Morkers & Dreadnought For Equality and for Freedom

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WEEKLY

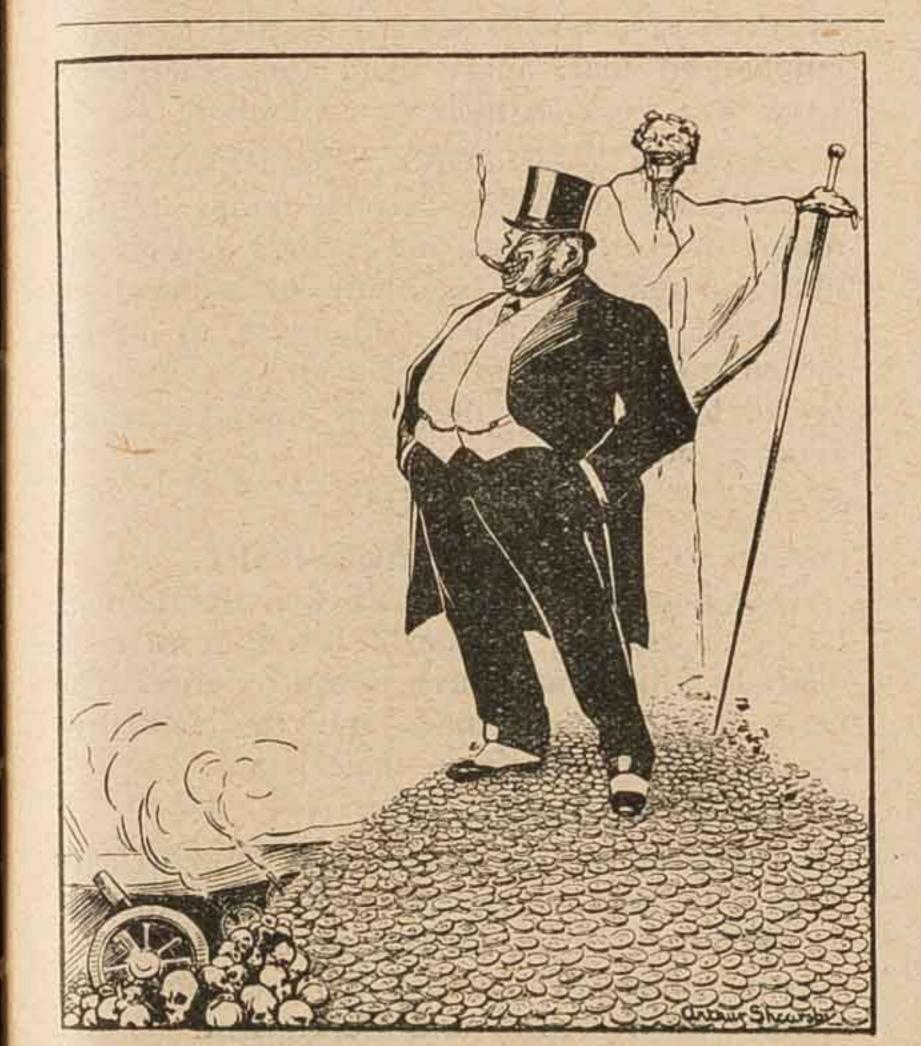
The Accumulation of Capital

The Grip of Big Business and the Workers' Resistance.

The German Example.

Germany's defeat in the war has resulted in a phenomenal inflation of the German currency. This inflation has been accelerated by the German industrial capitalists, who have sought to enrich themselves by the fall in the currency.

The enrichment has been secured by obtaining Government credits, which have been repaid after the currency has so fallen that the amounts repaid have been worth but a small fraction of



the money lent, also by moratoria which have postponed the payment of taxes till the falling currency had rendered negligible the amount that had to be re-paid.

The Ruhr occupation was the signal for greater credits to be placed at the disposal of the industrial capitalists by the German Government. On the pretext of strengthening the national passive resistance, credits were given for wages and for carrying on emergency work, and there were further tax moratoria.

The Reichsbank also gave immense credits on goods and bills of exchange. Those who received credits of one milliard marks in January had to repay when the milliard was worth only 65 million marks. The receivers of the credit thus gained 935,000,000 marks on the transaction.

It should be observed that Hugo Stinnes, the great industrial capitalist, and others like him, are members of the State Economic Council which advises the German Government in such matters.

By such means, in these days of ruin for the German State and misery for the German people, the great German industrialists have made larger profits than they did even in war time.

It must be understood that the fortunes of the German capitalists do not reside merely in German marks, but in the real wealth of raw material and industrial plant. It is not only in Germany itself that they have been able to acquire such wealth. The Stinnes trust during the post war period acquired the Styrian iron mine in Austria, the greatest iron mine in Europe, and mineral wealth also in Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, and South America. Stinnes has even set to work to acquire properties in France, and, as everyone knows, he has visited this country to negotiate for Cornish and Welsh mining dumps. It is well known that German Big Business has been investing its surplus profits in foreign securities in all parts of the world.

In short, the wealth of the German Big Business industrialists is not merely great, as compared with the poverty of Germany, but according to the world standards. Its full extent is unknown.

M. Poincare is undoubtedly right when he accused German Big Business of accelerating the ruin of Germany.

The situation which has brought enormous wealth to German Big Bu iness has meant hideous privations for the workers and for the small middle class. Above all, to those who once lived on fixed incomes and pensions, disaster has come.

The Accumulation of Wealth.

There has been an immense accumulation of wealth by the great exploiters, whilst the little parasites have been reduced to starvation level.

In the long run, the little parasites, in such a situation, must either cease to be parasites, or be wiped out altogether. Society tends to consist more and more of the driven herd of workers and their bosses, the few great employers.

The accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few has proceeded, not merely through the impoverishing of the small property owners and the devaluation of the securities held by them, but also by vast amalgamations amongst the great industrial concerns. Before the war it sounded incredible to Germans, says Hermann Brinckmeyer, that the industry of the United States should be dominated by five men: Rockefel'er, Harriman, Morgan, Vanderbilt and Gould. To-day such a domination no longer seems remarkable in Germany. The trustification, already proceeding apace in Germany, was greatly accelerated by the Allied annexations at the close of the war. Thus the Stinnes Trust lost mines and the Kirdorf Gelsenkirchen, whilst retaining its mines, was deprived of its blast furnaces, steel works, wire factories, and other industrial plants. An amalgamation between the Stinnes and Kirdorf companies resulted under the name Rhine-Elbe Union. The Stinnes Trust further amalgamated with the Bochum mining and steel company, and with the great Siemens telegraph and electric cable company. The Schuckert company and many others were soon drawn into the same net.

A "Committee of Understanding," set up by the German Government, and consisting of employers' and Trade Union representatives, discussed a memorandum submitted by Hugo Stinnes on behalf of the Big Business "experts." This memorandum advocated that industry should be trustified vertically and horizontally and the country divided into industrial provinces. Trustification is, in short, the policy, strongly pursued, of German big business to-day, and this means the wiping out of a host of smaller manufacturers, salesmen and middlemen of all kinds.

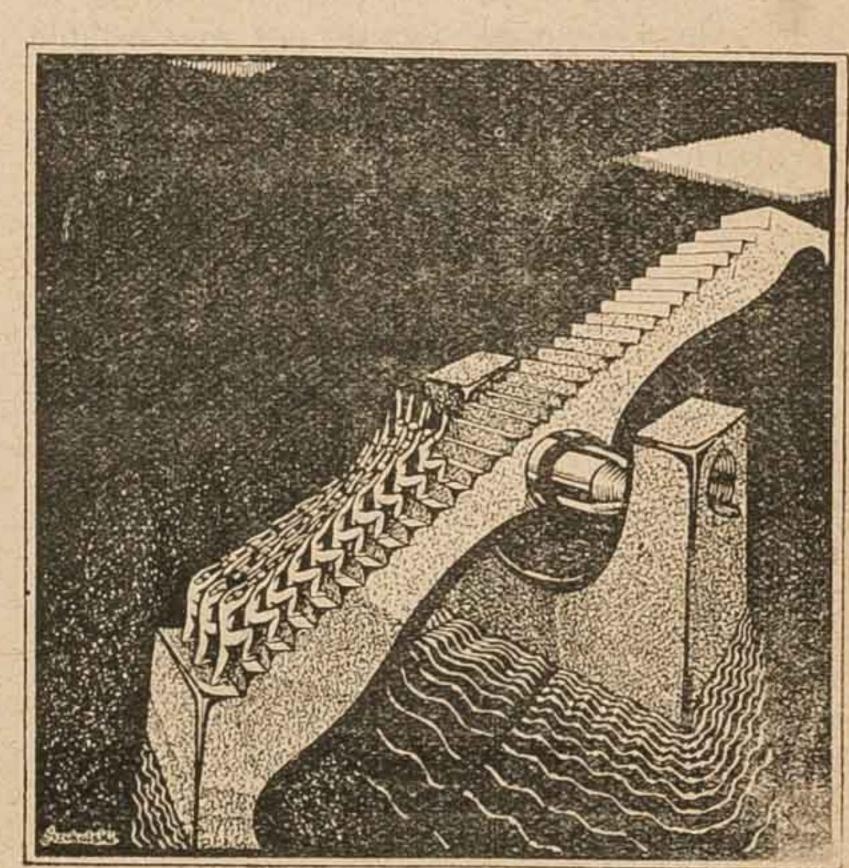
The process puts an end to a large amount of useless toil. The product reaches the consumer without so much unnecessary handling as formerly was the case. It forces many of those who used to be mere parasitic middlemen, either to become wage-earning producers, or to fall into the abyss of poverty. The economy of labour resulting from the consolidation of big plants and the elimination of small plants is apt to throw out of work masses of productive workers.

The process of rapid trustification is pitiless: it destroys without compensation, and, as ruthlessly as any revolution, the vested interests of all those who are too weak to secure a place in its scheme.

The British Initiation.

So much for the German situation. Whilst the German industrial magnates have reaped an abundant harvest from Germany's defeat, their British contemporaries have endured a prolonged trade slump.

The policy of the British Government was the war has been retrenchment, and, above all, the deflation of the currency. The landlords, the pensioners, and those whose incomes are drawn from investment, have desired that the British £ should return to its pre-war value. When Gov-



The Machine Age

ernment policy in this direction lagged, the banks stepped in to enforce the process of deflation.

The industrial capitalist has not been the gainer by this policy. He is now demanding that a new policy, devised in his special interest, shall

This policy is that of granting State subsidies and loans and giving State guarantees for raising money to the industrial capitalists. This will enable the industrialists to improve their plant and enlarge their undertakings. The pretext is that work will thus be found for the should be the sole importer of foreign wheat and unemployed.

and increased taxation, both direct and indirect. years or five years ahead. The home producer Prices will rise, of course, from the inflation of could sell his wheat freely without interference, the currency even more than from the actual but naturally he could not obtain a higher price taxes placed on commodities for the raising of for his wheat than that of Government imported the subsidies.

when the subsidies come to be repaid they will Act of Parliament be worth less than when they were issued.

British industrialists will begin to gain wealth by the same process that has benefited the German industrialists.

The subsidies will only be granted to the great powerful firms, and the small firms, receiving no State assistance, will find the competition of ness would be free from Departmental and the big firms still more ruinous than at present. Through their lack of capital the small firms will lose the opportunities, which the big firms will snatch, of buying largely and selling again at an enhanced price. They will find it more difficult to surmount their difficulties than they did during the war, when war industries on the one hand and the absorbtion of workers by the army and navy on the other, supplemented by the stoppage of imports, produced a scarcity of com-

The workers, with the growth of inflation, will find themselves struggling as they did in war time to get their wages raised in conformity with rising prices. Their struggle will be less effectual now than during the war, because the reckless government will not now be the great buyer, and war time conditions will not have wiped out the foreign competitor. Employers will, therefore, be less reckless in the matter of wages than they were during the war.

sections, save that of big business, must become ket it cannot do so. intolerable unless the process is checked.

Labour plus Tory.

The Tory industrial Members of Parliament are championing, as might be expected, the policy of industrial subsidies. The Labour Party, with characteristic inconsistency, although it has supported the deflation policy, is also demanding need, because the Government would artificially State subsidies for the industrialists. The Trade Union leaders observe that their unions are weakening under the continued strain of unemployment, and a fall in wages which the Unions do nothing to check, and, by the methods the leaders are willing to adopt, can do nothing to for it. check. The Labour Leaders do not even trouble to preserve an appearance of consistency by insisting that the work for which State money is demanded shall be done by the Government or the Local Authorities. The Labour Party supported the overseas credits to private enter-

New Leader" Agricultural Stunt.

A leading article in "The New Leader" for August 24th says:

agement, by way of loans, for trade here, there the upper and the nether millstone. ate emergency."

"The New Leader "is also sponsoring a scheme of State subsidies and Protection for agriculture, for these are what the scheme amounts to, in spite of the fact that the editor, in commending it, says:

Protection we need not discuss; subsidies are only somewhat less objectionable."

The scheme is put forward for wheat, but "The New Leader" editor declares it should be applied also to other cereals and to potatoes. Briefly the proposal is that the Government

that it should fix a price at which it would pledge The result will be the inflation of the currency itself to sell wheat for a given period—say three wheat, except in case of scarcity. It is suggested The inflation of the currency will mean that that a wheat corporation should be created by

and financially guaranteed by the Government. The Government would either guarantee or actually subscribe the whole of the capital, and would, of course, appoint the directors and control the general policy of the corporation. But the day to day conduct of the busi-Treasury control."

What glorious vistas of jobbery would thus be opened! What splendid exposure editions would be secured by the "John Bulls," the "Daily Expresses," and also the "Daily Herald"-if the Labour Party were not in office.

Even the grain experts could be trusted to run it in the public interest," says the naive writer of "The New Leader" article, who signs himself "Realist." What a pity the identity of the writer should be hidden!

But the naiveté of the writer is still further disclosed by his insistence that the scheme will not subsidise agriculture at the expense of the taxpayer and consumer.

Paying Both Ways.

The scheme is called "How to Stop the Wheat Gambler" and it is claimed that it will stabilise prices. Does the writer believe that the naughty American wheat speculator will refrain from The further is carried the policy of State putting up the price when the buyer is the British subsidies to the capitalists the greater will be Government? Has he not observed that when the inflation of the currency, and the more acute the Government buys in the home market the will become the sufferings of the pensioners and price invariably mounts to inordinate heights. small middle class. The pensioners and those Was it not so with the Addison houses? Yet in who live on small fixed incomes, will be the the home market the Government has the power first to suffer; but eventually the suffering of all to fix the price it shall pay; in the world mar-

The scheme would almost certainly work out to the disadvantage of the mass of the people who are not concerned in making profit out of agriculture.

If the price of wheat is low in the world market they would have to pay more for bread on account of this scheme than they otherwise raise the price of wheat in this country above the world price. If the price of wheat is high in the world market, then the people would have to provide the Government with money to enable it to sell the wheat for less than it paid

Whatever else may be doubtful about the scheme, it is certain that the rest of the population would find an added burden through it in supporting the highly salaried bureaucrats and the multitude of understappers who would work it, without any compensatory elimination of the trading community which now battens upon the sale of home and imported produce, unless other factors arise to wipe out the parasites.

The reformists, who shrink from accepting free and complete Communism, fall ready victims to such schemes, which, in the long run, if . . . they are to-day feverishly suggesting they are applied with sufficient thoroughness to measures on the lines proposed nearly two affect the situation materially, do but deliver us years ago by the Labour Party—the granting bound hand and foot to the exploiter—for Capiof credits for works of construction, facilities talism, without the check of competition, grinds for road-building by local authorities, encour- the consumer with still greater impunity between

and everywhere, advances of all sorts from the Even could this wheat scheme palliate the situ-National Exchequer to tide over the immediation in any degree, why should Socialists stump the country in the effort to convert the people to it when what we desire is the full measure of Socialism? To gull the people with a bogus palliative of this kind is treason to our cause.

PROLETCULT.

A monthly magazine for boys and girls, edited by TOM ANDERSON

and published by the Proletarian Bookstall. 39, Shuttle Street,

British Fascisti.

A comrade sends us this leaflet, which speaks

BRITISH FASCISTI.

Summary of Organisation. A movement has been inaugurated for the development of Fascism in this country, which has gained considerable ground.

This Organisation is in no way connected with existing patriotic societies (though the assistance and co-operation of these will be greatly welcomed), but has been formed render practical, and, if necessary, militant defence of His Majesty the King and the En-

The system is one of complete de-centralisation, and is sub-divided as follows: Section A.—UNITS.

Consisting of seven members (or less) under a chosen leader to take active measures against the revolutionary elements in their own dis-

For purposes of swift mobilisation in the event of the general strike or revolution-Three Units form a Troop under a Troop

Three Troops form a Company under a Company Officer. Three Companies form a Division under a

Divisional Officer. It is obvious that in the event of revolution concerted action under Headquarters would be necessary, but it cannot be too earnestly emphasised that, apart from this emergency Units will work on their own initiative.

Section B.—TRANSPORT SECTION. Consisting of owner-drivers, motor cyclists, motor drivers, cyclists and owners and drivers of horse vehicles, to maintain communication. In event of revolution-otherwise to be attached to local Unit-owner-drivers are expected to render all necessary assistance where a car is needed.

Section C.—PROPAGANDA.

Section D.—INTELLIGENCE DEPT. This department will call the attention of Units to existing Bolshevik activities in their districts which may have escaped notice. The Units will be informed, and the combative measures left entirely in their hands.

Section E.—SPECIAL SECTION. The Organisation of the British Fascisti asks Britons of any age, sex, and class to volunteer for practical work, so that an effective force may be raised to combat the ever-increasing menace of Socialism and Bolshevism.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

The leaflet bears the imprint of the Boswell Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Whitefriars

The Failure of the System

On certain dates in 1922-23 in certain Poor Law Unions one in five of the population has been receiving Poor Law relief. This was the case in Poplar from April, 1922, to March 31st, 1923, and during the year Sheffield, Bootle (in Cumberland), Middlesbrough, Crickhowell, and Guisborough also fell to that level part of the

The hospitals are in urgent need of money to provide beds in order that the excessively long waiting list of patients may be reduced.

33,919 persons in England and Wales in 1922 died of tuberculosis, the poverty disease; while 53,422 cases were notified.

Curative work was restricted for lack of

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Friday, August 31st, The Grove, Hammersmith, 8 p.m.—Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth, W.

Sunday, Sept. 2nd, Victoria Park, 11 a.m.-N. Smyth, J. Bellamy. Sunday, Sept. 2nd, Clapham Common, 6.30 p.m.

Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth. Monday, September 3rd, Garnault's Place, Rosebery Avenue, 8 p.m.-J. Bellamy, N. Smyth,

Luckau, Dec. 9th, 1917. (410th day of imprisonment.)

Karl Liebknecht's Letters.

air of refinement.

Patience is the virtue of slaves. The destruction of slavery demanded a twofold impatienceto master this virtue and to discard it after. () these Philistine frogs who croak liberty! It is marvellous that one doesn't lose patience

To-morrow it will be three weeks since Ger- at least. trude's and the children's visit, and nine weeks

during the war, for the first time. His loss is kisses to you from your greater than it seems at first sight. For many ears he held a devilishly hard post with great

to the government poodles, to the Potsdam.

In any case, be very careful. Have you news of your mother and the others? whole International, and helping rascals like revolution. . . . cheideman and David to gather in the harvest. I try for the present to account for their parlicular mode of acting in this way: to dismemounce its imperialistic ends, a combined and An effort is being made to secure fairer treat-

This sort of peace should have been left to the Czarist Government; they will no longer have a government of great Russian land-owners and capitalists, but a government of the German Emperor in Russia. It is an intolerable thought . . . Oh, to be outside! But I am strong that the lot of revolutionary Russia, of the Rusand sound. For three weeks I have had my sian proletariat, of the Russian Socialists should ing-class organisation is going to be a success light in my cell for two hours after we are be aggravated in this manner! We must use all much depends upon the rank and file. It is shut in. History, philosophy, besides a little the means in our power to oppose the infamous useless to look for individuals to lead the work-Shakespeare just lately Othello, Lear, Corio utilisation of the Russian revolution for the ers; what really results from that is that the rank

Have you got Cieck's works? And have you The new electoral Bill puts the seal on a few and give them power to do what they written the date inside, October 1st, 1917? Don't the shame of the German proletariat, its capitu- wish with their organisation. When the workers read them haphazard, or you will throw them lation to the dominant class, even if the Bill is find themselves sold, they wonder why. down at once. Read the parts I advised you. the effect of fear caused by the awakening of he theatrical review you sent me had a general the proletariat. If they manage to drag the thing on to a finish, then goodbye to liberty for

> For the governing class, to gain time is to gain everything. They have already gained six months since July.

For the masses, however, to lose time is to lose everything: all the advantage of the present,

A policy of procrastination is one of the essensince your last visit, and in a fortnight's time it tial aims of the government, since it is tending be Christmas. . . . Rosa's birthday, too, towards a coalition consisting of Hertling (who alls in a week or so. Give her my very best will bring in any reform if obliged, but every wishes. Just now is the time of our hardest reaction if he can), Friedberg (Nationalist-Libertrials, but they must be borne, and they will be. al) and Drews, and is planning a new offensive Poor Bertha! And Westmayer, too! What for the sake of relieving Hindenburg. To arms, a pity! Write and send my condolence to his to arms! All, even the women! Certainly, my fe. The last time I saw him was on the sixth dear, you women represent a very important of January. I understood his value thoroughly part just now. But I must finish. Many, many

December 14th. And Arthur Stadthagen-he was certainly a Lenin and Trotzky cannot be thinking t worn out, and yet in many things it will be of doing anything else than what I have sketched fficult to do without him; a very honest man . out already. The more I think about it, the capable of sacrifice; the favour in which he clearer it is to me, and the more tranquil I is held by the masses was well founded. His feel about it; and their bold tactics seem more t, in these times of sacred unity, will be given promising, or, at least, less unpromising, and after it has cleared the admosphere a little, and purified the general mess, may continue its action. Certainly, everything must happen here, out the need for unity and solidarity. The thought of them is inextricably bound with everything. Let every soldier remember that We of the U.W.O. fully realise the need for

NINETY-NINE YEARS

Word has come through underground chanber the Entente from within by revolutionary nels that Charles Cline, serving a 99-year sen- tion. hethods in order to pave the way for peace pro- tence in the State Prison at Huntsville, Texas, osals, destroy the intrigues on behalf of Ger- for alleged connection with an attempt to smug- allowed to see the joint committee and have in imperialism; to expose and brand the pro- gle arms to Mexican revolutionists in 1912, is explained to him at first hand the reasons which sals for supremacy not only of Germany, but being made the victim of harsh discrimination on caused us to take this action. This was agreed of Austria and Bulgaria. (The Balkans! the part of the prison officials. He has been to, we having nothing to conceal and not being verything has been published officially.) This, cut off, unjustly and without cause, from all ashamed of our action. We met Comrade Hanthe opposition of the German Government communication with the outside world. His cor- nington on Friday morning. The position was to the general armistice (on account of the sub- respondence with friends outside has been his explained by various members of the committee. rine war) and to the utilisation of the lighten- one pleasure during the ten years he has already ing of the situation on the Eastern front, would served behind prison-bars. This has been comthe German masses. And if under this pletely stopped. His friends have been unable

forcible international revolutionary action could ment for Cline through protests to Governor him know and arrange a meeting for him. Pat Neff, at the State Capital, Austin; to Prison It is not always good policy to publish the The humbug of auto-decision for Poland, Commissioner S. J. Deern, Huntsville, Texas; strength of any working-class organisation, but Alhuania and the Baltic provinces (now in great and also to Warden Coleman at the prison. It I can safely say that the membership of the measure evacuated by precisely the least tract- is urged by the Workers' Prison Relief Com- U.W.O. is very satisfactory. Bow Branch has ole element), is nothing more than everdone mittee, 364, Haledon Avenue, Paterson, N.J., passed the 500 mark, Poplar is increasing steathat all persons interested join in sending vigor- dily, and Millwall is doing likewise. All our is at least a bold game that Lenin and our letters of protest to the three officials named. meeting, both business and propaganda, have trotzky are playing. If they wish to escape, Attention is called to the fact that, when the been of an enjoyable and interesting character, at all costs, from the Scylla of a rapid fall, well-known I.W.W. poet, Ralph Chaplin, was and, with the help of a few more class-conscious hey will become victims of Charybdis so much being treated in a similar manner by the Warden comrades, we hope to make this the strongest ore easily; for, made prisoners of their own of the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, a counacifist policy by the disarmament which they try-wide storm of protest brought, not only the have imposed on the Russian people, they will restoration of his letter privileges, but also a be forced to make a separate peace with Ger- meek apology from the Warden, who had never many before any international action can be imagined that a prisoner could have so many friends on the outside willing to fight for him

Unemployed Workers Organisation.

We of the U.W.O. realise that if any worklanus—all this goes very well with shoemaking. furtherance of the aims of the Central Powers. and file leave all the work and responsibility to

The majority of the members of the U.W.O. realise that it is they who count, and it is they who have to work for their organisation.

The National Organiser of the N.U.W.C.M., who has just returned from a journey abroad, seems very disturbed and much concerned by the action of Poplar, Bow and Millwall Unemployed in disaffiliating from the N.U.W.C.M. He should be concerned, as these branches are the largest and strongest units in the country. The U.W.O. are still convinced that the action which they have taken is correct, and do not wish to conceal anything.

At Poplar, the usual Tuesday propaganda meeting was held last week, and it was agreed to have an open platform. Comrades in the hall were going to be allowed ten minutes each, to come on the platform and express briefly their opinion of the working-class movement generally. Comrade Hannington, who by accident (?) was present, asked if he might address the meeting. This request was immediately agreed to by the committee. Comrade Hannington addressed the meeting for half an hour and dealt mainly with his experiences in Russia. He was received cordially, as all comrades of the working-class movement are received in Poplar. After he had delivered his address, Comrade Hannington expressed surprise at receiving no interruptions or objections from the members or committee.

Comrade Hannington concluded by pointing

the thought of the terrific social and political every drop of sweat, every drop of blood he solidarity and unity; we also know that the first maelstrom which threatens to swallow up all spills by Hindenburg's orders, strengthens the step towards that is comradeship. We recognise our hopes. You know my opinion about Russia. exploiting class, the men of the royalist and Comrade Hannington as a fighting member of I, I cannot believe that Lenin and Trotzky are aggressive class, and Hindenburg's offensive the working class, and we are not concerned A Socialists with international principles, but against electoral rights and against peace! Lenin much with parties or individuals, but with the merely Russian demagogues and opportunists of and Trotzky must consolidate their power, not movement. Therefore, as class-conscious memace. who are trying to smash up German only with a pacifist policy (which must be, how- bers of the working class we gave the National mperialism for the sake of momentary success, ever, reasonable, international, and Socialist, or Organiser a good reception and a quiet and atwhich is purely Russian, and for the temporary not to be pacifist at all), but also by social and tentive hearing. His speech has not affected the preservation of their own regime, striking in the economic changes on a large scale: that is, by U.W.O., nor do we think it was intended to, as back the militant German Socialists and the carrying out the social as well as the political it consisted of experiences in Russia. On asking the rank and file their opinions on the subject at the ticket meeting on Thursday, they were unanimous in agreeing to stand by the action they have taken in forming another organisa-

Comrade Hannington took note of the vital points. He said he could answer them satisfacrevolutionary pressure the Entente should re- to get any word from him for several months. fore the rank and file. We told him that if the rank and file wished to hear him we would let

J. T. BELLAMY, Area Organiser.

All communications should be sent to: Ar-Secretary, U.W.O., Town Hall, Poplar, D



Morkers' Dreadnought; Founded 1914. Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST. * * *

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Our View.

As "The New Leader" puts it, Mr. Ramsay session, "welcomed the Prime Mactona'd Minister's statement as the beginning of a positive policy on the lines which Labour has always

Mr. Macdonald, in a "New Leader" article last week, repeated his approval of the Government policy in relation to France with but little qualiication. In particular he approves the propos the Government to set up a committee of experts to decide what and how Germany shall pay. He says:

shall be dubbed captious and exacting by some of which will require to be spent on monotonous the capitalist system—such as the Capital Levy, our readers, we cannot refrain from observing tasks will be very small, when all take a turn, State subsidies, etc. that this statement comes most strangely from a and when the machine is harnessed to the serpacifist, an internationalist, and a Socialist.

We should like to urge upon Mr. Macdonald the virtue of the policy of "No annexations, no will no longer require laws, either to palliate indemnities." In doing so we must protest that to the simple honest mind, "Reparations" cannot be separated from indemnities, but are one and the same thing.

As to the French debt to Britain, we as Social- no longer be required.

ments and in the loans which they have floated. the social organism. We should surely repudiate all responsibility for paying, or enforcing payment, of such debts. It is not for Socialists to advocate employing the off. French indebtedness to Britain as a weapon for time?" advancing what the capitalists regard as British interests. It is for us to stand aside from the whole sordid business, refusing to assist in any derstand it." war declared by any capitalist government, or any war of capitalist States, even though declared by what may be termed a Labour or awakened their understanding."

Socialist Government. amongst the soldiers, sailors and civilians of all striving to make them pin their faith to such peoples, to advocate the fraternising of peoples, expedients as the capital levy, State subsidies for to urge them to refuse to fight at the bidding of the industrial capitalists, State or Municipal the inauguration of maternity and child welfare their governments, and to stimulate them to Banks and other such anti-Socialist devices, most the establishment of Socialism-free and com- of which will not ease but worsen the plight of Infant

of our country shall not be used to crush Party, and its constant vacillating.

the revolt of the German people which the Ruhr The work of converting the people is great. situation is inciting. Our duty is to prepare our too great, by far, for us to agree to put it off to coming in hard cases. people for solidarity in thought and deed with another time on any pretext whatever. such a revolt.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

A comrade asks: "What is our policy?" The Workers' Dreadnought" is something to read, he says-and we are glad of that-

but he does not understand what our policy is, and he thinks that perhaps we have not got a policy. We are surprised by the question,

but we must not be discouraged, for those who really possess a policy which strikes at the root follows the will-o'-the-wisp of superficial pallia. tives and political intrigues for power, are apt to be accused of having no policy. What is our policy? We have enunciated it many times, but we cannot do so too often. Therefore let us recapitulate. We trust that the comrade who asks the question will be so good as to observe what is written hereunder, instead of following the example of those who, having asked the speaker a lengthy and tortuous question, leave the meeting before the answer is given.

Macdonald, on the last day of the Parliamentary Our Policy land, the means of production, cialists, have taken refuge in the inadequate term Production shall be for use, not profit: based on mutual service. to produce enough, and more than enough to policy: propaganda to-day must take first place supply all the wants of the people. Goods and because of its great need; because without the services will be supplied without charge to all will to Communism, the people cannot achieve applicants in the measure desired by the appli- it; and the will is, as yet, found in such a tiny cant. The reason of this is obvious—since we minority. We do not despair on that account can produce more than we can use there is no for the will may develop rapidly, and knowledge need to stint consumption, or to employ masses be acquired with amazing speed, under favourof people uselessly in checking and limiting the able conditions, and when the requisite faith As I cannot conceive that any sane man natural consumption. From this it follows that and energy are shown by the propagandists. will agree to terms which will mean that Ger- there will be no buying and selling, no money, Propaganda consists, not only in word, but man exports are to pay debts to countries dam- no wages. People will have what they desire in deed. We will not negate our own propaaged by the exports, . . . I am certain that without payment. People will work for the ganda for a Communist Workers' Council comthe terms fixed will be perfectly sound as eco- community without any direct reward for ser- munity by taking part in the work of Parlianomic propositions. And that is really the vices rendered, except the approbation of their ment and the local government bodies, or by only point with which we need concern our- fellows and the consciousness of having worked supporting any party—even though it calls itself well. Public disapproval will be the great check a Labour, or Socialist, or Communist, or any upon extravagance and idleness. Everyone will other party-which, instead of working for Com-Though we know that, on this account, we join in doing productive work, but the time munism, is working for new developments in

> vice of the worker, instead of to profit-making. There will be no Parliament. The community the exploitation of the many by the few or to Desiring a workers' council organisation of prevent those who have not enough from taking the industries and services of the community from those who have something to spare. When we cannot give our energies to the formation and the basis of society is no longer exploitation and maintenance of Trade Unions, which have ancompetition, armies, navies and police forces will other structure and another purpose.

ists (using the term in the broadest sense to The main business of the community will be UNIONS, BUT FOR THE WORKERS' SHOP that he is a Hungarian journalist living in Italy. include all who desire Socialism, the supply of its members' needs, in food, cloth-Socialists from the Anarchist to the Social ing, housing, transport, education, and enjoy-Democrat), should surely repudiate ment. This main business of the community will The critic protests that we cannot yet secure any interest in the mutual indebt- be organised by those who are doing the work. an efficient workshop organisation, that it will guide. edness of the capitalist govern- Thus the workshop councils will be the basis of take a long time to build it up.

Our answer is: "Work to bring it nearer." 'But," says the critic, "the masses do not un-

Our answer is: "We shall work till we have

We add that we shall make no progress in con- of the mob. Our duty is to propagate Socialist ideas verting people to a free industrial communism by the masses. Those who blame the masses for not Mortality Our special duty in relation to the Ruhr is to supporting the Labour Party should blame also and Milk deavour that the soldiers and sailors and the the absurd policies advocated by the Labour

"But," again says the critic, "are you going

to do nothing but propaganda?"

We reply: "Propaganda must take first place. because propaganda has been so lamentably neglected, that after two generations of Socialist-Communist-Anarchist movements, the mass of the people are quite unaware as to what Social. ism or Communism may be. Most, even o those who are what is called "in the movement." have only the haziest idea of it. Moreover, it not we, the few propagandists, who can bring and aims at essential causes instead of one that about Communism: the masses must do that, and the success of our ideal depends on ou power to convert them to it.

We desire to produce in the masses, and the movement, a Communist ideology—a knowledge of Communism, a love of Communism, Communist way of regarding every relation

When we use the terms "Communist" as 'Communism," we are far from meaning the blood and thunder, physical force, follow-yourleader-discipline nonsense which passes for Communism in many quarters.

The terms Communism and Socialism, with Our policy is to work for Communism, free the same original meaning, have been subjected to so much misuse that many, like Kropotkin, Communism, to us, is a class- who have described the Utopia of their desires less order of society, in which the as Socialism, yet refused to call themselves Sodistribution, transport and com- Anarchist, which is also made the plaything of munication shall be held in com- individualists who have no conception of a society

that is to say the community will set itself But this is a digression. To return to our

THEREFORE WE DO NOT SUPPORT THE LABOUR PARTY OR DESIRE AFFILIATION a similar compact with German capitalism, at WITH IT.

WE WORK, NOT FOR THE TRADE

We know that, and we know that the seed of Our policy is to work for such a social order. the idea must be sown before action can follow. 'But," says the critic, "that is a long way Should we be content with signs when we take up What are you going to do in the mean- residence in a foreign land, because it will take us some time to learn the language? Should we turn back from the path that will lead us over the mountain, because it is steep? If your well Park, 5s.; Hampstead, 3s. 2d.. A. Pannespirit be thus feeble, then leave the work of Com- koek, 3os. Total for week, £2 5s. 4d. Total, munism to those who have the courage to labour long and with perseverance, without such encouragement as may be derived from the cheers

> The infant death-rate has fallen steadily since centres, where milk free or at reduced price is available to necessitous mothers and children, besides free doctoring, nursing, medicine, and frequently clothing for mother and child, dinners for the mother, visits

the country, and other assistance is forth-

The fact that infant mortality has been reduced by such assistance shows that it was indeed sheer want that caused most of the babies to die. Even with the best help ever forthcoming for them from the most generous centres the lot of the mothers and infants who attend the clinics is such that well to do people would think themselves indeed heavily cursed were they made to change places with them.

The figures of infant mortality have been reduced; the babies are kept alive; but what happens when the babies cease to be babies? The nic then ceases to provide milk and other asistance for the children. When they go to school the children of destitution may be given free dinners; the care committee may order them a glass or two of milk a day. But the needs of the child are growing and developing. It may be spared the actual cry for food, but its horizon is bounded by the environment of the lum. It cannot develop as it should in such an

Certain leaders of the I.L.P. declare that the I.L.P. has a special kind of Socialism of its own. The I.L.P. summer school at Scalby bears out the contention. Mr. Ben Riley, M.P., who was chosen to teach the students how to socialise the land, produced scheme that no moderate Liberal would regard as extreme. He suggested that the "Socialist Government" should bring in a Bill for valuing the land, giving power to the State to place a tax on the capital value of privately owned land, and permitting the local authorities to place n annual tax upon it. The Government would have power to lay down conditions under which land should be controlled and used and the Government would also have power to purchase land "absolutely necessary" to the nation.

Conversations between the dictator Mussolini and the Italian Confederation of Labour continue. The Trade Unionists de-

Mussolini mand only: (1) Full liberty of organisation Trade Unionsfor all trade unions without party

(2) More effective legal enforcement of industrial agreements.

Improved Labour legislation. The last demand is too vague to amount to anything. The two first demands mean simply that the Trade Union machinery shall be assured. The German Trade Union officials made time of the German revolution. Therefore e German revolution brought no emancipation to the wage-earners. Oden Por is much quoted as an authority on Italian matters nowadays, and Oden Por is busily white-washing Mussolini. Oden Por is, however, unknown to the Italian working-class movement, even to the co-operatives of which he writes so much. It is rumoured His information is apparently drawn from the press and publications available to the public. In many respects he is anything but a reliable

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £62 16s. 5d.; Philip Bars, 13s.; Irene Smith, 1s. (weekly); Poplar U.W.O., 4s. Collections: Hammersmith, 2s. 2d.; Brock-

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

The Gods of Mexico," by Lewis Spence. Fisher Unwin, 3os.: treats of the ancient Aztec re-

Farington's Diary" (1802-1804), edited by James Greig. Hutchinson, 21s. A book about notabilities and nobodies of the period by one of their contemporaries.

The Book of Life," by Upton Sinclair. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

Wages and Prices.

Last week we gave some figures on pre-war, war, and post-war wages variations in this country prepared by the International Labour Office at Geneva. This week we give further tables from the same source. The fact that real wages in the mines of this country did not keep pace with the war rise in the cost of living will come as a surprise to many people. The same was true of the Belgian mines, all but the surfaceworkers being subjected to a fall in real wages. M

In Austria, it will be observed, there was a terrible drop in wages, which in 1920 had fallen in the case of bricklayers, carpenters, painters and printers to 39, 37, 35 and 32 per cent. Bu respectively. The revolution of 1920, however, caused a reversal of the wages movement, and caused real wages to rise in some cases to 146 per cent. of the pre-war level by 1922.

When real wages show "How the League of Nations Saved Austria," we shall see that real Pr wages began to fall when the League stepped in. In Germany the revolution did not produce a like result. The German table gives no trade in which real wages were not below the pre-war

Index numbers of real earnings per manshift worked in the coal mining industry in Great Britain, by districts, 1913 and 1922:

The index number for 191	3 was	100.	
		1922	· ·
	First	Second	Third
	qr.	qr.	qr.
Northumberland	74	78 81	74
Durham	80	81	80
Eastern area	117	109	86
Lancashire, N. Staffordshire			
and Cheshire	94	85	80
South Wales and Mon-			
mouthshire	72	74	74
Scotland		78	75
Great Britain	90	86	79
The statistics given for F	rance	are too	scanty
to be worth quoting.			

BELGIUM.

Numbers and index numbers of real wages of

various groups of coal min	ners in	Belgium,	1913,	
1920, and 1922:				
	1913	1920	1922	
		April.	June.	
Hewers	100	- 88	98.6	
Other underground				
workers	100	83	99.4	
Surface workers	100	104	121.0	
Average all workers	100	87	98.9	
GERMANY.				
Index numbers of real	wages			
Industry			1922	
and occupation.	1913	or 1914.	Dec.	
Coal mining (Ruhr area):				
Hewers and drawers		100	. 72	

Other underground workers 100 ...

Metal trades:

Surface workers 100 ... 88

ATA O COLL BACK COOL		
Skilled workers	100	
Semi-skilled workers	100	
Unskilled workers	100	
Building trades:		
Bricklayers and carpenters	100	
Labourers	100	
Woodworking trades:		
Skilled workers	100	
Textile trades:		
Spinners and weavers—		
Male	100	4.5
Female	100	
Unskilled workers—		
Male	100	2
Female	100	
Chemical trades:		
	100	
Artisans	100	***
Processmen	100	•••
Labourers	100	•••
Printing trades:	700	
Machine compositors	100	
Hand compositors	100	* * *
Helpers	100	
State manual workers:		
Unskilled	100	1000
Semi-skilled	100	•••
Skilled	100	***

State officials:	telle leg		
Low grade	100		63
Intermediate grade	100	***	41
High grade	100		33
Bank employees:			
Assistants	100		69
Employees on simpler work	100		49
Employees on more difficult			Re
work	100		46
AUSTRIA.			
Index numbers of real wages	in Vie	enna:	

work		100		40
AUSTR	IA.			
Index numbers of real	wages	in Vi	enna:	
Metal workers:			1921	1922
Skilled	100	75	74	83
Unskilled	100	92	89	105
Women	100	71		88
Building:				applied.
Bricklayers	100	39	99	112
Carpenters	100	37		108
Painters	100	35		
Labourers	100	61	145	146
Women	100	-	-	139
Printing and bookbinding				
Printers (skilled)	100	32	86	84
Bookbinders (specialists)	100	-		102
Bookbinders (skilled)	100	63	113	103
Textiles and clothing:				
Weavers	100	44	76	93
Tailors (men's highest				
class)	100	54	71	85
Tailors (men's lowest				
class)	100	-		93
Tailors (ladies' highest				
class)	100	47	64	74
Dressmakers (highest				
class)	100	64		78
Shoe makers (skilled)	100	65		
Upper leather cutters	100	57		N S
Food:				
Bakers (highest class)	100	62	54	92
Bakers (lowest class)	100		-	108
Miscellaneous:				
Drivers	100	-		144
Shop managers	100		-	
Shop assistants		250		
Joiners (skilled)	100	62	120	91
Real wages in Austria	have	doubt	less g	reatly
fallen now that the Le	ague	of I	Vation	s has
"saved" (!) Autsria by				A CONTRACT OF THE PARTY OF THE
Commission to control h				
that wages, by legislative	enactr	ment,	were	auto-
matically raised in confor	mity	with	increa	ses in
.1				

A 'John Mitchel' Diary

the cost of living.

The diary of John Mitchel (1), the Irish rebel, during the captivity and ticket-of-leave exile which followed his sentence of fourteen years' imprisonment, is of entralling interest. One of the most lively chapters is that which tells of the refusal of the colonists of South Africa to permit the British Government to dump British convicts in their midst. The colonists inaugurated a boycott of all who would not pledge themselves to resist the introduction of the convicts. The boycott applied to the convict ship, waiting for British instructions out in the Bay, and was gradually extended to all British forces, the Governor himself being on the point of having to meet it. Finally the British Government extended a Free Pardon to all the convicts, save Mitchel, and discharged the ship load of them on the coast of Van Dieman's Land. Mitchel, who was joined by his wife and children in Van Dieman's Land, remained on parole there for 79 some time, but finally resigned his ticket-of-leave, declared his parole at an end, and escaped to the United States by a series of strategies which 82 make a far better story than most adventure

Mitchel, though an ardent rebel in the cause 77 of Ireland, was a man of limited views. He 88 did "not think it wrong to flog convicted felons 96 when needful for preservation of discipline," though he did not like to hear the screams of the victim. He said of the French Communists: 54 "They were swept from the streets with grape 65 and canister—the only way of dealing with such unhappy creatures"; and "Socialists are some-81 thing worse than wild beasts."

58 (1) Burns, Oates and Washbourne.

Rajputana States Letter

BUNDI

and bribery are rampant among officials of all grades. Sometimes officials are found to be accomplices in thefts and dacoities. Begar, or unpaid forced labour, prevails in a virulent form, , and War Loan has been perpetuated into an annual tax.

The people have been struggling against these wrongs for about two years, but the agitation The meeting discussed the question of the em- sailants, but they were soon stopped by the has been confined to merely securing redress of these special grievances. There has been no demand for responsible government or other rights. There has been no suspension of the payment of them with the grievances of the kisans (pealand revenue as there was at Mewar. In Bundi the people only refused to work under Begar and to pay the highly arbitrary war loan levy. Even dinary session of the District Punchayet was to this refusal was with the motive of obtaining a speedy hearing rather than resisting the authorities of the State. Non-violence prevailed.

Yet in May last, seventeen persons suspected of leading the agitation, were arrested without warrant. Their women folk protested and demanded either the warrants or release of the prisoners. The women were thereupon beaten with lathies. (or clubs) and spears. Fourteen women were wounded, two receiving serious injuries. "This," says an Indian correspondent, "was the first blot on the fair name of the Hada clan which posand chastity of women."

agitation. The ruler of Bundi, Maharao Sahib, was made. now dismissed some of the corrupt officials, Branch, was called away from a peaceful meeting day. by Ikram Hussain, formerly a Government C.I.D. nooram was informed that he was under arrest.

In order to affect the arrest of another worker, him back without giving him any receipt." midnight and practically laid waste. The terrorism that followed has prevented the villagers from returning to their homes even to this day.

On 18th March, 1923, the same Ikram Husof the agitation, and fired on a peaceful meet- taking meals which we were then preparing." so. ing, one person being killed and 19 wounded, including the village chaukidar, or watchman, and a woman, who are lying in a precarious con-

An Indian correspondent observes that the Indian princes increase their own difficulties by importing British Government men, who place a costly burden on the small States. The princes soon find that they have to yield before these officials at every turn and lose all independence.

Our readers should notice that the British Government is everywhere eager to step in to assist the native rulers in imposing feudal conditions upon the peasants and in breaking up the village

The following statement was made before an inquiry commission appointed by the Bundi Durbar to investigate the firing at Dabi Village:

. . . . the officials of our State, including head. the superintendent of police, Madangopal clerk, "This insulting behaviour of the superintend- ter so. We, the mob, will just have to go on and others unexpectedly arrived at Gararda. was highly resented by the whole assembly and as we have been doing for the past thirty years. I do not know all of them. As soon as they ar- a cry arose from it that there was treachery. Will another take its place? Possibly! But never rived they engaged the barbers and potters of The superintendent was incensed all the more again will such a one lead us off the track. We the village to work for them in Begar (unpaid and began to beat people right and left with shall look forward, and go our own quiet way, labour).

fetch the water for the officials until he got tired. ther mischief, but he retraced a few steps and If the "Daily Herald" had been a paper with

and compelled him to proceed to a well which rifles. He took a rifle from one of them, and was far off from the village. Out of sheer together with the Thanedar of Khera's son, began fatigue, the potter expressed his unwillingness, to fire at us. whereupon his mouth was gagged with a cloth "The first victim was a Bhil woman of Soonto prevent him from crying and, after a good tra village, who received several buck-shot wounds Bundi is said to be the most backward state dealing of beating with shoes, and slaps, he was in the abdomen and in the legs. Several others of Rajputana and, perhaps, of India. Extortion taken into custody by the officials. were hit with bullets or buck-shot. Nanak Bhil

chayets of the district the sudden arrival of the condition. He is also Bhil by caste and a resiofficials. Representatives from almost all the dent of Dabi village. Besides, about twenty village punchayets consequently assembled at others, including myself, have been wounded Gararda, where an extraordinary session of the Under such circumstances, a few amongst us District Punchayet was held on Saturday. The threw some stones and dry cow-dung at the asplayment of the potter in Begar, the ill-treat- punches. The superintendent and his associate ment meted out to him, the object of the offi- continued to fire and retire until a wall was cials' visit and the advisability of approaching reached, which they jumped over and decamped. sants). The meeting, however, proved abortive and was adjourned to Sunday, when the or-

Question: "Have you got regular punchayets? If so, since how long have they been working and on what days do they meet?"

Answer: "We have punchayets in every district, ours being the Barundan district punchayet. is only following the natural course of all earthly It is of more than a year's standing and sits things. In fact, when you think of its life, - regularly every Sunday."

'So our punchayet met at Dabi on Sunday. just as well dead. Why should it live?" The superintendent and the other officials also It has no real message for the disinherited shifted to Dabi. The punchayet decided to make It is ever so respectable. It does not believe sesses glorious traditions of defending the person representation to the officials to release the pot- in the "class war," or the "class State," or the ter and to punish the officials who had last year "class struggle." It is only a blind leader, and The event had a lightning effect on the unaf- assaulted several women of the district with so it would be better dead. fected parts of the State, which soon joined the lathies (clubs) and spears. The representation The Labour leaders after it dies will come

and the grip of Begar was unloosed to some ex- and released the potter. Regarding the com- emoluments which flow from them. tent. It seemed as though an effort would be plaint the superintendent sent word through Then the average "Henry" and "Henrietta" made to settle the trouble amicably. This, how- the bearer of the punchayet representation that will read in the "News of the World"-which I ever, was not to be the case. British Govern- the punches (members of the village council) understand has a circulation of nearly two milment C.I.D. and other officials were lent to the should personally see him and explain their grie- lions every week-end-of the doings of Arthur State, and these people acted with a high hand. vances. The punches informed the superinten- and Ramsay and all the others in the Show. Or Pandit Naincoram, the president of the Kotah dent that they would send their reply the next it may be the "Empire News," or the "Sunday

man, now the superintendent of police in Bundi, was accordingly sent to the superintendent the which some of our top-notch Labour men at who, in his European dress, posed as the political next day, but he did not acknowledge that, and present write for. resident of Bundi. Pandid Nainooram was or- said he would send the receipt soon after read- You can see "Henry" any day in the week dered to instruct the public to remain calm, ing its contents. After awaiting the acknowledg- with a copy of the "Daily Mail," or, if you live and unhesitatingly did do. When the danger of ment for some hours, the punches sent a man in Glasgow, we have a rag of the same blood rea breach of peace was thus avoided, Pandit Nai- to the superintendent. The latter got out of lationship, and "Henry" devours it. temper and, calling names on the man, turned We have somewhere about five million trade

not retain in memory all that we have to say. has no message for them. We had therefore sent our complaints in writing You cannot copy your master, and expect and had at the same time decided that we should your master's sheep to follow you when he is sain arrived in the pargana of Dabi, the centre go to the officials if required by them after better provided for. It is not natural to think

> meals, the superintendent, followed by the son in it with the others. You may give expert boxof the Thanedar of Khera, suddenly appeared on ing notes, and short pen-sketches of Labour the spot and began to ask and record the names leaders, but then our great press can lick you of those present in a highly provocative tone. to pieces at that game. We replied quite calmly.

superintendent shatched and threw away the does the "Daily Herald." chilam from Mr. Dhannalal's hands and retorted in anger: 'Dost thou dare smoke in our pre- "Daily Herald," who have worked for it volun-

slaps which flung the turban off Mr. Dhannalal's who wanted to carry a message to their class.

"Bardha is an aged potter. He continued to "The people attempted to stop him from fur- own.

Prior to this, the Savada village punchayat instantly died as a result of injuries. Another (council) had intimated to all the sister pun- man, named Madho, is lying in a precarious

Daily Herald' By T. Anderson.

(Proletarian Schools.)

"The Daily Herald" may die at the end o September. Peace be with it, if it dies. It

you might be tempted to say to yourself, "It

into their own; they will have a free hand in The superintendent acknowledged the same all the bourgeois papers, and also the small

Chronicle," or the "Weekly Dispatch," or the "A written representation of our grievances "Sunday Pictorial" or-our own "John Bull,"

unionists, and I am safe in saying not 100,000 Swami Narayansingh, the whole village of Baha- Question: "Why did not you, the punches, of them buy the "Daily Herald." Why? They durpura, where he was sleeping, was raided at personally go to the officials?" are all "Henrys," they were born "Henrys," and Answer: "We are illiterate people and can they will die "Henrys," and the "Daily Herald"

"While we were gathering necessaries for our You may tip winners, but then you are not

Just a few weeks ago, a leading Glasgow 'Suddenly the Superintendent's eyes fell up- Unionist paper gave a drawing of Thomas Johnon Mr. Dhannalal Vaishya, the secretary of the stone, M.P., editor of the "Forward," and the Gararda village punchayet, who was smoking his entire Labour movement of Glasgow was down on their benders to them. Not only that, but The superintendent inquired of him, 'Where during the great Parliamentary contest, they gave at least a couple of columns of notes written by 'I live at Gararda,' replied Mr. Dhannalal. a Labour journalist. Of course, this paper does The answer was not yet completed when the not believe in the "class struggle," but neither

The men and women who have made the tary, were not the trade unionists, or political The question was followed by abuses and Labour leaders. They were the men and women Now the "Herald" may die; perhaps it is betuntil we are able to launch a daily paper of our

Yet they disapproved the water he had brought called out his men who were there already with a message it would live; nothing could kill it.

But it is not a paper with a message; it is so like its fellows that you could not tell which is which if you removed the "Daily Herald" and substituted the "Daily N-."

Why have an eight-page? Why a twelvenews of the King's doings? Why murder trials? Why? "Henry" gets it from the others; that tains.

What about our children? Have they never to be taught of something grander and nobler in life than that which appears in the press of to-day? If we do not start now, when shall we start? The "Daily Herald" has been on the way in one shape or another for fully 11 years, and it is 50 years further back than when it to be reaped by them. started. It has gone over for the "loaves and fishes," and it now finds it may die, as the loaves are hard and the fishes are stinking. Such is the hand of fate.

liberty, love and life, are not of the official pushfulness to leaders. Labour movement, nor are they any part of that But are leaders necessary? deal and lived for it.

means no more than the passing of the what? "Clarion." And we of old made the "Clarion." nd then the black day came, when the men at arried off their feet with the surge of patriot-And now the gold of the usurer comes to

Let us be perfectly honest with ourselves. We, the few, the minority, the ones that the spectable—Labour and bourgeois alike—kick with all the power at their command; -we admit we do not count now; some day we may. But r message counts, and our message is the skeleon in the cupboard of Labour, and the nearer Labour comes to power the larger will grow the

s failed it. Official Labour counts for nothto-day it is but reaping the harvest of 30 ears' education and propaganda which we of he old school have given to our class. And this is not the end. We have started anew, even midst all the poverty and degradation of our class, and we are telling them the same message as we did of old. Official Labour is laughing and the "Daily Herald" can only give us a sneer, just a cheap sneer; there is no possibility

It would not matter to the working class of clean sweep. ese islands should the "Daily Herald" die morrow. It would not matter to them should he Trade Union movement be wiped out, or that the official Labour Party should be the Governent of the day. It means nothing to them. e Master Class in these islands can dictate e terms on which the workers shall have the portunity to live.

The workers must be told their position, they worker to fight. And he who would win must But stay in, educate, agitate, organise.

rvile and a slave. Freedom cannot be won by t words or moral stunts. Saviours are not ine. The passing of the "Daily Herald" ans nothing to our class, except it be a gain.

WELLS DISCUSSION CIRCLE,

THE RED COTTAGE, High Road, Woodford Wells. Sundays, 5 to 7 p.m.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Editor,

I see, Henry, that there has been a split in Why? The reason is obvious. Why is sad and the thermometer registers somewhere about the temperature of Greenland's icy moun-

> Of course the unemployed had some reason for it, no doubt. They have elected some leaders to be up and doing, and then they have found that they themselves have been, as it were, upped and done. The consequence is that they have chucked the said leaders and retired from the field, leaving whatever harvest there may be

I suppose it is tactics. But it sounds more like foolishness. Who elected the leaders? The unemployed, of course. It stands to reason, doesn't it, that they could sack the said leaders The men and women who are to win for the and put better men in. That is, if they are disinherited in these islands the right of still of a mind to leave the leading and general

movement. The pseudo-Socialist coalition wing Well, anyway, it strikes me, as a worker, that of it will very soon merge into its actual life, the unemployed have been so used to being under and then the fight will be renewed, as it was in a boss who does what he likes, and when he does the days of old, when men and women had an what they don't like, well they change jobs-if they can. This principle has been carried into Thus to us the passing of the "Daily Herald" the unemployed movement, and the result is-

More foolishness.

Doesn't it stand to reason that if your house the helm had no consciousness, and they were gets out of order you stop in that house and put it in order again? If there is any rubbish in the attic or something and someone in the way, you clear it out, don't you?

The unemployed have a movement. They elect certain men to look after it, uphold it, and carry things on. These men are alleged not to have we say: hold the union card if you like, as long been up to the mark. The reasonable thing is as it is convenient to you; but do not imagine to sack these men. Instead of which the unem- it is in the Trade Union branch that you will ployed withdraw, make a present of their move- form your workshop councils—that you must ment to these leaders, and then try to found a do in the workshop. brand new organisation which is going to be up When the workshop movement is strong you and doing and all that sort of thing.

But suppose the new leaders don't up and The "Daily Herald" counted on official La- do? Are we to have a third and a fourth the forward minority goes out and forms a new movement, like all these comic new internationals that spring up as soon as somebody gets the wind up, goes home, and gives the cat a swing way as to endanger the old policy, it is apt to round the room?

got the craze for a brand new suit, with a nice posal. new shiny badge in the buttonhole and a new There is, however, another reason. The heading on its office paper.

All this is shirking and cowardice. The man paganda swamped and wiped out by the majority, who is a man does not sneak out by the side which is preaching the direct opposite. Moredoor and pour out a tale of woe to the first over the minority does not desire only to influof us being honest and sincere. No; we are the man he meets. No. He stays in and makes ence the members of a particular organisation: it things hum. He gets on the job and makes a wishes to take its message to the mass. Whilst

> the Government, are they to emigrate to Meso- cacy of doctrines which are in advance of those potamia and make a present of this country to held by the majority. Carried to its logical whoever stays behind?

> running things, in whatever organisation you are, The Fabian policy of permeating the Liberal stay in and see it out like a man. You won't and Tory Parties would be the order of the day, gain anything by running away and raising a or, at most, no one would be permitted to get

ust be taught to fight for their own hand, they Stay in and work. It is harder, but it is The latest people to form an organisation are just be educated in the "class struggle" and, as surer. If you don't like the leaders, clear them apt to say: our organisation is essential, but no they become conscious of the position they occu- out. If you don't like the constitution, change other new organisations must be formed. py, then, and then only, will hope inspire the it. If you don't like the rules, abolish them.

The unions are yours. You made them. If The entire history of the race teaches that you have given them to leaders to play with. sson. No one can be of any account who is that was your mistake. But own up to it. Don't sneak out and say you wash your hands of it. That is easy.

Get down on the job. If you think unions are out of date, turn them into soviets. Keep your leaders in the workshop. You can keep a better eye on them there. The man who loses touch with a grease rag and forgets how a spanner feels in his fist is sure to forget

You are paying them to be up and doing, and it is you who are upped and done. You would save a good deal by keeping them on half pay in the workhouse to play draughts with each

But it would pay you best to sack the lot and

adopt a motto of four words: "Mind your own

L. A. MOTLER.

We also felt sad when we read the above screed from our valued comrade and contributor, L. A. Motler. We wish he would think again and remember the experiences of the years since the Labour Party was formed.

Why was the split in the Unemployed organisa-

As we understood from those who came to us from the new organisation, and asked us to open these columns to their notes, the reasons for forming another organisation were as fol-

(1) The old organisation has made its declared object work or maintenance at Trade Union rates. Those who formed the new organisation desired to make its object the abolition of the

(2) The old organisation desired affiliation to the Labour Party, and was willing to make itself the assistant of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, although the latter organisations were by no means cordially disposed towards it.

The new organisation desired no connection with the Labour Party and Trade Unions, but to work for the establishment of a workshop coun-

Comrade Motler thinks Soviets of the workshops can be attained through the Trade Unions. Our view is that Comrade Motler is wrong. Was it through the Trade Unions that the wartime shop stewards' movement grew up? It was not; as a matter of fact the shop stewards' organisation found in the Trade Union officials

To those who desire the Workshop Councils

will come to discard the unions altogether. Comrade Motler does not understand why

If the forward minority is making such headbe thrown out of the old organisation, especially Then, look at the dockers. They, too, have if it has such a thing as a newspaper at its dis-

minority, with its forward policy, finds its prothe minority remains in the old organisation, it Supposing the workers are disgruntled with finds party discipline interfering with its advoconclusion, Comrade Motler's argument would If you don't like the way your leaders are prohibit the formation of any new organisation. beyond the Labour Party.

WANTED.—Second-hand copies: "How the War Came," by Lord Loreburn; "Economics for the General Reader" (Clay); "Trooper Peter Halkett" (Olive Schreiner); "Brass Check" (Upton Sinclair), cheap edition; "Ancient Society" (Lewis Morgan); "Ancient Lowly" (Osborn Ward).

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You and the Highbrows

Everyone is asking you, fellow worker, whether you, you, you, are going to let the "Daily Herald" die. Are you going to spare a bit off your £2 10s. a week for it or even off your 15s. dole? Are you going to run round selling it this teeming weather, though you haven't a change of clothes? What are you going to do, they ask, just you, to save Labour's one and only daily

But let us ask another question, fellow worker; is it really true that the "Daily Herald" cannot make ends meet with a circulation of 300,000?

We know that expenses are greater in Britain, but we remember that "Avanti" in Italy with a top-level of 300,000 was a flourishing concern with separate daily editions in Milan and Turin, printed from their own plants. In other countries also, Socialist and even Left Wing papers appear daily though circulations are much smaller.

The question arises, fellow worker, whether the expensive journalists from bourgeois papers, and the betting tips and such things really pay—even financially.

From the propaganda standpoint we know that such features do not pay.

We believe that they do not pay even financially: their costliness is not justified by results, even from a business point of view, in our opinion.

The "Daily Herald" policy is not our policy, but quite apart from policy, fellow worker, we give it as our opinion that a daily paper could be produced which would be acceptable to a large body of working-class readers, on the basis of a circulation of 300,000.

We believe that a paper more acceptable to the present readers of the "Herald" could be produced on the present circulation, provided the editing and management were placed in the hands of comrades who have proved themselves by service in the movement, who would not dream of putting up a claim to what Lord Rothermere might pay them as a condition of giving their best to the workers' daily.

By the way, fellow worker, we shrewdly suspect that the Labour lights who have gone seaching for bourgeoise journalists, have been "done" by those gentlemen with "the gift of the gab."

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It takes money approximately twelve years at six per cent. compound interest to double itself.

If one cent were invested at the time of Pharaoh's death at six per cent., how much would it be to-day?

In answer we would say our mathematician is still working on the problem and is getting another roll of news print from the Journal to help him complete the calculation. It is going to cost us more than the job is worth, but here is something to be going on with, it is from Ropp's commercial calculator.

Contrast between simple and compound interest:

One dollar drawing interest at 10 per cent. will in

2,617,010,996,188.64 31.00

The last figure is two trillion, six hundred and seventeen billion.

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To pay this amount would engage 111 paying tellers just three hundred years—each one to count 10.00 dollars every second, without intermission, during banking hours (from, 9 to 4) and work every day in the year, Sundays excepted.

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Further, be it remembered that these bonds are never paid, only refunded, that is, more borrowed to pay the old debt, and every nation, country, and province owes more to-day than it did at any time of its existence.—The "Glow Worm."

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