

Special News of South African Strike.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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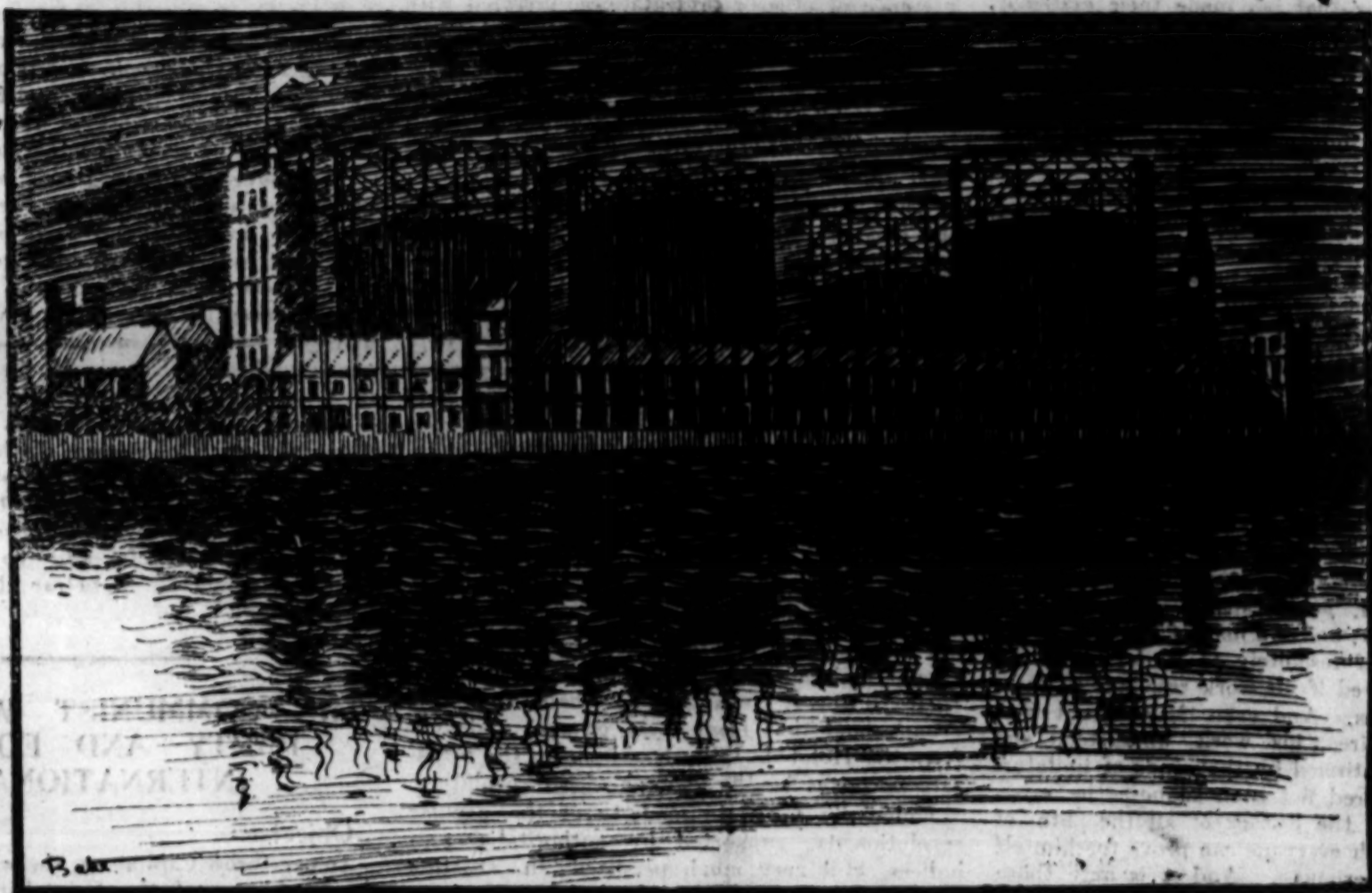
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11TH, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

NON-CO-OPERATION WITH CAPITALISM

IRISH WORKERS SEIZE MILLS AND CREAMERY.



THE WESTMINSTER GAS HOUSE SITS AGAIN.

The British exodus from Dublin Castle has not stopped the Class War in Ireland.

The tendency of Irish workers to develop a Sinn Fein policy of their own, and to refuse co-operation with Capitalism—British or Irish—still lives: it has not been extinguished by the Downing Street Treaty.

The workers employed by Messrs. Hallinan (J. and R. Webb, Ltd.), who own mills and creameries, at Quarters town, near Mallow, County Cork, struck against having their wages reduced from 52s. 6d. to 48s. 6d.

Having withdrawn their labour from the employer, the workers did not remain at home to starve, but seized the mills, formed themselves into a workers' council, appointed a manager, and proceeded to work the plant and market the produce.

The clerical staff, which had remained on duty during the strike, left when the workers took control. The workers therefore invaded the offices, ruled off the books of the firm, and began entering their own transactions. They give no credit, and sell all the goods for cash only.

If the South Wales miners of Ebbw Vale, who are idle because their employers have shut down the pits, were now to take control, they could send coal to Mallow, and the Mallow workers could supply them with flour, meal, butter, and other produce.

Seizures of their plant by Irish workers have occurred again and again during the last few years, the last occasion being at Brurrie, in County Limerick, in September, where a creamery was seized. The Mallow seizure is the largest yet effected. Seventy workers re-employed at Quarters town, and the output of the mills is about 20 tons a day. The same firm has

mills at Fermoy and Middleton, and workers' control is likely to spread there—why not all over Ireland?

The manifestations of independence by Irish workers grew up with the unsettled conditions which attended the Sinn Fein struggle to throw off British rule. The Limerick general strike of 1918, called the Limerick Soviet, was the first incident to draw general attention to the new spirit developing amongst Irish workers. The Limerick general strike was, however, a strike against the imposition of British military permits, and though it was regarded with distrust in some Sinn Fein quarters, it was supported on Sinn Fein grounds by numbers of Limerick employers and shopkeepers. That the Limerick Soviet was used by the workers to bring down prices and force up wages was a fact overshadowed by the military permit question.

The state of war that increased in Ireland from 1916 until the Truce last year, the occupation of the country by rival military forces, which rendered impossible effective control by either force, facilitated seizures of plant by industrial workers, and seizures of land by peasants and agricultural labourers.

The Sinn Fein Land Courts and Ministry of Labour endeavoured to check such seizures and to protect the property owners.

Doubtless the menace of a revolting proletariat was one of the strongest cards Sinn Fein had to play in the negotiations with British Capitalism's representatives at the Downing Street conferences.

Already the Irish struggle seems to be shifting from the contest between British Imperialism and Sinn Fein, to the contest between the Irish property owner and the proletariat.

The new Irish Government, which is clearly and inevitably on the side of the property owner, seems to be hesitating as to how far and how definitely it will intervene in the struggle: its tendency is to take an even more direct part in controlling Labour than other Governments; but apparently it is reluctant to begin the use of actual force against the workers.

Large contingents of the Irish Republican Army have arrived, fully armed, at Quarters town, and have been billeted in the houses of residents. Some of the soldiers are placed on guard at the mills, whilst the others are publicly displayed in their drill.

J. McGrath, the manager for the Mallow workers' council, has been notified by Commandant Moylan of the I.R.A., that he will be held responsible for any looting or damage to the mills. The workers' council is putting a guard of its own about the mills at night.

It is officially stated that:—

(1) Martial Law has not been proclaimed in Mallow by the I.R.A.;

(2) I.R.A. have been drafted as a precaution against disorder;

(Continued on page 3)

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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

VIII.

But where shall we take this boldness of thought, this energy in work of organisation, when the people have it not? Do you not admit, yourselves—they will say to us—that if the force of attack does not fail the people, boldness of thought and eagerness for reconstruction have too often failed them?

We admit it entirely. But we do not forget the part of the men of initiative of which we shall now speak in closing our studies.

Initiative, free individual initiative, and the possibility of each making use of that force at the time of popular uprisings, that is what has always made the irresistible power of revolutions. It is this power that has made their grandeur, which has enabled them to march to the front, and which historians, always supporting authority, have taken great care to misrepresent. And upon this force we still count to undertake and accomplish the immense work of the social revolution.

If revolutions have accomplished something in the past, it is entirely due to men and women of initiative, to the obscure persons springing out of the crowd, not fearing to assume, face to face with their brethren and the future, the responsibility of their acts, considered madly rash by the timid.

The great mass decides with difficulty to undertake anything which has not had a precedent in the past. We see this every day. If routine encrusts us with its mould at every step, it is because men fail to break with the traditions of the past, and boldly to advance into the unknown. But if an idea start in some brain, although vague, confused, yet incapable of translating itself into reality, and if a man of initiative arises and sets himself resolutely to work, he is immediately followed if his work responds to these vague aspirations. And even if, worn out with fatigue, he retires, his work, understood and approved, is continued by thousands of imitators of whom he dared not even suppose the existence. This is the history of all the life of humanity—which everyone can prove for himself by his own experiences. And it is only those who have acted in opposition to the wishes and needs of humanity who have found themselves despised and abandoned by their contemporaries. Unhappily the men of initiative are rare in every-day life; but they arise in numbers at revolutionary epochs, and it is they, in reality, who do the enduring work of revolutions. In these are our hope and confidence in the next revolution. If only they have a just, and therefore wide, conception of the future, if they have audacity of thought, and do not seek to revive a dead past, if a sublime ideal inspires them they will be followed. Never, at any epoch of its existence, has humanity felt the need of a grand inspiration so much as at this moment, after having experienced a century of bourgeois corruption.

In these conditions there is no need to fear for their work from enemies paralysed by the decomposition which surrounds them.

But the envy of the oppressed themselves? Has it not always been remarked, and rightly so, that envy is the stumbling block of democracies? That if the worker submits patiently to the arrogance of a master in a frock-coat, he regards with an envious eye the personal influence of a fellow workman?

We do not deny the fact, nor do we shirk the conclusion of the argument, otherwise very correct, that avarice, always born in the conscience of a workman, once having acquired influence, he will employ it to betray his fellow workmen of yesterday, and that the sole means of paralysing avarice and treachery would be to forbid a comrade, just as much as a bourgeois, the possibility of increasing his authority so as to become master.

All that is right; but there is more. We all, with our authoritative education, when we see an influence arise, only think of reducing it by annihilating it, and we forget that there are other means, infinitely more efficacious of paralysing influences which are harmful or tend to become

so. It is that of finding a better way of acting.

In a servile society this course is impossible and, children of a servile society, we do not even think of it. A king becomes unbearable: what means have we of getting rid of him if not by killing him? A Minister who oppresses us: what is to be done, if not to seek a candidate to replace him. When a "chosen of the people" disgusts us, we seek another to compete against him. This goes thus; but should it always be so?

What could the Conventionists do in the presence of a king who disputed their power, if not to guillotine him? What could the representatives of "La Montagne" do in the presence of other representatives, invested with equal power, if it was not to send them in their turn to the executioner?

Well, this situation of the past remains with us still, while the only truly efficacious means of paralysing a harmful initiative is to take, oneself, the initiative of acting in a better direction.

Thus, when we hear revolutionists concur with the idea of stabbing or shooting the governors who could take authority during the revolution, we are seized with terror in thinking that the forces of true revolutionists could waste themselves in struggles which would be, in effect, only struggles for or against the individuals who assumed authority. To make war upon them is to recognise the necessity of having other men possessing the same authority.

In 1871, one sees already in Paris a vague presentiment of a better means of agitating. The revolutionists among the people appeared to understand that the Council of the Commune ought to be considered a useless show, a tribute paid to the traditions of the past; that the people not only should not disarm, but that they should maintain concurrently with the Council, their intimate organisation, their federated groups, and that from these groups and not from the Hotel de Ville should spring the necessary measures for the triumph of the revolution.

Unhappily a certain modesty of the popular revolutionists, supported by authoritative prejudices, still very much persisted in at this period, prevented these federated groups from totally ignoring the Council and acting as if it had not existed at all.

We shall not be able to prevent the return of these attempts at revolutionary government at the time of the next revolution. Let us understand, at least, that the most efficacious method of annulling their authority is not to plot *Coups d'Etat*, which would only bring back power under another form ending in dictatorship, but to constitute in the people themselves a force powerful in its action and in the revolutionary deeds which it will have accomplished, ignoring power, under whatever name, and increasing always by its revolutionary ardour and its work of demolition and of re-organisation.

A people who know how to organise the accumulation of wealth and its reproduction in the interests of society, no longer needs to be governed. A people which itself will be the armed force of the country, and which will know how to give to the armed citizens the necessary cohesion and unity of action, will no longer need to be commanded. A people which will organise its railways, its commerce, its schools, can no longer be administered. Finally, a people which knows how to organise arbitrators to settle little disputes, and of which each individual will consider it his duty to prevent a schemer from oppressing a weak citizen, without waiting for the providential interference of the policeman, will have no need for galley-sergeants, nor judges, nor jailers.

In the revolutions of the past, the people took upon themselves the work of demolition; as for that of reorganisation, they left it to the bourgeois. "Better versed than we in the art of governing, come, sirs, organise us, order our work, so that we do not die of hunger; prevent us from devouring each other, punish and pardon according to the laws which you have

made for us poor-spirited persons." And the middle classes knew how to profit from the invitation.

Well, the task which will present itself at the next uprising of the people will be to seize upon this function which has formerly been abandoned to the bourgeois. It will be to destroy, to organise at the same time as to destroy. To accomplish this task we shall need all the initiative power of all men of courage, of all their audacity of thought, freed from nightmares of the past, of all their energy; and we will take care not to paralyse the initiative of the most resolute among us—we will simply redouble initiative if that of others fails, if it becomes dull, if it takes a wrong direction.

Boldness of thought, a distinct and wide conception of all that is desired, constructive force arising from the people in proportion as the negation of authority dawns; and finally the initiative of all in the work of reconstruction—this will give to the revolution the power to conquer.

It is precisely these forces which the active propaganda of Anarchists as well as the philosophy of Anarchy tend to develop. Against the weak conceptions, of little reforms, extolled by the bourgeois, they oppose the large and grand conception of revolution which alone can give the necessary inspiration. And to those who would like to see the people end in a policy of a pack of hounds attacking the government of the day, but always held back at times by the whip, we say: "The part of the people in the revolution ought to be positive at the same time as it is destructive; because this alone can succeed in organising society on the bases of equality and liberty for all. To remit this care to others would be to betray the cause of the Revolution."

THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY AND FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Object:—

To overthrow Capitalism, the wage system, and the machinery of the Capitalist State, and to establish a world-wide Federation of Communist Republics administered by occupational Soviets.

Method:—

- 1.—To spread the knowledge of Communist principles amongst the people;
- 2.—To take no part in elections to Parliament and the local governing bodies, and to carry on propaganda exposing the futility of Communist participation therein;
- 3.—To refuse affiliation or co-operation with the Labour Party and all Reformist organisations;
- 4.—To emancipate the workers from the Trade Unions which are merely palliative institutions;
- 5.—To prepare for the proletarian revolution, by setting up Soviets or workers' councils in all branches of production, distribution and administration, in order that the workers may seize and maintain control.

With this object, to organise one Revolutionary Union:

- (a) built up on the workshop basis, covering all workers, regardless of sex, craft, or grade, who pledge themselves to work for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of the workers' Soviets;
- (b) organised into a department for each industry or service;
- (c) the unemployed being organised as a department of the One Revolutionary Union, so that they may have local and national representation in the workers' Soviets;
- 6.—To affiliate to the Communist Workers' International, Fourth International.

Those who subscribe to the above principles are invited to join the preliminary organisation. Membership card will be sent on receipt of one shilling to the preliminary committee of the Fourth International, at 152 London, E.C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

NEWS FROM GERMANY.

The Farical Political Crisis Ends as Usual In A Flimsy Compromise.

The Parliamentary-reform Communists have again suffered a hopeless fiasco in the speculative policy, which every section of the Third International is now absolutely bound to pursue at the dictates of the Moscow wire-pullers, under the penalty of instant removal of any rebellious leaders—small or great.

As stated in my previous reports on the situation, the K.P.D. here has had a most "ingenious and crafty" dream as to how to obtain, swiftly and securely, a great unity front of the working masses, with the happy result of a "pure" Labour Government, consisting of all sections, from the majority Socialists to the K.P.D.

The watchword was as childish as naïve as is the entire politics and tactics of this pro-capitalist party. The battle-cry which intended to rally the united Labour forces, was recently issued by the K.P.D. and its organ, the *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag). It was vigorously re-echoed by the Press of the Independent Socialists, and subsequently by the Party Conference of the latter.

The "mighty" call was: "The seizure of all property and gold values"—that is, plainly speaking, a proposed partial confiscation of property. This partial confiscation of property could at no time have become dangerous to the profit-mongers, as it was, in any case, to proceed from a Government pledged to the capitalist constitution; even if the unexpected had happened, and a "pure" Labour Government, including K.P.D. Ministers at the request of Moscow, had been formed by the two Socialist Parties and the Reform Communists.

Collapse of the Unity Proposals.

The hour for the great event of pushing forward the Labour fakirs, in order to save the situation, had not yet, however, arrived for the Capitalists-cum-Labourites' combine. The great mass of the workers in the Trade Unions and political Labour parties (Social Democratic, Independent Socialist and K.P.D.) were still too sheepishly indifferent and docile to necessitate the last desperate weapon of suppression—a pure Labour Government. The Social Democrats therefore arrived quickly at an understanding with the Wirth Government after the Chancellor's great Reichstag speech. Instead of paving the way for a "pure Labour Government," as the K.P.D. childishly expected, the Social Democrats, quite on the contrary, consented to the Wirth Cabinet being further extended to the Right, and to the Conservative People's Party being included in the Ministry.

Thus collapsed the big "bogey" movement of the Parliamentary Communists and Independent Socialists to rally the workers to the formation of a unity front.

Social Democrats Declare Wirth Has No Real Opponents.

Joyfully *Vorwärts*, the organ of the Social Democrats, writes on the situation:—

"Chancellor Wirth can well be satisfied with the result. His policy has now no real opponents, if the small handful of Right and Left extremists are excluded. The German People's Party is ready to support his vote of confidence, or, at least, to refuse to support a motion of no confidence.

"The Independent Socialists seem somewhat annoyed at our compromise on the question of taxes; but it appears unlikely that, even if they could, they would seriously oppose a Government that, in the main, stands for their policy of universal peace and economic reconstruction. Apart from the monarchical German Nationalists and the few 'extreme' Communists, everybody in the Reichstag seems to be heartily glad that the shadow of the crisis has passed, and that the good ship of our Government has again entered peaceful waters."

The Parliamentary Centre block, which extends from the Social Democrats to Stinnes Party (German Peoples Party), have unanimously consented to the following compromise scheme of the Wirth Government:—

Wirth Compromise Scheme.

- (1) An increase of 200 per cent. on the property tax. At the same time, the raising of a compulsory loan of one milliard gold marks, bearing no interest for the first three years;
- (2) Taxes imposed after the war, that are not very profitable, to be abandoned;
- (3) The tax on the turnover of businesses is to be exclusively fixed at 2½ per cent.;
- (4) The coal tax is to be, in principle, 40 per cent., but with the possibility of adapting it to the demands of the world-markets;
- (5) The sugar tax is to be fixed at 25 marks per cwt., considering its large consumption and the imposed taxes on turnover and coal, also the importance of sugar, as regards the nourishment of young children;
- (6) The duty on coffee, tea and cocoa is to be fixed according to the finding of the Government Trade Board;
- (7) With regard to the beer tax, the decisions of the first reading of the Bill are to hold good;
- (8) The uniformity of the entire Bill relating to taxation is to be established by legislation, including the conditions for the compulsory loan.

The K.P.D. Lament

The absurd dream of a unity front and a "pure" Labour Government, cherished by the Parliamentary Communists, even if it had been realised, would only have meant the continuance of economic slavery for the workers, under the nominal political guardianship of a Labour Ministry. Now that its hopes have been shattered, the K.P.D. and its organ, the *Rote Fahne*, indulge in ludicrous lamentations over their sad disappointment thus:—

the clamour of the masses, demanded the seizure of the German Trade Union Federation, yielding to the clamour for the masses, demanded the seizure of property and gold values. Then all Socialist Parties solemnly pledged themselves to stand or fall by this minimum demand. To-day the decisions of Stinnes and his satellites prevail. The Social Democratic leaders have again shirked the fight. This surrender to Stinnes should rouse the masses led by the Social Democrats to fight still more determinedly for seizing the values, seeing that the Stinnes politics have not even brought them PARTIAL RELIEF in their distress.

"The Independent Socialist Party has also failed to do anything to mobilise the masses against the compromise on the tax question, surreptitiously and indirectly supporting the Wirth policy, they have backed the Social Democratic leaders in their aid to the Government proposals. The Independent Party leaders have violated the findings of the recent Party Conference and are responsible for the lack of rebellious feeling among the duped Social Democratic masses."

In conclusion, the *Rote Fahne* again appeals tearfully to the working masses to break with all Coalition politics, to stand by the need of seizing the values, to fight against the indirect taxes, and to struggle for a Labour Government!!!

MAGAZINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.

The children of the Ferrer International Modern School, 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel, aged from seven to fourteen, commenced, in December, a Magazine of their own, which does them great credit.

The Magazine is written and produced entirely by the children. It records that in December lectures by Labour College students were given at the school, on the life of Peter Kropotkin, Ancient Village Communities, and Tales from Aesop; that an Esperanto Class is held on Tuesday evening at seven o'clock; and that the children of the school will in January hold a concert and produce Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird."

One of the pupils gives the following account of the school:—

"In the present circumstances I am compelled by law to attend an elementary school, which, unfortunately, is not to my liking.

"We find the discipline of the elementary

school very strict; it is not so in the International Modern School. Our discipline is our self-respect; that is, we do not run about like hoodlums, knowing the teachers can do us no harm. By doing no harm, I mean that they do not cane us.

"Some of the subjects taught in the International Modern School are: clay modelling, astronomy, natural science, drawing, in absolute freedom.

"In the Council schools we are taught to be patriotic; but in the International Modern School we are taught to be lovers of freedom."

NON-CO-OPERATION WITH CAPITALISM—Contd.

(3) I.R.A. has no legal right to prevent men from walking into the mills, and will not interfere unless damage to the mills or looting starts;

(4) The local commandant is waiting instructions from the Dail Minister as to future action.

The last two points are interesting: they show that the Irish Government has not determined its line of action; but if the workers take to seizing their employers' establishments on an extended scale, the I.R.A. and the Irish Government are certain to intervene against the workers.

Major Hallinan, of the mills, was recently kidnapped, and his motor car and other property removed. There seems to be a mystery about this: the I.R.A. declares that it had no connection with the kidnapping, and that it is searching for the property, which it hopes to return.

In the Irish Labour movement: in the ranks of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and in the Irish Trades Union Congress, two marked tendencies are manifest: one is towards conciliation with the employers and harmonious working with the Irish Government; the other is towards a more determined prosecution of the class war.

The Irish Flour Milling Association recently proposed a reduction of 4s. a week for country mills, and 6s. for city mills. A ballot of the workers, in which only half the workers voted, resulted in a small minority for acceptance.

The Cork, Middleton and Buttevant workers refused, however, to accept the decision. A national Conference of employers and employed was then held in Dublin with the then Minister of Labour (Countess Markievicz in the Chair). The Transport Workers' Union representatives suggested the adjournment of the controversy for consideration by the Minister of Economics. This move shows the tendency existing amongst certain Irish Trade Union sections, to co-operate with the Dail administration. Those sections fail to realise that the Dail Government, though revolutionary in opposing British rule, stands for the interests of the Irish employers against the workers, because it stands for the preservation of Irish Capitalism.

The Flour Milling Association refused the Transport Workers' suggestions, but proposed arbitration by the Dail, as to the wages to be paid to the workers, the basis being solely the fall in the cost of living. The Transport Union declined.

The milling employers now began reducing wages. In the Midlands they did so successfully; but when Hallinan's attempted it in the South, the workers at Middleton and Mallow refused, and the Clondulane workers were only willing to accept if the scale of reduction were arbitrated by the Dail.

The firm merely gave a week's notice to reduce wages; the workers struck on January 14th.

Commandant Moylan induced employers and employed to meet him at Mallow, but no settlement was reached.

The Mallow workers, who are carrying on production and securing the proceeds, are teaching a lesson to their brothers and sisters throughout Ireland and over here in Britain. At present they are selling the produce as the employer sold it; if the workers of all Ireland had seized control together, they could set us an example in real co-operation.

At present they are feeling their feet with workers' control and the elimination of the capitalist.

Good luck to them! May their example spread!

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THE UNITED FRONT. WITH LABOUR OR WITH CAPITAL? *Tchitcherine Praises Lloyd George.*

The delegates of Soviet Russia to the Conference of capitalist Governments at Genoa are appointed: the conditions of Capitalism are accepted. Comrade Tchitcherine, whom we thought would have known better, having lived here, has praised Lloyd George for his policy of peace and trade. It is strange that our Russian comrades have not learnt the little value of the gilded talk of Lloyd George and his Ministers. All the world of Capitalism speaks of "perfidious Albion" to-day: yet Soviet Russia has been more treacherously dealt with than any other country by this Government of tricksters: Soviet Russia, would be Communist Russia, has surely more reason than any other country to distrust Lloyd George and his capitalist masters.

Lloyd George is for Peace and Trade, says Tchitcherine, adding that Soviet Russia's object is the same. Soviet Russia's object was not that when first it hoisted the Red Flag: Soviet Russia was for Communism and not for Trade.

We do not like at all the statements emanating from the Soviet Foreign Office: there is much talk now of United Fronts: we hope that what we are about to see is not a united front between Soviet Russia and British or Allied Capitalism.

It is obvious however, that what the capitalist Governments are demanding as a condition of coming to any commercial agreements with Soviet Russia, is the security of tenure for Capitalism in Russia, and the co-operation of Russia in establishing European Capitalism.

Comrades should brush away the cobwebs of sentiment and look that fact squarely in the face.

The United Front With Labourism.

The Soviet Government and the Third International, which it controls, has blundered disastrously in its international policy. So lately as the Third Congress of the Third International last summer, it boasted of having split the Workers' Parties of Italy and France, and driven out the Reformists—that was its policy in all countries originally. Even whilst the Third Congress was sitting, whilst it was loudly boasting of driving out the Reformists, it was working to secure a united front with those same Reformists it had driven out.

At the Second Congress, in 1920, the Third International was already yearning towards unity with the British Reformists, and it had leanings in that direction, even for Germany: though it was vigorously working to secure the split in Italy and France.

During the last few months we have already shown, week by week, how the Third International Executive was abandoning the Revolutionary policy, and endeavouring to establish unity between itself and the Second and "Second and a Half" Internationals; as well as between its own creation, the Red International of Labour Unions and the Yellow Amsterdam International.

The Communist, the organ of the Third-International-Right-Wing-Parliamentary-Communists in this country, suppressed all information as to the doings of the Third International Executive in this direction. Reluctantly it at last withdrew the veil and, on January 28th, published the following statement:—

"The Communist International approves the demand for a united WORKING CLASS

FRONT. The Communist Party in every country will enter into negotiations with every other working class organisation (RIGHT, CENTRE, or LEFT) to establish a common fighting programme. The Communist International is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Second International, the "Second and a Half" International and the Amsterdam International, to establish a programme of common action."

This is, indeed, an ignominious surrender; the more so as it has been preceded by the expulsion from the Third International of the Communist Left, the real revolutionaries.

In Germany, not only were the anti-Parliamentary, Industrial Revolutionary Communists, who have formed the K.A.P.D. and the Fourth International, cold-shouldered out of the Third, but all who took part in the splendid revolutionary fight in the Ruhr in 1920 are expelled from the German Communist Party on Moscow's order.

The ignominious surrender of Moscow's International to Geneva and Amsterdam, which they arose to destroy, is, moreover, fruitless. The old guard refuses to negotiate with Moscow's faithful servants: it may come to terms with Moscow presently, because Moscow has Governmental power and money; but only on condition that the Muscovite Communist Parties are sacrificed.

In Germany the Communist Party proposed a united front with those whom it had flouted, the Social Democrats and the Independents, on the basis of a programme of capitalist reconstruction, some bourgeois-pacifist phrases, and the eight-hour day. The Social Democrats refused the Communist overtures, preferring to support the capitalist Centre block, including the Stinnes Party. The Wirth Government, which the Social Democrats welcomed, now makes ruthless war on German Trade Unionism, even going so far as to seize the funds of the German railwaymen and imprison their officials, because they are on strike.

When the wave of working class fervour, floating on war-wage prosperity and the mobilisation-born scarcity of Labour swept through the world, Moscow formed the Third International. Now that the trade slump has brought depression and a sense of weakness to the workers, Moscow would find strength by uniting with the reactionary Labour officials, who have betrayed the workers, according to Moscow's own dictum, and will endeavour to do so again should desperation cause the workers to rebel.

The old guard of Trade Union-Social-Democrats, however, wants none of Moscow on Third International lines; it wants none of Communist Moscow. The old guard is nestling under the wing of Capitalism and means to stay there. That has been shown in Germany: it is plainly to be seen here.

The Paris Conference.

The position is clearly shown by the composition of the Conference just held in Paris, ostensibly between the Second and the "Second and a Half" Internationals, though the latter was conspicuous by its almost entire absence. There were the notorious old jingo reactionaries, Ben Tillett and Tom Shaw, with Purcell, Gillies, Ben Riley, Wallhead, and Jowett, representing British Socialism! Vandeveld and other pro-war Government men came from Belgium, and from France, Renaudel and other notorious Government war-men, with Longuet and Paul Faure of the *Populaire*.

The Italians and Germans were prevented from reaching the Conference; by transport difficulties, it was said. The Austrians were not invited. Though Fritz Adler was there, he could not speak as a delegate: why? Do the two Reformist Internationals select the peoples and their Socialist Parties, as the Governments would judge them, according to the balance of power?

The Communists were not invited; neither those who adhere to the Right Wing Communist Party of this country, nor any other. The Right Wing Communists of Covent Garden had received no invitation, though through the columns of their organ, they had signified their willingness to attend. The French Communist Party was not invited; it had signified its unwillingness to be present, and 64 out of 68 of its Federations had repudiated the Moscow order to

go back to the Reformists and form a united front with them.

The British Right Wing Communists, modestly ignoring themselves, observed in the Communist:—

"It would be, indeed, disastrous if, say, at a West-European Conference, called with representatives of the "Second and a Half" International, to consider the Unified Front, there were present, representatives of the German and Italian Communists, and no French Communist delegate at all."

The British Right Wing Communists do not mention themselves; they feel too sure that the Labour Party will prevent their presence. How curiously they overlook the realities of the case in rebuking the French Communist Party for not accepting an invitation it never received!

But you, O workers in the mills and the mines, with your falling wages, and you who are unemployed: where are you in all this political jugglery?

Prepare yourselves, if you desire emancipation, to seize your tools: you must emancipate yourselves.

WHOSE CHILDREN ARE STARVED?

The authorities have decided that free school meals are not to be served for children whose parents are obtaining Poor Law Relief, as the Poor Law scale fixed by the Ministry of Health is supposed to provide adequate maintenance for the children.

For some time past, a correspondence has continued in *The Times*, regarding the feeding of the sons of the well-to-do who go as boarders to the Public Schools; as a result of this correspondence a Parents' Association has been formed, to work for better conditions for the schoolboys, who, if they are not sent to one or other of the limited number of Public Schools, will lose social caste. Amongst the dietaries it is proposed to reform is this one cited by Sir Henry Morris, in a letter to *The Times*:—

Breakfast at 8 p.m., Dinner at 1.15 p.m.

Monday.—Breakfast: Sausages. Dinner: Roast legs of mutton, swedes and gravy. Jam tarts.

Tuesday.—Breakfast: Fried bacon. Dinner: Roast topsides of beef, peas. Stewed prunes and custard.

Wednesday.—Breakfast: Porridge. Marmalade or apples. Dinner: Stewed steak and cabbage. Boiled suet and date puddings with cornflour sauce.

Thursday.—Breakfast: Bloaters. Dinner: Boiled salt silverside and carrots. Baked rice milk pudding.

Friday.—Breakfast: Coffee instead of tea. Boiled new laid eggs. Dinner: Cold sirloins and beetroot. Lemon cheese tarts.

Saturday.—Breakfast: Corned beef. Dinner: Thick vegetable soup. Roast mutton and butter beans.

Sunday.—Breakfast: Porridge. Marmalade or apples. Dinner: Hot roast sirloins and cabbage. Suet puddings with treacle.

Potatoes daily at dinner. At afternoon tea (4 to 5 p.m.), which is not a "laid-out meal," bread and butter, or "Mayco" or dripping, or jam, or honey, are provided.

7 o'clock.—Tea, bread and butter, dripping, or "Mayco," potting meat or cheese, golden syrup, currant bread, or oranges.

On Sundays, cake and jam always provided. On Sundays and Wednesdays butter was always provided; on other days "Mayco" half butter and half margarine, but again now butter daily.

Do your boys get that, Fellow Worker? The parents say the boys should have butter instead of margarine, and English instead of foreign meat.

DREADNOUGHT "AT HOME."

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12TH, 4 TO 7 P.M.

MINERVA CAFE, 144 HIGH HOLBORN
(Entrance in Bury St., near British Museum Station.)

4 TO 5.30.—JAMES LEAKEY ON ESPERANTO PRO-NUNCIATION FOR STUDENTS.

5.30 TO 7.—SYLVIA PANKHURST OPENS DISCUSSION ON THE FALLACY OF THE UNITED FRONT.

THE BLEEDING OF GERMANY. No New Solutions.

Mr. J. M. Keynes will probably be invited to accept a position in the first Labour or Labour Coalition Government that is formed, if such a thing takes place within a reasonable time.

Yet Mr. Keynes is no prophet of a new social order: he brings no heroic solutions: he is merely an honest fellow, with some capacity for figures, who believes that contracts should be honourably adhered to and estimates honestly compiled.

In his latest book, "The Revision of the Treaty,"* he offers no new or extreme suggestions; he voices no gospel of brotherhood or forgiveness; he considers that the nation vanquished in war must be compelled to make reparation. He believes, however, that the reparation payments should be assessed according to what the vanquished nation is able to pay, without being thrown into social chaos and becoming a source of danger to other countries.

He denounces the Allied occupation of Germany beyond the area laid down in the Peace Treaty, as illegal, and does not consider the fact that Germany had failed to meet the excessive Reparations demands sufficient to legitimise the two invasions and the five threats of invasion made in the last two years.

He is disgusted by the brutal rapacity of the Allies, but would not object to a more moderate and scientific bleeding of their victim: indeed, he offers suggestions as to how they can get most out of Germany.

He regards Lloyd George and Briand as men who are "sensible" in this respect, but urges that the sentiments of the British and French public opinion forced these amiable statesmen to show less sense and more brutality than they desired. Therefore he describes them "wandering hand in hand to the precipice" of invading Germany, and looking over with pleasurable excitement.

Keynes is evidently not without sympathy with the two jugglers, and we suspect that he would give his vote for both of them if he were in the position of electing the British and French Premiers.

Germany Not Exporting Largely.

Mr. Keynes observes:—

"In order that Germany may be able to make payments abroad, it is necessary, not only that she should have exports, but that she should have a surplus of exports over imports. In 1920, the last complete year for which figures are available, so far from a surplus, there was a deficit, the exports being valued at about 5 milliard gold marks, and the imports at 5.4 milliards. The figures for 1921, so far available, indicate, not an improvement, but a deterioration. The myth that Germany is carrying on a vast and increasing export trade is so widespread that the actual figures for the six months, from May to October, 1921, converted into gold marks, may be given with advantage."

These are:—

MILLION GOLD MARKS.

IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	EXCESS OF IMPORTS.
2,448.3	1,864.8	578.5

"In respect of these six months, Germany must make a fixed payment [to the Allies] of 1,000 million gold marks, plus 26 per cent. of the exports as above, namely, 484.8 million gold marks, that is, 1,484.8 million gold marks altogether, which is equal to about 80 per cent. of her exports; whereas, apart from any Reparation payments, she had a deficit on her foreign trade at the rate of more than one milliard gold marks per annum. Germany, to meet her liabilities, must therefore raise the gold value of her exports to double what they were in 1920 and 1921, without increasing her imports at all."

"If Germany succeeded, would not this vast expansion of exports, unbalanced by imports, be considered by our manufacturers to be her crowning crime? That this should be the case, even under the London Settlement of 1921, is a measure of the folly of the figures given out in the General Election of 1918, which were six times as high again."

Mr. Keynes points out, further, that the Reparation payments must be recovered by the German Government by taxation, and that taxes

are collected, not in gold marks, but in paper marks, the value of which fluctuates. Thus taxation, which was very heavy when the £ sterling was worth 200 paper marks, becomes wholly inadequate to meet the Reparations payments when the £ sterling is worth 1,000 paper marks. The yield of taxation largely depends on the taxable assessments, not of the present, but of the previous period. Therefore the rapid collapse of the mark exchange must render the Budget wholly inadequate.

In the summer of 1921 the German gold mark was worth about 20 paper marks; in December it was fluctuating between 45 and 60.

The German Government Which Faces Reparations Must Fall.

Mr. Keynes points out that the present Reparations demand would alone absorb more than the whole of the German Budget. He is of opinion that if the Germans can make their 1922-23 Budget balance, apart altogether from Reparations, that will represent "a great effort and a considerable achievement."

"At the present time," he says, "it would be far from balancing, even if there were no Reparations at all."

The problem as to how the Reparations burden is to be met by the various classes of society has not, he says, been faced at all. When it is faced it will result in a bitter and violent conflict; and "a government which makes a serious attempt to cover its liabilities will inevitably fall from power."

Mr. Keynes estimates that, at the best, the average annual income is 5,000 marks per head, and that the taxation to meet Reparations and home needs, on the basis of the most extreme economies, spending much less than at present, will amount to 2,170 marks.

Average German Income 4½d. per day.

The annual income of 5,000 marks a head, at the rate of 20 paper marks to one gold mark is equivalent in exchange value to £12 10s. in gold. After deducting taxation, the income will be £7 per annum per head, i.e., less than 6d. per day, or, to be exact, 4½d. In August 1921, the purchasing power of 6d. in Germany was that of between 9d. and 1s. in England.

Since, at the best, this is the pass to which the Settlement of London would bring the German people under present conditions, Mr. Keynes, not unreasonably, concludes that "it can be no more permanent than its predecessors."

So much for excessive bleeding: as to the manner in which Germany is to be bled (remember Mr. Keynes is only anxious for efficiency and reasonableness), he does not consider Reparations payments by Germany in kind so advantageous to the Allies as payments in cash. He instances coal: if Germany sends coal to the Allies, they may have no immediate use for it. If they re-sell it to neutral countries, the carriage is costly, and he considers the Allies will make less money out of the transaction than if they let Germany keep the coal, sell it, and pay Reparations in cash.

He admits, however, that to demand payment in kind may be useful politically, as it may enable the Allied Governments to abate their demands upon Germany, without admitting the facts to the Allied public.

He observes that if Germany were to make a strenuous effort to pay the Reparations bill by selling as many goods as possible at low prices all over the world, a hue and cry would be raised that this was a plot to ruin Allied business men, and to crush them out of the markets of the world. A reduction in the impossibly high Reparations demands upon Germany might then be demanded, he says, "as a prohibition to Germany against developing a nefarious competitive trade."

Mr. Keynes is alive to all the political dodgery of the day, and appears to regard it as inevitable, if not actually necessary. "Heaven forbid that I should discourage them!" he says, in referring to those who may seize upon such pretexts.

Speculating in Exchange Values.

Some interesting points are made in regard to speculating in exchange values, which has been so rife since the war.

When the German mark fell so low that more than 100 could be obtained for £1, persons all over the world began to buy German marks,

believing that when some day the mark should rise to its pre-war value, their fortunes would be made. These hopeful speculators placed in the hands of Germany money, in the currency of their countries, to the value of between £200,000,000 and £250,000,000. This money enabled Germany to replenish her food supplies and re-stock her industries with raw material. The speculators were therefore, for the time being, benefactors to Germany. Inflation of the German currency meanwhile continued: the note circulation of the Reichsbank was nearly trebled in 1921. The mark continued falling. The speculators began to take fright and to sell their marks. At this point Germany was obliged to begin making large Reparations payments. The mark naturally collapsed. Mr. Keynes estimates that the fall in the external value of the mark is most largely due to Reparations payments and to repaying foreign investors in marks.

He foresees a crisis in Germany in any event.

If the exchange value of the mark remains low, the internal price level will rise in accordance with it. This will result in a redistribution of wealth between the various social classes that will amount, he says, to a catastrophe.

If, on the other hand, the exchange value of the mark recovers, the stimulus to German industry, which the low selling-price abroad has produced, will disappear and with it the boom on the German Stock Exchange. Moreover, an increase in the exchange value of the mark would increase the real cost of what Germany owes to foreign investors in marks, who, once benefactors, would become as leeches. The holders of German Government securities would also have an increased claim on the workers, who invest no money, because they have no surplus left from their wages. The workers who produce the wealth which pays the interest on investments and also the Reparations, will thus bear an ever-increasing burden. How long will they endure it?

Dishonest Reparation Claims.

Mr. Keynes is an honest man according to his lights: he makes a striking exposure of the excessive claims of the French for damages wrought by Germany in French territory. He shows that the houses, chiefly miners' and peasants' cottages, have been estimated as costing £2,275 each to re-build and £1,180 each to re-furnish! The damage to the French coal mines is put at £1,060,000,000; yet the whole pre-war value of all the British coal mines was only estimated at £130,000,000, and the pre-war output of the British mines was fifteen times that of the mines in invaded France.

11,500 industrial establishments are said to have been interfered with, this includes even the smallest. About three-quarters of the establishments employed less than 20 persons. Many were not seriously injured. The great textile industries of Lille and Roubaix were robbed of their material, but the plant was not much injured. In 1920 the woollen industry of those districts was employing 93.8 per cent., and the cotton industry 78.8 per cent. of the pre-war staff. Yet the claim for industrial damage is £8,500 per establishment, including every village workshop.

£590,000,000 is claimed for unbuilt on land, which averages £260 per acre, in the zones of destruction, trenches and bombardment, and £90 per acre over the whole area of occupation; yet in April 1921, 90 per cent. of the land was already producing crops, and some people claim that its fertility has actually been increased by the disturbance of the soil.

Mr. Lloyd George, during the Peace Conference, is quoted as saying: "If you had to spend the money which you ask for the devastated regions of Northern France, I assert you could not manage to spend it."

That seems to us rather a wild statement: the amount could easily be spent on the people, but Lloyd George was evidently referring to such matters as re-levelling the land.

The Belgian claim, according to Mr. Keynes, is also "very grossly excessive." He regards the British claim for shipping losses as "very high."

* "The Revision of the Treaty," by John Maynard Keynes. Macmillan, or through the Dreadnought Book Service.

The claim for Pensions and Allowances, which is nearly double that for Devastation, Mr. Keynes regards as "contrary to our engagements and an act of international immorality."

It is peculiar that anyone should approve forcing Germany to pay for destruction to property, and regard forcing her to pay for destruction of human beings as immoral; but that is part of the mental astigmatism of Capitalism, from which bourgeois politicians suffer. Mr. Keynes, of course, argues that pensions were not mentioned in the Fourteen Points, but if he were to become indignant at every breach of the Fourteen Points, he would be indignant over the whole business, which does not seem to be the case. In appealing to the Fourteen Points, only on this question, Mr. Keynes seems to be straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

How President Wilson Wobbled.

Nevertheless, the story that he tells of how pensions came to be included in Reparations is interesting. The American delegates to the Reparations Committee objected to the inclusion of pensions under the head of damages, and cabled to President Wilson, then at sea, for support in maintaining their position. He replied that they should dissent, and, if necessary, dissent publicly, on the ground that it "is clearly inconsistent with what we deliberately led the enemy to expect." The British and French delegates then contended that Germany must pay for the war pensions as part of the damage done to the civilian population. General Smuts prepared a memorandum to prove that "after the soldier's discharge, he rejoins the civilian population, and as, for the future, he cannot (in whole or in part) earn his livelihood, he is suffering damage as a member of the civilian population, for which the German Government are again liable to make compensation."

At this absurd argument President Wilson clutched, and announced that he would support the proposal to force Germany to pay for pensions. American delegates protested that "all logic" was against the decision. "Logic! Logic! Logic!" exclaimed the President. "I don't care a damn for logic. I am going to include pensions!" So he decided to do what he originally had declared to be dishonourable. This was the man whom British official Labour hailed as the World Saviour!

It is an interesting fact that the Reparations Committee has assessed Germany's entire mercantile marine, the loss of which caused so much heart-burning at only 755,000,000 gold marks! The forced surrender of it will therefore only meet one month of the interest that Germany has to pay on the Reparations bill of 188 milliard gold marks. This clearly shows the crippling nature of the vast Reparations extortion.

Keynes' Own Plan.

Mr. Keynes' own view is that, on a fair estimate, the Reparations bill should be, not 188 milliards, but 110. He would further deduct the amount claimed for pensions, thus bringing the sum actually paid by Germany down to 36 milliard marks.

He summarises his proposal thus:—

(1) Great Britain, and if possible America, too, to cancel all the debts owing them from the Governments of Europe, and to waive their claims to any share of German Reparation;

(2) Germany to pay 1,260 million gold marks (£63,000,000 gold) per annum for 30 years, and to hold available a lump sum of 1,000 million gold marks for assistance in Poland and Austria;

(3) This annual payment to be assigned in the shares, 1,080 million gold marks to France and 180 to Belgium.

This, he says, would be in the interest of France. He believes it would also be in the interests of Britain, but in order that Britain might get something for herself out of the settlement, he suggests that "she might seek a partial control over German industries, or obtain the services of German organisation for the future exploitation of Russia."

That these are diabolical suggestions does not seem to occur to their author, though, on the whole, he prefers the plan without them.

He hopes that France, in return for having her debts overlooked by Britain, will reduce her naval and military establishments, and, above all, her submarines, that she will "forget her dangerous ambitions in Central Europe, and will limit strictly those in the Near East."

Quite so: keep out of Britain's way! The old Adam of Imperialism is still very strong in Mr. Keynes!

He concludes by the plea that Germany would recognise the payments he would impose upon her as "not unjust," but, of course, he is intelligent enough to be obliged to make that remark with his tongue in his cheek.

Throughout his book he ignores the fact that Britain has already had the lion's share of the war plunder in territory. "It is not for the British to speak of being jockeyed out of their claims."

**WHAT ARE YOU DOING
FOR THE
"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT"
£500
SPECIAL EFFORT FUND?
MAKE IT £50 THIS WEEK.**

FROM SOUTH AFRICA. SPECIAL NEWS OF THE STRIKE.

By A. B. Dunbar.

The strike of miners (gold and coal) has been in progress seven days; engineers, drivers, moulders, and blacksmiths are all out. Tramway men have voted a general strike by ten to one. Building workers, by eight to one; and there is every possibility of a complete shut down on a scale never known in history.

Police are also showing signs of unrest. It is reported a good many are locked up. Authorities say it is only a little trouble over food—we know differently.

The anti-Parliamentary Communist Party, (Fourth International) meeting is the centre of gravity; even the Third International section was there in force.

The miners' Council of Action was also present.

We had about four thousand people, and, although not too well, I managed to keep them for an hour, after which the crowd cheered the strikers and the anti-Parliamentary Communist Party.

I had to promise to hold a meeting every night at eight o'clock. The Third section has not held a meeting since I last wrote to you. They are finished, and they admit that now.

Johannesburg workers like good revolutionary speeches and will listen to sound economics for hours. Labour and political Socialism has no attraction here. There are hundreds of men here who can pull the speakers of these doctrines to pieces. When questions of policy cannot be agreed upon by the miners' Councils of Action, the questions are put to us for our advice.

I am sending their manifesto.* Shaw, whose photo you will see on one page, along with the others, resigned from the Third section after our meeting on Sunday.

The Trade Union officials are in conference yesterday and to-day. They are afraid of their lives at the magnitude of the upheaval, and, as they have not a single man who can speak in the open air, they are helpless and hopeless when it comes to handling the mass.

When we in South Africa settle down to a general strike usually the first thing to be done is to put up barricades and, instead of a strike, we have a war. The Government forces are weak this time, and none too reliable at that.

The papers are advising the Public (?) to support the Government.

The Trade Union leaders are being watched, and if they go back on the workers this time (and there is a possibility), they are finished; so are their Unions.

Crawford, who is secretary of the Federations, has been found out with his arbitration schemes, and is not allowed to take any part in the settling this time. He was in rather poor circumstances some years ago when he was advocating Socialism; he is now well-off, and attends the League of Nations conferences. He is a pronounced anti-Socialist, and "can see two sides of the question"—at least, he says so. I have always held that he only supports one, and that is not ours. I have fought him for years, and although he has been re-elected, his majority is only hundreds where it used to be thousands.

The Federation instituted an action for £2,000 damages against me some months ago, for statements I had made, but it fell through before going to court.

January 17th, 1922.

The delegates are still conferring with the bosses. I wanted to get a crowd to invade the Law Court where they are sitting, and pull the men's delegates out.

The Federation still declines to make the strike general. Although they have been sitting five days, they have not agreed upon the first point. It seems as though we are going to have a repetition of the Coal Strike in England.

They are wasting time, and who knows but that a boat load of Black and Tans may arrive from England.

* We shall publish the manifesto next week.

THE SOVIETS AND GENOA.

The Russian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce has passed a resolution declaring that unless "the principles of the right to private property are recognised, established and enforced in Russia," the official recognition of the Soviet Government by the Allied Powers would be tantamount to recognising Communism as a form of civilised government.

This is a clear summing up of the real conditions on which Soviet Russia's representatives are invited to Genoa. The invitation and its acceptance mark, alas, the liquidation of the Russian Revolution.

For the further development of Communism we must look for another Revolution.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Jack Taylor, £1; Proletarian Schools, £5; R. Lees, 7s.; A. Potter, 2s. 2d.; Co-operator, 5s.; J. Sparboro', 2s. 6d.; A. Foarjn, 2s. 6d.; W. Holdsworth, 1s. 1d.; Poplar Club, £1; Mrs. Brinsley, 10s. (monthly); Mrs. Hart, 8s.; E. M. Brett, 5s. 2d.; Mrs. Montgomery, 10s.; J. Clarke, 2s. 6d.; S. S. M. Tate, 1s.; H. Clifford, 2s. 6d.; G. Vouden, 5s. 6d. Brought forward, £39 8s. 8d. Total, £45 8s. 7d.

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ON SALE NOW.

SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

What Readers say:—

"I re-read it and again enjoyed it. It is a very fine piece of work, simply written and quite devoid of pose."—WM. J. PAUL.

"Best report yet published."—CHARLIE BEECH.

"I like it immensely, and I think it will rapidly become noted as one of the best travel books on Soviet Russia."—HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST, Holland.

INDUSTRIAL PROPAGANDA.

In our issue of January 28th we published the Constitution of a new organisation, the Revolutionary Industrial Union Propaganda League, stating that we should comment upon it in a subsequent issue.

In this preamble, the League declares that the struggle between the working and employing classes will continue until "the workers of the world abolish the wages system and set up a world-wide Workers' Industrial Commonwealth." It then states:—

"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."

The preamble is here vitally incomplete, because it fails to state clearly that the object of the Trade Unions is to secure improved conditions within the capitalist system, whilst the object of the League (though it does not clearly say so) is presumably to abolish Capitalism. A pledge to work for the abolition of Capitalism should be the primary condition of membership of any Revolutionary industrial organisation. The preamble continues:—

"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 cell of the old."

Here, again, is the same defect: the failure to insist on the revolutionary basis of the organisation. "The workers must be organised, not only for the every-day struggle with the masters, but also to carry on production when Capitalism shall be overthrown."

What is meant here by the "every-day struggle with the masters"? Presumably it is the squirrel-in-the-cage struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, and other palliatives. If it means that, it should be omitted. If it means the struggle to overthrow Capitalism and the seizing of control by the workers, this should be stated. Nowhere is it stated.

"Also to carry on production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown," says the preamble. Overthrown by whom? The preamble does not say.

Object 1 of the Constitution states the League does not seek to make itself a revolutionary industrial union, but to carry on propaganda with the object of forming such unions.

Object 1 should be amended: it is not several Revolutionary industrial Unions, but one, with a department for each industry; that will meet the case.

The same criticism applies to Object 2, in regard to which we must also say, that before the Revolutionary Union becomes a genuine and effective fact, its protagonists will have to be bold enough to leave the existing Trade Unions. We recognise, however, that the League only pretends to be a propaganda organisation to pave the way for a genuine revolutionary union.

The Constitution fails to give any indication of the structure of the proposed Workers' Industrial Commonwealth.

It makes no reference to the political machinery of the existing capitalist State, nor to Parliament and the local governing bodies: presumably it is desired to abolish these; but the issue is avoided.

We should like to see a more complete and scientific Constitution for a Revolutionary Industrial Union drawn up and brought into line with the Communist Workers' Party and Fourth International.

DREADNOUGHT "AT HOME." AND LITERATURE SALE

A successful gathering was held at Leonard's, Leytonstone, on January 29th. Colours and literature sales amounted to £2 6s. 6d.

ESPERANTO.

The following children's playlet, "Justice in a Nutshell," is reproduced by kind permission of the British Esperantist Society, 17 HART STREET, W.C.1.

JUSTECO EN NUKSOSELO.

Kvinminuta Teatraĵeto por Infanoj. De J. BAIRD.

SCENEJO.—Kamara vojeto tra arbareto, laŭlonge de kiu promenas du knabinoj.

ROLULOJ.—Tri knabinoj (aŭ du knabinoj kaj unu knabo), kiuj uzos siajn proprajn nomojn.

Jonjo. Ho, Manjo, rigardu! Kio estas tio, kusaŭta sur la tero?

Manjo. Kie?

Jonjo. Jen, tie. Ĉu vi ne vidas ĝin? Ho! mi kredas, ke ĝi estas broĉo. (Sin klinas por ĝin levi, sed tuj sin retiras pro timo). Ho, ho!

Manjo. Nu, kio estas al vi, Jonjo?

Jonjo. Ho, gardu vin! Ne alproksimiĝu! Ĝi estas besto—la rampema, aĉa besto. (Manjo, pli riskema, sin klinas por esplori). Ho! ne tuŝu ĝin, Manjo. Jen ĝi ekmovas sin. Ĝi eble vin mordetos.

Manjo. Stultulino! Ĉiam vi timas tiajn aĵojn. Ho, ĝi tute ne estas besto! Ĝi estas nukso, kaj kia belega nukso ĝi ja estas! Nu, vidu, kion vi maltrafis, timemulineto (supren tenas la nukson allogi). La instruistino, kiel vi scias, ĉiam diras: "Kiu ne riskas, tiu ne gajnas."

Jonjo. Donu al mi mian nukson, Manjo (provas ekpreni ĝin el la mano de sia amikino).

Manjo. Via nukso! kia aroganteco! Ĝi estas mia nukso. Mi levis ĝin.

Jonjo. Sed ĝi estas mia nukso. Vi, avida knabino, donu ĝin al mi.

Manjo. Vi, sendube, la unua vidis ĝin, sed mi levis ĝin, kaj kiel vi scias, "Kiu trovas, tiu tenas." Do, ĝi estas mia, kaj mi intencas teni ĝin.

Jonjo. Sed mi trovis ĝin, kaj tial ĝi estas mia. Se mi ne estus elmontrinta ĝin al vi, certe vi estus preterpasinta ĝin.

Manjo. Kaj se mi ne estus levinta ĝin, vi estus forkurinta de la 'aĉa besto,' kiel vi ĝin nomis.

Jonjo. Ho vi malnobla, terura aĉulino! (ekploras). Ĝi ja estas mia nukso. (Eniras knabo aŭ tria knabino).

Knabo. Bonan matenon, amikinoj. (surprizite). Kio! Ĉu vi malpacas? Guste kiel knabinoj! Ili neniam povas interkonsenti, kaj vi, Jonjo, ĉu vi ploras? Ho, kia infaneto!

Jonjo. (forviŝante larmon kaj denove provante ekpreni la nukson).

Manjo. Ĝi ne estas ŝia nukso. Mi trovis ĝin. Ĝi estas mia.

Jonjo. Vi nur levis ĝin. Mi trovis ĝin, ĉar mi la unua ĝin vidis. Donu ĝin al mi. (pied-frapegas kolere).

Manjo. Sed vi timis levi ĝin; timemulineto.

Jonjo. Sed—

Knabo. (interrompante). Ĉesu malpaci, knabinoj. Mi decidu la aferon. La situacio estas, laŭ via diro, jene: Estis vi, Jonjo, kiu la unua ĝin vidis, ĉu ne?

Jonjo. Jes, mi—

Knabo. Kaj estis vi, Manjo, kiu levis ĝin, ĉu ne?

Manjo. Jes

Knabo. Nu, estas evidente, ke ĝi apartenas al ambaŭ. Kial ne dividi ĝin?

Jonjo. Mi ne volas dividi ĝin. La tuta nukso apartenas al mi, kaj mi ne duonigos ĝin.

Manjo. Timemulinetoj ne meritas eĉ duonon. Ĝi tuta estas mia.

Knabo. Nu, donu ĉi tiun mirindan nukson al mi. (prenas ĝin, kaj per ĝi rompas la

nukson e nduonojn kaj eltiras la kernon). Nu, Jonjo, vi la unua vidis la nukson, ĉu ne?

Jonjo. Jes.

Knabo. Jen (transdonante al ŝi unu duonon de la malplena ŝelo) via parto; kaj, Manjo, jen via, ĉar vi levis la nukson, kaj (manĝante la kernon) jen mia, ĉar mi decidis la disputon. Bonan tagon!

Jonjo kaj Manjo. Ki—a mal—just—ajo!

Manjo. (forirante kun Jonjo, brakon eĉe brako). Ne ĉagreniĝu, Jonjo. Ni perdis nian nukson, sed ni ricevis lecionon: Ĉiam dividi niajn plezurojn kun aliaj; ĉar tre ofte okazas, ke, kion oni celadas konservi por si, tion oni entute perdas.

NOTE.—Copies of this playlet can be obtained from the British Esperantist Association, 17 Hart Street, London, W.C.1, at the rate of 25 for 6d., post free, or through the Dreadnought.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Though he is certainly a reactionary, Major Hammond Foot was right when, at the Caxton Hall Unemployed Conference, he said: what the unemployed need is a policy.

There was a sense of reality and utility, also, in his effort to turn the attention of the workers to the land and productive work.

Further than this however, we cannot approve him. We cannot find any virtue in his suggestion that the Government should lend money to the unemployed to enable them to work the land, charging them 3½ per cent. interest, and expecting them to pay the principle back in 24 years. Small landholding usually fails to pay in this country; but, in any case, we are opposed to all proposals tending to perpetuate the capitalist system of buying and selling and usury. The suggested interest, by the way, is higher than that which the Government pays on the money deposited by working people in the Post Office Savings Bank.

We consider it exceedingly desirable that the unemployed should look to the land, and that those of them who are suitably constituted for the work, should go to the land and should work it, together with those already labouring there.

It is also desirable that the industrial workers, whether at present employed or unemployed, should look to the industries, should take control of the industries and should work them.

Moreover, it is desirable that the workers on the land and in the various industries should send their surplus products to each other, and that all should produce according to their capacities, and consume according to their needs, without fee or reward, without money or bartering.

If the unemployed should proceed to settle upon the land, and to grow grain and vegetables, and to raise cattle and sheep and pigs and chickens, and to produce milk and butter; to have and to hold in common; and to use for the common weal; if they should extend the invitation to do likewise to the miner, the spinner and weaver, the saddler and shoemaker, the builder and engineer, the transport worker and the seaman; then we should give and collect to support them till their work prove fruitful, with a gladness we could not feel in giving to any palliative charity; and we should struggle to protect them against aggression as we should never fight in any nationalist struggle or any capitalist war.

It is strange that the miners, starving beside idle coal pits in South Wales, have not already re-opened the closed mines, and issued a call for the co-operation of the railwaymen and all sections of workers for a Communist movement of non-co-operation with Capitalism.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO TOM ANDERSON.—Many thanks to you and the Proletarian Schools for donation to Press Fund. Glad to hear you are starting a children's monthly magazine: hope it will really be for Children, as the youngsters do not want a stodgy, grown-up magazine palmed off on them. Fill it with stories and ban all articles, except of a concise, informative character; even the grown-ups like the stories best. We shall be glad to help you in every way.

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THE WORKER'S WAR STILL RAGING

Ireland is called a Free State now: Michael Collins and Sir James Craig are discussing boundaries questions. Arthur Griffith is busy preparing himself to officiate as President of the Free State, and De Valera is forming an organisation to develop the culture of the Irish race. The Irish patriots are having the time of their lives, Fellow Worker; but the Irish workers are outcasts, as of yore.

At Quarters County Cork, the millers and dairy workers have been setting us all an example by showing they know how to form a Soviet, that they can carry on production without the assistance of the boss, and that they are not afraid to set about it.

In the West of Ireland people are dying of starvation. It is said that their plight is worse than it has been at any time since the famine of 1847. The Irish famine is not popular enough for it to be said that the Irish are eating each other. Yet, nevertheless, they are literally starving. The *Star* reports that children are to be seen clad only in sacks with a hole for the head and arms, and that women are half naked. Dr. Seamus O'Brien, for many years dispensary doctor in Connemara and the western islands, says he has never before witnessed such destitution, or seen a people "so utterly paralysed from want."

If any serious friction arises between the Free State Government and the British Government, the miseries of the Western people will be brought into the limelight and made much of: it will then probably be reported that they too are eating each other.

Between ourselves, Fellow Worker, people who are suffering from actual starvation cannot eat animal flesh, let alone the flesh of their human neighbours. People who are starved suffer pain when they begin to take any kind of food again; even if it be given in small doses of carefully prepared liquid. Even strong and healthy people would die if they eat the decomposing corpses from the graveyards and mortuaries, as it is alleged the Russians are doing.

In the German Republic a great strike has again broken out in Berlin. It began with the railway workers: it has spread to the municipal employees, and Berlin is left without buses, trams, light and water, as well as without trains. The strike is affecting also Kiel, Hamburg, Stettin, Magdeburg, Bremen, Elberfeld, Cassel, Frankfurt-on-Main, Hanover, Dortmund, the Ruhr, and Munich.

The German strike is mainly a desperation strike: the workers have been driven to revolt by economic pressure, the threat of withdrawing the eight-hour day, which they believe will increase unemployment, and the fear that the right of Trade Union combination will be taken from them.

The demands of the strikers are very mild: they only ask for a small revision of wages, in order that the differences between the higher and lower scales of pay may not be too glaring, that any revision of hours shall apply to all workers, and that the Railway Hours of Labour Bill shall be withdrawn.

The German Government has declared that the railwaymen are not entitled to strike, because they are Government employees, the railways being State owned. All German workers regard this as the thin end of a wedge which will affect their own right of combination; hence their sense of solidarity with the railwaymen is aroused—yours would be, let us hope, Fellow Worker, under similar circumstances. Nevertheless, the Trade Union leaders are showing themselves as reactionary as ever: the officials of most of the other Unions are condemning the strike and supporting the Chancellor's declaration that the success of the German Government's policy is dependent upon the world's reliance on German order: that no one will negotiate with an anarchistic Germany, and that if the German railways are not made economically sound, by denying a proper subsistence to the workers, Britain, France, and the Entente will step in to control them.

Strike and railway Union officials have been placed under arrest, the police have seized the money at the Railway Union offices, and have closed the Union's banking account. The Government states that the Union funds will be kept under control till the strike is over.

Yet the smug officials of other Unions and the Parliamentary leaders do not rise. The general strike drove out the Kapp monarchists: it could stop the crushing of German Trade Unionism; but the German Trade Unionists are supporting the Government. *Vorwärts*, the organ of the Social Democrats—the Trade Union-Labourists—says that the policy of the Wirth Government has no opponents.

J. H. Thomas, J. R. Clynes, Henderson, and the rest are playing the same game here.

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