Will British Workers fight Irish Republic?

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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SOVIET RUSSIA'S DEFEAT ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT.

This is a sad anniversary for Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government is still in power, but Lenin himself admits it has suffered a serious economic defeat at the hands of Capitalism.

It has entered into Trade Agreements with capitalist Governments and, in return for an almost negligible amount of commerce, has mortgaged its right of Communist propaganda.

It has agreed to pay the Czarist debts which it once so proudly repudiated, and in return for placing this crushing burden upon the Russian peasants, it has received a promise that the British Government will give some old war stores, which Lloyd George says are worth £250,000, to the British Red Cross in Russia and that France will give 6,000,000 francs to the French Red Cross.

The Soviet Government has granted concessions to foreign capitalists to exploit parts of Russia, and within these concessions unmitigated capitalist conditions of labour are re-established.

Vanderlip, the American capitalist who has secured a piece of Siberia for 90 years, has boasted of this. Dr. Hammer, for the New York Allied Drug and Chemical Corporation, has secured a concession for one of the richest asbestos mines of Russia, in the Ekaterinburg district of the Urals, for 20 years. British capitalists are still negotiating to recover the Russian mines once in their possession: they are not yet satisfied with the Soviet terms.

To home Capitalism the Soviet Government has also conceded almost all. Lenin, to the Russian Communist Party in Moscow, said:—

"*The Socialist system of State barter for industrial and agricultural products has proved a failure, and has degenerated into ordinary trade. We must face the facts, and must return from State Capitalism to commerce and a monetary basis. A free market has been too strong for us.*

"*It should be realised that Socialism cannot be attained in the near future.*

"*We must place ourselves on a purely capitalist basis. This need cause no consternation, as an un-Communistic step. Truly, the strengthening of Capitalism is a peril, but what revolutionary measure has not been perilous? Every step has in it possibilities of danger.*"

Yes, every step has in it possibilities of danger: we should have preferred facing the dangers entailed in adherence to Communism.

A Reuter telegram reports Kameneff as saying at the same conference:—

"*The revenue of the Economic Council amounted to 80 milliard ofi roubles, and the expenditure to 200 milliard roubles monthly. An increase of taxation and reduction of expenditure was necessary to cover the deficit.*

"*Ration cards would be abolished as from November 10th. State support would only be granted to children and invalids and workmen of the first category, numbering 146,000, Workmen of the second category, 88,000, would receive from the State neither wages nor food; they must provide for themselves. The billeting of workmen in the houses of the bourgeoisie would cease.*

"*Up to the present, 4,000 business premises in Moscow had been let. The tramways were paying for themselves, and the receipts amounted to 135,000,000 roubles daily.*

"*The payment of subsistence allowances to adults had been suspended as from November 1st.*"

Verily, the glory of Russia has departed: her workers, till lately, assured of a share of all she had, must now shift for themselves as best they may.

The world is colder and sadder for this news.

Rise up, oh sorrowing hearts: return to the hard, long struggle. Not easy is the way of the pioneers: the golden city of Communist fraternity is very far away!

MORE REALISTS!

William Paul, who, in last week's *Communist* advocated forming a *bloc* with the Labour Party, flinches a little from that proposition in his second instalment of "Are We Realists?"

One expected that in his second article he would have elaborated the *bloc* question: showing how it would work in practice, and how the Labour Party, which has so contemptuously refused the affiliation of the C.P., is to be induced to accept it. But no, Paul has dropped the *bloc* for the time being, and takes the safer, more popular ground of explaining, as we all know, that the Labour Party will fail to emancipate the workers when it gets into office.

W. Paul says that it is the duty of Communists to simplify the issues, by using their influence "to remove the Labour Party as an opposition to the present Government . . . by making the Labour Party the Government . . . their [the Labour Party's] acceptance of the Parliamentary system and the entire legal, legislative and administrative machinery of the propertied interests can only result in the perpetuation of Capitalism. . . . Thus the Labour Party, as a Government, will not only prove as helpless as the present one, but it will become identified as the Party of Capitalism . . . the political problem of the proletariat will be a simple one: that of sweeping the Labour Party, now become a prop of Capitalism, and the political machinery of the propertied class, out of the way."

Surely it is obvious that the Communist Party, which has not formed a *bloc* with the Labour Party, and which has not taken part in the "servile acceptance of the Parliamentary system," will be best qualified to simplify the position and lead the masses against the Labour Party and Parliament? Evidently Paul's arguments have shaken his faith in his own contention of last week. In spite of his Marxian references, he has got his argument mixed. He tamely concludes:—

"For the reasons advanced above, and for many others that might be suggested, the Communist Party must seriously consider the advisability of using its influence to get the Labour Party into power at the earliest possible moment."

ARE YOU HELPING THE "DREADNOUGHT" FUND? SEND A P.O. TO-DAY.

ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION.

Support by Trade Unions.

Readers will notice that our correspondent of the German Communist Workers' Party, whose notes should be carefully read, reports the introduction of anti-strike legislation by the German Centre and Social Democratic Government. He reports, also, that the Trade Unions are supporting this crippling legislation as a "beneficial reform," in order to preserve the Union Funds and their own comfortable position.

Already in this country, clauses in D.O.R.A. and the E.P.A. have given the Government power to declare any given strike illegal, and the more extreme Tory capitalists are clamouring for the abolition of the Trades Disputes Acts.

We shall presently see comprehensive anti-strike legislation in this country also: perhaps we may see a general unofficial strike, or a spontaneous sympathetic strike in a number of trades before the anti-strike legislation is introduced. In any case, the anti-strike legislation will come as soon as we get an epidemic of striking, and that will break out as wages get low enough to arouse in the employed the desperate feeling that they might just as well be unemployed as endeavouring to exist on the paltry wages to which they are being reduced.

In Germany the Trade Unions are supporting the anti-strike legislation, and we shall see the same thing happen here, because the Trade Union officials will fear the bankruptcy of the Unions whose members, owing to reduced wages, compulsory Government Insurance deductions, and so on, will only be able to pay reduced contributions, and will often be reluctant to pay any contributions at all.

The Labour Party Unemployment Bill which proposed to extend State Insurances, was drafted before the present great growth in unemployment, reductions in wages, lowering of Trade Union power and prestige. The Trade Union leaders are short-sighted, conservative, and unimaginative: they did not contemplate this situation a year ago.

Now that their Trade Union funds are substantially reduced and the officials are forced to economise them, they are already setting their faces against strikes, and presently we shall, therefore, see the developmnt of unofficial action: extra Union bodies will rise again; unofficial strikes will occur; the Government will propose anti-strike legislation and Henderson, Clynes, Thomas and all the rest will support the Government plan.

All this will give the impetus to the revolutionary workers' Union.

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THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

The capitalist penetration and industrialising of Soviet Russia, and the introduction of machinery for Russian agriculture will shift the class relations in the agricultural parts of Soviet Russia most radically, and in the agricultural districts the capitalist division of classes will also take place. The imported machines will split the present united class of petty-peasant private owners of property into two classes: the class of possessing peasants and the class of propertyless agricultural labourers. These agricultural labourers will gradually among themselves have to select and organise the vanguard of the proletarian revolution in the sphere of agriculture.

The fundamental change in the character of the Soviet Government compels a change just as fundamental in the attitude on the part of the revolutionary proletariat of the world towards the Soviet Government.

The revolutionary world-proletariat has, until now, supported the Soviet Government unconditionally, because that Government either carried into effect, as representative of the revolutionary Russian industrial proletariat, its desire for common property, or it fought, together with the Russian petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, against the feudal aristocracy. The first condition has ceased to exist.

The revolutionary world-proletariat must regard the Soviet Government and its measures from the standpoint of the revolutionary Russian proletariat and according to its own standpoint. Unconditional support of the Soviet Government, in the future, would lead to two kinds of consequences.

It would, on the one hand, mean the thorough approval and support of all measures of this bourgeois Soviet Government against the revolutionary Russian proletariat, the so-called "workers opposition," the millions of Russian proletarians who, as Comrade Kollontay tells us, "lead, even in the Soviet Workers' Republic, the degraded lives of convicts." There can be no doubt that the revolutionary world-proletariat, placed before the choice between the Government of a bourgeois State and the revolutionary proletariat, must help the members of their class, that is to say, the Russian workers' opposition.

It would, on the other hand, mean the thorough support of the international measures of the Soviet Government; that is to say, the obligation of propaganda and of most active participation in the building-up of Capitalism abroad, and thereby in the reconstruction of international Capitalism. The revolutionary proletariat would have to take up an antagonistic revolutionary attitude towards the proletarian revolution, and would have to utter and obey, instead of the watchword "Sabotage and the Stoppage of capitalist production," the watchword: "The most intensive work on capitalist lines and conditions." The Soviet Government demands this and nothing else.

It would be madness and betrayal as well to follow the Soviet Government in the course thus pursued.

The aim, immediately to be realised, remains: the abolition of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian power of the State. That applies at present more practically to the German proletariat. Only the victory of the German proletariat, in the shape of the conquest of political power, could have preserved Russia from its present fate; could have saved the Russian proletariat from misery and oppression by its own Soviet Government.

By itself the Russian proletariat is too weak to achieve a victory over the enormous mass of peasants, and much less over the bourgeoisie at home and abroad. But, in unison with the German proletariat, it will be able to crush all these class enemies.

The Russian peasants, with their desire for capitalist private property and their petty-bourgeois interests would no doubt offer resistance to the organised force of the Russian and German proletariats, but would ultimately have to submit to it, though perhaps only after an intense, sanguinary struggle.

If the entire psychology of the petty peasants is to be changed, it can come about only through a change in their material conditions. For that purpose, technical measures in agricultural production, the utmost possible use of steam ploughs and agricultural machinery and an extensive electrification are necessary.

The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world is indebted to the Russian proletariat for endless things. The Russian proletariat has shown it the means and methods (strike of the masses and insurrection) that lead to political power: it has at the same time pointed out the machinery of the proletarian State: the workers' councils. That is the great deed, the success of the revolution; towers above everything.

Much more heavily than ever before rests now (after the Soviet Government has gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie) the responsibility for the world revolution upon the German proletariat. Soviet Russia has ceased to be a *Soviet* Russia. *Soviet Germany* is the next step to the world Revolution.

The Soviet Government and the Third International after the Third World Congress.

The Third Congress of the Third International has definitely and indissolubly linked the fate of the Third International to present Soviet Russia, that is to say, to a bourgeois State. It has made the interests of the world proletarian world-revolution subordinate to the interests of the bourgeois revolution of one single country. It has, by doing so, deprived the Third International of all independence, and has brought it to direct dependence upon the bourgeoisie.

The Relief for Soviet Russia by the German Proletariat.

No event could have proved so quickly and clearly the truth of these pronouncements as the attitude of the Soviet Government and of the United Communist Party of Germany, in respect of the momentary distress of Soviet Russia. Not another word is uttered concerning, or in favour of, the world revolution, only capitalist purchase of goods. The single sections of the Third International, in duty bound, take upon themselves the mediation between the Soviet Governemnt of bourgeois-peasant Russia and the bourgeoisie of the various countries, and induce the proletariat of the whole world to place its labour power at the disposal of capital, under the conditions of profit-making. By doing this, the Third International enters in accordance with its whole theoretic attitude, practically, the service of international capitalism, for the purpose of its reconstruction and consolidation.

The United Communist Party of Germany has, by its manifesto for the relief of Soviet Russia, endorsed its complete political bankruptcy. It will in future refrain from actions in pursuance of the class-struggle directed against the bourgeoisie. It surrenders, already even, the idea of the proletarian revolution. It proposes to the German capitalists a compromise in the way of mutual interests in production. Not the German proletariat is to supply the Rusian workers with the means of relief, but the German bourgeoisie. It openly adopts the standpoint of the capitalist method of production and recognises the need of the means of production remaining the porperty of the German bourgeoisie.

It begs the bourgeoisie to "grant it commercial credits on long terms, and to charge home price for Soviet Russia." The Russian proletariat is to *purchase* the means of relief from the German bourgeoisie; for this kind permission the United Communist Party of Germany begs German capitalism. The policy of the V.C.P.G. consists from now of capitalist business transactions with all profiteers and by means of haggling methods. The V.C.P.G. excells itself, it seeks to make this "horse dealing" palatable to the German proletariat by ways of demagogy; for it exclaims:

"The workers should remember that an increased export to Russia, on the basis of credits for long terms and of German home prices, creates more opportunities for work themselves."

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

There is only one way, one kind of relief, one kind of salvation: that is the proletarian revolution. Thereby shall we help the Russian proletariat, and in no other way. Have we, perhaps, "money, corn, medicines"? Is it not mockery that the V.C.P.G. should demand such things from the German proletariat? *We have nothing ourselves. We are quite poor ourselves. We are starving, ourselves.*

But the bourgeoisie have all these. We can help our Russian brothers and ourselves, only if we take it by force from the bourgeoisie. The entire revolutionary proletariat must do that.

The Bankruptcy of the Third International and the Necessity of Creating a Revolutionary Communist Workers' International.

The Third International is, since the Third World Congress, indissolubly tied to the Russian State politics, and is rapidly approaching a catastrophe similar to that which the Russian State is now facing. What has been a genuine attempt at creating a powerful revolutionary proletrian International, but is to-day only a powerful weapon in the hands of the Soviet Government, must, like the Russian State, go to its inevitable doom; for the Third International has lost all independence. The Third International has become a national Russian International.

Therefore Soviet Russia calls no more upon the world proletariat for the world revolution, but for "using its influence with the Capitalist Governments" to supply Soviet Russia with machines and other goods on capitalist lines.

(To be continued.)

LEAVES FROM AN ESPERANTIST'S DIARY.

June 14.—Invited the village schoolmaster and his wife to tea, asked if they could have Esperanto evening continuation classes, found them rather dubious.

June 30.—After a fortnight's cogitation asked them to tea again to say that I would offer prizes at the end of the year for Esperanto if the permission could be got from the County Council, and if any boys or girls would join a class.

July 9.—Hurrah! Letter from County Council authorising evening continuation classes in Esperanto provided they entailed no cost to the Council! Rather stingey, but better than nothing.

July 27.—Off to Prague for the International Esperanto Congress, meet crowds of people from forty countries all talking Esperanto, including the mayor of the town.

August 10.—Home from the Congress fully enthused, rush off to the schoolmaster, tell him I will give the lessons myself if he can get the pupils after the holidays.

September 10.—Schoolmaster sends word that he has about twenty boys and girls willing to join an Esperanto class; can I start next Wednesday at 7 p.m.?

September 12.—Providentially a young lady from the neighbouring town calls and greets me in Esperanto to hear about the Congress. I at once enlist her as a voluntary teacher. I buy two dozen two-penny primers.

September 17.—Young lady and I start off at 6.30 for the schools to begin our classes, I distribute the books and make a speech promising a green star for a button-hole as soon as any boy can talk Esperanto. No girls present. I tell them how lovely it will be to travel all over the world with that green star and talk to other boys in other countries where they are learning Esperanto as fast as they can. Great enthusiasm.

Start teaching them that La patro means the father and la patrino the mother. La frato the brother and la fratino the sister ,and so on.

September 24.—Second Esperanto class, our lady friend says Bonan Vesperon, and tells them that it means good evening, and now if the boys meet me in the evening they call after me Bonan Vesperon, Signoro.

September 26.—People in the village already wondering at the foreign talk going on, I explain to the policeman, and offer to teach him Esperanto so that he may not fear that we shall plan revolution under his nose.

September 31.—We hold our third Esperanto class, boys getting excited and proud of the words they know, one boy wants to start travelling at once, he has already got fourpence towards his voyage!

To be continued.

[Editorial papers please copy.]

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

The Political and Economical Situation by our Special Correspondent.

The Sham Fight about Upper Silesia.

The question of Upper Silesia is still the most important political topic everywhere. The bluff of the capitalist and pro-capitalist political parties for the benefit of the working class continues. The comic tragedy played by the united front from Stinnes to the K.P.D. (Communist Party of Germany) assumes all kinds of variations, but is naturally aiming at the one and only object: the further impoverishment of the working masses. The capitalists and their working class henchmen in Germany know only too well that the decision of the Ententes (through the League of Nations) in the question of Upper Silesia does not and will not in the least affect their economic position. But the bombastic, hysterical protest and opposition directed by all the political parties against the alleged injustice and brutality of the Supreme Council and League of Nations serve two distinct purposes, namely, to keep the patriotic national spirit alive in the unsophisticated masses and divert their attention from their own economic misery to the political sham fights between the various groups of capitalist exploiters, who have brought such untold suffering upon the working masses of the world in order to satisfy their own never-ending greed for more and more wealth.

The Social Democrats who had at their last Annual Party Conference resolved to make common cause with the German People's (Stinnes) Party have momentarily turned away from it "in disgust" because that Party has, over the question of Upper Silesia, "thrown in its lot with the German National Party (the Party of Monarchical Militarism)." A new Wirth Cabinet has been formed consisting only of members of the Centre and Social Democratic Parties. Even the German Democratic Party has refused to go into the Wirth Cabinet out of "pure patriotism and grief for their ill-used fatherland."

The Internationalisation of Capital and the Monopolisation of Labour-Power.

It is true that the ceding of Upper Silesia industrial territory to Poland is a concession to the French capitalists who have enormous investments in Poland, but all these national divisions are not only neutralised, but become even profitable for the German capitalists by the ever advancing process of internationalisation of industrial and commercial capital. A difference (quite unimportant to the proletariat) exists only between the agricultural capital and national State values such as railways, forests, etc. The ceding of industrial territory naturally weakens Germany as a State through the loss of taxes. The consequence is that the Stinnes regime is brought nearer realisation, a fact the workers have good reason to welcome.

Internationalisation of capital means, of course, at the same time the monopolisation of the commodity labour-power. Such monopolisation relieves capital of the necessity of taking part in production, as it is able to secure its share of profit by mutual understanding. Through the monopolisation of labour-power the need of "unfair" competition owing to a favourable turn of the market. *Internationalisation means a narrowing of their basis of production*, the reduction of wages, even during periods of comparative prosperity, that is to say, the narrowing of the conditions of life and consequently the intensification of the class antagonisms.

Penal Anti-Strike Law supported by Trade Unions.

The German capitalists are well aware that the reduction of wages with its disastrous consequences to the workers must call forth numberless strikes and an increase of unemployment. There are continually strikes against reductions in wages and against breaking through the eight-hours' day. But these economic "fights" are carried on by the Trade Unions *who are more patriotic and reactionary than the capitalists themselves.* The Trade Unions, for fear of exhausting their funds by continual strikes, are now endeavouring to wean their members from them *by actually promoting useless and hopeless guerilla-fights.* The Government is preparing an anti-strike bill for the Reichstag, according to which striking or inciting thereto will be punishable with heavy terms of hard labour and penal servitude. And the most brutal aspect of this situation is that *the Trade Unions themselves are vigorously supporting this penal measure, and are recommending it to the unwary workers as "a beneficial reform."* As all the workers' parties (including the Communist Party) are staunchly supporting the strictly legal methods and measures only, it will soon be the turn of the Communist Workers' Party, with its General Workers' Union, to lead the workers in the struggle against the encroachments of capital, for they alone are unconditionally prepared to use illegal and forceful means and methods to fight capital and bring it speedily to a fall.

The Great Hunger-Strike of the Unemployed.

At present a unique situation has developed with regard to the unemployed in Berlin. The terrorising methods of the Governors of the Labour Exchanges —that are already acting in anticipation of the coming anti-strike law and unemployment insurance law —have led the unemployed that attend the various exchanges to *go on strike and refuse to accept the work offered them by the exchanges.* The grievances arising out of this situation have now been added to the former demands, which are: *full existence for all and work according to ability.* To-day a big demonstration is being held in support of these demands.

It is a satisfactory feature of this strike that the staffs of the Labour Exchanges have thrown in their lot with the unemployed, and are supporting the strikers enthusiastically, and are determined to break the tyranny of the Capitalist State and Municipal Officials.

The functionaries of the C.P. are doing their utmost to dissuade the rank and file of the unemployed from keeping up the fight. These functionaries argue that through this strike the employers are able to realise more promptly their desire to dispense with the institution of the Labour Exchanges and to return to the engaging of new hands direct at the factory gates. From the revolutionary standpoint such an event is only to be welcomed, as it means the undermining of certain phases of State Capitalism which in every respect attempt to check artificially one of the principle laws of Capitalism, namely, the threefold competition, that is to say, capitalists against capitalists, workers and workers and capitalists against workers. As in every other instance the Parliamentary Communists defend also in this case the "sacred institutions" of State capitalism, and regard the destruction of the Labour Exchanges as a "retarding step" on the road of Communism—an entirely opportunist and reformist conception of things.

To-morrow the unemployed attending the Labour Exchanges will themselves have to decide what course to take, whether to continue or to give up the struggle. As the State and municipal authorities are now taking steps to stop the payment of the State doles to the unemployed, and the Trade Unions, backed by the reformist working-class parties, Social Democrats, Independents, and Parliamentary Communists, through their officials, take up a hostile attitude towards the masses of the unemployed—who in the bulk are revolutionary—it is very probable that the present struggle will have to be abandoned. Should this be the case, we may very soon expect another flare up on a larger scale, and with a more favourable result, for the Executive Committees of the Unemployed, elected at the Labour Exchanges, who luckily are throughout revolutionary Communists, will, as soon as the political and economic situation becomes more critical, give the necessary lead to the masses—employed as well as unemployed—in the great fight for full existence and suitable work for all. Such a fight taken up the great working masses with determination and perseverance will at last set the ball rolling in the direction of a genuine proletarian revolution, and will become the starting point of the coming world revolution.

THE STRANGE CASE OF COMRADE STEELE.

A policeman, who admitted he took no notes at the meeting, but wrote his notes from memory, delivered a long and elaborate speech at the West London Police Court on November 2nd. This he declared to be the fac-simile of an address given by Comrade John Steele at Hazelwood Crescent. Comrade Steele replied that he was not at the Hazelwood Crescent meeting, but at his favourite pitch in Hyde Park, where his propaganda is so popular and widely known. Several witnesses testified to the truth of Steele's alibi. The policeman alleged that Steele at Hazelwood Crescent had urged men to go to the cenotaph on November 11th armed with walking sticks. The leaders of the unemployed would refuse to turn aside at the bidding of the inspector, and if the police then used teh unemployed must retaliate. Evidently that policeman has a most lively imagination!

The magistrate, instead of dismissing Steele in view of the fact that he was not at the meeting in question, adjourned the case till November 11th.

The same policeman of the vivid memory recited also a long speech which he declared memorised from that of R. C. Griffiths. This case also was adjourned.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

Oswald Peppercorn (Blackheath) writes: "I must query strongly the statement that the Labour Party is destined to have a Parliamentary majority. I believe that, assuming all the workers' vote solidly for Labour, their vote will be easily outnumbered by the capitalist and petit bourgeois sections of the community. Kropotkin says only one-third of the population is engaged in productive work. Is it not traitorous to the working class to be continually hanging on the vote as a means of securing power?"

[We, of course agree that the workers cannot secure power by means of the vote, but the computation that only one-third of the population is engaged in productive work does not affect the question of the Labour Party vote. Large sections of the proletariat are engaged in non-productive work, *i.e.*, in all the business of advertisement and buying and selling, in acting as servants to the bourgeoisie, and so on. The proletariat numbers, undoubtedly, considerably more than our correspondent's estimate. Moreover, the Labour Party is aiming at securing the votes of the 'black-coated workers' and small bourgeoisie: indeed, as far as its Parliamentary policy is concerned, it caters more for the lower middle class than for the workers, as is apparent to anyone who will take the trouble to observe the actual doings of the Labour Party.—EDITOR.]

A FALSE STATEMENT.

A Letter to Willie Gallacher.

152, Fleet Street,
Mr. Gallacher. 31 *October*, 1921.

Dear Comrade Gallacher,—It is reported to me by a comrade, who was present, that at a public meeting in the Minerva Café, High Holborn, organised by the London Central Branch of the Communist Party, you stated that I had got myself expelled because someone was willing on that condition to finance the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

This is absolutely untrue. Neither I nor the *Workers' Dreadnought* have had any such offer made to us on such a condition, and the paper is having a difficult financial struggle. I deeply resent the imputation, which is tantamount to saying that my opinions may be bought.

You were present at the Executive Meeting, and you know that the statement is untrue.

I therefore ask you to tell me whether you made such a statement. If you did not, I ask you to deny having done so.

Yours for Communism,
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

W. GALLACHER'S reply to this letter is:—

"You will remember, you yourself said, that the next issue of the *Dreadnought* would be the last, and the evening following your expulsion, in conversation with McManus and Bell, I offered the opinion that your expulsion had been a tactical error, and said that I felt quite confident, from your attitude throughout the meeting, that the *Dreadnought* would not go out of existence, but that you were expecting financial assistance, as a result of getting yourself expelled. Of course, it was mere guessing, but I flatter myself that, in view of the fact that the week following, instead of the *Dreadnought* going out of existence, you sent out wires to your agents that the *Dreadnought* was going to continue publication, that my guess was pretty near the mark. It was along these lines that I spoke at the Minerva Café, and I may on occasion speak in the same manner again if I consider it necessary in the interest of Communism."

We repeat that W. Gallacher's statement is entirely untrue, and we again invite him to apologise and withdraw.

The Jim Larkin Correspondence Committee urges comrades to buy from Banba Hall, Parnell Square, Dublin, for Jim Larkin Christmas Greeting Postcards, and to send them to Jim Larkin in Sing Sing prison.

SPICE.

J. R. Clynes, at Wolverhampton, said four out of Lloyd George's plans for unemployment were Labour lines of action which "in a crude way Labour has shouted for at every street corner for the last few years."

There could be no more damning indictment of the Labour Party than this!

Miss Megan Lloyd George—a homely-looking young woman—but why have they dressed her up so unsuitably like a Piccadilly popinjay?

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WILL BRITISH WORKERS FIGHT THE IRISH REPUBLIC?

British workers cannot remain neutral in the probable Irish war.

Every worker who produces, or transports goods that can feed, clothe, or provide with munitions those who are fighting, will be helping in the war.

The Irish war would be fought in the interests of English landlords and capitalists; it cannot benefit or concern British workers.

British workers would have to pay for the Irish war, fought for the benefit of British capitalists, as they are paying, in high prices, low wages and unemployment, for the European war. The Irish war would be long, cruel, and costly.

British Workers Can, and Must, Stop the Irish War.

The Labour Party and Trade Union leaders are sitting on the fence about the Irish war: they urged their members to enlist in the last war, and they supported Conscription and the Munitions Act; but now they all profess to be pacifists: their hearts are in Washington, where they hope Lloyd George will represent them, and they all declare that they want the Irish question to be settled without force. Yet they support the Government in a policy that must lead to force.

The majority of the Irish people have set up a Republican Parliament. That Parliament is making laws, collecting taxes, and has Courts and local authorities to administer the laws. Its Army enforces the will of the Republican Parliament.

The British Government says Ireland cannot be a republic: it uses the British Army, Navy, and armed police to uphold British law in Ireland and to suppress Irish law and punish those who take part in administering it. The Lord Mayor of Cork, McSwiney, who died on hunger strike, was accused of taking part in an Irish law Court.

When the truce ends, Lloyd George says he will suppress the Irish Government and all its activities by force, and set up Crown Colony Government in Ireland, which is a form of government that gives the people governed no representation in the Government.

The Irish people will fight to maintain the Irish Government. The Lloyd George Government will fight to suppress it. The Labour leaders sit on the fence, wringing their hands, and say: "Please don't use force."

It is quite obvious that force will be used unless the workers of this country prevent it by direct action.

The questions for every worker to decide are:

Are You For, or Against, the Irish Republic?

We are for the Irish Republic.

We believe that every people should be free to decide its government.

We believe that the progress of the workers' movement in Ireland will be hindered whilst the workers are engaged in the national struggle.

We want to see Ireland out of the British Empire, as a step towards breaking up the British Empire, which is a strong bulwark of Capitalism and a menace to the workers' revolution all over the world.

We refuse to assist the wars of the capitalist Government.

What to Do Against the War.

Do anti-war propaganda in the workshop.

Try to get conferences of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress called, with the object of committing them to the policy of supporting the Irish Republic and stopping the war, by refusing to handle material for the Army and Navy, and by the General Strike.

Prepare for action in the workshop; unless the workers in the shop will take action, the Government will do as it pleases.

FRANCE THE GREATEST IRON POWER.

Every intelligent person is aware that Britain and Germany fought each other because they were rivals: rivals in trade, rivals in power. Britain's rise to power was largely due to her capacity for bringing labour power to bear on raw materials: Germany's rising position was still more due to that factor.

Before the war, Germany was richer in iron than any other country in the world.

Pre-War Distribution of Iron.

Before the war, iron reserves of the principal European countries were as follows:—

	Iron Ore. (Million Tons)	Met. Iron. Tons)	Percentage of European Reserves.
France	3,300	1,140	27.4
Germany	3,607.7	1,270	29.9
Great Britain	1,300	455	10.8
Austria	251	90	2.1
Russia and Poland	848.7	382.1	6.9
Sweden and Norway	1,525	864	12.6
Spain	711	349	5.8
Luxemburg	270	90	2.2
Other Countries	218.5	92.7	2.3
Total	12,031.9	4,732.8	100.0

Present Distribution of Iron.

The Treaty of Versailles has changed all that; the present distribution of iron in Europe is as follows:—

	Iron Ore. (Million Tons)	Iron Contents.	Percentage of European Reserves.
France	5,630	1,895	46.7
Germany	1,262	511	10.5
Great Britain	1,300	455	10.8
German-Austria	213.2	75.1	1.7
Russia	880.9	376.4	6.8
Poland (with Upper Silesia)	34.4	10.5	0.25
Scandinavian Countries	1,525	864	1.26
Spain	711	349	5.8
Luxemburg	270	90	2.2
Other Countries	254.5	—	2.65

The Crux of the Upper Silesian Question.

If the countries possesing iron ore are grouped according to their trade and political connections, the result of these changes is still more strikingly shown, and it is seen that France, whose interest is predominant in Poland, has greatly benefited by the transfer of Upper Silesia from Germany to Poland:—

	Percentage of Europe.	Percentage of the World.
France-Poland	46.9 (27.4)	25.2 (14.7)
Germany-Austria	12.2 (34.4)	6.6 (18.6)
Great Britain	10.8 (10.8)	5.8 (5.8)
Larger Neutrals	20.6 (18.4)	11.1 (9.9)
Russia	6.8 (6.9)	3.7 (3.8)
Other Neutrals	2.7	2.1
United States	—	19.0
Newfoundland	—	16.2
Other Countries	—	12.4

Britain and France have been the traditional rivals: the iron question may yet set a match to the old fire. France now possesses half the iron reserves of Europe, and a quarter of the world's. Her resources are four times those of Britain.

The German iron industry was built up on the Thomas process, using ores rich in phosphorus; the British industry on the Bessemer process, using ores poor in phosphorus. France now possesses the ores rich in phosphorus.

Lorraine ores are rich in phosphorus, Spanish poor, Swedish medium, South Russian poor, These are the principal iron ore districts.

Coal: Pre-War Distribution.

Consider now the question of coal. This table shows the European distribution before the war:—

	Total Reserves in Millions of Tons.		Percentage of the European Reserves.
Germany	409,975		59.1
Great Britain	178,176		25.1
France	12,720		1.8
Belgium	11,000		1.5
Poland	2,525	20,792	31.0
Russia	18,267		
Galacia	31,600		4.6
Other Countries	28,899		4.2

Present Coal Distribution.

The present distribution, grouping the countries, as before, in their trade and political relationships, again shows France grown enormously more powerful as a result of the war:—

	Per cent.	
France and Sarre District	4.1	84.5
Poland and Upper Silesia	29.0	
Belgium	1.5	
Germany	32.8	
Great Britain	25.7	
Russia	2.7	
Other Countries	4.2	
	100.0	

UNEMPLOYED STRIKE.

Our German correspondent also draws attention to the fact that the German unemployed are striking against the work offered them at the Labour Exchanges, on account of the insufficiency of the doles paid them for such work.

Undoubtedly we shall see the same thing here: already the Government prescribes that work provided by the municipalities for the unemployed must be paid for, at least, during a probationary period, at less than the standard rates. At present the Labour Party representatives on the Councils are putting up a fight against this; but they will easily give in: the Government has the power: the Councillors will find it difficult to refuse work at any price to starving men, and, on the other hand, the Labour representative is usually a comfortable, easy-going fellow who does not welcome the prospect of being surcharged and perhaps going to gaol for paying more than the Government will permit. The Labour Party's policy has always been: "Obey the law, and tell the workers they are to blame for not electing a Government that would change the law." Moreover, the Labour Party never has been prepared to fight for the workers to have the same standard of maintenance when the employers happen not to want them as when they are at work. A sharp conviction or two will probably break the back of the Labour Party opposition. Moreover, to sit on a Board and dole out relief, and to be forced to refuse relief to hungry people, because there is not enough to go round, always arouses the tempting question: "Why not give less to each one and spread the relief over a larger number of people?" "Half a loaf is better than no bread": what a wide support that pernicious cry of the compromisers always gains!

Our correspondent in Germany tells us that the Communist Party is opposing the strike of the unemployed against the work at starvation doles, on the plea that if they do so, the power of the Labour Exchanges will be undermined and the unemployed against work at starvation gates, instead of at the Exchange: there is always some excuse to be found for choosing the way of compromise. The fact that the British Communist Party has adopted the policy of joining in the administration of the Borough Councils and Boards of Guardians and is endeavouring to enter into an alliance with the avowedly, boastedly Reformist Labour Party, places it on the inclined path that leads to compromising palliatives, and away from the Revolution.

THE THIRD OR FOURTH.

By "WOBBLY."

[This article is contributed by a Committee of Comrades in the North.]

Since the new International has been cradled, merriment has been rife among the adherents of the Third; but those of the Third who think quickly, whilst they smile at the Fourth, know that it spells trouble; for although the new International is not out of the cradle yet, its sponsors represent a section of revolutionaries who are bitter slashing fighters, and loud though the howl of derision may be, this section know the class struggle inside and out, and they are realists.

Up to the present no one has dared to challenge the sacred leadership of the Russians, but the undercurrent of thought, that has been rippling the almost calm waters of the Third, has received an added impetus, and now bids fair to raise a storm.

Certain it is that the Russian Communist Party has done an immense amount of work and begun to make clear the path by which we must travel to overthrow Capitalism. Even if, as the sponsors of the Fourth maintain, the Russian leadership of the proletariat is artificial, the experiment is one which has been worth while, for it has demonstrated that scientific industrial organisation must precede revolution.

Many sections of the Third are worse than useless; they are reactionary and the slavish adoption of any Theses the Russians like to bring forward, bodes ill for the future of the revolutionary movement.

The peurile copyists of the iron discipline stunt, in this country and America, are rapidly forcing a split by a foolish application of this iron discipline to elements which do not see eye to eye with them and, to their shame, are closing their eyes to the deliberate flouting of discipline by the opponents of "Infantile Disorder."

The demand that the I.W.W. of America shall permit the "waterspout" Communists of the Communist Party of America to replace the rank and file elected officials and editors, by their own nominees who may not even be in the I.W.W., and, in England, the expulsion of Sylvia Pankhurst from the Party for refusing to hand over the *Workers' Dreadnought* to the Party, whilst the disciplinarians stand by and allow the Editor of the *Worker* to denounce the set policy of the Third, without even a public protest, are instances which make a mockery of discipline to serve the ends of an official and seemingly conservative clique.

However, we are now directly concerned with the question of whether the Third is becoming static through the economic conditions of its sponsor—Russia—and with the fact that a minority of revolutionaries in most industrial countries is definitely discussing the formation of a new International.

What concerns the industrialists is how far the Third is travelling along the lines of scientific industrial organisation, in dealing with such highly industrially organised countries as the United States, England, Germany and countries which are partially industrialised, such as Italy, France, and Japan. Since the break with the Third has been mooted, what is the industrial policy of the Fourth to these countries?

On examining the industrial policy of the Third, as expressed by the Communist Party of this country, one is struck by the wavering and almost incredible shuffling on the industrial field. Such ridiculous statements are given forth as that the Workers' Committee movement represents 500,000 workers, and that the R.T.U.I. speaks for a quarter of a million, and the ridiculous assertion of Tom Mann, that 33 per cent. of the engineers are revolutionary. Such statements are mere window-dressing for Moscow.

Considering the industrial policy of the International Communist Party, which includes industrial groups, Workers' Committees, and the R.T.U.I., one is immediately confounded by the fact that these three organisations are working side by side, with no visible connection with each other, each aiming at a supposed industrial union, each with its own executive body, and each autonomous.

The R.T.U.I. persuades a Trade Union to affiliate to the R.T.U.I., and the officials, seeing that their official jobs are beginning to totter, owing to the activities of the Workers' Committees, expel their Workers' Committee members. This is a situation which may easily arise.

Zinoviev, in the Congress of the Third, talks of the "reactionary views of Syndicalism and Industrialism," and emphasises that it is not the shapeless labour unions, but the Party that counts. From the general trend of such Russian remarks, one is convinced that all the eggs of the Third are placed in the armed insurrection basket, and that the General Strike is definitely decried as useless.

So far as Industrial Unionism is concerned, the spokesmen of the Third do not even seem to give it a thought; they emphasise the triple division of the Communist Party, the Soviets and the Trade Unions, with an accent on the Party.

W. Paul, of the British section of the Third, recently made much play with the General Strike, in the official organ of the Communist Party, and if the mentality of the Third is reproduced in Paul's statements, then it is high time for the Fourth to be on the job.

He stated that "no one has more clearly demonstrated the futility of the General Strike as a positive and constructive revolutionary tactic than the Communists." Thus spake Paul, the disciple of Lenin, and propagator of the short-lived Workers' and Social Councils!

The General Strike, or general "down tools" is merely a tactic for grouping the industrial forces together, in order to produce for use and not for profit.

The main theme of the Third, then, is armed uprising, and not the General Strike, and their criticisms and accusations of the Shop Stewards, the Syndicalists, the I.W.W., go to prove that they have not realised that industrial organisation must precede world revolution, and that not the Red Army, but the Industrial Army, is the force to bring about the emancipation of our class.

Taking an outline of the policy advocated by Sylvia Pankhurst in an article, "New Tactics," and presuming that, as an advocate of the new International, she is voicing its industrial policy, I do not find any coherent policy at all,* for she speaks of 100 per cent. Trade Unions, 100 per cent. Industrial Unions, Revolutionary Industrial Unions, and mobile coherent bodies of convinced revolutionaries. Comrade Pankhurst would be well advised to study the evolution of the industrial union and then turn to Justus Ebert's book, "The I.W.W. Theory and Practice." There she will find that, far from the industrialists refusing to believe that the industrial unions might disappear with the end of Capitalism,** Justus Ebert states, that with the end of Capitalism comes the end of the I.W.W., and adversely, continue Capitalism and the soil in which the I.W.W. flourishes is enriched.

But, to return, we find that she states that a revolutionary industrial union is necessary, and there we are in agreement, but in what manner is this revolutionary industrial union to be organised? Comrade Pankhurst casts a shadow of doubt by "the mobile coherent bodies of convinced revolutionaries" idea; for if these revolutionary industrial unions are to be comprised of none but members of the C.W.P., then we are once more developing into the hide-bound policy of Daniel De Leon, which gives way to the mouthings of the W.I.I.U. delegates at the Third International. No matter how Comrade Pankhurst tries, she must organise the slaves on the job and teach them to be class-conscious, by the evident class solidarity of the union.

The Syndicalist system of South Wales has undoubtedly tottered; for, as was shown before, in an article called "The Miners' Final Step" (*Workers' Dreadnought*), the South Walians' policy of boring from within and capturing the official positions, means that, unless a definite revolutionary spirit is preached by the leaders, as Union leaders, and taken up as a Union policy, the handful of revolutionaries are weighted down by obsolete machinery and an unwilling body of members.

It is hardly possible to imagine an industrial union with a more scientific structure than the I.W.W. If these are the structural lines on which the new International is basing its industrial policy, then they give new hope for a Revolutionary Proletarian International.

With regard to the I.W.W. form of organisation: what position do the political parties take up with regard to the revolutionary industrial unionists?

Zinoviev and the spokesman of the Third have placed on record their opposition to the industrial union ("The reactionary views of Syndicalism and Industrialism"). Yet they are forced to recognise the industrial organisation problem and eventually give birth to the R.T.U.I.

While the British section of the Third admits the value of the work done by the industrialists, and murmurs that all tactics are to be used, it conveniently pigeon-holes the industrial policy, somewhere in headquarters, and makes it next to impossible to get any serious work done on the industrial field. The only time when they bother to notice the industrialists is when the Town Council Communists require their aid to pull their chestnuts out of the fire.

The sponsors of the Fourth certainly recognise the importance of industrial action; for, in Germany, they have found that their most important weapon in fighting the boss class on the political, military, and industrial field. Naturally, having had the experience of the effectiveness of industrial organisation, they are fast realising that here is the force that will eventually enable the working class to rise to power.

(*continued on page* 6).

* We regret that our article "New Tactics" has not been understood by "Wobbly." The constitution of the German A.A.U., which is the industrial organisation formed by the German Fourth International, and which appeared in the *Workers' Dreadnought* last week, will perhaps clear up some of our correspondent's difficulties. The article "New Tactics" advocated, what the Fourth International endeavours to do: "to organise the slaves on the job," as Wobbly puts it, but only to accept those slaves who are prepared to enter the organisation with one object, the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of Communism. Let us put the matter more plainly:—

(1) One Revolutionary Union of Workers in all industries.

(2) Composed of sections, each covering the workers in an industry.

(3) Built up on a workshop committee basis.

(4) Only workers pledged to the Revolution to overthrow capitalism and the establishment of Communism, and the Soviets are eligible for membership.

(5) Opposition to Trade Unionism, Parliamentarism, reformism, and "boring from within."

(6) Close co-operation with the Communist Workers' Party and acceptance of the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist political machinery.

Wobbley seems to regard the refusal to admit workers who are not yet revolutionaries to membership as "hide bound." Many take up that attitude because they want to attract large, even though conscious masses, and to secure quick results.

Our reply is that unawakened masses will not form the fighting force that will make the revolution, and that results, except in the way of palliatives, are not to be obtained until the situation is ripe and the minds of the workers are prepared.

A genuine revolutionary organisation will not yet have a very large membership in this country, because there are not yet a large number of revolutionaries; but a time will come when huge masses will flock into it, impelled by overwhelming emotions. The difficulty will then be to see that the stable elements are not swamped.

We have said that a genuine revolutionary organisation will not have a large membership at once; but its membership would be larger than may be the case for some little time if all those who profess to be revolutionaries had the courage to join in building a revolutionary organisation on a solid foundation. Will all the professed revolutionaries who express contempt for the centrists with whom they have thrown in their lot come out boldly to form the Fourth International, or will they leave the work to a few pioneers and themselves come in only when the organisation has grown to a considerable size? Will those who declare themselves anti-Parliamentary revolutionaries remain with the Communist Party, and come to the Communist Workers' Party only when its pioneers have provided a harvest that may be reaped?

** Our contention is that the capitalist political State is the instrument of the capitalists in power. Being in power they direct its action as they desire.

MAX HAVELAAR.

BY MULTATULI.

(Continued.)

When Havelaar arrived at Batavia the Governor-General refused him an audience because he had a pain in his foot.

Havelaar waited till the foot was cured. Then he again sought an audience.

His Excellency had so much to do that he had been obliged to refuse an audience even to the Director-General of Finance. Havelaar waited till his Excellency had struggled through all this.

At last he again sought an audience. His Excellency could not see him as he had much to do, being on the point of departure. Max sought the favour of His Excellency to hear him for half-an-hour as soon as there should be some space between two businesses.

At last he heard that His Excellency would depart next day! That was a thunderbolt to him. Still he believed that the resigning Governor was an honest man, and had been deceived. A quarter of an hour would have sufficed to prove the justice of his cause, and it appeared that this quarter of an hour would not be granted to him.

He wrote to His Excellency:—

"That they have deceived your Excellency with regard to me, I understand; but that your Excellency did not catch the opportunity to escape from this deceit I do not understand. To-morrow your Excellency goes from here, and I may not let you depart without having said once more that I did my duty—only my duty—with judgment, with calmness, with humanity, with moderation, and with courage.

"The grounds on which is based the censure in your Excellency's missive of March 23rd are *entirely invented and false.* I can prove this, and should have done so already if your Excellency had granted me half an hour's interview; if your Excellency had found half an hour *to do justice.*

"This you could not; and an honest family has been ruined.

"I do not complain of this, but your Excellency has, moreover, *sanctified the system of abuse of power of plunder and murder, by which the poor Javanese suffer.* I complain of that!

"Your Excellency, blood cleaves to the money of the Indian salary thus earned! Once more I beg for a moment's interview, be it this night, be it early to-morrow. Again I do not ask this for myself, but for the cause I defend, the cause of justice and humanity.

"If your Excellency can reconcile it with your conscience to depart from here without hearing me, mine will be quiet in the persuasion that I have endeavoured all that I could to prevent the sad bloody events, which will soon be the consequence of the self-willed ignorance in which the Government is left as regards the population.

"MAX HAVELAAR."

Havelaar waited that evening. He waited the whole night. He had hoped that perhaps anger at the tone of his letter would bring about what he had tried in vain to obtain by moderation and patience.

His hope was in vain, the Governor-General departed without hearing him.

Another Excellency had retired to the Mother Country to rest!

Havelaar wandered about poor and neglected.

* * * * *

I will be read! Yes, I will be read! I will be read by statesmen, who are obliged to pay attention to the signs of the times; by men of letters, who must also peep into the book of which so many bad things are said; by merchants who have an interest in the coffee auctions; by lady's maids, who read me for a few farthings; by Governors-General in retirement; by Ministers who have something to do; by the Members of the Representative Chambers, who must know what happens in the extensive possessions over the sea which belong to Holland.

Ay, I *shall* be read!

For the merit of my book is this—*refutation* of its main features *is impossible.*

THE END.

THIRD OR FOURTH.—*Continued from page 5.*

Looking round the world to-day we find the Political States and Empires fast receding before the growing power of the Industrial Empire, which tend to make the whole ramifications of Capitalism into one consolidated Trust, with the power vested in the hands of the financiers.

The world war has certainly upset bourgeois democracy, but now the dust and smoke is dying away, we see that, instead of a crumbling and tottering capitalist society, we have it rising Phœnix-like, in the shape of huge money trusts—out of the ashes of Bourgeois Trade Capitalism.

Clearly, then, the workers organised in Trade Unions, and even massed individual unions, are helpless to fight the new power. The weapon given to the working class, through industrial evolution, is undoubtedly the I.W.W. form of organisation, scientific, class-conscious, and deadly efficient.

Labour lieutenants, realising the danger to their power, take and distort the idea to express itself in amalgamations, federations "One Big Unions," etc.

The political theorists, realising that here is a weapon which they cannot control, shriek "Anarcho-Syndicalists" in a vain endeavour to dispel from the proletariat the vision of an Industrial Republic of the World. The form of organisation propagated by the revolutionary industrial unionists is based upon job committees and job delegates, and this is where the I.W.W. derives its almost unbelievable tenacity.

The travesty of democratic centralisation in the political parties, as compared with the power of the rank and file in such an industrial organisation as the I.W.W., is self-evident.

We see that in Russia to-day, as Capitalism presses hard on the Soviet Government, the Communist Party has to recede from its revolutionary programme, and the Russian Unions of workers controlled by the Russian Government (the Communist Party in majority) are helpless to attack the employers of labour, who are slowly creeping into Russia. If the masses had been industrially organised and conscious, the more Capitalism pressed and grew, the more the workers' organisations would have fought and grown.

It seems to be to-day that the stumbling block to the revolutionary movement is the inability of the revolutionists to group the workers together in such a manner as to force the real rulers, the Industrial Plutocrats (not the political stage managers, with press and pulpit) to give way before the direct attacks of the industrial army.

The I.W.W. refuses to be gulled into believing that the political state is the place where the power lies; it realises that in all countries the political state and its machinery has merely become the camouflage which hides from the workers the force that, slowly but surely, is grinding them down to a depth that the backdoor Communists can never lift them from.

Who ever heard of the Steel Trust, the Oil Trust, the Meat Trust, of America meekly bowing down their heads to the dictates of the political state. Whoever heard of the Railway Trusts, the Mining, Engineering, and Shipping Trusts of Great Britain meekly obeying the orders of the "Mother of Parliaments"?

What, then, is the force to meet the massed attacks of the master class? Is it to be that force which the Industrial Plutocrats have themselves laughed to scorn? Is it to be the futile armed uprisings of an industrially disorganised class, or is it to be what the exponents of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism claim to be the revitalising force of the working class—the Revolutionary Industrial Union?

The policy of the Third, of working with the decrepit Trade Unions, which are fast proving to be the tools of the master class, is absurd. The policy of the Fourth is too nebulous to warrant any support as yet; a clear statement must be given, in order to open discussion as to its usefulness.

PORTSMOUTH SEDITION CASE.

On Friday, October 21st, the Portsmouth sedition prisoner, Comrade Hedley, alias O'Hagan, was released from Kingston Gaol, Portsmouth, after a sentence of six months, under the E.P.A. and D.O.R.A., which was passed upon him for agitation in the miners' strike. Half-way through this sentence, an attempt was made to foist upon him (under D.O.R.A. 27A) a sentence incurred at Rotherham in February 1920, which became inoperative, pending an appeal. Nevertheless, he was transported to Belfast to complete the remaining three months of a sentence from which he had been released under the Cat and Mouse Act, following a hunger strike in October 1919, and the Rotherham appeal then became nobody's business. Again, hunger striking, he was released from Mountjoy, after an Easter-week hunger strike in 1920, along with about 190 Socialist and Irish Republican prisoners. Ignoring English Appeal Courts and their possibilities, he went to the South of Ireland, where he was active in the Knocklong (County Limerick) Soviet Creameries, and Irish Transport Workers' activities. He then went to Dublin and formed the newsboys into a very successful Newsvendors' Union. For eight weeks later, he was active in Liverpool, and then, working at his trade, at Southampton, became delegate to the local Trades Council. This by the way.

On August 8th, 1921, after he had served 14 weeks of the Portsmouth sentence, the Home Office ordered that the unserved Rotherham sentence should be served as from August 8th. Hedley appealed to the Home Office against this, on a point of law, that the two three-month Rotherham sentences should run concurrently, and not consecutively, with the Portsmouth sentence. The Home Secretary refused to assent to this. Hedley's wife and friends would not accept the refusal, and interested local comrades into getting legal assistance; their efforts culminated in Mr. Thompson, the Chancery Lane Solicitor, visiting Hedley and making representations to the Home Office, which, on October 20th notified the prison governor that Hedley was to be released on 21st, and that the Rotherham warrant should date from the commencement of the Portsmouth sentence.

Of the actual trial at Portsmouth one can say nothing, since it was held in camera; but Hedley refused to recognise the Court, on the ground that a worker could never expect justice from capitalist law.

Contributions to the Hedley Defence Fund are urgently required.

A. FEINSON

(Secretary, Portsmouth Communist Party).

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Next War, an appeal to common sense, by Will Irwin, and published by Dutton & Co., 681, Fifth Avenue, at $1.50, may be had through our book service.

It deals in a striking manner with the growth of armaments and the increasing deadliness of gun fire, poison gas, etc.

Illustrations show Hugoumont Château, bombarded all day by Napoleon's cannon, during the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, the result being only the breaking of a small outbuilding and a corner of the chapel wrecked. Contrasted with this is a French château, entirely wrecked and only a piece of one wall left standing after the explosion of a single German shell, in 1915. Other illustrations show the enormous growth in the size of bombs, even between 1914 and 1919.

It is recalled that 700,000 lives were lost in the American Civil War; 184,000 in the Franco-Prussian war; 10,000 in the Spanish American war, and 9,980,000 in the late world war.

A chapter is devoted to the tactics of the next war. It is predicted that the towns will be bombarded with poison gas, and Rome, Paris, or London changed in a single night from a metropolis into a necropolis. American military experts are already discussing this in Congressional Committees and hearings. To the size of tanks, we are told, there is practically no limit, and soldiers will fight in tanks to protect themselves from poison gas as they fire explosive shells.

The author knows no way of preventing war; his conclusions are weak.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Taxing the Baby's Food.

Mr. Lambert (L.) complained that whilst the Government had promised not to tax food under the Safeguarding of Industries Act, lactose or milk sugar, an important ingredient in the manufacture of infant's food, is scheduled for taxation. Mr. Baldwin (C.U., President of the Board of Trade), replying for the Government, said that the Government had only promised not to tax food under Part II. of the Act, lactose was taxed under Part I. Mr. Lambert asked whether food was to be taxed in order to develop trade in this country. Mr. Baldwin: "I do not think I should like to put that on an election poster."

Politics and Medicines.

Many medicines have gone up in price owing to the Safeguarding of Industries Act. The hospitals, which are very short of funds, complain, but Mr. Baldwin said we must not depend upon medicines from abroad. Major Wood (L.) said British manufacturers are making German patent medicines and selling them under the German trade marks. Mr. Baldwin said this is quite in order.

Black Troops in Germany.

We all remember the hue and cry about the Black Troops in Germany. An army of occupation is never a welcome visitor, but there is no doubt that the Black Troops have behaved no worse than other troops. In two years the German High Commissioner called attention to 138 complaints of misconduct. In 30 cases only was there sufficient evidence to allow of an examination being possible. After investigating these 30 cases, 13 offenders were sentenced. Four were imprisoned for five years, two were acquitted, seven received disciplinary punishment, and eight cases were unproved.

British Military Offenders.

At present there are 1,077 British soldiers serving sentences for military offences, the majority are post-armistice offences.

Venereal Disease in the Army.

Sir L. Worthington-Evans (C.U.) gave the following figures of venereal disease in the Army, but said: "It is now clear that owing to rapidity of demobilisation and other circumstances they are quite unreliable." Did post-demobilisation examinations prove the actual ratio to be much greater?

Annual Ratio per 1,000 of Strength.

Area.	1920.	January to June, 1921.
United Kingdom	48.30	38.03
Army of Rhine	188.64	148.90
Army of Black Sea	213.73	238.94

Ireland—Northern Bank Notes Boycotted.

The Sinn Fein Government has issued notices that after October 24th notes issued by the Ulster Bank, Belfast Bank and other North Ireland banks are valueless, and will be forfeit if found in anyone's possession, or offered or received in payment.

Boycott of British and Ulster Goods.

On 27th October a Sinn Fein Conference at the Mansion House, Dublin, under de Valera's presidency, accepted a report showing that 225,000 notices boycotting British goods and 30,000 notices boycotting Belfast goods had been distributed in Southern Ireland during the past year.

Sinn Fein Courts.

While the British Assize Courts sat at Kilkenny, a Sinn Fein Court of Assize sat in the same building, and the same lawyers transacted business in both Courts. Whilst the British County Court of Clare sat at Ennis, a Sinn Fein Court sat in the same building on October 17th. On September 1st, at Kinsale, a woman publican was fined by a Sinn Fein Court for refusing to allow I.R.A. police on her premises.

Sinn Fein Military Camps.

Bombing, machine gun and rifle practice are carried on daily at Sinn Fein camps.

Sinn Fein Agents in British Government Service.

Key cyphers and confidential information on important matters have been communicated to Sinn Fein, Mr. Lynn (C.U.) alleged, by high officials in Dublin Castle. When the police have made searches on Sinn Fein premises they have found the British secret key cypher before it has been communicated to the County Inspector.

Sir Hamar Greenwood was asked whether any of the prison officials were in collusion with Nurse Kennis, Miss Coyle and Miss Burke, who escaped from Mountjoy Prison, from which there have been other similar escapes. He replied that an inquiry is being held, and that these were the only escapes since March, 1919.

Gun-Running.

Last week the Government representative tried to deny the statement that a circular had been issued to British troops in Ireland stating that gun-running had become "general" and "free from molestation." On October 31st Colonel Sir R. Sanders admitted the issuing of the circular. General Prescott Decie has complained that when he was in charge of the Royal Irish Constabulary in part of Ireland he reported that a cargo was being landed which he was almost certain contained arms, but was not permitted to have it searched. General Decie alleges that there are Sinn Feiners in the Irish Post Office and Customs.

Sinn Fein Mining Bridges.

Viscount Curzon declared that during October 29th and 30th Sinn Fein forces in the Mallow area were engaged in mining bridges over roads and water.

Sir Hamar Greenwood had not heard of it.

The Sinn Fein Commandant-General G. O'Sullivan at County Kildare a few days ago said the I.R.A. had ambushed the enemy and beaten them, and that Ireland was proud of its young men.

The police barracks at Passage, County Waterford, has been burnt to the ground by armed Sinn Feiners, who issued a warning that severe penalties would fall on any who gave information to the British authorities.

Such incidents are indications of the coming war.

The Vote of Censure.

Captain Craig, the new leader of the Ulstermen, in the Vote of Censure debate, showed a surprising antagonism for Dublin Castle rule which indicated that Ulster's love for the Act of Union is on the wane. He complained that the Ulster Government was impotent, because it still lacked its promised powers: the Ulster Parliament was dependent on funds borrowed from the bank; its Acts could not be enforced because "the police in Belfast are under the control of an alien institution, namely, Dublin Castle, a body which, I venture to say in the view of 95 per cent. of the people of Ulster, is absolutely hostile to our people." Ulster could do nothing for Ulster unemployed, and had to ask for inclusion in the British Bill.

The Labour Party.

Arthur Henderson (Lab.) said Members of his Party were as "loyal" as any others. He challenged Lieut.-Colonel Archer-Shee to explain his charge that the Labour Members were friends of the Bolsheviki, so that it could be met either in Parliament or outside. He added: "We will give the Government our unqualified support until they have had a fair opportunity of carrying the Conference through to a success." He gave this as the Labour policy:—

"We shall apply certain tests:—

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

"(2) . . . there must be some form of protection for the minority.

"(3) We shall examine the proposal from the standpoint of the security of our own country."

The last phrase apparently means keeping Ireland within the Empire and under control of the British Navy and Army.

J. R. Clynes also referred more than once to Ireland as part of the Empire.

Lloyd George.

Lloyd George said there was evidence that preparations had been made for landing arms in Ireland, "some of that evidence is attributable to the action of the German Government." He said that if the Irish question were not soon settled the deferred powers would be conferred on the Ulster Parliament, and Crown Colony Government would be set up in the rest of Ireland; this would mean war.

Asquith.

Asquith said he had proposed Dominion Home Rule for Ireland, but Lloyd George had replied that he was therefore qualified to be the next inmate of political Bedlam. He and his friends would not give a blank cheque or a general vote of confidence in the Government. Lieut.-Colonel Croft replied that Lloyd George had questioned Asquith as to what he meant by Dominion Home Rule, saying: "The Dominions have got armies and navies of their own; would you give the same rights to Ireland?"

Asquith, however, had not answered.

Sir R. Fraser said that Irishmen hoped to escape liability for the war debt, and to have only a six-penny income tax whilst the British pay 5s.

Jack Jones again expelled.

Liberals and Tories, and especially Earl Winterton, made interpolations during the speeches as is their wont. Jack Jones, whom the Speaker has often ordered to withdraw for the same practice, said: "Why don't you pull up some of those bounders." The Speaker threatened him with the order to withdraw; he protested, and finally was made to go out, saying: "Other people can interrupt, but I am called upon immediately . . . . I am willing to leave the House. I am sorry I ever came into it!"

Indian Boycott of British Goods.

Mr. Remer (C.U.) complained that owing to the Ghandi agitation there is an extensive boycott of British made cloth and Lancashire cotton goods. He asked that Ghandi should be arrested and deported. Colonel Yate (C.U.) objected to the proposed repeal of certain repressive legislation. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks (C.U.) asked for the names of the members of the Sub-Committee on Imperial Defence to which the strength of the Army in India has been referred. Mr. Chamberlain (C.U.), Leader of the House, said it would be contrary to precedent to give such information.

It transpired that discussion of the Indian Budget in the Indian Council of State is not permitted—Ah, this democratic Empire!

Unemployment.

Neither Lady Astor, nor Mrs. Wintringham, have voted in any of the divisions on unemployment. Havelock Wilson and C. B. Stanton also refrain from shewing their hands. James Parker votes continually, and G. N. Barnes frequently, with the Government and against the unemployed.

Dr. Macnamara (C.L., Minister of Labour) stated that on October 14th 169,978 totally unemployed women claimed unemployment benefit, and 113,639 partially employed. The number who actually obtained benefit "cannot be precisely stated." Why not?

On September 2nd, 30,888 uninsured workers were registered as unemployed at the Labour Exchanges. The majority of such workers do not so register.

G. A. Spencer (Lab.) explained that an M.F.G.B. return shows that between 23 and 24 per cent. of miners are unemployed, and 70 per cent. under employed. In South Wales, in the largest coalfields, 50,000 are unemployed, the wage has fallen 100 per cent., and 75 per cent. of the men are on short time.

Watts Morgan (Lab.) said out of 42,000 miners 16,000 were unemployed.

George Barker (Lab.) said that in Monmouthshire three collieries, put of which the owners had made £1,500,000 since 1916, had been shut down. The employees and their families numbered 16,000 people.

Between 30,000 and 40,000 miners in South Wales were getting less than £1 18s. 4d. per week. The workers in Bedwelty had applied to the guardians to make up this miserable wage; the Board refused because it was £70,000 in debt, and the rates were 38s. in the £.

J. Cairns (Lab.), Financial Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, said his organisation had borrowed £70,000 to relieve its unemployed members, but the money was gone. Under the Unemployment Insurance Act a worker may be unemployed for five days and five days at work and get no benefit at all.

Such pitiful pleading did not affect the Government and its henchmen in the smallest degree.

Landlordism.

Major Murray (C.U.) asked that Scottish County Councils might have power to undertake river and drainage operations to provide employment. Mr. Morison (L.C., Lord Advocate) said no, but the Government was considering "offering financial inducements to persons interested" (that means landowners) "to undertake field drainage and land improvement." In other words, the Government is going to pay the landlord to drain and improve his land. It has already introduced a Bill to give landlords and capitalists may confidently depend upon the good offices of their own Government!

Major Murray suggested the Scottish burgh Councils should be given power to acquire land and set men to work on it, but the Lord Advocate would not accept the suggestion. Major Murray said a burgh Council has already done it, and wants power to borrow money to go further. Sir J. D. Rees, a truculent old Tory, demanded compensation for landowners money for afforestation. Landlords and capitalists may confidently depend upon the good offices of their own Government!

Morality Mongering.

The morality mongers succeeded in getting a special sentence in the unemployed relief Bill to show that a woman who is not legally married is not a wife.

Captain Loseby (C.N.D.P.) objected: "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone."

Lieut.-Colonel Nall (C.U.) declared that Loseby had an "extraordinarily perverted moral code."

Captain Eliot (C.U.) said that a man has no legal financial responsibility towards a woman who is merely "living with him."

Will Thorne (Lab.) said: "He has a moral responsibility."

Captain Elliot called that a "jibe not in accordance with the spirit of the country or the spirit of the House."

Will Thorne replied: "Look at the Divorce Court!"

5s. or 10s. for a Wife.

The Labour Party again attempted to secure 10s. a week instead of 5s. for the wife of the unemployed breadwinner. Dr. Macnamara again refused to accept the proposal, declaring that it would cost £4,400,000. The motion was defeated by 88 votes to 212.

1s. or 2s! for a Child.

Another attempt was again made by members of all Parties to secure 2s. each instead of 1s. each for children of the unemployed. Dr. Macnamara again opposed it, saying it would cost £1,600,000, and even £1,700,000, if 2s. were to be given to each child instead of only to the first four. He had agreed to abolish the limit of four children at 1s. a head, and to cover that cost contributions from employers and employed would have to be continued six weeks after benefit to the unemployed ceased to be paid. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Robert Horne (C.U.), also spoke against the miserable little amendment to give the children 2s. He begged the House "not to be carried away by what must obviously touch us all."

112 members were found to vote for the children's 2s., which, as Ben Tillet said, would not buy dog's meat for the pups of the rich, and 145 voted against it.

The Government agreed that the 1s. a week may be extended to children who are at school up to the age of 16 years.

The amendment to exempt from paying 2d. a week under this Bill persons earning less than 30s. a week was defeated by 56 votes to 141.

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THE ECONOMIC POWER OF SINN FEIN.

If you were living in Ireland to-day you would be wearing a suit of Irish homespun with French buttons, a French hat, or an Irish cap, and probably French shoes and stockings, unless you could happen to wear the one size in which Irish stockings are made: in short, all that you wore would, if possible, be Irish made, otherwise it would come from France, from America, from Germany; in no case from Britain. British goods are prohibited alike by the Sinn Fein authorities and public opinion.

By this method the Irish hope to touch British capitalists through the pocket and to make them realise that an Ireland held in unwilling subjection may be wholly unprofitable.

It may cease to be a source of profit and become merely a costly appendage, with potent power to send up taxation. Hitherto Ireland has been one of the best markets at the disposal of British capitalists; Ireland has been Britain's second largest customer, the largest being the United States of America. As to revenue, in 1919-20, £50,000,000 in taxation was raised in Ireland; of this, £29,000,000 was spent on Irish government and £21,000,000 went into the British Exchequer.

It may be that the boycott policy will have more effect in bringing the Irish crisis to a head than all the fighting. It is only the actual money cost of the fighting, as it is translated into taxation, and the consequent rise in the cost of the commodities he has to sell, which is a near concern of the British manufacturer and merchant: the death of a few thousand Irish workers and British Tommies may sadden him, but he is capable of bearing a great deal of sadness so long as it does not interfere with the course of trade. The loss of some customers across the Irish Channel affects him far more nearly. The same is true of the Ulster merchant: he has things to sell to the rest of Ireland, and his little "Northern Parliament" will be rather a costly one if it means the shutting off of the Irish market.

That is what it means in hard fact; for Sinn Fein has arranged a careful boycott of British and Ulster goods. This boycott arouses the British and Ulster merchants; but how will they act? What do they call on Lloyd George's "Business Government" to do for them? Do they want peace, or war?

A war, you know, is a splendid thing for trade. In war time, the Government becomes the great buyer, the main customer; and what a customer the Government is! No other customer is so lavish, so carelessly lavish, in its expenditure, so conveniently blind to the quantity and quality of the goods supplied. Any old thing will do for the Government, especially in war time, and the only limit to the order is "what you can supply."

Experience of the late war would seem to indicate that a big war, just now, would brisk up trade immediately, save the small employer who is drifting into bankruptcy, drive up the profits of the big Trust, bring work to the unemployed; but the little massacre in Ireland would not be a prosperous first-class war like the last, and there is a limit to the wealth that can be drawn out of even this wealthy country for purely destructive work.

The capitalists would, of course make a good thing out of the war: they would lend some more money to the Government and charge higher interest than they ever got before; they would make some war material for the Government and charge any price they liked for it; but the Irish war would not be big enough to absorb the unemployed. Wages would still be forced down, and the workers would have to meet the cost of the latest capitalist adventure in Ireland. The bad times would be worse than ever for the people on both sides of the Irish Channel. Ask the unfortunate Polish workers how they like being still at war!

Are you going to work for the capitalists, inthe Irish war, Mr. Worker; are you going to send your boys out to fight in it?

What are the workers in your shop going to do about it?

What advice are you going to give them? Do you not think you ought to call them together and decide what you all will do?

The Government cannot make war unless you help it, Mr. Worker.

Our advice is: "Don't!!"

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