FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. Founded and Edited by

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 21st, 1922.

WEEKLY.

The London Committee of the R.I.L.U. held delegate conference at the Essex Hall, Strand, January 14th, 505 bodies, branches and diset committees of Trade Unions and unemployed wanisations and trades councils were repre-

The first resolution was as follows :--

"This meeting of delegates assembled in conference on January 14th, pledge themselves to resist any attempt to introduce longer hours into any industry. It calls upon the Executive Committees of the Unions represented et this conference to immediately organise a imited resistance to this despicable attempt to further exploit the workers, and demands that the General Council of Trade Unions be called together in order that the necessary arrangements can be made for a National fight, if necessary."

It was strange to hear such prominent memof the late Workers' Committee organisaon as Jack Tanner and Harry Pollitt urging the ceptance of this resolution and opposing an condment, not merely to wait till the emvers seek to increase hours of labour, and en to resist the increase; but to take the ensive by an effort to secure reduced hours now. ency Jack Tanner advocated the resolution as actical; whilst Harry Pol'itt declared that the Justrial movement in this country is in a state demoralisation, and can do no more than hold the line." The line is hardly being held present, however.

Il was, indeed, strange to hear Jack Tanner Harry Pollitt advocating an appeal to the eneral Council of the Trade Unions to take tion to protect the workers against an increase hours, instead of using the failure of the nions and their Council to do this, and also ir failure to prevent wages cuts as levers for tadvancement of the rank and file movement which, till the other day, the two champions the R.I.L.U. professed an abounding faith. The amendment further proposed that the ganisations which had sent delegates to the merence should pledge themselves to action, lead of handing the matter on to the General unoil of Trade Unions, which was unlikely in eaction. The amendment was lost by 284 os to 249.

Asking the Rank and File to Act.

he second resolution was an admission that from within " has so far achieved capitalists will be bankrupt. bing, and that in order to secure even a re-

"This Conference recognises that, in the tent of the Trade Union Movement refusing lake action to prevent the present hours leing extended, it will then become the duty the rank and file themselves to take action. the Conference declares that IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY TRADE UNIONIST 10 REFUSE TO WORK THE LONGER HOURS WHICH ARE INTRODUCED. ONLY TO WORK THE EXISTING HOURS, AFTER WHICH THEY SHOULD LEAVE THE FACTORY. Where such section is taken, this Conference pledges itself support the men involved whatever conequences are entailed. It further instructs London Committee to arrange meetings

with all the local Unemployed Committees, so that there need be no fear of the Unemployed being used to break down our resistance to the introduction of LONGER HOURS OF

LABOUR."

The British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. has here placed itself in a most curious position. Obedient to Moscow's dictates, it makes no effort to form extra-union rank and file organisations. On the contrary, it works against such organisations, because Moscow has declared against them. The leaders of the late Shop Stewards organisation, now in the R.I.L.U., have hastened its death and have assisted at its burial. They have accepted the dictum that the official Trade Unions are the only bodies which can act. Nevertheless, they now turn to the rank and file and tell them that it is their duty to face the risk of action, unsupported by organisation if the Unions fail, as the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. expects they will.

Harry Pollitt backed up the resolution by the old stunt that used to be so popular before the war, the pretence that by holding out some palliative bait to the workers, they will inadvertenly bring down the capitalist system by running after this bait, and so enter into the paradise of Communism without having wanted it. He insisted that the capitalist must either extend the working hours, or Capitalism is done for. Pollitt evidently imagines that British Capitalism is like a house of cards and will capsize at a breath. 4 number of successful capitalists declare that output and efficiency increase when hours are reduced to 40 per week, or even less; but no matter, such facts do not bear out Pollitt's argument, therefore ignore them. Pollitt declared that the working class cannot be united on the wages question, but it can be on the hours; and naively asserted that the fight against increased hours will enable:-(1) the unemployed to get more work; (2) the Trade Unionist to protect what he has got, and (3) the Revolutionary to bring down Capitalism and achieve the world-wide revolution.

It is surprising that the delegates heard such tomfoolery without protest. We wonder how those who have been termed "the master minds of Moscow " regard such reasoning!

Pollitt means, if he means anything at all by such statements, that if the workers refuse to work longer hours. British goods will be underent in the world market and the British

Assuming that the contention were correct, the possibility of action, the R.I.L.U. must low does he imagine that employment would peal to the rank and file. All the Theses of be increased? Surely if British firms had lost scow cannot root out of the rebel who has had all their export orders and were even undercut in ctical experience, the knowledge that no the home markets by foreign imports to an exthe action can be hoped from the Trade tent so serious as to ruin the main fabric of British Capitalism, unemployment would be more widespread than it has ever been before. We need not carry the argument further; but, of course. British Capitalism could not be ruined by the simple device of refusing to reduce working hours below their present level. Pollitt would be well advised to stop talking transparent

Harry Pollitt further declared that whilst the workers must refuse to work longer than the present hours, the unemployed must raid the factories where there is any resultant victimisation. One does not know why the underfed unemployed should be selected for the tasks needing pluck and brawn; perhaps it is because they will not lose a job if they become his Majesty's guests at Pentonville.

Be that as it may, the representatives of the organised unemployed manfully said they would do the raiding in support of victimised workers: indeed they reported that they have already carried out some raids in support of strikers. The resolution was carried with enthusiasm.

Russia: A Contradiction.

The Conference further resolved:-

"This Conference of London Trade Unionists, realising the close connection between the decay of British trade and the consequent growth of unemployment, owing to the exciusion of Russia from the comity of Nations, demands that full political recognition be given to the Soviet Government of Russia by the British Government. It further recommends that in any future International negotiations, the British Government should see that facilities are given for the Russian Government to be represented at such conferences."

No one observed that this resolution to reestablish British Capitalism by trading with Russia was the negation of Pollitt's statement, that the desired end was to ruin the capitalist system. Moreover, no one seemed to realise that the objects of the resolution: the recognition of Soviet Russia by the Capitalist Powers and her admission to their conferences is already conceded. It is conceded, not under pressure of Labour, but because Soviet Russia has compro-

mised her position.

The Unemployed.

A. Square, London organiser of the Unemployed, moved:-

"This Conference calls upon the Executives of the Unions represented at this Conference to immediately stop all further payments of Unemployed Benefit, and to conserve the Union Funds for fighting purposes. It further urges all Trade Unionists to resist the imposing of levies for Unemployed purposes, and to oppose all Government schemes of relief for Unemployment that involve contributions from the workers."

This was supported by the Unemployed present with considerable enthusiasm, and accepted without dissent. It was argued that many Unions will be financially obliged to stop payments to their unemployed members, and that the unemployed should go to the Guardians and leave the Trade Union Funds for fighting purposes. There is much to be said for the latter argument; but one cannot help regretting the loss of any bit of solidarity shown by the workers to each other.

The Revolution will not be made on strike pay! Clothing Workers to Take It Seriously.

Elsbury, representing the United Clothing Workers, warned the Conference that, as organser of his Union, he was taking the hours resolution seriously. He hoped the pledge of the R I.L.U., to stand by those who refuse to work longer hours, will be kept, and also that of the organised unemployed. A conference of his Union would be held at once, and strikes would follow.

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of the paper necessitate prempt payment.

OIL AND POLITICS.

out a most illuminating book on oil, * by Francis EUROPE-Delaisi, a Frenchman who was once a Socialist, but who has gone over to the side of a more efficient Capitalism.

He observes the unscrupulous doings of British capitalist politicians, and says to the French: "Go, thou, and do likewise"; but he has knowledge, and provides a wealth of valuable information supported by documents.

He tells the story of the British Navy and British merchant ships, pre-eminent largely because Britain has coal at home and coaling stations at convenient points all over the world.

British Capitalism was fortunate in its assurance of cheap coal; in its assurance of a navy to protect its privileges and its shipping.

Then he shows us the rise of oil: the invention of the Diesel internal combustion engine, which Oil flows directly into the machine and so say's dustry, shipping, the navy, and export. labour. For the same weight 70 per cent, more heat is obtained. The oil-driven vessel can easily out-distance the coal-driven.

coal-driven Navy and merchant shipping and her would the U.S. have done it had she known convenient coaling stations were about to be all? superseded in efficiency. By whom?

ploit oil to any extent. Its Standard Oil Com- find that in Palestine Mesopotamia, everywhere, pany was supplying the world. British Capital- Great Britain had secured the oil and barred the ism decided to out-do United States Capitalism door against American competitors. Preside it and prevent it from expanding to any further Wilson appealed in his Fourteen Points in prooil fields. British Capitalism determined to test, but the appeal was vain, secure the controlling power over the majority of the world's oil supply.

oil supply is supposed to consist of 60,000 million ful, they say, for Britain to control an Empire on barrels, of this 7,000 million only is in the hands which the sun never sets, because we allow free of America. Britain controls most of the other trade to everyone: we maintain the open door. 53,000 million barrels. Britain has her oiling stations as well as her coaling stations conveniently situated all over the world.

important that United States Capitalism should those of the Standard Oil Company. Britain, not know what was going on, lest it should join however, had shut the door against America and in the competition. Sir John Cadman, a pro- all the territories under her sway, and had fessor at Birmingham University, Sir Marcus formed a concerted plan for excluding the U.S. Samuel, Lord Cowdray, Lord Rothschild, Lord from all the unexploited oil fields of the world. Curzon, and others, some of them members of the Government itself, went quietly to work. M. Delaisi lauds the patriotism of these men, who, by getting most of the world's oil supply into. the hands of British Capitalism, incidentally insured coal to the Navy; but these men lined their own private pockets also. Some day there will doubtless be revelations regarding political dealings in oil, of a gigantic character.

The Shell Transport Company, originally a small company trading in mother-o'-pearl in distant seas, was secretly subsidised and assisted by the British Government. The Pearson group, under Lord Cowdray, formed the Mexican Eagle Company. The great Dutch Trust, The Royal Dutch oil company was made British.

In order to allay suspicion that the British Government might be interested in these companies, an Admiralty representative stated that the Navy must not be dependent for oil upon international trusts. On the pretence of precluding a monopoly by the three great companies, Parliament was asked to vote money for the Government to acquire a substantial interest in the Burmah Oil Company, and half the shares in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

The Germans had discovered oil in the upper valley of the Tigris. The Germans wanted it for themselves. Considerable friction resulted, which was one of the causes of the war; but in the meantime, as a compromise, it was agreed that the oil fields should be exploited by both English and Germans.

The Labour Publishing Company has just got portant sources, as the following table shows:-

Roumania, Shell-Royal Dutch.

California, Shell-Royal Dutch. Venezuela ,, ,,

Dutch East Indies, Shell-Royat Dutch. Burmah, Burmah Oil Company. Persia, Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Egypt, Shell-Royal Dutch.

The British production does not at present made possible the use of cheap fuel oil, mazut, reach one-third of the American Standard Oil and later the introduction of the oil directly into Company; but the oil lands of the United States the furnaces of great ships. By thus using oil are rapidly becoming exhausted. It is estimated instead of coal, 30 per cent. of bunker space was that motor cars, lorries and tractors absorb 85 saved, the radius of action increased by 50 per per cent. of the United States production, cent, with the expenditure of the same power, and that only 15 per cent, is left for in-

During the war the U.S. supplied 80 per cent. of the oil consumption of the Allied Armiesan enormous drain. To supply this enormous These new discoveries meant that Britain's quantity of oil to the Allies was profitable; but

In 1917 the Standard Oil Company sent out is The United States was the first country to ex- prospectors in search of fresh oil fields, only o

Some of our patriots, often excessively ignorant, frequently plume themselves on be-British Capitalism has succeeded. The world's longing to a Free Trade nation; it is not harm-

America has followed the open door policy, so genuinely that the British Shell Transport had acquired oil fields even within the United States British Capitalism set to work secretly; it was itself, and was laying its pipes side by side with

> The U.S. Senate now called on its Government for a report on "the measures taken by foreign governments to exclude Americans from oil. Sir Edgar Mackay Elgar replied insolently, in the London Times, revealing the strangle-hold

that British capital had established, and adding

year, America, before very long, will have to French territory have been left to British com purchase from British companies and to pay for panies to develop. in dollar currency, in increasing proportious, Delaisi describes, with bitterness, the machine the oil she cannot do without and is no longer tions of the ten companies of so-called able to furnish from her own store. I estimate "refiners," acting together, who have secured that, if their present curve of consumption, a monopoly of oil in France. On the pretext of especially of high-grade products, is maintained, protecting French industries, they procured Americans, in ten years, will be under the duty on crude oil of 9 francs per quintal, and necessity of importing 500 million barre's 13.50 francs on refined oil. of oil yearly at \$2 a barrel—a very low figure—and that means an annual payment of \$1,000,000,000 per annum, most, if not all of which will find its way into British pockets. . . With the exception of Mexico and, to a lesser extent, of Central America. the outer world is securely barricaded against an American invasion in force. There may be small isolated sallies, but there can never be a massed attack. The British position is im-

The United States at once replied, giving the Secretary for the Navy, power to set apart as that the duty of 9 francs per quintal should apple the capitalise, by taught them some lessons." Mr. Stenhuis, or leased without his consent.

There is now not a single oil-producing country countries have reserves of oil sufficient to last Publishing Company, 2s. 6d., and from the lessons that

consumption, had only oil enough to eighteen years.

The United States now retaliated by settir the United States Oil Corporation, which be ostensibly an independent company, by would work more or less under Government trol, the President appointing its nine direct and the Government having the right to pure the whole, or part of its products. The who power of the Government, economic military, will be behind it. In short, it receive all the support that the British Govern ment gives to similar companies formed at its the private capitalist receives all the profits.

in conjunction with governments is enormous. they negotiate with governments as though they were themselves the governments of nations, a play off one government against another to their own mercenary ends. Delaisi describes the coming of the Dutch oil trust int the British combinations:

"This enterprise [The Royal Dutch]. thanks to the wealth of its fields in the Sunda Islands (Java, Sumatra, Timor, etc.), ite powerful financial organisation and its fleet of the easy to smuggle shares. They were brought tank steamers, was by far the most important over by aeroplane, "It is asserted that even the of the European trusts. To be frank, it had lately been suspected of a certain sympathy of the Embassies—whom one would like to bewith Germany, whose market it used to supply. But when war supervened, the British Navy, hares of the Royal Dutch and Mexican Eagle, by its command of the seas, was in a position and made pleasant and profitable connections for to hold up its traffic completely. And therefore, it prudently placed its resources at the disposal of the Allies, gaining thereby a preciation of the franc; but the more it did so, huge increase of business and profits. "The downfall of the German Empire and the draconian clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, table of the franc fell, food and clothing rose in which spell the ruin of German shipping and price, and the poor were plunged in suffering; industry for ten years, convinced it that it but speculators and society people rejoiced, be-

United States, and Central America, and a sploit the newly discovered French oil fields. system of affiliated companies with a total capital of over 200 millions sterling."

The methods of French financiers are exposed M. Delaisi with some heat. He prefers those of Britain. In truth, as he reveals it, the part played by French financiers in the oil scramble a selfish and contemptible one. They have been unwilling to aid in the Idevelopment new oil fields, even though these may be French possessions, and have preferred to take up shares in established companies already paying dividends. Therefore their money has buttressed "To the tune of many millions of pounds at the British companies, and the oil fields on

A Pennsylvanian oil company possessed which contained 90 per cent. of the products refining, and which only required heating to come refined oil. The ten companies arrange to have reserved to themselves the limital quantity of this oil which existed, and to import it as crude oil, afterwards refining it at a neg ligible cost and selling it at a large profit. other importers could compete with them. fore the Pennsylvanian oil was exhausted, the had established themselves as monopolists.

h coal to warm 200,000 houses would have .

war, war, war, weekbrokers required more careful handling; but The power of the great companies that work what they desired was " not to produce and sell but to produce and sell shares."

he method adopted by crafty British capitalwas therefore to deluge the French market shares carrying high dividends in wellshed British companies. These would give mediate return, much larger than could be desined for some time in any new enterprise. Therefore Shell Transport and Royal Dutch shares were shipped to France in large quantities. The French law forbade the export of capital, but it linlomatic bag was employed. Young attachés leve foreigners-introduced by this channel, themselves in banks and in drawing rooms." The export of French capital increased the dehe richer became the holders of French securities. The gamble spread throughout society. As the could only enjoy security through an under their fortunes were growing. At last a Meanwhile, 'he victorious bourgeoisie gained by the Government free of charge '-

Thus crafty British capitalists established antirench and pro-British elements in France itself.

The British companies had still the task of French out of Syria, which was promised to rance as a part of her war spoils. Emir Feisul, lelaisi says, was operating with British money British arms :-

"Then Lord Curzon said, Sign the agreement with the Royal Dutch, and you shall have Syria.' M. Millerand accepted. Immedifeisul was left to himself. Thus the umphal entry of General Gourad into amascus was paid for by the abandonment of ur oil resources."

at a pretty tale of diplomatic knavery it is! dritish statesmanship is not only looking after oil, however. British coal is sold to France

America is naturally displeased that France has with the bourgeoisie in which the British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present Workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present Workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E. C. British have not control of im- 250 years, whilst the United States, at its present workers while the control of im- 250 years, while the contr

antil August 1919, when the duty on mazut monopolists. Within ten years she might have educed to 40 centimes. Yet France was received plentiful supplies of oil from her own hort of coal, and had the electric railways territories. Moreover, she might have used both oris been able to use mazut instead of coal, French and American in her enterprises,

The fermation of a new oil company, The Standard Franco-Americaine, was announced as then oil fields were recently discovered a M. Delaisi was correcting his proofs. The nch territory, in Algeria, Morocco, and emergence of this new company may mark the agascar, the British were anxious to exploit beginning of a new Franco-American policy which It was, of course, necessary to concilliace will conflict with the schemes of British h interests; the ten monopolist companies Capitalism. Delaisi observes that the close allioffer no resistance, provided their own ance of France and Britain to exclude America poly of the French home market were not from the oil fields might lead to a Germanstigation; whilst, as is the case also in Britain monopoly of the Trench House market were and American combination, and might also lead to

> Delaisi accuses 'he bourgeois dealers in shares of sacrificing the interests of their country: he would have French capitalists emulate British Capitalism. If the Delaisi policy triumphs, we shall certainly have war.

HOLLAND.

" (BY A DUTCH CORRESPONDENT.) At the time of writing, the big strike of the metal workers has just come to an end. In a previous letter- I presaged, without intending "standard of living" they would have gained small minority is compelled to accept the pro- Republics, and abroad, posed reduction of wages. They may now realise that they have fought along the wrong line. In that case they will have gained something: experience and insight. To a certain extent this will be the case with the workers in general.

"Henceforward the Dutch trust, whose top prices; banks asked their society clients to duction in wages and increase of unemployment enormous interests little Holland was in take delivery of their shares, and, incapable of must increase the general depression. The capable of defending, enjoyed the protection of mying such prices, the greater number sold Trade Union leaders have produced a type of the British Government. The latter in return, and. Royal Dutch fell from 72,000 francs to people called "traitors." As a matter of has obtained an associate whose contribution \$5,000 francs. London bought back a consider- fact they must betray their men, even if they is represented by a production of ten million the proportion of the shares; but it was con- have no intention of doing so. One of them is tons a year, a fleet of tankers of 600,000 tons semient to leave a substantial number in French discussing the general strike in his paper with his (ten times those of France), enormous concest pands: that would ensure French support for the comrades of the so-called revolutionary Trade sions in the East Indies, Roumania, the proposal to permit these British companies to Unions (Syndicalists, organised in the N.A.S.). He says—and he is quite right, from a Trade Union point of view:

curing the agreement of the French Govern- the advocacy of the general strike by insertions. ment; the threat to refuse coal, coupled with the the innocence, or lack of knowledge romise to supply France with all the oil she of economics. We can only attribute it to the eds, and to offer two-thirds of the shares to the need of a propaganda cry against the real Trade reach people, was brought to bear. Then came Union movement. Such a watchword of an crouble with Emir Feisul, who was driving insignificant minority does not suit the programme of a fundamental movement. The working class cannot forget the lessons that history has taught it; history teaches us that in a period of economical depression, the fitable production for the employers fortify the A valuable study. position of the latter in thei struggle against the workers. Moreover, everybody conversant with this subject, knows that in international production every country must be in a position to compete with other countries."

Golden words, indeed, from a leader of a an augmented price, and Lloyd George as realist movement! If our Syndicalist friends do sted that France shall pay 5 gold marks more not desire to remain an insignificant minority, thr coal than its cost price, in order to place they must either join the "Yellows," or leave handicap on French competition with Britain their own Trade Unions and constitute the revometal and other industries. The French metal lutionary workshop organisations, in order to dustry pays 200 francs for coal Britain gets for fight the counter-revolutionary Trade Unions. francs, and Germany for 72 francs. , and to prepare for the life and death struggle

layed into the hands of the British oil ring. They have not yet advanced to such organisaprevented the import of mazut, by procuring the Delaisi attributes to the anger arising from tion, but we do not doubt that "history has cans of a loan, the annual payments of the leader of "the realist movement" in this * "Oil, Its Influence on Politics," by France is to receive, in country, will certainly not be pleased when he It is now officially reported that foreign Delaisi, translated by Leonard Leese. Labour the money to spend perceives, one day or the other, that "the

BOLSHEVIK DIAMONDS.

The Mining World indicates that the Bolshevik diamonds have caused a slump in diamond

RUSSIAN MINES.

Krupps and Mendelssohn's of Berlin have purchased shares in the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Mining Company—a British company which operated in Russia before the Revolution.

Dealing in Russo-Asiatic shares and also in those of the Siberian Proprietary Lena and Spasky Companies on the London share market, shows that Capitalism is fast returning to its own in what was Red Russia.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

A CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION BANK.

The Petrograd Pravda of December 21st reports that the Council of People's Commissaries has formulated a decree for establishing a Consumers' Association Bank, on the basis of dividend bearing shares. The clients of the new Bank must belong to the various Consumers' Associations of all kinds. The capital of the Bank has been fixed at one million gold roubles, and will consist of deposits by the members, and to be a prophet, that they would lose. If they 300,000 gold roubles from the State Bank of the had succeeded in maintaining their usual R.S.F.S.R. The capital may be increased by the permission of the People's Commissary for nothing essential, and their minds would have Finance, in which case the State Bank's contribeen as backward as before. The greater part bution would also be increased. The Bank has of them are now locked out until the employers the right to open branches, both within the judge it advisable to take them back, while a 'borders of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Allied Soviet

> PRICE OF RUSSIAN "ISVESTIA." An advertisement in Rosta Wien gives the following rates for Isvestia, the Soviet Russia daily newspaper, which up till now was published

In Moscow, delivered to the house monthly 40,000 In the Provinces 45,000 Single copies in Moscow 2,000 Single copies in the Provinces 2,500 Workers' Communist organisations and Trade Unions, as well as individual workers (on the receipt

of a permit from the Trades Council), monthly 25,000 England 5/- monthly, and other countries at "We cannot accept the point in the N.A.S. a corresponding rate. Advertisements from pogramme which dictates the rejection of 35,000 roubles a line for Theatre Notices, to every reduction of wages. We cannot explain 50,000 roubles. An American dollar for foreign

> What a valuable institution to the Soviet Government was its free newspaper: what a mistake from its own point of view to establish a charge!

CAPITAL TO-DAY.

By HERMAN CAHN, 10s.

Briefly states the Marxian Theory of Value, standard of living of the population cannot at and explains contradictory functions of money, all times be maintained. History teaches us handicaps of money system, inadequacy of gold that in such a period the unemployment of ex- basis, theory of money tokens, money of account, tensive groups and the impossibility of a pro- social insolvency, cycle of industrial capital, etc.

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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

The abolition of the State is, we say, the task

posed upon the revolutionist—to him, at least,

asses. But he has with him all the evolution

free from a form of association rendered, per-

poverishment and misery of the masses.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

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Vol. VIII. No. 45. Saturday, Jan. 21, 1922.

THE BUBBLE BURST.

WORKERS' MOVEMENT ON TRIAL.

AND REVEALS THE ACTUAL STRENGTH OF THE once so buoyant, is now like a wounded creature. MOVEMENT FOR THE ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM.

BEGUN: WE HAVE SEEN ITS FIRST STAGE: they would not accept their present position. OTHER STAGES WILL FOLLOW.

FAILED: NOT ONE OF THESE HAS YET BEEN FSTABLISHED: THEY ARE STAGES IN THE EVOLU-TION OF SOCIETY WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN REAGHED.

In every country the working class movement has apparently received a tremendous check. We are feeling the world-wide depression in the movement very keenly here.

It is said that we have fallen upon a period of reaction: that the workers will not move forward in times of trade depression; that their revolutionary fervour subsides as the spectre of unemployment arises. It is said that we must not hope for revolution whilst the workers are labouring under the knowledge that there are several applicants for their jobs and that the employers in many cases would have no very serious objection to letting their plant lie Mle for a time, because, at present, it scarcely produces profits.

We must wait, some people say, for a revival in the workers' movement, till there is a revival in the state of their employers' trade.

Only the Reformist is justified in arguing thus. the Revolutionary must look deeper.

It is obvious that a big, confident movement to secure better conditions under the present system; a movement to secure a larger share of the profits made by the employer, is easily produced during a trade boom. The workers then observe that their employers are making big profits. They know that rather than allow a hitch in the work to occur through a strike, or even a change of workers, the employers will make many concessions. At such times it requires no courage for the workers to demand concessions: they are aware that they can display considerable independence without running the risk of dismissal. have no great difficulty in securing other employ-

A worker does not need to be a revolutionary to observe that the employer is disposed to humour him: even the most reactionary Tory workman is not slow to take advantage of the situation.

workers suffered from Press-made war fever, are, all told, but a relatively small number; but which they thought was patriotism, they flocked their ranks are more likely to be swelled in these into the Shop Stewards' movement. They did days, when bitter hardship causes masses of JUST OUT. so because, whilst the scarcity of labour and pres- people to feel, as never before, the evils of the sure to produce more gave the workers an advantage in bargaining for improved conditions, the official Trade Union bodies had pledged themselves not to take advantage of the situation.

Some people, failing to understand the position, on propaganda in the workshop, runs a greater believed the Shop Stewards' movement to be a risk of dismissal now; the money subscribed to movement for revolution, whereas it was purely the Cause is spared with greater difficulty out of a movement to force fugitive improvements reduced wages; but behind these efforts is a from the employers without at all disputing the stronger conviction and idetermination than be-

The illusion that the Shop Stewards' movement now are too few to achieve anything was revolutionary was bolstered up by members may object. We reply that the big movement of its executive, who declared, in support of it, unawakened masses achieved nothing perman that being revolutionaries, they had nevertheless As reported in the Daily Herald, the No. been elected to office. It is true that the more Council of the Italian Confederation of I fiery and extreme the orator, the more readily he has just adopted a resolution approving p was approved; but that is always the case in mentary co-operation between the Socialist popular movements, even when their object is to bourgeois political parties. achieve the mildest of reforms. The professing revolutionaries of the Shop Stewards' movement never made a proposal for action in support of any demand of a revolutionary character: they confined their attention to securing increased wages. Even their Conference resolutions (where no question of action was involved) were confined, during the heyday of the movement, to demands for higher wages and reduced hours of work. In its early small beginnings and in its later petering out, the Shop Stewards' movement passed revolutionary resolutions, but not in the days of its strengh.

"If only we had gone for something bigger!" one hears members of the revolutionary Left all their influence to prevent revolution when TRADE DEPRESSION PROVES THE TRUE Wing observe regretfully. One hears that, populace showed signs of rising to it. CHARACTER OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT, especially in South Wales, where the movement,

One sympathises with such regrets; yet, if the REVOLUTION HAS NOT FAILED: REVOLUTION workers had been advanced enough during the HAS NOT BEEN CONSUMMATED: IT HAS ONLY boom in production to attack Capitalism itself.

If the workers had attacked Capitalism during Socialism, Communism, Anarchy Have Not the boom, they could not have been victorious over Capitalism without risks, without hardship and sacrifice. If they had been ready to make the struggle for proletarian freedom then, they would not now shrink from the difficulties that would have attended it then as now.

They were not ready during the boom for a International now prepares to link up with serious struggle; they were only prepared for cheerful little skirmishes in which they felt conident they would win.

If, when the war workers held their lightning strikes they had believed themselves to be running risks they would run to-day, they would not have held those war time strikes: they would have said we are well enough as we are; we will put up with the drawbacks. But had they Party, is led by Arthur Henderson. Henderso engaged in a fight that was fundamental, that would really have endangered the capitalist system, they would have run risks incomparably greater than those a striker against wage reductions and increased hours would face to-day. Had the miners, or any other section of workers. raised the Red Flag against Capitalism, Capitalism and the Government, which is its instrument, people understand it and desire it. Poli would have fought them with the weapons of starvation, and of cold shot, and steel as well.

Those war time workers with their inflated wages were further from a revolt that would bring real hardship upon them than are the discouraged workers to-day.

It seems as though the working class movement had been a heap of unwinnowed corn: a wind has passed over it, and it is seen that the till a strong desire: a clear faith is implanted heap is much smaller than before. The chaff, the minds of the dissatisfied. Some new great without weight on stability, has blown away, and one sees that a very small measure of grain is left.

The great British Labour movement: the upheaval; but even then, only those in whom having seen. strongest in the world, as they are still saying, the belief in Communism is strong and clear will and that, should they be dismissed, they will was without the strength of a child when it strive to attain it. Only if the knowledge of came to real grips with Capitalism. Its reputa- to act has taken a firm hold, will action be taken tion throughout the world is a bubble that has and effort will be wasted if organisation has no burst. Nevertheless, it is not changed: it was been prepared. always composed of loosely-formed unconscious masses, led by men who wished, above all things, to avoid a serious conflict with Capitalism.

Those who desire the overthrow of the present During the war, although the mass of the system: the Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, present system.

The conditions of to-day make work in the movement more difficult than during the boom. A man who raises his voice in protest, or carries privileges of the employer and the stability of the hind those that cost little or no sacrifice. The efforts are too small now; those who make them

The problem was presented thus :-

"The Labour problem now is to decid evolution or revolution. To remain inert toric moment, the business of setting ourselves tween these two alternatives means death " Pevolution having failed, we must d for evolution.

"The same necessity whereby Lenin and European Governments are obliged to collaboration for Europe's reconstru applies for the Italian Socialist Party."

The resolution is based on a false prev Revolution has not been tried in Italy. promoters of the compromise thus defined workers' movement, without organised ance, was attacked by White Guard bull Violence and economic pressure have been in crush it. When the metal workers seized factories, the official organisations of the work class endeavoured to prevent, not to precipi the turning of the movement to Revolu Maybe the workers were not ready yet for certainly their leaders were not ready; bu right moment will come at last.

The Italian general confederation is not in its backward move. The Socialist and La Parties of the Second International have Second. It declares that Communists are too ahead of the workers, and must step back. The fore the Third International ceases to adve ommunism, ceases to prepare the organisation or even to advocate the form of organisation which shall produce the Soviets.

Meanwhile its desired partner, the La was invited by Widnes business men to addre their Chamber of Commerce the other day. called for a Parliament of industry to represe Capital and Labour. Such proposals are design to bolster up the capitalist system.

The need of the movement is propaganda for Communism, pure and unalloyed; to make the wire-pulling united fronts, formed by the so called " leaders " of unconscous masses : leade who, in fact, do not lead and are not followed, entirely useless. Thrills of dissatisfaction a passing through the people: thrills damped do by despair and by distrust of the unknown: of a clear vision, a firm hope of something better fear of losing the little they possess. these thrills will be damped down and dissipated wrong will some day rouse a passionate, reckle outburst of popular feeling. Then may come

Playing the old political game of camouflag and wire-pulling will not make Communists without Communists there can be no Communi

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PRESENT .- Havata, had; Vidata, seen.

ving been seen. FUTURE. - Havota, to be had; Vidota, to be

Both the active and the passive participles can take the plural J and the accusative N, and can be made into nouns or adverbs by the substitu-

tion of O or E for A as terminations. We may now venture upon more advanced exercises showing the ingenious combinations of words by which Esperanto is enriched.

Aĉeti, to buy. Ankoraŭ, yet, again. Stingi, to attain. Antaŭa, former.

parentage or by territorial limitations having during this period of transformation; that falled, we are led to work at the building up of everyone should feel more at ease than in the a society widely different from that which served past. who has boldness of thought, without which no to maintain the societies of the middle ages and revolution can be made. In this task he has op-

need to him, all the traditions of the middle The problem to be resolved has certainly not the simplicity under which it has so often been of humanity, which imposes upon us at the hispresented. To change the men in power, and for each man to return to his workshop to resume the work of yesterday, to put into circulation ans, necessary by the ignorance of times past, manufactures, and to exchange them against agreements of the communes. other manufactures— that would not suffice; - would not be final, since the present system of Yet the abolition of the State would remain production is quite as false in the aims which it a vain expression if the causes, which to-day pursues, as in the means which it employs.

tend to produce misery, continue to operate; Created to maintain poverty, it would not these causes are: the wealth of powerful persons, know how to assure plenty—and it is Plenty that the capital of exploitation. The State is created the masses demand since they have understood to principles of equality all that could serve to the impoverishment of the masses. It has their productive power. Elaborated with intent lways been necessary that one part of society to hold the masses in a state bordering on hould fall into misery in consequence of migra- misery, with the spectre of hunger always ready tions, invasions, plagues, or famines, so that to compel man to sell his strength to the holders others may become rich and acquire authority, of the land, capital and power, how could the which henceforth increases and renders the present organisation of production give well- set themselves to organise their societies means of existence of the masses more precarious. being?

Political domination cannot therefore be workers, made to exploit the peasant for the Strong in this pact of solidarity, which abolished without abolishing the causes of the benefit of the factory employee, the miner will have bound the entire society to get over for the profit of the engineer, the artisan happy times—or difficult—to share in victories For this—we have many times said—we see for the profit of the artist, and so forth, or defeat, the revolution could then undertake only one means. It is, in the first place, to assure while the civilised countries exploit the countries in full assurance the immense work of the rethe existence, and even the comfort, of all, and backward in civilisation-how could agriculture organisation of production which it would have to organise a method of producing, which will and industry, such as they are to-day, assure before it. But it would have to conclude this insure comfort. With our present means of production, it is more than possible, it is easy. It

The whole character of agriculture, industry, is to accept what results from all modern ecoand work will need to be entirely changed when nomic evolution; that is to say, to conceive our society has arrived at the conclusion that entire society as a whole which produces wealth the land, the machine, and the warehouse should without it being possible to determine the probe the fields of application of work having for portion which accrues to each in that production. its object the well-being of all.

is to organise a communistic society—not for Before returning to the daily routine, it would he consideration of absolute justice, but bebe necessary to know if the factory were necescause it has become impossible to determine the sary; to know if the field ought to be subshare of the individual in that which is no divided or not, if its cultivation ought to be done as by barbarians fifteen hundred years ago, Thus we see that the problem which presents or if it aught to be done with the view self before the revolutionist is immense. It of obtaining the greatest quantity of produce will not be worked out by simple negations, the necessary for man!

abolition of serfdom for example, or renouncing This is quite a period of transformation to the the supremacy of the Pope. It requires the traverse; a revolution to extend to the warehouse, All the great progress of humanity, all the opening of a new page of universal history, the the field, the cottage, the town house; to small truly great actions of the people are accomplished elaboration of an entirely new order of things- tools as to fixed machinery; in the groupment of in this way. The conception of all the grandeur based no longer on the solidarity of the tribe or cultivators as in the groupment of workers in of its task confronts mankind. Should it shut of the village community, or the city, but on the manufactures, and the economic produce among its eyes to the difficulties? Should it not seek solidarity and equality of all. The attempts at all who work.

Interrompi, to interrupt. Meza, middle.

Traduki, to translate. Tago, day.

Vivado, life.

EXERCISE.

Charles Dickens, naskiĝita en la jaro mil-

okcent-dekdua en Lamport, estis unue okupata

Atinginte grandan sukceson, li mortis en la

jaro mil-okcent-sepdeka. Iuj liaj libroj tradu-

kintaj en Esperanton, ni konsilas al vi ke vi

kiel raportisto, sed li poste fariĝis romanisto.

Cirkaŭ, around.

Insulo, island.

Lago, lake.

Moro, habit.

Froksime, near.

Romano, a novel.

Riĉa, rich.

Sen, without.

Tuta, all, entire.

Pri, about, regarding.

Principe, principally.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

limited solidarity, whether by the ties of And it is necessary that everyone should live

When the inhabitants of the communes of the twelfth century undertook to found, in the revolted cities, a new society, free from the lord of the manor, they began by entering into a pact of solidarity extending to all the inhabitants. The rebels of the communes swore mutual support: they made what were called

It is by a pact of the same kind that the social revolution should commence. A pact for life in common-not for death. A pact of solidarity to consider all the inheritance of the past as a common possession; a pact to divide according get over the crisis: food, stores, habitations, tools, machines, knowledge of power-a pact of solidarity for the consumption of products, as well as for the use of the means of production.

The bourgeois of the twelfth century or craft-guilds, and succeeded in guarantee-Constructed with the view of enslaving the ing a certain well-being to the citizens. ; pact if it meant to live.

> And in its new work, which ought to be a constructive work, the masses of the people ought to depend first of all on their own strength. on their initiative and their genius; because all the education of the classes is done in the absolutely opposite way.

The problem is immense; but it is not in seeking to lessen it in advance that the people will find the necessary strength to settle it. It is on the contrary, by regarding it in all its greatness; it is in carrying one's inspiration to the difficulties of the situation that one will find the genius necessary to conquer.

AN ESPERANTO PRIMER. Lesson IX.

longer an individual work.

o complete our knowledge of the Verbs, we now take the Participles.

THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLES.

PRESENT .- Havanta, having; Vidanta, seeing. PAST .- Havinta, having had; Vidinta,

FUTURE. Havonta, about to have; Vidonta,

Observe that the participles keep to the rule of the other moods and tenses: A, I, O, for present, past and future; ANTA, INTA, ONTA.

THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLES. Follow the same rule, but omit the N: ATA,

PAST .- Havita, having been had; Vidita,

tuijn aĉetus kaj legus. Li skribis precipe pri la vivado kaj moroj de meal or supper. la malriĉuloj de Londono konante ilijn funda-

Gliti, to glide.

Halti, to halt.

Intenci. to intend.

Konsili, to advise.

Naskiĝi, to be born.

Okupi, to occupy.

Raporti, to report.

Sukcesi, to succeed.

Veturi, to drive.

Sidigi, to seat oneself.

Koni, to know.

Gertrude post la tagmanĝo sidiĝis en sian glitveturilo kaj Konrad ŝin veturigis sur la lagon.

vojaĝon ĉirkaŭveturante la tutan insulon. Tiom malproksime ili neniam ankoraŭ estis veturintaj en antaŭaj jaroj. Post kvaronhora seninterrompa veturado ili venis proksime al la insulo, kaj Konrad haltis.

COMMENT.

Great attention to participles is required to correctly translate this Exercise.

The Table of Correlative words must also be consulted for the words Iuj, tiujn, iom, tiom, which will be found there without plural or accusative terminations.

Iuj liaj libroj, some of his books.

Tradukintaj en Esperanton, having been translated into Esperanto, this last word is in the accusative, because of the movement into another language.

Iom pli grandan, somewhat larger.

Tiom malproksime, so far.

The word malproksime is an adverb formed from the word proksimi, to approach, with mal to reverse its meaning.

Tagmanĝo, often called Tagmezmanĝo, from Tag, day, mezo, middle, manĝi, to ent, means midday meal, as Vespermanĝo means evening

Glitveturilo, from gliti, to glide, veturi, to ride or drive, ilo, suffix indicating an instrument (for riding or driving) means a sledge.

Cirkaŭveturante is a participle, present active Ili intencis fari hodiaŭ iom pli grandan in adverbial form derived from ĉirkaŭ, around

> Seninterrompa is an adjective from sen, without, and interrompi, to interrupt; it therefore means uninterrupted.

NEW EDIT

COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY

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PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

We are publishing two pamphlets with model lessons given to a Proletarian School. The he, or she, become a teacher? If so, drop me a pamphlets will only be one penny each, and may be obtained from the Dreadnought office.

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One of the lessons is entitled "An Episode of the Paris Commune." Any Grown-Up could attacked. The employers announce a reduction give this lesson, after reading the story over of 5/- a shift, and more Coloured Labour and earefully for two or three times. The lesson less White Labour, because Coloured Labour is would only last ten minutes, and the dramatic cheaper. The miners are 100 to one for a strike, story holds the children from start to finish.

children is, that the lesson must contain char- with them. The engineers have come out in acters that they know. There must be a hero or sympathy. Armed police are massing ready for a heroine, a boy or a girl, a woman or a man. In action. It will be a hard and a bitter fight the story of "An Episode of the Paris Com- Capitalism will strain every nerve to defeat the mune," you have a boy and a girl of the work- workers, and should the workers score a victory ing class; you have an old shoemaker with his it will presently attack them again. a workman with his blue blouse, and you have time that they must overthrow Capitalism enthe soldiers and the old Colonel; and you have tirely to insure a good standard of life for the the girl and boy shot by the soldiers. Over and whole community. above all this, you have a short historical setting of the Paris Commune in a few lines, and you have also the moral. In telling the story, don't add to it by explanations, that spoils it.

A story for children must be short; if you tell it right, the story will live with the child. Stop when you finish. Don't try to say something to and co-operative societies which have been improve it; for by doing this, you lead off the a feature of Soviet Russia (the two former track and spoil the effect.

is more difficult, but it can also be told with effect if slightly abridged.

These two stories are contained in one 16-page fused with them.

eye-opener to the average man or woman.

district, you could gather together four girls and very existence of the Industrial Union, unfour boys in your own home and teach them the less it be merely a social club, denotes and lesson; then you could go out into the world antagonism between the members of the and tell it; or you might try one of our little union and those who are administering insketches, "The Rehearsal"; the characters dustry; unless, on the other hand, the required are two girls and one boy; or "The Soviets are failing to administer industry Betrothal," the characters for which are a boy and the unions are formed for that purpose. and a girl, a small girl, and a father and mother. In Russia, as a matter of fact, the con-This makes a splendid 30-minutes lesson for any tinued existence of the Industrial Unions is school or big meeting. We have given them at due to the fact that there is antiagonism both. We gave "The Betrothal" in one of between the workers and those who are For Embroidery the mining districts of Lanarkshire to a packed administering industry. In a theoretically hall recently, and the men and women marvelled correct Soviet community the workers,

your class are many, if you would but apply yourself to it. One man or woman can do it. Don't Co-operatives have no place in a genuine wait on a committee appointing you to do it. Soviet community. If they are distributive The most successful work that I have ever seen organisations purely, they should be the done, in my life time, has been done by one or distributive branches of the industrial more enthusiasts taking on the work them- Soviets. If they are organs of buying selves. Surely the country contains a few men and selling, they are survivals of capitalism, and women who are capable of doing this work! and must disappear under Communism We will assist you, and we will not ask you to If they are associations of producers, pay us anything. There are no contributions, they can only differ from industrial no overbearing officials; it is all mutual. If Soviets in so far as they exact payment in people do not like your class or your work, or cash or kind for their produce instead o think you are not doing it the right way, let distributing it freely. In so far as they exact them start one of their own. Don't be dis- payment or practice barter, they have no place couraged because So-and-So says you are not in a Soviet community. this, or you are not that: just keep going on; The curious overlapping patchwork which

Our Proletarian School Movement is one of copied. The Russians themselves have emeducation and mutual aid, and go where you phasised that. Nevertheless, the recent tactics will, when you meet one of our members, you which they have induced the Third Inter-

largeness of outlook. We each of us feel we have a clear perception that a highly or must work and help to the best of our ability, industrial community may build the new Con and there are none of us too backward to be munist order on the heoretically correct found worth caring for and teaching. Will any reader tion of the occupational Soviets. who feels that this is the right point of view will note to 24 Queen Mary Avenue, Glasgow.

Capitalism is attacking Labour's standard of living in every industry, in every country. Now and the railwaymen, showing more solidarity The one essential in giving a lesson to young than was shown here, have promised to strike

wife and family, living in a "sunk." You have From such struggles the workers will learn in

COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

The industrial unions, economic councils, having representation in the Soviets) have The other story, "Athenion the Slave King," no place, because they have no reason for Discussion on Second, Third, and Fourth existence, under an efficient Soviet system, Internationals: Opened By Sylvia Pankhurst. in which they would be absorbed into the occupational Soviets and indistinguishably

Industrial unions can have no reason for A longer story is given in the other pamphlet existence if the Soviets are fulfilling and comprises the full 16 pages. It is called efficiently their proper function as the ad-Down and Out." To tell the story, you re- ministrative machinery of the Communist quire four boys and four girls—ages ten to 16 community, for the Soviets should cover the years. You assume the rôle of teacher, and ask same constituencies as the industrial unions. the questions as given in the pamphlet. Any The industrial unions will only exist so long young lad or girl could act as teacher; each one as there is either a conflict between the must memorise his or her part. This lesson workers and the Soviets (which are theowould do for a big meeting, and it would be an retically the organs of the workers), or in case the Soviets are failing to administer Supposing there is no Proletarian School in your industry or to administer it efficiently. The through their Soviets, which are indistin-The methods open to you for the education of This has not been achieved in Russia.

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

the children and young people will like you, has hitherto made up the Russian Soviet system should by no means be slavishly will feel a sense of brotherhood, because of the national to adopt do not indicate that they

SPICE.

ASKING FOR A TIP.

Wilson to Stinnes. Or is it a so-called permanent engagement?

IN A CLEFT STICK. The A.E.U. officials between the employ

A DEATH GRIP. Henderson's thumb on the Daily Herald.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMAN NOTES.

Grom Our K.A.P.D. Correspondent.

nost interesting questions in the political now are the "Stinnes-isation of Gerand the " Unity front of the German

and an equal sum in February.

te Powers. The Reparation Commission last year, is noticed. man State possesses, like Railways, Postal and Municipal officials. and Taxation Revenues, in fact everything the State has the right to dispose of, are ed with Stinnes as securities. The German te concern Stinnes, is naturally in close such with English, American and French lists on the one hand, and with the leaders he German Trade Unions and Socialist larties on the other. This whole ring of alist defence will loyally work together to make the German workers recognise their duty ling hard and incessantly for the well-being Fatherland."

German bourgeois parties, together with two Socialist Parties (Majority and Independents) have played the game wonderfully.

tional ring of finance, capital.

y 1st, 1921, to approximately 235,000 wages. fillion marks by the end of December; that is But no one can shut his eyes to the fact that same time, there are numerous cases of working and living conditions. ing off and escaping taxation. In face of s situation, the Government had, of course, announce its bankruptcy-the large wareers refusing to disgorge their booty-for the revolutionary expropriation will one make tabula rasa with these miserab'e para-

mens of speculations on 'Change.

there is no sign yet of exhaustively utilising the I roductive forces. In spite of this year's dryness, the harvest has been better than that of last year. The total output in every kind of coal that amounted to 292 million tons in 1913, stood at 270.5 million tons in 1920, and 293 million tons in 1921, in spite of the abolition of overtime, and of the fact that the best quality coal is now only produced to the extent of 78.2 per formed by representatives of the Socialist bankruptcy policy of the German Re- cent, of the peace production, while in the inthat has almeady lasted three years, ferior quality, 140.4 per cent. comparatively before new obstacles. Germany is to , as been already reached. Also the import of on January 15th next, 500 million gold textile raw material for 1921 is greater than that for 1913, a fact that indicates increased produc-German Government has asked for a tion in that important inustry. In the building orium that has not found favour with the trade, a marked improvement, compared with

tens the worst coercive measures pos- This undeniable increase and improvement in of uniting with the Social Democratic Party, de in the event of non-payment. Hence the industry and commerce, is, however, of a most whom previously they have so violently de-Government tries to obtain loans from unhealthy character. First, the feverish export nounced, on account of its making common or its own capitalists. In short, it has at prices undercutting all foreign competition, cause with the Stinnes (German People's) Party, me to the issue that seemed evident from the caused by the fall of the mark currency; Since the K.P.D. has expressed its readiness to set; no one else than Stinnes & Co. will find secondly, the tremendous production of bank- meet in confrence with all the other Internanecessary reparation instalments. This notes, whereby ever fresh thousands of millions tionals besides the Third and Red, that is to say, magnate concern alone will have are thrown into the market causing additional with the Second, the "Second and a Half," nercy" on the "wretched" German nation; artificial purchasing power, as shown, for in- and "Yellow" Amsterdam, there can be no of course, on the condition that all the stance in the question of remunerations to State doubt that the Social Democratic combine of pre-

One may say that here in this "blessed free Republic," the height of capitalist contrasts has world proletariat in the shape of Labour or been reached: here, destruction of Government Socialist Governments, wherever the "artfulfinance; there, the greatest speculative chances ness " of the workers makes it necessary to use for the large capitalists in industry and com- this last and dirtiest form of bait, by merce. Under such maddening circumstances the amalgamation of "modern" Labour and the speculators, Stock Exchange. Financial, and Capital. Company vampires must flourish by means of their well-known methods of watering-down capital, issuing shares gratuitously, paying honuses, accumulating reserves, and various other fraudulent manipulations with shares.

The Entente capitalists, on the other hand, again insist upon the improvement of market values, by increasing the prices of German ethics and morals, the story-tellers make men's that is now breaking down, leaving no other instance, the "experts" of the Supreme and particular things of life. demative than Stinnes-isation (behind which Council demand a trebling of the prices of coal, Reading a novel, the average man and woman tand grinningly and joyfully the large capital- although they have, since the outbreak of the live, for the time being, the lives of its chars of all countries, loyally supported by Trade war, risen to forty times as much (from 11.50- acters, thinking their thoughts, becoming nion, Labour, and Socialist Party leaders). But 12.50 marks per ton in 1914 to 405.10 marks in imbued with their aims. hese leaders shall not go unrewarded for the December 1921), and the increase of the price The story-tellers are given a high place in ices rendered to international capital, they of bread to ten times the present price!! In the temple of human endeavour; they are ranked ment is soon to be promoted to watch over the until the "official" bankruptcy is complete. forward along new paths. sible machinations of that "horrid" inter- (The artful profiteers flourishing so much the The only claim of the story-tellers to this

esses itself in increasingly sharp contrasts: on perity " of German industry and commerce, un- in the task of civilising humanity. he one hand, the fabulous profits of industrial employment has somewhat decreased; while, on The average story-teller gains an easy g to 329,000 million marks (5,500 marks per the falling of the mark, the nominal wages have trouble themselves to consider new ones. of the population), shows a deficit of much declined in value and the real wages fallen "GERMINAL" comes to tilt at outworn 4,500 million marks. The current indebted- considerably, the prices of commodities having standards and conventions in all fields, to set up less has risen from 153,000 million marks on risen out of all proportion to the increases in

y, by 7,000 million marks per month. The there are already signs of a gradual decline of ation of banknotes that amounted, on this "prosperity," and of the approach of a muary 1st, 1921, to 78,700 million marks, has crisis much more terrible than any Germany has leased, by the end of the year, to 120,000 seen before—a crisis that can only bring to the marks; that is to say, each month, on proletariat misery and unemployment of the eaverage, by about 3,500 million marks. At masses, reduction of wages and a worsening of

In order to take this economic crisis by the forelock, the capitalist class, supported "manfully" by the Trade Union and political " leaders" of the working class, are getting ready their penal laws for the prevention of strikes, the "friendly" arbitration of labour de favourable turn in industry and of the of unemployment pay, the victimising and brutal at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. Its price disputes, the reducing to a minimum the chances oney market may rightly be described as a repression of revolutionary fighters for freedom, will be 1s. monthly. inside and outside the industrial concerns. As Orders for "GERMINAL" should be sent in as s production has increased, although the "political reins" of the red-black-gold Re- E.C.

public to a " Labour" Government or "purely Socialist" Cabinet, consisting of "leaders" of the Trade Unions and Socialist Parties, with a moderate sprinkling of leaders of the Communist Party of Germany. Strange to say, Zinoviev, as the head of the Third International. has informed the Central Executive of the K.P.D. (Communist Party of Germany), that the new tactics of the Third International make it incumbent upon all national sections to accept, workers. And the Parliamentarians of the K.P.D. are joyful at this "rational" decision of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The conditions for a "purely Socialist" German Government are slowly preparing. The Independent Socialist Party, that will very soon hold its Annual Conference, has as principal item on the programme, the question war times is on the way to formation, and willbefore the final world revolution rises in all its might-have a last fling at the expense of the

GERMINAL

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF MODERNITY.

They who portray life in art, the writers and the draftsmen, have the moulding of the minds and manners of their fellows.

More than the politicians and the teachers of nev have insisted on the efficacy of the goods, whereby the unfair competition habits of thought and belief, their outlook on the ment policy—we would, but we could not— of German export is to be overcome. So, for broad and general, as well as on the intimate

that way and by protective tariffs, the unfair with the great inventors and explorers who have Germany, a "purely Socialist" Govern- German export is to be stopped. On the other brought to mankind knowledge which has ment, in England a "pure Labour" Govern- hand, Germany can only let the note-press work modified the whole of life and sent civilisation

great place in social estimate is that they are The economic position here in Germany ex- Owing to this artificially-produced "pros- creators of thought and social habit, assistants

lanking and exchange magnates, on the other, the other hand, in consequence of the abandon- popularity by echoing prevailing ideas, by complete collapse of State and Municipal ment of Government control in the necessaries subtly telling people that their present ideals e. The budget for 1921-2, amount- of life and the great increases of price through are completely right, and that they need not

> new ideals, to assist in preparing minds and habits for the new times.

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I have already observed, the Stinnes economic soon as possible. Donations towards the initial present conditions show little soundness combination—national and international—is cost of launching the magazine should be sent lesty of purpose. It is true that in various even prepared, if necessity arises, to hand over to "GERMINAL," 152 Fleet Street, London,

in the said the said

Finance and Foreign Exchange (A. Waight) 9d.

The Next War (Will Irwin) 76

NO FREEDOM FOR WORKERS IN IRISH FREE STATE.

The Irish workers are already having a sharp lesson that the Irish Free State is an employers' Free State, governed in the interests of the employers.

When the Irish railways were de-controlled, the railway companies desired to reduce wages and increase hours of labour.

Sin i Fein desired to assist the railway companies and to avoid a strike which would have destroyed the appearance of a united front in Ireland. The Sinn Fein Republican Government therefore stepped in to arbitrate; its arbitrator, Carrigan, declared that the railway companies must have their way: the workers must work longer hours for lower wages.

The workers refused to accept the award; not because that spineless institution, the British National Union of Railwaymen, to which Irish railway workers belong, was prepared to put up any fight; but because the Irish workers had built up an unofficial movement, which threatened to take action. Therefore it was agreed on the workers' side that there should be a strike against the Carrigan award, on January 2nd.

This was displeasing to the Sinn Fein Government: it would upset its plans, spoil its triumph over the British Government (so far as it is a triumph). Therefore the Sinn Fein Ministry of Labour insisted that the application of its own Carrigan award should be postponed until the

16th of January.

Before that date arrived, the Sinn Fein Government had dictated that the workers should have their wages reduced, as awarded by Carrigan, to the tune of £1 a week, from January 15th; but that the question of increased hours should be put off for another month. To induce the railway directors to agree, the Sinn Fein Government promised to recoup the railway companies (out of the pockets of the people, of course) for any loss incurred by the companies through the postponement of the award.

You will observe. Fellow-Worker, that the Sinn Fein Government made no offer to recoup the

workers for their losses in accepting the award.

The Sinn Fein Government evidently intends that the full award (its own award) shall be enforced in a month's time. Had it not so intended, it would not have promised to recoup the companies for what they lose by the delay. It is doubtless believed that the workers are more likely to swallow the award in two gulps, without causing trouble than if its hardships were imposed on them all at once. Meanwhile the Sinn Fein Government was, of course, prepared to put its Republican Army and police at the disposal of the railway companies, had the workers refused to postpone their objections to the wages reduction.

The British N.U.R. officials: J. H. Thomas, T. C. Cramp, R. Hennesy, and the rest, and the Railway. Clerks' Association, T. J. McKenna, A. Walsh, and their colleagues, agreed on behalf of their members, to accept Sinn Fein Government orders, and gave a pledge that their members would not strike (at least, for a month) against the docking of their pay.

25,000 men accepted this decision, but not without protest. The entire goods staff of the Milland and Great Western Railway at North Wall ceased work for one day.

The Locomotive men's Society did not join the N.U.R. and R.C.A. in accepting Sinn Fein

orders; but has told its men to remain at workunder protest.

The Sinn Fein Government has here shown that it is prepared to act more openly and directly on the employers' side in a trade dispute even than the British Government; whilst the Irish workers are still befogged by Irish employers is something towards which they must display more resignation than if it were exploitation by the British capitalist.

The shareholders in the railways and other great capitalist concerns are ilrawn, however, from all countries. The owners of the Irish railways are of mixed nationality, of course, and there may be more British than Irish among them. If it is not so to-day it may be so to-morrow, for shares are constantly changing hands. Even were this not the case, the class war is international.

The leaders of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress have issued a manifesto to the workers, declaring that owing to the Downing Street Treaty and the British evacuation:

"The hour has now struck for the Irish workers to emerge from the shade."

Will the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress stand by and see the Irish railway workers coerced by the Free State Government without taking action?

Will they assent to a smashing defeat fothe workers on the economic front, because the railway workers happen to have joined some English Unions years ago?

What is more important: will the workers themselves accept the blow without resistance?

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