# the Genoa Betrayal.

# Workers' We Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 8

SATURDAY, MAY 6TH, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

#### "THEY."

By Siegfried Sassoon.

Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back will not be the same; for they'll nave

on Anti-Christ; their comrades' blood has

lew right to breed an honourable race,

hey 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

oor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die;

and Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find chap who's served that hasn't found some change."

and the Bishop said: "The ways of God are strange!"

#### DEFEATED.

With subdued rhythm.

he field-grey is draggled, the faces are old;
ng soldiers straggle along the road.

The rain is long, and the sky is long, and the thit of the morning is shabby and cold on the dden ground and the soggy fields and the troops at straggle along the road.

Bare houses crouch, with low-drawn roofs and indows crooked with streaks of wet, mirroring storted, half-stripped trees and weather-spotted alls and the slouching troops, that stumble,

Row on row, and rank on rank of stolid faces, it and blank. There is a man who lumbers and with a brutal thickness about his jaw, and staring from red-rimmed eyes; and there with a cruel face, with curling lip and g eyelids; and there is even one who is bit, as his nearing footsteps recognised a bit, as his nearing footsteps recognised a bit of the soil or the cobblestones, and his

Row on row, and rank on rank, passing with aden feet, tramp and clank: thousands of odies, thousands of faces, all of them different, the same: struggling, straggling along the

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

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

Full of the tragedy of misplaced trust.

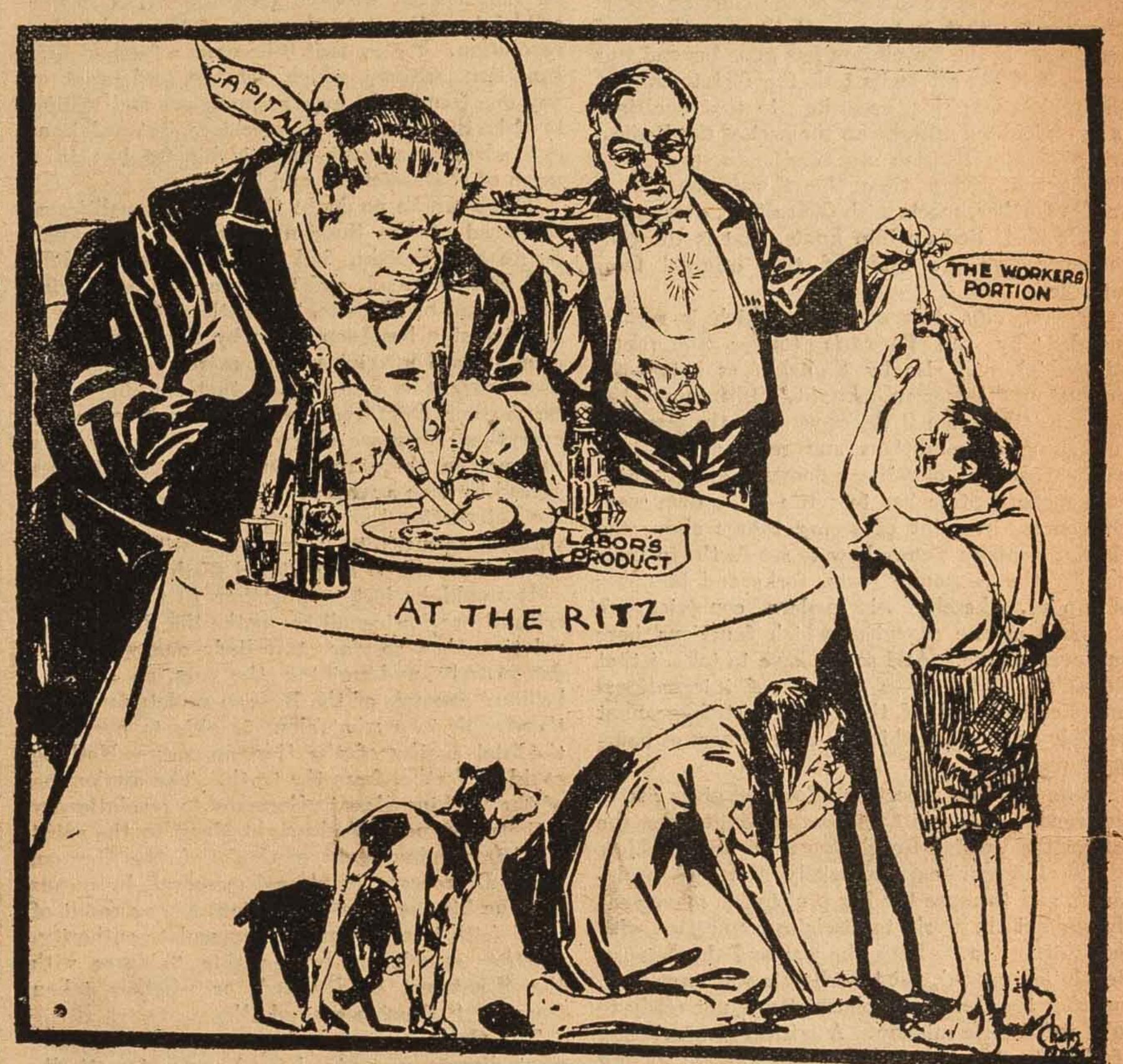
DONALD B. CLARK.

### DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

mought Forward, £141 8s. 1½d. E. & S. Himeoe, 5/-; D. Scourfield, 3/6; A. Thornton, 3/-; Hickton, 1/-; Miss. Turner, 1C/-; Lady Constance wtton, 2/-: F. Lawes, 10/-; E. E. Swift, 2/-; A. Cahill (monthly), 10/-; F. Brimley (monthly)

1. J. Brown, 2/6; M. Powell, 5/-. Total for teek, £3 4s. 0d. Total £144 12s. 1½d.

The second residence of the second se



# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

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.

#### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

the high cost of production of the paper necessitate prompt payment.

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 driginal "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.

the tendency to shift the responsibility for the activity can never be brought about in the spirit \*fate of the Russian Revolution from the shoulders of the grandmotherly methods of the German of the international (especially German) prole- Social Democrats (of blessed memory), by means tariat, and to cause the big proletarian movement of some kind of mass-suggestion, or as a result of throughout the world to disclaim connection with blind faith in some sort of immaculate authority. this Revolution. Both the war and the Russian whether established from within to agree with Revolution proved, not that Russia was immature, the " national conditions," or whether taken but that the German proletariat was not ready to from the "Russian example." fulfil its historic mission. A critical consideration The German masses, for years and under the of the Russian Revolution must start by laying most diverse pretexts, have been systematically particular emphasis upon this fact. For Russia's stifled by the German Social Democrats. These Revolution was, in all its vicissitudes, completely same masses can only be made to find their dependent upon the international Revolution. historic sphere of action, not by mere revolution-That the Bolshevists made their policy conform in ary catch-cries, but by giving them sufficient inevery way to the world-wide Revolution of the sight for them to perceive what a terribly serious proletariat, is just the most striking witness to and complicated task they have before them. the far-sightedness of their political vision and to This can only be done by educating them politictheir fundamental stability. It shows what a bold ally, by making them stand, mentally, on their bid they made in taking up such a policy. It is own legs, making them dispense with romantic a matter that will show at a glance the tremendous beliefs, and by developing their critical sense. forward leap taken by capitalist development in Therefore we think that whenever the German the last decade. The Revolution of 1905-7, for workers, or, of course, the international workers, instance, awakened only a very feeble echo take the Russian Revolution and discuss it in its throughout Europe, and had, therefore, to remain historic perspective, and in all its bearings, they an introduction chapter. Its further progress are on the right road to learn how to tackle those and ultimate solution were subject to the tasks which the present situation has placed in European devolopment.

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 worldhistoric 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 ward curve: starting from modest beginnings, it to action. It would be foolish to expect that in made its aims ever more radical. Parallel with this Russian experiment with a workers' dicta- this was the advance from the coalition of classes torship under such abnormal conditions, every- and parties to the undivided rule of the Radical thing that is done or left undone must be high Party. above all criticism. On the contrary, if we accept When it commenced in March, 1917, those at Utopian, and, at bottom, reactionary. So certs the elementary ideas of Socialist policy; if we the head of the Revolution were the "Cadets": have the Menshevists been of the bourgeois have an insight into their essential historic hypo- that is, the Liberal bourgeoisie. When the first racter of the Russian Revolution (for how continued to the first racter of the Russian Revolution) the

to make the most extreme sacrifices, its revolution- to bring home in its own case the results and maze of contradictions and blunders.

There can be no doubt that the personalities at volution was a direct continuation of that of the the head of the Russian Revolution, men like 1905-07, and was not a gift of the German 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 for an immediate peace. It pounced, too, upon the recent Trade Facilities Act, for the purpose the fatal apathy of the German masses. Nothing could be further from the truth. The awakening In its practical aspect this doctrine gives rise to of the working class in Germany to revolutionary

The first period of the Russian Revolution. that is, from its outbreak in March up to the new places where they might get a new footing, an outbreak in October, exactly corresponds, in its secretly organised for a counter-revolution general course, with the way in which both the Kaledin's Cossack campaign against Petrogram English and the great French revolutions de- clearly revealed this tendency. Had his attemp veloped. It is the development which character- succeeded, not only would the peace and la ises each first great general clash of the revolu- problems have been thrust aside; it would tonary forces created in the bosom of bourgeois meant the end of democracy; yes, and of society, with the bonds and fetters of long- Republic, too. established society.

The progress was natural, and showed an up-

which was the result of the coup d'êtat by which the reactionary four-class system of voting be been introduced, suddenly transformed itself; an organ of the Revolution. All the hourges parties, including the Nationalists of the Ri Wing, suddenly formed themselves into a phalen to resist absolutism. Absolutism fell at the fe lessons of a century of European development. The experiencing a progressive slump, as but, above all things, it shows that the 1917 Re

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 lankrupt vet, and can afford to wait whilst their outset, with the mass of the town proletariat and worse conditions of employment. The demands of these people, however, were not. The carrying trade now shows signs of immovement since 1905.

jectives served to effect an internal disruption of a construct a luxurious new liner, the Conte the revolutionary phalanx. The demand for an Verdi, for an Italian firm. immediate peace was in sharp opposition to the The Western Union Telegraph Company re-Imperialistic tendency of the Liberal bourgeoisie, antly invited tenders for the construction of a which had found its spokesman in Miljukov, the steamer. A German firm quoted 650,000 The land question was the bogey of the other ollars, a French firm 750,000 dollars, and the wing of the bourgeoisie: namely of course, of the swest American and British tenders were preparing to send more coal to the U.S.A. and country jingoes; but in so far as it was considered 1550,000 dollars. Naturally the contract went Canada in view of the American coal strike. to be an outrage upon the sacred rights of private a Germany. This example is quoted by the

the land problem—gave rise to an internal cont work without wages at all, British firms could tions. flict 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 water and the land. The bourgeois wative policy. A profit of \$65,301 was made 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 to

Kaledin's success would inevitably have be followed by a military dictatorship which wo first have terrorised the proletariat into comple subjugation and then have restored the monarch

These facts enable one to measure how much the tactics adopted by the Russian Socialists the Kautsky tendency (the Menshevists) theses, we are led to believe that, under such revolutionary flood-tide became general, every- Russia be ripe for the social revolution? Continued on page 7.

SHIP BUILDING. VINT VESSELS UNDER CONSTRUCTION THE WORLD. United Kingdom ... 437 ... 2,235,998 ther countries (exling Germany) ...... 518 ... 1,143,624 (excluding Gerwhere the figures many, where the first over with which to buy a fireguard. In America the total number of ships being two years as a free gift out of the toil of the fellow should be obliged to keep himself and six that stage which imperialist Germany had set as
the "noble" goal of its strategy after having another light; it is only in this way that it can few hours of the progress of t dipped into the mythology of the German Social be shown what decisive importance lies in the few hours. The progress of the development is of the development a big competitor in Democrats: that is to say, at the overthrow of solid international furtherance of the proletarian which formerly France took decades that this was "a ridiculous was intended by the Germans by getting headway that the ground shipbuilding, but the new United States Shipping Bench declared that this was "a ridiculous was intended by the Germans by getting headway that the ground shipbuilding, but the new United States Shipping Bench declared that this was "a ridiculous was intended by the Germans by getting headway that the ground shipbuilding, but the new United States Shipping Bench declared that this was "a ridiculous was intended by the Germans by getting headway that the ground shipbuilding, but the new United States Shipping Bench declared that this was "a ridiculous was intended by the Germans by getting headway that the ground shipbuilding, but the new United States Shipping Bench declared that this was "a ridiculous was intended by the Germans by getting headway that the ground shipbuilding, but the new United States Shipping Bench declared that this was "a ridiculous was intended by the Germans by getting headway that the ground shipbuilding headway that the ground ship Czarism. If the Revolution has gone beyond this revolution. We see that it becomes a fundamental which formerly France took decades to cover will with its bounties for American shipping, is stended to alter that. stage, if it has set as its task the dictatorship of the proletariat; this, according to that doctrine, any one country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to bring home in its own case the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to be a country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to be a country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to be a country be ever so proficient and willing just the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to be a country be ever so proficient and willing just the country be ever so proficient and willing just this fact which shows that Russia was able to be a country be ever so proficient and willing just the country be ever so proficient and willing just the country be ever so proficient and will be a country be ever so proficient and will be a country be ever so proficient and will be a country be ever so proficient and will be a country be ever so proficient and will be a country be ever so proficient and will be a country be ever so proficient and the country be ever so proficient and the country be ever so proficient an other countries, the British shipbuilding in- Stettin: Dividend 15 per cent. in 1921.

	VESSELS	
QUARTER ENDING	LAUNCHED	TONS.
ecember, 1920	176	. 579,993
larch, 1921	231	433,607
ecember, 1921	101	
farch, 1922	68	

the following figures show :-

December, 1920 was, however, the best quarter record, so the shipbuilders are by no means driving power of the Revolution lay, from the symployees are starved into accepting lower wages

entirely absorbed by political democracy, but were provement, and the shipbuilders are preparing to be the burning question of international politics; the great Belfast firm, which now, either under the masses who went to form the peasantry, who if enlarging their docks, wharfs and yards. brought forward once more the agrarian question. Jalmer's Shipbuilding and Iron Company has which had been at the bottom of the revolutionary torrowed £300,000 from the Government to instruct for itself at Swansea. Beardmore's Immediate peace and the land—these two ob Glasgow gets £600,000 of Government money

ot compete with German.

## Some Shipping Profits.

hipping capitalists are, on the whole, is the following figures:-

wative policy. A profit of £65,301 was made 21, as compared with £51,611 in the first The directors propose to write off the whole preliminary expenses, amunting to 1,024, leaving a balance of £36,043. Out of ley will pay a dividend of £6 per cent. and

unard Steamship Company pays a diviper cent. less tax, for 1921.

le Globe Shipping Company pays 5 per e of tax: it paid 15 per cent. in 1921, ceived from the Company in three years sight.

modities carried out by the ships.

cent. in 1921 and 8 per cent. in 1920. in 1921 and 10 per cent. in 1920.

John C. Tecklenberg A. G. paid 25 per cent. many million open firegrates are there in this in 1920 and 25 per cent. in 1921. That means country in rooms where children play without that every shareholder who invested £1, whilst fireguards? Did you ever play in a room with Number Tons (gross) keeping his £1 intact, got 10s. as a free gift out an open firegrate, dear readers? We often did, of the labour of the workers, in the space of two and fell in the fire once; but our parents not

The Kosmos Line paid 10 per cent. in 1920. "Beak!" The Lubeck-Konigsbergen Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft paid a dividend of 50 per cent. in procure food and clothes and shoes for his 1920, and 40 per cent. in 1921. That means for family, and to pay the rent, that he had no unspent, the investor got £90 in the space of No one expressed indignation that a poor

Dividend, 1920, 25 per cent., 1921, 25 per cent. the need for taking every possible precaution You get your money back in four years and still against fire as the calamity which had befallen 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 "The Awakening Magyars," turned out Bar- more potent effect than any fine? tos and his family to make room for one of its directed towards a problem which happened to roft by a trade revival. Harland and Wolff, Housing Board, and the Ministry of Public peace at any price. At the same time the Revolt sown or other names, has establishments also into his motor cars, moved to Gisela Square, is doing so much to trustify German industry, the Hungarian poet Madacs:-

How beautiful is man, Thy masterpiece."

#### WORKER AGAINST WORKER.

The South Wales coal owners are cheerfully

French iron and steel manufacturers complain property, it was a sore point for all bourgeois imployers as an argument for reducing the wages that they cannot get markets because the depre-British workers. Since the German mark, ciation in the German mark prevents Germans Thus we see how, in the days that followed which is normally worth just over 20 to the £, from buying, and the competition of the British the first triumph of the Revolution, the two burns ow varies in the region of 1,200 to the £, it is product, cheapened by wage reductions here, is ing questions of the hour—immediate peace and wious that if British proletarians were prepared cutting French manufacturers out in other direc-

> French shipbuilders are negotiating cheaper British shipbuilders.

rishing nicely, in spite of all difficulties: wit- trying to cut out the British, by reducing wages. organ of the Nationalist Party, may be of interest There was another 20 per cent. cut on April 15, to our readers:-The Mercantile Marine Finance Corporation with a miniumum of 1.50 an hour, about 7d.

# 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.

Their baby girl, aged four years, was left with her brother in the kitchen. She fell into the per cent, in 1919 plus a bonus share dis- fire and was fatally burned. You can imagine. ation of 700 per cent. Do you realise what dear readers, the sorrow which befell the houseneans, fellow worker? It means that for hold and how the poor mother wept and re-00 a person invested in that Company, proached herself that, in her busy round of toil. areholders, whilst retaining the £100 un- she had left her child even an instant out of her

That was paid out of the hard toil of Had these been well-to-do people, everyone vernment, and Sir Carruthers Beattie. en who made and manned the ships, and would have sympathised, but they belonged to e heavy prices paid by the workers for the poor and lowly; therefore their "betters" decided to blame them: Symonds was summoned tsche Ost-Afrika Line paid a dividend before the Malvern magistrates, on a charge of "exposing" his daughter "to the risk of burn-Juetsche-Australische Company paid 14 ing." He ought to have provided a fireguard, only get 8s. 5½d. per day. They got 16s. before he was told with severity. Probably so; but how the Lock-Out.

being farm labourers, were not hauled before the

Symonds replied that he found it so hard to

persons on 26s. 10d. a week. On the contrary, No wonder British Capitalism wanted to punish Symonds was fined 10s. The Chairman of the amount where a life was concerned." The German shipping is the most profitable thing Chairman was right: the fine of 10s, would not in comparison with the loss of their baby. No Swinemunder Dampfschiffahrts A. G.: punishment could so impress upon them 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 Board regulates the scanty accommodation. of petty tyrants imagine the fine would be a Bartos, a garage owner, and his family of warning to the parents? Did it not occur to eight, were allotted a flat by the Housing them that the statement: this child was burnt Board, but the White Terrorists' organisation, because there was no fireguard, would have a

## STINNES BUYS THE PRESS.

tion pounced upon the masses who went to join in the Thames, the Clyde and the Kelvin, has the Piccadilly of Buda Pest, and there erected already owns a number of German and Austrian the army and who had also raised the demand blained a Government loan of £1,493,345 under his furniture and bedding. He hung out a newspapers, including the Lokal Anzeiger in placard bearing the following quotation from Berlin, and the Alpenland at Innsbruck, which is the chief organ of the Austrian pan-Germans, Great God look down from Heaven and blush. and agitates for the union of Aastria and Germany. Stinnes is now negotiating for when The police tried to move him on, but large purchase of the Ebermühl, a big Austrian paper crowds collected, and Bartos and his family mill and a number of newspapers which depend and furniture spent the night on the pavement. 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 prices with French steel producers to cut out Government Laour Adviser) is one of the Commissioners appointed by the South African Go-Belgian iron and steel manufacturers are also vernment, the comment of The Burger, the official

> "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 Africanders, but there is not a single representative of them on the Commission. Where is that most able and most impartial Commis-

The other Commissioners are Sir Wm. Solomon, Sir Robert Kotze, who is an official of the Go-

#### North Wales Colliers.

The highest paid colliers in North Wales now

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

An Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor Business Communications to the Manager: Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240,

SUBSCRIPTION	ON:			
THREE MONTHS (13 weeks)	•••	Post	Free	
Six Months (26 weeks)	•••	99	99	6/6
ONE YEAR (52 weeks)	*	40	••	13/-

#### THE GENOA BETRAYAL.

Genoa. Whatever may be the excuses of the long as Capitalism continues to reign here. 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 capi-

they are. Their capitalists have been over- recovery of Germany, or the menace of energy to prepare them, or heart to care reached by Britain; they have been "done" in the Genoa thieves' kitchen.

To the music of "world reconstruction," another combination. "humanity," and "forbearance," Lloyd George has pulled off the biggest piece of job- betrayal of the workers' Revolution. The be- year's Labour Day; the relatively few Trade bery of modern times. What will America trayal is as complete as the individuals in Union banners that appeared were mainly say? America, the great rival, was already power can make it. At present the surrender ried by the unemployed. The big Trade Ut smarting under the annoyance of finding that, of Russia's land and industry to capitalism is do not honour Labour Day unless it falls on whilst the British Government was trumpeting glossed over by the talk of granting 99 year State holiday. of its disinterested fight for humanity in the leases. No one expects the pretence to be It was a sad May Day. Some of the workers late world war, British capitalists, with Brit- maintained. But if it were: all we who were working against their will, and some were ish Government aid, had quietly secured con- struggle and suffer here to-day will be but dust wanting work in vain. All were anxious trol over all the oil fields then available, and when those long years are sped. 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 in all lands. the betrayal of Russia and the Revolution. The betrayal, remember, does not end with the oil. oil-fields that have been sold, the principles of us all! Moreover, the Russo-German Treaty furthers Communism in Russia, the right to practice Beyond is Communism: but our vision of the Lloyd George policy in other ways. If he Communism in Russia, the right to spread is still too dim. So few are willing yet is accused of bad faith, he will retort: the Communist propaganda abroad, all are being concentrate their efforts upon it. Germans began it, and if I had not secured surrendered. Guarantees are being given to The hard work of popularising Communism the concession for British capitalists, they make capitalism secure in what was once Red has still to be done; the work of making Comwould have been left out in the cold, whilst Russia. these stores of wealth fell to the share of It does not seem at all likely that the Soviet Communism cannot be popularised by others. The British capitalism which benefits Government will get any money at all from larising other "isms": that is the great weak from the deal will readily pardon Lloyd the capitalist Governments, even by way of ness of the "United Front" which as George for his backstairs dealing.

German Treaty and prevented the French from willing to lend money to their national capi- possible under Capitalism. Propagat invading Germany to secure its annulment, be- talists to trade with Russia or to set up manu- arouse the people to desire the reforms en cause it furthered his policy in another direc- facturing enterprises in Russia, provided, of merated in the United Front teaches tion also. By creating the precedent of wip- course, that these are safeguarded against nothing about Communism, leaves it still ing out reparations, it led the way for his pro- Communism. It is general public money they background, as though it were someth posal to reduce German reparations very will lend. The capitalist Governments at Genoa remote and fantastic—even impossible. greatly. Lloyd George desires this because he have told Russia that several European coun- One cannot sow thistles and reap whea is influenced by the school of thought repre- tries are prepared to create an international neither can one sow temporary reformist sented by J. M. Keynes and the others who corporation with an initial capital of paganda and produce a Communist movement

say that German reparations are destroying £20,000,000. This is purely a capitalist British trade, and creating unemployment in ture, of course. Under the Trade Fac Britain, and who propose the reduction of the Act the British Government will lend some reparations to a scale on which they may be that £25,000,000 set aside to aid British as borne by an international loan. Lloyd George talists to develop foreign trade. The Gove backs the loan idea because he believes the ment will even get Parliament to allot move French Government can be induced to accept and there is £15,000,000 under the Eve it in order to secure immediate ready money. Credits scheme, which the Government He hopes that in order to get the ready money use for this purpose, provided anti-Commo France will submit to Britain's seizure of Rus- ist guarantees are forthcoming. All this is sian oil and many things beside.

that the creation and preservation of a world direct. Such schemes will enable certain Balance of Power has long been the aim of groups of British capitalists to wax fat. Then British foreign politics, and in spite of all the may provide sources of revenue for the Rud wartime imprecations and propaganda against gets of Soviet Governments and the maintain the Balance of Power policy by the U.D.C. ance of armies of Soviet officials. and others; in spite of all the booming of Pre- Such schemes are all leading away sident Wilson and the League of Nations, the Communism, and placing a hideous by As we anticipated, the Revolution and the Balance of Power still remains the lode star upon the workers of Russia. workers' cause in Russia, and, through Rus- of the British Government. It will remain sia, the world over, have been betrayed at the lode star of the British Government so and the wealth beyond the dream of avaried the lode star of the British Government so and the wealth beyond the dream of avaried the lode star of the British Government so and the wealth beyond the dream of avaried the lode star of the British Government so and the wealth beyond the dream of avaried the lode star of the British Government so and the wealth beyond the dream of avaried the lode star of the British Government so and the wealth beyond the dream of avaried the lode star of the British Government so and the wealth beyond the leaders of our party at present.

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. day it is France. Germany has lost her colonies, but France has colonies. Germany has people, as pioneers of civilisation, because in of the bourgeois-capitalist past-business-men and peasant," brought us to placing reliance on lost coal and iron in the war, and these have their weakness and their folly they have sur technicians, whose creative abilities in the sphere "the industrious peasant-owner." Let us gone to France. France, moreover, has rich rendered the fortress of the workers' Revolution of industry are subject to the routine, habits and admit that this policy is proof of the political stores of oil within her dominions, and much tion to capitalism, and have placed the people methods of the capitalist system of production soberness and "Statecraft wisdom" of our other wealth. America is more and more of Russia under the yoke of the foreign capi-Britain's rival in the oilfields, on the seas, and talist. 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 London for many a year. Poverty was its prethinks she should look to Germany and per- vailing note. The big procession was mainly haps also to Russia—if Russia will absolutely manned by the unemployed, who for many group which is not only inherently foreign to This is attested by the constant, unending fricbar the door to Communism.

Sir Edward Grey, whose diplomacy guided clothes and figures and faces plainly reveal us into the war with Germany, is of another their state of penury. The carts, in whi school: he desires France for an ally; he still women and children of the unemploye believes that France is not the most powerful riding, did not carry the usual decoration rival against whom Britain must safeguard paper roses and coloured bunting. No one France and Belgium are in revolt, of course herself. He believes, perhaps, in the early money to spend on such things; no one his America. He is a Balance of Power man like them. The procession should have brough Lloyd George; but just now he believes in blush of shame to the luxurious rich who say

Bigger than all this looms up the great The big Trade Unions did not honour

had closed the door against America and It is not only the oil, the great power in war of slack trade will creep up to submerge them and industry, that is sold to British capitalist or, if they are already of the unemploye imperialism, with the oil-fields go the destinies long they will remain so, and how long of the people who live in all that territory. doles and the grants will hold, even st The power that British capitalism can wield they are. And beyond the workers, with the oil is power sold away from Soviet anxious ranks of people in small busine Russia: power placed in the hands of capital- facing advancing bankruptcy; pounds, shi ism, which will be used to fight the workers and pence, mounting, always mounting

Remember, moreover, that it is not only the side; what a weary load of toil they brin

loan. The capitalist Governments, with the workers to struggle for the eight hour Again, Lloyd George assisted the Russo- British at their head, have shown that they are and some other matters which are main

benefit British capitalists, and is paid for There is another reason also: The fact is, the British people, by taxation direct

May 6, 1922.

Presently we shall read of the vast divide which European capitalists are making out of toil of Russia's workers and peasants.

Presently those who control the Soviet be received here more gloriously than was E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

#### MAY DAY.

It was the saddest looking May Day seer many months have had no work, and whose

the future, wondering when the great blight debit side, falling, always falling, on the credit

RUSSIAN WORKERS v. SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

By Alexandra Kollontay

(Continued from our last issue.)

oh their unions, to deny these expressions of the capitalist world. the class organisation of the proletariat, while Among all these various groups of the popula-

create and carry on research. The more the military front recedes before the harmful possibilities or results. ressure to bear upon the leaders of our party lead to?

Soviet officials, commissaries in the army, etc., the rank and file. who have already adapted themselves to the Soviet regime, and sway our policy toward petty-

As far as the centre is concerned, the influence of these petty-bourgeois elements is negligible, but in the provinces and in local Soviet y, their influence is a great and harmful one. Finally, there is still another group of men, at of the former managers and directors of the t industries. These are not the magnates pital, like Riabushinsky 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 promunism known and desired by the people duction, "the brains and genius" of Capitaling carried on by capital in all advanced in- debts." al countries), they are striving for just one What do the Malthusians, and advocates of on, not through the labour organisations this? ndustrial unions), but through themselvesg now under the guise of Soviet economic tions—the central industrial committees, ial centres of the Supreme Council of nal 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 bureaucratism (with no attempts to change it entirely, but just to improve it). The policy is particularly obvious in the sphere the sphere of national economy it is quite of our foreign trade with the capitalist States, ifferent, however. Production, its organisation which is just beginning to spring up: the comis is the essence of Communism. To debar mercial relations are carried on over the heads workers from the organisation of industry, to of the Russian as well as the foreign organised rive them, that is, their industrial organisa- workers. It finds its expression, also, in a whole ons of the opportunity to develop their powers series of measures restricting the self-activity of reating new forms of production in industry the masses and giving the initiative to the scions

cing full reliance on the "sk'll" of special- tion our party, by trying to find a middle rained and taught to carry on production ground, is compelled to steer a course which would mp off the rails of scientific Marxian thought. The clear-cut policy of our party in the process up from the workshop basis. That is, however, just the thing that is being of identifying itself with Soviet State institu-Taking into consideration the utter co'lapse of class policy, which in essence is nothing else but the development of Soviet Russia, out of the aur industries while still clinging to the capitalist an adaptation of our directing centres to the mode of production (payment for labour in heterogeneous and irreconcilable interests of the money, graduations in wages received according socially different mixed population. This adap-Government will come to London. They will to the work done) our party leaders, in a fit of tation leads to inevitable vacillation, fluctuations, distrust in the creative abilities of workers' deviations and mistakes. It is only necessary to Before the war that rival was Germany. To- President Wilson. They will ride through the collectives, are seeking salvation from the in- recall the zig-zag-like road of our policy toward streets with Lloyd George as saviours of the dustrial chaos-where? In the hands of scions the peasantry, which from "banking on the poor and economy. They are the ones who introduce directing centres, but the future historian. the ridiculously naïve belief that it is possible to analysing without bias the stages of our dominabring about Communism by bureaucratic means. tion, will find and point out that in this is "decree" where it is now necessary to evident "a dangerous digression" from the class line toward "adaptation" and a course full of

economic front, the keener becomes our crying Let us take again the question of foreign trade. need, the more pronounced the influence of that There exists in our policy an obvious duplicity. nunism, but absolutely unable to develop the tion between the Commissariat of Foreign Trade qualities for introducing new forms of and the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. This rganising the work, of new motives for increas- friction is not of administrative nature alone; its and distribution. All these technicians, practical directing centres were exposed to the view of rank Pankhurst. men, men of business experience, who just now and file elements, who knows what the contropear on the surface of Soviet life, by exerting versy dividing the Commissariat on Foreign eir influence on the economic policy, bring Affairs and the trade representatives abroad might

ough and within the Soviet institutions. This seemingly administrative friction that is The party, therefore, finds itself in a difficult essentially a serious, deep, social friction, conand embarrassing situation regarding the control cealed from the rank and file, and makes it absoover the Soviet State, and is forced to lend ear lutely necessary for Soviet politics to adapt itself and adapt itself to three economically hostile to the three heterogeneous social groups of the groups of the population, each different in social population (workers, peasants and representatives The workers demand a clear-cut, un- of the former bourgeoisie), constitutes another mising policy, a rapid, forced advance cause bringing a crisis into our party. And we wards Communism; while the peasantry, with cannot but pay attention to this cause. It is petty-bourgeois proclivities and sympathies, too characteristic, too pregnant with possibilities. nds different kinds of "freedom," including It is therefore the duty of our party, on behalf m of trade and non-interference in their of party unity and future activity, to ponder over irs. The latter are joined in this demand by this cause and derive a necessary lesson from the burgher class in the form of "agents" of wide-spread dissatisfaction generated by it in

(to be continued).

### EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Comrade A. S. writes from Saskatchewan,

"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 Ism, its true creators and sponsors. Heartily the chartered banks, because they are hopelessly approving the Centrist tendencies of the Soviet in debt, and thousands are unemployed in all nment in the sphere of economics, well cittes and towns. 'Wise statesmen' have only ng all the benefits of trustification and one remedy: more immigration, in the hope that regulation of production (this, by the way, is an increased population will enable us to pay our

-they want that this regulation should be Emigration as a cure for unemployment, say to

The fat man in his mansion.

Bill at the factory gate,

"God made these class distinctions,"

'Tis thus some parsons prate. -M. TIDEY.

NEW HALFPENNY LEAFLETS. 4½d. a dozen, 2s. 6d. per hundred, post free. Dreadnought Publishers, 152 Fleet St., E.C.4.

#### THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION. By Alexandra Kollontay

Describes and explains the Communist Proletarian Movement which has grown up in Russia to oppose the Soviet Government's "New Economic Policy" of reversion to Capitalism.

# THE GERMAN ONE BIG REVOLUTIONARY

Programme and Rules of the Revolutionary under a quite different system of production—is not jeopardise the unity of the State interests. Union, which includes all industries and is built

#### PROLETCULT. Price One Penny.

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR THE PROLETARIAN

Edited by Tom Anderson, and published by the Proletarian Bookstall, 94 George Street, From Workers' Dreadnought office, 152 Fleet

ATHENION THE SLAVE KING. FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. Price One Penny.

COMMUNIST WORKERS (LEFT-WING ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNISTS)

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT MEETINGS.

The Minera Café, Sunday, May 14th, 4 p.m ing production, of new approaches to production cause lies deeper, and if the secret work of the Discussion on Communism, opened by Sylvia

# SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

(WRITTEN BEFORE THE POLICY OF REVERSION TO CAPITALISM WAS INSTITUTED).

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

SOME PRESS NOTICES.

"There is a vast mass of information in this book . . and those interested in Soviet Russia will find much that is interesting amongst the mosaic of impressions it contains. . . ."

-Daily Herald.

"Miss Pankhurst has a clever pen and a genuine gift for acute observation . . . one has to confess that Miss Pankhurst is interesting and illuminating in her report on the Communist Theory in practice, and her pages are documentary evidence of considerable

-Glasgow Herald.

"Courageous and sincere."-The Wheatsheaf. "Apart from the peculiar historic interest in having a definite record of Miss Pankhurst's views at any time, one believed that her noted sympathies with Bolshevist policy and her considerable knowledge of the British Labour movement might result in a volume that would give a special viewpoint not to re obtained in many previous treatments of the subject. (In certain respects) one's hopes were justified. There is plenty of enthusiasm and there are plenty ; f facts. . . . Miss Pankhurst, as might be anticipated, is at her clearest and most interesting on such matters as divorce, marriage laws, child welfare, and infant education."

-Labour Monthly.

THE AXE TO THE ROOT BY JAMES CONNOLLY.

New Edition, 3D.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

#### 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

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 of them. lodgings, salary, to make him presents, even for tismad font.

The bishop was still a feudal lord. The lords, the abolition of the town dues and subsidies. mayoral courts."

people, such as the poll tax, the twentieths, the they would not. taille, the so-called "voluntary gifts, and the assessment of the dues was being made, hundreds of privileged persons claimed exemption: the clergy, the nobles, officers in the Amy, " officers of the ning's household," "homorary equerries," 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

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 popular slogans were: "Bread," and "Down political equality of the citizens and their influ- with the Toll-gates," which meant free enence in the elections of the administrators of the trance of food supplies from the country into Clear, simple and entertaining for students of public property and of the freely-elected judges the town; they either compelled reductions in all ages. Specially recommended for Proletarian freely eligible."

Town Council and judges by universal suffrage, middle class food monopolists than again, The Municipal authorities opposed this. Nego- the nobility. When the people had forced the tiations between the authorities and a revo- election of a new democratic municipality lutionary deputation. The people gathered middle class who got themselves elected to lutinoary depution took place. The people used the municipalities to set up Municip gathered outside the Town Hall and began Guards to quell the people. throwing stones into the Chamber. Thereupon In the country districts the warfare of the the authorities sulkily yielded.

The well-to-do middle class now appealed to lords broke out with new fire. The peasants the Governor of the province to allow them to were now bent, not only on abolishing these form themselves into an armed police to act with but on obtaining also possession of the land the troops—in fact, to form a White Guard, It was said that bogus decrees of the King and

The Governor, Count Rochambeau, was im- these encouraged the action of the peasants bued with aristocratic notions: he was stiffly and In the east, north-east and south-east the rice staunchly a blue-blooded representative of the ings were most general. In the Franche-Comté old regime. He refused, as de Launey of the nearly all the châteaux were burned. In the Bastille refused. The rulers of olden times had Dauphine three out of every five were plur not the agility of mind which characterises the dered. In Alsace in eight days three abbevs rulers of to-day. Moreover, they feared the were destroyed, eleven châteaux sacked, other middle class property owners—to-day they are plundered, and all the land records destroyed

Next day a rumour spread that the municipal dues of all sorts were burned. In the Franchethe honour of holding his children at the bap- authorities had revoked the concessions they had Comté, at Lons-le-Saulnier, the peasants granted. The people returned again, demanding divided amongst themselves the meadows and

both lav and ecclesiastical, maintained the right It was rather like what happened at Poplar. of intervening in the nomination of aldermen, and when the Guardians abandoned the relief scale the Commons. In some places the lords quietly in some cases of administering justice. Dijon had they had set up. But that old French beside the municipal tribunal, six ecclesiastical crowd did not sing, There you are then," Courts-" the Bishopric, the Chapter, the monks About six o'clock in the evening, organised bodies burnt the registers the peasants planted a of Saint-Bénigne, La Saint-Chapelle, La of workmen marched on the Town Hall and Chartreuse, and the Commandery of La smashed its doors with hatchets and hammers, emblems on its boughs, and danced round the Madeleine." All these enriched themselves at and destroyed all the documents. The Record tree. Sometimes in the South they hung up the expense of the people. Troyes had nine and tax-collectors' offices were visited in the same an inscription: "By order of the King and of ecclesiastical tribunals beside two "royal way—all the papers were burned. It is said that the National Assembly, a final quittance of the troops stationed before the Town Hall were rents.' All kinds of feuch taxes were levied upon the powerless to hinder the people—we suspect that

The Municipal authorities agreed to reduce lods et ventes, which were dues levied by the and fix the price of bread and meat. They opened "brigands," and armed to resist them. The feudal lord in all sales and purchases. When the negotiations with the twelve tribus or guilds of revolting peasants spoke of themselves as the city, for the drafting of a new municipal con- "Jacques Bonhommes," and they are referred stitution. Meanwhile, the people were turning to as the jacquerie. The numbers and deeds out the Provosts of the Communes and electing of the peasant bands were greatly exaggerated. others in their stead. They were also claiming The Mayor of Péronne said : "Thanks to the to make the forests common land. The troops sinister rumours, we can keep on foot an army were fraternising with the people. On August of three millions of middle class men and 12th, the 300 Aldermen resigned their offices peasants all over France." Adrien Duport, a and privileges. New Aldermen were elected and well-known member of the Assembly and the

The new Aldermen, however, were by no means lute, but not well known men, as agents, who revolutionary except in their own narrow inter- avoided the towns, but went to the villages, ests. The Strasbourg middle classes were freed announcing 'the brigands are coming,' and from the feudal dues which had forced them to declaring that the brigands were burning the pay tribute to the lords, and they had secured a crops that the people might starve. The tocdemocratic municipal government. Neverthe- sin would ring, the peasants would arm, the less they themselves still retained some feudal rumour would go forward to the towns, and rights over certain surrounding lands. The two the townspeople would arm themselves. This Strasbourg deputies to the National Assembly he and others said they did to get the people refused to surrender these privileges, and when armed against the King." 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 the price of grain, or took possession of it. Schools and Classes.

Ignoring the existing law they elected a new Generally the people were fiercer against the

peasants against the feudal privileges of the though of course they did not call it so. of the Assembly were published, and Registers of feudal taxes, statute-labours and woods of the lords and compelled the lords to renounce the land which formerly belonged to gave up the land registers, and swore to renounce the feudal rights. Then when they had "may tree" in the village, hung the feudal

Bands of peasants marched about the country and into the towns doing the work of the Revolution. The middle class called them the at their first meeting they elected the judges. Breton Club, boasted that he sent about "reso-

(To be continued.)

JUST OUT.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS. By Edward Carpenter. A TELLING SATIRE.

Price - 4d. FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP. 152 Fleet Street, London E.C.4.

WRIT ON COLD SLATE. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Price 1s. 7d., Post Free.

" Writ on Cold Slate ' is so beautifully and terribly realistic that when reading the poems I suffered again the mental anguish an understanding mind feels

"Great as is the artistic value of the poems, to me their most precious quality lies in the way the veil rent and the naked truth revealed." -CLARA GILBERT COLE.

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO La Lingvo Internacia Price 4d., post free.

# PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

beyond what has appeared in the has to pay Rates for his machinery.

nced to the world for the general benefit. Party to dispense with his services.

#### EMIGRATION.

Comrades in the Overseas Dominions say: "Don't come." Nevertheless numbers of Only men prepared to go on the land nd women willing to enter domestic service were accepted. The Government has now inoduced an Empire Settlement Bill to extend the work of emigration, because the need of e Dominions for "population to develop heir resources," "human capital," as Mr. ery, the Government representative said, is even greater than our need for the transfer rplus population." Mr. Amery did not wider and wider circles. the Dominions would ever be able to y their needs from the British adult popu-: but he thought they could be satisfied aild emigration from this country. Dr. irdo's Homes had done a wonderful work, e said, and the Government of South Austraa proposed to invite out some 6,000 boys tween the ages of 15 and 18, "to start them ife under selected farmers."

The Poor Law children who are not sent to nan the Army and Navy will be shipped out this scheme. What sort of protection ist grievous exploitation will these little s have in the fierce struggle of competitive

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

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

THE POCKET OR THE PARTY? EDGWOOD FAILS AT THE TEST. Friday, Private Members' Day, Sir emnant introduced a Bill to abolish the g of local rates upon machinery, except ament, which is usually not the case.

the Labour Party, supported this Bill. Of Socialist policy.

When Parliament assembled Members were course he did: is he not one of the proprietors that the Government had "no informa- of the pottery which bears his name? Of to give the House in regard to events in course he has a fellow feeling for the man who

George Barker, a South Wales miners' rethe Government certainly does nothing to presentative, took the opposite view. Unlike and to the dignity and self-importance of its 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, rench, have just been doing a little capitalist potter and collier." In the days of unemploy-The German dye trust, the Interessin ment, when the Boards of Guardians are faced inschaft, has just promised its trade with the privations of the workless, and the rets to the French dyers, La Compagnie de inability of the workers to pay the increased ales to France and its colonies, and hands to facturer is clearly seen. If the capitalist the German firm 50 per cent. of its profits. The system were changed for Communism, this rench purchasers of dyes will be the victims dilemma with its clash of interests would disapthis arrangement, because they will have to pear. In the meantime it exists. Colonel ovide the usual profits for the French manu- Wedgwood is not working to overthrow capi- they were during the harvest of the Great The manufacturer of dye passes the Labour Party, the purpose of which is to suplysis, the working-class consumer who can- of interests. When put to this practical test, went over to the capitalists' end of the board. nder Communism all inventions will be an- Labour Party. It is the duty of the Labour

#### DAFFODILS £ 10 A PIECE.

A new white daffodil has just been produced eople believe that the Dominions offer rosy It is to be named after Viscountess Northspects. 100,000 persons, including the cliffe. The Times says: "The price is not yet lies of the emigrants, were sent out since fixed, but it will probably be £, 10 a piece." It the Armistice under the Government scheme. will not grow in your back yard, fellow worker. hese represented only one-third of the appli- Trade is evidently not so very bad, after all, since some people can afford such blooms.

#### "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" £500 FUND.

nought has been the most advanced organ of is not at the dance. All the girls ask, "Where's the workers' movement in this country. We appeal to you to keep the Workers' Dread- who have not as yet succumbed to the despair

Our readers praise the paper and urge us to ing up to get married. Everyone tries to laugh. persevere, we ask them to do the same.

We ask you ¶ To sell the Dreadnought. -To canvass for new readers. To get our posters shown.

name in the list?

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.—Cont. from page 2.

Gordian knots; the only thing that brought the Bob is "down and out"! 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 machinery is fixed or attached to the Revolution in that first period ... It was its forward-driving element, and, in this sense, it onel Wedgwood, though a member of was the only party that carried on a genuinely (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 outs" 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. Those mutual enemies, the Germans and the said Barker, the burden falls on "the poor 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 res Colorantes et de Produits chimiques Rates to support the unemployed, the meaning and despair. No work! No home! No social condition that the French firm confines its of lowering Rates in the interest of the manu- 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 turers as well as an equal sum to the Ger- talism. He has thrown in his lot with the World War. Visit one of our big parks, there you see them. The maid is laughing; her hope ourden on to his customer, and, in the last port the workers' end in the perpetual see-saw is still high. She has not been branded to the same extent in the holacaust of despair as her pass his burdens on to anyone is the person Colonel Wedgwood deserted the workers' and lover. Watch his eye; it is sad; he tries to laugh. Yes, laugh, fellow-Christian, and he But why should there be trade secrets? It is Colonel Wedgwood's duty to leave the 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 work-For eight years the Workers' Dread- ing, that's all. Bob can't help it himself. He Bob?" Some of the more brave among them nought affoat and to extend its influence to ever of no work say, "Bob taking a night off; he is getting serious." Another one says he is sav-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 The £500 fund has reached only £144 12s. of 18 years. She does not know; her father 1d. Add another £20 to it this week. Is your 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 protest) that they have staked everything on a it no concern of yours? God has been good to coalition with the bourgeois Liberals. They have me; I have everything the world can give in pinned their faith to the enforced association of creature comforts; I have just come home from those elements which have been sundered by the a fourteen days' stay at one of the lovely Scotnatural and inner course of the revolutionary de- tish seaside resorts. But Bob was not there; velopment, and are in sharp opposition to each only respectable Christians, school teachers. other. The Axelrods and Dans wanted, at any clerks, male and female post office workers, price, to cooperate with those classes and parties railway workers (the genteel section), heads of that were putting the Revolution and its first departments, with their families; and God was achievement, democracy, in the gravest danger. good to them all; they were all well dressed, In view of this situation it will be seen that it and they all seemed happy. The young ladies is to the historic credit of the Bolshevist political were pictures, just what you would read in school, that, from the beginning, it has pro- Ethel Dell's novels, and so were the young claimed, and through thick and thin adhered to men, and they were laughing. Just as it ought those tactics, which were alone able to make to be. But Bob was not there. I looked everydemocracy safe and to allow the Revolution to go where for him, on the golf course, on putting ahead. To put all the power solely in the hands greens, at the pictures. No, I found him of the masses of the workers and peasants, in the nowhere, and I was sad. Bob is down and hands of the Soviets, was, in fact, the only way out, and what does Communism mean to you? out of the difficulty into which the Revolution Nothing? Think it well over before you had fallen. This was the blow that severed the answer. Bob said so. But not to-day, for

# COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY

KOLLONTAY'S SPLENDID PAMPHLET. Tells what everyone wants to know about life under

Strikes a blow at Capitalist Social Conventions. From WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT Office, 152, Flest 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 halfpenny rate. If you get your "Dreadnought" by post it will cost you ros. rod. 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

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 1.335,000,000; 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 Bud-

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 spply 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. To the average, one penny for every shilling, to cover postage.

We charge the postage of foreign books, from London only, and fix price it 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? Books on History, Economics, etc.

Cloth Covers.	
The Collapse of Capitalism (Cahn)	3/6
Capitalism To-day (Cahn)	10/-
The Right to be Lazy (Lafargue)	3/6
Social Studies (Lafargue)	3/6
The Evolution of Property (Lafargue)	3/6
Memoirs of Marx (Wilhelm Liebknecht)	8/6
Origin of the Family (Engels)	3/6
Essays on Materialist Conception of History	010
(Labriola)	6/6
Wages, Prices and Profits	4/6
Men and Steel (Mary Heaton Vorse)	3/6
Capital (Karl Marx)	7/6
Civil War in France (Karl Marx)	1/6
Socialism and Modern Science (Ferri)	6/6
Economic Causes of War (Achille Loria)	6/6
Alphabet of Economics (A. R. Orage)	2/6
Fields, Factories and Workshops (Kropotkin)	2/-
Conquest of Bread (Kropotkin)	2/-
Hugo Stinnes (H. Brinckmayer)	7/6
International Labour Legislation (H. J. W.	1/0
Hetherington, M.A.)	4/6
	1/0
Paper Covers.	
The Irish Labour Movement (W. P. Ryan)	2/6
Left Wing Trade Unionism in France (Pierre	
Monatte and others)	1/6
Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?	
Oil (Francis Delaisi)	2/6
The Eighteenth Brumaire (Karl Marx)	1/6
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (Engels)	1/6
Study Course in Scientific Socialism	1/6
No Compromise (Liebknecht)	8d.
Marxism and Darwinism (Pannekoek)	8d.
The Rights of the Masses (George D.	
Brewer)	8d.
The Right to be Lazy (Paul Lafarque)	8d.
Anarchism and the World Revolution (Fred	
S. Graham)	1/-
The Way Out (Wilfrid Wellock)	1/-
Reform or Revolution (Daniel de Leon)	2d.
Who Pays the Taxes (Daniel de Leon)	2d.
Socialism and Evolution (H. S. Aley, M.D.)	1d.

#### 

stiff boards 3/6

Marx on Mallock: Or Facts v. Fiction

Looking Beyond. A Sequel to "Looking	
Backward" (L. A. Geiseler)	3/-
Dreams (Olive Schreiner)	3/-
The Red Lily (Anatole France)	2/-
Penguin Island (Anatole France)	2/-
Thaïs (Anatole France)	2/-
Monsieur Bergeret in Paris (Anatole France)	7/6
The Party and other Stories (Chekhov)	8/6
News from Nowhere (William Morris)	3/6
The Spy (Upton Sinclair)	3/6
Sylvia's Marriage (Upton Sinclair)	Committee of
Jack London's Novels, 2/- each.	2/-
	2/
Papa's War (Edward Garnett)	3/-
The Ragged Tronsered Philanthropists	0/6
The Women of Coder Cross (Constance	2/6
The Women of Cedar Grove (Constance	+1
Wynne)	5/-
Paper Covers.	7/
Twenty-six Men and a Girl (Maxim Gorki)	1/-
The Kiss and other Stories (Anton Chekov).	1/-
Poems in Prose (Bandelaire)	1/-
Factory Echoes (R. M. Fox)	1/-
Songs of Labour (Rosenfeld)	3/-
The Red Dawn (Albert Young)	6d.
Prison Impressions (Clara Gilbert Cole)	6d.
Our Grandfather (Viteslav Halek)	9d.
Poldik the Scavenger (Viteslav Halek)	4d.

# Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphlets Name or Title Price Price Price

Soviets						Doz.	rer 100.
harin Chief T	) look	of	Our	Times	1d.	- 6d.	4/-
THE RESERVE AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE	W/ 1977 - 17			Times		2/6	8/-

Self-Education of the Workers	
(A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6	
Lloyd George Takes the Mask	8/-
Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 11d. 1/-	*
Housing and the workers he-	5/-
volution (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6	8/.
The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Truth About Russia	10/
(Pangama)	
Programme of the Russian Com-	12/
munist Party 2d. 1/6	0/
The Hungarian Revolution	8/-
(Schmidt) 9d. 8/9	24/.
The Communist Party and	
Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 Ireland (Gorter)	8/-
Facts About Communist Hun-	4/-
racts About Communist Hun- gary (Alice Riggs Hunt)	10.
Capitalism and the Counter-Re-	10/.
volution (J. T. Walton	
Newbold 3d. 2/6	8/
Red Russia (Reed) 6d. 4/-	16/.
Appeal to the Young (James	
Bourgeois Democracy (Lenin) 2d. 1/6	8/
Post Cards: Rosa Luxemburg; Karl Liebki	8/-
Sylvia Pankhurst, 2d. each. Bakunin; Krop	lecht;
Darwin, 1d. each.	otkin,
FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.	
Appeal to the Young (Kropotkin)  Appeal to the Young (James Stewart)	2d.
Haw-Milton Palace (John Davidson)	2d.
The Round Table (Tom Anderson)	8d. 2d.
The Ten Proletarian Maxims (Tom Anderson)	2d.
The Betrothal and the Rehearsal (Tom	
Anderson)	3d.
When I'm a Man (Tom Anderson)	
Pohol Cone (Tom Andrews)	2d.
Rebel Songs (Tom Anderson)	20

## 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 cords 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 Internatinals, Industrial History, etc. Comrades desiring his services should write to the Workers' Dréadnought, at 152 Fleet Street, for further particulars.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by S. Corio at 10, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.