

# The Bubble Burst.

# Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS CONFERENCE.

The London Committee of the R.I.L.U. held a delegate conference at the Essex Hall, Strand, on January 14th, 503 bodies, branches and district committees of Trade Unions and unemployed organisations and trades councils were represented.

The first resolution was as follows:—

"This meeting of delegates assembled in conference on January 14th, pledge themselves to resist any attempt to introduce longer hours into any industry. It calls upon the Executive Committees of the Unions represented at this conference to immediately organise a united resistance to this despicable attempt to further exploit the workers, and demands that the General Council of Trade Unions be called together in order that the necessary arrangements can be made for a National fight, if necessary."

It was strange to hear such prominent members of the late Workers' Committee organisation as Jack Tanner and Harry Pollitt urging the acceptance of this resolution and opposing an amendment, not merely to wait till the employers seek to increase hours of labour, and then to resist the increase; but to take the offensive by an effort to secure reduced hours now.

Jack Tanner advocated the resolution as practical; whilst Harry Pollitt declared that the industrial movement in this country is in a state of demoralisation, and can do no more than "hold the line." The line is hardly being held at present, however.

It was, indeed, strange to hear Jack Tanner and Harry Pollitt advocating an appeal to the General Council of the Trade Unions to take action to protect the workers against an increase in hours, instead of using the failure of the Unions and their Council to do this, and also their failure to prevent wages cuts as levers for the advancement of the rank and file movement in which, till the other day, the two champions of the R.I.L.U. professed an abounding faith.

The amendment further proposed that the organisations which had sent delegates to the conference should pledge themselves to action, instead of handing the matter on to the General Council of Trade Unions, which was unlikely to take action. The amendment was lost by 284 votes to 249.

### Asking the Rank and File to Act.

The second resolution was an admission that "boring from within" has so far achieved nothing, and that in order to secure even a remote possibility of action, the R.I.L.U. must appeal to the rank and file. All the Theses of Moscow cannot root out of the rebel who has had practical experience, the knowledge that no drastic action can be hoped from the Trade Unions:

"This Conference recognises that, in the event of the Trade Union Movement refusing to take action to prevent the present hours being extended, it will then become the duty of the rank and file themselves to take action. The Conference declares that IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY TRADE UNIONIST TO REFUSE TO WORK THE LONGER HOURS WHICH ARE INTRODUCED. BUT ONLY TO WORK THE EXISTING HOURS, AFTER WHICH THEY SHOULD LEAVE THE FACTORY. Where such action is taken, this Conference pledges itself to support the men involved, whatever consequences are entailed. It further instructs the London Committee to arrange meetings

with all the local Unemployed Committees, so that there need be no fear of the Unemployed being used to break down our resistance to the introduction of LONGER HOURS OF LABOUR."

The British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. has here placed itself in a most curious position. Obedient to Moscow's dictates, it makes no effort to form extra-union rank and file organisations. On the contrary, it works against such organisations, because Moscow has declared against them. The leaders of the late Shop Stewards organisation, now in the R.I.L.U., have hastened its death and have assisted at its burial. They have accepted the dictum that the official Trade Unions are the only bodies which can act. Nevertheless, they now turn to the rank and file and tell them that it is their duty to face the risk of action, unsupported by organisation if the Unions fail, as the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. expects they will.

Harry Pollitt backed up the resolution by the old stunt that used to be so popular before the war, the pretence that by holding out some palliative bait to the workers, they will inadvertently bring down the capitalist system by running after this bait, and so enter into the paradise of Communism without having wanted it. He insisted that the capitalist must either extend the working hours, or Capitalism is done for. Pollitt evidently imagines that British Capitalism is like a house of cards and will capsize at a breath. A number of successful capitalists declare that output and efficiency increase when hours are reduced to 40 per week, or even less; but no matter, such facts do not bear out Pollitt's argument, therefore ignore them. Pollitt declared that the working class cannot be united on the wages question, but it can be on the hours; and naively asserted that the fight against increased hours will enable:— (1) the unemployed to get more work; (2) the Trade Unionist to protect what he has got, and (3) the Revolutionary to bring down Capitalism and achieve the world-wide revolution.

It is surprising that the delegates heard such tomfoolery without protest. We wonder how those who have been termed "the master minds of Moscow" regard such reasoning!

Pollitt means, if he means anything at all by such statements, that if the workers refuse to work longer hours, British goods will be undercut in the world market and the British capitalists will be bankrupt.

Assuming that the contention were correct, how does he imagine that employment would be increased? Surely if British firms had lost all their export orders and were even undercut in the home markets by foreign imports to an extent so serious as to ruin the main fabric of British Capitalism, unemployment would be more widespread than it has ever been before. We need not carry the argument further; but, of course, British Capitalism could not be ruined by the simple device of refusing to reduce working hours below their present level. Pollitt would be well advised to stop talking transparent nonsense.

Harry Pollitt further declared that whilst the workers must refuse to work longer than the present hours, the unemployed must raid the factories where there is any resultant victimisation. One does not know why the underfed unemployed should be selected for the tasks needing pluck and brawn; perhaps it is because they will not lose a job if they become his Majesty's guests at Pentonville.

Be that as it may, the representatives of the organised unemployed manfully said they would do the raiding in support of victimised workers: indeed they reported that they have already carried out some raids in support of strikers.

The resolution was carried with enthusiasm.

### Russia: A Contradiction.

The Conference further resolved:—

"This Conference of London Trade Unionists, realising the close connection between the decay of British trade and the consequent growth of unemployment, owing to the exclusion of Russia from the comity of Nations, demands that full political recognition be given to the Soviet Government of Russia by the British Government. It further recommends that in any future International negotiations, the British Government should see that facilities are given for the Russian Government to be represented at such conferences."

No one observed that this resolution to re-establish British Capitalism by trading with Russia was the negation of Pollitt's statement, that the desired end was to ruin the capitalist system. Moreover, no one seemed to realise that the objects of the resolution: the recognition of Soviet Russia by the Capitalist Powers and her admission to their conferences is already conceded. It is conceded, not under pressure of Labour, but because Soviet Russia has compromised her position.

### The Unemployed.

A. Square, London organiser of the Unemployed, moved:—

"This Conference calls upon the Executives of the Unions represented at this Conference to immediately stop all further payments of Unemployed Benefit, and to conserve the Union Funds for fighting purposes. It further urges all Trade Unionists to resist the imposing of levies for Unemployed purposes, and to oppose all Government schemes of relief for Unemployment that involve contributions from the workers."

This was supported by the Unemployed present with considerable enthusiasm, and accepted without dissent. It was argued that many Unions will be financially obliged to stop payments to their unemployed members, and that the unemployed should go to the Guardians and leave the Trade Union Funds for fighting purposes. There is much to be said for the latter argument; but one cannot help regretting the loss of any bit of solidarity shown by the workers to each other.

The Revolution will not be made on strike pay!

### Clothing Workers to Take It Seriously.

Elsbury, representing the United Clothing Workers, warned the Conference that, as organiser of his Union, he was taking the hours resolution seriously. He hoped the pledge of the R.I.L.U., to stand by those who refuse to work longer hours, will be kept, and also that of the organised unemployed. A conference of his Union would be held at once, and strikes would follow.

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## OIL AND POLITICS.

The Labour Publishing Company has just got out a most illuminating book on oil,\* by Francis Delaisi, a Frenchman who was once a Socialist, but who has gone over to the side of a more efficient Capitalism.

He observes the unscrupulous doings of British capitalist politicians, and says to the French: "Go, thou, and do likewise"; but he has knowledge, and provides a wealth of valuable information supported by documents.

He tells the story of the British Navy and British merchant ships, pre-eminent largely because Britain has coal at home and coaling stations at convenient points all over the world.

British Capitalism was fortunate in its assurance of cheap coal; in its assurance of a navy to protect its privileges and its shipping.

Then he shows us the rise of oil: the invention of the Diesel internal combustion engine, which made possible the use of cheap fuel oil, mazut, and later the introduction of the oil directly into the furnaces of great ships. By thus using oil instead of coal, 30 per cent. of bunker space was saved, the radius of action increased by 50 per cent. with the expenditure of the same power. Oil flows directly into the machine and so saves labour. For the same weight 70 per cent. more heat is obtained. The oil-driven vessel can easily out-distance the coal-driven.

These new discoveries meant that Britain's coal-driven Navy and merchant shipping and her convenient coaling stations were about to be superseded in efficiency. By whom?

The United States was the first country to exploit oil to any extent. Its Standard Oil Company was supplying the world. British Capitalism decided to out-do United States Capitalism and prevent it from expanding to any further oil fields. British Capitalism determined to secure the controlling power over the majority of the world's oil supply.

British Capitalism has succeeded. The world's oil supply is supposed to consist of 60,000 million barrels, of this 7,000 million only is in the hands of America. Britain controls most of the other 53,000 million barrels. Britain has her oiling stations as well as her coaling stations conveniently situated all over the world.

British Capitalism set to work secretly; it was important that United States Capitalism should not know what was going on, lest it should join in the competition. Sir John Cadman, a professor at Birmingham University, Sir Marcus Samuel, Lord Cowdray, Lord Rothschild, Lord Curzon, and others, some of them members of the Government itself, went quietly to work. M. Delaisi lauds the patriotism of these men, who, by getting most of the world's oil supply into the hands of British Capitalism, incidentally insured coal to the Navy; but these men lined their own private pockets also. Some day there will doubtless be revelations regarding political dealings in oil, of a gigantic character.

The Shell Transport Company, originally a small company trading in mother-o'-pearl in distant seas, was secretly subsidised and assisted by the British Government. The Pearson group, under Lord Cowdray, formed the Mexican Eagle Company. The great Dutch Trust, The Royal Dutch oil company was made British.

In order to allay suspicion that the British Government might be interested in these companies, an Admiralty representative stated that the Navy must not be dependent for oil upon international trusts. On the pretence of precluding a monopoly by the three great companies, Parliament was asked to vote money for the Government to acquire a substantial interest in the Burmah Oil Company, and half the shares in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

The Germans had discovered oil in the upper valley of the Tigris. The Germans wanted it for themselves. Considerable friction resulted, which was one of the causes of the war; but in the meantime, as a compromise, it was agreed that the oil fields should be exploited by both English and Germans.

There is now not a single oil-producing country in which the British have not control of im-

portant sources, as the following table shows:—

### EUROPE—

Roumania, Shell—Royal Dutch.  
Russia " " "

### AMERICA—

California, Shell—Royal Dutch.  
Oklahoma " " "  
Texas " " "  
Trinidad " " "  
Venezuela " " "  
Mexico " " "

### ASIA—

Dutch East Indies, Shell—Royal Dutch.  
Burmah, Burmah Oil Company.  
Persia, Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

### AFRICA—

Egypt, Shell—Royal Dutch.

The British production does not at present reach one-third of the American Standard Oil Company; but the oil lands of the United States are rapidly becoming exhausted. It is estimated that motor cars, lorries and tractors absorb 85 per cent. of the United States production, and that only 15 per cent. is left for industry, shipping, the navy, and export.

During the war the U.S. supplied 80 per cent. of the oil consumption of the Allied Armies—an enormous drain. To supply this enormous quantity of oil to the Allies was profitable; but would the U.S. have done it had she known all?

In 1917 the Standard Oil Company sent out its prospectors in search of fresh oil fields, only to find that in Palestine, Mesopotamia, everywhere, Great Britain had secured the oil and barred the door against American competitors. Preside it Wilson appealed in his Fourteen Points in protest, but the appeal was vain.

Some of our patriots, often excessively ignorant, frequently plume themselves on belonging to a Free Trade nation; it is not harmful, they say, for Britain to control an Empire in which the sun never sets, because we allow free trade to everyone: we maintain the open door.

America has followed the open door policy, so genuinely that the British Shell Transport had acquired oil fields even within the United States itself, and was laying its pipes side by side with those of the Standard Oil Company. Britain, however, had shut the door against America and all the territories under her sway, and had formed a concerted plan for excluding the U.S. from all the unexploited oil fields of the world.

The U.S. Senate now called on its Government for a report on "the measures taken by foreign governments to exclude Americans from oil."

Sir Edgar Mackay Elgar replied insolently, in the London Times, revealing the strangle-hold that British capital had established, and adding:

"To the tune of many millions of pounds a year, America, before very long, will have to purchase from British companies and to pay for in dollar currency, in increasing proportions, the oil she cannot do without and is no longer able to furnish from her own store. I estimate that, if their present curve of consumption, especially of high-grade products, is maintained, Americans, in ten years, will be under the necessity of importing 500 million barrels of oil yearly at \$2 a barrel—a very low figure—and that means an annual payment of \$1,000,000,000 per annum, most, if not all of which will find its way into British pockets. . . . With the exception of Mexico and, to a lesser extent, of Central America, the outer world is securely barricaded against an American invasion in force. There may be small isolated sallies, but there can never be a massed attack. The British position is impregnable."

The United States at once replied, giving the Secretary for the Navy, power to set apart as "reserves" petroliferous lands, not to be sold or leased without his consent.

It is now officially reported that foreign countries have reserves of oil sufficient to last 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present

consumption, had only oil enough to last eighteen years.

The United States now retaliated by setting up the United States-Oil Corporation, which would be ostensibly an independent company, but which would work more or less under Government control, the President appointing its nine directors, and the Government having the right to purchase the whole, or part of its products. The whole power of the Government, economic and military, will be behind it. In short, it will receive all the support that the British Government gives to similar companies formed at its instigation; whilst, as is the case also in Britain, the private capitalist receives all the profits.

The power of the great companies that work in conjunction with governments is enormous: they negotiate with governments as though they were themselves the governments of nations, and play off one government against another to suit their own mercenary ends. Delaisi thus describes the coming of the Dutch oil trust into the British combinations:—

"This enterprise [The Royal Dutch], thanks to the wealth of its fields in the Sunda Islands (Java, Sumatra, Timor, etc.), its powerful financial organisation and its fleet of tank steamers, was by far the most important of the European trusts. To be frank, it had lately been suspected of a certain sympathy with Germany, whose market it used to supply. But when war supervened, the British Navy, by its command of the seas, was in a position to hold up its traffic completely. And, therefore, it prudently placed its resources at the disposal of the Allies, gaining thereby a huge increase of business and profits. The downfall of the German Empire and the draconian clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, which spell the ruin of German shipping and industry for ten years, convinced it that it could only enjoy security through an understanding with Britain. . . .

"Henceforward the Dutch trust, whose enormous interests little Holland was incapable of defending, enjoyed the protection of the British Government. The latter, in return, has obtained an associate whose contribution is represented by a production of ten million tons a year, a fleet of tankers of 600,000 tons (ten times those of France), enormous concessions in the East Indies, Roumania, the United States, and Central America, and a system of affiliated companies with a total capital of over 200 millions sterling."

The methods of French financiers are exposed by M. Delaisi with some heat. He prefers those of Britain. In truth, as he reveals it, the part played by French financiers in the oil scramble is a selfish and contemptible one. They have been unwilling to aid in the development of new oil fields, even though these may be French possessions, and have preferred to take up shares in established companies already paying high dividends. Therefore their money has buttressed the British companies, and the oil fields on French territory have been left to British companies to develop.

Delaisi describes, with bitterness, the machinations of the ten companies of so-called "refiners," acting together, who have secured a monopoly of oil in France. On the pretext of protecting French industries, they procured a duty on crude oil of 9 francs per quintal, and of 13.50 francs on refined oil.

A Pennsylvania oil company possessed oil which contained 90 per cent. of the products of refining, and which only required heating to become refined oil. The ten companies arranged to have reserved to themselves the limited quantity of this oil which existed, and to import it as crude oil, afterwards refining it at a negligible cost and selling it at a large profit. No other importers could compete with them. Before the Pennsylvania oil was exhausted, they had established themselves as monopolists. They prevented the import of mazut, by procuring that the duty of 9 francs per quintal should apply

\* "Oil, Its Influence on Politics," by Francis Delaisi, translated by Leonard Leese. Labour Publishing Company, 2s. 6d., and from the Workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4.



to it until August 1919, when the duty on mazut was reduced to 40 centimes. Yet France was very short of coal, and had the electric railways of Paris been able to use mazut instead of coal, enough coal to warm 200,000 houses would have been liberated.

When oil fields were recently discovered in French territory, in Algeria, Morocco, and Madagascar, the British were anxious to exploit them. It was, of course, necessary to conciliate French interests; the ten monopolist companies would offer no resistance, provided their own monopoly of the French home market were not interfered with. The banks, the financiers and stockbrokers required more careful handling; but what they desired was "not to produce and sell oil, but to produce and sell shares."

The method adopted by crafty British capitalism was therefore to deluge the French market with shares carrying high dividends in well-established British companies. These would give an immediate return, much larger than could be obtained for some time in any new enterprise. Therefore *Shell Transport* and *Royal Dutch* shares were shipped to France in large quantities. The French law forbade the export of capital, but it is easy to smuggle shares. They were brought over by aeroplane. "It is asserted that even the diplomatic bag was employed. Young *attachés* at the Embassies—whom one would like to believe foreigners—introduced by this channel, shares of the *Royal Dutch* and *Mexican Eagle*, and made pleasant and profitable connections for themselves in banks and in drawing rooms."

The export of French capital increased the depreciation of the franc; but the more it did so, the richer became the holders of French securities. The gamble spread throughout society. As the value of the franc fell, food and clothing rose in price, and the poor were plunged in suffering; but speculators and society people rejoiced, because their fortunes were growing. At last a crash came; professional speculators sold out at top prices; banks asked their society clients to fake delivery of their shares, and, incapable of paying such prices, the greater number sold out. *Royal Dutch* fell from 72,000 francs to 25,000 francs. London bought back a considerable proportion of the shares; but it was convenient to leave a substantial number in French hands: that would ensure French support for the proposal to permit these British companies to exploit the newly discovered French oil fields.

Thus crafty British capitalists established anti-French and pro-British elements in France itself.

The British companies had still the task of securing the agreement of the French Government; the threat to refuse coal, coupled with the promise to supply France with all the oil she needs, and to offer two-thirds of the shares to the French people, was brought to bear. Then came the trouble with Emir Feisal, who was driving the French out of Syria, which was promised to France as a part of her war spoils. Emir Feisal, Delaisi says, was operating with British money and British arms:—

"Then Lord Curzon said, 'Sign the agreement with the *Royal Dutch*, and you shall have Syria.' M. Millerand accepted. Immediately Feisal was left to himself. Thus the triumphal entry of General Gourad into Damascus was paid for by the abandonment of all our oil resources."

What a pretty tale of diplomatic knavery it is!

British statesmanship is not only looking after the oil, however. British coal is sold to France at an augmented price, and Lloyd George has insisted that France shall pay 5 gold marks more for Ruhr coal than its cost price, in order to place a handicap on French competition with Britain in metal and other industries. The French metal industry pays 200 francs for coal Britain gets for 84 francs, and Germany for 72 francs.

America is naturally displeased that France has played into the hands of the British oil ring. M. Delaisi attributes to the anger arising from this cause, America's refusal to capitalise, by means of a loan, the annual payments of the German indemnity which France is to receive, in order that she may have the money to spend immediately. France, he observes, might have prevented Britain from becoming the oil

monopolists. Within ten years she might have received plentiful supplies of oil from her own territories. Moreover, she might have used both French and American in her enterprises.

The formation of a new oil company, *The Standard Franco-Americaine*, was announced as M. Delaisi was correcting his proofs. The emergence of this new company may mark the beginning of a new Franco-American policy which will conflict with the schemes of British Capitalism. Delaisi observes that the close alliance of France and Britain to exclude America from the oil fields might lead to a German-American combination, and might also lead to war.

Delaisi accuses 'the bourgeois dealers in shares of sacrificing the interests of their country: he would have French capitalists emulate British Capitalism. If the Delaisi policy triumphs, we shall certainly have war.

## HOLLAND.

(BY A DUTCH CORRESPONDENT.)

At the time of writing, the big strike of the metal workers has just come to an end. In a previous letter I presaged, without intending to be a prophet, that they would lose. If they had succeeded in maintaining their usual "standard of living" they would have gained nothing essential, and their minds would have been as backward as before. The greater part of them are now locked out until the employers judge it advisable to take them back, while a small minority is compelled to accept the proposed reduction of wages. They may now realise that they have fought along the wrong line. In that case they will have gained something: experience and insight. To a certain extent this will be the case with the workers in general.

Meanwhile, 'the victorious bourgeoisie gained nothing essential. On the contrary, every reduction in wages and increase of unemployment must increase the general depression. The Trade Union leaders have produced a type of people called "traitors." As a matter of fact they must betray their men, even if they have no intention of doing so. One of them is discussing the general strike in his paper with his comrades of the so-called revolutionary Trade Unions (Syndicalists, organised in the N.A.S.). He says—and he is quite right, from a Trade Union point of view:—

"We cannot accept the point in the N.A.S. programme which dictates the rejection of every reduction of wages. We cannot explain the advocacy of the general strike by the innocence or lack of knowledge of economics. We can only attribute it to the need of a propaganda cry against the *real Trade Union movement*. Such a watchword of an insignificant minority does not suit the programme of a *fundamental movement*. The working class cannot forget the lessons that history has taught it; history teaches us that in a period of economical depression, the standard of living of the population cannot at all times be maintained. History teaches us that in such a period the unemployment of extensive groups and the impossibility of a profitable production for the employers fortify the position of the latter in their struggle against the workers. Moreover, everybody conversant with this subject, knows that in international production every country must be in a position to compete with other countries."

Golden words, indeed, from a leader of a realist movement! If our Syndicalist friends do not desire to remain an insignificant minority, they must either join the "Yellows," or leave their own Trade Unions and constitute the revolutionary workshop organisations, in order to fight the counter-revolutionary Trade Unions, and to prepare for the life and death struggle with the bourgeoisie.

They have not yet advanced to such organisation, but we do not doubt that "history has taught them some lessons." Mr. Stenhuis, leader of "the realist movement" in this country, will certainly not be pleased when he perceives, one day or the other, that "the working class cannot forget the lessons that history teaches it."

## BOLSHEVIK DIAMONDS.

The *Mining World* indicates that the Bolshevik diamonds have caused a slump in diamond mining.

## RUSSIAN MINES.

Krupps and Mendelssohn's of Berlin have purchased shares in the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Mining Company—a British company which operated in Russia before the Revolution.

Dealing in Russo-Asiatic shares and also in those of the Siberian Proprietary Lena and Spasky Companies on the London share market, shows that Capitalism is fast returning to its own in what was Red Russia.

## PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

A CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION BANK.

The *Petrograd Pravda* of December 21st reports that the Council of People's Commissaries has formulated a decree for establishing a Consumers' Association Bank, on the basis of dividend bearing shares. The clients of the new Bank must belong to the various Consumers' Associations of all kinds. The capital of the Bank has been fixed at one million gold roubles, and will consist of deposits by the members, and 300,000 gold roubles from the State Bank of the R.S.F.S.R. The capital may be increased by the permission of the People's Commissary for Finance, in which case the State Bank's contribution would also be increased. The Bank has the right to open branches, both within the borders of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Allied Soviet Republics, and abroad.

## PRICE OF RUSSIAN "ISVESTIA."

An advertisement in *Rosta Wien* gives the following rates for *Izvestia*, the Soviet Russian daily newspaper, which up till now was published by the Government free of charge:—

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What a valuable institution to the Soviet Government was its free newspaper; what a mistake from its own point of view to establish a charge!

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## THE BUBBLE BURST.

### WORKERS' MOVEMENT ON TRIAL.

TRADE DEPRESSION PROVES THE TRUE CHARACTER OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT, AND REVEALS THE ACTUAL STRENGTH OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM.

REVOLUTION HAS NOT FAILED: REVOLUTION HAS NOT BEEN CONSUMMATED: IT HAS ONLY BEGUN: WE HAVE SEEN ITS FIRST STAGE: OTHER STAGES WILL FOLLOW.

SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, ANARCHY HAVE NOT FAILED: NOT ONE OF THESE HAS YET BEEN ESTABLISHED: THEY ARE STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN REACHED.

In every country the working class movement has apparently received a tremendous check. We are feeling the world-wide depression in the movement very keenly here.

It is said that we have fallen upon a period of reaction: that the workers will not move forward in times of trade depression; that their revolutionary fervour subsides as the spectre of unemployment arises. It is said that we must not hope for revolution whilst the workers are labouring under the knowledge that there are several applicants for their jobs and that the employers in many cases would have no very serious objection to letting their plant lie idle for a time, because, at present, it scarcely produces profits.

We must wait, some people say, for a revival in the workers' movement, till there is a revival in the state of their employers' trade.

Only the Reformist is justified in arguing thus: the Revolutionary must look deeper.

It is obvious that a big, confident movement to secure better conditions under the present system; a movement to secure a larger share of the profits made by the employer, is easily produced during a trade boom. The workers then observe that their employers are making big profits. They know that rather than allow a hitch in the work to occur through a strike, or even a change of workers, the employers will make many concessions. At such times it requires no courage for the workers to demand concessions: they are aware that they can display considerable independence without running the risk of dismissal, and that, should they be dismissed, they will have no great difficulty in securing other employment.

A worker does not need to be a revolutionary to observe that the employer is disposed to humour him: even the most reactionary Tory workman is not slow to take advantage of the situation.

During the war, although the mass of the workers suffered from Press-made war fever, which they thought was patriotism, they flocked into the Shop Stewards' movement. They did so because, whilst the scarcity of labour and pressure to produce more gave the workers an advantage in bargaining for improved conditions, the official Trade Union bodies had pledged themselves not to take advantage of the situation.

Some people, failing to understand the position, believed the Shop Stewards' movement to be a movement for revolution, whereas it was purely a movement to force fugitive improvements from the employers without at all disputing the privileges of the employer and the stability of the capitalist system.

The illusion that the Shop Stewards' movement was revolutionary was bolstered up by members of its executive, who declared, in support of it, that being revolutionaries, they had nevertheless been elected to office. It is true that the more fiery and extreme the orator, the more readily he was approved; but that is always the case in popular movements, even when their object is to achieve the mildest of reforms. The professing revolutionaries of the Shop Stewards' movement never made a proposal for action in support of any demand of a revolutionary character: they confined their attention to securing increased wages. Even their Conference resolutions (where no question of action was involved) were confined, during the heyday of the movement, to demands for higher wages and reduced hours of work. In its early small beginnings and in its later petering out, the Shop Stewards' movement passed revolutionary resolutions, but not in the days of its strength.

"If only we had gone for something bigger!" one hears members of the revolutionary Left Wing observe regretfully. One hears that, especially in South Wales, where the movement, once so buoyant, is now like a wounded creature.

One sympathises with such regrets; yet, if the workers had been advanced enough during the boom in production to attack Capitalism itself, they would not accept their present position.

If the workers had attacked Capitalism during the boom, they could not have been victorious over Capitalism without risks, without hardship and sacrifice. If they had been ready to make the struggle for proletarian freedom then, they would not now shrink from the difficulties that would have attended it then as now.

They were not ready during the boom for a serious struggle; they were only prepared for cheerful little skirmishes in which they felt confident they would win.

If, when the war workers held their lightning strikes they had believed themselves to be running risks they would run to-day, they would not have held those war time strikes: they would have said we are well enough as we are; we will put up with the drawbacks. But had they engaged in a fight that was fundamental, that would really have endangered the capitalist system, they would have run risks incomparably greater than those a striker against wage reductions and increased hours would face to-day. Had the miners, or any other section of workers, raised the Red Flag against Capitalism, Capitalism and the Government, which is its instrument, would have fought them with the weapons of starvation, and of cold shot, and steel as well.

Those war time workers with their inflated wages were further from a revolt that would bring real hardship upon them than are the discouraged workers to-day.

It seems as though the working class movement had been a heap of unwinnable corn: a wind has passed over it, and it is seen that the heap is much smaller than before. The chaff, without weight on stability, has blown away, and one sees that a very small measure of grain is left.

The great British Labour movement: the strongest in the world, as they are still saying, was without the strength of a child when it came to real grips with Capitalism. Its reputation throughout the world is a bubble that has burst. Nevertheless, it is not changed: it was always composed of loosely-formed unconscious masses, led by men who wished, above all things, to avoid a serious conflict with Capitalism.

Those who desire the overthrow of the present system: the Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, are, all told, but a relatively small number; but their ranks are more likely to be swelled in these days, when bitter hardship causes masses of people to feel, as never before, the evils of the present system.

The conditions of to-day make work in the movement more difficult than during the boom. A man who raises his voice in protest, or carries on propaganda in the workshop, runs a greater risk of dismissal now; the money subscribed to the Cause is spared with greater difficulty out of reduced wages; but behind these efforts is a stronger conviction and determination than behind those that cost little or no sacrifice. The efforts are too small now; those who make them

now are too few to achieve anything, people may object. We reply that the big movements of unawakened masses achieved nothing permanent.

As reported in the *Daily Herald*, the National Council of the Italian Confederation of Labour has just adopted a resolution approving Parliamentary co-operation between the Socialist and bourgeois political parties.

The problem was presented thus:—

"The Labour problem now is to decide for evolution or revolution. To remain inert between these two alternatives means death."

"Revolution having failed, we must decide for evolution."

"The same necessity whereby Lenin and the European Governments are obliged to accept collaboration for Europe's reconstruction applies for the Italian Socialist Party."

The resolution is based on a false premise. Revolution has not been tried in Italy. The promoters of the compromise thus defined used all their influence to prevent revolution when the populace showed signs of rising to it. The workers' movement, without organised resistance, was attacked by White Guard bullies. Violence and economic pressure have been used to crush it. When the metal workers seized the factories, the official organisations of the working class endeavoured to prevent, not to precipitate the turning of the movement to Revolution. Maybe the workers were not ready yet for that: certainly their leaders were not ready; but the right moment will come at last.

The Italian general confederation is not alone in its backward move. The Socialist and Labour Parties of the Second International have long advocated purely bourgeois policies. The Third International now prepares to link up with the Second. It declares that Communists are too far ahead of the workers, and must step back. Therefore the Third International ceases to advocate Communism, ceases to prepare the organisation or even to advocate the form of organisation which shall produce the Soviets.

Meanwhile its desired partner, the Labour Party, is led by Arthur Henderson. Henderson was invited by Widnes business men to address their Chamber of Commerce the other day. He called for a Parliament of industry to represent Capital and Labour. Such proposals are designed to bolster up the capitalist system.

The need of the movement is propaganda for Communism, pure and unalloyed; to make the people understand it and desire it. Political wire-pulling united fronts, formed by the so-called "leaders" of unconscious masses: leaders who, in fact, do not lead and are not followed, are entirely useless. Thrills of dissatisfaction are passing through the people: thrills damped down by despair and by distrust of the unknown: lack of a clear vision, a firm hope of something better; fear of losing the little they possess. Always these thrills will be damped down and dissipated till a strong desire: a clear faith is implanted in the minds of the dissatisfied. Some new great wrong will some day rouse a passionate, reckless outburst of popular feeling. Then may come an upheaval; but even then, only those in whom the belief in Communism is strong and clear will strive to attain it. Only if the knowledge of how to act has taken a firm hold, will action be taken, and effort will be wasted if organisation has not been prepared.

Playing the old political game of camouflage and wire-pulling will not make Communists: without Communists there can be no Communism.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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## REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

## VII.

.. The abolition of the State is, we say, the task imposed upon the revolutionist—to him, at least, who has boldness of thought, without which no revolution can be made. In this task he has opposed to him, all the traditions of the middle classes. But he has with him all the evolution of humanity, which imposes upon us at the historic moment, the business of setting ourselves free from a form of association rendered, perhaps, necessary by the ignorance of times past, but become hostile henceforth to all ulterior progress.

Yet the abolition of the State would remain a vain expression if the causes, which to-day tend to produce misery, continue to operate; these causes are: the wealth of powerful persons, the capital of exploitation. The State is created by the impoverishment of the masses. It has always been necessary that one part of society should fall into misery in consequence of migrations, invasions, plagues, or famines, so that others may become rich and acquire authority, which henceforth increases and renders the means of existence of the masses more precarious.

Political domination cannot therefore be abolished without abolishing the causes of the impoverishment and misery of the masses.

For this—we have many times said—we see only one means. It is, in the first place, to assure the existence, and even the comfort, of all, and to organise a method of producing, which will assure comfort. With our present means of production, it is more than possible, it is easy. It is to accept what results from all modern economic evolution; that is to say, to conceive our entire society as a whole which produces wealth without it being possible to determine the proportion which accrues to each in that production. It is to organise a communistic society—not for the consideration of absolute justice, but because it has become impossible to determine the share of the individual in that which is no longer an individual work.

Thus we see that the problem which presents itself before the revolutionist is immense. It will not be worked out by simple negations, the abolition of serfdom for example, or renouncing the supremacy of the Pope. It requires the opening of a new page of universal history, the elaboration of an entirely new order of things—based no longer on the solidarity of the tribe or of the village community, or the city, but on the solidarity and equality of all. The attempts at

limited solidarity, whether by the ties of parentage or by territorial limitations having failed, we are led to work at the building up of a society widely different from that which served to maintain the societies of the middle ages and antiquity.

The problem to be resolved has certainly not the simplicity under which it has so often been presented. To change the men in power, and for each man to return to his workshop to resume the work of yesterday, to put into circulation manufactures, and to exchange them against other manufactures—that would not suffice; it would not be final, since the present system of production is quite as false in the aims which it pursues, as in the means which it employs.

Created to maintain poverty, it would not know how to assure plenty—and it is Plenty that the masses demand since they have understood their productive power. Elaborated with intent to hold the masses in a state bordering on misery, with the spectre of hunger always ready to compel man to sell his strength to the holders of the land, capital and power, how could the present organisation of production give well-being?

Constructed with the view of enslaving the workers, made to exploit the peasant for the benefit of the factory employee, the miner for the profit of the engineer, the artisan for the profit of the artist, and so forth, while the civilised countries exploit the countries backward in civilisation—how could agriculture and industry, such as they are to-day, assure equality?

The whole character of agriculture, industry, and work will need to be entirely changed when society has arrived at the conclusion that the land, the machine, and the warehouse should be the fields of application of work having for its object the well-being of all.

Before returning to the daily routine, it would be necessary to know if the factory were necessary; to know if the field ought to be subdivided or not, if its cultivation ought to be done as by barbarians fifteen hundred years ago, or if it ought to be done with the view of obtaining the greatest quantity of produce necessary for man!

This is quite a period of transformation to the traverse; a revolution to extend to the warehouse, the field, the cottage, the town house; to small tools as to fixed machinery; in the groupment of cultivators as in the groupment of workers in manufactures, and the economic produce among all who work.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

And it is necessary that everyone should live during this period of transformation; that everyone should feel more at ease than in the past.

When the inhabitants of the communes of the twelfth century undertook to found, in the revolted cities, a new society, free from the lord of the manor, they began by entering into a pact of solidarity extending to all the inhabitants. The rebels of the communes swore mutual support: they made what were called agreements of the communes.

It is by a pact of the same kind that the social revolution should commence. A pact for life in common—not for death. A pact of solidarity to consider all the inheritance of the past as a common possession; a pact to divide according to principles of equality all that could serve to get over the crisis: food, stores, habitations, tools, machines, knowledge of power—a pact of solidarity for the consumption of products, as well as for the use of the means of production.

The bourgeois of the twelfth century set themselves to organise their societies or craft-guilds, and succeeded in guaranteeing a certain well-being to the citizens. Strong in this pact of solidarity, which will have bound the entire society to get over happy times—or difficult—to share in victories or defeat, the revolution could then undertake in full assurance the immense work of the re-organisation of production which it would have before it. But it would have to conclude this pact if it meant to live.

And in its new work, which ought to be a constructive work, the masses of the people ought to depend first of all on their own strength, on their initiative and their genius; because all the education of the classes is done in the absolutely opposite way.

The problem is immense; but it is not in seeking to lessen it in advance that the people will find the necessary strength to settle it. It is on the contrary, by regarding it in all its greatness; it is in carrying one's inspiration to the difficulties of the situation that one will find the genius necessary to conquer.

All the great progress of humanity, all the truly great actions of the people are accomplished in this way. The conception of all the grandeur of its task confronts mankind. Should it shut its eyes to the difficulties? Should it not seek to confront them?

## AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

## Lesson IX.

To complete our knowledge of the Verbs, we now take the Participles.

## THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLES.

PRESENT.—Havanta, *having*; Vidanta, *seeing*.

PAST.—Havinta, *having had*; Vidinta, *having seen*.

FUTURE.—Havonta, *about to have*; Vidonta, *about to see*.

Observe that the participles keep to the rule of the other moods and tenses: A, I, O, for present, past and future; ANTA, INTA, ONTA.

## THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLES.

Follow the same rule, but omit the N: ATA, ITA, OTA.

PRESENT.—Havata, *had*; Vidata, *seen*.

PAST.—Havita, *having been had*; Vidita, *having been seen*.

FUTURE.—Havota, *to be had*; Vidota, *to be seen*.

Both the active and the passive participles can take the plural J and the accusative N, and can be made into nouns or adverbs by the substitution of O or E for A as terminations.

We may now venture upon more advanced exercises showing the ingenious combinations of words by which Esperanto is enriched.

Aĉeti, *to buy*.  
Atingi, *to attain*.

Ankoraŭ, *yet, again*.  
Antaŭa, *former*.

Gliti, *to glide*.

Halti, *to halt*.

Intenci, *to intend*.

Interrompi, *to interrupt*.

Konsili, *to advise*.

Koni, *to know*.

Naskigi, *to be born*.

Okupi, *to occupy*.

Raporti, *to report*.

Sidiĝi, *to seat oneself*.

Sukcesi, *to succeed*.

Traduki, *to translate*.

Veturi, *to drive*.

Ĉirkaŭ, *around*.

Insulo, *island*.

Lago, *lake*.

Mezo, *middle*.

Moro, *habit*.

Pri, *about, regarding*.

Principe, *principally*.

Proksime, *near*.

Rich, *rich*.

Romano, *a novel*.

Sen, *without*.

Tago, *day*.

Tuta, *all, entire*.

Vivado, *life*.

## EXERCISE.

Charles Dickens, naskiĝita en la jaro mil-okcent-dekdua en Lamport, estis unue okupata kiel raportisto, sed li poste fariĝis romanisto.

Atinginte grandan sukceson, li mortis en la jaro mil-okcent-sepdeka. Iuj liaj libroj tradukintaj en Esperanton, ni konsilas al vi ke vi tujn aĉetus kaj legus.

Li skribis precipe pri la vivado kaj moroj de la malriĉuloj de Londono konante ilin fundamente.

Gertrude post la tagmanĝo sidiĝis en sian glitveturilo kaj Konrad ŝin veturigis sur la lagon.

Ili intencis fari hodiaŭ iom pli grandan vojaĝon ĉirkaŭveturante la tutan insulon. Tiom malproksime ili neniam ankoraŭ estis veturintaj en antaŭaj jaroj. Post kvaronhora seninterrompa veturado ili venis proksime al la insulo, kaj Konrad haltis.

## COMMENT.

Great attention to participles is required to correctly translate this Exercise.

The Table of Correlative words must also be consulted for the words Iuj, tujn, iom, tiom, which will be found there without plural or accusative terminations.

Iuj liaj libroj, *some of his books*.

Tradukintaj en Esperanton, *having been translated into Esperanto*, this last word is in the accusative, because of the movement into another language.

Iom pli grandan, *somewhat larger*.

Tiom malproksime, *so far*.

The word malproksime is an adverb formed from the word proksimi, *to approach*, with mal to reverse its meaning.

Tagmanĝo, often called Tagmezmanĝo, from Tag, *day*, mezo, *middle*, manĝi, *to eat*, means *midday meal*, as Vespermanĝo means *evening meal* or *supper*.

Glitveturilo, from gliti, *to glide*, veturi, *to ride or drive*, ilo, suffix indicating an instrument (for riding or driving) means *a sledge*.

Ĉirkaŭveturante is a participle, present active in adverbial form derived from ĉirkaŭ, *around* and veturi.

Seninterrompa is an adjective from sen, *without*, and interrompi, *to interrupt*; it therefore means *uninterrupted*.



## PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

We are publishing two pamphlets with model lessons given to a Proletarian School. The pamphlets will only be one penny each, and may be obtained from the *Dreadnought* office.

We have been asked by very many correspondents, the question: "What would you give for a lesson?" You have the answer in these pamphlets.

One of the lessons is entitled "An Episode of the Paris Commune." Any Grown-Up could give this lesson, after reading the story over carefully for two or three times. The lesson would only last ten minutes, and the dramatic story holds the children from start to finish.

The one essential in giving a lesson to young children is, that the lesson must contain characters that they know. There must be a hero or a heroine, a boy or a girl, a woman or a man. In the story of "An Episode of the Paris Commune," you have a boy and a girl of the working class; you have an old shoemaker with his wife and family, living in a "sunk." You have a workman with his blue blouse, and you have the soldiers and the old Colonel; and you have the girl and boy shot by the soldiers. Over and above all this, you have a short historical setting of the Paris Commune in a few lines, and you have also the moral. In telling the story, don't add to it by explanations, that spoils it.

A story for children must be short; if you tell it right, the story will live with the child. Stop when you finish. Don't try to say something to improve it; for by doing this, you lead off the track and spoil the effect.

The other story, "Athenion the Slave King," is more difficult, but it can also be told with effect if slightly abridged.

These two stories are contained in one 16-page pamphlet.

A longer story is given in the other pamphlet and comprises the full 16 pages. It is called "Down and Out." To tell the story, you require four boys and four girls—ages ten to 16 years. You assume the rôle of teacher, and ask the questions as given in the pamphlet. Any young lad or girl could act as teacher; each one must memorise his or her part. This lesson would do for a big meeting, and it would be an eye-opener to the average man or woman.

Supposing there is no Proletarian School in your district, you could gather together four girls and four boys in your own home and teach them the lesson; then you could go out into the world and tell it; or you might try one of our little sketches, "The Rehearsal"; the characters required are two girls and one boy; or "The Betrothal," the characters for which are a boy and a girl, a small girl, and a father and mother. This makes a splendid 30-minutes lesson for any school or big meeting. We have given them at both. We gave "The Betrothal" in one of the mining districts of Lanarkshire to a packed hall recently, and the men and women marvelled at it.

The methods open to you for the education of your class are many, if you would but apply yourself to it. One man or woman can do it. Don't wait on a committee appointing you to do it. The most successful work that I have ever seen done, in my life time, has been done by one or more enthusiasts taking on the work themselves. Surely the country contains a few men and women who are capable of doing this work! We will assist you, and we will not ask you to pay us anything. There are no contributions, no overbearing officials; it is all mutual. If people do not like your class or your work, or think you are not doing it the right way, let them start one of their own. Don't be discouraged because So-and-So says you are not this, or you are not that: just keep going on; the children and young people will like you, and this shall be your reward.

Our Proletarian School Movement is one of education and mutual aid, and go where you will, when you meet one of our members, you will feel a sense of brotherhood, because of the

largeness of outlook. We each of us feel we must work and help to the best of our ability, and there are none of us too backward to be worth caring for and teaching. Will any reader who feels that this is the right point of view will he, or she, become a teacher? If so, drop me a note to 24 Queen Mary Avenue, Glasgow.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRIKE.

Capitalism is attacking Labour's standard of living in every industry, in every country. Now it is the turn of the South African miner to be attacked. The employers announce a reduction of 5/- a shift, and more Coloured Labour and less White Labour, because Coloured Labour is cheaper. The miners are 100 to one for a strike, and the railwaymen, showing more solidarity than was shown here, have promised to strike with them. The engineers have come out in sympathy. Armed police are massing ready for action. It will be a hard and a bitter fight. Capitalism will strain every nerve to defeat the workers, and should the workers score a victory it will presently attack them again.

From such struggles the workers will learn in time that they must overthrow Capitalism entirely to insure a good standard of life for the whole community.

## COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

The industrial unions, economic councils, and co-operative societies which have been a feature of Soviet Russia (the two former having representation in the Soviets) have no place, because they have no reason for existence, under an efficient Soviet system, in which they would be absorbed into the occupational Soviets and indistinguishably fused with them.

Industrial unions can have no reason for existence if the Soviets are fulfilling efficiently their proper function as the administrative machinery of the Communist community, for the Soviets should cover the same constituencies as the industrial unions. The industrial unions will only exist so long as there is either a conflict between the workers and the Soviets (which are theoretically the organs of the workers), or in case the Soviets are failing to administer industry or to administer it efficiently. The very existence of the Industrial Union, unless it be merely a social club, denotes an antagonism between the members of the union and those who are administering industry; unless, on the other hand, the Soviets are failing to administer industry and the unions are formed for that purpose. In Russia, as a matter of fact, the continued existence of the Industrial Unions is due to the fact that there is antagonism between the workers and those who are administering industry. In a theoretically correct Soviet community the workers, through their Soviets, which are indistinguishable from them, should administer. This has not been achieved in Russia.

Co-operatives have no place in a genuine Soviet community. If they are distributive organisations purely, they should be the distributive branches of the industrial Soviets. If they are organs of buying and selling, they are survivals of capitalism, and must disappear under Communism. If they are associations of producers, they can only differ from industrial Soviets in so far as they exact payment in cash or kind for their produce instead of distributing it freely. In so far as they exact payment or practice barter, they have no place in a Soviet community.

The curious overlapping patchwork which has hitherto made up the Russian Soviet system should by no means be slavishly copied. The Russians themselves have emphasised that. Nevertheless, the recent tactics which they have induced the Third International to adopt do not indicate that they

have a clear perception that a highly organised industrial community may build the new Communist order on the theoretically correct foundation of the occupational Soviets.

## SPICE.

ASKING FOR A TIP.

Wilson to Stinnes.

Or is it a so-called permanent engagement?

IN A CLEFT STICK.

The A.E.U. officials between the employers and the unemployed.

A DEATH GRIP.

Henderson's thumb on the *Daily Herald*.

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## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## GERMAN NOTES.

From Our K.A.P.D. Correspondent.

The most interesting questions in the political field just now are the "Stinnes-isation of Germany," and the "Unity front of the German proletariat."

The bankruptcy policy of the German Republic, that has already lasted three years, stands before new obstacles. Germany is to pay, on January 15th next, 500 million gold marks, and an equal sum in February.

The German Government has asked for a moratorium that has not found favour with the Entente Powers. The Reparation Commission threatens the worst coercive measures possible in the event of non-payment. Hence the German Government tries to obtain loans from abroad, or its own capitalists. In short, it has come to the issue that seemed evident from the outset: no one else than Stinnes & Co. will find the necessary reparation instalments. *This German magnate concern alone will have "mercy" on the "wretched" German nation;* but, of course, on the condition that all the German State possesses, like Railways, Postal and Taxation Revenues, in fact everything the German State has the right to dispose of, *are pledged with Stinnes as securities.* The German magnate concern Stinnes, is naturally in close touch with English, American and French capitalists on the one hand, and with the leaders of the German Trade Unions and Socialist Parties on the other. This whole ring of capitalist defence will loyally work together to make the German workers recognise their duty of toiling hard and incessantly for the well-being of "their Fatherland."

The German bourgeois parties, together with the two Socialist Parties (Majority and Independents) have played the game wonderfully.

They have insisted on the efficacy of the fulfilment policy—we would, but we could not—that is now breaking down, leaving no other alternative than Stinnes-isation (behind which stand grinningly and joyfully the large capitalists of all countries, loyally supported by Trade Union, Labour, and Socialist Party leaders). But these leaders shall not go unrewarded for the services rendered to international capital, they shall get the Governments into their hands.

In Germany, a "purely Socialist" Government, in England a "pure Labour" Government is soon to be promoted to watch over the possible machinations of that "horrid" international ring of finance, capital.

The economic position here in Germany expresses itself in increasingly sharp contrasts: on the one hand, the fabulous profits of industrial banking and exchange magnates, on the other, the complete collapse of State and Municipal finance. The budget for 1921-2, amounting to 329,000 million marks (5,500 marks per head of the population), shows a deficit of 161,500 million marks. The current indebtedness has risen from 153,000 million marks on January 1st, 1921, to approximately 235,000 million marks by the end of December; that is to say, by 7,000 million marks per month. The circulation of banknotes that amounted, on January 1st, 1921, to 78,700 million marks, has increased, by the end of the year, to 120,000 million marks; that is to say, each month, on the average, by about 3,500 million marks. At the same time, there are numerous cases of shaking off and escaping taxation. In face of this situation, the Government had, of course, to announce its bankruptcy—the large war-profiteers refusing to disgorge their booty—for only the revolutionary expropriation will one day make *tabula rasa* with these miserable parasites of society!

The favourable turn in industry and of the money market may rightly be described as a swindle, with paper money or the delirium tremens of speculations on "Change."

The present conditions show little soundness and honesty of purpose. It is true that in various industries production has increased, although

there is no sign yet of exhaustively utilising the productive forces. In spite of this year's dryness, the harvest has been better than that of last year. The total output in every kind of coal that amounted to 292 million tons in 1913, stood at 270.5 million tons in 1920, and 298 million tons in 1921, in spite of the abolition of overtime, and of the fact that the best quality coal is now only produced to the extent of 78.2 per cent. of the peace production, while in the inferior quality, 140.4 per cent. comparatively, as been already reached. Also the import of textile raw material for 1921 is greater than that for 1913, a fact that indicates increased production in that important industry. In the building trade, a marked improvement, compared with last year, is noticed.

This undeniable increase and improvement in industry and commerce, is, however, of a most unhealthy character. First, the feverish export at prices undercutting all foreign competition, caused by the fall of the mark currency; secondly, the tremendous production of banknotes, whereby ever fresh thousands of millions are thrown into the market, causing additional artificial purchasing power, as shown, for instance in the question of remunerations to State and Municipal officials.

One may say that here in this "blessed free Republic," the height of capitalist contrasts has been reached: here, destruction of Government finance; there, the greatest speculative chances for the large capitalists in industry and commerce. Under such maddening circumstances the speculators, Stock Exchange, Financial, and Company vampires must flourish by means of their well-known methods of watering-down capital, issuing shares gratuitously, paying bonuses, accumulating reserves, and various other fraudulent manipulations with shares.

The Entente capitalists, on the other hand, again insist upon the improvement of market values, by increasing the prices of German goods, whereby the unfair competition of German export is to be overcome. So, for instance, the "experts" of the Supreme Council demand a trebling of the prices of coal, although they have, since the outbreak of the war, risen to forty times as much (from 11.50-12.50 marks per ton in 1914 to 405.10 marks in December 1921), and the increase of the price of bread to ten times the present price!! In that way and by protective tariffs, the unfair German export is to be stopped. On the other hand, Germany can only let the note-press work until the "official" bankruptcy is complete. *(The artful profiteers flourishing so much the more.)*

Owing to this artificially-produced "prosperity" of German industry and commerce, unemployment has somewhat decreased; while, on the other hand, in consequence of the abandonment of Government control in the necessities of life and the great increases of price through the falling of the mark, the nominal wages have much declined in value and the real wages fallen considerably, the prices of commodities having risen out of all proportion to the increases in wages.

But no one can shut his eyes to the fact that there are already signs of a gradual decline of this "prosperity," and of the approach of a crisis much more terrible than any Germany has seen before—a crisis that can only bring to the proletariat misery and unemployment of the masses, reduction of wages and a worsening of working and living conditions.

In order to take this economic crisis by the forelock, the capitalist class, supported "manfully" by the Trade Union and political "leaders" of the working class, are getting ready their penal laws for the prevention of strikes, the "friendly" arbitration of labour disputes, the reducing to a minimum the chances of unemployment pay, the victimising and brutal repression of revolutionary fighters for freedom, inside and outside the industrial concerns. As I have already observed, the Stinnes economic combination—national and international—is even prepared, if necessity arises, to hand over the "political reins" of the red-black-gold Re-

public to a "Labour" Government or "purely Socialist" Cabinet, consisting of "leaders" of the Trade Unions and Socialist Parties, with a moderate sprinkling of leaders of the Communist Party of Germany. Strange to say, Zinoviev, as the head of the Third International, has informed the Central Executive of the K.P.D. (Communist Party of Germany), that the new tactics of the Third International make it incumbent upon all national sections to accept, where possible, posts of Ministers in Cabinets formed by representatives of the Socialist workers. And the Parliamentarians of the K.P.D. are joyful at this "rational" decision of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The conditions for a "purely Socialist" German Government are slowly preparing. The Independent Socialist Party, that will very soon hold its Annual Conference, has as principal item on the programme, the question of uniting with the Social Democratic Party, whom previously they have so violently denounced, on account of its making common cause with the Stinnes (German People's) Party. Since the K.P.D. has expressed its readiness to meet in conference with all the other Internationals besides the Third and Red, that is to say, with the Second, the "Second and a Half," and "Yellow" Amsterdam, there can be no doubt that the Social Democratic combine of pre-war times is on the way to formation, and will—before the final world revolution rises in all its might—have a last fling at the expense of the world proletariat in the shape of Labour or Socialist Governments, wherever the "artfulness" of the workers makes it necessary to use this last and dirtiest form of bait, by the amalgamation of "modern" Labour and Capital.

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## NO FREEDOM FOR WORKERS IN IRISH FREE STATE.

The Irish workers are already having a sharp lesson that the Irish Free State is an employers' Free State, governed in the interests of the employers.

When the Irish railways were de-controlled, the railway companies desired to reduce wages and increase hours of labour.

Sinn Féin desired to assist the railway companies and to avoid a strike which would have destroyed the appearance of a united front in Ireland. The Sinn Féin Republican Government therefore stepped in to arbitrate; its arbitrator, Carrigan, declared that the railway companies must have their way: the workers must work longer hours for lower wages.

The workers refused to accept the award; not because that spineless institution, the British National Union of Railwaymen, to which Irish railway workers belong, was prepared to put up any fight; but because the Irish workers had built up an unofficial movement, which threatened to take action. Therefore it was agreed on the workers' side that there should be a strike against the Carrigan award, on January 2nd.

This was displeasing to the Sinn Féin Government: it would upset its plans, spoil its triumph over the British Government (so far as it is a triumph). Therefore the Sinn Féin Ministry of Labour insisted that the application of its own Carrigan award should be postponed until the 16th of January.

Before that date arrived, the Sinn Féin Government had dictated that the workers should have their wages reduced, as awarded by Carrigan, to the tune of £1 a week, from January 15th; but that the question of increased hours should be put off for another month. To induce the railway directors to agree, the Sinn Féin Government promised to recoup the railway companies (out of the pockets of the people, of course) for any loss incurred by the companies through the postponement of the award.

You will observe, Fellow-Worker, that the Sinn Féin Government made no offer to recoup the workers for their losses in accepting the award.

The Sinn Féin Government evidently intends that the full award (its own award) shall be enforced in a month's time. Had it not so intended, it would not have promised to recoup the companies for what they lose by the delay. It is doubtless believed that the workers are more likely to swallow the award in two gulps, without causing trouble than if its hardships were imposed on them all at once. Meanwhile the Sinn Féin Government was, of course, prepared to put its Republican Army and police at the disposal of the railway companies, had the workers refused to postpone their objections to the wages reduction.

The British N.U.R. officials: J. H. Thomas, T. C. Cramp, R. Hennesy, and the rest, and the Railway Clerks' Association, T. J. McKenna, A. Walsh, and their colleagues, agreed on behalf of their members, to accept Sinn Féin Government orders, and gave a pledge that their members would not strike (at least, for a month) against the docking of their pay.

25,000 men accepted this decision, but not without protest. The entire goods staff of the Midland and Great Western Railway at North Wall ceased work for one day.

The Locomotive men's Society did not join the N.U.R. and R.C.A. in accepting Sinn Féin orders; but has told its men to remain at work under protest.

The Sinn Féin Government has here shown that it is prepared to act more openly and directly on the employers' side in a trade dispute even than the British Government; whilst the Irish workers are still befogged by Irish employers is something towards which they must display more resignation than if it were exploitation by the British capitalist.

The shareholders in the railways and other great capitalist concerns are drawn, however, from all countries. The owners of the Irish railways are of mixed nationality, of course, and there may be more British than Irish among them. If it is not so to-day it may be so to-morrow, for shares are constantly changing hands. Even were this not the case, the class war is international.

The leaders of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress have issued a manifesto to the workers, declaring that owing to the Downing Street Treaty and the British evacuation:

"The hour has now struck for the Irish workers to emerge from the shade."

Will the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress stand by and see the Irish railway workers coerced by the Free State Government without taking action?

Will they assent to a smashing defeat for the workers on the economic front, because the railway workers happen to have joined some English Unions years ago?

What is more important: will the workers themselves accept the blow without resistance?

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