the Communist Party of Great Britain."

We predict that at the forthcoming Congress of the British Communist Party and of the International she will be re-admitted to the ranks in which she has fought so valiantly.

Communicate to the expelled Comrade our complete solidarity.

With Communist greetings for the Executive Committee,

S. BERTI.

Sir,—I am instructed by my Branch to ask you to publish in your ever-battling *Workers' Dreadnought* the following Branch resolution dated 21st September, 1921:—

"That we, the members of Portsmouth Branch C.P.G.B., deeply regret the decision of the E.C. in expelling Miss Pankhurst. In that she has always been a steadfast supporter of Communism, we fear that this action is not in the best interests of the Party."

We ask you to publish the above as the E.C. are ignoring the resolution.

Fraternal greetings,

A. TEINSON (*Acting Sec.*).

5, St. Vincent Road, Southsea.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

Comrade MacGilveray writes that during a demonstration of unemployed outside the Guardians' Offices a deputation interviewed the Board and protested against the payments of £350,000,000 interest on the National Debt, eighty per cent. of which is paid to British investors. It was claimed that, since wages have gone down, the interest on war loan should also be stopped in this time of unemployment and hardship. Members of the Board had preached equality of sacrifice during the war, and the Chairman, Rev. Morgan, had held forward to this effect from the top of a tank. The deputation challenged the Board to advocate the stoppage of National Debt interest, and specially invited the Chairman to address an open air meeting.

Of course the Board and its Chairman refused.

Comrade MacGilveray has challenged the *Daily Herald* to adopt the stop the interest cry, but his letters on the subject have received no response.

B.L.B. writes: "I am delighted to see that you are making another effort to continue the publication of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, and I wish you every success. I only regret that I am not in a position to finance it for you.

"I congratulate you on your independent attitude with regard to the Communist Party. I am sure you will do far more good as an independent Communist. I did not join the Communist Party because they have only a bourgeois ideal of democratic rule. . . .

"In conclusion I should like to recommend every man and woman, whether workers or non-workers, in the British Isles, sedulously and religiously, for their own interests, to read the *Workers' Dreadnought*, as the one and only paper which is prepared to speak the truth and shame the devil."

A.W.M. writes: "I am pleased that the *Dreadnought* is alive. You, like myself, are expelled for the freedom of thought and action; that is the progressive spirit which counts for the evolution of society. Some Comrades here have collected 19s. to assist you in the fight."

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

(*Continued from last week*).

Mrs. Rose, Frank Penman's landlady, was a Conservative; her election colour was blue and never red. She gave her reasoin with a frankness never shown by politicians. She was a Conservative because Conservative Governments stimulate trade in riding breechs, at which she and her husband earned their living. According to the testimony of Mrs. Rose, the "Upper Ten" go out of London for a much longer period each year when the Conservatives are not in office, and the business of making and repairing riding breeches suffers in consequence.

Mrs. Rose had no illusions about the "Upper Ten"; her husband, who often visited them at home, to fit on their riding breeches, had told her some pretty stories about them. Moreover, she was a reader of *Reynold's Newspaper* and a student of his "Diary of John Jeames" and his "Secret History of To-Day." She was always well versed in the reports of the Divorce Court, to which she could add a few more intimate details, culled by Mr. Rose in his attendances at the houses of the great.

Mrs. Rose had a daughter, Daisy, who had inherited her mother's clear-cut, but rather wonderous features and strongly-marked eyebrows, but instead of the mother's swarthy complexion, she had the pink and white skin and flaxen hair of her rather insipid father, and her eyes, large and wide open as her mother's, were a clear and limpid blue. She looked as though she had walked off the Vaudeville stage, an appearance which was heightened by the large black hats, the earrings, necklaces and bracelets, and the flimsy short-skirted muslin frocks her mother bought for her.

"Daisy is my soul," Mrs. Rose told Frank Penman, assuring him that her nightly prayer was that Daisy might be "good," and be safely married to some honest and steady workman.

Mrs. Rose had neither sympathy nor respect for the aristocracy; far from it; she was convinced they were a fast lot; but the business of riding breeches being improved by Conservative Governments, to Conservative Governments she would adhere.

Moreover, she averred that Socialism had been tried in London and found wanting; she could not remember exactly where; she knew it was in the East End; it might have been West Ham, or it might have been Poplar; but she knew that John Burns had found it out, and the papers said that he was an honest man. She was not so sure about that, because a friend of hers had told her she had been seen coming out of Coutts's Bank, and she had heard they wouldn't cash a cheque there for less than a hundred pounds. What could a working man like John Burns be doing with a banking account in a bank like that if he were an honest man? It would take a good deal of explaining, in her opinion.

But whoever found it out did not matter; there was no doubt that Socialism had turned out a failure, because no one had been any the better for it; it would have spread all over London, if it had been any good, once it had been tried; more than that, the Socialists had proved themselves as bad as anybody; John Burns had sent a lot of them to prison: she could not remember their names, only Mrs. Cordery; she remembered her because her name was almost like "corduroy." It was said they took baths and even had tea kettles and all sorts of things bought and sent home to them, out of the rates! It was scandalous! If that was Socialism, she didn't think much of it.

At this point, Frank Penman would manage to break in and assure her that it was not, and sometimes he would manage to interrupt her flow long enough to tell her a little about Socialism, as far as he understood it. Then Mrs. Rose would be moist-eyed and respectful, and afterwards she would buy some little gift for Penman's tea, referring to Mr. Rose that Mr. Penman was a gentleman, and one of the best.

The redemption of the Socialists occurred in the eyes of Mrs. Rose, when the Poplar Councillors went to prison; for she understood they had gone to prison to bring down the Rates, and the Rates, even in Chelsea, were fabulously high, in her opinion. Moreover, they had gone to prison in support of the unemployed, of whom Mrs. Rose was a champion. Her own brother was one of them, and had given up a good situation to go to the war.

One evening, Mrs. Rose came to Frank Penman's room with an important and mysterious air, and after apologies for disturbance, told him that a friend of hers had arrived from Poplar, and that she would like him to hear what the visitor had to say.

Mrs. Rose's parlour was very crowded: her parents were second-hand furniture dealers, and they had been generous with her. The lustre vases upon the chimney piece were large enough for a mansion, and the long lace curtains at the window were looped up with chains that might have held lions in check. Some of the fancy chairs must be treated with circumspection, but Frank Penman observed this and carefully chose his position.

The visitor was a thin little woman with beady black eyes. At first sight of her, Penman thought of the Paris *citoyennes*, as Carlyle describes them, knitting the names of traitors to be guillotined, or marching, valiant and clamorous, to Versailles.

There was something wild about the woman that was disconcerting. She was a termagant of long standing. Mrs. Rose had originally met her in the Suffragette movement, which had swept her into its fringes, like the mass of women.

Mrs. Rose introduced the stranger as Mrs. Mander, and the lateer broke easily into her story.

There had been a monster procession of the unemployed from the East End to the London County Council offices in Spring Gardens, and she had joined it with her friend, Mrs. Barker. They had heard that there was to be a women's deputation to the L.C.C., and Mrs. Barker had told Mrs. Mander that they ought to go with it; but when they spoke of it to Mrs. Flower, who was in charge of the arrangements, she did not give them any encouragement. On the contrary, she looked very forbidding, and said, severely: "We have given our word to be very quiet and not make any disturbance; for we never get anything by that."

"Oh, indeed!" replied Mrs. Barker. "I don't think we ever get anything without it!" a statement in which Mrs. Mander fully concurred.

When the women of the deputation left the marchers to finish the journey by train, in order that they might collect themselves a little and make sure of being in good time for their important mission, Mrs. Barker and Mrs. Mander went along with them. In the train there was for a time a great deal of whispering and nodding of heads amongst the rest of the party. Then Mrs. Flower spoke up and said that the deputation was for Councillors' wives only, and that the two intruders could not accompany it.

"There is a public gallery," answered Mrs. Barker, and meanwhile, she and Mrs. Mander stuck like wax to the deputation.

Nearing Spring Gardens, the women caught sight of the tall, thin figure of Mr. Potter, who was to introduce them, striding along in front in what seemed a most tremendous hurry.

Evidently they were late! What a misfortune! They all set off, running as fast as their unaccustomed legs would carry them, for they were not given to athletics, but to a slow and careful progress in their shopping excursions through the markets of Crisp Street and the Roman Road. Some of them had become a trifle stout, and the difficulties of their present sprint were in no wise eased thereby. Their hats bobbed up and down as they ran, in spite of all their hatpins; what stupid, uncomfortable things are the hats of women! Their hair became a little dishevelled. The weather was hot, too hot for such a gallop.

At last they caught Mr. Potter; was it an instinct that had made them run? He seemed surprised to see them; perhaps he had forgotten that they were coming. He told them there was a side entrance and that they could get into the Public Gallery that way. No word of their deputation: they hesitated to remind him.

So up they went to the Public Gallery. Mrs. Barker and Mrs. Mander as freely as they, and they, the Councillors' wives, treated with no more respect or importance than the two intruders.

The women took their seats in the Public Gallery; but presently someone came and ushered the Mayor's wife and another woman out of the Gallery, and, in a few moments, the Councillors' wives saw their companions seated on the floor of the Chamber below.

"Why are they allowed to be down there, and you left up here? Are they any better than you?" Mrs. Barker asked them, and several voices clamoured: "No, indeed, they are not!"

Then there arose an uproar; loud voices shouted to the the Mayoress and her companion: "You come up here to us! What are you doing down there? You are no better than us! Come up here!"

And finally the truants were obliged to return to the flock, for very shame, lest the London County Councillors should come into the Chamber and hear.

At last the business of the Council began, and soon there was Mr. Gosling on his feet, moving an unemployment resolution. It was a mild resolution; he said so, and if he said so, you might be absolutely sure and certain that it was; for Mr. Gosling was a timid man, and Mrs. Mander, for her part, could only describe him as a "Labour fakir." Indeed, the resolution was so very mild indeed, not to say vague, inadequate and wholly unsatisfactory, that Hume, the leader of the Moderates, hastened to support it.

Mr. Potter is very fond of saying: "Hard words butter no parsnips"; but, as Mrs. Barker emphatically observed to Mrs. Mander, there was a bit too much of the happy family party about the L.C.C.

Mr. Gosling went on to say that "we," by "we" he meant himself and the other Labour fakirs, "were quietly holding the people back.

Holding the people back! Mrs. Mander was indignant: holding them back, when, as she said, the teaching they stand in need of, is to develop the "guts to get out and fight for their rights."

"Many of us," said Mr. Gosling,—and Mrs. Mander mimicked his mild, benignant manner, in spite of her anger. "Many of us still have the confidence of the working people in our representative capacity, but it has become an awful job to hold them."

"More shame to him to trade on their confidence, the poor fools!" Mrs. Mander whispered to Mrs. Barker.

"I'd like to answer him," said Mrs. Barker; "but I must save myself up for the Councillors' resolution."

At last Mr. Potter moved the Councillors' resolution; all the wives strained their ears eagerly to hear it: "The Council would welcome the speedy release . . . ."

But there was Mr. Hume, the Moderate leader, jumping up again; was he going to support the resolution. No, he was asking for it to be postponed for a week. And Harry Gosling, what a compromiser, was asking for the resolution to be modified, in order that it might receive general assent: "To have the motion defeated would be disastrous."

Poor Mr. Gosling; he was afraid if that should happen, he might not be able to hold the people down!

Mrs. Barker burst out at that: "Postpone it for a week? We want the Councillors out of prison NOW! Torturing men and women in prison for a week longer!"

She could not say any more, for the Councillors' wives had dragged her down and were holding their hands over her mouth. Mrs. Mander was indignant; she wanted to push them off, but they were too many for her. Mrs. Barker was also indignant, and her eyes flashed fire.

But somehow or other Mrs. Barker's intervention seemed to have had a remarkable effect; for Mr. Hume now changed his proposal and

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GOVERNMENT BABY KILLERS

Babies' Milk to be cut down by 85 per cent.

"A bottle of milk is better than a bottle of medicine." That was a wide-flung cry, which thrilled many a sensible woman, some six or seven years ago. It caused many a woman to realise that millions of children were being slowly starved to death in a land of plenty, and to understand the futility and hypocrisy of opening infant clinics for "preventive medicine," amongst mothers whose great and ever-pressing trouble was sheer inability to provide the nourishment needed to keep themselves and their infants in even indifferent health.

Thousands of sensible, kind-hearted women strove to secure that at least no babies should die for lack of milk. They were joined in their agitation by craze-mongers, who declared that Britain must rear up strong soldiers for her Army and Navy. Thus, on the wave of patriotism that the Government stimulated in order to popularise the war, free milk for babies of needy mothers swept into acceptance.

But these are the days of the Iron Heel, and the Ministry of Health now announces that local authorities, this year, may not spend more on babies' milk than 15 per cent of the sum they expended in 1920-21. They will be surcharged if they fail to comply with this order.

The decision means death to innumerable babies. Their mothers will weep the bitter unheeded tears of the poor and powerless. The kind-hearted people who worked for the establishment of free milk for babies and nursing mothers will grieve and agitate. The craze-mongers will say that the milk must be cut off in the interests of "National Economy," to teach thrift to extravagant poor women, and to force lazy and grasping workmen to abandon their claim to Trade Union wages, and find work wherever they can obtain it, at any price.

Reforms under Capitalism have no security of tenure.

Onward to the Social Revolution!

A DEATH BLOW TO TRADE UNIONISM

Union promises to accept whatever Employers' can pay.

Cornish Poverty and Wealth.

The Cornishman says:—

"The Workers' Union will put no obstacles in the way of men resuming work at South Crofty at such wages as the mine can offer without making a loss of more than £500 a month. With tin £20 a ton higher than at present, Mr. Josiah Paull hopes to restart Crofty."

Such an agreement is a death blow to Trade Unionism in the industry concerned, and it is a dangerous precedent that may spread from industry to industry.

It is notorious that the Cornish tin mines are in difficulties, and that their present owners, owing to natural conditions, do not find it at present profitable to work them; but in how many industries may that not also be the case to-morrow? Are the workers in all the industries which are temporarily or permanently unprofitable to take whatever the employers may choose to give, abandoning altogether the attempt to secure a living wage and the advantages of collective bargaining and pressure which their Unions are supposed to secure to them?

Surely it is obviously not the duty of the Trade Union to help the employers out of their scrape? It is interesting to notice, as we have already pointed out to our readers, that Herr Stinnes, the well-known German capitalist, is expected to buy the Cornish mine dumps, because he believes he can make money out of them, though their present owners fail.

It is also important to observe that this very Herr Stinnes is the same with whom the German majority Social Democrats (the German equivalent of our Labour Party) wish to enter into a Coalition Government. A mining concern, controlled by the same Herr Stinnes, is now being prosecuted by the Essen Court for paying to prisoners of war wages lower than those stipulated by an agreement between the Government and the Company.

Herr Stinnes, when he takes over Cornish tin dumps, will certainly be glad to take advantage of any agreements for the payment of low wages entered into by the Trade Unions and the employers in Cornwall.

The Trade Union Congress has passed many a resolution for the nationalisation of industry, and especially of mines; were the Trade Union leaders consistent, their minds would have turned in this direction for the solution of the Cornish problem, rather than in that of making the workers accept any wage the employers may say they can afford to pay.

Communist propaganda should find a fruitful field in Cornwall. Side by side with starvation, which workers are enduring, because certain mines do not at present pay (since certain lengthy works must be accomplished before they can again be made fruitful to the capitalist), great fields of wealth are being discovered in other directions. Radium is being found in Cornwall, and a company called Radium Mining Ores, Limited, which owns the Tolgarrick mine, has already glowing prospects of wealth.

In a valley between St. Stephen's Church Tower and Truro, the pitchblende ores, from which radium is extracted, have been tested and proved to a depth of 240 feet. Thousands of gallons of radio-active waters are also existing there, and are said to be responsible for the luxuriant and tropical vegetation to be found in the valley. It is said that the place will be converted into a prosperous Spa, where searchers for health will bathe in large reservoirs, under cover or in the open or in single baths, night or day. This second source of wealth will be added to that of extracting the radium itself, which is worth £700,000 an ounce.

BLACK FRIDAY AGAIN.

In his little pamphlet, the "Lesson of Black Friday,"* Gerald Gould solemnly distributes a liberal coat of whitewash on everyone concerned in the debacle. Hodges was not to blame, the M.F.G.B. was not to blame, Thomas was not to blame, nor the N.U.R., nor the Triple Alliance, nor even the rank and file; they, none of them, could help it: it was all the fault of that tiresome old machinery which no one seems to be able to put right, though people have worked at the business, and very hard, Mr. Gould assures us of that:—

"No criticism is implied of individuals. Each particular person engaged upon, or concerned with, the fashioning of a general staff had certainly worked very hard at the problem."

But Mr. Gould makes mistakes: he is such a happy, hopeful, conciliatory, blundering superficial blindman, that he cannot see the trees before his nose, or feel the solid earth under his feet. So he says:—

"It is generally recognised that victory of a very far-reaching kind was actually within the grip of the Labour Movement on April 15th, 1921."

And again:—

"Had the Triple Alliance persisted in its intention to strike, it would have won without even the necessity of striking."

Do you think so, Mr. Gould? We do not, and we think that this sort of argument is highly obnoxious: so far as it is accepted it helps to retain the workers in a fool's paradise in which they believe that they can get all they want by threats and without any sacrifice. That sort of argument, so far as it is accepted, leads the workers to embark on a fight without weighing its consequences, and without mustering the determination to continue it to the bitter end, however harsh it may be. J. R. Clynes and J. H. Thomas, much as we are opposed to them, judge the situation more truly than Mr. Gould; for they realise that a coal strike backed by by the Triple Alliance means inevitably an open conflict with the Government as well as with tremendous capitalist interests, and that neither the Government nor the capitalist interests is prepared to encourage the idea of the sympathetic strike and the general strike by allowing the workers to win an easy victory by such a threat at this time.

Moreover, Mr. Gould fails to realise that the cutting down of the miners' wage, the cheapening of coal production at the workers' expense, which was the main issue of the great coal lock-out, was an essential point in the present general concerted policy of British capitalism. Even had the mine owners given way without struggle on or before April 15th, 1921, or had they bowed to the force of the Triple Alliance after the strike was declared, the mineowners would certainly have attempted to reduce wages very shortly afterwards; the attack on wages which capitalism is making in all industries would not long have left miners' wages untouched. The reduction, either for the miners, or for the whole of British industry could not have been prevented, except as the result of a terrific struggle, in which the resources on both sides would have been strained to the utmost, and in which the Government must have fallen had the miners won.

Mr. Gould is quite innocent of understanding of the capitalist point of view; he knows as little about the views of the Labour Leaders. That is why he continues to talk as though the reason there was no Triple Alliance strike on Black Friday, and why we have had no general strike on other occasions when it has been mooted was merely a question of not having the machinery. He refuses to admit, because he likes the easy way, and does not like to apportion blame, or admit a difference of opinion with Labours' Leaders, that the refusal to strike was not "a question of Trade Union structure," but a question of will and determination. Clynes, Thomas, Hodges, Henderson, Brace, and their like, are not fools, not political innocents like Gerald Gould; they know exactly where they are going; that is as far as they can get away from the general strike. Gerald Gould makes similar mistakes in dealing with the Council of Action. He says that solidarity with the miners was not shown, because "the machinery was so scrappy," but he adds that such difficulties can be overridden, because—

"the Council of Action definitely overrode, not merely precedent, but actual Trade Union organisation. The Executives of Unions did actually take power to call out their members even though by the constitution of their unions they had no such power, and they did actually delegate to a central body, constituted ad hoc, the power to levy funds from the whole Trade Union Movement, and to use those funds for the purpose of calling out any section at any time . . .

"The result was success: the Russian war was stopped."

Oh, Mr. Gould, Mr. Gould, is this really, truly your opinion? Are you quite so ignorant, quite so blind?

When did the Triple Alliance do these things you speak of? Where was the strike; where was the levy of funds you write of? When was the Russian war stopped?

The capitalist war on Soviet Russia has never ceased; it has gone on in one form or the other all the time, and it has so far succeeded, tragically succeeded, that Soviet Russia is speeding now further and further away from Communism.

It was rumoured in the days when the Council of Action was set up that British capitalism was about to fight Soviet Russia in the open way, by the method of invasion that British capitalism had tried before—unhindered by British Labour—and had abandoned as too costly and ineffective. The indirect methods by which British capitalism has fought Soviet Russia from her birth, have continued unmodified in the least degree by the inactive Council of Action.

But to return to the main argument of the pamphlet: its author admits that if the miners had won the mineowners would have renewed the fight very soon. He further postulates that if, as the mine owners contend, their profits would have been abolished had the miners won the lock-out, and had the other sections of workers also successfully resisted the cutting of their wages, that would have meant "automatically":—

"the retirement of the capitalists from industry, the taking over of all the main industries by the State, or by the workers in the individual industries, or, more probably and desirably, by the State and the workers in the industries conjointly.

"This would have been revolution in the economic sense. It would have been perfectly peaceful, legal and constitutional. It would have involved no action whatever on the part of the workers except their legally admitted right to strike for a living wage."

Mr. Gould evidently never heard of the Emergency Powers Act and D.O.R.A., both of which were designed to prevent the legal carrying out of just such strikes as this, strikes affecting essential services and capable of paralysing the general activities of the community. Mr. Gould perhaps never heard of Winston Churchill's scheme for blockading Wales in the case of a coal strike which appeared in the *Daily Herald*, and the blacklegging by motor service, etc., which the Government carried on in the last railway strike. Moreover, Mr. Gould appears to forget the statements issued by the Government at the time of the lock-out, and the preparations made in case of a paralysing strike.

The Government has so clearly shown on so many occasions that it will use all the military, naval, police, financial, and other resources of the Government to prevent the overthrow of capitalism, that few people will be found to agree with the pleasant futilities of Mr. Gould.

* "The Lesson of Black Friday." By Gerald Gould. The Labour Publishing Company, 6, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1s. Can be obtained at *Workers' Dreadnought* Office.

THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The beginning of the antagonism between the Soviet Government and the Russian Proletariat

This antagonism became first of all noticeable in a theoretical aspect at the beginning of last year. It was the *question of the Russian Trade Unions* that illumined suddenly the contradictions in the conceptions within the Russian Communist Party, and led to the sharpest debates, in the course of which, for instance, Bukharin was called a Syndicalist by Lenin. Nearly a dozen tendencies showed themselves then, of which three soon became distinctly conspicuous.

The Trade Unions were, owing to the manner of the management and administration of production (by specialists and functionaries of the Party) condemned to inactivity, and thus brought to a standstill. Their membership, that in March 1917 had scarcely reached 1,500, has, nevertheless, risen to millions.

What was to be done with these organisations? Their former and original object, the fight against the employers, for better wages and working conditions, appeared definitely realised, owing to the abolition of the employers through the Revolution. The dissolution of these organisations, consisting of millions of the proletariat, was unanimously refused.

Schlapnikov was of opinion that the entire administration of industry should be taken from the Party and transferred to the Trade Unions, in order to instill new strength into them. With him and his platform stood a huge majority of the members of the Trade Unions (the so-called "workers' opposition"). Trotsky, however, as the representative of the "militarist" principle, declared in his Theses that the conduct of production must remain under the strictest censorship of the Party. He found, for this view, only a *very small number of adherents* in the Trade Unions.

Lenin, always the man of the diagonal direction, the politician of the happy medium, proposed in his resolution, for the present, not to interfere with the relationship between the Soviet Government, the Party, and the Trade Unions; at the most, to let the Trade Unions, to a limited extent, take part in the administration of production through delegations of members of their Central Committee to the Central Committees of the Commissariats of Production. But otherwise the Trade Unions were to be regarded as "Schools of Communism," in which the members of the Party had to convert the rest of the proletariat to Communism. Lenin's view, too, was only approved of by *a small percentage of the members of the Trade Unions.*

What movement found expression in the overwhelming assent that Schlapnikov's resolution found amongst the proletariat? It was more than the mere desire to choose for itself the management of the branches of industry; it was the urgent, clamouring demand of the Russian proletariat for independence; for freedom from the tutelage of individuals; it was the awakening of a self-consciousness that had, within the last few years, seen an astonishing development.

More open and critical became the differences between the Soviet Government and the proletariat, when, in February, *a few thousand Moscow proletarians demonstrated* for an increase in the rations of food supply, and, in Petrograd, the dissatisfaction of the masses grew, and the *insurrection of Kronstadt* broke out.

The circumstances that led up to the Kronstadt insurrection can be traced back several months, and had their origin in conflicts of Trotsky with the sailors, who would no longer bear the "dictatorship from above," and demanded greater powers for themselves; whereupon Trotsky stopped their supply of garments.

The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Government. The "Relief Action for Soviet Russia."

The foreign policy of every State is determined by its internal policy. The Soviet Government, too, found itself compelled to shape its foreign policy according to the internal conditions of Russia.

The desires and interests of the peasants in their capacity as capitalist owners of private property, were gradually, more and more, directing the course of the Soviet Government in foreign policy also. The foreign policy consequently took a definite character, which, while abandoning at the same time the armed right against foreign capital, was also to result in the tendency of a "*compromise*" with this antagonist.

This happened first of all through the so-called *concession policy;* the granting of parcels of land in the Soviet Republic to foreign capitalists, for the purpose of exploiting the treasures of the soil; secondly, through the so-called *commercial policy*, the resumption of commercial relations with the Capitalist States, and partial resumption of diplomatic relations; and, thirdly, through the extraordinarily close alliance of the Soviet Government with the so-called "*nations*" of the Near, and Far East.

The *foreign policy* practised to-day by the Soviet Government, began already with the recognition of the peace of Brest-Litovsk, a question of dispute regarding which there existed already at the time, different views in the Communist Party of Russia.

The wars of the Soviet power in the latter years are, in their nature, similar to the wars of the revolution of the bourgeois-revolutionary France at the end of the 18th century. The "object of war" of the Soviet power was already then, although the real fighting formations consisted of proletarians, mainly the protecting of the peasant-capitalist; the landed property of the peasants against the attempts at the restoration of the large landed property to the feudal aristocracy.

In the course of the last few months, the *foreign policy of the Soviet Government has entered a quite new, decisive stage.* Soviet Russia has been attackd by a disastrous *natural catastrophe.* A dryness of many months has, in a number of districts by the Volga, the Don, in the North of the Caucasus and in the Ukraine, destroyed nearly the whole harvest.

The Soviet Government has asked the whole world for succour. With a surprising promptitude, the capitalist class has responded to this call and has declared itself ready for a "non-political" support of Soviet Russia.

In Russia itself the Kerensky ministers have been discharged from prison, and work hand in hand with the Soviet Government. One of them, and with a former president of the Duma, has gone abroad in order to fetch "relief."

Briand negotiates in Paris with Kerensky. America grabs with both hands. In Germany a "Relief Committee" is being formed consisting of the best-known industrialists, bankers, and University professors.

In England a Provisional Commission, appointed by the House of Commons, has issued an appeal to the British nation. *The Times* calls, in a leading article, for urgent relief on an international basis, excluding any political motives.

The Supreme Council has resolved to appoint a Commission for the "relief of starving Russia" that is to consist of three members from each country represented on the Supreme Council. But that Commission is to form only the nucleus of a great International Commission that is to examine the supply to Russia to its entire extent. In this Commission there are to be representatives of the neutral countries as well as of philanthropic societies, of the "Red Cross" and of the Entente Powers

The call for succour by the Soviet Government to the whole world has illumined the situation like a searchlight. The Soviet Government surrenders its country, its revolution, and its proletariat to the International bourgeoisie, which with the rapidity of a mobilisation, obeys the call. The prospect of large, unlimited profits has set them all in motion.

No man can put back the progress of time and obscure the fact that we have to state and give expression to, without the least sentimentality, namely: The proletarian Russia of the Red October begins to become a bourgeois State.

This is the great catastrophe which at present threatens Soviet Russia. Now it is necessary to keep a clear head. Now it is necessary, openly, before the whole proletariat, to tell how matters really stand. Every attempt at deception, every inclination to hush up facts and their inevitable consequences is a fraud and a crime against the proletarian revolution.

The Fundamental Character of the Russian Revolution.

What now happens in Russia is, in its essence, a bourgeois revolution. And Communists carry it through.

The Bolsheviki have done their utmost, but their attempt to jump from Feudalism into Socialism failed, owing to the historically prevailing conditions in Russia. Let us consider the *watchword with which the Bolsheviki came to power*: "Immediate peace, self-determination of the nations." The second watchword: "All power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils" found an echo among the masses, because they recognised that all the power would have to pass into their hands in order to carry the first watchword into effect. But this first watchword had, from the standpoint of proletarian foreign policy (the changing of the Imperialist war into a proletarian, after the proletariat has seized power) completely a bourgeois-pacifist meaning.

(*To be Continued*)

FRANK PENMAN.—*Continued from page 3.*

asked for the resolution to be postponed only till the end of the meeting. He went out with Mr. Gosling and Mr. Potter, and when they came back, it was with the following emasculated proposal, which Mrs. Mander described as the meanest she had ever heard:

"That this Council would welcome a conference between the Ministry of Health and the Poplar Borough Council, with the object of overcoming the existing difficulties, and would further welcome any action by the Poplar Borough Council which would enable them freely to participate in such conference."

"I don't know what you think of it," said Mrs. Mander; "but, in my opinion, it means that our Councillors are asked to climb down."

The meeting was over, and when the women got outside, Mrs. Mander asked, as she admitted, a little sarcastically: "Where is the deputation?" No one answered. There was an unpleasant pause. All the women looked at Mrs. Barker, and Mrs. Barker returned their glances with defiance. Then the Mayoress made the amende honourable: "You seemed to cut in just at the right moment," she said. The others also murmured a belated approval.

"I promised the Councillors that I would do what little I could to get them out of prison," said Mrs. Barker, "and nobody shall stop me!"

The Labour members of the L.C.C. now appeared in the doorway. As they stopped to make their salutations, Mrs. Barker accosted them:

"You ought to have stuck to your guns: you would have done better work to let the resolution be defeated! You don't know how to fight!"

"And in my opinion Mrs. Barker was right" said Mrs. Mander, a dictum with which both Mrs. Rose and Frank Penman were disposed to agree.

"But weren't there any women on the Council to speak up for them?" asked Mrs. Rose. "I thought there were women members."

"So there are," Mrs. Mander assured her; "but not one of them opened her mouth on the subject, though one of them was an old Suffragette, who used to come down to us in Poplar, talking about sweated women and all that, when she was trying for the vote."

"Well I never!" said Mrs. Rose; "but what sort of women are they?"

"Shimmering satin!" said Mrs. Mander, impressively, with a downward sweep of her hands: "shimmering satin; chiffons and diamonds." She indicated an imaginary row of the latter about her neck. Then she rose to her feet with a slow, deliberate majesty, paused, and in high-pitched, mincing tones uttered: "I second the resolution." After a solemn pause, she again resumed her seat.

CO-OPERATION: ITS GROWTH AND IDEOLOGY.

Fisher Unwin has just published a work by Professor Charles Gide, a well-known French Co-operator, entitled "Consumers' Co-operative Societies,"* which has been translated from the French by Mr. Diarmid Coffey, Librarian, and Miss F. E. Marks, Assistant Librarian, the Staff of the Co-operative Reference Library in Dublin.

The publication is due to an arrangement between the Co-operative Union, the Labour Research Department, and the Co-operative Reference Library.

Professor Gide traces the international development of the Co-operative movement from the first experiment of the Rochdale pioneers, who, as he shows, were not the original pioneers, but one of the first to make the Co-operative movement successful. He records that whilst the Rochdale Society was registered on October 24, 1844, and opened its first store, "a mean little shop in Toad Lane" the following December with a capital of £28, many consumers' Co-operatives are known to have existed during the 18th century. Mr. Maxwell, in his "History of Co-operation in Scotland," claims priority for a little society existing in the village of Fenwick in Ayrshire, in 1769. The Sheerness Co-operative Society, which dates from 1816, is one of those still existing Co-operatives which are older than that of Rochdale. Even the famous manifesto of the Rochdale "Fathers of Co-operatiion" seems probably to have an earlier origin, for, as Professor Gide notes, Mrs. Sidney Webb contends that this programme had already been formulated by Brighton Co-operators in 1827.

The twenty-eight weavers who formed the Society of the Equitable Pioneers in Rochdale were some of them disciples of Robert Owen, that is to say, Socialists or Socialistic, others, Chartists.

As Gide admits:—

"Owen being pre-occupied in realising complete co-operation in his 'towns of harmony' under the form of Communism—more particularly that of community of land—was always somewhat disdainful of co-operative stores; any effort towards the partial realisation of co-operation in the guise of a shop he regarded as being more likely to discredit his system than to herald his approach."

Co-operators' Viewpoint.

Gide and his school, however, contend that Co-operation is sufficient to realise the regeneration of society, in a form which they term Socialism, and he even uses the term "revolutionary" in connection with Co-operation. How curiously halting are his ideas of social change may be gathered from his timid discussion of the part in management of the enterprise which may be conceded to the workers therein: he decides that the workers may be permitted to belong to the society if they are shareholders, like others, and even be eligible for election to the committee of management. Nevertheless, he declares there are strong arguments against these courses. He is opposed to the employees having a share in the profits of the concern, unless they are shareholders, and except on the same footing as other shareholders. He refuses to admit that the dividend, which, as he says, is, in some cases, as high as 38 per cent., is profit, and therefore says there is no profit in which the workers could be given a share. He is opposed to profit (except in the form of a dividend on purchases) being distributed to shareholders, but does not oppose a fixed rate of interest on shares. It is odd that he should describe his ideals as Socialism, in view of his approval of the system of what is termed "Responsible Management," by which:

"Each manager is held responsible for the goods he has in stock; if there is any shortage, he must make good the value of the same, and has to deposite security for such an event. He is paid according to his sales. This system of control has been so efficacious in practice that it sometimes occurs that a branch manager is ruined, the head establishment gaining thereby, and thus the latter has in the system a source of supplying profits."

Professor Gide considers the introduction of this system as a proof that the Societies have learnt wisdom. He says: "It gives security to the society and, at the same time, freedom to the employee in his work."

Professor Gide declares that those whom he deems "true" Co-operators, Co-operators of the School of Nîmes, desire Socialisation for the profit of all consumers, whilst Socialists desire it only for the profit of the working class "because this is the only class they regard as being exploited."

We open our eyes in amazement! Is this distinguished professor of political economy, who entitles one of his chapters, "Co-operation and Socialism," so utterly ignorant of Socialist doctrine? Surely it is difficult to believe that he honestly does not know that Socialists aim at the destruction of the existing social classes; that they desire to abolish the classes of non-workers and employers: a consummation which will certainly realise Socialism for the capitalist as drastically and effectively as for the wage-worker, who will at the same time cease to occupy that position.

"Co-operators do not aim at confiscating wealth already existing and appropriated, but at creating new wealth, which they will keep for themselves. But what does it matter? If their scheme is realised the old capital engaged in commerce or industry will become useless, as it will be without value, since it cannot be utilised. This would, therefore, mean expropriation without indemnity. And, moreover, it would not be expropriation by force of a revolution or by legal coercion, but a purely economic expropriation, similar to what goes on every day by the play of open competition, by new inventions, or by opening new markets."

He admits a certain difficulty in regard to land, because it must be purchased; "and this," he says, "means an almost impracticable undertaking."

He mentions that some Co-operative Societies have passed resolutions asking the Nationalisation of land and minerals, but this he does not favour. He says:—

"Co-operators content themselves with the hope of seeing landed property transformed gradually by the development of agricultural co-operative societies, associations which are destined more and more to be subordinated to the control of consumers' societies."

Professor Gide desires the Co-operative Societies to remain neutral in politics, and to avoid alliances with Socialist and Labour Parties and Trade Unions. He does not consider that Co-operatives should employ only Trade Union labour, but they should leave this entirely for their employees to decide. He regards as higher than that of Socialism, the "true Co-operator's ideal of a community in which everyone will be a co-operator, and all the business of life will be transacted through the dividend-giving Co-operative stores, except:—

"Some social requirements which are supplied by the State, by municipalities, by private monopolies, or by the liberal professions, which are not yet, and which never will be, supplied co-operatively. We cannot, for example, go to the co-operative stores to pay taxes, law costs, examination fees, or lawyers or doctors' fees, nor even to purchase tickets for the train* or theatre,* though, indeed, this ought not to be impossible with regard to the last-named item."

Our Views on Co-operation.

We do not believe in the possibility of a society exclusively, or almost exclusively, organised by small co-operative trading societies. We believe that whilst the ideology and practice of buying and selling and dividend-getting remains, other forms of trading and capitalism which will yield larger powers and profits to individuals must also persist, especially if, as Gide would have it, the Co-operators take no political steps to discourage other forms of Capitalism. Were it possible, however, to create a Co-operators' State, we should find four strongly-marked classes: first, richest and most powerful the officials; secondly, the skilled workers in certain key industries; thirdly, the employees in the Co-operative Stores, and fourthly, the workers in sweated trades. There is no guarantee that unemployment and destitution would be eliminated from society. But, as we have stated, and emphatically repeat, we do not believe in the possibility of establishing the ideal of Gide and the Nîmes school to which he belongs.

How illusory are the hopes of regenerating society through the Co-operative store, ought by now to be apparent, since, in this country, its membership embraces nearly one-third of the population, and, up to now, it has made practically no difference whatsoever in the position of the working class.

As Professor Gide illustrates by much statistical information, the Co-operative movement, which had its rise in Britain, remained, up to the war, largest in this country. Nevertheless, in Denmark it included the largest proportion of the population, and, during the war, Germany outstripped Britain in membership, but not in turnover.

Here are some figures for 1914:—

	Proportion of Members per 1,000 of Populations.	Turnover.
British Isles	264	£88,000,000
Germany	121	£28,000,000
Russia	34	£32,000,000
France	90	£12,840,000
Austria	70	£7,200,000
Italy	43	£7,200,000
Switzerland	290	£5,240,000
Denmark	350	£6,000,000
Hungary	40	£3,000,000
Belgium	90	£1,920,000
Sweden	108	£2,440,000
Poland	33	£1,680,000
Holland	72	£1,040,000
Finland	120	£2,329,000
Spain	30	£800,000
Norway	42	£550,000

The membership in 1914 and 1918 was:—**

	1914	1918
Britain	3,054	3,846,000
Germany	2,000	4,000,000
Russia	1,500	12,000,000
France	881	1,800,000

The average annual value of the purchases per member in various countries before the war was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
England	29	4	0
Finland	25	4	0
Denmark	24	0	0
Switzerland	20	17	0
Germany	15	7	0
France	14	12	0

Since the war the values have risen in Britain to £41, in France, to £20.

Two Main Tendencies.

As to the characteristics of the Co-operatives in different countries: at the two extremes, the outstanding feature of the British Co-operatives may be said to be dividend, and that of Belgium, politics.

Professor Gide complains that the Socialists in some cases, and especially in Belgium, have "sought to make Co-operation the milch-cow of Socialism."

The Rochdale Pioneers decided to allocate 2½ per cent. of their profits to education. If the English Societies followed this rule, the education fund on their profits of £12,200,000 a year would amount to £320,000. No English Society, not even that which calls itself the Rochdale Pioneers, has done this. The total sum devoted to education by English co-operators does not reach £120,000, it is less than one per cent., and recently was diminishing. Moreover, recreation, teas, picnics, etc., absorb more than a third of the education fund. The development of Co-operation in England has, in fact, been mainly commercial. It purchases direct in Greece and Asia Minor, it has three establishments in Denmark (where it buys £4,000,000 of butter and bacon), one in the United States, one in Germany (at Hamburg), one in Sweden, two in France (at Rouen and Calais), one in Spain, one in Canada, one in Australia. Beside these establishments for purchasing abroad, it has a tallow factory in Australia, and tea plantations in India and Ceylon. In England it has six estates (18,000 acres in all) where it grows strawberries and tomatoes. It will shortly own coal mines. It has two ships trading between Manchester and Rouen.

Continued on page 2.

† "Consumers' Co-operative Society." By Charles Gide, Professor of Political Economy in the Faculty of Laws, University of Paris. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. and the Co-operative Union, Ltd., Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. 8s. 6d.

* As Professor Gide himself shows such services are already supplied by some co-operatives.

** Multiplied by four because each co-operator stands for a family.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

State Industry in the Ukraine.

The textile industry in the Ukraine has three wool washing factories, thirty weaving factories, seven knitting factories, and spinning mills, five hemp spinneries, and nine cotton factories. Of the thirty weaving mills only the largest work under the State, the eighteen smaller ones being leased. Of the cotton factories eight are leased. A large repair works for railway waggons is being set up in Charkov. Capitalism is returning!

More Capitalism!

"The Commissariat for Food has obtained two hundred and twenty-five million pood this year by the Produce Tax and barter. This fund of food is meant in the first place for the transport service and the worker's large industries. This year only three million Red soldiers will have to be fed in comparison with eight million last year. Small industry will be supplied by the State only until the transition of self administration is ended.* The medium food ration will be twice or two and a half times as great as last year.—*Rosta Wien.*"

[* Note this phrase: that means capitalist administration!]

Cotton.

"The cotton crop this year will amount to between fifteen and twenty pood per dessiatin. At present a pood of cotton in England costs 560,000 roubles. The cost of production in Russia is about ten thousand roubles. The largest part of the cotton harvest is being used for export."

Is this by arrangement with British manufacturers? Alas! poor Russia!

Leasing of Factories in White Russia.

Of the seventy-six factories in White Russia only twenty-six will remain in possession of the State. The remainder will be leased.

This is a terrible calumnity!

Czecho-Slovak Machine Industry to Aid Russia.

The Foreign Ministry announces: The plan of relief for Soviet Russia, which has been worked out by the Foreign Ministry, includes, as well as drugs, food, clothing, etc., also agricultural machinery, equipment of factories, and renewal of transport as well as by the direct participation of engineers, technicians, and agricultural specialists. The leading concerns of the Czecko-Slovak machine industry which are united in the exporting syndicate "Tschecho-Slowakische Maschinenindustrie" have recognised the importance of the relief work which has been initiated by the Czecko-Slovak government and have submitted a completely prepared plan for the renewal of Russia agriculture with the aid of motor ploughs. The syndicate intends to aid the plan by contributing a large gift which shall consist of motor and steam ploughs, a large number of agricultural machines, electrical equipment and steel tools for the handworkers to the value of several million crowns.

On what terms is this help granted?

Is it the Third International?

Karl Radek, in an article in the *Pravda*, says:

". . . . Mr. Filipovitch, the Polish Ambassador . . . has given proof of much commonsense in the report he drew up in Warsaw after his return from Soviet Russia last year. *We on our part do not speculate on the fall of the Polish government* in spite of significant events in Poland, and, in any case, we leave social changes to the forces of Polish society. Thus conflicts can be settled and the peaceful relations so necessary to the Polish and Russian nations intend upon."

Apparently Radek speaks here for the Soviet government, but he is best known as a leader of the III. International. This statement of Radek's is obviously in conflict with the standard of world revolution; another proof of the need for a fourth International, for Radek, supporter of the government official, has obviously got the upperhand of Radek World Revolutionary.

In the long run Soviet Russia is best helped by World Revolution.

Reorganisation of the Red Fleet.

The political Administration of the Revolutionary War Council and the Commissary for the Marine has issued a manifesto to the Red Sailors on the occasion of the reorganisation of the fleet. In this manifesto the necessity of purifying the navy from all undesirable elements is pointed out so that the Red Fleet will consist of actually only capable sailors who really understand their job, and who will make the fleet a truly proletarian force. The fleet must become Communist. It must have qualified personnel. The manifesto recalls the Cronstadt mutiny, which, it says, was organised by the Social Revolutionaries and the White Guards.

The Workers' Opposition tells another story.

Congress of Food Industry Workers.

Ekonomitscheskaja Schisn of September 20th reports that the all-Russian Congress of Workers in the food industry opened on September 16th. Previous to the congress a conference was held with representatives of the workers in the distilleries, sugar industry, and tobacco industry, as a result of which a fusion will take place at the conclusion of the congress. The congress emphasised the importance of nationalisation of all food industry. Especially the milling industry should be nationalised.

Whilst de-nationalising proceeds the workers ask for nationalising!

State Bonds.

The Council of Commissaries in view of the lack of currency of large denominations in business has decided to issue non-interest bearing state bonds in denomination of one, five, and ten million roubles. These bonds shall expire in the year 1923.

That is better than the British method. What about our War Loan?

Hungarian Socialist shoots at Royalist Leader.

In the Hungarian Parliament at Stephan Rakovsky Ex-Lieutenant George Kover fired four shots at the royalist leader, all of them missing their aim. Kover said that the sufferings of the war and his experiences as war prisoner in Russia had convinced him of the truth of Socialism. When he returned from Russia in the spring of 1921, he was terribly impressed by the misery in Hungary. He therefore decided to attempt the life of the old war-makers, Count Andrassy or Rakovsky, who, in his opinion, were preparing a fresh war in Western Hungary. He is sorry that his attempt miscarried.

Hungarian Leader Resigns.

When the Christian National Municipal Employees discussed their new wages demands, their chairman wanted to induce them to moderate their demands. He produced a violent storm, which ended in his resignation. The meeting resolved to break off connections with the Christian National Municipal Party as that party had betrayed the interests of the employees. The workers demanded a rise of 30 per cent. from the 1st of September. The Vice-Mayor offered a rise of 15 per cent., but even that is beyond the financial possibilities of the town.

The Christian National Municipal Party is in process of dissolution. The resignation of the Mayor is expected.

We must look for similar events in Britain.

Czecho-Slovak Communist Party.

At a conference of the Prague district on September 25th a resolution was passed, unconditionally obliging all members to active co-operation in Russian famine relief work. The organisation has 34,216 members in 329 local branches.

The district conference of the district Gross-Brünn and Brünn-Venkov was held on the same day. The membership of both had decreased owing to the party split, the December persecutions, the economic crisis and unemployment.

Congress of Russian Textile Workers.

On September 11th the fourth all-Russian Congress of Textile Workers was opened. The delegates consisted of 257 Communists, 1 Anarchist, and 163 Independents.

Fishing Concessions.

Extensive fishery concessions have been made for a term of four years to the Union of Fishers' Co-operatives in the Black Sea. The Union undertakes to obtain two refrigator ships, motor boats, sailing ships, two hundred and fifty steam barges, and to put them into operation. After the expiration of the lease the whole plant passes into the hands of the State. The execution of the contract is guaranteed by a deposit in gold.

Executive of the III. International.

The E.C. called the attention of the U.C.P. of Germany to the great tactical possibilities that lie in the increasing cost of living and in the new German taxes, and which open up a way to approach the masses and wake a revolutionary spirit in them. The E.C. also pronounced against the "left" radicalism still appearing in the U.C.P.

Concerning the Worker's Communist Party (K.A.P.D.) the E.C. issued an appeal to the members of that party once more calling their attention to the necessity of putting aside all political sectarianism and uniting with the Communist mass party of the German working class, the United Communist Party of Germany.

The 3rd congress peremptorily demanded the fusion of the K.A.P.D. with the United Communist Party of Germany, and the submission to international proletarian discipline. Owing to the appearance of new facts, the E.C. of the Communist International is forced to supplement these conditions. The E.C. ceases all communication with the present leaders of the K.A.P.D. Gorter, Schröder, and others, refuses to send a representative to the K.A.P.D. conference which is to meet on the 12th of October, and considers all co-operation with the K.A.P.D. impossible as long as this party does not pronounce itself openly against the counter-revolutionary ideas.

Subotniks for the Red Fleet.

The miners of Kisel have held a Subotnik for the famine relief funds and produced ten thousand pood of coal. The workers of the Bachmut Nail Works have decided to do three hours' work every Saturday for the benefit of the famine sufferers. The first Saturday yielded twenty-five pood of nails and the second thirty-seven pood.

A Week for the Red Army.

The workers in Archangel held a week for the Red Army during which they cleaned the barracks, repaired the lights and improved the shoes and clothes of the soldiers.

November 7th in Soviet Russia.

Propaganda trains will tours the provinces, and from them festivals will be held.

REVOLUTIONARY GEORGIA AND RAMSAY MACDONALD.

The Georgian Revolutionary Committee and Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia says: "Citizen MacDonald and his comrades of the Yellow International think the time has come to start a campaign of intrigue and mean calumny against the Workers' and Peasants' Government in Georgia. Macdonald and Co. demand a joint commission to control a form of government which is to come into existence through the medium of elections giving a vote to the exploiters, profiteers, junkers and other parasites, in short, to all those who lived in clover under the Menshevik regime, but lost all their political and economic privileges under the dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

"In supporting the demands of the Georgian Social-Democrats, these gentlemen support Allied imperialism, which is stretching out its bloody hands to the manganese ore and lumber of Georgia, Baku oil and other natural resources now in the possession of workers and peasants. Under the mask of Socialist phrases Macdonald and his friends serve as shield-bearers to Entente imperialism, and prepare a fresh campaign against the Soviet republics, just as the Mensheviks did in 1918, when they called in the Prussian imperialist troops to Georgia to help them keep their power under the shadow of German generals and officers, and the Kaiser's guns, and to oppress the territories that refused to fall off from the Russian workers and peasants.

"Neither Macdonald nor the Mensheviks bothered about the will of the people or democratic control at that time. The Prussian generals were replaced by British, and the Mensheviks begged the King of England on their knees to leave his troops in Georgia. Now that the Menshevik regime in Georgia is at an end, and the victorious revolution of the working class has driven the Mensheviki to seek shelter with their Western patrons, they suddenly discover in their hearts a flaming passion for democracy and demand with small bourgeois insolence, from a revolutionary government that it turn to all electors without exception. The Revolutionary Committee and the Communist Party denounce these intrigues with contempt, and, passing over the leaders of the Yellow International, address the following appeal to the workers and peasants of Europe:—

"'The wishes of the Georgian working masses have been sufficiently shown by the fact that during the six months of the Soviet regime not a single counter-demonstration of workers and peasants occurred. In spite of their democratic phrase-mongering the Georgian Mensheviks only called their Constituent Assembly in the second year of their rule. No questions of vital interest to the workers were laid before this Assembly. The Mensheviks preferred to solve all such questions by the dictatorship of the bourgeois and in the interests of the exploiters and junkers.'

"Georgia is preparing for the election of the Congress of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils."

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"Agriculture and the Community." By J. F. Duncan. International Bookshops. 2s. May be obtained through our book service. This book declares that: 'All small holding communities are overworked communities. They can exist only by excessive labour of men, women and children." The author desires nationalisation. He says: "However effective the Trade Unions may become, they cannot force wages beyond the point industry can bear, and I see nothing in the present production of agriculture, nor in the production we may hope for within the limits of the present system which will enable the workers to satisfy their legitimate demands. Nor is there any security in the fixing of minimum rates of wages." He desires the land to be nationalised and also the industry "as a definite public service." He proposes Boards of Control subject to Parliament, representative of the scientific and technical workers' "managerial interests, both land and farming,' workers and consumers. These Boards are to select the people who are to run the farms, but it seems the present holders are to remain in control unless found incapable. Apparently private tenantship is to continue side by side with farms held by the Boards. It seems to be a piecemeal scheme to patch things up and produce gradual reform.

"Miners' Conflict with the Mineowners." By John Thomas, B.A. International Bookshops. 8d. May be had through our book service.

"Ireland and the Empire at the Court of Conscience." By A. E. The Talbot Press, Dublin. 3d.

"The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky. By L. Trotsky. George Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d.

'LEFT WING' COMMUNIST MEETINGS

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15TH,
The Grove, Hammersmith, 3.30 p.m.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22ND,
St. Stephen's Road and Roman Road, Bow, 6.30 p.m.

LLOYD GEORGE WANTS YOU TO HELP HIM.

Lloyd George wants you to help him, Mr. Worker.

You helped him to win the capitalist war, and now he wants you to help him win the capitalist peace.

How is it to be done? The capitalist newspapers supply the answer:

" By good will."

Whose good will?

Yours, Mr. Worker. Your good will to help your boss; to tide him over his difficulties; to build up his business for him on a sure foundation, so that it will guarantee him in his old age, not from the " doss house, or the Workhouse—oh, no, do not name such things in connection with your employer—your good will must help him to build up his business in order that he may be guaranteed a suitable subsistence; that he and his children after him may have wealth; wealth that will buy them motor cars, town and country mansions, wine cellars, footmen, butlers, parlour-maids, yachts, and diamonds—all the things that are necessary to the status of the English gentry. Surely your will towards your employer is good enough for that effort, Mr. Workman?

How is it to be done?

By pulling in your belt, of course, Mr. Workman; how else do you imagine that you could possibly have the power to help anyone? By working harder and longer, and eating less.

What Mr. Lloyd George wants, what he expects of you, and what he expects Mr. Clynes, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. J. H. Thomas to tell you you must do, is not to ask for more wages than your employer tells you he can afford to pay.

In short, Mr. Lloyd George wants you to scrap all your Trade Union rates of pay and rules and customs.

He does not tell you that plainly yet, because he does not want to give you a shock, or to ruffle you, or upset you, by thrusting his idea crudely upon you. He does not want to annoy you. He believes in conciliation. Therefore he hopes that the suggestion may come, if not from your own Trade Union officials, at least from a joint committee of employers and Government officials, on which your Trade Union leaders are also represented.

Lloyd George believes that when he has told the tale to your officials, as only he can tell it; when he explained " the seriousness of the position " to them, as he has so often done before, your leaders will recognise their duty, and will come out of the Conference Chamber eager to inform you that *the only way to stop unemployment is to bring down the wages.*

Mr. Lloyd George confidently expects that the star orators of the official Labour movement will presently be stumping the country with his colleagues, fervently proclaiming the great gospel of " *More Production* " and " *Lower Wages.*"

Mr. Lloyd George believes you are fool enough to swallow that gospel, and he counts specially on the help of the one-time cotton operative, Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., who told the King that the first necessity of to-day is to revive our foreign trade, in order to preserve this capitalist country, to which Mr. Clynes has become so exceedingly devoted, since he got into Parliament and tasted the sweets of Government office.

What is your answer, Mr. Worker? Are you going to be sold again?

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