

Secret Treaties and Maps.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1923.

WEEKLY.

The Crime of French Capitalism.

The French invasion of the Rhineland is ostensibly undertaken because Germany supplied 14 per cent. less coal than was demanded by the Allied Reparations Committee for delivery in 1922.

The Allied Reparations Committee, because of the absence of the United States, was not legally constituted even according to the standards of the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles, but in any case the small shortage in the German coal deliveries was merely seized upon by the French Government for making a long pre-determined raid upon the rich industrial Ruhr district, in order that the French coal and iron masters might obtain permanent control over the principal coal and iron resources left to Germany since the Saar Valley and Upper Silesia were taken from her at the close of the war.

This is proved by the secret report (which we publish on another page) presented to President Poincaré by M. Dariac, who was sent as a special French Government Commissioner to Germany to report on the situation. The scheme to secure control of these territories is still more conclusively proved by the secret agreements between France and Russia, which we also publish in this issue, and which were entered into between the Governments of France and of the Russian Czar in January 1917 and February 1917. It will be observed that the telegram of the Russian Foreign Minister, dated January 30th, 1917, agrees that France shall secure at the end of the war the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, "a special position" in the Saar Valley, and "the political separation from Germany of her trans-Rhenish districts and their organisation on a separate basis."

The communication of February 1st from the Russian Foreign Minister does not refer to the trans-Rhenish districts, which would include the territories France has now occupied on the right bank of the Rhine, but only mentions the territory on the left bank of the Rhine. Nevertheless, French Capitalism was undoubtedly still determined to secure the whole of the rich coal and iron district, both left and right of the Rhine, as the present invasion of the right territories indicates.

According to these Russo-French agreements, whilst France was to be left free to rob Germany of her territories in the west, Russia was to be equally free to rob Germany in the east.

The Russian Revolution removed Russia from the circle of robbers.

Thereupon, be it remembered, the robber Governments denounced Russia as uncivilised.

In order to prevent the spread of Communism from Russia to Germany, the robbers set up an independent Poland as a "cordon sanitaire" between Russia and Germany; and

handed over to Poland the German territories which Russia had been expected to annex, and which were also rich in mineral wealth.

Under Capitalist conditions, and with the tariffs which the French and Poles will main-

tain against Germany, to rob Germany of the industrial districts which have fallen into the hands of the Poles and those on her Western borders which have been, or are being, annexed by the French, is to reduce the German

nation to abject poverty, and to make it incapable of supporting itself. Austria has already been reduced to economic bankruptcy by the same means.

The German Republic which had deposed the Kaiser, who, according to the myth industrially circulated by the Allies, was alone guilty of the war, was not only plundered of territory by the robber Governments, but made to suffer in numerous other ways:

The economic blockade of Germany was maintained for a considerable period, and more children died during the blockade than in the war.

Germany was forced to hand over a large proportion of her milk cows, her navy, the greater part of her merchant navy, and one-fourth of her fishing fleet, 150,000 railway cars, and 5,000 locomotives.

Germany was compelled to build 200,000 tons of shipping a year for the Allies for five years.

Germany was compelled to submit to Allied control of her railway transport system and internal commerce on rivers and canals.

Germany was deprived of her overseas colonies. Germany has further been compelled to support a large Army of Occupation numbering 130,000 men.

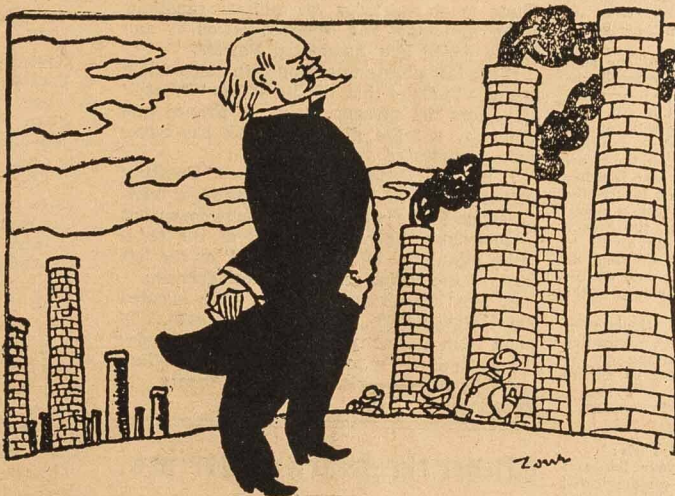
Germany was further compelled to support numbers of extravagant Allied commissions. The Rhine Commission lately numbered 1,300 persons, including 75 delegates who claimed the allowances of brigadier-generals.

All this in addition to the vast reparations payments in cash and kind, including 25,000,000 tons of coal a year.

The British Government now stands by and watches France invading the Rhineland, just as it acquiesced in the occupation of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort by France and Belgium in March 1921. On December 19th, 1917, Mr. (now Lord) Balfour denied that the British Government approved, or that the French intended, the severing from Germany of any of its territories. He said:

"We have never expressed our approval of it, nor do I believe it represents the policy of successive French Governments who have held office during the war. Never did we desire, and never did we encourage, the idea that a bit of Germany should be cut off from the parent State and erected into some kind of . . . independent Government on the left bank of the Rhine. His Majesty's Government were never aware that was seriously entertained by any French statesman."

It is thus that Governments deny their ignoble doings when efforts are made to bring them forth into the light of publicity.



"COCK OF THE WALK."

ILLEGALITIES OF THE FRENCH INVASION.

ILLEGALITIES OF THE "TREATY" OF VERSAILLES.

The French invasion is illegal, even according to the fabric of international law and precedents which the Allied Governments profess to respect, as well as according to the "Treaty" of Versailles itself.

This so-called "Treaty" of Versailles is, moreover, itself illegal, according to established international law and precedent.

1. The "Treaty" of Versailles cannot legally be described as a treaty, because the Germans were not allowed to take any part in forming it. It was framed by the Allies and forced upon the Germans.

2. The Germans were ordered to sign the instrument without any hearing or protest being allowed to them. This is a departure from international precedent.

3. The United States is cited as a party to the "Treaty" of Versailles, but the United States has refused to ratify the Treaty.

4. The document pledges the Germans to pay such a sum of money, under conditions fixed by a Reparations Committee composed of representatives of France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, and the United States. The United States was the party to which Germany, in signing the instrument, looked for impartial treatment on the strength of President Wilson's pledges, and also owing to the fact that far-off America was regarded as occupying a relatively disinterested position. Since the Versailles "Treaty" makes no provision for reparations committees in which the

SECRET TREATIES
Concluded between the Governments of France and Czarist Russia in 1917 regarding the plundering of Germany should the Allies prove victorious in the war.

GERMANY TO BE PUSHED BACK BEHIND THE RHINE.

A confidential telegram to the Ambassador in Paris:

Petrograd, January 30th, 1917. No. 502.
Copy to London confidentially. At an audience with the Most High M. Doumergue submitted to the Emperor the desire of France to secure for herself at the end of the present war the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and a special position in the valley of the River Saar as well as to attain the political separation from Germany of her trans-Rhenish districts and their organisation on a separate basis in order that in future the River Rhine might form a permanent strategic frontier against a Germanic invasion. Doumergue expressed the hope that the Imperial Government would not refuse immediately to draw up its assent to these suggestions in a formal manner.

His Imperial Majesty was pleased to agree to this in principle in consequence of which I requested Doumergue, after communicating with his Government, to let me have the draft of an agreement, which would then be given a formal sanction by an exchange of Notes between the French Ambassador and myself.

Proceeding thus to meet the wishes of our ally, I nevertheless consider it my duty to recall the standpoint put forward by the Imperial Government in the telegram of February 24th, 1916, No. 948, to the effect that, "while allowing France and England complete liberty in delimiting the western frontiers of Germany, we expect that the Allies on their part will give us equal liberty in delimiting our frontiers with Germany and Austro-Hungary." Hence the impending exchange of Notes on the question raised by Doumergue will justify us in asking the French Government simultaneously to confirm its assent to allowing Russia freedom of action in drawing up her future frontiers in the west. Exact data on the question will be supplied by us in due course to the French Cabinet.

In addition we deem it necessary to stipulate for the assent of France to the removal at the termination of the War of the disqualifications resting on the Alsace Islands. Please explain the above to Briand and wire the results.

(Signed) POKROVSKY.

II.

A telegram from the Ambassador in Paris:
Copy to London. Referring to your telegram No. 507 confidentially. I immediately communicated in writing its contents to Briand, who told me that he would not fail to give me an official reply of the French Government, but that he could at once declare, on his own behalf, that the satisfaction of the wishes contained in your telegram will meet with no difficulties.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY.

III.

FIGHTING FOR COAL AND IRON.

Copy of a Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of February 1st (14th), 1917, No. 26, addressed to the French Ambassador in Petrograd:

In your Note of to-day's date your Excellency was good enough to inform the Imperial Government that the Government of the Republic was contemplating the inclusion in the terms of peace to be offered to Germany the following demands and guarantees of a territorial nature:

1. Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France.
2. The frontiers are to be extended at least up to the limits of the former principality of Lorraine, and are to be drawn up at the discretion of the French Government so as to provide for the strategic needs and for the inclusion in French territory of the entire iron district of Lorraine and of the entire coal district of the Saar valley.
3. The rest of the territories situated on the left bank of the Rhine which now form part of the German Empire are to be entirely separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence upon her.
4. The territories of the left bank of the Rhine outside French territory are to be constituted an autonomous and neutral State, and are to be occupied by French troops until such time as the enemy States have completely satisfied all the conditions and guarantees in the treaty of peace.

Your Excellency stated that the Government of the Republic would be happy to be able to rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans. By order of his Imperial Majesty, my most august master, I have the honour, in the name of the Russian Government, to inform your Excellency by the present Note that the Government of the Republic may rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans as set out above.

A CHRISTIAN LIMERICK.

When Judas went to Hell he shivered cold:
Dailies there were, but scribes not in the fold.

They were in the annex

As persons without sex,

Useless to burn but for the lies they told.

United States is not represented, Germany has not legally bound herself to accept the findings of such committees.

5. France and Belgium have therefore undertaken a military invasion of Germany for the purpose of forcing her to fulfil the requirements of a Reparations Committee not established by the so-called Treaty of Versailles.

6. The Versailles "Treaty" says: "the measures which the Allied and Associated Powers have the right to take in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals, AND IN GENERAL SUCH OTHER MEASURES AS THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS MAY DETERMINE TO BE NECESSARY IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES."

To introduce so serious a matter as a military invasion by two of the Powers concerned, under cover of the vaguely-worded phrase printed above in capitals is contrary to all legal precedent. According to well-known legal doctrine, the words "economic" and "financial" govern the sanctions above permitted. There is no authority for military sanctions or for individual and separate action by any of the Allied and Associated Powers.

If the last phrase was slipped in deliberately in order to claim that the Versailles "Treaty" empowers the present action of France and Belgium, a more dishonest trick has never been perpetrated.

7. Should Germany default, the "Treaty" authorises the Allies not to occupy fresh territories, as France and Belgium have done; but to re-occupy the whole or part of the territories stipulated in the "Treaty" on the left bank of the Rhine and at the bridgeheads.

8. The French and Belgians have invaded the Rhineland for the purpose of detaching them from Germany and putting them under the control of France. France and Belgium are themselves violating the Treaty of Versailles.

Under the Stars & Stripes.

After three years' consideration, the county prosecuting authorities have dropped proceedings against the management of "Industrialists," the I.W.W. Finnish daily newspaper, begun under the State criminal syndicalism law.

The miners charged with murder in connection with the killing of the Herrin strip-mine manager and his strike-breaking gunmen, have been acquitted by the jury.

"Jim Larkin has been released, also!" our readers will say; but do not imagine, dear readers, that tyranny has ceased to hold sway under the stars and stripes.

Ten members of the I.W.W. were called to give evidence for the defence in the Casdorf-Pirey trial. On admitting that they were members of the I.W.W., they were immediately arrested as guilty of criminal syndicalism, purely on account of such membership.

After a lengthy trial, in which police spies of low character gave evidence, Judge Malcolm Glenn has sentenced these ten I.W.W. members to indeterminate sentences, extending from one to fourteen years' imprisonment.

The ten men met their sentence bravely: "What have I to say? Nothing to you, your honour. Just go ahead and enjoy yourself!" said Charles le Rue, aged 24, who was a sailor for nine years, and for two years of the war served in the "suicide squad" sweeping mines.

"We came here for justice," said H. M. Edwards, lumber-jack; "you meet us with the pariahs of our own people, to prove that we are criminals."

Walter Smith, who has been a member of the I.W.W. executive board, turned on the Judge with scorn;

"Forgive them, for they know not what they do!" is what I say of the jury; but to you, and all jackals alike, to Townsend, Coutts, and Desmond, I say: 'No word is unclear enough to express my feeling.'"

Judge Glenn paled.
"You talk of justice," Smith went on, "yet day after day you permit your clerk, Mike Sullivan, to mingle with and intimidate women jurors in the private chambers of the Court. I have fifteen witnesses to swear to this. He has openly expressed his prejudice against us."

"You speak of justice, yet not one scintilla of evidence has shown that we, as individuals, have ever been guilty of any crimes. We are not criminals, but we are here because of a class war. We go to your gaols because we have declared to our masters that we will think for ourselves. But this does not end our fight. The workers of the whole world will take it up."

Judge Glenn's tones were almost apologetic as he answered: "Can you not see that it is not the place of Judges to change the laws to fit the case at hand? We only interpret it. If you want to change the laws, go to the legislators and the people who sanction them."

Young La Rue cried: "Listen to the voice of Pontius Pilate. He washes his hands of our blood."

When Smith had been sentenced, and the march back to their cells began, the defendants broke into song:

"O Liberty! can man resign thee?
Once having felt thy generous flame,
Can dungeon's bolts and bars confine thee?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept bewailing
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But Freedom is our sword and shield;
And all their arts are unavailing!"

Besides those mentioned, the defendants sentenced were: William Rutherford, Pete Beasley, Thomas O'Mara, John Francis Nash, Andrew E. Anderson, Bert Kyler, and Tom Zanger.

Twenty-four hours later Judge Glenn surprised the community by announcing that he was studying certain legal points involved, and that he might find reason to ask Governor Richardson to commute the sentences of the ten.

Eleven thousand, comprising the entire membership of the National Marine Workers' Beneficial Association, New York, have voted to withdraw from the American Federation of Labour, of which Mr. Gompers is president.

The Labour Workers' Industrial Union of the I.W.W. plastered red stickers about in the woods, bearing the message:

"A Red Card for the Red Woods."

The Hammond Lumber Co., objecting to I.W.W. authorities, obtained the arrest of six members.

The hearing of an argument on four motions for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti has been postponed till after March 12th because of the illness of Judge Webster Thayer. The date originally set for hearing the argument was February 3rd.

America's motto:

"Stripes under the stars."

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward: £441 1s. 10d.

I. A. Cahill, 10/- (monthly); L. Goldstein 2/-; F. Brimley, 10/- (monthly); C. Hart 3/- (monthly); D. Norman, 1/-; W. Paul 5/-; Norwich Comrades, 5/- (monthly); Special Fund: Norwich Comrades, 12/-; C. Beckett, 5/-; Per Mr. Cohen, 6d. Total for fortnight, £2 13s. 6d. Total, £446 14s. 4d.

BOOKS!

Send all the books you can spare, and the books you would like others to read, to the sold for the "Dreadnought Fund."

From the Classics.

THE WOODEN-LEGGED SAILOR.

By Charles Lamb.

I have been into these reflections from accidentally meeting, some days ago, a poor fellow, whom I knew as a boy, dressed in a sailor's jacket and begging at one of the outlets of the town, with a wooden leg. I knew him to have been honest and industrious when in the country, and was curious to learn what had reduced him to his present situation. Wherefore, after giving him what I thought proper, I desired to know the history of his life and misfortunes, and the manner in which he was reduced to his present distress. The disabled soldier—for such he was, though dressed in a sailor's habit—scratching his head and leaning on his crutch, put himself into an attitude to comply with my request, and gave me his history, as follows:

"As for my misfortunes, master, I can't pretend to have gone through any more than other folks; for except the loss of a limb and my being obliged to beg, I don't know any reason, thank Heaven, that I have to complain. There is Bill Tibbs, of our regiment, he has lost both legs, and an eye to boot; but, thank Heaven, it is not so bad with me yet."

"I was born in Shropshire. My father was a labourer, and died when I was five years old; so I was put upon the parish. As he had been a wandering sort of a man, the parishioners were not able to tell to what parish I belonged, or where I was born, so they sent me to another parish, and that parish sent me to a third. I thought in my heart they kept sending me about so long that they would not let me be born in any parish at all; but at last, however, they fixed me. I had some disposition to be a scholar, and was resolved, at least, to know my letters; but the master of the workhouse put me to business as soon as I was able to handle a mallet; and here I lived an easy kind of a life for five years. I only wrought ten hours in the day, and had my meat and drink provided for my labour. It is true, I was not suffered to stir out of the house, for fear, as they said, I should run away; but what of that, I had the liberty of the whole house, and the yard before the door, and that was enough for me. I was then bound out to a farmer, where I was both up early and late; but I ate and drank well, and liked my business well enough, till he died, when I was obliged to provide for myself, so I was resolved to go seek my fortune."

"In this manner I went from town to town, worked when I could get employment, and starved when I could get none. When happening one day to go through a field belonging to a justice of peace, I spied a hare crossing the path just before me, and I believe the devil put it in my head to fling my stick at it. Well, what will you have on't? I killed the hare, and was bringing it away, when the Justice himself met me. He called me a poacher and a villain; and collaring me, desired I would give an account of myself. I fell upon my knees, begged his worship's pardon, and began to give a full account of all that I knew of my breed, seed, and generation; but though I gave a very true account, the Justice said I could give no account, so I was indicted at sessions, found guilty of being poor, and sent up to London to Newgate, in order to be transported as a vagabond."

"People may say this and that of being in gaol, but for my part I found Newgate as agreeable a place as ever I was in in all my life. I had my belly full to eat and drink, and did no work at all. This kind of life was too good to last for ever, so I was taken out of prison after five months, put on board a ship, and sent off, with two hundred more, to the plantations. We had but an indifferent passage; for, being all confined in the hold, more than a hundred of our people died for want of sweet air, and those that remained were sickly enough, God knows. When we

came ashore we were sold to the planters, and I was bound for seven years more. As I was no scholar—for I did not know my letters—I was obliged to work among the negroes, and I served out my time, as in duty bound to do."

"When my time was expired I worked my passage home; and glad I was to see Old England again, because I loved my country. I was afraid, however, that I should be indicted for a vagabond once more, so did not much care to go down into the country, but kept about the town and did little jobs when I could get them."

"I was very happy in this manner for some time, till one evening, coming home from work, two men knocked me down, and then desired me to stand. They belonged to the press gang. I was carried before the Justice; and, as I could give no account of myself, I had my choice left whether to go on board a man-of-war or 'list for a soldier. I chose the latter; and in this post of a gentleman I served two campaigns in Flanders, was at the battles of Val and Fontenoy, and received but one wound, through the breast here; but the doctor of our regiment soon made me well again."

"When the peace came on I was discharged; and, as I could not work, because my wound was sometimes troublesome, I 'listed for a landman in the East India Company's service. I here fought the French in the six pitched battles; and I verily believe that, if I could read or write, our captain would have made me a corporal. But it was not my good fortune to have any promotion, for I soon fell sick, and so got leave to return home again with forty pounds in my pocket. 'This was at the beginning of the present war, and I hoped to be set on shore and so have the pleasure of spending my money; but the Government wanted men, and so I was pressed for a sailor before ever I could set foot on shore."

"The boatswain found me, as he said, an obstinate fellow; he swore he knew I understood my business well, but that I shammed Abraham, to be idle; but God knows, I knew nothing of sea business, and he beat me without considering what he was about. I had still, however, my forty pounds, and that was some comfort to me under every beating; and the money I might have had to this day, but that our ship was taken by the French, and so I lost all."

"Our crew was carried into Brest, and many of them died, because they were not used to live in a gaol; but for my part, it was nothing to me, for I was seasoned. One night, as I was sleeping on the bed of boards, with a warm blanket over me—for I always loved to lie well—I was awakened by the boatswain, who had a dark lantern in his hand. 'Jack,' says he to me, 'will you knock out the French sentry's brains?' 'I don't care,' says I, striving to keep myself awake, 'if I lend a hand.' 'Then follow me,' says he, 'and I hope we shall do business.' So up I got, and tied my blanket, which was all the clothes I had, about my middle, and went with him to fight the Frenchman. I hate the French, because they are all slaves, and wear wooden shoes. Though we had no arms, one Englishman is able to beat five French at any time; so we went down to the door, where both the sentries were posted, and, rushing upon them, seized their arms in a moment, and knocked them down. From thence, nine of us ran together to the quay, and, seizing the first boat we met, got out of the harbour and put to sea. We had not been here three days before we were taken up by the Dorset privateer, who were glad of so many good hands; and we consented to run our chance. However, we had not as much luck as we expected. In three days we fell in with the Pompadour privateer, of forty guns, while we had but twenty-three; so to it we went, yard-arm and yard-arm."

The fight lasted for three hours, and I verily believe we should have taken the Frenchman had we but had some more men left behind; but, unfortunately, we lost all our men just as we were going to get the victory."

"I was once more in the power of the French, and I believe it would have gone hard with me had I been brought back to Brest; but by good fortune we were retaken by the Viper. I had almost forgotten to tell you that in that engagement I was wounded in two places: I lost four fingers of the left hand, and my leg was shot off. If I had had the good fortune to have lost my leg and use of my hand on board a King's ship, and not aboard a privateer, I should have been entitled to clothing and maintenance during the rest of my life; but that was not my chance: one man is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and another with a wooden ladle."

However, blessed be God! I enjoy good health, and will for ever love liberty and Old England. Liberty, property, and Old England for ever, huzza!"

Thus saying, he limped off, leaving me in admiration at his intrepidity and content; nor could I avoid acknowledging that an habitual acquaintance with misery serves better than philosophy to teach us to despise it.

News from Ireland.

"At the old spot by the river,
Right well known to you and me."

We are waiting for you, Jim.

Down at the old spot by the river we shall be waiting; with gaps in our ranks, but with spirit unbroken.

The news travels fast that the American bastilles have relinquished their victim, and that the "big fellow" is coming back.

Herulean as your previous tasks have been; desperate as were the struggles you helped in, your task is yet to come; your task, nay, ours, for we are comrades in arms; members of the toiling, weary and half-blinded proletariat. You taught us how to advance to attack the vested interests of the international master class; taught us how to follow the flaming trail, and brought us to a realisation that "an injury to one is an injury to all." Your great-hearted brother, Jim Connolly, has paid the extreme price, and in the midst of the struggle we were almost left without our Union, the weapon you helped us to forge—and we suffered.

Our Union, the blazing beacon light for the British workers; for which you and Connolly toiled and suffered, was made a thing of the past; a by-word to those who toiled and suffered with you. This, then, is the greatest of your tasks, to unify once more our efforts, to send forth once more the clarion call: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

While you were languishing in the cells of the "Home of Freedom," black-hearted traitors were transforming our Union into a dues-paying machine. They were planning to make it safe and sane for 'trade Union leaders, these one-time Socialists. Time after time they betrayed us in our struggles.

The safe and sane leaders of Labour are the men who have built a machine around themselves, hoping against hope that you would remain in the dungeons of America. Aye, they chose the right time to act when the real men of the Union were giving their all to the Republic and the working class.

Yes, your work is waiting, and we are waiting, and acting. The old flag still flies, and will fly in spite of the Imperial murderers and Union traitors. What of our Republic and our Union "leaders"? What of their appeals for "due notice of the next executions"? They make inaudible protests and prate of the honour of labour; but we are Labour, and our honour is in our own keeping, guarded by our guns.

We look for your aid, Jim Larkin. We demand it. Across the seas the voice of the struggling Irish workers gives you greeting and welcomes you to the struggle, the economic struggle you showed us how to wage, with the weapons you taught us to use—the Industrial Union and the "old Howth gun."

At the old spot by the river, Jim, we are ready. We are waiting.—Eckseck.



Workers' Dreadnought

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Our View.

"THE LABOUR PARTY stands to-day as the inheritor of the Liberal tradition: we start where they leave off," said Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at the Holborn Empire. The statement is true: it is a Liberal, not a Socialist attitude which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues, both in the Labour Party and in the I.L.P., are adopting. Not least is this seen in the manifesto on the European situation just issued by the I.L.P. The I.L.P., in this manifesto, still makes its appeal to the Government; still calls for the summoning of a world conference of Capitalist Governments "which shall, if possible, co-operate with the League of Nations." The I.L.P. recommends that the League be provided with "a revised and democratic constitution, which should be considered by the world conference." The conferences of Washington, Cannes, Genoa, and Lausanne have apparently made no impression upon the I.L.P. Like Mr. Lansbury, who was so grateful when someone lent him a seat amongst the auditors at Versailles, the I.L.P. apparently believes that those who attend these international conferences of the Government are still "trying to learn."

The I.L.P. proposals "for British policy" are in no sense Socialist. To the Socialist there is no such thing as "British policy." To the Socialist there are two main conflicting policies in Britain—the policy of British Capitalist Imperialism on the one hand, and the policy of Socialism, which is international, on the other.

The I.L.P. proposals are confessedly designed to rebuild the present Capitalist economic life of Europe. Moreover, they are extremely cautious, and appear carefully drafted so as not to make any breach with the policy of the British Government or to suggest any breaking away from the alliance with France. The proposals are as follows:

(1) To intimate that Britain considers the manner in which the French have conducted the occupation of the Ruhr amounts to a breach of international law; declines to recognise any tampering with the frontiers of Germany brought about by the isolated action of France since the Versailles Treaty; and proposes as part of a general settlement that the Allied occupation of the Rhineland shall end.

(2) To waive all claim to any share of reparations, and, subject to a general settlement to agree to a cancellation of the whole or part of the Allied debts.

To suggest that under these circumstances France shall withdraw claims not warranted by the pre-Armistice agreement and reduce her demand to a sum sufficient for the reconstruction of the devastated areas, which amount shall be determined by an impartial tribunal.

"To join in guaranteeing an international loan to France for the amount assessed."

(3) To give practical proof of her desire to assist in the settlement of the general European problem by:

(a) a complete recognition of the Russian Government;

(b) agreeing to submit the question of Mosul, the Mesopotamian mandate and oil-fields to the new World Conference.

(c) agreeing to give Germany the rights of commerce and intercourse customary among civilised States which are at peace. The words we have printed in heavier type reveal the reactionary character of these proposals. The Government might have inserted those words.

The I.L.P. has several times passed resolutions calling for an international general strike in case of war. Nevertheless, we understand that the latter-day constitutionalism of the leading members of the I.L.P. may preclude that Party from working for international direct action by the workers. We understand that the I.L.P. now refuses to stir up action against the Governments. Is it necessary, however, that the I.L.P. should thus mix itself up in the doings of the plundering Governments? These suggestions of the I.L.P. are such that the Government may easily adopt them. Will the I.L.P. then accept responsibility for the result?

If its proposal for revising the constitution of the League of Nations were accepted, the I.L.P. declares that disarmament would then become "realisable." It asks the British Government to approach the other nations to arrange "immediate universal disarmament by mutual agreement." This is the most drastic of the I.L.P. suggestions. We cannot agree with the I.L.P. that disarmament is realisable under Capitalism, because Capitalism itself is only maintained by force.

It will be interesting to observe whether Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the other I.L.P.ers in Parliament will support the I.L.P. manifesto by introducing a Disarmament Bill, or whether this part of the manifesto is mere window dressing.

THE TERM COMMUNISM was adopted by the Russian revolutionaries, because the Fabians and other exponents of State Capitalism had appropriated the term Socialism and distorted its meaning and side-tracked the Socialist movement by drawing the red herrings of reformism across the trail. Now we find the Right-Wing Communists of the C.P.G.B. (Third International) are distorting the meaning of the term Communism in similar fashion.

In the "Workers' Weekly," which has taken the place of the "Communist," an extraordinary and highly fallacious programme is put forward.

The chief point of it appears to be that the C.P.G.B. is working to establish a "Workers' State." This "Workers' State" will not immediately abolish Capitalism and establish Socialism.

The reason why the proposed Workers' State will not abolish Capitalism is not explained. Apparently the failure to do so will not be due to any desire to avoid a violent struggle with the Capitalists, because the "Workers' Weekly" manifesto says that "the Capitalists will resist," and the power must be wrested from them "before the Workers' State can be set up." It adds that "the Workers' State is a class State; openly and unashamedly the dictatorship of the proletariat." More it would say, no doubt, of a fire-eating nature; but the printer has made some excisions in the more flowery passages.

The "Workers' Weekly" Programme.

When the Workers' Government has secured the power this, according to the "Workers' Weekly," is what it will do:

"The Workers' Government must nationalise its banks.

It must take over all large industrial undertakings, mines and shipping.

It must declare all land and houses public property.

It must establish a State monopoly of foreign trade.

It must annul all debts, public and private.

At the same time the Workers' State must establish at once the new rule of social life: work for all and maintenance for all.

It must impose the duty of work on all able to work, and organise the most urgent tasks.

It must make equal provision for all, including the old and the sick, according to the resources available.

It must take immediate steps to meet the housing shortage by rationing the existing accommodation among the population.

It must set up a complete State monopoly of education, establishing common schools for all on a basis of universal free secular education for members of the future workers' society.

In this way the transition to Socialism will be effected. During the transition much of Capitalism will remain: both Capitalist enterprise and Capitalist methods of organisation, wage-payment, etc. The Workers' State, as the spearhead of the workers' organisations, will be continually driving new inroads into the domain of Capitalism.

"Only when Capitalism has been finally defeated at home and abroad, and Socialism established, when the universal organisation of production has got rid of anarchy and strife, and when a new generation has been trained in the new social outlook, will the final transition become possible from the State regulation of Socialism to a free Communist society. The need for compulsion and the State will disappear. The wars and struggles of to-day will finally give way to the peace and brotherhood of a world society of workers."

They are great statisticians, great disciplinarians, great dictators; these latter-day Right-Wing Moscovites. It should be noticed that unfortunate humanity is expected to bow to the rod of the super-disciplinarians for at least an entire generation after the Workers' State has come into being.

The reasoning on which the above half-way house programme is based is unsound. When the workers are strong enough to take the power and set up a Workers' State, and to dispossess the big Capitalists, they will be strong enough also to abolish Capitalism in all its forms. If, however, they compromise in the hour of revolutionary impetus and fervour and allow small Capitalism, Capitalist enterprise, Capitalist methods of organisation and wagers to continue, the strength of Capitalism will grow as the wave of revolution recedes. Little Capitalism will swiftly grow and consolidate with big Capitalism, wages will grow more unequal, class distinctions more marked. Out of the chaos and dislocation, the hardships and sacrifices of the revolution will grow (as is happening but too surely in Russia); not Communism, but Capitalism readjusted. Then the people will have to wait and hope, and struggle and suffer, till at some later opportunity they rise again, to do their work truly and surely next time. A half-way house cannot stand; a proletarian revolution which fails to sweep away all remnants of Capitalism is a revolution that has failed.

If this unsound hotch-potch is to be the policy of the "Workers' Weekly," its propaganda will be the reverse of helpful to the Communist Cause.

The "Workers' Weekly" has been much advertised: it has called itself a newspaper; but as a newspaper it is a surprisingly poor production, both journalistically and typographically.

(Continued on p. 9.)

It is only a question of time until the English flag will appear where there is suffering or oil.

A Secret Report on the Rhineland.

PRESENTED TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT BY ITS SPECIAL COMMISSIONER.

REVEALING THE FRENCH SCHEME OF PERMANENT ANNEXATION.

The following is the full text of the report presented recently to the French Government by M. Dariac, who was sent by M. Poincaré as a Commissioner to report on the economics and industry of the Rhine province. The report, it will be seen, urges that the French must keep a hold on the Rhine industries—"we cannot dream of abandoning this pledge,"—and that the province must be set up as an autonomous State under French and Belgian protection.

The report claims that while the German State is unable to pay its debt the German industrialists are perfectly well able to, and can be made to by suitable pressure. "We can cut them in two . . . and utterly disorganise their industry" For this the continued occupation of the Rhineland, including Düsseldorf, etc., is essential. "So long as we maintain our present position on the Rhine we shall constitute a constant menace for the ten or twelve masters . . . of Germany."

The report concludes with proposals for the financial organisation of the Rhineland, the dismissal of the Prussian officials, and the convocation of an elected Rhenish assembly.

theoretical total of 145 million tons, of which 20 millions have to be reserved for deliveries to the Allies.

Iron and Steel.

Similarly, from the metallurgical point of view, before the war the German production of cast-iron amounted to about 19 million tons, of which nine millions were produced by the Ruhr blast-furnaces; the loss of Lorraine and Upper Silesia have reduced the possible production to 11 million tons.

The steel production exceeded 19 million tons, of which 10 millions was produced in the Ruhr.

We say nothing of the slag of de-phosphorisation and of all the other less important by-products.

As regards her general trade, Germany exported annually, out of a total of ten milliard gold marks, more than 700 millions' worth of coal, coke, and briquettes.

Her exports of cast-iron were about a million tons.

Her exports of steel (various steel products) were six to seven million tons, of which the money value amounted roughly to:

Steel products, nearly 1,900 million gold marks;

Various machines, about 950 millions. The remainder of the exports was made up largely of dyestuffs, pharmaceutical products, perfumes, etc., derived from coal.

French and German Production Compared.

The figures for the whole of the French production before the war are obviously unable to compare with the production of the Ruhr, the extent of which, however, does not equal that of a small French Department. We recall them below:

Coal, 40 million tons (reduced to-day to 25 millions).

Coke, 3,500,000 tons.

Tar, 300,000 to 400,000 tons.

Sulphate of ammonia, 50,000 tons.

Cast-iron, 5 to 6 million tons.

Steel, 4 to 5 million tons.

It may suffice to set against these figures those of the production of a single one of the consortiums of the Ruhr, the Stinnes group: Coal, 18,300,000 tons.

Coke, 4,565,000 tons.
Tar, 129,000 tons.
Sulphate of ammonia, 50,000 tons.
Steel, 2,600,000 tons.
Cast-iron, 2,119,200 tons.

It is this industrial power alone which has made the greatness and the prosperity of Germany; from the agricultural point of view, before the war, and despite an intensive culture unrivalled in Europe, Germany bought abroad nearly three milliard gold marks' worth of foodstuffs of every sort (wheat, barley, rice, maize, coffee, fruits, wine, oils, cattle, etc.). This means in effect that Germany's food supply was only assured through the production of her industries (coal, dyestuffs, metals, chemical and textile industries, etc.).

"In Germany," as Vogler, Stinnes's chief lieutenant, has said, "the potato is a coal by-product."

The large-scale industry, the "heavy industry" of the Ruhr, concentrated entirely in the hands of a few individuals, is thus called to play a decisive part in the events which will unfold themselves in Germany's future.

The Great Industrialists.

In this field the Stinnes, the Thyssens, the Krupps, the Haniels, the Kloeckners, the Funks, the Mannesmanns, and some three or four others, play in Germany an economic rôle analogous to that of the Carnegies, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans, the Vanderbilts, and the Goulds in America; they also carry on a political activity unknown among the American billionaires.

From the point of view of reparations they have already offered to substitute themselves for the German State for carrying out the payment of the Allied claims, or at all events the first ones, out on conditions which have been adjudged unacceptable.

From their account they alone are capable, through their continually growing transactions, through the credit which foreigners do not fail to grant them, to provide the German State, by way of loan, with the gold and securities and foreign bills which it would itself never be able to obtain by means of a depreciated mark.

In other words, they generously offer to lend to the State, at a good rate of interest, the sums which the fiscal authorities would have a right to demand from them without further ado after the voting of taxes.

And, in fact, if the paper mark plunges down day after day, the means of production of the Stinnes and Thyssens and Krupps and Haniels and their colleagues remain intact and are worth gold. This is what gives value to our occupation of the country.

No doubt we do not hold the whole of the Ruhr, but by our simple occupation at present we hold in reality the whole of its industrial production under our domination.

"We Can Utterly Disorganise Their Industry."

We occupy, indeed, the greater part of the basin, in which there have been established the blast-furnaces which produce the cast-iron, as well as the ports of the Ruhr and the Rhine through which these blast-furnaces are supplied with ores. Thus we cut in two the metallurgical establishments; we can, when we wish, separate from their coal, their ore, their cast-iron and steel production, the connected and complementary establishments which only complete their products in unoccupied Germany; we can utterly disorganise the industry of the potentates of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort.

The small table below, giving details of a few groups, throws up this situation plainly: the places in black are those which are within the zone occupied by our troops. It will be seen that the whole of the cast-iron which, after transformation into steel, supplies the

Krupp establishments at Essen and their annexes come from Rheinhausen (Düsseldorf bridgehead); the limit of the Düsseldorf bridgehead similarly divides the Thyssen establishments and permits us to break the circuit of manufacture when we wish, etc.:

Krupp Group.

	Production in tons.
Coal	5,500,000
Coke	1,900,000
Tar	54,000
Sulphate of Ammonia	22,000
Cast-iron	1,500,000
Steel	1,300,000

Blast-furnaces at Rheinhausen (1,400,000 tons) and Neuwied (100,000 tons); steelworks at Rheinhausen, Annen, and Essen; forges and rolling mills at Rheinhausen; construction of railway material and agricultural machines at Essen and Berlin.

Bridge material and machinery at Essen, Benrath; optical instruments, Dresden; naval construction, Magdeburg, Kiel; wire rope and cables, Hamm (Westphalia); automobiles, Essen, etc.

Thyssen Group.

	Production in tons.
Coal	5,500,000
Coke	1,800,000
Tar	57,000
Sulphate	25,000
Cast-iron	1,200,000
Steel	1,200,000

Blast-furnaces and steelworks, Hamborn, Bruckhausen, and Melldrich; forges and rolling mills, Düsseldorf, Hamborn, Bruckhausen, and Neisholz; manufacture of every sort of machinery, Mulheim-on-Ruhr; electrical machinery, Overneek, Mulheim, Königsberg; section iron, rolling mills of Hamborn, Bruckhausen and Dinsleben.

Haniel Group.

	Production in tons.
Coal	7,700,000
Coke	1,600,000
Tar	22,000
Sulphate	10,000
Cast-iron	800,000
Steel	850,000

Blast-furnaces, Oberhausen; steelworks, Düsseldorf; semi-manufactures, Oberhausen and Düsseldorf; section iron, Altenhunden, Düsseldorf and Oberhausen.

Various machines, Düsseldorf; wire, Gelsenkirchen, Düsseldorf, Osnabrück; locomotives and motors, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Duisburg, Mainz, Gustavburg.

Similarly the Phoenix group of Duisburg produces in its collieries, blast-furnaces, and steelworks of Ruhrort, Horde, and Dortmund 5,200,000 tons of coal and 1,600,000 tons of steel, the largest wrought-steel production in Germany after the Stinnes consortium. These establishments possess a large tube factory at Düsseldorf, rolling mills at Benrath, wireworks at Hamm.

Neighbours of the Phoenix establishments are the Rheinische Stahlwerke, at the junction of the Ruhr and the Rhine. Their colossal aspect, their magnificent organisation, their enormous stocks of ore in the northern part of the port of Ruhrort, greatly impressed us. They produce 5,000,000 tons of coal, 600,000 tons of cast-iron, etc.

The French Advantage.

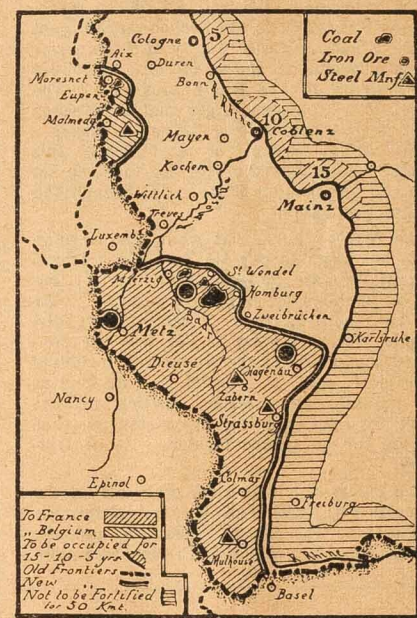
So long as we maintain our present position on the Rhine we shall thus constitute a constant menace for the ten or twelve masters of German industry who are in reality financially the masters of Germany.

From this point of view it is very regrettable that we have been led to abandon the economic sanctions which accompanied our occupation of Düsseldorf in 1921; the Customs barrier established between the occupied zone and free Germany, if it did not give great results in immediate return, nevertheless was in its simple presence a reminder that the circulation of the products between factories working upon it was at our mercy,

and that we could, by a simple raising of tariffs, either levy a virtually unlimited tithe upon the German metal industry or completely disorganise it.

And this perspective alone would have been of a sort which would suggest to the German Government, or its councils, suitable means for facilitating the rapid payment of its war debt.

But recommitments avail nothing. In the existing circumstances, how can we profit by the pledge which we thus hold?



The Saar Basin.

Showing the rich territory plundered from Germany by France and Belgium at the close of the 1914-18 war.

"How Can We Profit?"

"We Cannot Dream of Abandoning This Pledge."

To begin with, there is one question which should be outside all debate; we cannot dream of abandoning this pledge.

At the moment the German State is unable to pay us from its normal resources: the systematic squandering in which it has indulged for a year past, its fiduciary inflation, now reaching 155 milliards, are material facts which no one can alter.

But there are in Germany coal syndicates, iron, steel, dyestuffs syndicates, etc. If any Germany is to pay us it will be that of the Stinnes and Thyssens and Krupps and of the great syndicates, the true holders of German capital: the Germany of the great consortiums will find abroad all the credits it desires. We must therefore retain at all costs our means of eventual action against this producing Germany, which has succeeded in organising itself. At present we can destroy it or utilise it by controlling it; it feels this permanent menace weighing upon it; and from now onwards we see all the shapes which can be taken by the utilisation of this pledge.

To begin with, it is possible that the mere menace will inspire the German Government, counselled and assisted by the industrialists of the Ruhr, themselves desirous of evading a constraint of which they feel that we alone are the masters, with proposals which would be of a nature to give us satisfaction for the moment. But let us not be deceived; if the great industrialists concede to the German Government credits and facilities for the payment of the first arrears of its debt—a thing they will not do without good guarantees secured on the railways or other State property—it will be in order to endeavour to rid themselves of the Nessus' shirt which the occupation of the Düsseldorf bridgehead constitutes for them.

Three years' experience has shown us how little confidence we can place in German goodwill; let us beware, then, of abandoning a pledge which we can have available for exploiting if this goodwill, always uncertain, should begin to flag.

Making the Masses Bear the Burden.

In the case of the insolvency of Germany we can still, while leaving full scope to the functioning of the German metal industry, re-establish the Customs barrier between our bridgeheads and the unoccupied territory, and levy on inward and outward goods duties which, suitably graduated, would replenish the reparations chest. This would be a levy on the profits of a limited category of producers, easy to collect, and, in view of the universal employment of coal and its derivatives, would inevitably be borne in the last analysis by the mass of the German people.

As to the rate of this levy, it would be for the Allies to fix it in proportion to the greater or less goodwill of Germany to acquit herself by other means.

One of these means, which we might suggest to the German Government if it took too long over thinking of it, should be to impose a participation of the State in the profits of the exploitation of the capital represented by the great industries; the compulsory creation of shares representing for each enterprise one-fourth or one-fifth of its capital, and their assignment to the German Government, under the control of our Committee of Guarantees, would, for example, constitute an easy levy on the capital of these industries, of which we should then have every interest in facilitating the development. Another conceivable method would be for these securities to serve as the basis of an international loan, which would at once relieve the finances of the Allies simultaneously with those of the Germans.

It is clear how the possession of the pledge which we hold in the Ruhr invests our action of persuasion or constraint with suppleness.

And finally, without employing constraint, is it not possible to imagine a utilisation of the Ruhr by a collaboration, a friendly entente between France and the Allies on the one part and Germany on the other, with permanent control of its means of production?

The Ruhr and Lorraine.

The Rhine separates two great metallurgical regions; on one side the Ruhr, with its nine million tons of cast-iron (1913 yield), absorbing annually 18 to 25 million tons of ore; on the other side, the Lorraine region (including the Saar), the productive capacity of which is also nine million tons of cast-iron.

The ironmasters of the Ruhr have available (in times of normal production) indefinite quantities of coal, but quite insufficient quantities of ore, since the new Germany produces no more than seven to eight million tons, for a consumption which before the war amounted to 48 million tons and would still easily reach 30 millions.

On the other hand, the ironmasters in the Lorraine group have available twice as much ore as they can work. Before the war Lorraine, France, Algeria, and Tunisia produced normally 45 million tons of iron ore; now our industrialists work up nine millions, and they will work up 25 millions when all the blast-furnaces (including those of Lorraine and Saar) are in full working; on the other hand, they absolutely require for their blast-furnaces the coke of the Ruhr.

Hackneyed conclusion, a hundred times repeated: the French metal industry cannot live without the German coke, the German metal industry can only reach half its full development if it is deprived of French ore.

At present the German metal industry is creating new means of production, building the foundations of its recovery, and organising its future. The industrialists who have lost

* During the seven months of the duration of the economic sanctions the eastern Customs barrier produced about 200,000,000 marks paper, while the Rhenish Customs, which would have functioned in any case, produced about 1,200,000,000 marks, say 250 million francs paper.

their establishments in Lorraine have been liberally indemnified by the German Government; they have diverted their capital to the right bank of the Rhine to reconstitute in the Ruhr establishments destined to replace those which they have lost in Lorraine. The enlargements recently built by Thyssen and those which we have seen under construction at Homburg are significant.

And, despite some partial strikes, all these factories are fully at work, and at costs which the exchange renders ludicrous. But that will only last so long as there remain raw materials in the country; no doubt there are heaps of ore in reserve, and it continues to arrive daily from Spain, Sweden, etc.—but at what prices?

Cannot France envisage the exchange of German metallurgical coke and French ore as a friendly exploitation offering the bases of a true industrial association?

France Fears German Industries May Develop So Germany Can Pay Debt.

We cannot demand that Germany shall pay enormous sums for 35 years, and on the other hand we are afraid of seeing her industries develop in the proportion which would permit her to assure the payment of the debts which she has acknowledged. But so long as we are on the right bank of the Rhine and are masters of 45 million tons a year of ore we shall be in a position to play a decisive part in the German metal industry, demanding a control of production in return.

And no doubt this will be the solution of the future. So long as the Committee of Guarantees limits itself to controlling the German finances it will do no more than periodically report a series of monetary disasters which it will be impotent to alter. The day when it has the power to control Germany's industrial production we shall be in a position to profit by her economic prosperity.

As soon, moreover, as we have control of a share in the German capital we shall have an interest in seeing it as fruitful as possible; for money payments and supplies in kind are at the bottom of every system of payment, and one may discern the whole series of economic agreements, wider in scope than those of Wiesbaden, which may result.

The German industrialists profess openly that the union of German coke and French ore would have great results, and that if the two peoples could conclude directly with one another separation agreements of which those of Wiesbaden are but the prelude, all problems would simplify themselves rapidly.

Our occupation of the Düsseldorf bridgehead should lead us, with a little skill, to the realisation of the only two methods of payment which will give us real satisfaction: a German loan, secured on German capital, and the recovery of economic life.

The Rhinelander certainly does not love the Prussian, a greedy and disagreeable functionary, installed in this kindly country, with his concern for strict discipline and his spirit of authority.

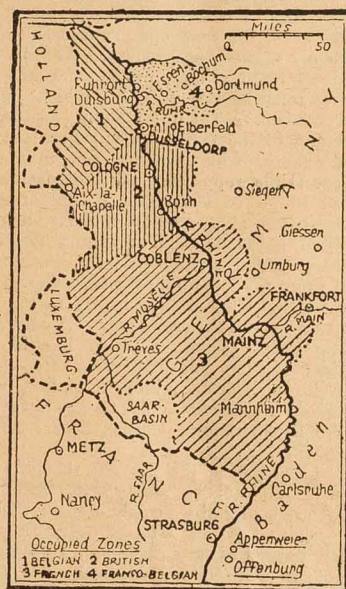
There is a Rhenish psychology, complex enough and yet easily unravelled. These marches have been the prize of every victory, the ransom of every defeat; men at arms have heavily tramped down their soil. The troops of Louis XIV., of Louis XV., of Napoleon succeeded one another there, and were replaced by those of Frederick the Great or of Blücher. Geographically, intellectually their pole is on the west. Acts of force, the great disasters of the end of the Empire, cast them politically into the Prussian system.

Reluctantly the populations accepted it; but this Prussian system has presented itself to them under the aspect of ordered progress, of economic prosperity, of various reforms, and if its unpleasant rigidity was at first revolting to these people of semi-Latin culture, who had lived in the secular anarchy of a historical sub-division but had been immersed in belles-lettres and had experienced the sweetness of a beneficent liberty and of perhaps uncertain but still real democratic

aspirations, they forgave these martinets with their barrack-room methods and their dry discipline in consideration of an unprecedented prosperity which seemed to secure the hegemony of Europe to Prussian Germany.

Rhenish Populations Sufficiently Malleable to Accept the Decisions by Force.

There came the great catastrophe of 1918. In the first months of 1919 the Rhineland expected modifications in its national status. It anticipated French annexation, or autonomy, and if the first of these eventualities awakened, if not resistance—the Rhenish populations are sufficiently malleable to accept the decisions of force—at least disquietude, the second appeared, on the whole, to be desired. The Versailles peace arrived at a third solution—inter-allied occupation for five, ten, or fifteen years, but with the maintenance of



The territories occupied by the Allied Powers on the left bank of the Rhine and at the bridgeheads on the right, as provided by the so-called "Treaty" of Versailles.

(See also map in our last issue.)

the Rhineland within the German unit. The most that has been done has been to impose certain inter-Allied organisations on the solid texture of the administrative organisation of the Reich; the Prussian functionary has remained, and with him the perspective of a future in no way differing from the past.

Instead of the autonomy which was within a few months to find expression in the adventure of Dr. Durten, it was in the main a case of the status quo, and if the Rhinelanders saw French, British, American, or Belgian soldiers mounting guard along their great river, they were regarded as temporary and inconvenient guests, encamped purely in order to assure the observation of the peace treaty.

There followed the events of 1920-21: the desire of Germany to escape from her engagements; conferences, arrangements, ultimatums; formal declarations from the French Government that it would not evacuate the left bank of the Rhine until the Versailles Treaty was executed in full; the threat of the occupation of the Ruhr.

The Rhenish populations attentively followed the development of the crisis; anxious as to their destinies, they awaited French statements which might define them. If the military occupation was to be prolonged, they foresaw certain collaborations, which would be very difficult if this occupation was to be precarious.

Forceful words were followed by feeble actions; the hand fell without gripping the shoulder of the perjured Germany; the

London Conference reduced our rights, curtailed our claim, gave the populations of Rhenish Prussia or of the Bavarian palatinate the clear impression that our country had embarked upon the path of concessions, that France, though unpaid, would not realise the pledge which she held in her hand, this Rhineland prepared to adapt herself to fresh formulae, but prudent and insufficiently heroic to break with her lord of yesterday, who, once our soldiers were gone, would remain her lord of to-morrow. May 1921 was, for us, from Mainz to Cologne, the painful period in which our policy of abandonment made its appearance.

Prussian propaganda was encouraged by this bankruptcy.

It redoubled in intensity; it affirmed that, with the bad times over, the Reich was soon to recover the mastery of its western provinces.

In face of this campaign the Rhinelanders drew back more, and since then the situation has become more delicate. The French Government therefore owes it to itself, as, indeed, the High Commissariat has understood, to practise a Rhenish policy based on collaboration in the economic field, a policy of conciliation and of rapprochement towards the populations.

A Permanent Military Occupation.

The whole of French policy in the Rhineland is at all times subordinate to one primary condition, the prolonged maintenance of our army of the Rhine in the occupied territories. Without this assurance this policy is disastrously precarious. The populations, as we have seen, do not wish to compromise themselves for a cause of which the weakness is obvious since it is limited in time—and limited by a fixed date—and uncertain in regard to its means of action.

In the life of a nation five, ten, or fifteen years count for little. If we had to withdraw at the end of these short periods our role must be limited to an occupation by way of military guarantee. Must we, on the contrary, remain, all sorts of possibilities open out before us. In this matter the Governments which have succeeded one another in France since 1919 have on many occasions declared plainly that following on the failure of Germany to carry out her engagements the limitations of this occupation were suspended—but the foreclosure has not been formally proclaimed as an irrevocable decision.

France to Seize Rhineland in Lieu of Payment.

The judicial thesis of the foreclosure, the right of the unpaid creditor to enter upon the property which he holds from his debtor as guarantee, was applicable here. France as creditor had received from Germany as debtor the Rhineland as security. Payment not having been made, she retained it, and administered it (l'aménageait)—and conveyed her decision to the populations concerned.

A Buffer State.

Certainly she envisaged no compulsion or the latter, no form of annexation direct or indirect, avowed or disguised. She simply affirmed the necessity of remaining on the Rhine so long as she failed to receive the legitimate satisfaction to which she was entitled under the treaties—the necessity of retaining a military "glacis" for her pledge. At the same time she freed the Rhinelanders from the fear of an early return to the Prussian rod, and consolidated their future. The possibility of disposing freely of themselves appeared to them thenceforth as disengaged from the anxiety which falsified their opinion. France thus disengaged the policy of autonomy which should be ours, and which, after this gesture, became relatively easy, whereas until then it had been impossible.

Customs Barrier Between the Rhineland and Germany.

The first act of this policy is the financial organisation of the Rhineland; a Customs barrier placed on the east facing Germany and razed on the west facing France, to avoid the (Continued on p. 8, foot of centre column.)

From the Publishers.

THE SORROWS OF TOLSTOI.

The Last Days of Tolstoi, by Count Vladimir Tchertkoff. (Heinemann, 7/6.)

This book reveals Tolstoi as a poor old man, pursued in his extreme age by the jealous cupid of an unbalanced and hysterical wife, who spied upon him and rifled his pockets, for fear he might give away any scrap of writing, instead of allowing her to sell it; and who made the most appalling scenes to attain her ends, threatening to kill herself, pretending to take poison, rushing out half-dressed at night, so that search parties should be sent after her. Tolstoi, in consequence, suffered from fainting fits and heart attacks, and was unable for weeks, or months at a time, to continue his literary work.

He disapproved the life of a wealthy landowner which he lived at Yasnya Polyana, and at first saved his conscience by handing his estates over to his wife, declaring that, whilst he could no longer consent to possess them, he must not force her to a renunciation in which she did not believe. Having taken this step, he was tortured by his wife's cruel and extortionate treatment of the peasants. He wept when he saw an old man he loved and respected dragged out of the Tolstoi forest by a mounted policeman; he suffered when reproached or pitied as a hypocrite, for continuing to live in wealth upon injustice. His wife added to his misery by telling the peasants that he approved her harsh treatment of them, and by taunting him with his inability to intervene. She broke in upon his working hours with rages and importunities. Many times he resolved to leave the household and adopt the simple life he approved; but the threats and pleadings of his wife continually deterred him.

Feeling, nevertheless, a strong need to live up to his ideals of conduct and to be justified in his own eyes and that of his intimate disciples, tortured by introspective doubts and self-analysis, he adopted a gospel of redemption through suffering, declaring that of resignation to a life which he abhorred, his soul would be purified and purged of selfishness. He also declared that by submissive love he would win his wife from the path of evil and save her soul.

Though Tolstoi declared his belief that no man should traffic in his writings, yet he assigned to his wife the sale of his writings, and also promised her that she alone could copy all his manuscripts, well knowing that her desire was to ensure that none should be published without royalties from which she and her family would benefit. He decided, however, that his works written after 1881 might be reprinted without fee, and because his wife persistently demanded that the publication of new works should be handed over to her he decided to print no more works of art during his lifetime, but only articles on political and religious subjects. He secretly made a will that his works published after his death should bear no royalties, and that there should be no copyright in them. To make this will secure he was obliged to leave his writings formally to his daughter Alexandra Lvovna. His wife, with his acquiescence, surrounded him with so constant a supervision that he was obliged to sign this will and get his signature witnessed by his friends whilst riding on horseback.

Having made his will, he was uncertain whether he ought to have made use of the law to secure it, and whether he had been wrong to keep it a secret. One of his friends to whom he confided the story thought he had been wrong. (Tolstoi seems to have told all his family affairs to his friends.) The friend told him that he had been inconsistent. Tolstoi then wrote to his friend Tchertkoff, saying that he feared he had done wrong, but nevertheless would not change his depositions. Tchertkoff replied that since Tolstoi regretted the will, he (Tchertkoff) could not carry out

what he had undertaken in connection with it. Tolstoi then replied that he believed he had done right in making the will, and that the other friend was wrong.

Evidently Tolstoi vacillated considerably, and was much influenced by his disciples. Some of his disciples at least appear to have advised him against leaving home.

This step, frequently resolved on, was at last carried out in a sudden impulse. Tolstoi himself described the pitiful incident in his diary:

"I went to bed at half-past eleven, slept till three o'clock. Woke again. As on previous nights the opening of doors and footsteps. On the previous nights I did not look towards my door; this time I glanced towards it and saw through the crack a bright light in the study and heard rustling. It was Sofya Andreyevna looking for something, probably reading something. On the evening before she begged and insisted that I should not lock the doors. Both her doors were open so that she could hear my slightest movement. Both by day and by night all my movements and my words must be known to her and be under her control. Again footsteps, a cautious opening of the door, and she goes out. I don't know why that aroused in me an irrepressible repulsion and indignation. I tried to go to sleep and I could not; I turned from side to side for about an hour, lighted a candle, and sat up. The door opens and Sofya Andreyevna walks in, asking after my health and wondering at the light which she has seen in my room. Repulsion and indignation grow. I count my pulse seventy-seven. I cannot lie still, and suddenly take a final resolution to go away. I write her a letter; I begin packing what is most necessary, only to get away. I wake Dushan, then Sasha; they help me to pack. . . .

"I tremble at the thought that she will hear, will come out—a scene, hysterics, and no getting away in the future without a scene. By six o'clock everything has been packed after a fashion. I go to the stable to order the horses; Sasha and Varya finish the packing. . . . It is night, pitch dark. I get off the path to the lodge, fall into the bushes, get scratched, knock against trees, fall down, lose my cap, cannot find it; with difficulty make my way out, go home, take a cap, and with a lantern make my way to the stable and order the horses to be harnessed. Sasha, Dushan, Varya come. I tremble, expecting pursuit. But at last we get off. At Shtchekino we wait an hour, and every minute I expect her to appear. But at last we are in the railway carriage and set off. Alarm passes, and pity for her rises, but no doubt as to whether I have done what I ought. Perhaps I am mistaken in justifying myself, but it seems to me that I have saved myself not as Leo Nikolaevich, but have saved what at times at least to some small degree there is in me."

Continued from p. 7.

economic strangulation which would result from a double fiscal wall diminishing the exchange of goods and compromising the industrial life of the Rhineland; a budget separate from that of the Reich; the substitution of a healthy currency for the damaged mark.

The second act is the replacement of Prussian by Rhenish functionaries.

The third is the extension of the powers of the High Commissioner and the convocation of an elected assembly.

These are doubtless ambitious projects, but if executed wisely and discerningly in proportion as Germany slips out of her engagements they would be amply justified. It is a long-drawn-out policy, in which a well-considered diplomacy must apply one after another the successive links of a well-thought-out course of action which, little by little, will detach from Germany a free Rhineland under the military guard of France and Belgium.

In spite of his efforts to be resigned and to forgive all, Tolstoi evidently did not succeed, after his departure from home, for he wrote to his daughter Alexandra Lvovna:

"For me, with this spying, eavesdropping, everlasting reproaches, disposing of me according to caprice, everlasting control, pretence of hatred for the man who is nearest and most necessary to me, with this obvious hatred for me and affectation of love . . . such a life is not merely unpleasant for me, but utterly impossible. If anyone is to drown oneself it is not she but I. . . . I desire one thing only, freedom from her, from the falsity, hypocrisy and malice with which her whole being is saturated. . . . All her behaviour to me not only shows a lack of love, but seems to have been unmistakably aimed at killing me. . . ."

Then he added:

"You see, dear, how bad I am. I do not conceal myself from you." In writing to his wife he said that if he had gone away openly:

"there would be entreaties, upbraidings, arguments, complaints; I should lose courage, perhaps, and not carry out my decision although it ought to be carried out." The various letters to his wife all indicate that the greatest reason of his remaining with her so long was his fear of inability to take the final decision and dread of the painful scenes which would accompany the parting.

"A meeting between us, and still more my return, is now utterly impossible. For you it would be, as everyone declares, highly injurious, and for me it would be awful, since now, in consequence of your excitement, irritation, and morbid condition, my position would, if that is possible, be worse than ever."

Extracts from Tolstoi's diaries reveal the man who was a saint and sage to his disciples, tortured by very small human frailties:

"April 18th, 1884. It is very painful at home, painful that I cannot sympathise with them. All their joys, examinations, successes in society, music, furniture, shopping, I look upon all of it as a misfortune and evil for them, and cannot say that to them. I can and do say it, but my words do not take hold of anyone. It seems as though they know not the meaning of my words, but that I have a bad habit of saying them. At weak moments—this is one now—I wonder at their heartlessness. How is it they do not see that, not to speak of suffering, I have had no life at all for these three years. I am given the part of a peevish old man, and I cannot get out of it in their eyes. If I take part in their life I am false to the truth, and they will be the first to throw that in my face. If I look mournfully now upon their madness, I am a peevish old man like all old men."

"April 23rd.—Shameful, disgusting. Terrible depression. I am all filled with weakness. I must as in a dream be on my guard so as not to spoil in the dream that which is needed for real life. I am drawn and drawn into the mire, and useless are my shudders. If only I am not drawn in without a protest! There has been no spite, little vanity, or none at all, but of weakness, mortal weakness, these days are full. Longing for real death. There is no despair. But I would like to live and not to be on guard on one's life."

"June 2.—Conversation at tea with my wife. Angry again. Tried to write, it wouldn't go. . . . How be a shining light when I am still full of weakness which I have not the strength to overcome."

"June 9th.—Agonising struggle, and I do not control myself. I look for the reasons—tobacco, incontinence, absence of imaginative work. It is all nonsense. The only cause is the absence of a loved and loving wife."

"I can say that I shall reform myself, but so slowly. I cannot give up smoking, and I cannot find a way of treating my wife (Continued on p. 9.)

so as not to hurt her feelings and not to give in to her. I am seeking it, I am trying."

September 7th.—Went looking for mushrooms. . . . My wife did not follow me, but went off by herself not knowing where, only not after me—that is all our life."

How much unnecessary misery was endured by these two unfortunate people; misery due to the incompatibility of their temperaments and opinions, to the artificial social conditions in which they lived, conditions which she still clung to and which he had learnt to disapprove. What a wealth of energy was dissipated, what a purgatory was endured because these two were tied together in unhappiness and had not the common sense to part.

Tolstoi the novelist, the great portrayer of emotion, Tolstoi still struggling amid the jungles of superstition and convention, Tolstoi unfree, enchained in the morbid gospel of sorrow, speaks the misery of millions in his self-revealing diaries:

"Dull miserable state the whole day. Towards evening this mood passed into tenderness—a desire for fondness, for love, longed as children do to press up to a loving, pitying creature and to weep with emotion and to be comforted. But what creature is there to whom I could come close like that? I go over all the people I have loved; not one is suitable to whom I can come close. If I could be little and struggle up to my mother as I imagine her to myself! Yes, yes, mother whom I called to when I could not speak, yes, she, my highest imagination of pure love—not cold, divine love, but earthly, warm, motherly. It is to that that my battered, weary soul is drawn. You, mother, you care me. All this is senseless, but it is all true."

Next day, returning to the tortures of his self-created purgatory, he adds:

"I, an old man, longed to be a baby, to snuggle up to a living creature, to be petted, to complain and to be fondled and comforted. But who is the being to whom I could snuggle up, and on whose arms I could weep and complain? There is no one living. Then what is this? Still the same devil of egoism which in such a new, cunning form is trying to deceive and overpower me."

BOOKS FOR THE OCCASION.

Books dealing with the late war, the Versailles Treaty, and the questions behind the Ruhr invasion, may be obtained from the "Workers' Dreadnought" Bookshop. The following list will be found useful:

- The Secret Treaties, being the engagements entered into between the Czar and the other Allied Powers, found in the Czarist archives, and published by the Soviet Government 2/-
- Where Iron Is, There is the Fatherland, Streib 2/6
- The Myth of a Guilty Nation, Albert J. Cook 2/6
- The Economic Consequences of the Peace, J. M. Keynes 2/6
- Oil: Its Influence on Politics, F. Delaisi 2/6
- The Decadence of Europe, by Francesco Nitti, former Premier of Italy 10/-
- Shall It Be Again, John Kenneth Turner 12/6
- Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy, E. D. Morel 3/6
- Truth About the War, E. D. Morel 2/6
- The Economics of Reparations, J. A. Hobson 1/-
- Wars and Treaties, Arthur Ponsonby 2/-
- The War of Steel and Gold, H. N. Brailsford 1/4

USEFUL PAMPHLETS.

- E. D. Morel:
 - The Fruits of Victory 2d.
 - Tsardom's Part in the War 2d.
 - The Poison that Destroys 2d.

Our View.—Cont. from p. 4.

MODIGLIANI, the Italian Socialist Member of Parliament, who is a lawyer, was appearing professionally in Court in his native city of Livorno, when the Fascisti attacked him, cut off half his beard, and otherwise maltreated him. His courageous wife alone tried to defend him. Modigliani has now been banished from Livorno, and has moved to Rome, where he begins, as a lawyer, to build up a new connection.

Had the Socialists done this to an opponent, what, indeed, would have been said? Maffi, another Italian Socialist M.P., is in Switzerland, and is not permitted by the Fascisti to re-enter his native country. Risposi, a Communist M.P. for Milan, has had his house several times raided by the police, and is kept under constant police supervision. He has complained to the President of the Chamber of Deputies, but without success.

AS A PROTEST against the hideous practice of the Fascist dictatorship, the Boycotting the Italian Socialists have decided Elections. to boycott the coming municipal elections. That such confirmed Parliamentarians, in this grave Italian crisis, should have taken this step is a strong justification of the anti-Parliamentary position. The boycott, however, is not enough; an alternative course of action must be built up.

THE ACTUAL FIGHTING in the Republican struggle, as Economic Section reports week by week, is more and more falling into the hands of men who are desirous of securing not a bourgeois, but a Workers' Republic in Ireland. From time to time, in the course of a trade dispute, the workers have taken farms and factories; yet the Soviets or Workers' Councils in the industries and on the land, which are essential to the setting up of a Workers' Republic, fail to appear in Ireland as a national force. Economic Section is looking to Jim Larkin, now returning to Ireland, to lead them in this effort. May it be so. Until the workers form their Soviets in Ireland they will make no definite approach to the Workers' Republic of their dreams.

THE ARROGANT INVASION of the Ruhr continues unchecked; and, as the King's Speech puts it, the British Government is "acting in such a way as not to add to the difficulties of its Allies."

The subjection of an unarmed people by foreign troops is accompanied by all the ugly and cruel features one might expect. The German guests at the Hotel Handelshof, in Essen, have been turned out and whipped by French officers. The French authorities have insulted the parents of a little girl shot by their soldiers by offering 10/- in compensation for her death. The Mayor and leading citizens of Gelsenkirchen have been arrested because there has been a riot in the town.

Meanwhile the German people are starving; food prices rose 30 per cent. in a single week. The unemployment ration will not suffice to buy dry bread for a man, let alone a family. Profiteering in food is rife. Capitalism knows neither patriotism nor compunction.

PARLIAMENT MET with the accustomed pomp of the Royal opening and more than the pre-war display of military and police.

While the "faithful Commons" went joking to hear the King's Speech read in the House of Lords, the unemployed were parading out in the cold and rain.

Crowns and jewels, ermine and velvet, and gold and lace in the House of Lords; hunger and rags in the street outside: the well-fed Commons stand between.

THE TENTH YEAR.

In three weeks' time, with this year's issue number 52, the "Workers' Dreadnought" enters upon its tenth year of variegated existence. In these ten years there have been many changes, both in the world in general and in the advanced movements. Many who were with us in 1914 no longer share our path; some have diverged slightly, some have gone completely to the other side of the barricades. It has been a period of serious travail, morally and materially.

Not only has the face of Europe changed, but the soul itself. The war, that was fought with the catch phrase "making the world safe for democracy"—we were given to understand that democracy meant fraternity—has not only impoverished the world, but has coarsened the moral fibre. It has destroyed much that had been built with great love and devotion by the Socialists who preceded us. The great dawn of the Russian Revolution—even that, under the pressure of Western Capitalism has not matured to the fulfilment of its mid-day glory.

Therefore, in more ways than one, we have to build anew. It is no easy task. The mind of to-day has got to cast away the dross of old and of newly-formed prejudice. Within the small compass of our forces, that appears to be our task.

The number of our co-workers is very slender compared to the magnitude of the work; but it is composed of persons who share to the fullest our enthusiasm, and who are conscious as we of the difficulties in our way.

We must search those who are under the sway of Capitalist Press influence; we must present our point of view to them, as the need of the moment requires. We must offer it to them in a manner that is vivid, telling, human, in order that it may attract them and awaken them.

To do this adequately we must be constantly on the alert to improve our paper and to extend its scope and circulation. Our efforts have been heavily handicapped by difficulties derived from the stormy period through which we have passed. During the war, when freedom of opinion was reserved to those who had no opinion of their own but shared that of the Government, the "Workers' Dreadnought" was more persecuted than any paper in this country. In order to carry on the fight we had to buy paper at 1/4 per lb., because even the controlled ration to which we were entitled was withheld from us, because the Government drove us away from printer after printer. Naturally enough, we fell into debt.

Another period of serious struggle was during the imprisonment of the Editor, when obstacles of various characters had to be contended with—the result, more debts!

The delay in paying these debts entailed in several instances legal expenses—with the result that since that time the "Dreadnought" has had to carry a load on its shoulders far greater than it could reasonably bear.

Several comrades who are fully acquainted with these handicaps are of opinion that the time has come for a joint effort of all our friends to free the "Dreadnought" from its load of financial difficulty. Various suggestions have been put forward, and the one that seems most practical is that a series of reunions should be held to raise the necessary money, at the same time giving an opportunity to our co-workers, friends and sympathisers to meet, shake hands, and exchange views.

These reunions must be organised, and a number of willing comrades are needed to make them a success.

Volunteers should write at once to John Brown, c/o the "Workers' Dreadnought," marking their letters "Re-union."

A meeting will shortly be called of those willing to assist, in order to prepare for the work. In the meantime, every reader should send a donation along to the "Dreadnought" Birthday Fund.—J. B.

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS
IS THE TOUCHSTONE OF THE WORKERS' ABILITY TO GAIN THEIR FREEDOM.



The Territorial Losses of Germany.

Showing the territory lands north-east and west taken from Germany by the Allies at the close of the 1914-18 war.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Friday Fortnightly Meetings.

Indoor.

Friday, February 16th.—Minerva Cafe, 144 High Holborn (top floor). Discussion opened by Sylvia Pankhurst on **The Second, Third and Fourth Internationals**, 8 to 10 p.m. Sale of Work and Literature, 6 to 8 p.m. Tea, coffee, etc., at moderate prices.

Friday, March 2nd.—Janet Grove, "Kropotkin's Ideas on Communism."

Outdoor.

Sunday, February 18th.—Beresford Square, Woolwich, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m. Speakers: J. Welsh, J. T. Grant, and A. Mack.

Indoor Meetings.

Sunday, February 18th.—Old William Morris Hall, North Street, Clapham, 7 p.m. Sylvia Pankhurst and L. Grant. **Communism: What it is and is not.**

Sunday, February 25th.—Workers' Friend Club, 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel.

THE C.W.M. STALL.

Literature, new and second-hand, may be obtained at our Communist Workers' Movement Stall from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Saturdays, at the corner of Rosebery Avenue and Exmouth Street. Come to buy at the stall.

Our Bookshop.

Karl Marx:	Post free.
Capital, I. II., III.	37/3
Revolution and Counter-Revolution	3/8½
Eighteenth Brumaire	3/8½
Marx and Engels:	
Communist Manifesto	3½d.
Engels:	
The Origin of the Family	3/8½
Historical Materialism	2½d.
Boudin:	
The Theoretical System of Karl Marx	6/10
Labriola:	
Socialism and Philosophy	8/10
Noah Ablett:	
Easy Outlines of Economics	1/4
Lafargue:	
The Evolution of Property	1/8
Karl Kautsky:	
The High Cost of Living	3/8½
Peter Kropotkin:	
The Conquest of Bread	2/3
Mutual Aid	2/3
Lewis H. Morgan:	
Ancient Society	9/-
Ernest Untermann:	
Marxian Economics	7/10½
Pettigrew:	
Imperial Washington	12/-

Professor Soddy:

Cartesian Economics 6½d.

Alfred Barton:

A World History for the Workers ... 1/2

Sylvia Pankhurst:

Soviet Russia as I Saw It 1/2

Writ on Cold Slate 1/2

Truth About the Oil War 1½d.

Bishop Brown:

Communism and Christianity ... 1/2

Mary E. Marcy:

Shop Talks on Economics 9d.

Plebs:

An Outline of Economics 2/8

An Outline of Psychology 2/8

H. Palme Dutt:

The Two Internationals ... (paper) 1/8

(cloth) 2/8

James Leakey:

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS.

ESPERANTO correspondens estas dezirata pro junio lerino.—Strike School, Burston, Diss.

CHILD taken as boarder in country; garden, farm milk and butter; 16/- weekly.—Write Box 10, "Workers' Dreadnought."

WANTED.—The State: Its Origin and Function, by William Paul. Box 400, "Workers' Dreadnought."

YOUNG Frenchman desires board lodgings with family.—Address Box 10, "Workers' Dreadnought."

THIS IS THE OLDEST CLASS-CONSCIOUS WEEKLY PAPER IN ENGLAND
WITH A FIGHTING POLICY.