

An Accident at the Printing Press.

Workers' Breadnought

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Weekly—PRICE ONE PENNY.

Over-Production.

Its Place in the Capitalist Death Crisis.

How far the decomposition of the Capitalist economic system has advanced is abundantly clear when one considers the process of the Capitalist sale of commodities: Notwithstanding the tremendous diminution of production throughout the world, an almost indescribable over-production exists. Although production has universally decreased, markets are lacking for this decreased production. This phenomenon is expressed especially under five aspects, which according to time and space overlap each other and are closely interdependent. These are incessantly on the increase:

1. The stocking of markets.
2. The piling up of goods.
3. The decrease of industries.
4. The decrease of traffic.
5. Unemployment.

Cotton Market of the World.

The cotton reserves of the world are so enormous that the producers are choked with stocks. Up to the beginning of May 1921 the export figure of American cotton amounted to 4,020,000 bales; 1911-12 10,502,000 bales were exported.

In Germany before the war 2½ millions of bales, to the value of 750 million marks, were imported. During the season from August 1st, 1920, to January 21st, 1921, the consumption was only 893,000 bales. The report of the Employers' Cotton Spinners' Association in England states that of 51.2 million spindles (that is the total number), 32.2 million spindles have not worked a 48-hour week. In the United States there are 2.4 million spindles, according to the yearly report, which have not been worked at all. In Russia, of the 7.5 million spindles which existed before the war, only 1.1 million are working.

Rubber Market of the World.

At present we have to reckon with a visible world stock of 600,000 tons of raw rubber, whilst the annual world consumption is less than 300,000 tons. Under normal conditions at least 200,000 tons of raw rubber should come from new production this year. The American stock amounts to 150,000 tons.

Copper Market of the World.

The German consumption of copper has declined to less than one-third of what it was in the last years before the war. In America a continually increasing surplus of copper has accumulated, for which a sufficient foreign as well as home market is lacking.

The Tin Market of the World.

In England alone the collective visible and invisible stocks of tin would suffice to cover the consumption of the English industry, which in 1921 amounted to 9,994 tons. That is significant, for England was by far the greatest consumer of tin in Europe. This circumstance is due to the decline in the export from England of tin goods and galvanised iron, which in 1913 amounted to 494,497 tons, and in 1921 sank to 226,482. The European consumption in the last ten years has declined

from 62,000 tons to 44,000, or by about one-third. The European foundry production of tin has still only fallen by one-fifth.

Zinc Market of the World.

Here, too, despite the fall in production, is shown a surplus production. The world consumption of raw zinc in the last ten years has fallen by a third, from about 1,000,000 tons to 667,000 tons. The European consumption alone by half what it was, i.e. from 700,000 tons to 350,000 tons, the German consumption has declined by as much as two-thirds.

Coal Markets of the World.

Before the great miners' lock-out there was a tremendous over-production of coal in England. It was the same in the United States before this year's miners' fight. The fall in production owing to the strike caused the surplus in England temporarily to disappear, but only to reappear after a short time. The same thing will occur in America. In France, Belgium, and Czecho-Slovakia the coal depots have been filled to bursting for the last few years. In the Saar district only recently, owing to the lack of markets, they had to institute short time.

TO OUR READERS.

A happy Christmas—as happy as it can be in these hard times.

Regretfully we have to announce that when this week's issue was being lowered into the machine-room an accident occurred, as a result of which the entire paper was destroyed. Hence the omission of many useful features—a limitation for which we shall endeavour to compensate at an early date.

Corn Market of the World.

According to the "German Landwirtschaftlichen Presse" (Agricultural News) No. 21, the farmers in the United States on March 1st, 1921, had the following reserves (in million bushels):

	Wheat.	Maize.	Oats.
1912	122	883	289
1915	153	911	379
1917	102	789	394
1919	128	855	590
1921	203	1,572	690

In some districts of America they heat their locomotives and ovens with wheat instead of coal.

Meat Market of the World.

The meat export from the Argentine to Europe has almost completely ceased. The country literally is gorged economically with a surplus of meat. The "Berliner Tageblatt" writes in its evening edition of July 19th, 1922, among other things, the following, on the subject:

"In the interior, where the cattle can be counted by tens of thousands, the meat rarely fetches 10 centavos a kilo., and the live beast is given away on condition that the hide is returned by the happy recipient.

The World Coffee Market.

Coffee Harvest.—1913, 978,000 tons; 1912, 1,217,000 tons.

Coffee Consumption.—1913, 1,027,000 tons; 1912, 960,000 tons.

The World Tea Market.

Also the tea production in India, Ceylon, and Java shows, according to the latest estimates, a decrease of 80 million English lbs., as against the normal harvest product. The export of tea in 1920-21 was 72,000,000 lbs., in the previous year 133,000,000 lbs.

In all countries the over-production has caused the most extensive reduction in tea output, which means partially a continued (lasting) lying idle of many plantations. In commercial circles a further reduction of tea production can be counted upon, together with a reduction in the tea trade.

Shipbuilding in England.

In England during the past business year 1921-22 the shipbuilding industry has only completed half the number of ships produced in the previous year. Some dockyards are not building any more ships.

United States of America.

In spite of the tremendous accumulation of capital and the predominating exchange value in the world, the Capitalist crisis has reached its greatest, and for the duration of Capitalism, its most dangerous, limit. The warehouses of twelve of the biggest undertakings of America up to the end of 1920 had reached 280 per cent. of their pre-war capacity.

England.

Almost all the English industries are suffering from surplus production. The English export trade suffered from the beginning to the end of 1921 alone the following decline:

Export.—January 1921, £92,756,000 sterling; December 1921, £59,375,000 sterling.
Import.—January 1921, £117,051,000 sterling; December 1921, £85,312,000 sterling.

France.

France among the Capitalist States stands relatively in a favourable position as far as the possibility of selling her goods is concerned, because of her activity for the reconstruction of the north, keeping 800,000 men for her army out of economic life and the active employment in munition factories. Nevertheless, even there checks on their markets are the order of the day. The export trade shows the following downward movement:

Export.—28.8, 12.8, 21.5, 16.0.
Import.—49.9, 50.5, 23.5, 37.9.

Belgium.

Since the spring of 1921 the factory reduction has been from 40 to 50 per cent. In the blast-furnace industry the workers' strikes are now so strong that in Belgium to-day out of fifty blast-furnaces there are hardly a dozen working.

Italy.

Whilst 30 per cent. of the silk spindles are quite idle, from the beginning of Decem-

ber 1921, 50 per cent. are only working three days a week. The paper industry has reduced its output to nearly one-half. The continuous difficulties of both of the greatest Montan societies, of the Ansaldo group, and of the Ilva concern have caused, towards the end of 1921, the collapse of the Italian Disconto Bank.

Czecho-Slovakia.

The brewing and milling industry is particularly bad. In the foundry industry only three blast-furnaces are working. The chemical industry works up to 45 per cent., the glass industry up to 50 per cent. The coal mines of Mährisch-Ostau intend to dismiss half their workers because of lack of markets. At least 20,000 miners are involved. Also the remainder of the employees will only work two days a week. According to news received at the end of August 1922, the glass industry is on the verge of collapsing. On that account 18,000 more unemployed, in addition to 20,000 others, are wholly unemployed. The Czech Party organ of the Social-Democrats calculates that its present number of unemployed is 600,000.

Poland.

Industry on the whole has decreased. The majority of the sections have shut up altogether. The biggest Lodz undertaking, Scheibler, only works three days a week; Poyanski, the second largest, only four days a week; many others two days a week, and others have closed down altogether. The production in Lodz hardly reaches 40 per cent. of the pre-war times. The same thing is seen in Alexandrowo and other industrial centres.

Lettland and Lithuania.

In Lettland several industries have closed down owing to lack of markets. In Lithuania short time prevails. Lately again some wood-working factories, a shoe factory, a saw-yard, a porcelain factory, and two glass factories were shut down.

Denmark.

The Danish National Bank described in its last annual report the greatest difficulties of Danish commerce in 1921. Shipping particularly had declined; unemployment in that industry was continuously very great, and a number of factories were compelled to work short time.

Sweden.

In the engineering industry from September 1st, 1920, to October 1st, 1921, the number of employees had declined from 60,000 to 28,000. The production and export in the iron industry in the course of last year had sunk by 50 per cent.

Norway.

In Norway, owing to the economic crises, several banks have failed.

Japan.

The rise of Japanese Capitalism during the war was followed after the war by a decline. Unemployment—up till then practically unknown—rose in the course of 1920 to more than a million, and in 1921 and 1922 it rose still further. Seventy-three dye factories have been closed since the beginning of the year. The reduction of factories in the cotton industry amount to 40 per cent., and the silk weaving has come almost to a standstill.

Colonias.

In Egypt at the beginning of 1921 16,000 cigarette makers were put on the streets. The bloody class-war in British South Africa had its economic roots in the previous overstocking of markets. In India for some time the unemployment problem has been acute.

Germany and Austria.

Here, owing to a number of reasons, the capitalist conditions of production are more

favourable than in most of the other countries. Nevertheless, unemployment is rising above the normal in peace times. In Austria it is even worse. At the beginning of this year there were hardly 10,000 unemployed, now there are already 200,000.

Russia.

Owing to the Revolution, Russia as an economic factor has for years been outside the pale of Capitalist economy. Also since the Soviet Government decided on the capitalisation of Soviet Russia in the spring of 1921, its industrial enterprises have kept themselves very closely allied with the rest of the Capitalist world.

The Capitalist Industrial Market.

Next to the four phenomenal results of Capitalist over-production—the overstocking of markets, the piling up of goods, the reduction of industries, and the reduction of traffic—is the fifth, and just the most typical symptom of this principal expression of the Capitalist death crisis, the most tremendous and comprehensive unemployment which the development of Capitalism has ever experienced. It follows automatically from the four other phenomena of Capitalist over-production; for it is only the reverse side of the medal, that the bourgeoisie, when they can no longer get rid of their commodities, also deny to the proletariat the opportunity to sell its wares, the proletarian labour power. The strength of the industrial reserve army of peacetime is as child's play in comparison with the present number of the unemployed, and already it no longer lies in the power of the bourgeoisie to regulate arbitrarily and at all times the number of the unemployed, with the sole aim of reducing wages. The bourgeoisie would like to see—the sooner the better—unemployment in its present dimensions wiped out of the world, but the iron dialectic of the Capitalist death crisis destroys all its experiments. Even if the bourgeois statistics intentionally try to hide the true figures of the present number of unemployed existing in the world, the size of the unemployed army in the principal countries, according to the latest statistics, estimate approximately the following, according to which the figures taken are still rather too low than too high:

United States, 6,000,000; Japan, 1,200,000; England, 1,800,000; Belgium, 100,000; Italy, 800,000; Holland, 80,000; Czecho-Slovakia, 600,000; France, 30,000; Poland, 200,000; Baltic Provinces, 50,000; Denmark, 100,000; Sweden, 140,000; Norway, 30,000; Switzerland, 100,000; Germany, 350,000; Austria, 200,000; Hungary, 150,000; Russia, 250,000. Total, 13,800,000.

Altogether, according to these incomplete schedules, nearly 14 million proletarians of the world are wholly unemployed and earning nothing. The masses of workers on short time are at least three times as numerous. A still clearer picture of the prevailing unemployment is given by the percentages of the unemployed in comparison with the working proletarian masses. So, for instance, the number of unemployed in the United States, according to the statistics of the bureau for dealing with unemployed in New York, are stated to be 20 per cent. of the total of the unemployed workers. In England 18 per cent. of the Trade Union membership; in Sweden, 31 per cent.; in Denmark, 24 per cent. without work. In Switzerland the unemployed reach 38 per cent.—that is to say, nearly two-fifths of the whole Swiss employed. According to the New York Unemployment Council, the unemployed, together with their dependents, amounted to over 15 million—that is about 14.3 per cent. of the white population. In the whole development of Capitalism before the war there is no approximate parallel to these figures.

—“Kampfrolf” (the weekly organ of the German All-Workers' Union).

A CAPITALIST CHALLENGE.

Speaking at an ex-Service men's dinner recently, Sir Robert Baden Powell, leader of the Boy Scouts' Movement, said there was still fighting to be done, as the Bolshevik and other forces of disruption were still active in Britain to-day, and that menace must be combated if they are to enjoy the peace which they have fought for and won in the Great War. He was pleased to say that the Bolshevik emissaries had found that the two most serious obstacles in the way of sowing disunion in the land were ex-Service men and the Boy Scouts.

We need not concern ourselves with terms. Sir Robert Baden Powell fears Socialism and Communism, and looks upon certain ex-Service men's organisations and the Boy Scout movement as defenders of the Capitalist system. They undoubtedly are, and it is all to the good to have these things so frankly expressed. I do not know anything about Bolshevik emissaries or gold, or anything of such things, nor am I concerned with personalities. As a plain man, my concern is with principles and how their progress is impeded by certain organisations which we are constantly told are non-political. But from time to time their spokesmen tell the truth—that real politics only begin on the dividing lines between Capitalism and Communism or Socialism, and these organisations stand for the preservation of profits and property camouflaged under the mask of what is called patriotism.

It is an inspiring process toward the Capitalist Press and the utterances of Capitalist leaders nowadays. The issues are becoming clearer, and there is coming an open acceptance of the fact that the anti-capitalist “menace” grows. It is a tribute to the vitality and persistence of the spirit that demands at all times a sane and humane solution of the economic and social problems that force us. Thanks to the Capitalist Press, which is rendering the cause of Communism yeoman service, the workers are discussing the pros and cons of a philosophy and an ideal that has never before been so seriously considered. That so many of the workers are accepting pro-Capitalist argument for the moment is mere incident. Continued propaganda and the dramatic eloquence of hard economic factors will turn the tide of working-class opinion. On every hand the futility and barrenness of Capitalism reveals itself. It remains to press the alternative steadily, persistently, courageously.

How Sir Robert Baden Powell could speak of the “peace” that had been fought for and “won” is inexplicable except in the light of a callousness that ignores the colossal suffering that exists to-day, and which must in its aggregate be greater than that of the “hell” of the Great War. That ex-Service men are on the side of this peace is a statement which ignores the fact that thousands of ex-Service men are no partisans of the present ignominious system, and thousands of them are direct and long-suffering victims not merely of the war, but of the so-called peace that has followed. Some ex-Service men's organisations under the leadership of the defenders of privilege, power and property, undoubtedly exist to fight the Socialist “menace,” but the war and the “peace” has proved to many ex-Service men that their place is in the ranks of those organisations that are out to substitute for callous Capitalism the reign of a nobler ideal.

But the Communist movement might do well to devote more energy to organisations designed to counteract the scout and guide movements. Let the natural desires of our boys and girls, youths and maidens be recognised as they are in these patriotic movements, but let there be added and ever present the incentive of the Communist ideal. Let our boys and girls be taught how to practise Communism, in and through such organisations. Most organisations are within their borders largely communal in practice. It is

up to the Communist Movement to endeavour to develop the Communist side of its own organisations; to be "not as others are" in a very real and fundamental sense. The first principle is service; the second to sink our individualism in the interests of the movement; thirdly, a kindly tolerance towards all *contingents*.

A friend once said that he believed in Socialism, but not in Socialists. The fight against the forces arrayed against us does not make for the use of soft gloves or soft words; it is a fight that tends to bring the sharp edges out and rub off the rounded parts of our characters. Nevertheless, it is well to remember that our movement is the best served by the broadly tolerant spirit which, while refusing to budge on principle, extends a comradeship and a hope of "salvation" towards those who are nearest us in the struggle, and with whom we find ourselves in disagreement. Whatever our differences with those in the movement, our differences with those outside is infinitely greater. Even Communism is not enough! There must be the tolerance of profoundly convinced Communist crusaders—against even our opponents. Our greatest enemies are the Capitalistically minded workers—and each is a potential Communist. Let us never forget that.

SALVE.

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Brought forward, £373 19s. G. L. Jones, 1/6; Mrs. West, 2/6; Mrs. Clarges, 2/6; A Friend from Plymouth, 10/-; G. Sargent, 2/6; H. Chris, 2/-; J. Bernstein, 1/6; Christmas Sale and Dance, £22 8s. 10d. Total for week, £23 9s. 10d. Total, £397 8s. 10d.

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The winning numbers in the Stop-Watch Competition are 2 hrs. 14 mins. 35 secs, first prize. The thirty other prize-winners are: 2.14 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 8 49 50 2 14 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 48 49 50. 2.14 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34.

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Administration of production and distribution shall be by Soviets or Councils of those who do the work, linked together locally, industrially, nationally, and internationally.

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To create an All-Workers' Industrial Revolutionary Union of employed and unemployed workers:

(a) Built up from 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 Communism administered by the workers' Soviets.

(b) Organised into departments for each industry and service.

In other words, to create the Soviets in the workshops in order that they may dispossess the Capitalist and afterwards carry on under Communism.

To take no part in elections to Parliament and the local governing bodies, to expose their futility, either to protect, or to emancipate the workers, or to administer Communism.

To refuse affiliation or unity with the Labour Party and all Reformist and Parliamentary Parties.

To emancipate the workers from the Trade Unions, which are merely palliative institutions.

To affiliate with the Communist Workers' International (Fourth International).

For further particulars apply to the Communist Workers' Movement Secretary at 132 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

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Central London Branch (Hon. Secretary, S. Cahill) meets Thursday evenings, at 152 Fleet Street, 7.30 p.m. Volunteers for meetings, clerical work, etc., should write to the Secretary at 152 Fleet Street.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

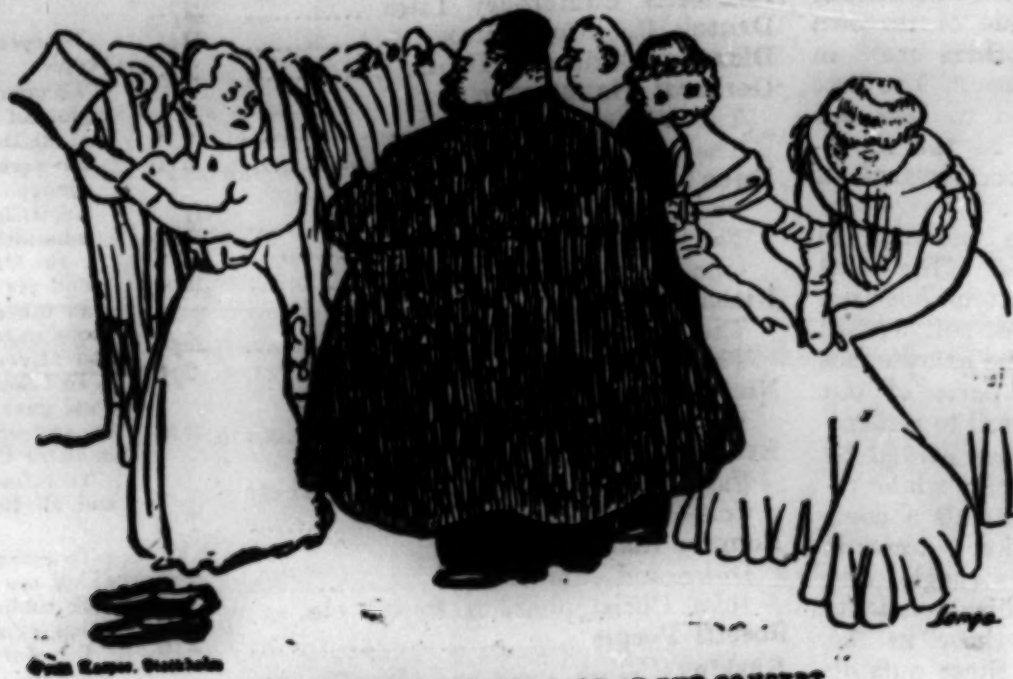
WORKS FOR COMMUNISM.—A classless order of society in which there shall be no rich and poor, no masters or servants, no landlords and capitalists, no buying and selling, no money, no wages. Each shall use according to need and desires of the earth's fruits and the product of the common labour. Each shall give to the service of the community according to capacity. Production and distribution shall be organised by those who do the work through the Soviets.

TACTICS.—No compromise with non-Communists and Reformers. No affiliation with the Labour Party. Continuous teaching of Communism. Continuous struggle for Communism.

Preparation for the Soviets: that is to say, organisation of the workers to take over and administer the industries of the creation of One Big Revolutionary Union with industrial departments built up from the workshop basis on the Soviet model. Continuous teaching of the futility of Parliamentary action.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 132 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, and printed by S. Corio (T.U.) at 10 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London

The Intelligence of Our Masters.



THE PROPITEER ARRIVES LATE AT THE CONCERT

"What are they playing now, Miss?"
"Beethoven's Ninth Symphony!"
"What! Have we missed the other night?"

Shopping
on the Dole.



These blocks
without Rhyme
or Reason
appear
in this page
in order to
fill up space,
since our
good Xmas issue
is all in Pie.
We shall come out
in the usual size
next week,
with a story
full of incidents.



Before the Poll.

The omission
from this issue
of the Leader
and of Comments
on the week's events
—however regrettable—
can easily be
compensated for
if in these days
of Christian festivity—
you will remember
how distant we are
—how drifting away we are—
from a society
based on Justice.