Fascism crushed the Workers; now will set Europe aflame. ONE PENNY.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR EQUALITY AND FOR FREEDOM

Vol. X. No. 24. September 1, 1923. WEEKLY

The Accumulation of Capital

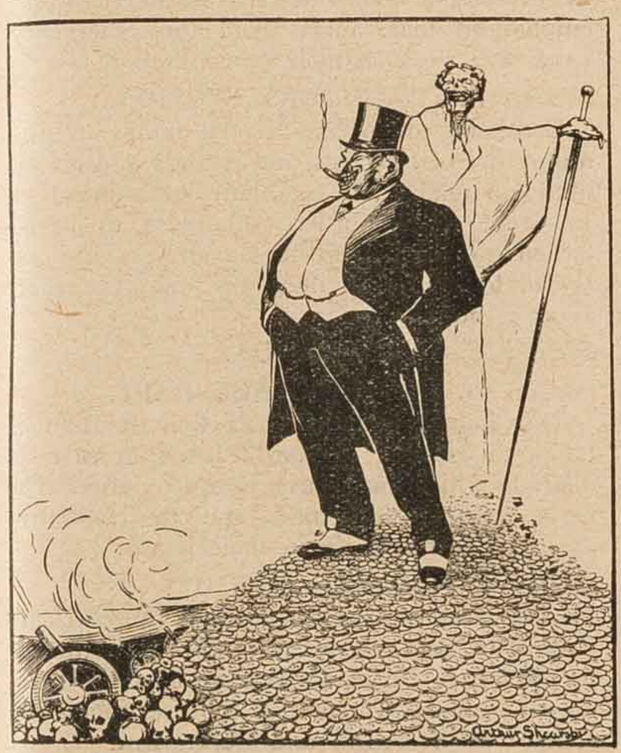
The Grip of Big Business and the Workers' Resistance.

The German Example.

Germany's defeat in the war has resulted in a phenomenal inflation of the German currency.

This inflation has been accelerated by the German industrial capitalists, who have sought to enrich themselves by the fall in the currency.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Accumulation of Wealth.

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

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

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

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

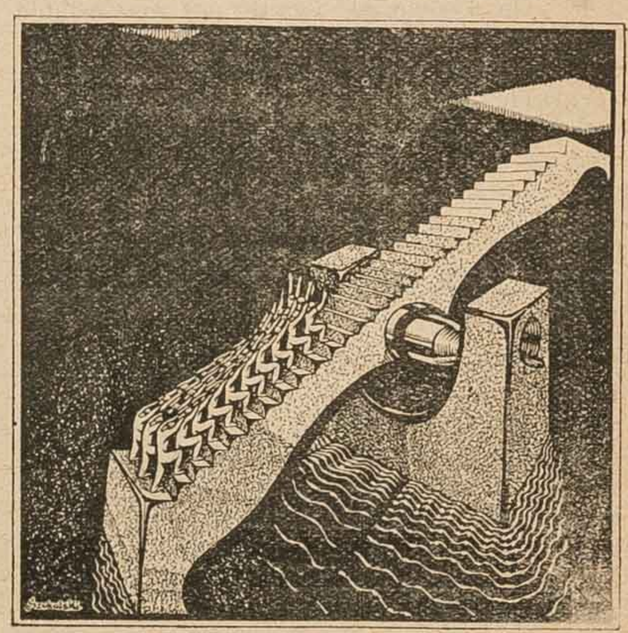
The process puts an end to a large amount of useless toil. The product reaches the consumer without so much unnecessary handling as formerly was the case. It forces many of those who used to be mere parasitic middlemen, either to become wage-earning producers, or to fall into the abyss of poverty. The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

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

The British Initiation.

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

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



The Machine Age

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

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

This policy is that of granting State subsidies and loans and giving State guarantees for raising money to the industrial capitalists. This will enable the industrialists to improve their plant and enlarge their undertakings. The pre-

text is that work will thus be found for the unemployed.

The result will be the inflation of the currency and increased taxation, both direct and indirect. Prices will rise, of course, from the inflation of the currency even more than from the actual taxes placed on commodities for the raising of the subsidies.

The inflation of the currency will mean that when the subsidies come to be repaid they will be worth less than when they were issued.

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

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

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

The further is carried the policy of State subsidies to the capitalists the greater will be the inflation of the currency, and the more acute will become the sufferings of the pensioners and small middle class. The pensioners and those who live on small fixed incomes, will be the first to suffer; but eventually the suffering of all sections, save that of big business, must become intolerable unless the process is checked.

Labour plus Tory.

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

"New Leader" Agricultural Stunt.

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

> ". . . they are to-day feverishly suggesting measures on the lines proposed nearly two years ago by the Labour Party—the granting of credits for works of construction, facilities for road-building by local authorities, encouragement, by way of loans, for trade here, there and everywhere, advances of all sorts from the National Exchequer to tide over the immediate emergency."

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

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

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

Briefly the proposal is that the Government should be the sole importer of foreign wheat and that it should fix a price at which it would pledge itself to sell wheat for a given period—say three years or five years ahead. The home producer could sell his wheat freely without interference, but naturally he could not obtain a higher price for his wheat than that of Government imported wheat, except in case of scarcity. It is suggested that a wheat corporation should be created by Act of Parliament

> "and financially guaranteed by the Government. The Government would either guarantee or actually subscribe the whole of the capital, and would, of course, appoint the directors and control the general policy of the corporation. But the day to day conduct of the business would be free from Departmental and Treasury control."

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

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

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

Paying Both Ways.

The scheme is called "How to Stop the Wheat Gambler" and it is claimed that it will stabilise prices. Does the writer believe that the naughty American wheat speculator will refrain from putting up the price when the buyer is the British Government? Has he not observed that when the Government buys in the home market the price invariably mounts to inordinate heights. Was it not so with the Addison houses? Yet in the home market the Government has the power to fix the price it shall pay; in the world market it cannot do so.

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

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

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

The reformists, who shrink from accepting free and complete Communism, fall ready victims to such schemes, which, in the long run, if they are applied with sufficient thoroughness to affect the situation materially, do but deliver us bound hand and foot to the exploiter—for Capitalism, without the check of competition, grinds the consumer with still greater impunity between the upper and the nether millstone.

Even could this wheat scheme palliate the situation in any degree, why should Socialists stump the country in the effort to convert the people to it when what we desire is the full measure of Socialism? To gull the people with a bogus palliative of this kind is treason to our cause.

PROLETCULT.

A monthly magazine for boys and girls, edited by

TOM ANDERSON

and published by the Proletarian Bookstall.

39, Shuttle Street,

Glasgow.

ONE PENNY.

British Fascisti.

A comrade sends us this leaflet, which speaks for itself:—

No. 1. BRITISH FASCISTI.

Summary of Organisation.

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

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

The system is one of complete de-centralisation, and is sub-divided as follows:

Section A.—UNITS.

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

For purposes of swift mobilisation in the event of the general strike or revolution—

Three Units form a Troop under a Troop Officer.

Three Troops form a Company under a Company Officer.

Three Companies form a Division under a Divisional Officer.

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

Section B.—TRANSPORT SECTION.

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

Section C.—PROPAGANDA.

Section D.—INTELLIGENCE DEPT.

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

Section E.—SPECIAL SECTION.

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

GOD SAVE THE KING.

The leaflet bears the imprint of the Boswell Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Whitefriars Street, E.C.4.

The Failure of the System

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

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

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

Curative work was restricted for lack of means.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

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

Sunday, Sept. 2nd, Victoria Park, 11 a.m.—N. Smyth, J. Bellamy.

Monday, Sept. 2nd, Clapham Common, 6.30 p.m. Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth.

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

Karl Liebknecht's Letters.

Luckau, Dec. 9th, 1917.

(410th day of imprisonment.)

. . . . Oh, to be outside! But I am strong and sound. For three weeks I have had my light in my cell for two hours after we are shut in. History, philosophy, besides a little Shakespeare—just lately Othello, Lear, Coriolanus—all this goes very well with shoemaking.

Have you got Cieck's works? And have you written the date inside, October 1st, 1917? Don't read them haphazard, or you will throw them down at once. Read the parts I advised you. The theatrical review you sent me had a general air of refinement.

Patience is the virtue of slaves. The destruction of slavery demanded a twofold impatience—to master this virtue and to discard it after.

O these Philistine frogs who croak liberty! It is marvellous that one doesn't lose patience altogether.

To-morrow it will be three weeks since Gertrude's and the children's visit, and nine weeks since your last visit, and in a fortnight's time it will be Christmas. . . . Rosa's birthday, too, falls in a week or so. Give her my very best wishes. Just now is the time of our hardest trials, but they must be borne, and they will be.

Poor Bertha! And Westmayer, too! What a pity! Write and send my condolence to his wife. The last time I saw him was on the sixth of January. I understood his value thoroughly during the war, for the first time. His loss is greater than it seems at first sight. For many years he held a devilishly hard post with great courage.

And Arthur Stadthagen—he was certainly a bit worn out, and yet in many things it will be difficult to do without him; a very honest man and capable of sacrifice; the favour in which he was held by the masses was well founded. His seat, in these times of sacred unity, will be given to the government poodles, to the Potsdam.

In any case, be very careful.

Have you news of your mother and the others? The thought of them is inextricably bound with the thought of the terrific social and political maelstrom which threatens to swallow up all our hopes. You know my opinion about Russia. Still, I cannot believe that Lenin and Trotzky are not Socialists with international principles, but merely Russian demagogues and opportunists of peace, who are trying to smash up German imperialism for the sake of momentary success, which is purely Russian, and for the temporary preservation of their own regime, striking in the back the militant German Socialists and the whole International, and helping rascals like Scheideman and David to gather in the harvest. I try for the present to account for their particular mode of acting in this way: to dismember the Entente from within by revolutionary methods in order to pave the way for peace proposals, destroy the intrigues on behalf of German imperialism; to expose and brand the proposals for supremacy not only of Germany, but also of Austria and Bulgaria. (The Balkans! Everything has been published officially.) This, and the opposition of the German Government to the general armistice (on account of the submarine war) and to the utilisation of the lightening of the situation on the Eastern front, would excite the German masses. And if under this revolutionary pressure the Entente should renounce its imperialistic ends, a combined and forcible international revolutionary action could be undertaken.

The humbug of auto-decision for Poland, Lithuania and the Baltic provinces (now in great measure evacuated by precisely the least tractable element), is nothing more than overdone demagogy.

It is at least a bold game that Lenin and Trotzky are playing. If they wish to escape, at all costs, from the Scylla of a rapid fall, they will become victims of Charybdis so much more easily; for, made prisoners of their own pacifist policy by the disarmament which they have imposed on the Russian people, they will be forced to make a separate peace with Germany before any international action can be concerted.

This sort of peace should have been left to the Czarist Government; they will no longer have a government of great Russian land-owners and capitalists, but a government of the German Emperor in Russia. It is an intolerable thought that the lot of revolutionary Russia, of the Russian proletariat, of the Russian Socialists should be aggravated in this manner! We must use all the means in our power to oppose the infamous utilisation of the Russian revolution for the furtherance of the aims of the Central Powers.

. . . . The new electoral Bill puts the seal on the shame of the German proletariat, its capitulation to the dominant class, even if the Bill is the effect of fear caused by the awakening of the proletariat. If they manage to drag the thing on to a finish, then goodbye to liberty for the present.

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

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

A policy of procrastination is one of the essential aims of the government, since it is tending towards a coalition consisting of Hertling (who will bring in any reform if obliged, but every reaction if he can), Friedberg (Nationalist-Liberal) and Drews, and is planning a new offensive for the sake of relieving Hindenburg. To arms, to arms! All, even the women! Certainly, my dear, you women represent a very important part just now. But I must finish. Many, many kisses to you from your

KARL.

December 14th.

. . . . Lenin and Trotzky cannot be thinking of doing anything else than what I have sketched out already. The more I think about it, the clearer it is to me, and the more tranquil I feel about it; and their bold tactics seem more promising, or, at least, less unpromising, and after it has cleared the admosphere a little, and purified the general mess, may continue its action. Certainly, everything must happen here, everything. Let every soldier remember that every drop of sweat, every drop of blood he spills by Hindenburg's orders, strengthens the exploiting class, the men of the royalist and aggressive class, and Hindenburg's offensive against electoral rights and against peace! Lenin and Trotzky must consolidate their power, not only with a pacifist policy (which must be, however, reasonable, international, and Socialist, or not to be pacifist at all), but also by social and economic changes on a large scale: that is, by carrying out the social as well as the political revolution. . . .

NINETY-NINE YEARS

Word has come through underground channels that Charles Cline, serving a 99-year sentence in the State Prison at Huntsville, Texas, for alleged connection with an attempt to smuggle arms to Mexican revolutionists in 1912, is being made the victim of harsh discrimination on the part of the prison officials. He has been cut off, unjustly and without cause, from all communication with the outside world. His correspondence with friends outside has been his one pleasure during the ten years he has already served behind prison-bars. This has been completely stopped. His friends have been unable to get any word from him for several months.

An effort is being made to secure fairer treatment for Cline through protests to Governor Pat Neff, at the State Capital, Austin; to Prison Commissioner S. J. Deern, Huntsville, Texas; and also to Warden Coleman at the prison. It is urged by the Workers' Prison Relief Committee, 364, Haledon Avenue, Paterson, N.J., that all persons interested join in sending vigorous letters of protest to the three officials named. Attention is called to the fact that, when the well-known I.W.W. poet, Ralph Chaplin, was being treated in a similar manner by the Warden of the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, a country-wide storm of protest brought, not only the restoration of his letter privileges, but also a meek apology from the Warden, who had never imagined that a prisoner could have so many friends on the outside willing to fight for him

Unemployed Workers Organisation.

We of the U.W.O. realise that if any working-class organisation is going to be a success much depends upon the rank and file. It is useless to look for individuals to lead the workers; what really results from that is that the rank and file leave all the work and responsibility to a few and give them power to do what they wish with their organisation. When the workers find themselves sold, they wonder why.

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

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

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

Comrade Hannington concluded by pointing out the need for unity and solidarity.

We of the U.W.O. fully realise the need for solidarity and unity; we also know that the first step towards that is comradeship. We recognise Comrade Hannington as a fighting member of the working class, and we are not concerned much with parties or individuals, but with the movement. Therefore, as class-conscious members of the working class we gave the National Organiser a good reception and a quiet and attentive hearing. His speech has not affected the U.W.O., nor do we think it was intended to, as it consisted of experiences in Russia. On asking the rank and file their opinions on the subject at the ticket meeting on Thursday, they were unanimous in agreeing to stand by the action they have taken in forming another organisation.

Comrade Hannington asked if he would be allowed to see the joint committee and have explained to him at first hand the reasons which caused us to take this action. This was agreed to, we having nothing to conceal and not being ashamed of our action. We met Comrade Hannington on Friday morning. The position was explained by various members of the committee.

Comrade Hannington took note of the vital points. He said he could answer them satisfactorily, but asked us if he could answer them before the rank and file. We told him that if the rank and file wished to hear him we would let him know and arrange a meeting for him.

It is not always good policy to publish the strength of any working-class organisation, but I can safely say that the membership of the U.W.O. is very satisfactory. Bow Branch has passed the 500 mark, Poplar is increasing steadily, and Millwall is doing likewise. All our meeting, both business and propaganda, have been of an enjoyable and interesting character, and, with the help of a few more class-conscious comrades, we hope to make this the strongest organisation for the working-class in the country.

J. T. BELLAMY,

Area Organiser.

All communications should be sent to: Area Secretary, U.W.O., Town Hall, Poplar, E.

Workers' Dreadnought
Founded 1914.
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Our View.

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

Macdona'd and Baldwin

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

"As I cannot conceive that any sane man will agree to terms which will mean that German exports are to pay debts to countries damaged by the exports, . . . I am certain that the terms fixed will be perfectly sound as economic propositions. And that is really the only point with which we need concern ourselves."

Though we know that, on this account, we shall be dubbed captious and exacting by some of our readers, we cannot refrain from observing that this statement comes most strangely from a pacifist, an internationalist, and a Socialist.

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

* * *

As to the French debt to Britain, we as Socialists (using the term in the broadest sense to include all who desire Socialism, from the Anarchist to the Social Democrat), should surely repudiate any interest in the mutual indebtedness of the capitalist governments and in the loans which they have floated. We should surely repudiate all responsibility for paying, or enforcing payment, of such debts. It is not for Socialists to advocate employing the French indebtedness to Britain as a weapon for advancing what the capitalists regard as British interests. It is for us to stand aside from the whole sordid business, refusing to assist in any war declared by any capitalist government, or any war of capitalist States, even though declared by what may be termed a Labour or Socialist Government.

Socialists and the Ruhr

Our duty is to propagate Socialist ideas amongst the soldiers, sailors and civilians of all peoples, to advocate the fraternising of peoples, to urge them to refuse to fight at the bidding of their governments, and to stimulate them to the establishment of Socialism—free and complete.

Our special duty in relation to the Ruhr is to endeavour that the soldiers and sailors and the [illegible] of our country shall not be used to crush the revolt of the German people which the Ruhr situation is inciting. Our duty is to prepare our people for solidarity in thought and deed with such a revolt.

* * *

A comrade asks: "What is our policy?" The "Workers' Dreadnought" is something to read, he says—and we are glad of that—but he does not understand what our policy is, and he thinks that perhaps we have not got a policy.

Something to Read

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

* * *

Our policy is to work for Communism, free and complete.

Communism, to us, is a classless order of society, in which the land, the means of production, distribution, transport and communication shall be held in common. Production shall be for use, not profit: that is to say the community will set itself to produce enough, and more than enough to supply all the wants of the people. Goods and services will be supplied without charge to all applicants in the measure desired by the applicant. The reason of this is obvious—since we can produce more than we can use there is no need to stint consumption, or to employ masses of people uselessly in checking and limiting the natural consumption. From this it follows that there will be no buying and selling, no money, no wages. People will have what they desire without payment. People will work for the community without any direct reward for services rendered, except the approbation of their fellows and the consciousness of having worked well. Public disapproval will be the great check upon extravagance and idleness. Everyone will join in doing productive work, but the time which will require to be spent on monotonous tasks will be very small, when all take a turn, and when the machine is harnessed to the service of the worker, instead of to profit-making.

Our Policy

There will be no Parliament. The community will no longer require laws, either to palliate the exploitation of the many by the few or to prevent those who have not enough from taking from those who have something to spare. When the basis of society is no longer exploitation and competition, armies, navies and police forces will no longer be required.

The main business of the community will be the supply of its members' needs, in food, clothing, housing, transport, education, and enjoyment. This main business of the community will be organised by those who are doing the work. Thus the workshop councils will be the basis of the social organism.

Our policy is to work for such a social order.

"But," says the critic, "that is a long way off. What are you going to do in the meantime?"

Our answer is: "Work to bring it nearer."

"But," says the critic, "the masses do not understand it."

Our answer is: "We shall work till we have awakened their understanding."

We add that we shall make no progress in converting people to a free industrial communism by striving to make them pin their faith to such expedients as the capital levy, State subsidies for the industrial capitalists, State or Municipal Banks and other such anti-Socialist devices, most of which will not ease but worsen the plight of the masses. Those who blame the masses for not supporting the Labour Party should blame also the absurd policies advocated by the Labour Party, and its constant vacillating.

The work of converting the people is great, too great, by far, for us to agree to put it off to another time on any pretext whatever.

"But," again says the critic, "are you going to do nothing but propaganda?"

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

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

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

The terms Communism and Socialism, with the same original meaning, have been subjected to so much misuse that many, like Kropotkin, who have described the Utopia of their desires as Socialism, yet refused to call themselves Socialists, have taken refuge in the inadequate term Anarchist, which is also made the plaything of individualists who have no conception of a society based on mutual service.

But this is a digression. To return to our policy: propaganda to-day must take first place because of its great need; because without the will to Communism, the people cannot achieve it; and the will is, as yet, found in such a tiny minority. We do not despair on that account for the will may develop rapidly, and knowledge be acquired with amazing speed, under favourable conditions, and when the requisite faith and energy are shown by the propagandists.

Propaganda consists, not only in word, but in deed. We will not negate our own propaganda for a Communist Workers' Council community by taking part in the work of Parliament and the local government bodies, or by supporting any party—even though it calls itself a Labour, or Socialist, or Communist, or any other party—which, instead of working for Communism, is working for new developments in the capitalist system—such as the Capital Levy, State subsidies, etc.

THEREFORE WE DO NOT SUPPORT THE LABOUR PARTY OR DESIRE AFFILIATION WITH IT.

Desiring a workers' council organisation of the industries and services of the community, we cannot give our energies to the formation and maintenance of Trade Unions, which have another structure and another purpose.

WE WORK, NOT FOR THE TRADE UNIONS, BUT FOR THE WORKERS' SHOP COUNCILS.

The critic protests that we cannot yet secure an efficient workshop organisation, that it will take a long time to build it up.

We know that, and we know that the seed of the idea must be sown before action can follow. Should we be content with signs when we take up residence in a foreign land, because it will take us some time to learn the language? Should we turn back from the path that will lead us over the mountain, because it is steep? If your spirit be thus feeble, then leave the work of Communism to those who have the courage to labour long and with perseverance, without such encouragement as may be derived from the cheers of the mob.

* * *

The infant death-rate has fallen steadily since the inauguration of maternity and child welfare centres, where milk free or at reduced price is available to necessitous mothers and children, besides free doctoring, nursing, medicine, and frequently clothing for mother and child, dinners for the mother, visits to the country, and other assistance is forthcoming in hard cases.

Infant Mortality and Milk

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

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

* * *

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

The I.L.P. Brand

* * *

Conversations between the dictator Mussolini and the Italian Confederation of Labour continue. The Trade Unionists demand only:

Mussolini and Trade Unions

(1) Full liberty of organisation for all trade unions without party distinction.

(2) More effective legal enforcement of industrial agreements.

(3) Improved Labour legislation.

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

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £62 16s. 5d.; Philip Bars, 15s.; Irene Smith, 1s. (weekly); Poplar U.W.O., 4s. Collections: Hammersmith, 2s. 2d.; Brockwell Park, 5s.; Hampstead, 3s. 2d.. A. Pannekoek, 30s. Total for week, £2 5s. 4d. Total, £65 14s. 10d.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

"The Gods of Mexico," by Lewis Spence. Fisher Unwin, 30s.: treats of the ancient Aztec religion.

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

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

Wages and Prices.

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

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

When real wages show "How the League of Nations Saved Austria," we shall see that real wages began to fall when the League stepped in.

In Germany the revolution did not produce a like result. The German table gives no trade in which real wages were not below the pre-war level.

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

The index number for 1913 was 100.

	1922 First qr.	1922 Second qr.	1922 Third qr.
Northumberland	74	78	74
Durham	80	81	80
Eastern area	117	109	86
Lancashire, N. Staffordshire and Cheshire	94	85	80
South Wales and Monmouthshire	72	74	74
Scotland	79	78	75
Great Britain	90	86	79

The statistics given for France are too scanty to be worth quoting.

BELGIUM.

Numbers and index numbers of real wages of various groups of coal miners in Belgium, 1913, 1920, and 1922:

	1913	1920 April.	1922 June.
Hewers	100	88	98.6
Other underground workers	100	83	99.4
Surface workers	100	104	121.0
Average all workers	100	87	98.9

GERMANY.

Index numbers of real wages:

Industry and occupation.	1913 or 1914.	1922 Dec.
Coal mining (Ruhr area):		
Hewers and drawers	100	72
Other underground workers	100	86
Surface workers	100	88
Metal trades:		
Skilled workers	100	62
Semi-skilled workers	100	68
Unskilled workers	100	87
Building trades:		
Bricklayers and carpenters	100	61
Labourers	100	74
Woodworking trades:		
Skilled workers	100	69
Textile trades:		
Spinners and weavers—		
Male	100	79
Female	100	91
Unskilled workers—		
Male	100	82
Female	100	97
Chemical trades:		
Artisans	100	77
Processmen	100	88
Labourers	100	96
Printing trades:		
Machine compositors	100	—
Hand compositors	100	54
Helpers	100	65
State manual workers:		
Unskilled	100	81
Semi-skilled	100	62
Skilled	100	58
State officials:		
Low grade	100	63
Intermediate grade	100	41
High grade	100	33
Bank employees:		
Assistants	100	69
Employees on simpler work	100	49
Employees on more difficult work	100	46

AUSTRIA.

Index numbers of real wages in Vienna:

	1914	1920	1921	1922
Metal workers:				
Skilled	100	75	74	83
Unskilled	100	92	89	105
Women	100	71	—	88
Building:				
Bricklayers	100	39	99	112
Carpenters	100	37	—	108
Painters	100	35	—	—
Labourers	100	61	145	146
Women	100	—	—	139
Printing and bookbinding:				
Printers (skilled)	100	32	86	84
Bookbinders (specialists)	100	—	—	102
Bookbinders (skilled)	100	63	113	103
Textiles and clothing:				
Weavers	100	44	76	93
Tailors (men's highest class)	100	54	71	85
Tailors (men's lowest class)	100	—	—	93
Tailors (ladies' highest class)	100	47	64	74
Dressmakers (highest class)	100	64	—	78
Shoe makers (skilled)	100	65	—	—
Upper leather cutters	100	57	—	—
Food:				
Bakers (highest class)	100	62	54	92
Bakers (lowest class)	100	—	—	108
Miscellaneous:				
Drivers	100	—	—	144
Shop managers	100	—	—	—
Shop assistants	100	—	—	143
Joiners (skilled)	100	62	125	91

Real wages in Austria have doubtless greatly fallen now that the League of Nations has "saved" (!) Autsria by setting up an Allied Commission to control her finances. Prior to that wages, by legislative enactment, were automatically raised in conformity with increases in the cost of living.

A 'John Mitchel' Diary

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

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

(1) Burns, Oates and Washbourne.

Rajputana States Letter

BUNDI

Bundi is said to be the most backward state of Rajputana and, perhaps, of India. Extortion and bribery are rampant among officials of all grades. Sometimes officials are found to be accomplices in thefts and dacoities. Begar, or unpaid forced labour, prevails in a virulent form, and War Loan has been perpetuated into an annual tax.

The people have been struggling against these wrongs for about two years, but the agitation has been confined to merely securing redress of these special grievances. There has been no demand for responsible government or other rights. There has been no suspension of the payment of land revenue as there was at Mewar. In Bundi the people only refused to work under Begar and to pay the highly arbitrary war loan levy. Even this refusal was with the motive of obtaining a speedy hearing rather than resisting the authorities of the State. Non-violence prevailed.

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

The event had a lightning effect on the unaffected parts of the State, which soon joined the agitation. The ruler of Bundi, Maharao Sahib, now dismissed some of the corrupt officials, and the grip of Begar was unloosed to some extent. It seemed as though an effort would be made to settle the trouble amicably. This, however, was not to be the case. British Government C.I.D. and other officials were lent to the State, and these people acted with a high hand. Pandit Nainooram, the president of the Kotah Branch, was called away from a peaceful meeting by Ikram Hussain, formerly a Government C.I.D. man, now the superintendent of police in Bundi, who, in his European dress, posed as the political resident of Bundi. Pandid Nainooram was ordered to instruct the public to remain calm, and unhesitatingly did do. When the danger of a breach of peace was thus avoided, Pandit Najnooram was informed that he was under arrest.

In order to affect the arrest of another worker, Swami Narayansingh, the whole village of Bahadurpura, where he was sleeping, was raided at midnight and practically laid waste. The terrorism that followed has prevented the villagers from returning to their homes even to this day.

On 18th March, 1923, the same Ikram Hussain arrived in the pargana of Dabi, the centre of the agitation, and fired on a peaceful meeting, one person being killed and 19 wounded, including the village chaukidar, or watchman, and a woman, who are lying in a precarious condition.

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

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

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

". . . . . the officials of our State, including the superintendent of police, Madangopal clerk, and others unexpectedly arrived at Gararda. I do not know all of them. As soon as they arrived they engaged the barbers and potters of the village to work for them in Begar (unpaid labour).

"Bardha is an aged potter. He continued to fetch the water for the officials until he got tired. Yet they disapproved the water he had brought and compelled him to proceed to a well which was far off from the village. Out of sheer fatigue, the potter expressed his unwillingness, whereupon his mouth was gagged with a cloth to prevent him from crying and, after a good dealing of beating with shoes, and slaps, he was taken into custody by the officials.

"Prior to this, the Savada village *punchayat* (council) had intimated to all the sister punchayets of the district the sudden arrival of the officials. Representatives from almost all the village punchayets consequently assembled at Gararda, where an extraordinary session of the District Punchayet was held on Saturday. The The meeting discussed the question of the employment of the potter in Begar, the ill-treatment meted out to him, the object of the officials' visit and the advisability of approaching them with the grievances of the kisans (peasants). The meeting, however, proved abortive and was adjourned to Sunday, when the ordinary session of the District Punchayet was to meet at Dabi."

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

Answer: "We have punchayets in every district, ours being the Barundan district punchayet. It is of more than a year's standing and sits regularly every Sunday."

"So our punchayet met at Dabi on Sunday. The superintendent and the other officials also shifted to Dabi. The punchayet decided to make representation to the officials to release the potter and to punish the officials who had last year assaulted several women of the district with lathies (clubs) and spears. The representation was made.

"The superintendent acknowledged the same and released the potter. Regarding the complaint the superintendent sent word through the bearer of the punchayet representation that the punches (members of the village council) should personally see him and explain their grievances. The punches informed the superintendent that they would send their reply the next day.

"A written representation of our grievances was accordingly sent to the superintendent the next day, but he did not acknowledge that, and said he would send the receipt soon after reading its contents. After awaiting the acknowledgment for some hours, the punches sent a man to the superintendent. The latter got out of temper and, calling names on the man, turned him back without giving him any receipt."

Question: "Why did not you, the punches, personally go to the officials?"

Answer: "We are illiterate people and can not retain in memory all that we have to say. We had therefore sent our complaints in writing and had at the same time decided that we should go to the officials if required by them after taking meals which we were then preparing."

"While we were gathering necessaries for our meals, the superintendent, followed by the son of the Thanedar of Khera, suddenly appeared on the spot and began to ask and record the names of those present in a highly provocative tone. We replied quite calmly.

"Suddenly the Superintendent's eyes fell upon Mr. Dhannalal Vaishya, the secretary of the Gararda village punchayet, who was smoking his pipe (chilam).

"The superintendent inquired of him, 'Where dost thou live?'

"'I live at Gararda,' replied Mr. Dhannalal.

"The answer was not yet completed when the superintendent snatched and threw away the chilam from Mr. Dhannalal's hands and retorted in anger: 'Dost thou dare smoke in our presence?'

"The question was followed by abuses and slaps which flung the turban off Mr. Dhannalal's head.

"This insulting behaviour of the superintend- was highly resented by the whole assembly and a cry arose from it that there was treachery. The superintendent was incensed all the more and began to beat people right and left with his cane.

"The people attempted to stop him from further mischief, but he retraced a few steps and called out his men who were there already with rifles. He took a rifle from one of them, and, together with the Thanedar of Khera's son, began to fire at us.

"The first victim was a Bhil woman of Soontra village, who received several buck-shot wounds in the abdomen and in the legs. Several others were hit with bullets or buck-shot. Nanak Bhil instantly died as a result of injuries. Another man, named Madho, is lying in a precarious condition. He is also Bhil by caste and a resident of Dabi village. Besides, about twenty others, including myself, have been wounded. Under such circumstances, a few amongst us threw some stones and dry cow-dung at the assailants, but they were soon stopped by the punches. The superintendent and his associates continued to fire and retire until a wall was reached, which they jumped over and decamped."

The "Daily Herald"

By T. Anderson.

(Proletarian Schools.)

"The Daily Herald" may die at the end of September. Peace be with it, if it dies. It is only following the natural course of all earthly things. In fact, when you think of its life, you might be tempted to say to yourself, "It is just as well dead. Why should it live?"

It has no real message for the disinherited. It is ever so respectable. It does not believe in the "class war," or the "class State," or the "class struggle." It is only a blind leader, and so it would be better dead.

The Labour leaders after it dies will come into their own; they will have a free hand in all the bourgeois papers, and also the small emoluments which flow from them.

Then the average "Henry" and "Henrietta" will read in the "News of the World"—which I understand has a circulation of nearly two millions every week-end—of the doings of Arthur and Ramsay and all the others in the Show. Or it may be the "Empire News," or the "Sunday Chronicle," or the "Weekly Dispatch," or the "Sunday Pictorial" or—our own "John Bull," which some of our top-notch Labour men at present write for.

You can see "Henry" any day in the week with a copy of the "Daily Mail," or, if you live in Glasgow, we have a rag of the same blood relationship, and "Henry" devours it.

We have somewhere about five million trade unionists, and I am safe in saying not 100,000 of them buy the "Daily Herald." Why? They are all "Henrys," they were born "Henrys," and they will die "Henrys," and the "Daily Herald" has no message for them.

You cannot copy your master, and expect your master's sheep to follow you when he is better provided for. It is not natural to think so.

You may tip winners, but then you are not in it with the others. You may give expert boxing notes, and short pen-sketches of Labour leaders, but then our great press can lick you to pieces at that game.

Just a few weeks ago, a leading Glasgow Unionist paper gave a drawing of Thomas Johnstone, M.P., editor of the "Forward," and the entire Labour movement of Glasgow was down on their benders to them. Not only that, but during the great Parliamentary contest, they gave at least a couple of columns of notes written by a Labour journalist. Of course, this paper does not believe in the "class struggle," but neither does the "Daily Herald."

The men and women who have made the "Daily Herald," who have worked for it voluntary, were not the trade unionists, or political Labour leaders. They were the men and women who wanted to carry a message to their class. Now the "Herald" may die; perhaps it is better so. We, the mob, will just have to go on as we have been doing for the past thirty years. Will another take its place? Possibly! But never again will such a one lead us off the track. We shall look forward, and go our own quiet way, until we are able to launch a daily paper of our own.

If the "Daily Herald" had been a paper with a message it would live; nothing could kill it.

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

Why have an eight-page? Why a twelve-page? Why? The reason is obvious. Why news of the King's doings? Why murder trials? Why? "Henry" gets it from the others; that is the reason.

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

The men and women who are to win for the the disinherited in these islands the right of liberty, love and life, are not of the official Labour movement, nor are they any part of that movement. The pseudo-Socialist coalition wing of it will very soon merge into its actual life, and then the fight will be renewed, as it was in the days of old, when men and women had an ideal and lived for it.

Thus to us the passing of the "Daily Herald" means no more than the passing of the "Clarion." And we of old made the "Clarion," and then the black day came, when the men at the helm had no consciousness, and they were carried off their feet with the surge of patriotism. And now the gold of the usurer comes to their aid.

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

The "Daily Herald" counted on official Labour doing great things for it, and official Labour has failed it. Official Labour counts for nothing; to-day it is but reaping the harvest of 30 years' education and propaganda which we of the old school have given to our class. And this is not the end. We have started anew, even amidst all the poverty and degradation of our class, and we are telling them the same message as we did of old. Official Labour is laughing and the "Daily Herald" can only give us a sneer, just a cheap sneer; there is no possibility of us being honest and sincere. No; we are the wreckers.

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

The workers must be told their position, they must be taught to fight for their own hand, they must be educated in the "class struggle" and, as they become conscious of the position they occupy, then, and then only, will hope inspire the worker to fight. And he who would win must fight.

The entire history of the race teaches that lesson. No one can be of any account who is servile and a slave. Freedom cannot be won by soft words or moral stunts. Saviours are not divine. The passing of the "Daily Herald" means nothing to our class, except it be a gain.

WOODFORD WELLS DISCUSSION CIRCLE,

THE RED COTTAGE,

High Road, Woodford Wells.

Sundays, 5 to 7 p.m.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Editor,

I see, Henry, that there has been a split in the ranks of the unemployed. Whereat my heart is sad and the thermometer registers somewhere about the temperature of Greenland's icy mountains.

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

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

But are leaders necessary?

Well, anyway, it strikes me, as a worker, that the unemployed have been so used to being under a boss who does what he likes, and when he does what they don't like, well they change jobs—if they can. This principle has been carried into the unemployed movement, and the result is—what?

More foolishness.

Doesn't it stand to reason that if your house gets out of order you stop in that house and put it in order again? If there is any rubbish in the attic or something and someone in the way, you clear it out, don't you?

The unemployed have a movement. They elect certain men to look after it, uphold it, and carry things on. These men are alleged not to have been up to the mark. The reasonable thing is to sack these men. Instead of which the unemployed withdraw, make a present of their movement to these leaders, and then try to found a brand new organisation which is going to be up and doing and all that sort of thing.

But suppose the new leaders don't up and do? Are we to have a third and a fourth movement, like all these comic new internationals that spring up as soon as somebody gets the wind up, goes home, and gives the cat a swing round the room?

Then, look at the dockers. They, too, have got the craze for a brand new suit, with a nice new shiny badge in the buttonhole and a new heading on its office paper.

All this is shirking and cowardice. The man who is a man does not sneak out by the side door and pour out a tale of woe to the first man he meets. No. He stays in and makes things hum. He gets on the job and makes a clean sweep.

Supposing the workers are disgruntled with the Government, are they to emigrate to Mesopotamia and make a present of this country to whoever stays behind?

If you don't like the way your leaders are running things, in whatever organisation you are, stay in and see it out like a man. You won't gain anything by running away and raising a howl.

Stay in and work. It is harder, but it is surer. If you don't like the leaders, clear them out. If you don't like the constitution, change it. If you don't like the rules, abolish them. But stay in, educate, agitate, organise.

The unions are yours. You made them. If you have given them to leaders to play with, that was your mistake. But own up to it. Don't sneak out and say you wash your hands of it. That is easy.

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

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

But it would pay you best to sack the lot and adopt a motto of four words: "Mind your own business."

L. A. MOTLER.

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

Why was the split in the Unemployed organisation?

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

(1) The old organisation has made its declared object work or maintenance at Trade Union rates.

Those who formed the new organisation desired to make its object the abolition of the capitalist system.

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

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

Comrade Motler thinks Soviets of the workshops can be attained through the Trade Unions.

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

To those who desire the Workshop Councils we say: hold the union card if you like, as long as it is convenient to you; but do not imagine it is in the Trade Union branch that you will form your workshop councils—that you must do in the workshop.

When the workshop movement is strong you will come to discard the unions altogether.

Comrade Motler does not understand why the forward minority goes out and forms a new organisation.

If the forward minority is making such headway as to endanger the old policy, it is apt to be thrown out of the old organisation, especially if it has such a thing as a newspaper at its disposal.

There is, however, another reason. The minority, with its forward policy, finds its propaganda swamped and wiped out by the majority, which is preaching the direct opposite. Moreover the minority does not desire only to influence the members of a particular organisation: it wishes to take its message to the mass. Whilst the minority remains in the old organisation, it finds party discipline interfering with its advocacy of doctrines which are in advance of those held by the majority. Carried to its logical conclusion, Comrade Motler's argument would prohibit the formation of any new organisation. The Fabian policy of permeating the Liberal and Tory Parties would be the order of the day, or, at most, no one would be permitted to get beyond the Labour Party.

The latest people to form an organisation are apt to say: our organisation is essential, but no other new organisations must be formed.

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

ENGINEER, married, experienced in I. C., Steam and General Machine Repairs, seeks employment or will undertake auto or mechanical repairs; 17 years experience States and Canada; 2 years proprietor of machine-equipped garage; estimates on reconditioning. — Box 76.

You and the Highbrows

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Compound Interest

One cent invested by Pharaoh 3,400 years ago at 6 per cent. compound interest would amount now to one quintillion, 96 quadrillion, 630 rillion, vigintillion dollars, or, in figures, 1,096,630, followed by 81 noughts, which our printer cannot muster!

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

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

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

Contrast between simple and compound interest:—

One dollar drawing interest at 10 per cent. will in

	Compound. Dols.	Simple. Dols.
10 years amount to	2.59	2.00
20 years amount to	6.73	3.00
30 years amount to	17.45	4.00
40 years amount to	45.26	5.00
50 years amount to	117.39	6.00
100 years amount to	13,780.61	11.00
200 years amount to	189,905,276.46	21.00
300 years amount to	2,617,010,996,188.64	31.00

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

The world's governmental indebtedness is one and a half trillion, the other indebtedness a similar amount, a total of three trillion.

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

Note. While government and city bonds usually bear five to eight per cent. interest, the cost of bookkeeping, raising and collecting of taxes, and other revenue to meet interest payments, puts a burden of considerably more than 10 per cent. on the amount loaned.

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

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