The Coal Slump by John Thomas, B.A.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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AN OPEN LETTER TO BERNARD SHAW.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

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

DEAR BERNARD SHAW,—

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

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

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

Clause 9, Section 7 provides:—

"The Minister of Labour shall establish and maintain, in such district as he thinks fit, such accommodation and day and residential colonies as he shall deem requisite."

The intention of this Bill seems to be to give "all power," not "to the workers," but to the Minister of Labour. The Labour leaders evidently can see see no need to check the doings of that immaculate Government official. Do you think they have cause to be entirely satisfied with the achievements of the various holders of that office since its creation?

May I ask if it is in conformity with your views, that, because a man or woman has the misfortune to be unemployed, he or she should be segregated in a colony and parted, whether he or she will or no, from family and friends?

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

Had the proposal come from a Tory Government at this stage, the Labour Party would have raised an outcry. Moreover, the proposal is absolutely lacking in originality; it merely repeats the provisions of the Unemployed Workman Act, which was the creation of a Tory Government in 1905.

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

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

The Labour Party shows here, either that it is possessed by a tremendous and wholly unjustified faith in the generosity of the Minister of Labour, or by an awful callousness towards the women and children, and aged parents concerned. It ill becomes a "Labour" Party to leave the dependents of the unemployed to the mercy of a capitalist Government, without even attempting to establish a charter of rights to which they may appeal.

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

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

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

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

Do you not think if the Labour Party is determined to adhere to the advocacy of the dole system, it might have asked for maintenance for the unemployed, at what would be their average rate of pay were they employed in their usual occupation?

I am not putting forward such a proposal as my own scheme, as I am not a Reformist; but I ask you, as a Reformist, whether such scales as those I have indicated are not more in character with what one is entitled to expect from the Labour Party, than the scale of unemployment benefit recommended by this Bill?

There is, however, worse to come. The Bill lays it down that the unemployed young person under 18 years shall be paid only 13/- a week, and that "no additional payments shall be made in respect of any dependents."

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

How can any self-supporting lad or girl exist on 13/- in these high-priced days?

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

The Bill proposes to set up local unemployment authorities composed of representatives of the local Borough or Urban District Council, including managers of Labour Exchanges and representatives of the employers and employed, in equal numbers. It is strange that the Labour Party should always be careful to see that the employer is represented, especially as the Government, in this case through the Ministry of Labour which will hold the main power, is representing the employers all the time! The idea that the unemployed might justly claim representation in the administration of *their affairs*, does not seem to have occurred to the comfortable Labour leaders!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on page 6.

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MAX HAVELAAR.

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

What Verbrugge suffered in listening is indescribable. He was an honest man, and would not have lied if Havelaar had appealed to him to confirm the truth of his statements. But even without that honesty, he had not always been able to avoid the truth in many written reports, even where it was dangerous to tell it. How would it be if Havelaar made use of those reports?

Having read these letters, the Resident said that, if Havelaar chose to recall the documents, it would be agreeable to him to consider them as not written; this Havelaar firmly and politely refused.

Having in vain tried to move him, the Resident said that he must investigate the charges, and that he had, therefore, to request Havelaar to summon the witnesses in support of the accusation he had brought against the Regent.

Ye poor creatures whose sides have been wounded by the thorns in the ravine, how anxiously would your hearts have beaten could you have heard this request!

And you, poor Verbrugge, you first witness, chief witness, *ex officio* witness, a witness in virtue of office and oath, a witness who had already borne witness on paper which lay on the table under Havelaar's hand! . . . .

Havelaar replied:—

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

How freely Verbrugge breathed again.

And how strange the Resident thought Havelaar's words.

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

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

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

"93.—*Private.*

"RANKAS-BETONG.

28th February, 1856.

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

"That you had reasons for not accepting the proposals made in my official letters of 24th and 25th instant; that you had desired previous confidential communication; that you do not approve of my transactions described in those letters; and lastly some orders.

"I fully respect the legality of your power to decide whether to accept my proposition or not. The orders received shall with exactness be obeyed—with self-sacrifice, if need be, as if you were present to witness all I do or say, or, more properly, all I do *not* do or do *not* say.

"I take the liberty solemnly to protest against the least semblance of disapprobation of any action, any word, any phrase, done, spoken, or written by me in this matter. I am convinced that I have done my duty; in my object and the manner of executing it. I have long pondered before acting. In the same circumstances I should do again—but a little quicker—exactly, exactly the same.

"Even should a higher power than yours disapprove—but, no that cannot be—even if it were so, I have done my duty.

"I am sorry, yet without being astonished, that you judge differently in this, but I have conscientious reasons which require that it shall be decided which opinion is correct—yours, or mine. Serve otherwise than I have served at Lebak, I cannot.

"If the Government desires to be served otherwise, then I am obliged, as an honest man, to ask the Government to discharge me;—then I must endeavour, at the age of 36 years, to commence a new career; after seventeen heavy difficult years of service, I must again ask society if it will give me bread for my wife and child—in exchange for thoughts, or for labour with spade or barrow, if the strength of my arm is approved more than that of my soul.

"But I cannot, and will not, believe that your opinion is shared by his Excellency the Governor-General, and I am therefore compelled, before I pass to the bitter extreme of which I wrote in the last paragraph, to beg you respectfully to propose to the Government:

"To order the Resident of Bantam to approve so far the transactions of the Assistant Resident of Lebak, including his letters of 24th and 25th instant;

"Or:

"To call the Assistant Resident of Lebak to account on the points of disapprobation to be given by the Resident of Bantam."

Without deciding as to the correctness of the suspicions of Slotering's widow, concerning the cause which made her children orphans and only accepting what may be proved, that there was a strong connection in Lebak between fulfilment of duty and poison—even if that connection only existed in public opinion—yet it may be conceived that Max and Tine passed sorrowful days after the visit of the Resident. I need not paint the anguish of a mother, who, when offering food to her child, has continually to ask whether she is not perhaps murdering her darling?

Little Max was an adored child, who had stayed away seven years after the marriage, as if the rogue knew that it was no advantage to come into the world as the son of such parents.

A short time after the vain endeavour to move Havelaar to withdraw his letters, or to betray the poor people who had confided in his magnanimity, Verbrugge entered Havelaar's house. The good man was deadly pale and had some difficulty in speaking.

"I have been with the Regent," he said. "It is scandalous . . . but do not betray me!"

"What must I not betray?"

"Do you pledge your word to make no use of what I shall tell you?"

"More *halfness*," said Havelaar; "but, well, I pledge my word."

Then Verbrugge told Havelaar about the Resident's visit to the Regent. The Regent himself had told Verbrugge, asking what reasons the Resident could have for this questioning him about Havelaar and giving him money.

Havelaar was indignant, but he had pledged his word.

The next day Verbrugge returned and said that Duclari had told him how ignoble it was to leave Havelaar, who had to fight such opponents, so completely alone; whereupon Verbrugge released Havelaar from his pledge.

"Very well," said Havelaar, "write it down."

Verbrugge did so.

It was touching to observe how Verbrugge—timorous before he was awakened by the reproaches of Duclari—dared to trust Havelaar's pledged word, in a matter which so induced its violation.

Years have passed since the events which I relate. Havelaar has suffered much during this time, but he has waited . . . I give the following note from his hand:—

"Slymering has been made Knight of the Order of the Dutch Lion. He appears to be now Resident of Djocjocarta. I can therefore now speak of the affairs of Lebak without danger to Verbrugge."

It was evening. Tine was reading in the inner gallery and Havelaar was drawing an embroidery pattern; little Max was putting together a puzzle picture.

"Whose bed-time is it?" asked the mother.

"Mine, but I have had no supper," said little Max.

"You shall have some first, of course." She gave him his simple supper, which she seemed to have fetched from a well-secured cupboard in her room, for the noise of many locks had been heard.

"What are you giving him?" asked Havelaar.

"Oh, don't be uneasy! It is biscuit out of the tin-box from Batavia, and the sugar, too, has been kept under lock and key."

Havelaar's thoughts turned to the point where they had been interrupted.

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

"Dear Max, we live so economically, we shall soon be able to pay all; beside, you will certainly soon be appointed Resident, and then all will be arranged."

"That is exactly the thing that makes me sad," said Havelaar, "I should be so unwilling to leave Lebak . . . ."

"Al. will be right, Max; even if you had to go from here, you could help Lebak afterwards, on being made Governor-General."

Then came wild lines in Havelaar's pattern . . . Tine understood that she had said something wrong.

"Dear Max!" she began——

"A curse on it! Will you have them starve indefinitely? . . . Can *you* live on *sand*?"

He jumped up from his chair and went up and down the inner gallery. At last he spoke in a tone which would have sounded rough and hard to any stranger, but was thought of indifferently by Tine.

"A curse on this indifference, this shameful indifference! Here I have waited a month for justice, and meanwhile the poor are suffering terribly. The Regent seems to count on nobody daring to take it up against him—look . . . ."

He went into his office and came back with a letter in his hand:

"Look in this letter, he dares to make proposals to me about the kind of labour he intends to have done by people he has summoned unlawfully . . . Do you know who these labourers are? They are women with little children, with sucklings; women who are pregnant, who have been driven from Perang-Koodjang to the capital to work for him—there are no more men! And they have nothing to eat; they sleep on the road and eat sand. Can *you* eat sand till I am Governor-General? Curse it!"

Tine knew very well with whom alone Max was angry when he spoke thus to her whom he loved.

"And this is all on my responsibility. Perhaps at this moment some of these poor creatures are wandering there outside, and seeing the light of our lamps, they say: 'There lives the wretch who ought to protect us; there he sits quietly with wife and child and draws embroidery patterns, while we lie here like dogs on the road and starve with our children!' Yes, I hear it, I hear it; that cry for vengeance upon my head."

"Here, Max, here!" He kissed the child with a wildness that frightened it.

(To be Continued)

THE COAL SLUMP.

John Thomas, B.A., miners' agent in the S.W. M.F., has written a useful pamphlet entitled, "The Miners' Conflict with the Mineowners," which has been published by the International Bookshops, Ltd.* He shows that according to the Custom House Returns the coal export of the United Kingdom to foreign countries in 1913 was as follows:—

Country to which Exported.	Tons (000's omitted).
Russia	5,998
Sweden	4,563
Norway	2,298
Denmark	3,034
Iceland	104
Germany	8,952
German W. Africa	8
German E. Africa	3
Java	34
Netherlands	2,018
Dutch Borneo	5
Dutch Guiana	2
Belgium	2,031
France	12,775
Algeria	1,281
French W. Africa	149
French Somaliland	55
Madagascar	19
Portugal	1,201
Azores	22
Madeira	131
Portuguese W. Africa	233
Spain	2,534
Canary Islands	1,114
Spanish Ports in Africa	4
Italy	9,647
Italian East Africa	5
Austria-Hungary	1,056
Greece	727
Bulgaria	56
Roumania	251
Turkey, European	213
Turkey, Asiatic	156
Egypt	3,162
Tripoli	4
Tunis	192
Morocco	9
Persia	2
Siam	4
China	26
Japan	4
U.S.A.	6
Cuba	12
Mexico	20
Venezuela	1
Peru	17
Chile	589
Brazil	1,887
Uruguay	734
Argentine	3,694
Gibraltar	355
Malta	700
Sierra Leone	41
Nigeria	59
St. Helena	5
Cape of Good Hope	65
Zanzibar	4
Mauritius	40
Aden	181
British India	179
Straits Settlements	30
Ceylon	240
Wei-hai-wei	12
Hong-Kong	52
New Zealand	5
Canada	38
Newfoundland	56
Bermudas	9
British West India Islands	25
British Honduras	3
British Guiana	15
Falkland Islands	28

In May, 1915, the export of coal was prohibited except by licence, later it was prohibited except to British Possessions and Protectorates and Allied countries. On August 15th 1915, export was prohibited except to British Possessions and Protectorates. The resultant fall in coal exports and the simultaneous enormous rise in prices is shown in the following figures, which show how capitalism displayed its patriotic fervour and love for the people of the Overseas Dominions in the national emergency:—

Year.	From United Kingdom. Quantities.	From United Kingdom. Price.	From South Wales (including Mon.). Quantities.
	Tons.	£	Tons.
1913 ...	73,400,118	50,727,252	29,875,916
1914 ...	59,038,880	39,862,008	24,475,551
1915 ...	43,534,560	36,391,690	18,601,896
1916 ...	38,351,553	46,386,297	17,417,707
1917 ...	34,995,787	46,547,621	19,893,015
1918 ...	31,752,904	48,026,492	17,000,834
1919 ...	35,249,578	83,213,714	20,229,802

Prices and export quantities for South Wales are well-displayed in the following table, from which it will be noticed that the ending of the war caused no decline, but added great impetus to the steady rise in prices:—

Highest and Lowest Prices, F.O.B., 1913—1920.

	Best Large Steam Coal. H.	Best Large Steam Coal. L.	Best Large Black Veins. H.	Best Large Black Veins. L.	Best Large Anthracite. H.	Best Large Anthracite. L.
1913.....	22/3	17/9 ...	20/6	16/9 ...	23/-	17/-
1914.....	22/-	18/6 ...	18/9	16/6 ...	23/6	18/-
1915.....	37/6	18/6 ...	35/6	18/- ...	37/6	23/-
1916.....	55/-	25/- ...	55/-	25/- ...	50/-	23/-
1917.....	35/6	33/- ...	32/6	23/6 ...	33/-	24/6
1918.....	50/-	33/- ...	45/-	30/- ...	52/-	30/-
1919.....	110/-	50/- ...	105/-	45/- ...	90/-	45/-
1920.....	117/6	90/- ...	115/-	87/6 ...	120/-	90/-

Special prices to Allied countries during war period not included.

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

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

Germany undertakes to deliver to Italy:—

July, 1919, to June, 1920 ... 4½ million tons.
July, 1920, to June, 1921 ... 6 million tons.
July, 1921, to June, 1922 ... 7½ million tons.
July, 1922, to June, 1923 ... 8 million tons.
July, 1923, to June, 1924 ... 8½ million tons.

Germany undertakes to deliver to Luxemburg, if directed by the Reparation Commission, a quantity of coal equal to the pre-war annual consumption of German coal there.

Germany further cedes to France the coal mines in the Saar Basin, also Alsace-Lorraine, where there are also coal mines.

We need not be surprised after considering the foregoing facts to find the decline in the Welsh coal export illustrated by the following figures, and we must expect a still further decline, since the reparation clauses give to Belgium, France and Italy considerably more coal than they imported from Britain in 1913, and four times more than these countries exported in 1912:—

Principal Destinations of Welsh Coal.

	1913. Tons.	1919. Tons.	1920.* Tons.
France	7,245,000	9,674,000	7,600,000
Italy	5,565,000	2,677,000	2,150,000
Argentina	3,194,000	622,000	250,000
Egypt	1,982,000	1,342,000	850,000
Brazil	1,619,000	175,000	150,000
Spain	1,309,000	616,000	230,000
Portugal	782,000	457,000	300,000
Algeria	746,000	335,000	420,000
Canary Islands...	697,000	255,000	350,000
Uruguay	608,000	166,000	120,000
Malta	579,000	697,000	400,000
Russia	560,000	83,000	10,000
Belgium	483,000	10,000	70,000
Chile	444,000	2,000	5,000
Greece	385,000	123,000	80,000
Total from			
Austria-Hungary	322,000	1,000	60,000
Germany.....	294,000	4,000	5,000
Gibraltar.....	231,000	1,185,000	1,000,000
South Wales.....	29,876,000	20,229,000	15,500,000

Moreover, new coal resources are daily being opened up and oil is replacing coal to a growing extent.

The pamphlet gives a valuable survey of wages pre-war, war, and post lock-out, and a chronicle of lock-out events with particulars of the various claims and offers, and the terms of settlement. It shows how tremendously wages are reduced by the settlement.

Here are a few examples from the tables given:—

Wages in South Wales and Monmouthshire, including Pembrokeshire.

Grade.	Pre-Lock-out Daily Minimum Wage. s.	d.	Permanent Period New 1921 Minimum. 1914 Wage plus 20 per cent. s.	d.
Colliers' Timbermen, Pieceworkers.....	17	10.27	8	9.6
Day Hauliers, under 18	16	1.86	7	6.74
Underground Electrician's Cogcutters	14	11.83	6	6.72
Colliers' Helpers, Assistant Limbermen, etc.	14	9½	6	4.8

Pembrokeshire.

Mines West of River Cleddau.

Grade.	Pre-Lock-out Daily Minimum Wage. s.	d.	Permanent Period New 1921 Minimum. 1914 Wage plus 20 per cent. s.	d.
Cutters' Repairers ...	11	8.09	3	10.08
Assistant Cutters' Repairers' Hitchers ...	11	3.42	3	6.42
Trammen, Beammen, Unskilled Labourers.	10	10.47	3	2.4
Boys under 20 years	10	1.39	2	6.72
Boys under 18 years	8	4.04	1	11.04
Boys under 16 years	4	9.64	1	3.36

In conclusion, there is a chapter on the profits made by the coal owners from which we take the following table:—

Profits in South Wales Collieries from 1914 *to* 1919.

Name of Colliery Company.	Capital (or Shares. £	Dividends or Profits for the above 6 years. £	
1. Celtic Collieries, Ltd. ...	250,200	156,180	
2. Consolidated Cambrian, Ltd.	1,791,211	824,892	
3. D. Davis & Sons, Ltd...	962,500	1,391,836	S.F.
4. Great Western Colliery..	749,944	894,682	
5. Guest, Keen and Nettlefold, Ltd.	7,430,500	2,727 841	A.F.
6. Insoles, Ltd.	240,000	247,260	
7. International Coal Co., Ltd.	85,000	75,592	
8. Lambert Brothers, Ltd.	750,000	1,037,240	S.F.
9. Locket's Merthyr Collieries, Ltd.	300,000	201,221	
10. Newport Abercarn Black Vein Steam Coal Co., Ltd.	325,000	209,009	S.F.
11. North's Navigation Collieries, Ltd.	860,000	802,529	
12. Penrhikyker Navigation Colliery Co., Ltd. ...	350,000	295,254	
13. Powell-Dyffryn Steam Coal Co., Ltd.	3,348,077	2,942 635	A.F.
14. The United National Collieries, Ltd.	1,578,020	1,461,377	A.F.
Total ...	£19,020,452	£13,267,548	

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

Had the income tax not been deducted from the profits as shown here they would appear very much larger than they do in this table, but even as shown here it should be observed that 19 millions pounds capital, which still remained intact, produced in five years 13 million pounds in interest. Would you not be pleased, Mr. Worker, if some convenient relative would present you with £19, which would provide you with an annual bonus which in five years would amount to £13, and continue to give you that bonus all the years of your life; the £19 being kept for you quite safely, so that you could spend it if you wished at any moment. You would be pleased at that, Mr. Worker; but if, instead of £19, you had £1,900 or £19,000, what would you say then? You do not get such profits from your labour, Mr. Workman, but you produce such profits for people who have money to lend.

Look at this table, Mr. Workman, and especially Mr. Miner; it is also taken from John Thomas's excellent pamphlet:—

Profits and Wages in the United Kingdom Coalfields, 1920.

1920.	Estimated number of people receiving	Total.	Average annually per head.
Profits	37,316*	£27 millions	£724
Wages	1,185,108†	£264 millions	£224
Difference per head between Profits and Wages			£500

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

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

You are certainly a fool to tolerate it, Mr. Miner; are you not?

John Thomas concludes by advising the miners to read a number of papers, including the *Workers' Dreadnought*, and says:—

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

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

A valuable pamphlet. We gladly add it to our Book Service, and advise our readers to buy it.

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

* 1920 returns include estimated figures for December.

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

† Compiled from Mines Department Statistical Summaries, 1920.

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THE UNEMPLOYED.

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

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

There is at present no sign of a considerable fighting force within the Labour Party to combat such treachery.

The *Daily Herald* displayed Henderson's Edinburgh statement on its front page, as though it were something to be proud of, and made no adverse comment upon the speech in its leader columns.

George Lansbury and his fellow Councillors in Poplar made an adroit and tactically able move when they refused to levy the L.C.C. and M.A.B. Rates, and are to be congratulated on going to prison; but they declare themselves ready to accept a compromise, and their present fight is mainly for the equalisation of the London Rates, which will not help the unemployed. The Poplar Councillors cannot be counted on to do anything appreciable to ginger up the official Labour policy. They have not even protested against the London Labour Party circular, in opposition to their policy.

The only people who can be relied on to ginger up the unemployment policy of any Party are the unemployed themselves; but since few of them are yet sufficiently class-conscious to understand Communism and the Workers' Revolution, Communists, both employed and unemployed, have a tremendous work to do amongst them. Especially to those Communists who are unemployed we say: Get Communist literature to your unawakened comrades; talk Communism to them; take them to Communist meetings.

SOVIET RUSSIA v. CAPITALISM.

RUSSIA'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICY.

The account which the Russian Soviet Government itself gives of the new economic policy which it has accepted under the pressure of the encircling Capitalism, makes doleful reading.

Says the *Russian Information and Review*, published in London by the Russian Trade Delegation:—

"One interesting aspect of this side of the new policy is the necessity it creates for reforms" [Reforms, oh, what a misuse of the term] "in the legal sphere, practically untouched since the November Revolution owing to the exigencies of the historical period through which Russia has been passing. Legal protection must be afforded to private property, the popular courts must be reconstructed with a view to this end, credit operations must be permitted, transport facilities granted to private individuals, and so on. For these purposes special legislation is being worked out by the People's Commissariat for Justice."

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

Now will be re-established all the army of useless people who advertise goods for sale, and who gamble in stocks and shares. How heavily the knowledge of these retrograde steps must weigh upon the spirits of all sincere and intelligent Communists.

We are told that all this is unimportant, because the Communists remain in power; because the proletariat remains in power, and so on, Alas! those are in power who hold the natural wealth of the country and the means of production, and who manipulate and control the labour power.

The workers who are the wage slaves of the capitalists are not in power: we in Britain have surely learnt that!

The small capitalists and merchants who will now grow up in Russia in enormous numbers, will coalesce into a great force of opinion and power against the growth of Communism in Russia. The foreign capitalists will cling to their concessions on the expiration of the terms for which they have been granted, with a ferocious tenacity. The national governments of those foreign capitalists will uphold their interests by arms if need be. The reactionary steps, so easily taken to-day, will be retraced only with appalling difficulty.

We are glad to learn that Mr. Urquhart, of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Mining Company, was unable to come to an agreement with the Soviet Government for the company to recommence its old operations. The breaking off of the negotiations shows that the Soviet Government is displaying some resistance to capitalist demands, but we wish that the negotiations had never been opened.

It is hard to be doctrinaire in these days, hard to stick to the straight fight for Communism, when millions are dying of famine and disease, and it is said that if concessions are made to Capitalism, Capitalism will come in to aid the famine sufferers. But the straight path is the true path; Capitalism will do little for the famine sufferers in any case, and every Russian peasant life that to-day is saved by concessions to Capitalism, will be paid for in the untold suffering and future deaths of thousands of people through the prolongation of the international class war. In the Nansen Agreement between the International Commission and the Soviet Government, a reference is made to safeguarding the economic life of Europe. The Soviet Government in its early days recognised that to re-establish the economic life of Europe before the Workers' International Revolution has been effected, is to postpone the Revolution until the appearance of another world catastrophe.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

By Charles Brower.

I.

"A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre." Such is the opening paragraph of the Communist Manifesto written seventy-three years ago. Yet how true the statement rings to-day! How truly and accurately those words describe the condition prevailing in Europe to-day! "A spectre is haunting Europe,"—"and," we might add, "the remainder of the globe" . . . . "the spectre of Communism."

In view of the fact that events since 1914 have proved to any one, having a mind and a heart capable of imbibing a new truth, the correctness of the analysis of bourgeois society and its tendencies as laid down in the Communist Manifesto by the founders of modern scientific Socialism, it is but meet that we pause for a moment in order to acquaint ourselves with events leading to the writing of this—the Workers' Bible.

The transformation of society from feudalism into capitalism begun at the time of the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, continuing through the Cromwellian Revolution in the 17th, was finally completed by the French Revolution towards the end of the 18th century. The bourgeois principles of equality, liberty and fraternity, were proclaimed in France, and the Napoleonic wars served to communicate these principles to Europe. During the succeeding fifty years, Europe witnessed the spectacle of the bourgeoisie struggling for the extension of its power, for the capture of political power, which still remained in the hands of its adversaries, and for the final destruction of all remnants of Feudalism.

But Feudalism and its political expression—the monarchy—were not to abandon their power as long as there was a semblance of life in them. The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo seemed to have inspired them with new hopes of resuscitating the prostrate corpse of feudal society. This gave rise to the Quadruple Alliance, composed of four monarchies—England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—with Metternich at its head, formed with the avowed purpose of strengthening the old order by crushing every tendency toward revolution. At its Congress at Trappau, 1820, the following protocol was signed: "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other States, ipso facto, cease to be members of the European Alliance and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantees for legal order and stability. If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other States, the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means or if need be, by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the great alliance."

For a time reaction triumphed. In France there was the restoration of the Bourbon family, in the person of Louis XVIII; the White Terror and the election of the "*chambre introuvable*," composed almost entirely of reactionaries, since, due to the White Terror, the Liberals absented themselves from the polls. The French Revolution was still rampant. The French Revolution had taught the English aristocracy that behind the abstract ideas of 'equality" and "natural rights" was the treacherous snake that goaded on the people to demand concrete equality in the distribution of wealth. They determined to avert this at any cost. Hence, the reaction at home and the war with France in 1793, which was principally a war against Jacobinism. Following the Napoleonic wars, England apparently followed a policy of Liberalism—at least, in her foreign relations. This manifested itself chiefly in assisting the Spanish Colonies in America and Brazil to separate from their former mother countries. But this policy was rather due to commercial considerations than to love of democracy. At home the Tories were in power, and the landed aristocracy, as if feeling that its days were numbered, attempted to strengthen its position. During the single reign of George III, 3,209 private inclosure acts were passed, affecting over six and a quarter million acres. Likewise, the Corn Laws were strengthened. In 1815, a new Corn Law forbade the importation of grain into the country, so long as the price of home-grown wheat was under 80/- a quarter. (*to be continued*).

CO-OPERATION: ITS GROWTH AND IDEOLOGY.

ERRATA.

In our review of Professor Gides book on "Consumers' Co-operative Societies," published last week, two errors occur. The footnote stating that the figures had been multiplied by four because each co-operator stands for a family was inadvertently attached to the succeeding table of figures giving the membership of co-operative in 1914 and 1918. In this table the 1914 memberships were given as:—

Britain	3,054
Germany	2,000
Russia	1,500
France	881

This table should have read:—

Britain	3,054,000
Germany	2,000,000
Russia	1,500,000
France	881,000

WHY WE NEED THE FOURTH COMMUNIST WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL

By HERMAN GORTER.

The post-war situation of the international workers' movement is distinguished from the pre-war period by certain fundamental changes.

Through the war a great world economic crisis has increased the tension between capital and labour to breaking point. The general disruption of the capitalist system of production has lowered enormously the standard of living of the world proletariat. Nevertheless, the working class of the entire world, without exception, undoubtedly remains content to better its condition, if it can, within the capitalist system, by the old pre-war methods. Especially in the countries which are directly affected by the war has the vicious and fallacious running round in a circle, from which there is no escape, been developed. It is clearly proven here that every apparent increase in wages is automatically nullified through a corresponding rise in the price of commodities on the one side, and on the other, through the greater output of the paper money press, which causes a fallacious depreciation in the value of money. The rise in the price of commodities, which is simultaneous with the depreciation in the money value, is naturally followed by fresh wage demands, and thus the vicious circle continues.

This situation, so unbearabe for the exploited classes, can only be altered by the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Communist system of production and distribution.

Whilst the policy of social reform was once an historic necessity to raise the condition of the working class, as a preparation for undertaking the final struggle for political and economic power; to-day social reformist tactics are proved to be wholly illusory. To pursue them further will cause ever-increasing misery to the proletariat, a misery which as it grows will stimulate their revolutionary energies.

The development sketched here in outline, has called forth, within the working class itself, far-reaching changes, which have led it far from its position before the world war. The outstanding characteristic of the epoch of the Second International is the organisational unity of the workers' movement. Social Democracy* was, in effect, the united political organisation of the proletariat, whilst the Trade Unions fulfilled the same function on the economic field. This organisational unity bound together political conceptions which were diametrically opposed. Thus the German Social Democracy united the Revolutionary Wing of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Mehring with the revisionist tendency of Bernstein, Heine, David, etc., and between these two extremes was the famous Marxist Centre. The uniting within one party of tendencies which were as the poles apart, when regarded historically, is seen to have been possible only because, during the period of the Second International, social reform and revolution did not confront each other as dialectical antitheses. Both principles formed then a united whole in the class-war. That is the real reason why it was possible to have a united political organisation, as represented by social democracy in the pre-war period.

The characteristic phenomenon of the post-war workers' movement is the organisational disruption on the political and economic field. The splitting of the organisationally-united framework is a clear proof that the political oppositions within the working class have acquired quite a different significance from that they presented during the Second International period. The mass of the proletariat to-day groups itself round the two poles: Social Reform, and Revolution. The position to-day differs from that of the pre-war period in that these two poles represent absolute opposites, which mutually exclude each other.

The policy of Social Reform is synonymous to-day with a Reformist policy. The leaders of Reformism, as in the pre-war period, are the Trade Unions; but equally so to-day are those parties which are working in league with the Trade Unions. The chief aim of the Trade Unions is to reconstruct Capitalism. This aim is quite clearly formulated by them. Therefore, for them, alliance is only possible with parties which stand for the reconstruction of Capitalism, and accept as a basis the political and economic union of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

In this sense the Moscow International works quite openly with the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the "Two and a Half International." To most of the sections adhering to the Third International, this is neither repugnant nor surprising, because they have remained inherently the same Social Democratic Parties which they were before their baptism in the holy water of Communism. The only new circumstance is that the language as well as the composition of the Third International can no longer be distinguished from that of Social Democracy. No longer will it set aside any manifestoes as opportunist; the call to participation in the reconstruction of Capitalism resounds ever more clearly as the official Moscow policy.

In Germany the participation of the Communist Party in the united front presented by those sections of the proletariat which have made common cause with bourgeois democracy for the protection of the capitalist Republic, speaks in such unmistakable language that every proletarian must notice in which direction the Communist Party has turned. This is perhaps more clearly apparent in the abandonment of the tactics of opposition to the reactionary Trade Unions, on the part of the German Communist Party. The deal by which the revolutionary district executive of the Halle Metalworkers was united by the Communist Party with the Central Union, from which it had seceded, was not exactly honourable. In fact it was a suspension of the fight against the Amsterdam International and a direct participation in the reconstruction of Capitalism under the wing of Amsterdam. To-day the Moscow International finds itself in tow to the Amsterdam International, which means that it is actually in tow to the international bourgeoisie. The more Russia develops towards Capitalism, the more apparent will be the bourgeois character of the Third International.

Therefore we must admit that, regarded from an international standpoint, there is at present no organisation capable and willing of stepping forth as the instrument of the revolutionary world proletariat in the struggle against Capitalism and its adherents in the proletarian camp.

International Capitalism, aided by the Trade Unions, will make desperate attempts to overcome the present economic crisis. The overcoming of the economic crisis is largely dependent upon the opening of the Russian market to West European capital. The English and German capitalist groups especially are working to this end.

As a significant new sign, the tendency of the capitalist Great Powers to come to an understanding amongst themselves must be emphasised. In spite of the deep-rooted opposition of economic interests between Britain and America, Britain finds herself compelled to avoid every open conflict with the great trusts across the Atlantic. The same is true of England and France, and of America and Japan.

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

The revolutionary working class of the whole world stands powerless before the situation. It has no class-war organisation which would be capable and willing to lead the revolutionary struggle aiming at the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism by proletarian methods. The longer the situation remains which secures to Capitalism an unbounded playground for the reconstruction of capitalist economy, so much harder will it be for the proletariat to maintain its defensive position towards the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois position.

The sooner an international centre comes into being, which will incorporate the interests of the proletarian revolution, so much sooner will the fall of the Third International take place.

A crystalised kernel must be formed to which those elements and groups which are opposed to the Moscow International and are comprised of what is known as "Left" Communism.

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

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

* In Britain, where the masses have long been politically backward, as compared with the Continent, the Labour Party, a later growth and a makeshift, replaced the Social Democratic Party as the political unit of the working class, side by side with it we had the small socialist societies.

LE POPULAIRE ATTACKS THE DREADNOUGHT.

Le Populaire, with whose editor, Jean Longuet, we have had many a spar for his counter-revolutionary tendencies, contained in a recent issue an erroneous paragraph concerning the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

Le Populaire is on our exchange list, and we reach the Paris office of that paper every week: therefore it is surprising, and perhaps hardly excusable, that *Le Populaire* should describe the *Dreadnought* as "a little sheet, published *fortnightly*." A comparison of the *Dreadnought* and *Le Populaire* shows that the *Dreadnought* is not far short of twice the size of *Le Populaire*, which has become considerably smaller in recent months, though we must bow to the superior position of our French contemporary as a daily organ. *Le Populaire* declares that the *Workers' Dreadnought* is only read by some dozens of readers. The statement is both untrue and absurd. It is probable that *Le Populaire* has a larger circulation than our own since *Le Populaire* is a paper of compromise, carefully safeguarding itself from a breach with the Right Wing of the Trade Union and Parliamentary Socialist movement, and containing general news on all topics, including sporting and Stock Exchange news. The *Dreadnought*, on the other hand, is an extreme Left Wing paper, which openly tilts at all reactionary tendencies in the Labour, Socialist and Communist Movement.

Nevertheless, *Le Populaire* must be fully aware that a newspaper cannot be issued to a few dozen subscribers unless it is heavily subsidised. This is not the case with the *Workers' Dreadnought*. The donations we receive from our supporters, who are mainly poor people, are published in our columns. The cost of production in this country is much higher than in France. It is unlikely that the promoters of *Le Populaire* could have made the paper a daily had they happened to live on this side of the Channel.

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

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

FOR THE BELFAST EXPELLED.

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

IS THIS INTERNATIONALISM?

IRELAND AND COMMUNIST POLICY

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

"For us the Irish Republic is an established fact. . . . Did they wish for a monarchy, an oligarchy, or an anarchy, our attitude would be the same. . . . Upon the Irish people as such, we, as the organ of a British political party, assert no claims. . . . We would, we confess, be best pleased to see Ireland a Workers' Republic—but we are quite definitely of the opinion that this is a matter upon which the Irish workers must take the initiative. We disclaim any desire or intention to dictate to the Irish workers what they shall do, or when they shall do it. *We have no means of judging between rival personalities in the Irish workers' movement. . . . To say that our Irish correspondent has particular opinions and prejudices is to say that he is a human being!*"

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

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

Surely this vague indecision, this inability to formulate a definite policy befits rather the composite *Daily Herald*, than the organ of the Communist Party, which is so dogmatic, not to say tyrannical on some occasions!

But to proceed with our quotations:—

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

The Irish Communists, it should be observed, are not mentioned. Has the Communist Party no choice in regard to them either? If Russia had adopted the same indifferent attitude towards the Communist Party of Great Britain, that Party would have been distinctly poorer; indeed, as at present manned and constituted, it would never have come into being. We have the best of reasons for asserting that! But again, pass on:—

"Several of our correspondents have written to complain of our correspondent's references to certain prominent personalities. If the impression has been created that we wished to convey that at this office we held those persons Messrs. O'Shannon, O'Brien and Johnson) to be either objectionable, or untrustworthy—to be lacking in either knowledge, courage, honesty or reliability—if this has been conveyed, and correspondence to hand seems to indicate that it has, we make haste to assure everybody concerned that we have not, do not and do not expect to hold, any such opinion."

We of the Left Wing Communist Movement (the International Communist Workers' Party) find that our views are in conflict with those of the Communist Party of Great Britain on this question.

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

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

We are for the Irish Communists against the Irish Labourists and "Pink" or "Yellow" Socialists.

We recognise no division between ourselves and the Irish workers, just as we recognise no division between ourselves and the French, German, Italian, Russian, and other workers. We regard the workers of all countries, including Ireland, as potential soldiers in the class war in which we ourselves are engaged.

We regard the proletarian movements in all countries, including Ireland, as parts of the one great international movement, and as far as our lights will carry us, we shall comment upon, advise, and criticise the movement in all countries. The Class War is international!

RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON

On October 15th a Conference was called in the Memorial Hall to receive the report of Tom Mann on the Red Trade Union Congress organised by the Third International in Moscow; 633 delegates were present from 326 branches of Trade Unions, 10 District Committees, and 10 Trade Councils.

Tom Mann did not give a report of the Moscow Congress, but contented himself with an eloquent address on what he saw in the famine area, what he thought of Lenin and Trotsky, and how the Russian Proletariat has fought the counter-revolution.

All he said about the Conference on which he was to report was that the Russian delegates there were pace setters and not "go slow, come and have a drink sort of people."

He said, however, that he had told the Moscow Conference "that fully 20 per cent. of the seven and a half million organised workers in Britain is definitely out for the Revolution. One and a half million of them would be prepared to declare themselves at any sacrifice for the Revolution." Amongst the cotton operatives he thought that 5 per cent. were ready for the Revolution, but in the engineers he said: "I believe there is 33 per cent. ready for the Revolution now." As a proof of that statement he said: "75 London branches of the A.E.U. are here, 147 delegates, and two from the London District Committee."

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

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

Note the vague and slovenly opportunist character of the resolution, and the phrase "any reasonable remedy." The Red Trade Union International is evidently not ready to give a straight clear lead in policy.

If there were one and a half million organised British workers ready for Revolution Harry Pollitt, the Secretary of the Red Trade Union International in London, would not have been announcing that the next Conference in December would be called to formulate tactics on the questions of unemployment and to combat the efforts of the employers to introduce a longer working week on January 1st. If even the leaders of the Red Trade Union organisation in London were prepared for Revolution, we do not think their attention would be monopolised by unemployment and resistance to a lengthened working week.

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

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

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

The chairman said he would take the motion not as an addendum, but as a separate resolution. The mover of the addendum objected, and delegates cried out, asking whether the mover and seconder of the original resolution were willing to accept the addendum. It seems strange that on one observed that it is not for movers of resolutions to decide whether addenda shall be added or amendments be made to their resolutions, and that such changes are often made in spite of the bitterest opposition from those who moved the resolution.

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

Of course, Gallacher could not have been made responsible for someone else's addendum. The farce concluded by the mover of the addendum announcing that if it were to be taken as a separate resolution he would withdraw it.

When we have 20 per cent. of the organised workers ready for Revolution that sort of silly little incident will not occur.

The Conference closed with a moving speech by a delegate from Belfast on behalf of the 10,000 Trade Unionists expelled from that city on account of their Trade Unionism, the singing of the Red Flag and cheers for the Revolution. We are always ready to cheer; it is good for our lungs.

One observes with interest that the pink paper, the *Daily Herald*, always manages to use advertising capital out of such Red Revolutionary gatherings; *Daily Herald* posters decorated the platform.

BERNARD SHAW—*continued from page 1.*

source, the administration should naturally be placed in the hands of organised Labour, and control by the workers in the nationalised industries in question would, of course, be an essential feature of the scheme.

Such a measure is what we are entitled to expect from the Labour Party, and it seems to be incumbent upon you to lead the Labour Party in that direction.

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

Yours for Communism,
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

G. B. S. REPLIES.

10, ADELPHI TERRACE, W.C.2.
October 17th, 1921.

Of course the Labour proposals would be ridiculous in Moscow; but where would be the sense of presenting Communist proposals to a virulently capitalist Government? In the world you have to take what you can get, or go away empty. If I did what you want me to do and the Labour Party withdrew its proposals the unemployed would starve, or tear the whole place down until the Government tided over the emergency by doles and baton charges, and perhaps a little machine-gunning.

As long as you have the capitalist system, you will find that every practicable scheme will have a considerable flavour of the C.O.S. about it. Read the *Labour Monthly*, and you will see what I have to say about the foundations of the question. Meanwhile, tell the workers that they will be jolly lucky if they get as much as the Labour Party is asking. They made their bed in 1918 quite deliberately and with their eyes wide open; and now they must lie on it.

Ever,
G. BERNARD SHAW.

THE WISDOM OF CHOULETTE.

"Barracks are a horrible invention of modern times. They originated in the 17th century. Formerly there was nothing but the guard-house, where veterans played cards and told fairy stories. Louis XIV is the precursor of the Convention and of Bonaparte. But the evil has come to a head in the monstrous institution of universal military service. To have forced men to kill each other is the disgrace of emperors and republics, the crime of crimes.

"In the so-called barbarous ages, cities and princes entrusted their defence to mercenaries, who made war deliberately and prudently: in some great battles there were only five or six slain. And when the knights engaged in war they were not forced to it; they were killed of their own free will. It is true they were good for nothing else. In the days of Saint Louis no one would have dreamt of sending a man of learning and intelligence into battle. Neither was the labourer dragged from his plough and forced to join the army. Now it is considered the duty of a poor peasant to serve as a soldier. Now he is driven from his home, with its chimneys smoking in the golden evening light, his fat meadows where his oxen are grazing, from his cornfields and ancestral woods. In the courtyard of some miserable barracks he is taught how to kill men methodically; he is threatened, insulted, imprisoned; he is told it is an honour, and if he desire no such honour, he is shot. He obeys because, like all the gentlest, gayest and most docile domestic animals, he is afraid. We in France are soldiers and we are citizens. Our citizenship is another occasion for pride! The poor it consists in supporting and maintaining the rich in their power and their idleness. To this task they must labour in the face of the majestic equality of the laws which forbid rich and poor alike to sleep under the bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal their bread. This equality is one of the benefits of the Revolution. Why, that revolution was effected by madmen and idiots who had acquired the wealth of the crown. It resulted in the enrichment of cunning peasants and money-lending bourgeois. In the name of equality it founded the empire of wealth. It delivered France to those moneyed classes who have been devouring her for a century. Now they are our lords and masters. The so-called Government, composed of poor creatures, pitiable, miserable and complaining, is in the pay of financiers.

"Throughout the last hundred years, anyone crying for the poor in this plague-stricken country has been held a traitor to society. We are dangerous if you assert that there are those who suffer poverty. There are even laws against indignation and pity. But what I am saying now, cannot be printed."

From "The Red Lily," by Anatole France

THE "DREADNOUGHT."

Resisting the tide of the traffic, the "Dreadnought" comes,
Ribboned and gay, the first of the holiday brakes;
Careful of broken old women, a parish's mothers,
Bearing them out for the day, from grey alleys and slums—
Away in the forest of Epping, grown green for their sakes.

Aimless and stolid they crouch, everlastingly tired;
Are bundles of patience outworn, half-deaf and half-blind,
Save only one apple-cheeked grannie, more brisk than the others,
Is remembering, with youth in her eyes, and the old dreams desired,
Is kissing her hand to the drivers who follow behind.

WILFRED WILSON GIBSON.

PAY DAY TALKS.

How the Bolshevik Teach Economics.

Dear Comrade,—The attached I found enclosed in my pay packet at the Chadwell Heath Housing Scheme, where I am employed. One of these was placed in each man's packet; thus compelling him to accept it:—

PAY-DAY TALKS—No. 1.

There is a lot of hot-headed talk going about to-day which you are entitled to know the rights of.

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

In Russia you are compelled by armed guards to work whether you want to or not, and whether you are fit to or not. Is that freedom?

In Russia everything is so higgledy-piggledy that millions are going short of food, and many are starving to death. This is mainly because the Bolshevik revolution destroyed the previous orderly arrangements of the country for the growing and the transportation of food, and have set up no efficient system to take their place. In other words, they have made a complete muddle of things. Moreover, money has practically ceased to have any value.

So now if you hear anybody talking about bettering the condition of the country by any other means than the straightforward and constitutional way of Parliament, tell them that it *can't be done*, and let them see that you know the truth about Russia.

Our present system of Government has gradually been built up as the result of the accumulated experience of a thousand years. Help to keep up the traditions of our country by discouraging all Bolshevik talk. Guard your privileges as free men. See your true opinions are expressed through your Unions.

Your interests and the interests of your employers are identical. Many a big employer of to-day started life as a workman. This is a free country, and anyone has the opportunity to rise to any position his abilities entitle him. Remember that, and do your best to make and keep our country the most prosperous in the world.

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SOVIET RUSSIA
AS I SAW IT
BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

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From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE,
152, FLEET STREET, E.C. 4.

FORCED TOWARDS REVOLUTION.

Wages and Prices in Germany.

The average wage of the German workman is 300 marks a week. Porters get 200 marks a week, hotel cooks get from about 380 for the chef down to 200 marks a week, dockers get 55 marks a day, sailors 700 marks a month, firemen on ships 765 marks a month, and stewardesses 350 to 400 marks a month. A chambermaid in an hotel gets about 170 marks a week, neither board nor lodging is provided, and she has to pay from 1.25 to 150 marks a month for a furnished room. A mark used to be counted about a shilling before the war.

Prices are rising steadily. A meal that would cost 2s. in a London restaurant costs 15 marks. The following prices were current in Berlin about a month ago:—

Food.

Potatoes, 10 lbs., 750 marks, cabbage 1 mark per lb., flour 1 mark per lb., sugar 8 marks per lb. by ration and 14 marks in open market, unions 1½ marks per lb., beef 16 to 18 marks per lb., veal 15 to 17 marks per lb., pork 20 to 22 marks per lb., cheese 22 to 36 marks per lb., bread, 4 lbs., 7½ to 10 marks, bacon 26 marks per lb., ham 34 marks per lb., coffee 24 to 32 marks per lb., tea 24 to 34 marks per lb., beans 2 to 4 marks per lb., butter 28 to 32 marks per lb., fish 4 to 8 marks per lb., smoked eel 32 marks per lb., smoked salmon 54 marks per lb.

Clothing.

Coats 400 to 500 marks, suits (which would cost about £4 10s. in London) 1,200 to 1,000 marks, overcoats (like London's £4 4s. quality) 500 to 700 marks, women's coats and skirts of poor quality 800 to 1,000 marks, cotton blouses 200 marks, caps 45 marks and upwards, neckties 40 marks and upwards, men's socks (cotton, very poor quality) 7.50 marks, men's socks (cotton, fair quality) 16 to 18 marks, children's stockings 12 to 20 marks, men's shoes (which would cost about £1 in London) 200 to 400 marks, children's shoes, 8 to 12 years, 148 to 200 marks.

Sundries.

Soap tablet (costing 3d. or 4d. in England) 3 marks, cigars 2 to 15 marks, cigarettes 30 ph. to 50 ph. each, razors (would cost 12s. in London) 50 to 75 marks, pocket knives (would cost 1s. to 10s. in London) 10 to 55 marks, table knives, stainless silver-plated, 35 to 40 marks, binoculars (would cost £7 7s. in England) 850 marks, two unfurnished rooms cost a worker from 80 to 100 marks a month, tram fares 1 mark in Greater Berlin.

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

COMMUNISM *v.* GUILD SOCIALISM.

"Thus, at the present moment, a considerable section of the membership of the National Guilds League—how large a section it is impossible to determine—has joined the Communist ranks. I am not one of those because, although I recognise that the circumstances and the time are adverse to the successful working of the policy of encroaching control, I have not lost faith in that policy, nor do I see any hope in the alternative which is put forward by the Communists. In common, I think, with the main body of Guild Socialists, I envisage the form of transition from capitalism to Socialism as one not merely of strength inaggression, but also at least as much of fitness for administration. Until the workers through their organisations are not merely strong enough to wrest the control of industry from those who at present exercise it, but also strong enough and well enough organised to carry on the administation of it themselves, and to secue uninterrupted smooth running of the wheels of production, it seems to me futile to expect the realisation of Guild Socialism or of any kind of democratic social system."—*From the Kaizo of Japan.*

G. D. H. COLE.

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

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

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

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

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

On railways, post, telegraphs, agriculture, food operations, etc., the Czar spent 23 percent. of the Budget in 1914, and 7.8 per cent. in 1916. The Soviets are spending 49.5 per cent. of their Budget on these services in 1921; 90 per cent. of the Soviet Budget is spent on the economic field.

The circulation of paper money under the Czar in 1914, according to its worth in gold roubles, ten times greater than at present, owing to free rationing and barter taking the place of money transactions.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

All these works may be obtained through our Book Service.

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

"Egypt": Complete Independence and Milner Scheme. By W. Makram Ebeid. Cairo, Egypt. 3d.

THE FOURTH COMMUNIST WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL.

If you are an out-an-out revolutionary Communist opposed to all participation in the Parliamentary and Local Government machinery of Capitalism, and if you have done with the Labour Party and the old Trade Unionism, and believe in revolutionary industrial unions, enrol your name as an adherent of the Fourth Communist Workers' International at the *Workers' Dreadnought*, 152, Fleet Street. If you belong to a "Left Wing" Anti-Parliamentarian Communist Group bring the question of adherence to the Fourth International before your organisation, and notify the result to the *Workers' Dreadnought* Office.

THE GUARDS OF YOUR EMPIRE.

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

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

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

And you, Mr. Workless, with your broken boots, your shabby clothes, and your empty stomach: what is the Empire going to do for you?

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

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

What about those Soviets?

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