

The "Booze" Bandits.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VIII. No. 46.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28TH, 1922.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE POLITICS OF PLUNDER.

Lloyd George Calls Exploiters to Unity.

The speeches of Lloyd George and his supporters, of which the past week has given an abundant crop, clearly urge that British Capitalism cannot afford to be divided. It must unite both against rival Capitalisms, and against the workers at home and abroad.

As to the unity of British Capitalism against its rivals, this was the main theme of Lloyd George's address to the National Liberals on January 21st. To the uninitiated public, the speech reads like a plea for a lofty disinterested and by this country towards closer international understanding:

"There is one great stable country that I can see—that is Britain. It is the hope of the world. Do not deprive the world of the full advantage, power, and prestige of this great saving land by scattering its energies upon wretched Party conflicts."

"Each generation is assigned its task by Providence. Sometimes it is assigned to one nation, and sometimes to another, and the nation that shrinks or shirks is doomed. . . . the task committed to this generation, now, is to learn and profit by the lesson of the great war; a lesson poured into the flesh of the world, and from which it is still sore and fevered. It is the lesson that the time has come to inaugurate the reign of peace amongst men. It is our task, especially in a great Empire, to help in bringing peace to a Continent which has been tormented for thousand ages by the savagery of endless wars."

The arch-hypocrite knows his public: realises with keen perception the deep regret that weighs upon the minds of millions of parents, widows, orphans, bereaved by the great war; knows that they receive with fervent appreciation the words of any amongst the rulers who promise peace to the world.

So Lloyd George plays on the sentiments of the public, maintaining the pretence of pure altruism. Behind his words are the true facts of the situation: British Capitalist-Imperialism, of which he is a most zealous servant, is ghoulishly playing the slow and steady game of securing the greatest share in the war plunder. British Capitalist-Imperialism securing the German colonies with their rubber and their pine kernels; highly-placed persons dabbling in margarine companies which draw their raw materials from the colonies; British Capitalist-Imperialism systematically grabbing the world's oil fields, and systematically excluding from a share of them, America, the country most dependent upon the use of fuel oil. British Capitalist-Imperialism, fighting for the political and economic subjection of China and Russia, and, as far as it can be done, without injuring British trade, bleeding the German workers scientifically of the wealth created by their industrious energies. To those who know, it is a horrible spectacle. Future generations will marvel incredulously at the wickedness of the capitalist politicians of our day: only convinced that they acted as they do, in masses of irrefutable documents. Most of all will they wonder at the falsity of Lloyd George, and read his speeches with abhorrence.

"What is there to quarrel about? [he asks his 'non-plunderers']. Is peace Liberal, or is peace Conservative?"

These words simply mean:—

Write with us in getting the better of other nations: the plunder, and your banking account,

which may be enriched by it, are neither Liberal nor Conservative. British foreign policy is continuous: it does not change with changes of Party Government.

That is what Lloyd George meant: he is too subtle a trickster to say it openly. How true it is, is revealed even by the criticism of his policy by Lord Grey, who was Foreign Secretary in the Liberal Ministry that led up to and began the war. Lord Grey has nothing to say against

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READY SHORTLY.

Lloyd George's policy (which is substantially what his own would be, were he in office) save that it is carried on with the bombast of much-advertised conferences, instead of by the old diplomatic methods. The secret understandings, conversations and Treaties, which were so much employed by Grey and his school, still continue behind the scenes, as before.

Asquith and his "Free" Liberals have, indeed, no other policy than the Coalition: the "Free" Liberals are divided just as the Coalition is, on the question as to how, and how far, Germany shall "pay."

Grey calls for a closer agreement with France: that means a stiffer application of the usurious pressure on Germany, whilst Asquith talks of the reconstruction of Europe. He complains that the diplomatists of Paris and Versailles have been occupied, not with reconstruction, but with repainting the map of the world. The repainting has been done to the pattern planned by Asquith's own administration, as the Secret Treaties, to which Lord Grey's hand was set, clearly show. Let no one forget this. Let it be remembered of MacDonald and Henderson, lest they presently form an Alliance with Mr. Asquith and his Liberals.

Meanwhile the Labour Party hovers timidly in the background, sitting upon the fence as usual. J. R. Clynes, a jingo of the jingoes, who worked so slavishly under Lord Rhondda, the coal magnate, expressed himself, at Swindon, on January 23rd, in a manner typical of the Labour Party.

As he had done during the General Election, (though he was more vehement then, lest he should lose his seat in the hurricane of war madness), he now declared:—

"Labour has always held the view that Germany should make good the damage she has wickedly done to the devastated parts of France and Belgium."

Then, without suggesting an alternative method, he went on to complain of the Government's manner of exacting payment, saying:—

"The more you make Germany pay by hard work, the more her people will fill the markets which we previously supplied, thereby throwing people out of work in this country who must then be maintained at the State's expense."

The politics of Clynes and his school are the politics of the catch-cry: "Make Germany pay!" "German competition" are both popular slogans with the ignorant unthinking; therefore these popularity-at-any-price men use them both: heedless whether they be conflicting.

Lloyd George's call to the capitalists and to their hangers-on, to unite against the workers was less warily, more directly sounded. He had not, in this case, to deal with the passionate emotions of the riven breasts of wives and mother: their griefs and resolutions which may not be assuaged even by the prospect of great profits for British Capitalism.

Untrammelled by such volcanic considerations in dealing in mere economics, he did not scruple to call openly to his friends amongst the owning class, to unite against the working class, which he boldly described as "the enemy." he asked:

"What is there to quarrel about? . . ."

"What is the difference between Liberal and Conservative? . . ."

"The Liberal says: 'I believe in Freedom and therefore I am opposed to fettering industry with any State regulations. I am therefore for private individual enterprise.' . . ."

"The Conservative says: 'I am in favour of maintaining the institutions which have created the greatness and prosperity of this country. I consider private enterprise to be one of them.'"

"They are both supporting the same cause."

So they are: they are both supporting the power of the capitalists to exploit the workers, and to retain them as wage-slaves.

Lloyd George observed that the parties to the Coalition Government are divided by no political conflicts. As to reform of the House of Lords, since Mr. Asquith's Government had also been pledged to it, he himself was as much committed to it by being a Liberal as by being Premier of the Coalition. In this he argued quite justly: Asquith was as ready to reform the House of Lords as Lloyd George, if such a reform might be an aid in retaining the Premiership. Moreover, we remember the adoption by a Labour Party conference of a resolution approving a reformed Second Chamber. The resolution was obviously drafted by Mr. Sidney Webb.

Through the Parliamentary Parties there lies no hope of emancipation for the working class!

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EXIT BRIAND.

Le Populaire, the French Centrist Socialist paper acclaims Briand for his resignation from the French Cabinet; but his resignation simply means that he belongs to one school of French Capitalism whilst Poincaré and the most clamorous voices in French Capitalism to-day belong to another.

The review of Delaisi's book on oil, which we published in our issue of last week, indicates something of the rival policies amongst French Capitalism to-day; and suggests the query whether Briand is one of the oil shareholders. One does not necessarily hold one's own shares you know!

Briand is no friend of the proletariat: he began his political career as an extreme Socialist, advising a general strike in cases of war, and desertion before the enemy. As soon as he succeeded in winning a Parliamentary election as Socialist candidate, in 1902, he began to move to the Right. Four years later he was a Cabinet Minister, and in 1909 he became Prime Minister.

He will always be remembered for his atrocious treatment of the workers in the postal and railway strikes; in the latter he mobilised the strikers in order to make them liable to severe punishment by court-martial. His Government introduced the three years' military service Bill.

The present friction between France and Britain hinges on the fact that France was to get the bulk of her war spoils out of reparations, whilst Britain took her spoils mainly in territory. Now Germany cannot pay up, and as far as she does she increases unemployment in the victorious countries. Therefore British Capitalism wants to check the payment of German reparations. France would like an international loan to capitalise the payments she will eventually get from Germany, in order that she may get the benefit of them now. America is the Power that could make this possible, but America has not agreed to do so, argely on account of France's concessions to Britain on the oil question.

The South Wales Daily News reported a speech by Lloyd George at a London Welsh Chapel on Christmas Day, in which he said it was all because of "a little Jew boy," born in a manger, that the League of Nations had been formed, the Washington Conference had been held, and that he was going to Cannes.

The rise of 75 per cent. in the German bread prices, as a result of the usurious measures resolved upon at such conferences, and the consequent torture to millions of people, shows the hypocrisy of such statements. Those who read Francis Delaisi's account of the British il ring, and of Lloyd George's insistence that France shall pay 200 francs for coal which Britain gets for 84 francs, to mention but two points in the great indictment that might be made out, will realise the falsity of the arch-impostor from Wales.

The League of Nations was supposed to establish one world-wide unity of nations, and to abolish all sectional Alliances, Treaties and understandings. Yet from Washington we have seen emerge a Nine-Power European Treaty, a Five-Power Naval Treaty, a Four-Power Pacific Treaty. Cannes has given rise to a Belgian Pact, an Italian quarrel, and a French Pact not cemented yet: indeed, all these Pacts and Treaties are of a highly unstable nature.

The Russian Soviet Government having sacrificed its Communist tendencies, is to be invited to Genoa—if the Genoa Conference ever comes off.

There are some suggestions that it may be held in London, and that Lenin may come. If he does, we hope he will avoid making pledges to Scotland Yard, which would prevent him from learning something about the British working class movement. At present he is in the dark about it.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Social neglect is making bands of unemployed behave like packs of hungry wolves: witness their seizure of the Southwark Workhouse, which they ransacked for food.

This state of affairs is only beginning: the unemployed are growing hungrier, and therefore bolder, and now the Unemployment Grants Committee announces that the £10,000,000 allocated

to it last autumn, to assist municipal relief works is at an end. Another fund of £3,000,000 at the disposal of this Committee is also exhausted.

The Government may make another paltry grant presently; but the only real hope of the unemployed is a change of system—Communism must replace Capitalism.

The Soviets are the only hope of the workers. Let the unemployed go to their brothers and sisters who are employed in making the wheels of national life revolve, in supplying the needs of the community; their brothers and sisters who, if they but knew it, are all-powerful in the State. Let them tell those brothers and sisters of theirs that it is they who are maintaining the present system and thereby leaving the unemployed to starve.

It would be better for the unemployed to go to the workshops than to the House of Commons, the Borough Councils and Boards of Guardians.

The unemployed should call on the workers in the shops, the docks, the mines, and so on, to appoint delegates to form together with the unemployed Workers' Councils in each locality.

These Councils should formulate a policy of action and act upon it.

FROM SOUTH WALES.

Since the end of the lock-out, things have gone steadily from bad to worse. It is heart-breaking to see the appalling conditions imposed upon, and accepted by the miners, who once had such a glorious tradition as fighters in the "War of the Classes."

The "Seven-hour Day," the "Minimum Wage," "Safety First"—in fact most of the great principles which by their heroism in the past were established, as it then appeared, irrevocably, are now non-existent.

No one can venture to say how long the pressure of the Iron Heel will be tolerated. There is a limit to human endurance, but when that limit will be reached is a matter of conjecture. There are, however, distant rumblings of an approaching storm.

From Maestag and Ebbw Vale we have indications of it.

The storm clouds are gathering, but will they burst or recede again?

I incline to the latter view.

The victims of the infamous pact between leaders and bosses are still stunned. They continue in a state of apathy. Nevertheless, just as surely as the "Iron Heel" is now grinding and stamping its victims ever more deeply into the mire, just as surely will the "slave of the lamp" ultimately turn and rend his tormentor.

The treatment meted out to the poor broken outcasts who toil will give birth to a terrible harvest.

Consider the man I know, who, after working a fortnight, had for his 12 turns the princely sum of 15s. 5d.

Twelve days in the pit; twelve days of heart-breaking, body-wrecking toil in the guts of the earth; and at the end of it, 15s. 5d.! Fifteen shillings and fivepence to supply the needs of one man, one woman and seven children for a fortnight!

When that man went to his lodge to report his case he could not speak; he was sobbing like a woman; heart-broken at the thought of what it meant to those dependent on him at home. He produced the two pay-dockets proving his case and placed them upon the table.

When our turn comes, do you imagine that man will feel kindly towards those who have treated him so? The ferocity of a tiger will be

a pleasant thing to contemplate by comparison with such a one's bitter hatred; and what wonder.

Multiply that case by many thousands, for, mark you, his is but one case in thousands, and you will have some idea, some faint, glimmering conception of what is going to happen to those who at present dominate.

I speak confidently of this, for, soon or late, it must happen. The chariot of human progress moves ever onward. Sometimes, as at present, its wheels fall into a rut and its progress is delayed for a while. Just that and no more.

The miners in Ebbw Vale may be on strike next week, or they may not. The miners in Maestag may be on strike next week, or they may not. But of one thing I am certain—the Revolution draws nearer day by day. Nothing can prevent that; so, then, let every comrade do his best to help forward the movement and take his or her share in the Class Struggle.

"NORDBS."

ENGLAND.

Mid gloaming blue of faint far lowland hills, Bright gleams the light and white still waters lie,

Whilst towering chimneys huge, and mine wheels gaunt Merge in the landscape, softening into shade.

Harshly the engine pants, jolt grinding wheels, The lighted train bears on its human freight Through quiet country, all in darkness wrapt, In peace full seeming, where grim famine stalks.

Ye tired slumberers, who to rest have sunk, Weary with too much toil, amongst ye lie They who sleep not, for neither laboured they. To them the morning will no summons bring, Drowsing through hungry day, they'll shun the light.

And cry their curses to the midnight air. E. S. P.

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FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON

Mrs. Rechnungsmacher had summoned the forewoman to her room. She sat at her high desk, closing the ledger, shutting inside it the estimate for the latest sample produced by the factory. She had worked it out with her accustomed care, but tentatively as yet, because the cost of the labour was still uncertain. The girls must make a trial dozen or so before she could be sure whether they would continue to make and finish goods for 2½d. a dozen, or whether they would not demand 2½d. In the latter case she would increase proportionately the percentage for rent, light, heating, office expenses, and so on, for that was the system on which she worked; a system on which she prided herself as highly satisfactory. If one argued that the office and overhead charges would not be increased, because the girls in the workroom were paid at a slightly higher rate for their labour, Mrs. Rechnungsmacher would reply that her system provided a perfect insurance against losses. Book-keeping is the foundation of business, she was fond of declaring; and sitting there at her desk, she felt complacently that the imagination of the designer and the swift skill of the makers would be worthless without the crabbed little figures which scarred the pages of her ledger. A society in which there was no such apportionment would seem to her chaotic, immorally anarchic.

A smile flickered over her pale dark face, and she darted forward with her accustomed energy as Mrs. Riley entered—a rosy woman with ruddy hair and ample shape, radiant and bountiful-looking as Ceres, with the voluptuous beauties a Reynolds would have desire for her. Her loose-fitting old clothes were coloured like a bunch of withered leaves. In the road outside, lighting it like a bed of flowers, waited Ceres' attendant nymphs, her daughters; gay, long-legged sprites, with poppy cheeks and hair golden as ripe wheat, shy-eyed and lithe as fauns.

"I have something important to tell you, Mrs. Riley, very important—for you."

"What is it, Mrs. Reckningmucker?" Ceres asked, her milk-maid Madonna lips curving to a smile.

Mrs. Reckningmucker impressively offered Ceres the prospectus of the Society for Constructive Birth Control.

"I have joined this Society," she said. "It is most practical. You can obtain the knowledge at a very small cost."

"Birth Control?" Ceres said, her fluting voice ascending. "Prevention of children? Oh, it's too late for me, Mrs. Reckningmucker; four months too late. Fancy me having a baby again after six years!" She blushed and smiled.

"Mrs. Riley. . . ."

"How imprudent. . . your work. . . . What am I to do! I had so much trouble when you were away the other time."

"I shall have to leave for good this time, I expect, Mrs. Reckningmucker. There's no nursery now. I don't say I shan't be glad of the rest, though it will be a job to do without the money. I expect I shall have to get something to do at home."

"Oh, no. I can't have that: some clinic or other will have to be found to take it! Ach! Mrs. Riley, what a pity you did not join this Society sooner! Dear, dear: to think all this trouble might have been saved!"

"I didn't know there was anything like that, Mrs. Reckningmucker."

"The poor have most unreasonably large families," said Mrs. Reckningmucker, curtly.

Ceres flushed: "Poor people have unreasonably little money! There shouldn't be any poor people. We should all live equal, and all have as much as we want."

"Impossible, Mrs. Riley; it wouldn't be practical!"

"Well, I know I'm right. There is plenty for all of us, and we ought all to have enough."

"I consider we ought all to be equal in this factory. We all help in our own way, and do our share of it. You work with your brain, I admit, attending to the business, and we do the work of the girls does a certain part that has to be

Mrs. Rechnungsmacher frowned and shrugged: "Nonsense, Mrs. Riley: I am a Socialist, but if one has spent time and money in training, one must be remunerated accordingly. The unskilled cannot be placed on a level with the skilled: there must be a distinction for professional workers."

Ceres was eager: "Why, because I can't afford to send my girl to a college, should my girl have to suffer all her life?"

"If you had made a sacrifice and sent her to a college, you would expect a return: you would expect a reward for your sacrifice and the money you had spent."

"What is the use of talking like that, Mrs. Reckningmucker? You know I couldn't do it out of the money I get. You know what it is, and how many I have to keep out of it. If I could do it, of course I would do the best for my girl: any mother would who is a mother. I can't do it, and my girls have to suffer. My girl might have better brains than the girl who went to college because her mother could afford to pay; but just because I couldn't, and my girl does another sort of work, just as necessary a work, mind you, and a work that has to be done by someone, she has to go short. I have to go short, my husband has to go short, and all the factory workers, all the working people have to go short. The people who do the hard work are always expected to live on less than office workers and employers, and people who never do work. I call it a shame!"

"The workers have fewer wants."

"Very convenient for you to think so, Mrs. Reckningmucker; but it isn't true. Certainly I don't want less than you. I have to keep six people, and you've got only yourself to think of. It simply means that we are obliged to have less of everything; to do without ever so many things. We even have to eat inferior food, and yet I need nourishing food, particularly at present, and the children need it because they are growing."

Mrs. Reckningmucker did not like the turn the discussion had taken; it was too personal, and carried with it tendencies which might be disruptive of workroom discipline. Years ago, before she had been in business, Mrs. Reckningmucker had joined a moderate wing of the Social Democrats, but now she was a business manager with commission, she advocated piece-work and co-partnership. The girls and women in the workroom seemed to her thriftless and shortsighted. The girls had their fleeting youth and desired to enjoy it: they looked forward to marriage: the prospects of the factory ten years hence seemed remote and unimportant to them. The mothers had their children, whose future was being decided by the amount of care and nourishment their mothers could give them from day to day. The mothers could not assent to make sacrifices at present for the future of the factory. Moreover, the future of the factory did not necessarily mean the future of any of the workers; the management could dismiss them. They had no security of tenure: not one of them could say "I cannot be replaced." If trade were slack, any one of them might be sent away.

To the management their point of view was not thus clearly apparent. She only sensed that, with few exceptions, the workers had less interest than she in the general success of the factory. She considered, therefore, that they were less conscientious than she, less able to comprehend either the principles of co-operative working or the necessities of business.

Her participation in the commercial struggle; her perpetual contact with the fact that if the cost of labour could be reduced, prices could be cut and increased sales would result, caused her to scan the workers' piece-rates jealously. She came to regard the workers in bulk. When she compared their position with her own, she did not think of them as individuals, but as a whole. An increase of pay, or a decrease of hours, a holiday paid for by the firm meant so little when she alone was in question; but to give even a halfpenny an hour increase to the workers meant a considerable charge upon the factory. Therefore she accommodated herself to the view that

it was ethically correct for her own conditions to differ widely from those of the factory workers. She made herself believe that her susceptibilities were finer, and consequently her needs greater than theirs; that she suffered more than they on account of shortage; that she was better able than they to appreciate comforts.

Nevertheless, she still called herself a Socialist, because she believed herself to be more meritorious and deserving than the possessor of unearned wealth. Moreover she believed that her services to the firm of which she was manager entitled her to a controlling voice and a permanent stake in it, to security of tenure so long as she could work, and to an assured subsistence and definite share in it if she should retire. She was not content to accept the status of an ordinary employee working under the orders of the owner; therefore she thought it wrong that an employee of her own sort should have no greater rights. She believed that the power of the capitalist should be limited. Her desire for his abolition—if it existed at all—was exceedingly passive. If she could obtain the use of his capital in her business operations, on easy terms, she was not disposed to quarrel with his existence.

She had the common desire that unnecessary suffering should be spared; that children should not go hungry, nor adults starve; but what small practical interest in Socialism she had extended no further than her own relationship to the capitalist owner. Imagining that her mentality enabled her to view, in perspective, interests widely different from her own, she had in reality no such power, and suffered from all the infirmities of self-centred narrow-mindedness she alleged against the workers.

Ceres bore Mrs. Reckningmucker no ill-will: she knew that the manager's failings were the common ones, and she regarded her with the amiable tolerance she had for all with whom she came in contact. She smiled upon her now, and with a mellow "Good afternoon, Mrs. Reckningmucker," departed all graciously, and ran to her little brood, who bounded gaily about her, their shrill voices rising in joyous cries.

The same evening Ceres called on her old friend, Nurse Sober, and asked her: "What is this birth control they are talking about; they say it's a wonderful thing?" Nurse Sober fixed her candid eyes upon Ceres and answered after a while: "Do you mean to tell me you don't know, Mrs. Riley? I think you do." Ceres giggled and blushed: "Well, we did try in our way, but it happened just the same."

"How long have you been trying?"

"Since the last two were born. This will make the third since we began preventing. I don't know how it happened. He always says: 'You're all right'; but there you are! What is this Birth Control, though?"

"I expect you know all there is to know. There isn't anything wonderful about it," said Nurse Sober and then she mentioned in turn the various contraceptive methods. At the first Ceres interrupted:

"That's what we do," she said. The doctor tells you it isn't good, but we have to put up with it."

At the second, Ceres interrupted again, more crestfallen:

"We tried that: it's not much good and it costs too much."

At the third, she objected:

"That's worse."

So she punctuated the tale with disapprobation. She knew all the methods and favoured none.

"Why do they want a society for that?" she asked. "Everybody knows it."

"They believe the workers to be ignorant," sighed Nurse Sober.

"I wonder why Mrs. Reckningmucker should join it? She'll never have any children."

"She has joined, to influence the workers: she considers they should be teetotalers in all respects."

Ceres laughed.

"If some people got their way," she said, "they would end by having no workers at all."

Workers' Dreadnought

FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

Subscription:
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Vol. VIII. No. 46. Saturday, Jan. 28, 1922.

"BY THEIR DEEDS YE SHALL KNOW THEM."

Right Wing C.P. and Labour Party.

The Right Wing Parliamentary Communist Party organ, the *Communist*, announces that its attempts to get itself affiliated to the Labour Party have reached a new stage.

Five delegates from the Right Wing C.P. Executive met five delegates from the Labour Party Executive and agreed that a questionnaire should be drawn up by the Labour Party and submitted, through its Executive, to the Congress of the Right Wing C.P. The Labour Party is evidently anxious to get from the Right Wing C.P. something really binding, out of which there can be no backsliding, should affiliation result. The Henderson Executive may be trusted to propound a truly humiliating ultimatum, by which Revolutionary Communism will have to be finally abandoned. Nevertheless, the majority of the Right Wing C.P. will undoubtedly swallow the Labour Party's catechism. Then, if there really are a substantial number of Revolutionary Communists in the Right Wing C.P. who are chafing against its limitations, as they represent, we shall see a considerable exodus from its ranks.

Colonel Malone Sounds the Retreat.

Colonel Malone, who so recently left the following of the Coalition Government to join the Right Wing C.P., though he has served an honourable six months' imprisonment, has unfortunately returned from a year's seclusion, to sound the retreat from the Communist Revolution. One need not be surprised at that; so new a recruit to the movement must necessarily have much to learn. We wish him well in his studies. Unfortunately the fact that he was a Member of Parliament and a recruit newly come from the capitalist fold, has caused the Parliamentary Right Wing C.P. to give him a position of great prominence as a Party mouthpiece, which is wholly unsuited to his experience. No doubt he would be the first to admit this.

Speaking at a meeting of the Right Wing C.P. at Leyton, on January 23rd, Colonel Malone observed:—

"There are still a few differences between the Communist Party and the Labour Party. I am glad to realise, however, that these will soon be settled by affiliation."

We quite appreciate that Colonel Malone, newly come from the ranks of Coalition Capitalism should be unable to understand the fundamental differences which but lately split up the Second International and divided the revolutionaries and the Reformists. We do not doubt that to him these are but trivial nothings, which, as he says, can be "settled" by affiliation. What, however, shall we say of a professedly Marxian, scientific Revolutionary Communist Party, which puts up such a novice, to call for a disastrous and tragic retreat of the Revolutionaries, back to the ranks of the Reformists?

Even when this call is sounded by what were once highly respected voices, the genuine revolutionaries will refuse to retreat.

"By their deeds ye shall know them."

THE INKPIN CASE.

Whilst expressing our sympathy with Comrade Inkpin, on his sentence of six months' imprison-

ment, confirmed against him last week, we cannot refrain from deploring the methods and basis of the defence made by his counsel. It seems to us highly unfortunate and derogatory to the dignity of the proletarian movement, that one who has been made a Vice-President of the Third International, precisely on account of the Government charge against him, should plead that he was not responsible, being only a servant of the committee.

We regret also the extravagant expenditure in this case; an expenditure that produced no propaganda result. The expensive legal luminaries hired for the defence, of course, advanced no Communist argument. Not thus does the blood of the martyr become the seed of the Church.

INDUSTRIAL PROPAGANDA.

The following constitution of a new organisation, "The Revolutionary Industrial Union Propaganda League," has been sent to us. We shall comment upon it next week.

PREAMBLE.

The League asserts that:—

The Working Class and the Employing Class have nothing in common, and between these two classes a struggle must go on until the Workers of the World abolish the Wages System and set up a worldwide Workers' Industrial Commonwealth.

The trend of Capitalism makes the Trade Unions unable to cope with the growing power of the Master Class and fosters a state of affairs which allows one set of Workers to be pitted against another set of Workers in the struggle for better conditions; moreover, the Trade Unions of to-day mislead the Working Class into the belief that they have interests in common with the Masters.

These conditions can be changed only by scientifically organised Industrial Unions; the workers must be organised not only for the every-day struggle with the Masters, but also to carry on production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organising industrially, we are forming the structure of the new Society within the shell of the old.

Therefore, knowing that such an organisation is necessary to wage the Class War and to emancipate ourselves, we unite under the following Constitution:—

CONSTITUTION.

(1) OBJECTS.—

To propagate the idea of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, with the object of urging the Working Class to form Labour Unions on a revolutionary and scientific basis, so that at the earliest possible moment it may be in a position to take over the industries of the country and eliminate as far as possible the inevitable confusion arising from the transfer of the individual ownership of the means of production and distribution to a collective basis.

(2) METHODS.—

By holding meetings and the distribution of literature, on and off the JOB.

The League holds that it would be job-suicide for members of the League to refuse to hold a Trade Union card in the fields of industry where the Trade Union is a job trust, and expects members of the League, at all times, to endeavour to break down the power of the Trade Unions and to instal a revolutionary Industrial Union in its place.

(3) MEMBERSHIP.—

Membership is open to all wage workers who agree to the principles embodied herein.

(4) FINANCE.—

A contribution of 1d. at least, for card, and 1d. per week will be expected from all members of the League. This will not be permanent, but will be liable to alteration by the will of the majority of the members.

Collections at meetings.

(5) BUSINESS.—

The League will meet at least once a week to conduct its affairs (irrespective of propa-

ganda meetings at 52 Byrom Street, Liverpool, on Saturday nights, at 8 p.m.

No persons to take part in business meetings of the League unless members of the League and holding fully paid up cards.

(No "Long Lives," by request of the members.)

DEBS.

Alice Riggs Hunt writes from U.S.A.:—

"Many eyes and hopes are turned towards Debs, since his release, each group claiming that he will definitely line up with their particular faction. Those who know most about him predict that Debs will look over the situation very carefully, and probably will not definitely declare himself for some time.

"An amusing incident of Debs' short stay in Washington, en route from prison to his home, was the presentation to him of a lighted lantern by Irving Ledoux. Mr. Ledoux had been picketing the Arms Conference at Washington since its convening, with the lighted lantern in his hand, declaring that he hoped would help him to find an honest man among the delegates or experts. After weeks of fruitless search, Debs came to Washington, and Mr. Ledoux decided that he had at last found an honest man, and that therefore the lantern belonged to him. Debs accepted the gift reluctantly, it is said, as he felt it was too great a responsibility for him to assume that he, Debs, was really an honest man!"

RUSSIA AND AN INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CONSORTIUM.

Pravda discusses the proposal of establishing in Russia an Anglo-French Bank, and says that from a financial standpoint, this proposal is dangerous and unacceptable. In *Izvestia* Wilensky discusses the same proposal and says that methods which can be employed in China are inapplicable to Russia.

MORE INSURANCE PALLIATIVES.

Fred Bramley wants an industrial reserve fund for unemployment.

This was precisely what the Labour Party attacked in the last Government Bill.

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COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

V.

Zinoviev, at the Second Congress of the Third International in Moscow, introduced a Thesis, declaring that no attempt should be made to form Soviets prior to the outbreak of the revolutionary crisis. It was argued that, as such bodies would be powerless, or nearly so, their formation might bring the conception of the Soviets into proletarian contempt. The Thesis was adopted by the Congress, without discussion, and thereby became an axiom of the Third International.

The question as to whether the mere borrowed term, Soviet, shall be reserved for use in the actual crisis of revolution is of small importance, though, if not used previously, it would probably miss being adopted as the slogan of the revolution.

The question of postponing the creation of the actual organisation till the hour of revolutionary crisis is, on the other hand, a fundamental one.

The idea expressed and insisted upon in that Thesis of Zinoviev's was that the Soviet must be a great mass movement, coming together in the electrical excitement of the crisis; the correctness of its structure; its actual Sovietness (to coin an adjective) being considered of secondary importance. A progressive growth, gradually branching out till the hour of crisis; a strong and well-tried organisation is not contemplated by the Thesis. The need for carefully conceived structure is ignored. Propaganda for the Soviets alone is recommended.

Russia's dual Revolution was an affair of spontaneous outbursts, with no adequate organisation behind it. The Trade Unions, always a feeble growth, were crushed by the Czarism at the outbreak of the great war of 1914.

The Revolutionary political parties could call for a revolution; they could not carry it through: that was accomplished by the action of the revolutionary elements in the Army and Navy, in the workshops, on the railways and on the land. That these revolutionaries at the point of production were mainly unorganised, was a disability, not an advantage. In Russia the Government, first of the Czar, then of Kerensky, crumbled readily under the popular assault. The disability arising from the disorganised state of the workers was not felt in its full weightiness until after the Soviet Government had been established. Then it was realised that, though the Soviets were supposed to have taken power, the Soviet structure had yet to be created and made to function. The structure is still incomplete: it has functioned hardly at all.

Administration has largely by Government departments, working often without the active, ready co-operation, sometimes even with the hostility of groups of workers who ought to have been taking a responsible share in administration. To this cause must largely be attributed Soviet Russia's defeat on the economic front.

It would be monstrous folly for workers in other countries, especially in highly industrialised countries, where Capitalism is old, to imitate Russia's unpreparedness. We in Britain have an infinitely stronger Capitalism to overturn: we have greater opportunities of creating the organisation necessary to fight it.

This organisation must be able both to attack and destroy Capitalism in the final struggle, and also to replace the administrative machinery of Capitalism. Moreover it must be animated by the will to these achievements.

We have at present no such organisation in this country.

Our Trade Unions have neither the will, nor the capacity for the purpose. We are nearest industrial unionism in mining and transport and on the land, but even there we have several competing Unions in each industry. In the textile, metal, food preparing, wood-working, clothing, and building industries, we have a multiplicity of little-co-ordinated organisations. Moreover, the great mass of the workers is divided into two sections: the skilled and the unskilled; organised into quite separate Unions and divided by impassable barriers which have been jealously erected and maintained by the skilled workers.

The structure of the Trade Unions is antiquated and fruitful of delays. It is highly undemocratic, some Unions have first and second class members, the former, of ten or more years' standing, alone being eligible for office; some elect their executive for eight years or some other long term; some hold no general congress of branch representatives. The rank and file members of the Unions have little or no voice in deciding the larger issues of policy. The executive usually determining the policy to be pursued at national conferences with other bodies. The rules, which are registered with the capitalist Government's Registrar General, cannot be changed without long and hard effort. Under normal circumstances it must take many years to change them appreciably. The rules and structure of the Unions would place a handicap upon any serious attempt that might be made to remould the Unions in order that they might function with some sort of efficiency in the attack on Capitalism and in the administration of industry after Capitalism were overthrown.

The rules and structure are even a serious handicap in the daily struggle to palliate Capitalism, which is what the Unions exist for.

The Union officials, who, almost to a man, desire the retention of the capitalist system, fear, above all things, any serious attack upon it, are aided and protected in their conservatism by the Union rules.

The reactionary officials have, however, a stronger buttress and protection in the backward masses, who vastly outnumber the awakened workers in the Trade Unions. It is only in the advanced stages of the Revolution that the great masses will discern the gulf between themselves and their reactionary leaders. This is one of the reasons why another organisation is necessary. Such an organisation must reveal to the masses the true character of their leaders, and offer them an alternative policy.

The Trade Unions are composed of masses of workers who did not become members of the Unions with the object of changing the social system, but merely to palliate it. Latterly men and women have even been forced into the Unions, because Trade Unions had become strong enough to insure that those who refused to join would have difficulty in obtaining employment. With such a membership, the Trade Unions are naturally timid, conservative bodies, apt to oppose drastic change and unready to take any bold initiative.

We believe that such Trade Unions can never deliberately precipitate a revolution. In this matter, theory is supported by experience. In Russia the Revolution was not made by the hardly existing Trade Unions. After the first Revolution the Central Council of Soviets laboured to form Trade Unions. Some of the Unions it had formed then opposed retention of power by the Soviets, worked against all tendencies towards Communism, and gave their support to the demand for a bourgeois republic, with Capitalism re-established in power.

In Germany, the Trade Unions, so far from leading the various proletarian uprisings, took no official part except to oppose them.

To administer in place of Capitalism, as well as to overthrow it, the workers should be organised with all, and more than all, the efficiency and coherence of Capitalism. In this country, Capitalism itself, though tremendously better equipped than in Russia under the Czarism, still lacks co-ordination. As a medium for supplying the people's needs, it suffers on the one hand from the competition and overlapping of private interests; and, on the other, from shortage and lack in districts where the small means of the people do not render it profitable to supply them efficiently. Every day British Capitalism is remedying some of its organisational defects, at least, some of those due to its own internal capitalist rivalries.

From banking, where we have nearly arrived at a single trust, to tea-shops, where Lyons is absorbing competitor after competitor, co-ordination and the elimination of competition is going on constantly. Trustification has not yet developed nearly so far in Britain as in Germany, where the combination of the powerful capitalist,

hath much
Now the
By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Stinnes, links up coal and ore mining, smelting, and the manufacture, shipping and marketing of all sorts of metal goods; forestry, wood-working, paper-making, printing and publishing; tram, train, and sea travel, and the provision of hotel accommodation; the production and supply of electricity in all its branches, and a host of other activities.

British Capitalist organisation will rapidly become more closely knit under pressure of the competition which is rising up against it all over the world: in Britain's own colonies and dominions, in America, in the growing industrialism of Poland, Italy, and other European countries, above all in Germany, whose Capitalism, still more since the war that was meant to crush it, is Britain's keenest rival.

We should welcome the trustification of industry, in so far as it is a co-ordination along the lines of convenience and utility in producing and distributing what is needed by the populace. We should welcome it also because it provides the means of linking up the workers into a closely-knit fighting organisation; an organisation which can step in and displace the capitalist, and, having done so, shall be able to carry on production and distribution.

Such an organisation may be built up by organising the workers in the co-ordinated centres of production and distribution along the lines of the Trust itself. The Trade Unions are not thus organised.

Although Trustification has not yet developed very far in Britain, British employers of labour are much better organised than British workers. Employers' Associations and Trade Journals bind the employers together in all industries, and a much greater degree of solidarity is shown by the employing class than by the working class when a trade dispute arises. In this country Trade Unionism has never achieved the general strike: it has even shrunk from attempting any large-scale sympathetic strike. In this respect British Trade Unionism is behind that of most European countries. Both ideologically and structurally it is distinctly outdistanced by its continental contemporaries. Indeed, it is solely on the size of its membership that the British Trade Union movement has claimed to be the strongest in the world. As a body of action it would gain in strength if it could be ruthlessly pruned of its more backward members.

The trustification and co-ordination of industry under Capitalism has for many years been causing a perpetual discussion upon industrial unionism to be carried on in the Labour movement; but the result in actual improvements in the Union structure has been surprisingly small.

That rapid war-time growth, the Shop Stewards' organisation, in a few months co-ordinated the workers in the munition factories and shipyards with an efficient completeness the Trade Unions had never approached, and made the Stewards' movement a coherent acting force, such as the Trade Unions had never been. This developments shows that the task of organising the workers in accordance with capitalist organisation, in which the Trade Unions have hitherto failed, may readily be accomplished by building upon a new basis, unhindered by the trammels of the old machinery and the prejudices and vested interests of the old officials.

It may, perhaps, be objected that since the Shop Stewards' organisation dwindled at the close of the war and has all but passed away, there are elements of permanency in the Trade Unions which the Shop Stewards did not possess. That is true. The Trade Unions remained in possession of their accumulated funds, and were adding to these funds week by week, for the workers continued paying their Trade Union dues week by week; although the Trade Unions were functioning only as benefit societies, whilst the rank and file workers themselves were doing, through their shop committees and their elected stewards, the work for which the Unions were created. The Unions retained possession of the funds and the friendly benefits. When the boom in production passed and unemployment became rife in the land, the workers unready for the time being to safeguard their status in the workshop, were glad to fall back on the friendly benefits of the Union.

(to be continued.)

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

Have you ever heard the story of Abraham? This was the subject at one of our Proletarian lectures in the City, the other Sunday evening.

Why Abraham? Why a Biblical story? This was the comment of a few in the audience, and also some backward Communists of the C.P. type thought and said we had no right to interfere with a religious subject.

Poor C.P., poor Henry, poor respectability! Don't do anything to annoy your "betters."

Abraham lived about 2,000 B.C., and he was born in the town of Ur, which was a place of some importance at that period; it possessed a standing army and a municipal form of government, also a regular set of laws and a constitution. It was a province of Babylon, and when you remember that Babylon was a city of great culture 10,000 years ago, and this, by the way, is 4,000 years before the creation of the world, as given in our Bible story.

Ur had many gods, and it had great high towers, some 500 feet or so, which were the abode of the gods, and the offices of the priests were all centred in the towns.

The population of Ur, like Babylon, was composed nearly all of slaves, and it was in this city that Abraham was born.

The Hebrew race, at this period, had not come into existence; this is a point worth taking note of.

Abraham was born, and his mother called him Abram (meaning "great father"). Especially note what the mother named him. Why?

This was the Jewish custom, and was still in vogue at the time of Abraham's birth.

Abraham's father and mother gave a party in honour of the birth of a child. Terach was his father's name. He was a chief officer at the court of King Nimrod.

All the officers of the Court came to the party and had a great night, eating and drinking freely. On returning to their homes in the morning, these wise men saw a great display in the heavens. A star of wonderful brilliance and great size appeared in the East, and lo and behold, it swallowed up four others.

Consternation filled these wise men, so they discussed the reason for this great event, and connected it with the birth of Terach's child.

"Ah," they said, "this child will overthrow the dynasty of our king"; so they decided to tell the king. The chief of the wise men approached the king and said: "O king, live for ever!" and told him the story. The king said "What must I do?" The wise men said: "Send for Terach, tell him, and slay the child with your own hand."

The king sent for Terach, and gave him three days to think the matter over. On the third day, Terach took a child of one of his slaves to the king, and the king did slay it.

Young Abraham was sent out of the way and lived on the plains with a friend of his father's, Noah (this is the man of the Flood), until the affair had blown over.

Abraham lived there until he became a man, and one day went to see his father and mother.

He was greatly surprised to see the number of gods his father kept in the house and asked his mother whose gods they were. His mother said they belonged to his father.

Abraham said: "Bring me a kid, that I may make sacrifice to my father's gods." But lo and behold, the gods would not partake. On the next day he asked his mother to bring two kids. The result was the same; the gods refused them.

Abraham then became very angry, and took a bar of iron and broke all the gods, except one very big god, into pieces; into the hands of this remaining god he put the bar of iron. Just as he had done this, his father came, and he rent his clothes when he saw the destruction of his gods.

And he said to Abraham: "Who has done this?" Abraham answered: "The big god, father."

"My son," said his father, "thou liest. I made these gods myself."

Abraham was cast into prison and ordered to be burned, along with his brother Charon, but no fire could harm them. So the king and his wise

men acknowledged the God of Abraham as the only living and wise God.

If you can beat this story I will give £5 to the Dreadnought Fund.

The story is taken from the Jewish Bible, which is slightly different from ours.

The audience said the story was good, and one asked if the Christians believe it. The lecturer said that Christians were like monkeys—good imitators.

WELSH AND IRISH MINERS.

The S.W.M.F. at Blaina, South Wales, is begging the Ebbw Vale Company to re-open three mines at Blaina that have been shut down.

3,000 men have been thrown out of work, and the Union representatives declared that the mine owners would make no more losses "if the men were given a chance."

At Ballygarry, in Ireland, the mine owners shut down the mine, the miners therefore set to work to run it on their own account.

AFTER THE LOCK-OUT.

A miner of Tow Law, Durham, who could not obtain work after the Lock-Out, was obliged to sell his house and furniture and eventually went to live, with his wife and two young children, in a hole in a disused quarry.

The miner disappeared in a snow storm: no doubt he has been frozen to death. The woman and children were found suffering seriously from severe frost-bite and rheumatism.

"Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
"Thou art not so unkind
"As mans ingratitude;
"Thy tooth is not so keen,
"Because thou art not seen,
"Although they breath be rude."

"GERMINAL."

TRUTH.

A girl of 17, who committed suicide wrote:—
"I can't find a job. . . . It seems that the only sort of employment is to be found in an easy way on the streets, and that not being to my taste, I prefer to rid myself of the necessity for finding a situation.

"This world is only for those with money. . . ."

A NUISANCE.

An ex-Service man and his wife have no other home than a tent, 10 feet long by 6 feet wide, in a field at Pinhoe, near Exeter.

The local Rural Council have declared the tent a nuisance and served a notice for its removal.

"Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky,
"Thou dost not bite so nigh
"As benefits forgot;
"Though thou the waters warp,
"Thy sting is not so sharp
"As friends remembered not."

ESPERANTO.

Next week we shall publish Lesson XI, which will complete this first series of Esperanto lessons.

We shall very shortly reprint the whole in booklet form as Part I of a more complete Manual specially designed as a *vade mecum* for international congresses, with vocabularies.

For the use of schools, Part I will be sold separately.

The committee charged by the Council of the League of Nations to enquire as to the advisability of encouraging Esperanto in Elementary schools throughout the world, will, we hope, find that the Communist and Socialist Sunday Schools in England are already leading the way.

AN UNDERGROUND COUNCIL SCHEME.

Thomas, Bromley and Latham Sign Infamous Pact with Employers.

The workers in the London Underground railways had organised themselves into shop com-

mittees in several sections that was pleasing neither to the capitalist, nor to the Trade Union bosses.

Therefore the Trade Union leaders have formed a pact with the employers for a "Staff Council Scheme." Sectional Committees, Departmental Councils and an Underground Railway Council are to be set up, consisting of employers and employed.

Whilst the employers may appoint their representatives, as and when they please, the method of electing the workers' representatives has been decided upon by the employers, in conjunction with Messrs. Thomas, Bromley and Latham, the bosses of the N.U.R., the A.S.L.E.F., and R.C.A.

The workers' nominees for the committees and Councils must be nominated by six representatives of the sections concerned (six marked men). The ballot papers may be placed in the ballot boxes "provided for the purpose at the principal centres," or posted to the Staff officer at Electric Railway House. They shall be examined by one scrutineer appointed by the Trade Union and one by the employers.

These regulations obviously suggest the need for guarding against dishonest practices; but the companies have in their hands the power to tamper with the ballot boxes on their premises, or with ballot papers posted to the Staff Officer at Electric Railway House.

If a committeeman ceases to be an Underground employee, he shall cease to be a committeeman.

Therefore, to get rid of a rebel, it is only necessary to dismiss him.

It is provided that a workers' grievance cannot be taken up by the sectional committees until the worker has applied to the official immediately over him.

This means that some workers may fear to bring their grievance up at all.

It is also provided that a sectional committee shall not come to a decision upon any matter which does not fall within the authority of the officials who are members of the committee.

This is an expedient for limiting the power of the committees and a ready means of evasion and delay, of which the employers will certainly take full advantage.

The elections for Committees and Councils are to be held only once in two years.

A method of checking the progress of advanced ideas, and keeping out new blood.

If the Committees and Councils fail to agree, as they will nine times out of ten, in important matters, the dispute shall be referred to a NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE, which shall consist of equal numbers, not of representatives of the employers and workers', in the Underground, but of employers and Trade Union bosses.

Moreover, all alterations or variations of agreements between the companies and the Union shall be dealt with by the Negotiating Committee.

This means that the actual workers on the Underground will be ignored on the bigger issues as often as possible, and their actions will always be subject to revision by the Trade Union bosses.

There shall be no withdrawal of labour, "no interference with efficient operations" in connection with this scheme; that is to say, "wages, hours, conditions of service and other matters affecting the staff, until the dispute has been discussed by their committees and councils, and until after the Negotiating Committee has laid it in hand for 28 days.

That is intended to put a spoke in the wheel of people who desire lightning strikes, sympathetic strikes, general strikes, and stay-in strikes.

THE ONLY COURSE FOR SELF-RESPECTING WORKERS TO ADOPT IS TO REFUSE TO BE BOUND BY THIS AGREEMENT, AND TO SET UP THEIR OWN COUNCILS.

REBEL.

ESPERANTO FOR YOUNG BEGINNERS : : 2D. NET.

THE BRITISH ESPERANTO ASSOCIATION.

May be obtained through our Book Service.

AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

Lesson X.

We have still fourteen suffixes to learn.

AC denotes disparagement: Vilaĝo, a village; Vilaĝaĉo, a wretched village. Vesto, a coat; Vestaĉo, a ragged or disreputable coat.

AI denotes something made, or something resulting from: Grava, serious; gravaĵo, a serious matter.

Lato, a bed; litajo, bedding. Frukto, fruit; fruktaĵo, jam.

CJ and NJ, diminutives of endearment, masculine and feminine respectively: MASCLINE—Tomaso, Thomas; Tomaĉjo, Tommy.

FEMINE—Mario, Mary; Manjo, Polly.

EDZ denotes marriage: Edzo, husband; Edzino, wife.

Doktoro, doctor; Doctorezino, doctor's wife. Doktorino, lady doctor; Doktorinedzo, lady doctor's husband.

EG magnifies or intensifies: Granda, large; grandega, huge, or immense.

Fali, to fall; falegi, to tumble heavily. ER denotes a particle of: Polvo, dust; polvo, a speck of dust.

Mono, money; monero, a coin, ET is a diminutive: Knabo, a boy; knabeto, a little boy.

Ridi, to laugh; rideti, to smile. Etelo, a mite on babe (compound of two suffixes).

IDO denotes offspring of: Hundo, a dog; hundido, a puppy.

Kaprio, a goat; kaprido, a kid. IND denotes suitability or worthiness: Ridi, to laugh; ridinda, laughable.

Timi, to fear; timinda, to be feared. ING expresses a handle or holder: Plumo, a pen; plumingo, a penholder.

Fingro, a finger; fingringo, a thimble. OP denotes grouping in equal quantities: Du, two; duope, by twos or in pairs.

Cent, a hundred; centope, by hundreds. UJ, a receptacle: Floro, a flower; florujo, a flower pot.

Fruktaĵo, jam; Fruktaĵujo, a jam-pot. Mono, money; monujo, a purse.

UM denotes accomplishing or serving a purpose: Plena, full; plenumi, to fulfil.

Aero, air; aerumi, to ventilate.

VOCABULARY.

- amas, to amass.
- aruli, to roll down.
- ĉi, to finish.
- ĉumi, to smoke.
- ĉusiti, to consist.
- ĉusiti, to be accustomed.
- ĉisi, to mix.
- ĉisi, to speak.
- ĉisi, to think.
- ĉisi, to perish.
- ĉodakti, to produce.
- ĉkonti, to relate.
- ĉmpi, to break.
- ĉnti, to be silent.
- ĉti, to shake.
- ĉtari, to stand.
- ĉtari, to terrify.
- DA means of in relation to measure: Glaso da vino, a glass of wine.
- ĉvanto da akvo, a quantity of water.
- ĉtro da peno, too much trouble.

EXERCISE.

The following from a book of Swiss stories test the learner's progress.

ni parolis pri negravaĵoj nur por (to) pasi la pordon. Li elskuis la cindrojn de la pipo sur la ĉapo de la dekstra dika fingro kaj fumis enpenante.

La longe silentis, laŭ la kutimo de la montoj, fine li rakontis al mi la fama katastrofon de Sokent-naŭdua.

Grandega kvanto de akvo amasiĝis en la ĉeno; la rompiĝo de la glacio produktis ĉagampleksan ondofalegon konsistantan el

akvo kaj glacio kumiksitaĵ, kiu derolis sur la deklivo kun terura rapideco.

Proksime ducent personoj pereis.

COMMENT.

Ne-grav-aĵoj, trifles; el-skui, shake out; dika fingro, (thick finger), thumb; grand-ĉag-ampleksan ondo-fal-eg-on, literally, huge, bulky, flood tumble; kun-miksitaĵ, mixed together.

Observe the necessity for dissecting words. These compounds are a source of strength and elasticity that no other language has in equal degree, to express endless shades of meaning with relatively few words.

THE "BOOZE" BANDITS.

By C. B. Jimack Warwick.

Mine is no merry greeting, nor yet a tirade in favour of the annihilation of all bibulous "boozers." For, surely, everyone has a right to "booze." I would only establish further than that the assertion that every right should by intelligence be controlled. Ignorance alone builds up the "booze" business, which exploits our healthy social nature.

The silly slave gets drunk; he is hauled before the "Beak," given a few days in a police cell to "sober off." The wealthy devotee of Bacchus has his own wine cellar and can become tipsy at home, without fear of the law; nor has he anything to fear when rolling home from the Club. The prowling policeman only takes his condition jokingly, eager for a tip.

The figures given annually for cases of drunkenness, mainly refer to extreme cases brought on by the urge to forgetfulness as a reaction from a sordid slave existence.

Recent figures show an increase in convictions for drunkenness in Britain; for they were 57,948 in 1919, but rose to 95,763 in 1920. For Greater London the convictions in 1920 were 44.4 in excess of those in the previous year. The figures for 1921 and 1922 are likely to show a still greater increase as a direct result of the increase in misery amongst the proletariat.

"Booze" provides a big source of revenue for the capitalist State, and is a pillar of Society.

It was reported in the Manchester Evening News, December 16th, 1921, that Mr. H. Bell, Chairman and Managing Director of Bell & Co., Brewers, Stockport, speaking at the annual meeting of the shareholders, combated the question of the high price of beer by saying that there was a £5 duty on every barrel, and therefore the price to the consumer could not be lowered one halfpenny.

The toppers, of course, pay the duty, so the brewers do not worry. Three-pence halfpenny is the tune called by the State, the rest goes to the brewer.

Mr. Bell concluded by saying, to the satisfaction of the smug shareholders, that the firm would pay them a ten per cent. dividend! Not so bad in these hard times!

In the same breath, let us report that Morgan's Brewery Co., Ltd. acquired profits to the amount of £52,861 this year, and can pay a 12 per cent. dividend to their little group of the Idle Class. The Manchester Brewery Co. raked in £791,775 10s. in the space of three years. In the same period Walker & Homfrays, Ltd., jointly with the M.B.C., pulled off £1,098,733 7s.; and just to mention that, in these days of combines, it is quite natural that directors of the M.B.C. should have a controlling voice in the W. & H. concern.

One of the biggest business combines born since the war was the fusion of Peter Walker and Son, of Liverpool, Warrington, and Burton-on-Trent, and Robert Cain and Sons, of Liverpool. Eleven million pounds was involved. Each firm had already absorbed two other firms; the one controlled a firm dubbed Harding and Parrington, Ltd., the other controlled Robert Bleynard and Co. Such facts are relative to the development of Capitalism; the tendency always towards combination, in order thus to gain greater competitive and controlling power,

both financial and political. Capital hath much to teach Labour in Class-sagacity! Now the firms mentioned control over 1,000 licensed premises; Cain's controls 80 per cent. of Liverpool's "booze" establishments. Cain's profits for the last five years total £1,799,054; while Peter Walker's were £3,214,054 last year; Groves and Whitnall's only made £203,252 last year; but that will keep their directors from starving!

The chairman of Samuel Allsopp and Sons, Ltd. is Sir William Barclay Peat; he is also an Empire Builder, being chairman likewise, of the British Commonwealth Union. Allsopp's, who also control Showell's Brewery Co., made £284,000 last year, and £285,000 this year.

Sir William cheered his shareholders greatly by telling them not to worry, for when wages come down, they will do better, as high-priced labour makes trade unstable.

I culled this from the Financial Times:—

"The extension of drinking hours and Guinness's record profits have distracted attention from discussion of the heavy taxation upon the trade."

Guinness's, the stout brewers, made £18,184,545, or over eighteen million pounds in one year! Naturally the Guinness Group does not worry much over the fact that the State pinched its quota from this!

Two contrasting incidents in conclusion:—

Charles Drinkwater was demobilized in 1918. He was then 59 years of age, but old enough for blood-spilling. He was of the slave-class. Last September, at the age of 62, he died. How did he come to die? He was hungry; London and the State let him starve to death. According to his last employers, Cole and Sons, Ltd., he was a sober man, and of good character. They discharged him in July last. Too proud to ask for help, he went under.

The only true friends of such as he are the Communists, fighting against the system that let him starve; the system that starves millions of men, women, and children.

Ten millionaires died last year. One was Charles Combe, a director of Watney, Combe, Reid and Co., Ltd., brewers. I know nothing about him, except that circumstances didn't allow him to take to the Golden Gates the wealth he had made from Dubb-doping. This wealth was valued at £1,067,204. The difference is that Charles Combe was of the Parasite Class, whilst Charles Drinkwater, who had nothing to leave, was of the Slave Class!

What we, as Communists, are concerned about is not that Britain spent £469,700,000 last year on alcoholic liquor; but that Profit is Robbery.

Such enormous profits as those mentioned, and they are by no means isolated instances, are made out of the exploitation of the workers.

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IF THE WORKERS WANTED TO ACT.

Government figures show that seven million workers in the trades as to which the Government regularly compiles statistics, had six million pounds a week deducted from their wages in 1921.

You and I know, Fellow Worker, that these figures refer to the trades in which the workers are best organised and therefore least badly treated. If this happened to these workers, what of the more unfortunate, whose losses have not been counted?

Unemployment is still on the increase. On December 30th, 1921, there were 1,885,743 registered unemployed; on January 10th, 1922, there were 1,933,400.

The cost of living is still 94 per cent. above July, 1914!

When the recent Act, which gives supplementary allowances to the wives and children of the unemployed, was drafted, a steady decrease of unemployment in 1922 was estimated for. This grants fund will therefore come to an end before its time. Another paltry stop-gap may then be enacted.

Meanwhile, you who are unemployed are on the move. At West Bromwich you have been particularly vigorous: you have struck against the miserable rates paid to you on relief work. The result is that some of you have become the guests of his Majesty; unless you have left families who are dependent upon you outside, your economic problem is thus solved for the time being. His Majesty treats his guests very scurvily, no doubt; but it is said he provides better fare for his guests in prison than the Guardians do for their guests in the Workhouse. To be poor and submissive is the crime of crimes. Do not make the grievous mistake of committing it.

You are still busy interviewing the Guardians and Councillors. You have been doing it for several months, with very little result. The Labour Party representatives on these bodies are apt to be more polite than the other members; but their sympathy is just as empty: they protest that the local government cupboard is bare.

If the Councillors and Guardians had any pluck, they would take a few leaves out of the books of their ancestors; they would copy, for instance, the doings of the Paris municipal Council, which, in the interests of the people, arrogated all sorts of powers to itself, which had not been granted to it by the French National Assembly.

The Paris municipal Council simply declared that this or that should be made law by the Assembly, and in the meantime anticipated the event.

Suppose the British local governing bodies were to take that line: suppose, for instance, they were to levy taxes on the capitalist concerns within their borders. Or suppose they went further, and took over such concerns in order that the workers might run them in the common interest.

"If Councillors and Guardians attempted such things they would be defied, of course: the factory owners would refuse to obey their orders," you say.

Quite so; but suppose the local bodies should raise a police force of their own, from the ranks of the unemployed, for instance, to enforce their decisions. If such doings were to spread all over the country, something would be bound to happen: it might lead to great changes.

"Why not suppose something within the realms of possibility?" you ask.

Quite so: the Councillors and Guardians will not do anything unconstitutional, and there is nothing constitutional that they can do to solve unemployment. Other people, however, may someday be more enterprising.

You who are unemployed should approach your fellow workers who are working. You should go to every centre of industry in your district and get the workers there to appoint delegates to sit on a joint council with representatives of those who are out of work.

Such Councils, existing all over the country and working in consultation, would be a powerful force. They could do things, if the workers wanted to act.

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