

The Genoa Betrayal.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

"THEY."

By SIEGFRIED SASSOON.

The Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back they will not be the same; for they'll have fought in a just cause; they lead the last attack on Anti-Christ; their comrades' blood has bought a new right to breed an honourable race, they have challenged Death and dared him face to face."

"We're none of us the same!" the boys reply, "For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone blind; and poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die; and Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find a chap who's served that hasn't found some change." And the Bishop said: "The ways of God are strange!"

DEFEATED.

With subdued rhythm.

The field-grey is draggled, the faces are old; young soldiers straggle along the road. The rain is long, and the sky is long, and the light of the morning is shabby and cold on the hidden ground and the soggy fields and the troops that straggle along the road.

Bare houses crouch, with low-drawn roofs and windows crooked with streaks of wet, mirroring distorted, half-stripped trees and weather-spotted walls and the slouching troops, that stumble, that straggle along the road.

Row on row, and rank on rank of stolid faces, dark and blank. There is a man who lumbers forward with a brutal thickness about his jaw, and staring from red-rimmed eyes; and there is another with a cruel face, with curling lip and heavy eyelids; and there is even one who looks a bit, as his nearing footsteps recognise the level of the soil or the cobblestones, and his numb thoughts know: this is home.

Row on row, and rank on rank, passing with heavy feet, tramp and clank: thousands of bodies, thousands of faces, all of them different, all the same: struggling, straggling along the road.

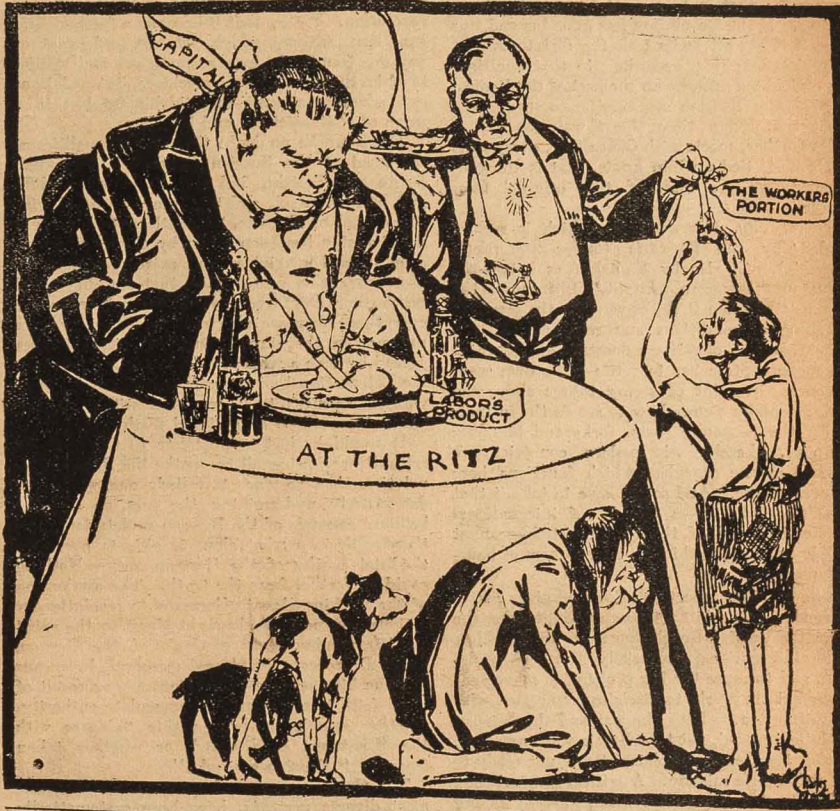
And only here and there
A gentler face
Stares with two tired blue eyes
At the dull day
And the dull clouds
And the broad monotony of the plain,
Stares with two dream-lost eyes
Full of the tragedy of misplaced trust.

While the feet march on, march on, on, in the meaningless rhythm of other feet, stumbling along down the muddy street, with the light of the morning sordid and old on the soggy ground and the sodden fields and the troops that straggle along the road.

DONALD B. CLARK.

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

I.

The Russian Revolution is the biggest thing that happened in the world war. Its outbreak, its unexampled radicalism, its lasting effect readily give the lie to the falsehoods by which the official German Social Democrats had zealously endeavoured to provide an ideologic justification for Germany's Imperialist campaign of conquest. The pretence was, be it remembered, that the mission of German bayonets was to overthrow Czarism in Russia and liberate its oppressed peoples.

The great dimensions to which the revolution has attained in Russia, the profound effect it has had in shattering all class values and in making a clean sweep of all social and economic problems, the consistent way in which it has passed on, with the fatality of its inherent logic, from the first stages of bourgeois Republicanism to ever more and more advanced phases—a process in which the overthrow of Czarism was merely an episode, almost a bagatelle—all this shows quite plainly that the liberation of Russia was not the result of the war and of the military defeats which Czarism suffered. The liberation of Russia does not lie to the credit of "German bayonets in German fists," as promised in a leading article in Kautsky's *Neue Zeit*. It had its roots in Russia itself, and was completely matured within.

The war adventure of German Imperialism, carried on behind the ideological shield of the German Social Democrats, did not bring about the revolution in Russia. On the contrary it created for the Russian Revolution, the most difficult and abnormal conditions, at least, during certain of its phases; for instance, when the storm was gathering in the years 1911-18, and again, intermittently and in real earnest after it had broken out.

Moreover, this course taken by the Revolution is to every careful observer conclusive evidence against the doctrine that Kautsky holds in common with the German Governmental Social Democratic Party. This theory maintains that Russia, being chiefly agrarian and economically behind the times, is a country not yet ripe enough for the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It maintains that only a *bourgeois* revolution can be considered possible in Russia.

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This way of thinking has resulted in those tactics wherewith certain Russian Socialists have striven for a coalition with bourgeois Liberalism. The opportunistic wing of the Russian workers' movement, the so-called Mensheviks, under the experienced leadership of Axelrod and Dan, has adopted this policy. This manner of regarding the basis of the Russian Revolution determines as a matter of course the attitude towards the more detailed problems of tactics. Russian opportunists are in complete accord with the German Governmental Socialists: both are of opinion that the Russian Revolution should have cried halt at that stage which Imperialist Germany had set as the "noble" goal of its strategy after having dipped into the mythology of the German Social Democrats: that is to say, at the overthrow of Czarism. If the Revolution has gone beyond this stage, if it has set as its task the dictatorship of the proletariat; this, according to that doctrine, is an undoubted mistake on the part of the Radical wing of the Russian workers' movement, the Bolsheviks. Every time the Revolution, as it advances further, meets with difficulties; every time it gets itself tied up into knots, that is the consequence, we are told, of this original fatal mistake.

Theoretically, this doctrine, which is recommended by the *Vorwärts* (under Stampfer's editorship), and also by Kautsky, as being the product of "Marxian thought," turns upon the original "Marxian" discovery that the Socialist re-shaping of conditions and relationships is a national concern, or rather a domestic affair, which each modern State has to settle in its own way. Of course, in point of seeing things above the clouds, Kautsky knows how to set forth, in their details, the economic roots, forks and branches of capital, whereby all modern countries are absorbed in one organism which functions here and everywhere. And so we have to take it that Russia's Revolution—a product of international complications and of the land question—cannot possibly be solved within the four corners of bourgeois society.

In its practical aspect this doctrine gives rise to the tendency to shift the responsibility for the fate of the Russian Revolution from the shoulders of the international (especially German) proletariat, and to cause the big proletarian movement throughout the world to disclaim connection with this Revolution. Both the war and the Russian Revolution proved, not that Russia was immature, but that the German proletariat was not ready to fulfil its historic mission. A critical consideration of the Russian Revolution must start by laying particular emphasis upon this fact. For Russia's Revolution was, in all its vicissitudes, completely dependent upon the international Revolution. That the Bolsheviks made their policy conform in every way to the world-wide Revolution of the proletariat, is just the most striking witness to the far-sightedness of their political vision and to their fundamental stability. It shows what a bold bid they made in taking up such a policy. It is a matter that will show at a glance the tremendous forward leap taken by capitalist development in the last decade. The Revolution of 1905-7, for instance, awakened only a very feeble echo throughout Europe, and had, therefore, to remain an introduction chapter. Its further progress and ultimate solution were subject to the European development.

It is palpable that what is alone able to take advantage of the wealth of experience and instruction provided by the Russian Revolution is not an uncritical and apologetic record, but an exhaustive and careful criticism. This first world-historic experiment with the dictatorship of the working class has been carried on under the most difficult conditions conceivable, in the midst of a world-conflagration and the chaos of an Imperialist murdering of peoples, who found themselves in the deadening thrall of the most reactionary military power in Europe, at a time when the international proletariat was incapable of taking to action. It would be foolish to expect that in this Russian experiment with a workers' dictatorship under such abnormal conditions, everything that is done or left undone must be high above all criticism. On the contrary, if we accept the elementary ideas of Socialist policy; if we have an insight into their essential historic hypotheses, we are led to believe that, under such

ominous conditions, even the most soaring idealism, and the most storm-proof revolutionary energy can accomplish the realisation, not of democracy, nor of Socialism, but only of a feeble, tottering advancement in respect of these.

It becomes, therefore, one of the first duties of Socialists in all countries to keep this fact in view; to trace it in all its various and profound relations, and to follow it in all its operations. It is only when we have got hold of this painful knowledge that we can gain an idea of the sum total of the responsibility for the fortunes of the Russian Revolution, which belongs to the international proletariat. To put the matter in another light; it is only in this way that it can be shown what decisive importance lies in the solid international furtherance of the proletarian revolution. We see that it becomes a fundamental condition, without which, let the proletariat of any one country be ever so proficient and willing to make the most extreme sacrifices, its revolutionary adventures must unavoidably be lost in a maze of contradictions and blunders.

There can be no doubt that the personalities at the head of the Russian Revolution, men like Lenin and Trotski, find that they have a difficult path to tread, and that they are beset with every kind of obstacle. Doubtless, too, many a decisive step has been taken by them in face of deep inward misgivings and extreme reluctance. Moreover, it is our opinion that nothing could be further from their own wishes than to see everything they are compelled to do, or to leave undone, in the excruciating hither and thither caused by such a whirlpool of events, accepted by the International as a worthy sample of Socialist political science; to be received with uncritical admiration and to be imitated forthwith.

It would be just as mistaken to fear that by critically reviewing all the paths the Russian Revolution has so far travelled, one would be dangerously undermining the prestige and the brilliant example of the Russian proletarians, and thereby destroy what alone is able to overcome the fatal apathy of the German masses. Nothing could be further from the truth. The awakening of the working class in Germany to revolutionary activity can never be brought about in the spirit of the grandmotherly methods of the German Social Democrats (of blessed memory), by means of some kind of mass-suggestion, or as a result of blind faith in some sort of immaculate authority, whether established from within to agree with the "national conditions," or whether taken from the "Russian example."

The German masses, for years and under the most diverse pretexts, have been systematically stifled by the German Social Democrats. These same masses can only be made to find their historic sphere of action, not by mere revolutionary catch-cries, but by giving them sufficient insight for them to perceive what a terribly serious and complicated task they have before them. This can only be done by educating them politically, by making them stand, mentally, on their own legs, making them dispense with romantic beliefs, and by developing their critical sense. Therefore we think that whenever the German workers, or, of course, the international workers, take the Russian Revolution and discuss it in its historic perspective, and in all its bearings, they are on the right road to learn how to tackle those tasks which the present situation has placed in their way.

II.

The first period of the Russian Revolution, that is, from its outbreak in March up to the new outbreak in October, exactly corresponds, in its general course, with the way in which both the English and the great French revolutions developed. It is the development which characterises each first great general clash of the revolutionary forces created in the bosom of bourgeois society, with the bonds and fetters of long-established society.

The progress was natural, and showed an upward curve: starting from modest beginnings, it made its aims ever more radical. Parallel with this was the advance from the coalition of classes and parties to the undivided rule of the Radical Party.

When it commenced in March, 1917, those at the head of the Revolution were the "Cadets": that is, the Liberal bourgeoisie. When the first revolutionary flood-tide became general, every-

body and everything were carried along with it. The fourth Duma, that most reactionary product, which was the result of the *coup d'état* by which the reactionary four-class system of voting had been introduced, suddenly transformed itself into an organ of the Revolution. All the bourgeois parties, including the Nationalists of the Right Wing, suddenly formed themselves into a phalanx to resist absolutism. Absolutism fell at the first onslaught, and almost without a fight, as though it were an organ that had so completely decayed that it only needed to be touched to make it fall to pieces. Then came the short-lived attempt of the Liberal bourgeoisie to save at least the dynasty and the throne. But this, too, fizzled out in a few hours. The progress of the development made such startling headway that the ground which formerly France took decades to cover, was passed over in days; yes, and in hours. It is just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the results and lessons of a century of European development, but, above all things, it shows that the 1917 Revolution was a direct continuation of that of the 1905-07, and was not a gift of the German "liberator."

The movement in March, 1917, took up the work again at the very juncture when it had been interrupted ten years previously. The democratic Republic was the product which had inwardly matured and which was ready to be set up at the first onslaught of the Revolution.

Now, however, the second task presented itself, and this was a far more difficult proposition. The driving power of the Revolution lay, from the outset, with the mass of the town proletariat. The demands of these people, however, were not entirely absorbed by political democracy, but were directed towards a problem which happened to be the burning question of international politics, peace at any price. At the same time the Revolution pounced upon the masses who went to join the army and who had also raised the demand for an immediate peace. It pounced, too, upon the masses who went to form the peasantry, who brought forward once more the agrarian question which had been at the bottom of the revolutionary movement since 1905.

Immediate peace and the land—these two objectives served to effect an internal disruption of the revolutionary phalanx. The demand for an immediate peace was in sharp opposition to the Imperialistic tendency of the Liberal bourgeoisie, which had found its spokesman in Miljucko. The land question was the bogey of the other wing of the bourgeoisie: namely of course, of the country jingoes; but in so far as it was considered to be an outrage upon the sacred rights of private property, it was a sore point for all bourgeois classes.

Thus we see how, in the days that followed the first triumph of the Revolution, the two burning questions of the hour—immediate peace and the land problem—gave rise to an internal conflict in which various principles were involved. The Liberal bourgeoisie adopted tactics of obstruction and prevarication. The masses of workers, the Army and the peasantry, became ever more vehement in their threats. There can be no doubt that even the fortunes of the political democracy, which was to be set up under a Republican government, were entirely bound up with the problem of peace and the land. The bourgeois classes, which had temporarily succumbed to the first shock of the Revolution and had allowed themselves to drift into accepting a Republican State-form, now began to explore lost ground for places where they might get a new footing, and secretly organised for a counter-revolution. Kaledin's Cossack campaign against Petrograd clearly revealed this tendency. Had his attempt succeeded, not only would the peace and land problems have been thrust aside; it would have meant the end of democracy; yes, and of the Republic, too.

Kaledin's success would inevitably have been followed by a military dictatorship which would first have terrorised the proletariat into complete subjugation and then have restored the monarchy.

These facts enable one to measure how much of the tactics adopted by the Russian Socialists and the Kautsky tendency (the Mensheviks) are Utopian, and, at bottom, reactionary. So certain have the Mensheviks been of the bourgeois character of the Russian Revolution (for how could Russia be ripe for the social revolution? they

Continued on page 7.

SHIP BUILDING.

MERCHANT VESSELS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN THE WORLD.

	Number	Tons (gross)
in the United Kingdom ...	437	2,235,998
in other countries (excluding Germany)	518	1,143,624
Total (excluding Germany, where the figures are not yet available)	955	3,679,622

In America the total number of ships being built is 31 of 136,266 gross tonnage. America is certainly not at present a big competitor in shipbuilding, but the new United States Shipping Bill, with its bounties for American shipping, is intended to alter that.

Though launching more ships than shipbuilders of other countries, the British shipbuilding industry is experiencing a progressive slump, as the following figures show:—

QUARTER ENDING	VESSELS LAUNCHED	TONS.
December, 1920	176	579,993
March, 1921	231	433,607
December, 1921	101	467,246
March, 1922	68	334,358

December, 1920 was, however, the best quarter on record, so the shipbuilders are by no means bankrupt yet, and can afford to wait whilst their employees are starved into accepting lower wages and worse conditions of employment.

The carrying trade now shows signs of improvement, and the shipbuilders are preparing to profit by a trade revival. Harland and Wolff, the great Belfast firm, which now, either under its own or other names, has establishments also on the Thames, the Clyde and the Kelvin, has obtained a Government loan of £1,493,345 under the recent Trade Facilities Act, for the purpose of enlarging their docks, wharfs and yards. Palmer's Shipbuilding and Iron Company has borrowed £300,000 from the Government to construct for itself at Swansea. Beardmore's of Glasgow gets £600,000 of Government money to construct a luxurious new liner, the *Conte Verdi*, for an Italian firm.

The Western Union Telegraph Company recently invited tenders for the construction of a cable steamer. A German firm quoted 650,000 dollars, a French firm 750,000 dollars, and the best American and British tenders were 550,000 dollars. Naturally the contract went to Germany. This example is quoted by the employers as an argument for reducing the wages of British workers. Since the German mark, which is normally worth just over 20 to the £, now varies in the region of 1,200 to the £, it is obvious that if British proletarians were prepared to work without wages at all, British firms could compete with German.

Some Shipping Profits.

The shipping capitalists are, on the whole, prospering nicely, in spite of all difficulties: witness the following figures:—

The Mercantile Marine Finance Corporation formed in 1920 has followed a safe conservative policy. A profit of £65,301 was made in 1921, as compared with £51,611 in the first year. The directors propose to write off the whole of the preliminary expenses, amounting to £2,024, leaving a balance of £36,043. Out of this they will pay a dividend of £6 per cent. and carry forward £6,043.

The Cunard Steamship Company pays a dividend of 7½ per cent., less tax, for 1921. The Globe Shipping Company pays 5 per cent., free of tax; it paid 15 per cent. in 1921, and 30 per cent. in 1919 plus a bonus share distribution of 700 per cent. Do you realise what it means, fellow worker? It means that for every £100 a person invested in that Company, the shareholders, whilst retaining the £100 unpaid, received from the Company in three years £750. That was paid out of the hard toil of men who made and manned the ships, and the heavy prices paid by the workers for commodities carried out by the ships.

The Deutsche Ost-Afrika Line paid a dividend of 8 per cent. in 1921 and 8 per cent. in 1920. The Deutsche-Australische Company paid 14 per cent. in 1921 and 10 per cent. in 1920.

John C. Tecklenberg A. G. paid 25 per cent. in 1920 and 25 per cent. in 1921. That means that every shareholder who invested £1, whilst keeping his £1 intact, got 10s. as a free gift out of the labour of the workers, in the space of two years.

The Kosmos Line paid 10 per cent. in 1920. The Lubeck-Konigsbergen Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft paid a dividend of 50 per cent. in 1920, and 40 per cent. in 1921. That means for every £100 invested, whilst keeping the £100 unspent, the investor got £90 in the space of two years as a free gift out of the toil of the workers.

No wonder British Capitalism wanted to punish the Germans by getting hold of their shipping companies!

German shipping is the most profitable thing going! Ostsee-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft, Stettin: Dividend 15 per cent. in 1921.

Swinemünder Dampfschiffahrts A. G.: Dividend, 1920, 25 per cent., 1921, 25 per cent. You get your money back in four years and still keep it unspent!

What do you think of it, Henry? It is more profitable than going to work: is it not?

A TIP FOR THE HOMELESS.

Buda Pest is short of houses: a Housing Board regulates the scanty accommodation. Bartos, a garage owner, and his family of eight, were allotted a flat by the Housing Board, but the White Terrorists' organisation, "The Awakening Magyars," turned out Bartos and his family to make room for one of its members. Bartos complained in vain to the Housing Board, and the Ministry of Public Welfare. Eventually he packed his furniture into his motor cars, moved to Gisela Square, the Piccadilly of Buda Pest, and there erected his furniture and bedding. He hung out a placard bearing the following quotation from the Hungarian poet Madacs:—

"Great God look down from Heaven and blush. How beautiful is man, Thy masterpiece."

The police tried to move him on, but large crowds collected, and Bartos and his family and furniture spent the night on the pavement.

WORKER AGAINST WORKER.

The South Wales coal owners are cheerfully preparing to send more coal to the U.S.A. and Canada in view of the American coal strike.

French iron and steel manufacturers complain that they cannot get markets because the depreciation in the German mark prevents Germans from buying, and the competition of the British product, cheapened by wage reductions here, is cutting French manufacturers out in other directions.

French shipbuilders are negotiating cheaper prices with British steel producers to cut out British shipbuilders.

Belgian iron and steel manufacturers are also trying to cut out the British, by reducing wages. There was another 20 per cent. cut on April 15, with a minimum of 1.50 an hour, about 7d. in English money.

A MAGISTERIAL MISDEMEANOUR

Alfred Symonds of Coles Green, Leigh, Linton, is a farm labourer earning 26s. 10d. per week. On this paltry wage he has been maintaining, somehow, a family of six persons. How did his wife manage to do it? That is one of the mysteries of this unhappy world.

Her baby girl, aged four years, was left with her brother in the kitchen. She fell into the fire and was fatally burned. You can imagine, dear readers, the sorrow which befell the household and how the poor mother wept and reproached herself that, in her busy round of toil, she had left her child even an instant out of her sight.

Had these been well-to-do people, everyone would have sympathised, but they belonged to the poor and lowly; therefore their "betters" decided to blame them: Symonds was summoned before the Malvern magistrates, on a charge of "exposing" his daughter "to the risk of burning." He ought to have provided a fireguard, he was told with severity. Probably so; but how

many million open firegrates are there in this country in rooms where children play without fireguards? Did you ever play in a room with an open firegrate, dear readers? We often did, and fell in the fire once; but our parents not being farm labourers, were not hauled before the "Beak!"

Symonds replied that he found it so hard to procure food and clothes and shoes for his family, and to pay the rent, that he had no money left over with which to buy a fireguard.

No one expressed indignation that a poor fellow should be obliged to keep himself and six persons on 26s. 10d. a week. On the contrary, Symonds was fined 10s. The Chairman of the Bench declared that this was "a ridiculous amount where a life was concerned." The Chairman was right: the fine of 10s. would not count to the bereaved parents, poor as they were, in comparison with the loss of their baby. No punishment could so impress upon them the need for taking every possible precaution against fire as the calamity which had befallen them in the loss of their child.

Nevertheless, when the magistrates fined that poor family 10s., they literally took the bread out of the children's mouths. One might say that such magistrates deserve horsewhipping; but, alas! even that would not make them understand the cruel futility of their action. Did the Bench of petty tyrants imagine the fine would be a warning to the parents? Did it not occur to them that the statement: this child was burnt because there was no fireguard, would have a more potent effect than any fine?

STINNES BUYS THE PRESS.

Stinnes, the powerful German capitalist, who is doing so much to trustify German industry, already owns a number of German and Austrian newspapers, including the *Lokal Anzeiger* in Berlin, and the *Alpenland* at Innsbruck, which is the chief organ of the Austrian pan-Germans, and agitator for the union of Austria and Germany. Stinnes is now negotiating for the purchase of the Ebermühl, a big Austrian paper mill and a number of newspapers which depend upon it, including the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the principal financial daily of Vienna. Stinnes aims at buying all the raw material required in the finished product and at handling the raw material at every stage. He buys the forest, the pulping apparatus, the paper mill, the newspaper, the ore mine, the smelting works, the machine factory, the printing plant, etc., etc.

RAND STRIKE INQUIRY.

Comrade J. V., of Cape Town, writes: "I suppose you are aware that General Smuts has appointed an Industrial Commission to investigate the Rand Strike. As Mr. Brace (British Government Labour Adviser) is one of the Commissioners appointed by the South African Government, the comment of *The Burger*, the official organ of the Nationalist Party, may be of interest to our readers:—

"We do not know Mr. Brace—as little as he knows us. He knows little of the country and of our circumstances. The Kaffir question is totally unknown to him. His ability to give a fair judgment must also be strongly brought into question. His position as an adviser of a Department of the British Government in its time has given well paid jobs to all Labour leaders who became dangerous, as a result of which these leaders totally lost the confidence of their trade colleagues. The enquiry, for the most part concerns Dutch-speaking Afrianders, but there is not a single representative of them on the Commission. Where is that most able and most impartial Commission?"

The other Commissioners are Sir Wm. Solomon, Sir Robert Kotze, who is an official of the Government, and Sir Carruthers Beattie.

North Wales Colliers.

The highest paid colliers in North Wales now only get 8s. 5½d. per day. They got 16s. before the Lock-Out.

Workers' Dreadnought

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Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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THE GENOA BETRAYAL.

As we anticipated, the Revolution and the workers' cause in Russia, and, through Russia, the world over, have been betrayed at Genoa. Whatever may be the excuses of the Soviet Government and its Genoa representatives, there can be no denying this patent and ugly fact.

It is said that the Soviet representatives have agreed to surrender all the vast oil resources of Russia, not required for internal use, to British capitalism. The allegation is for the moment denied; but there can be little doubt that this or something like it is true, and that the truth will be announced presently as though it were a very excellent achievement.

This disgraceful deal is not even patriotic. Any honest bourgeois politician would shrink from thus selling his country's resources to the foreign capitalist, who henceforth will suck this wealth from his people like a very leech.

Coal was yesterday the great force of the modern world; to-day it is oil. This great force the Soviet delegates have presented to the swollen capitalism of Britain.

It is a betrayal of the Revolution, a betrayal of Russia, a betrayal of world peace; for this deal will lead to another world capitalist war.

France and Belgium are in revolt, of course they are. Their capitalists have been over-reached by Britain; they have been "done" in the Genoa thieves' kitchen.

To the music of "world reconstruction," "humanity," and "forbearance," Lloyd George has pulled off the biggest piece of jobbery of modern times. What will America say? America, the great rival, was already smarting under the annoyance of finding that, whilst the British Government was trumpeting of its disinterested fight for humanity in the late world war, British capitalists, with British Government aid, had quietly secured control over all the oil fields then available, and had closed the door against America and other dearly beloved Allies!

Of course Lloyd George was aware of the Russo-German Treaty. The Germans, and others in the know, have spoken quite truthfully in that respect. He agreed to it, because it furthered his own aims. He agreed to it, because it was the poor little sop to Soviet Russia, which will be used to gloss over the betrayal of Russia and the Revolution. The betrayal, remember, does not end with the oil. Moreover, the Russo-German Treaty furthers the Lloyd George policy in other ways. If he is accused of bad faith, he will retort: the Germans began it, and if I had not secured the concession for British capitalists, they would have been left out in the cold, whilst these stores of wealth fell to the share of others. The British capitalism which benefits from the deal will readily pardon Lloyd George for his backstairs dealing.

Again, Lloyd George assisted the Russo-German Treaty and prevented the French from invading Germany to secure its annulment, because it furthered his policy in another direction also. By creating the precedent of wiping out reparations, it led the way for his proposal to reduce German reparations very greatly. Lloyd George desires this because he is influenced by the school of thought represented by J. M. Keynes and the others who

say that German reparations are destroying British trade, and creating unemployment in Britain, and who propose the reduction of the reparations to a scale on which they may be borne by an international loan. Lloyd George backs the loan idea because he believes the French Government can be induced to accept it in order to secure immediate ready money. He hopes that in order to get the ready money France will submit to Britain's seizure of Russian oil and many things beside.

There is another reason also: The fact is, that the creation and preservation of a world Balance of Power has long been the aim of British foreign politics, and in spite of all the wartime imprecations and propaganda against the Balance of Power policy by the U.D.C. and others; in spite of all the booming of President Wilson and the League of Nations, the Balance of Power still remains the lode star of the British Government. It will remain the lode star of the British Government so long as Capitalism continues to reign here.

The reason is that the British Government, desirous of maintaining the British Empire against all assault or rivalry, always seek an alliance with another Power or Powers against the Empire's strongest and keenest rival.

Before the war that rival was Germany. To-day it is France. Germany has lost her colonies, but France has colonies. Germany has lost coal and iron in the war, and these have gone to France. France, moreover, has rich stores of oil within her dominions, and much other wealth. America is more and more Britain's rival in the oilfields, on the seas, and in the exploitation of China. America is unlikely to be Britain's ally against France.

Where shall Britain look for allies to bolster up her power against the rivalry of France or America, or both? Lloyd George apparently thinks she should look to Germany and perhaps also to Russia—if Russia will absolutely bar the door to Communism.

Sir Edward Grey, whose diplomacy guided us into the war with Germany, is of another school; he desires France for an ally; he still believes that France is not the most powerful rival against whom Britain must safeguard herself. He believes, perhaps, in the early recovery of Germany, or the menace of America. He is a Balance of Power man like Lloyd George; but just now he believes in another combination.

Bigger than all this looms up the great betrayal of the workers' Revolution. The betrayal is as complete as the individuals in power can make it. At present the surrender of Russia's land and industry to capitalism is glossed over by the talk of granting 99 year leases. No one expects the pretence to be maintained. But if it were: all we who struggle and suffer here to-day will be but dust when those long years are sped.

It is not only the oil, the great power in war and industry, that is sold to British capitalist imperialism, with the oil-fields go the destinies of the people who live in all that territory. The power that British capitalism can wield with the oil is power sold away from Soviet Russia: power placed in the hands of capitalism, which will be used to fight the workers in all lands.

Remember, moreover, that it is not only the oil-fields that have been sold, the principles of Communism in Russia, the right to practice Communism in Russia, the right to spread Communist propaganda abroad, all are being surrendered. Guarantees are being given to make capitalism secure in what was once Red Russia.

It does not seem at all likely that the Soviet Government will get any money at all from the capitalist Governments, even by way of loan. The capitalist Governments, with the British at their head, have shown that they are willing to lend money to their national capitalists to trade with Russia or to set up manufacturing enterprises in Russia, provided, of course, that these are safeguarded against Communism. It is general public money they will lend. The capitalist Governments at Genoa have told Russia that several European countries are prepared to create an international corporation with an initial capital of

£20,000,000. This is purely a capitalist venture, of course. Under the Trade Facilities Act the British Government will lend some of that £25,000,000 set aside to aid British capitalists to develop foreign trade. The Government will even get Parliament to allot more, and there is £15,000,000 under the Export Credits scheme, which the Government will use for this purpose, provided anti-Communist guarantees are forthcoming. All this is to benefit British capitalists, and is paid for by the British people, by taxation direct or indirect. Such schemes will enable certain groups of British capitalists to wax fat. They may provide sources of revenue for the Budgets of Soviet Governments and the maintenance of armies of Soviet officials.

Such schemes are all leading away from Communism, and placing a hideous burden upon the workers of Russia.

Presently we shall read of the vast dividends and the wealth beyond the dream of avarice, which European capitalists are making out of the development of Soviet Russia, out of the toil of Russia's workers and peasants.

Presently those who control the Soviet Government will come to London. They will be received here more gloriously than was President Wilson. They will ride through the streets with Lloyd George as saviours of the people, as pioneers of civilisation, because in their weakness and their folly they have rendered the fortress of the workers' Revolution to capitalism, and have placed the people of Russia under the yoke of the foreign capitalist.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

MAY DAY.

It was the saddest looking May Day seen in London for many a year. Poverty was its prevailing note. The big procession was mainly manned by the unemployed, who for many months have had no work, and whose clothes and figures and faces plainly reveal their state of penury. The carts, in which the women and children of the unemployed were riding, did not carry the usual decorations of paper roses and coloured bunting. No one had money to spend on such things; no one had energy to prepare them, or heart to care for them. The procession should have brought the blush of shame to the luxurious rich who saw it pass.

The big Trade Unions did not honour this year's Labour Day; the relatively few Trade Union banners that appeared were mainly carried by the unemployed. The big Trade Unions do not honour Labour Day unless it falls on a State holiday.

It was a sad May Day. Some of the workers were working against their will, and some were wanting work in vain. All were anxious for the future, wondering when the great blight of slack trade will creep up to submerge them, or, if they are already of the unemployed, how long they will remain so, and how long the doles and the grants will hold, even small as they are. And beyond the workers, all the anxious ranks of people in small businesses, facing advancing bankruptcy; pounds, shillings and pence, mounting, always mounting, on the debit side, falling, always falling, on the credit side; what a weary load of toil they bring to us all!

Beyond is Communism: but our vision of it is still too dim. So few are willing yet to concentrate their efforts upon it.

The hard work of popularising Communism has still to be done: the work of making Communism known and desired by the people.

Communism cannot be popularised by popularising other "isms": that is the great weakness of the "United Front" which asks the workers to struggle for the eight hour day, and some other matters which are mainly impossible under Capitalism. Propaganda to arouse the people to desire the reforms enumerated in the United Front teaches them nothing about Communism, leaves it still in the background, as though it were something remote and fantastic—even impossible.

One cannot sow thistles and reap wheat; neither can one sow temporary reformist propaganda and produce a Communist movement.

RUSSIAN WORKERS v. SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued from our last issue.)

III.

In the sphere of national economy it is quite different, however. Production, its organisation—this is the essence of Communism. To debar the workers from the organisation of industry, to deprive them, that is, their industrial organisations, of the opportunity to develop their powers in creating new forms of production in industry through their unions, to deny these expressions of the class organisation of the proletariat, while placing full reliance on the "skill" of specialists trained and taught to carry on production under a quite different system of production—is to jump off the rails of scientific Marxian thought. That is, however, just the thing that is being done by the leaders of our party at present.

Taking into consideration the utter collapse of our industries while still clinging to the capitalist mode of production (payment for labour in money, graduations in wages received according to the work done) our party leaders, in a fit of distrust in the creative abilities of workers' collectives, are seeking salvation from the industrial chaos—where? In the hands of scions of the bourgeois-capitalist past-business-men and technicians, whose creative abilities in the sphere of industry are subject to the routine, habits and methods of the capitalist system of production and economy. They are the ones who introduce the ridiculously naïve belief that it is possible to bring about Communism by bureaucratic means. They "decree" where it is now necessary to create and carry on research.

The more the military front recedes before the economic front, the keener becomes our crying need, the more pronounced the influence of that group which is not only inherently foreign to Communism, but absolutely unable to develop the right qualities for introducing new forms of organising the work, of new motives for increasing production, of new approaches to production and distribution. All these technicians, practical men, men of business experience, who just now appear on the surface of Soviet life, by exerting their influence on the economic policy, bring pressure to bear upon the leaders of our party through and within the Soviet institutions.

The party, therefore, finds itself in a difficult and embarrassing situation regarding the control over the Soviet State, and is forced to lend ear and adapt itself to three economically hostile groups of the population, each different in social structure. The workers demand a clear-cut, uncompromising policy, a rapid, forced advance towards Communism; while the peasantry, with its petty-bourgeois proclivities and sympathies, demands different kinds of "freedom," including freedom of trade and non-interference in their affairs. The latter are joined in this demand by the burgher class in the form of "agents" of Soviet officials, commissaries in the army, etc., who have already adapted themselves to the Soviet regime, and sway our policy toward petty-bourgeois lines.

As far as the centre is concerned, the influence of these petty-bourgeois elements is negligible, but in the provinces and in local Soviet activity, their influence is a great and harmful one. Finally, there is still another group of men, that of the former managers and directors of the capitalist industries. These are not the magnates of capital, like Ribushinsky or Rublikoff, whom the Soviet Republic got rid of during the first phase of the revolution, but they are the most talented servants of the capitalist system of production, "the brains and genius" of Capitalism, its true creators and sponsors. Heartily approving the Centrist tendencies of the Soviet Government in the sphere of economics, well realising all the benefits of trustification and regulation of production (this, by the way, is being carried on by capital in all advanced industrial countries), they are striving for just one thing—they want that this regulation should be carried on, not through the labour organisations (the industrial unions), but through themselves—setting now under the guise of Soviet economic institutions—the central industrial committees, industrial centres of the Supreme Council of National Economy, where they are already firmly

rooted. The influence of these gentlemen on the "sober" State policy of our leaders is great, considerably greater than is desirable. This influence is reflected in the policy which defends and cultivates bureaucracy (with no attempts to change it entirely, but just to improve it). The policy is particularly obvious in the sphere of our foreign trade with the capitalist States, which is just beginning to spring up: the commercial relations are carried on over the heads of the Russian as well as the foreign organised workers. It finds its expression, also, in a whole series of measures restricting the self-activity of the masses and giving the initiative to the scions of the capitalist world.

Among all these various groups of the population our party, by trying to find a middle ground, is compelled to steer a course which would not jeopardise the unity of the State interests. The clear-cut policy of our party in the process of identifying itself with Soviet State institutions is being gradually transformed into an upper-class policy, which in essence is nothing else but an adaptation of our directing centres to the heterogeneous and irreconcilable interests of the socially different mixed population. This adaptation leads to inevitable vacillation, fluctuations, deviations and mistakes. It is only necessary to recall the zig-zag-like road of our policy toward the peasantry, which from "banking on the poor peasant," brought us to placing reliance on "the industrious peasant-owner." Let us admit that this policy is proof of the political soberness and "Statecraft wisdom" of our directing centres, but the future historian, analysing without bias the stages of our domination, will find and point out that in this is evident "a dangerous digression" from the class line toward "adaptation" and a course full of harmful possibilities or results.

Let us take again the question of foreign trade. There exists in our policy an obvious duplicity. This is attested by the constant, unending friction between the Commissariat of Foreign Trade and the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. This friction is not of administrative nature alone; its cause lies deeper, and if the secret work of the directing centres were exposed to the view of rank and file elements, who know what the controversy dividing the Commissariat on Foreign Affairs and the trade representatives abroad might lead to?

This seemingly administrative friction that is essentially a serious, deep, social friction, concealed from the rank and file, and makes it absolutely necessary for Soviet politics to adapt itself to the three heterogeneous social groups of the population (workers, peasants and representatives of the former bourgeoisie), constitutes another cause bringing a crisis into our party. And we cannot but pay attention to this cause. It is too characteristic, too pregnant with possibilities. It is therefore the duty of our party, on behalf of party unity and future activity, to ponder over this cause and derive a necessary lesson from the wide-spread dissatisfaction generated by it in the rank and file.

(to be continued.)

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Comrade A. S. writes from Saskatchewan, Canada:—

"Conditions are bad here. A lot of country children will be denied a chance of going to school, because their parents are too poor to pay their taxes. The schools will not re-open after the winter holidays.

"The majority of farmers are only able to carry on by permission of the loan companies and the chartered banks, because they are hopelessly in debt, and thousands are unemployed in all cities and towns. 'Wise statesmen' have only one remedy: more immigration, in the hope that an increased population will enable us to pay our debts."

What do the Malthusians, and advocates of Emigration as a cure for unemployment, say to this?

The fat man in his mansion,
Bill at the factory gate,
"God made these class distinctions,"
'Tis thus some parsons prate.

—M. TIDEY.

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HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

After the taking of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789, risings took place in many towns, including Troyes, Strasbourg, Cherbourg, and Rouen.

For two hundred years the kings had been fighting the municipal institutions which had fallen into decay. The former plenary assembly of the townspeople had been abolished. "Town Councillors" had been introduced during the eighteenth century. These posts were bought from the Commune, and the patent was often purchased for life. The councils met seldom, often only once in six months. In the interim, affairs were managed by the registrar, who exacted heavy payment from interested persons. The affairs of the city fell into the hands of five or six families who shared much of the revenue between themselves. The Mayor and officials traded in corn and meat and became monopolists. The Governor, "Monsieur l'Intendant," secured contributions from the town towards his lodgings, salary, to make him presents, even for the honour of holding his children at the baptismal font.

The bishop was still a feudal lord. The lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, maintained the right of intervening in the nomination of aldermen, and in some cases of administering justice. Dijon had beside the municipal tribunal, six ecclesiastical Courts—"the Bishopric, the Chapter, the monks of Saint-Bénigne, La Saint-Chapelle, La Chartreuse, and the Commandery of La Madeleine." All these enriched themselves at the expense of the people. Troyes had nine ecclesiastical tribunals beside two "royal mayoral courts."

All kinds of feudal taxes were levied upon the people, such as the poll tax, the twentieths, the *taille*, the so-called "voluntary gifts, and the *lods et ventes*, which were dues levied by the feudal lord in all sales and purchases. When the assessment of the dues was being made, hundreds of privileged persons claimed exemption: the clergy, the nobles, officers in the Army, "officers of the king's household," "honorary equestrians," and others who paid to hold office without service. An indication of their empty titles over their doors enabled them to escape payment of taxes.

The scarcity of bread, and the high prices, caused by the monopolists who traded on the scarcity, was the final spur of the popular risings. The people exacted fixed prices for bread and meat. They destroyed the houses of the monopolists and municipal officials.

In a number of towns and cities, chiefly in the east of France, the populace took possession of Town Halls, and, ignoring the limitations of the existing franchise and the offices purchased by Councillors, they elected new Town Councillors by popular vote. This was an important revolutionary step. The popularisation of the municipalities effected by the people in July and August, 1789, was not given legal sanction by the Assembly until the municipal laws of December 14th, 1789 and June 21st, 1790.

In Paris the same thing happened. Without waiting for the Assembly to pass any law, sixty districts were organised, which delegated part of their authority to the Commune formed by their representatives. The Mayor of the Commune, and Commander of the National Guard were elected: this, too, without any sanction in the shape of an Act of the Assembly. The people in Paris and other towns elected also "Justices of the Peace." The Constituent Assembly, the Parliament, later incorporated these already established institutions into the Constitution of 1791.

The task of the Revolution was the work of the people—the Assembly registered what the people had accomplished.

At Strasbourg, when news of the fall of the Bastille reached the town, on July 19th, the people were already impatient at the failure of the Municipal Council to deal with a statement of grievances (*cahier de doléances*) which had been drawn up by the poorer classes. The people now attacked and destroyed the Mayor's house and demanded measures "for assuring the political equality of the citizens and their influence in the elections of the administrators of the public property and of the freely-elected judges freely eligible."

Ignoring the existing law they elected a new Town Council and judges by universal suffrage. The Municipal authorities opposed this. Negotiations between the authorities and a revolutionary deputation. The people gathered lutinary deputation took place. The people gathered outside the Town Hall and began throwing stones into the Chamber. Thereupon the authorities sulkily yielded.

The well-to-do middle class now appealed to the Governor of the province to allow them to form themselves into an armed police to act with the troops—in fact, to form a White Guard, though of course they did not call it so.

The Governor, Count Rochambeau, was imbued with aristocratic notions: he was stiffly and staunchly a blue-blooded representative of the old regime. He refused, as de Launey of the Bastille refused. The rulers of olden times had not the agility of mind which characterises the rulers of to-day. Moreover, they feared the middle class property owners—to-day they are of them.

Next day a rumour spread that the municipal authorities had revoked the concessions they had granted. The people returned again, demanding the abolition of the town dues and subsidies.

It was rather like what happened at Poplar, when the Guardians abandoned the relief scale they had set up. But that old French crowd did not sing, "There you are then," About six o'clock in the evening, organised bodies of workmen marched on the Town Hall and smashed its doors with hatches and hammers, and destroyed all the documents. The Record and tax-collectors' offices were visited in the same way—all the papers were burned. It is said that the troops stationed before the Town Hall were powerless to hinder the people—we suspect that they would not.

The Municipal authorities agreed to reduce and fix the price of bread and meat. They opened negotiations with the twelve *tribus* or guilds of the city, for the drafting of a new municipal constitution. Meanwhile, the people were turning out the Provosts of the Communes and electing others in their stead. They were also claiming to make the forests common land. The troops were fraternising with the people. On August 12th, the 300 Aldermen resigned their offices and privileges. New Aldermen were elected and at their first meeting they elected the judges.

The new Aldermen, however, were by no means revolutionary except in their own narrow interests. The Strasbourg middle classes were freed from the feudal dues which had forced them to pay tribute to the lords, and they had secured a democratic municipal government. Nevertheless they themselves still retained some feudal rights over certain surrounding lands. The two Strasbourg deputies to the National Assembly refused to surrender these privileges, and when one of these deputies later urged the Strasbourg middle class not to oppose the current of the Revolution by clinging to their privileges in the surrounding country they refused.

At Troyes the people rebelled on July 18th, and on July 20th peasants marched in, to seize the wheat they needed for food and seed. The middle class, however, had formed themselves into a National Guard, and repulsed the peasants. The people were opposed by the municipal authorities in their demands for the reduction of the bread price and for arms for all volunteers. On August 19th, therefore, the people deposed the members of the municipality and elected others upon a new franchise—universal suffrage. The people seized arms at the Town Hall, seized the Government salt stores and sold the salt at six sous. The houses of persons against whom the people felt enmity were sacked; that of the Mayor, who had defended the monopolists; that of a lieutenant of mounted police, who had caused one of the revolters to be hanged, and others. After a fortnight the middle classes reorganised their National Guard and quelled the people, who were mostly unarmed.

At Cherbourg, Rouen and other towns the popular slogans were: "Bread," and "Down with the Toll-gates," which meant "free entrance of food supplies from the country into the town; they either compelled reductions in the price of grain, or took possession of it.

Generally the people were fiercer against the middle class food monopolists than against the nobility. When the people had forced the election of a new democratic municipality, the middle class who got themselves elected to it used the municipalities to set up Municipal Guards to quell the people.

In the country districts the warfare of the peasants against the feudal privileges of the lords broke out with new fire. The peasants were now bent, not only on abolishing these, but on obtaining also possession of the land. It was said that bogus decrees of the King and of the Assembly were published, and that these encouraged the action of the peasants. In the east, north-east and south-east the risings were most general. In the Franche-Comté nearly all the châteaux were burned. In the Dauphine three out of every five were plundered. In Alsace in eight days three abbeyes were destroyed, eleven châteaux sacked, others plundered, and all the land records destroyed. Registers of feudal taxes, statute-labours and dues of all sorts were burned. In the Franche-Comté, at Lons-le-Saulnier, the peasants divided amongst themselves the meadows and woods of the lords and compelled the lords to renounce the land which formerly belonged to the Commons. In some places the lords quietly gave up the land registers, and swore to renounce the feudal rights. Then when they had burnt the registers the peasants planted a "may tree" in the village, hung the feudal emblems on its boughs, and danced round the tree. Sometimes in the South they hung up an inscription: "By order of the King and of the National Assembly, a final quitance of rents."

Bands of peasants marched about the country and into the towns doing the work of the Revolution. The middle class called them the "brigands," and armed to resist them. The revolting peasants spoke of themselves as "Jacques Bonhommes," and they are referred to as the *jacquerie*. The numbers and deeds of the peasant bands were greatly exaggerated. The Mayor of Péronne said: "Thanks to the sinister rumours, we can keep on foot an army of three millions of middle class men and peasants all over France." Adrien Dupont, a well-known member of the Assembly and the Breton Club, boasted that he sent about "resolute, but not well known men, as agents, who avoided the towns, but went to the villages, announcing 'the brigands are coming,' and declaring that the brigands were burning the crops that the people might starve. The tax would ring, the peasants would arm, the rumour would go forward to the towns, and the townspeople would arm themselves. This he and others said they did to get the people armed against the King."

(To be continued.)

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

When Parliament assembled Members were told that the Government had "no information to give the House in regard to events in Ireland beyond what has appeared in the Press."

The Government certainly does nothing to add to the dignity and self-importance of its obedient majority.

DYES.

Those mutual enemies, the Germans and the French, have just been doing a little capitalist deal. The German dye trust, the Interessin Gemeinschaft, has just promised its trade secrets to the French dyers, La Compagnie de Matières Colorantes et de Produits chimiques on condition that the French firm confines its sales to France and its colonies, and hands to the German firm 50 per cent. of its profits. The French purchasers of dyes will be the victims of this arrangement, because they will have to provide the usual profits for the French manufacturers as well as an equal sum to the Germans. The manufacturer of dye passes the burden on to his customer, and, in the last analysis, the working-class consumer who cannot pass his burdens on to anyone is the person who pays.

But why should there be trade secrets? Under Communism all inventions will be announced to the world for the general benefit.

EMIGRATION.

Comrades in the Overseas Dominions say: "Don't come." Nevertheless numbers of people believe that the Dominions offer rosy prospects. 100,000 persons, including the families of the emigrants, were sent out since the Armistice under the Government scheme. These represented only one-third of the applicants. Only men prepared to go on the land and women willing to enter domestic service were accepted. The Government has now introduced an Empire Settlement Bill to extend the work of emigration, because the need of the Dominions for "population to develop their resources," "human capital," as Mr. Amery, the Government representative said, is "even greater than our need for the transfer of surplus population." Mr. Amery did not think the Dominions would ever be able to satisfy their needs from the British adult population; but he thought they could be satisfied by child emigration from this country. Dr. Barnardo's Homes had done a wonderful work, he said, and the Government of South Australia proposed to invite out some 6,000 boys between the ages of 15 and 18, "to start them in life under selected farmers."

The Poor Law children who are not sent to man the Army and Navy will be shipped out under this scheme. What sort of protection against grievous exploitation will these little wails have in the fierce struggle of competitive capitalism?

Mr. Amery further observed that, whilst there was only a small deficit of women in the Dominions "measured by the arithmetical equality of the sexes," there was "a far greater deficit, measured by the standard of the social need for the services of women in household work." This, he said, was having "a most prejudicial effect on the social life of the Dominions."

That simply means that whilst there are enough, or almost enough, women to act as wives, there are not enough women left over to act as servants to the well-to-do, who are therefore obliged to do their own housework. "You cannot get servants," is the complaint of the employer's wife in the Dominions. Dear, dear! what a calamity!

THE POCKET OR THE PARTY?

WEDGWOOD FAILS AT THE TEST.

On Friday, Private Members' Day, Sir J. Remnant introduced a Bill to abolish the levying of local rates upon machinery, except where machinery is fixed or attached to the hereditament, which is usually not the case.

Colonel Wedgwood, though a member of the Labour Party, supported this Bill. Of

course he did: is he not one of the proprietors of the pottery which bears his name? Of course he has a fellow feeling for the man who has to pay Rates for his machinery.

George Barker, a South Wales miners' representative, took the opposite view. Unlike his Labour Party colleague, Colonel Wedgwood, to whom he gave a sharp home-thrust, he sees the workers' side of the picture. If the machinery of the manufacturer is not rated, said Barker, the burden falls on "the poor potter and collier." In the days of unemployment, when the Boards of Guardians are faced with the privations of the workless, and the inability of the workers to pay the increased Rates to support the unemployed, the meaning of lowering Rates in the interest of the manufacturer is clearly seen. If the capitalist system were changed for Communism, this dilemma with its clash of interests would disappear. In the meantime it exists. Colonel Wedgwood is not working to overthrow capitalism. He has thrown in his lot with the Labour Party, the purpose of which is to support the workers' end in the perpetual see-saw of interests. When put to this practical test, Colonel Wedgwood deserted the workers' and went over to the capitalists' end of the board.

It is Colonel Wedgwood's duty to leave the Labour Party. It is the duty of the Labour Party to dispense with his services.

DAFFODILS £10 A PIECE.

A new white daffodil has just been produced. It is to be named after Viscountess Northcliffe. The *Times* says: "The price is not yet fixed, but it will probably be £10 a piece." It will not grow in your back yard, fellow worker. Trade is evidently not so very bad, after all, since some people can afford such blooms.

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.—Cont. from page 2. protest) that they have staked everything on a coalition with the bourgeois Liberals. They have pinned their faith to the enforced association of those elements which have been sundered by the natural and inner course of the revolutionary development, and are in sharp opposition to each other. The Axelrods and Dans wanted, at any price, to cooperate with those classes and parties that were putting the Revolution and its first achievement, democracy, in the gravest danger.

In view of this situation it will be seen that it is to the historic credit of the Bolshevik political school, that, from the beginning, it has proclaimed, and through thick and thin adhered to those tactics, which were alone able to make democracy safe and to allow the Revolution to go ahead. To put all the power solely in the hands of the masses of the workers and peasants, in the hands of the Soviets, was, in fact, the only way out of the difficulty into which the Revolution had fallen. This was the blow that severed the Gordian knots; the only thing that brought the Revolution out of the narrow chasm, and opened up before it a free, wide field where a further unhindered development was possible.

The Lenin Party was therefore the only party in Russia which understood the true interests of the Revolution in that first period. It was its forward-driving element, and, in this sense, it was the only party that carried on a genuinely Socialist policy. (to be continued.)

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By TOM ANDERSON.

"DOWN AND OUT."

One of the appalling sights of Glasgow and district is the number of "down and out" that are to be seen everywhere you go. We on our part during the past twelve months have endeavoured to keep up the morale of every worker we came in contact with. But we have been beaten. Down they go, lower and lower in the social scale, mentally, morally and physically. Nothing can save thousands of them. Down, down, down! All hope abandoned. Our message, the message of the spirit of Communism, is fallen on barren ground, because the soul of the worker has been crushed. Down, down, down they go to the abyss of despond and despair. No work! No home! No social life. Nothing but despair. Nothing fellow-Christian, not even the hope of the "Golden Shore," or the harps, or the heavenly music. Nothing. Just despair.

See the young men trying to be brave, as they were during the harvest of the Great World War. Visit one of our big parks, there you see them. The maid is laughing; her hope is still high. She has not been branded to the same extent in the holocaust of despair as her lover. Watch his eye; it is sad; he tries to laugh. Yes, laugh, fellow-Christian, and he has been a year out of work, and his clothes are shabby. Still he tries to laugh, and then he checks himself. The thought passes through his brain, "I will never be able." "A year out." He shudders; as the maid takes his arm, even the sexual impulse fails to move him. He is down, "down and out." And he knows it. Everyone knows. All the people in the tenement have seen him for months and months going out dressed every morning. Not to work. No, no, just out to pass the time. And the girls have passed him, and he tried to slip past but they would not let him. For was he not the soul of their little group. Bob, the engineer. Bob. What's up with Bob? The girls don't know. They know he is not working, that's all. Bob can't help it himself. He is not at the dance. All the girls ask, "Where's Bob?" Some of the more brave among them who have not as yet succumbed to the despair of no work say, "Bob taking a night off; he is getting serious." Another one says he is saving up to get married. Everyone tries to laugh. In the whirl of the dance the girls forget; they get hilarious; they hum the latest music hall ditty, "Coal Black Mammy of Mine." No, they too feel something is wrong. "What's up with the boys?" says a bright little maid of 18 years. She does not know; her father is a janitor in one of the schools. One girl, a little older, who had stood at one of our meetings, told her. The boys are "down and out."

Have you thought of it, fellow Christian, or is it no concern of yours? God has been good to me; I have everything the world can give in creature comforts; I have just come home from a fourteen days' stay at one of the lovely Scottish seaside resorts. But Bob was not there; only respectable Christians, school teachers, clerks, male and female post office workers, railway workers (the genteel section), heads of departments, with their families; and God was good to them all; they were all well dressed, and they all seemed happy. The young ladies were pictures, just what you would read in Ethel Dell's novels, and so were the young men, and they were laughing. Just as it ought to be. But Bob was not there. I looked everywhere for him, on the golf course, on putting greens, at the pictures. No, I found him nowhere, and I was sad. Bob is down and out, and what does Communism mean to you? Nothing? Think it well over before you answer. Bob said so. But not to-day, for Bob is "down and out!"

COMMUNISM AND
THE FAMILY

KOLLONTAY'S SPLENDID PAMPHLET.
Tells what everyone wants to know about life under Communism.
Strikes a blow at Capitalist Social Conventions.
From WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT Office,
152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

THE BUDGET.

As usual the Budget is a rich man's Budget. A shilling is to come off the basic income tax rate of 6s. in the pound, and one-sixth off all income tax rates. The land taxes are also coming down. A funny move to be made under the premiership of Lloyd George of Limehouse fame; is it not, fellow worker? Was it not on the taxation of the land that he earned his special mead of popularity in the old days before he became a Tory leader?

One of the best things about the Budget, fellow worker (though it has not been done to please you and me, but to benefit the big commercial houses) is the reduction in the postal rates. That will help the work of propaganda amongst the masses, because the rate of printed matter has gone back to the old half-penny rate. If you get your "Dreadnought" by post it will cost you 10s. 10d. a year instead of 13s. If you take a number of "Dreadnoughts" each week, the "Dreadnought" office pays the postage, and the relief of lowered postal rates will be felt immediately. If the "Dreadnought" is sending out a circular, or a batch of letters, the halfpenny and threehalfpenny rates will be easier for the office to meet than the penny and twopenny.

The people who have something to advertise, be it a cause, or merely a commercial venture, will benefit by the reduced postal charges; but Mr. and Mrs. Workman do not post many letters; the reduced charges will not make much difference to them, unless you can bring them into the movement, fellow workers.

As you are not on the telephone, fellow worker, the reduced telephone charges will make no difference to you, unless, for instance, you want to ring us up to send you some more "Dreadnoughts" for an urgent meeting.

The only apparent relief to the workers comes through the reduction of the tea duty from 1s. to 8d. per lb., cocoa and coffee from £2 2s. to £1 8s. per cwt., and chicory from £1 19s. 8d. to £1 6s. 6d., will make little difference to the workers, because it will be merely used as an excuse for further reductions in wages.

The Exchequer is estimated to lose on the tea, coffee, chicory and cocoa duties £5,457,000 in a full year. By the reductions in the income tax, super-tax and excess profits duty, the Exchequer will lose ten times as much; £53,700,000. The proletariat only shares in the five million reduction, the rich also benefit. The proletariat has no share in the fifty-three million reduction. The reduction in the postal and telephone charges mean a loss to the Exchequer of £6,550,000. The poor reap no benefit.

An examination of the Budget, fellow worker, should reveal to you that we plebs are very heavily burdened by the cost of State officialdom. The Civil Services cost £317,955,000, the Custom and Excise Department costs £12,275,000, the Post Office services £53,822,000. The local authorities are also bleeding us in the same way.

Do we get value for this enormous expenditure? We do not, fellow worker. Much of the money is spent in putting bosses over us to observe us and dragoon us in manifold ways. Such bosses are always kept by the workers at a very much higher level of comfort than the workers ever reach.

In this year of supposed peace, £62,300,000 is to be spent on the Army, £64,884,000 on the Navy, £10,895,000 on the Air Force—a total of £139,079,000.

No debt is to be paid, but the interest on the National Debt, which we pay this year and shall have to continue paying annually, is £335,000,000; most of this interest is paid to British capitalists. The Have's lent money to the Government in wartime. The Have Nots are obliged to continue paying the interest on the debt. The interest on the National Debt is the largest item in the Budget, which totals £910,069,000.

Strange indeed are the workings of patriotism in a capitalist State!

This Parliament will probably be known in history as the Corrupt Parliament.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT BOOK SERVICE.

152, FLEET STREET
(ENTRANCE, FIRST DOOR ON LEFT IN BOLT COURT FROM FLEET STREET.)

We can supply you with any book, magazine, or newspaper you desire, new or second-hand, from British Colonial, or foreign publishers Give us all particulars you have, and send a deposit.

By buying books from us, trade discount is transferred to propaganda; for this reason, send your order direct to us, and not through other societies.

At our office you may consult publishers' catalogues and place your order for any book not in stock.

If you order by post, you must add 6d. the average, one penny for every shilling, to cover postage.

We charge the postage of foreign books, from London only, and fix price at current rate of exchange. Purchasers will save themselves trouble by opening an account of 10/- or 20/- with us, in order to avoid the repeated sending of small postal orders, which means paying useless poundage to the Government.

WE CAN SUPPLY!

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Dreams (Oliver Schreiner)	3/-
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Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphlets

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Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin)	1d.	6d.	4/-
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FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

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GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

COMMUNIST WORKERS.

POSTERS
A comrade has volunteered to fly-post 50 Dreadnought posters each week. Who will follow this good example?

HOUSE TO HOUSE CANVASS.

Comrades A. W. and L. A. write that they are giving two evenings a week to a house to house canvass, with a view to making converts to Communism. They arm themselves with the Workers' Dreadnought and other literature on Communism; "The Fourth International" and the "One Big Revolutionary Union." This is excellent propaganda work. Who will follow them?

A PAPER ROUND.

Comrade T. A. reports that she has started a paper round. For four weeks she has canvassed the same round of houses every Friday night, seeking customers for the Workers' Dreadnought. The first week she gave a back number in at each door, having purchased a quarter cwt. for 1s. 3d. from 152 Fleet Street. Since then she has taken the current issue of the paper to the same houses each week. She has now made 23 regular customers for the Dreadnought.

Comrade M. O. worked up a successful paper round at Old Ford, London, E., but is unable to continue and is desirous to hear from a comrade who will take over the work.

COMMUNIST PILGRIMS.

We continue to receive applications for speakers to go into other districts for Communist propaganda, and wish to hear from comrades able to do this work.

"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" SHOW CARDS.

We have some small Dreadnought show cards with a fine decorative drawing in which the worker is depicted breaking the chains which bind the earth. These may be obtained from the Dreadnought office by those who will display them.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

COMRADE HORSFIELD of Sheffield is arranging a lecture tour on Communism, the Four Internationals, Industrial History, etc. Comrades desiring his services should write to the Workers' Dreadnought, at 152 Fleet Street, for further particulars.

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