What will happen if Germany is dismembered?

ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

THERE TO BE WITH THE MINORITY.

Vol. X. No. 30. October 13, 1923. WEEKLY.

"Practical" Socialists

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

The study of economics is no doubt necessary for militant Socialists; the more a man knows of them in all their details the more he is able to meet not only the sophistries of the "educated" anti-Socialist, but, which is more important, the awkward and hard-to-be-answered questions which people who have never thought of these matters at all sometimes stumble on.

Of course, that he should be able to make his knowledge of any use depends on whether he has understood what he has learned, especially in dealing with inquiring ignorance. The "educated" man will sometimes be floored by a phrase, will retire abashed before "surplus value," and refuse to tackle the iron law of wages, on the same grounds that the Oxford undergraduate declined to give his examiner any information about King David for fear he should be lugged all through the Kings of Judah and Israel; but the ignorant man may require information after he has got over the first shock of the unaccustomed enunciation of the big-worded dogma. So that our student of economy had best be careful to look at it that he can translate his phrases into a language "understanded of the people." But when our learner has really got to know something about economics; nay, when he has them at his finger-ends, he still has to beware of another trap, or rather of two more. He has (old a Socialist as he may be) to take care that he does not read the present into the future, to suppose that when the monopoly in the means of production has been abolished, and no one can any more live on the labour of others, but must do some recognised service to the community in order to earn his livelihood, yet, nevertheless, people's ways of life and habits of thought will be pretty much as they are now. The other trap generally besets the way of the same kind of Socialist who is apt to fall into the first-named; it is the too entire absorption in the economic view of Socialism, and the ignoring of all its other aspects.

The kind of Socialist who is most likely to be caught by these traps is he who considers himself as specially practical; although the due deduction from the last one at any rate would be the abstention from action of all kinds, and the acceptance of the position of an interested but helpless spectator. Your "practical" man is (very naturally) anxious that some step towards Socialism should be taken at once, and also that it should be taken under definitely Socialist auspices, therefore, he really addresses himself to people who would be likely to be frightened into mere hostility by any apprehension of a large change in the life of Society; he is thinking entirely of the conservative side of human nature as the thing to be won over, and ignores that which exists just as surely, its revolutionary side. The result is that the wolf of Socialism gets clad in the respectable sheep-skin of a mild economic change; yet not with much success. I have been present on several occasions when this experiment has been tried, and have been much amused by the demeanour of the respectables, who, trying to be convinced, or at least to appear to be, have nevertheless shown uneasiness, as if they detected the disguised animal, and saw his glistening teeth and red jaws peeping out from under the soft woolly clothing of moderate progress. Also, though it was less amusing, it was as instructive to watch the look of those convinced but not fully instructed Socialists who were present, on whom the sight of the transmogrified sham animal monster produced nothing but blank disappointment and dismay. Altogether these occasions have been to me hours of humiliation and discouragement; and I think also that there was no gain in the humiliation; neither I nor the other comrades needed to undergo it. The opponents were not won over by it, they were only confused and puzzled, and made to feel as if they had been laughed at.

But I do not mean to say that these one-side Socialists are generally acting disingenuously, or merely trying to smooth down a hostile audience. I believe, on the contrary, that they do not see except through the murky smoked glass of the present conditions of life amongst us; and it seems somewhat strange, not that they should have no vision of the future, but that they should not be ready to admit that it is their own defect that they have not. Surely they must allow that such a stupendous change in the machinery of life as the abolition of capital and wages must bring about a corresponding change in ethics and habits of life; that it would be impossible to desire many things that are now the main objects of desire; needless to guard against many eventualities which we now spend our lives in guarding against; that, in short, we shall burn what we once adored, and adore what we once burned.

Is it conceivable, for instance, that the change for the present wage-earners will simply mean hoisting them up into the life of the present "refined" middle-classes, and that the latter will remain pretty much as they are now, minus their power of living on the labour of others? To my mind it is inconceivable; but if I could think such a prospect likely, I should join with Mr. Bradlaugh (whose ideas of the aims of Socialism is probably just this) in a protest against the dull level of mediocrity. What! will, e.g., the family of the times when monopoly is dead be still as it is now in the middle-classes, framed on the model of that of an affectionate and moral tiger to whom all is prey a few yards from the sanctity of the domestic hearth? Will the body of the woman we love be but an appendage to her property? Shall we try to cram our lightest whim as a holy dogma into our children, and be bitterly unhappy when we find that they are growing up to be men and

With Many Thanks to the Guardians.

SOME OF THOSE WHO WERE WOUNDED IN THE BATON CHARGE AT POPLAR BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

women like ourselves? Will education be a system of cram begun on us when we are four years old, and left off sharply when we are 18? Shall we be ashamed of our love and our hunger and our mirth, and believe that it is wicked of us not to try to dispense with the joys that accompany the procreation of our species, and the keeping of ourselves alive, those joys of desire which make us understand that the beasts, too, may be happy? Shall we all, in short, as the "refined" middle-classes now do, wear ourselves away in the anxiety to stave off all trouble, emotion and responsibility, in order that we may at last merge all our troubles into one, the trouble that we have been born for nothing but to be afraid to die? All this which is now the life of refined civilisation will be impossible then.

I have often thought with a joyful chuckle, how puzzling, nay inexplicable to the generations of freedom, will be those curious specimens of human ingenuity called novels, now produced, and which present with such faithful detail the lives of the middle-classes, all below them being ignored except as so many stage accessories; amongst them all, perhaps, Dickens will still be remembered; and that because of what is now imputed to him as a fault, his fashioning a fantastic and unreal world for his men to act in. Surely here again all will be changed, and our literature will sympathise with the earlier works of men's imagination before they learned to spin out their own insides like silkworms into dreary yarns of their sickly feelings and futile speculations; when they left us clear pictures of living things, alive then and for ever. We shall not desire and we shall not be able to carry on the feverish and perverted follies of the art and literature of Commercialism.

I wonder that those who will insist in reading the life of the present into a world economically changed, do not see how they start wrong from the beginning; and I wonder all the more as they are often clear-headed and capable persons.

The competition of the profit-market forces us under our present system to turn our attention over-much to producing wares with the least possible labour; our epoch is compelled to sacrifice everything to this necessity. Considering the aspect of London and our great manufacturing centres, for instance, it seems that if it were possible for us to go on for long at our present rate of sacrificing to this tyrant of cheap production, the time would come when having to choose between the greater part of us living in cellars and never seeing the sun again, and foregoing the cheapening of cotton cloth by a halfpenny a yard, we should be compelled to choose to submit ourselves to the former—inconvenience. This, I say, is our necessity at present, because the competition for profits, which is the master of production, is a system of mere waste, first as a war and next as a bonfire, so to say, for the consumption of the product of labour merely in the interests of the power of the proprietary classes. Or may we not say that the gentilities, the luxuries, the pomp of these classes in an ascending scale, from the small villa-dweller to the great territorial magnate, are the necessary baits held out to the producing classes to ensure their "content" with the present state of things. "It is true," they proclaim, "that you are in an inferior position now, because you belong to the useful class; but there is no legal disability preventing you rising out of that class; by means of thrift, self-denial, and clever rapacity, you may attain this nice stuccoed villa with its 'art objects' and nick-knacks, its smiling, obsequious servants, and vacant wife and daughters dressed up to the nine; next, as you grow older and colder and stupider, this mansion awaits you with all the 'refinements of civilisation,' flunkies, libraries, parties, seats in Parliament and the rest of it; and at last, when you have really come to believe in yourself as a benefactor to the human race, because you, once the robbed, have become a robber on the very largest scale, here is your park with its surrounding acres, and the state and majesty of a landed gentleman amongst the toilers afield who have even less than you began with when you were a useful man. There shall you found a family, take a peerage, and die universally respected!"

Expensive baits these! Yet necessary while classes last, since the lapse of time has evolved us out of the simpler systems of chattel slavery and serfdom.

I won't go into figures as to the cost of these two gulfs of waste necessary to the stabilising of our present system: the waste of commercial war, the waste of the supporting of a proprietary class with all its camp-followers and hangers-on; nor do I suppose that we shall ever know how prodigious a waste we have saddled ourselves with in this matter; but it is clear it *is* prodigious. Well, under the new conditions of Society, commercial war will have died out, and with it the wasteful occupations that support it; and class-rule will have disappeared, so that its waste will have gone; labour will no longer be directed in the interest of the profit-grinder or the idler, and the task of the producer will be so easy, that the dogma which our pessimistic friends now hold that men will always do their work in the way which gives them least trouble (understood whatever sacrifices they have to make for it), will cease to have any meaning, because there will practically be no longer any compulsion to work.

Mark Twain says, *apropos* of Tom Sawyer's white-washing, that work is labour that we are compelled to do, and pleasure labour that we choose to do, which we beg our economico-pessimist friends to remember.

Meanwhile, I hold that we need not be afraid of scaring our audiences with too brilliant pictures of the future Society, nor think ourselves unpractical and Utopian for telling them the bare truth, that in destroying monopoly we shall destroy our present civilisation. On the contrary, it is Utopian to put forward a scheme of gradual logical reconstruction of Society which is liable to be overturned at the first historical hitch it comes to: and if you tell your audiences that you are going to change so little that they will hardly feel the change, whether you scare anyone or not, you will certainly not interest those who have nothing to hope for in the present Society, and whom the hope of a change has attracted towards Socialism. It is a poor game to play (though so often played in politics) to discourage your friends in order to hoodwink your foes for a space. And certainly the Socialists who are always preaching to people that Socialism is an economic change pure and simple, are very apt to repel those who want to learn for the sake of those who do not.

Herr Stinnes and the Ruhr Adventure.

II.

THE SAAR QUESTION.

Throughout these articles, when I say France I mean the French capitalists; when I say Germany or Britain I mean the capitalists of those countries. The French are as good and as bad as the Germans, the British, the Italians or the Spanish; all are men, and nationality is but an accident. A man born in Schleswig before 1919 was a German, born after returning that territory to Denmark, he is a Dane. If your German parents sailed for England one week before your birth, you become a British subject by birth. If by some Treaty a frontier is changed, a Roumanian may become overnight a Russian. Nationality is, in short, nothing but a fiction: no man has any reason to be proud of his nationality, or of his race.

France before the war was very rich in iron-ore, but very poor in coal. By the Treaty of Versailles France became richer in iron-ore through getting Lorraine. To turn this new-won iron-ore into money, coal was necessary. On the pretext that the Germans had destroyed French coal mines, the French capitalists got control of the Saar coal-mines, and the right to exploit them. This is the basic cause of the Saar question.

The Saar question is the question of raising the profit of the united French and German Capitalists. It is also a wonderful means of making the nations of the world believe in a new war for the Saar question. And, as you have learned, the menace of a new war means more arms, and more arms mean more profits for the capitalists.

Now for the Ruhr question: the Ruhr question and Saar question are the same question. There is only *one* question in Europe and in all the world: The profits of the capitalists.

But the Saar question and the Ruhr question are specially linked together. These two questions are, in truth, but one question; they cannot be separated the one from the other. The Ruhr question is the result of the Saar question, and both questions are the real cause of the war. These questions are not new questions produced by the war. They are both questions as old as the modern unity of iron and coal, and as old as capitalist profit-making out of that unity.

The Ruhr and Saar questions are made, artificially, by the great actors who work for the capitalists. Such questions are very necessary to confuse the people and the nations, and to rob them of every opportunity to point out the truth of what is happening.

As soon as people grasp the truth, the capitalists cannot rob them any longer, because those who understand will resist being robbed in favour of a few unscrupulous magnates. They will resist paying with their life's blood the profits of the capitalists.

The French have occupied the Ruhr by command of their capitalists, in particular of the great iron and coal combine, the "Committee of Forges." That Committee has commanded that the German magnates who are attached to it either openly or privately shall be saved. Capitalism ignores the frontiers. The Committee of Forges, the iron and coal combine which was so mighty during the war, needs for its profit a more perfect unity of coal and iron. The Treaty of Versailles did not give all the combine wanted. The time was not yet ripe; the people might have seen a glimpse of the truth if the thing had been done too quickly. But having seen Russia becoming a country of modern Capitalism, under a democratic, even a socialistic cloak, why should not the capitalists make business with Russia? Capitalists make business with hell if they know there is a profit to be made; with God and the Church they have made business through all time. They expect Russia to be a good buyer of arms in the future. Therefore iron is wanted, therefore more iron and coal will produce good profits.

But there are these d——d frontiers preventing the coal reaching the iron, and preventing the iron reaching the coal. Frontiers mean customs, and difficulties with credentials, and similar obstacles, good for the poor if they are going to change badly-paid jobs for better-paid jobs in foreign countries; but not at all good for capitalists, if they are not going to cheapen the cost of production and to raise the profits.

When I say Herr Stinnes, it means: Herr Stinnes, Herr Thyssen, the firm of Krupps, Herr Bleichroeder, and other important German capitalists. One of these others is Herr Hagen. Herr Hagen is a mysterious person. Few German people know him; yet he is a big man; and what is more, a man with great influence. His real name is Levy, but he changed it by permission of the German Government. He has a bank at Cologne, where he lives. His bank is at the end of the Hohe Street, in the third floor of a corner house, near the cathedral. He has the smallest bank in Cologne, the smallest in the eyes of the people. He does not need a big office; this would bring suspicion on his business. If he could do so he would make his office smaller even than it is. Two or three years ago he got from the Pope at Rome the highest order the Pope can confer. Herr Hagen got this distinction in spite of the rumour that his personal behaviour is not of a kind to merit an order of the Pope. When one learns of this distinction is it not easy to clear up the mystery of this unknown banker?

Yes, friend, you are right; Herr Hagen is the financial representative of the Catholic Church and the Catholic clergy in the Rhineland and Ruhr territory. The German capitalists do not wish to miss the big fortunes of the very rich Catholic churches, congregations, and parishes of this eighty per cent. Catholic part of Germany. Money does not smell. If the Church has a chance to increase its fortune it will use it, even by investing it in a war business. Capitalists know very well that having the Church means having the majority of the people. The Church, having invested its money in war business, will never fight against war.

Do you now understand what an important person the "unknown" banker, Herr Hagen, is to the German capitalists? The unity of the German and French capitalists is decided, and the Church is of the party. The robbing may commence.

On losing the big iron mines of Lorraine Herr Stinnes became poorer in iron-ore than he was before the war—remember always who is meant when I say Herr Stinnes. His attempt to get all the iron-ore of East France by the war had failed; but even if heaven and hell should collapse, the principle: "Iron must go to coal," must be realised. In order to bring iron to coal both the old frontiers and the new ones drawn by the Treaty of Versailles must be modified to suit that principle.

The first step in this direction was the proposal to turn the Rhineland into a French province. But France refused that.

Why?

Not because German people would be made French. Such a consideration never deterred the Government of any modern country. But to include seven millions or more of pure German people in France, with its population of barely 39 millions, would have been costly in every respect. Together with the Germans picked up over in Lorraine, France would have brought within her boundaries between nine and ten millions of pure Germans: more than a quarter of the whole French population. To handle this big foreign crowd, most of them surely hostile to the new Fatherland, the French Government would need a good trained staff of about half a million officials. On the other hand, these 10 millions of foreign people, belonging to the best educated and to the most cultivated inhabitants of Germany, would very soon so influence the native population—especially those of the Eastern part of France—that France might cease sooner or later to be the France the world knows. Consider also the difficulties with these new populations, always drawing a comparison between their former circumstances and their present ones. Men are always inclined to consider their former circumstances were better than their present. It is not good for any country to be making men subjects of a nation they do not belong to, especially if this nation has just gone to fight for the freedom of the world and for the independence of little nations. To have a good reputation is necessary to an up-to-date country, if for no other reasons than for its financial credits. Again, supposing France is expecting a war with England, what a danger would those captured 10 million foreigners mean to France!

For all these reasons it would have been unwise for France to annex the Rhineland. The magnates were clever enough to understand that. It would be too expensive, and perhaps the day would come when the capitalists would have to pay higher income taxes on account of the adventure.

A very much better idea was an independent Rhineland State. This Independent Rhineland was already on the way to realisation when the occupation of the Ruhr was planned and discussed. Of course, an independent Rhineland under the control of France and Belgium. This control was necessary to secure and to guarantee the independence of the new State because of Prussia. Remember, Rhineland is the richest and best cultivated province of Prussia. That is the reason, the only reason, why Prussia is so much excited at the prospect of losing Rhineland. Rhineland was overlooked by the Treaty of Vienna in the year 1815. The only man, who at once foresaw the future result of this mistake, was the British representative, but he was outvoted. His prophecy was fulfilled 99 years later, when the Prussians captured Antwerp. This British representative was mistaken only by *one* year, for he had said at the Congress of Vienna:

"Give Rhineland to the Prussians, and they will be in Antwerp 100 years later."

From these words Lloyd George may learn how clever former British delegates to International Congresses have been.

I am not a British representative, but I say: "Let the Prussians keep the Rhineland, and they will be in London within thirty years."

Those who do not believe in my word should read the publications of the "British Bureau for Ruhr Information." They should listen to what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says in regard to the separation of Rhineland. Ramsay MacDonald deserves to get the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle and to become secretary of the "Committee of Forges." He has done his best to help big business.

An independent Rhineland would suit France and Belgium very well, for it would be a buffer-state between France-Belgium and Germany. But this independent Rhineland does not suit Herr Stinnes and the "Committee of Forges," for it would separate iron and coal, and remember the principle: Iron must go to coal.

Therefore when the proclamation of the Rhineland Republic was daily expected the Ruhr invasion was arranged.

Why?

The Rhineland Republic would have a new frontier: the Rhine. Yet the Rhine is no frontier; the Rhine can never become a frontier in spite of all the speeches of French politicians. The Rhine frontier would divide a country which is an economic unity.

Add the Rhineland to the Ruhr and this new State will be the most successful of all the new States produced since the war. Nay, more, it will become the most successful country in Europe.

With the proclamation of the Rhineland Republic the Saar question is finished, for the population of the Saar territory will not then vote to belong to France but to the Rhineland Republic, akin in race, language, culture and history.

A Rhineland—Ruhr State would suit both Herr Stinnes and the French Committee of Forges.

For this reason the new State is secured; for the will of Herr Stinnes and of the Committee of Forges is law, the law of all laws.

When this new State is formed, iron will have gone to coal. France will be secured against Germany so thoroughly that she can open her frontier to the new State. But much more will be secured—the East frontier of the new State. This again is just the wish of Herr Stinnes, so that he can stop all coal and iron coming from the rest of Germany, where the wages are lower, because of the paper mark, whereas in the new State good money will be introduced. This good money is necessary for the new State, in order to be in better relations with the French members of the coal and iron combine. The rest of Germany cannot produce hardware without the will of Herr Stinnes, who is the dealer in iron and coal. But the rest of Germany can turn raw material, sold or lent by the Committee, very cheaply into wares of higher value. So Her Stinnes will produce a big army of unemployed men in the new State, in order to keep the wages down. Whoever may become the president of the new Republic, Herr Stinnes will be the king; he will be more almighty than the Kaiser ever was. From this new State Herr Stinnes and the Committee of Forges will govern the world.

England will take part in this big game, in particular by keeping Cologne. Herr Stinnes is ready for every action, even an action against England. For to this new State will belong Bremen and Hamburg, the two most important harbours of Germany. The fleet of Herr Stinnes and the unity of the German and U.S.A. merchant fleet is strong enough to "rule the waves," as far as ruling the waves means stipulating the price of freight, passenger traffic, and mail.

By the fall in the German mark, which he has caused, Herr Stinnes has earned enough to bring up the Rhineland-Ruhr republic, to give up passive resistance, and to leave the worthless rest of Germany to the Communists or to the Monarchists. Herr Stinnes does not care for the rest of Germany; his Fatherland is not Germany; his Fatherland is only that part of the world where iron and coal is. May the rest of Germany become a Russian province, may its people starve, may its land be swamped in human blood; whatever happens to the worthless rest, Herr Stinnes has feathered his nest. He and his companions have become the new kings of the modern world, called the world of Democracy.

The new kings of the modern world—yes, but at the same time the last kings. The Mene tekel is already written on the wall of the palace of these modern kings. In comparison with them, Nebuchadnezza was like a boy with a paper crown. Capitalism is embodied in the person of Herr Stinnes, who is drawing frontiers no former king was able to draw; who is robbing countries and continents; who makes whole nations his slaves; who leads (with his innumerable newspapers) the minds of about half the white population of the world; who has ministers and members of parliaments working for him in all countries; who commands professors of universities to teach what he orders; who says "war shall be' and there is war; who says "peace shall be" and there is peace; who says "a new State shall be" and there is a new State; who says "a State shall go down with all its people," and so it happens.

He is Capitalism in person; he is the worst, but the last form of modern Capitalism. He is this form of Capitalism which is found in existence when the new form of society is knocking at the door of the world. The concentration of power over all commodities and sources of raw material in the hands of a very few individuals. This is the state of affairs all the teachers of Socialism and Communism have told us must be reached before the working class can think of a real victory.

At the same time, with Capitalism in its last and most terrible form, we see all these institutions, such as Labour Parties, Trade Unions, Leaders, Parliaments, etc., collapsing and unable to help men. Why? Because all these institutions belong to Capitalism, and they do not belong to the new form of human society. Like parasites, they could live only on the capitalist system. If Capitalism is going to die these institutions cannot escape death. When the king falls, his mantle falls with him, so the old leaders of the workers must become the friends of the capitalists and supporters of the old system. The death of Capitalism is their death.

So very cleverly was the Ruhr trouble organised by Herr Stinnes and the Committee of Forges that the German people did not see the real managers of that trouble. German people were taught by the newspapers—all led by the agents of Herr Stinnes—that the Ruhr trouble was an action of French imperialism. The result of believing the Ruhr trouble an action of French imperialism was a renewal and deepening of the war-time hatred against France. To renew and to increase this hatred is the intention of Herr Stinnes and the Committee of Forges. A hatred between two nations means a war danger, and a war danger means increasing the profits of the magnates.

On the other hand, if French militarism manages the matter in favour of Herr Stinnes, so Herr Stinnes will remain in the eyes of the German people the good patriot who thinks of nothing but the general welfare of the Fatherland. The more the German people believe him a good patriot, the better he can make money for himself, behind the wings of the stage he has erected for playing his clever game.

Though in the opinion of all the German people all other capitalists are devils, Stinnes alone is the heroic gentleman; he alone is the very best German citizen who will die and who will live for the Fatherland.

What would happen to Germany if she should loose this Herr Stinnes, who is said to be the last hope of Greater Germany?

DID HE READ ABOUT POPLAR?

An open verdict was returned on Tuesday at an Edmonton inquest in the case of a man who was found drowned in the River Lea. He was unemployed, and when his "dole" became exhausted he dreaded going to the Guardians!

Workers' Dreadnought

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Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

A TERRIBLE STATEMENT OF LEON TROTZKI is reproduced in the Berlin "Kommunistiche Arbeiter Zeitung."

Some Russians Betray the World Revolution

The authority for the statement is unfortunately only too authentic; it is the official Soviet organ "Nokanunie." The statement which we sadly characterise as terrible is as follows:

"*The American Senator King had an interview with Trotzki before he left Moscow for the States. King asked Trotzki what Soviet Russia will do when Germany has a new revolution.*

"Trotzki answered:

"ABOVE ALL WE DESIRE PEACE. We shall NOT ALLOW ANY SOLDIER OF THE RED ARMY TO GO OVER THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER, unless we are forced to do so. If the German monarchists win and come to an understanding with the Entente, and are ordered by the Entente to take part in an intervention against Soviet Russia, then, naturally, we should fight; but I do not anticipate this. AT ALL EVENTS, WE SHALL NOT TAKE PART IN A GERMAN CIVIL WAR, because it would only be possible by making war on Poland. BUT WE DO NOT WISH TO HAVE ANY WAR. We do not wish to conceal our sympathy with the German workers; we stand absolutely on their side; we stand on the side of the German people against imperialism; but at the same time we stand absolutely for peace. The NUMERICAL WEAKNESS of the Red Army, which is being reorganised as a territorial militia for home defence, IS THE BEST GUARANTEE OF THE PEACEFUL DEFENCE POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

"THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS INTERESTED IN CARRYING THROUGH THE COMMITMENTS WHICH IT HAS UNDERTAKEN AND IN MAINTAINING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE COMMERCIAL WORLD. THE GOVERNMENT WILL SUPPORT ALL GENUINE FOREIGN FIRMS, WHICH DESIRE TO INVEST THEIR CAPITAL PERMANENTLY IN SOVIET RUSSIA'S INDUSTRIES.

"The new economic policy of Soviet Russia is a necessity for the millions of Russian peasants, and must be continued for a long time."

Our readers will agree, we think, that this is a terrible statement.

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IT MEANS that Leon Trotzki and his colleagues are

Pledges to Capitalists

prepared to put their trade with international capitalists and the agreements they have made with capitalist firms, before Communism, before the proletarian revolution and the pledges they have

Pledges to Comrades

made to the German comrades to come to their aid in the hour of need. Again and again the Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party have declared that they would rush to the aid of the German workers in the day that the German Soviets are set up. Again and again those Russians of the Third International have declared themselves the advance guard of the world Communist revolution, eagerly waiting to assist it whenever and wherever it may manifest itself. Yet now Leon Trotzki announces to world Capitalism that it need have no fear of Soviet Russia when next the struggle is joined between the Communist forces of progress and the capitalist forces of reaction. Soviet Russia's Red soldiers, says Trotzki, will only be permitted to fight if Russia itself be invaded with the object of turning Trotzki and his Government out of office. Short of that, the international capitalists can count on the friendship of Trotzki and his colleagues, even whilst they are suppressing the proletarian revolution in other countries.

This betrayal is not merely a betrayal of the German comrades, to whom so many pledges have been made. It is not merely a betrayal of the world revolution, which the Russian communists have often insisted is the only means of realising Communism. It is more than that: it is a betrayal of the principles of Communism in Russia and everywhere. Says Trotzki: We shall not assist the German comrades, "we shall not take part in a German civil war," because "the Soviet Government is interested in maintaining the commitments" towards capitalist firms it has undertaken, and "in maintaining the confidence of the commercial world." We offer, says Trotzki, "permanent" capitalist investments in Soviet Russia, and the Soviet Government "will support all genuine foreign firms that desire to invest their capital permanently in Soviet Russia's industries." O gross betrayal! But consider, comrades, what does a Government's support of a capitalist firm's investments in industry mean? It means, in the last analysis, Government troops against the workers. How art thou fallen, O land of revolution, that this should be the policy of your Government to-day!

* *
*

WE WHO STOOD AMONGST THE FOREMOST in this country to welcome the revolution

Standing by Soviet Russia

in Russia, the beginning of the world's Communist revolution, as we hailed it then, we are often rebuked by comrades who say: "We stand by Soviet Russia; she at least has done something; nothing has been accomplished in this country yet: let us clean our own doorstep first."

So say some comrades, but we also stand by Soviet Russia, as we stood, almost alone, when most of those who decry us now, were silent, if not hostile to the soviet idea. We stand by Soviet Russia, but we stand by those in Russia who are working, and striving, and suffering still for the Soviets as a reality, not merely as a hollow sham. We refuse to stand by the traitors and the backsliders; we refuse to stand by those who have sold the pass and destroyed the standard, whether their betrayal be due to folly, to fear, to illness of body, to weakness of mind, to failure of faith, to confusion of thought, or to mere gross, material self-interest. We stand for the industrial republic of pure, free Communism—in spite of all the opportunists and intriguers, in spite of all the hardships and disappointments which beset our path.

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TROTZKI'S STATEMENT has proved beyond all shadow of doubt the rightness of our position. More clearly than we could

Our Position Justified

have foreseen, is it now revealed that the policy of Peace and Trade with Capitalism adopted by the Soviet Government, meant an inevitable departure from the Communist objective. Now it is clearly seen that this fatal policy means even more: it means an eventual alliance with the powers of Capitalism against the rise of Communism. How terribly soon is that eventuality approaching! How splendid was the glory of the Russian revolution; how bright were the hopes it lit in comrades throughout the world; how happy were we who are responsible for this paper; how we rejoiced and hoped in October, 1917, and the glorious days that followed!

THE WAY HAS PROVED harder and longer than we fancied then: the goal is just as bright, just as precious, just as true; yet

Keep Up the Flag

it is farther off than we hoped, and those who toil with us along the road are fewer than we thought. In those buoyant days we expected that this paper would only be needed a little while: in the time of troubled doubt that followed we sometimes wondered whether we had not been too exacting in our demands, too rigid in our judgments and policies. To-day the truth is very clear to us, the hard truth. We were right, we are right to stand clear of the compromisers and opportunists, even though some of these who must be named so seemed wonderfully great and brave in some past time. We were right, and we are right; we few, as yet so few.

Sometimes we weary and grow discouraged; sometimes we say the difficulties are too great, the results of our efforts too small. To-day Trotzki's statement sends us on again: yes, we must continue to struggle for the free Communism without compromise. Yet, comrades, we cannot keep this medium of information and propaganda afloat unless you will give us more help in doing so. You must help us to increase the circulation of this paper and to put it on a firmer financial basis. You must do this, not to reward our efforts; you must do this because the information the paper is giving, the uncompromising stand it is taking, are of service in these days of discouragement and betrayal.

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WE UNDERSTAND that some persons interested in whitewashing the Poplar Labour Guardians who called the police to baton

Echoes of Poplar Batoning

the unemployed are assailing the character and motives of some of the men who are prominent amongst the unemployed of Poplar. For our part we are not concerned with personalities. In these days when Leon Trotzki proclaims himself and his colleagues deserters from the international proletarian revolution, and when George Lansbury, the pacifist, makes himself responsible for a police baton charge, it grows clearer than ever that one must not take one's stand upon personalities, but on principles. It is clear to us that even though the unemployed are anything but saints, yet the Poplar Labour Guardians betrayed the principle of proletarian solidarity, and supported, not Socialism, but Capitalism, when they brought the police to beat the unemployed.

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DR. HILFERDING'S FAILURE is the inevitable failure of the reformist. When this reformist of the Independent Social Democrats took office in the Stresemann coalition Cabinet he was said to be confident of creating a new financial situation in which inflation would cease, expenditure would be balanced by revenue, that there would be a surplus for carrying on indefinitely the passive resistance in the Ruhr. Perhaps Dr. Hilferding may not have been so confident as he was thought to be, but he had written much of how the financial position could be easily put to rights within the capitalist system. Therefore when office came to him it was naturally thought that he would do what he said other ministers should. To put Germany's finances to rights is, however, impossible; therefore it was inevitable that Dr. Hilferding should fail in the attempt. It is said by bourgeois Liberals that he was not strong enough to enforce his will, that he was out-matched by an ossified bureaucracy, that he was subjected to intrigue: all this may be true, but these are not the inherent reasons of his failure. It is said that he has left Germany's finances in a worse condition than he found them. No doubt he has, but so will every Minister who succeeds him, for the progressive worsening of Germany's finances is such that no Minister, whoever he is, can stem the tide.

The Failure of Reformism

Hilferding's failure really is that he failed to understand that his expedients must fail: and above all that he, a professing Socialist, offered to cure Germany of her ills within the framework of the capitalist system.

The "Manchester Guardian" says that Dr. Hilferding "ranks amongst the foremost of the world's authorities on finance and economics." That simply means that he is one of those who lend themselves to the work of putting plasters upon the festering sores of the capitalist system—which is sick unto death. His will to do this is more serious than his folly in believing that his plasters could effect a cure; his will to cure the infirmities of capitalist finance means lack of faith in the Socialist cause.

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THE LABOUR PARTY'S Capital Levy proposal is negated by its demand of State subsidies

Capital Levy versus State Subsidies

to capitalist industries, which it claims are necessary to absorb the unemployed. The Labour Party would take a proportion of a rich man's capital, give it back to him in the shape of returned war loan, then grant him a State subsidy or loan to enable him to extend his business. Anything rather than Socialism seems to be the motto of Labour Parliamentarians, if we may judge by the nostrums they offer to the people.

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GERMANY is a republic: Germany, by the revolution which overthrew the Kaiser, is supposed to have won democracy; but

What is Happening in Germany?

Germany is now under a dictatorship. In Bavaria the dictatorship is open and flagrant: the dictator declares that he is "too good a monarchist" to proclaim the monarchy at present; he has prohibited strikes and boasts his desire to crush the proletarian movement. He has suppressed all Communist newspapers and declares that Germany requires the iron rule of Bismarck. The "State of Siege" proclaimed by the Berlin Government, ostensibly to deal with reactionary Bavaria, is ignored; with the acquiescence of the Berlin Government; but is used, as far as the Government has the power nowadays, to enforce anything, to suppress the active proletarian movements of Saxony and Thuringia. It must be understood, however, that the submission to Government has become largely a thing of the past in Germany.

Meanwhile the Stresemann Government in Berlin has sought and obtained from a complaisant Parliament, an Extraordinary Powers measure, which enables it to set aside Parliamentary government. This Act empowers the Government of the Reich:

"To take such steps in the financial, economic, and social domain as it considers necessary and urgent. In doing so it may depart from the basic rights of the Constitution. The powers do not extend to the regulation of hours of labour, the limitations of pensions, support for insured persons, or national insurance payments. Decrees issued under it are to be brought to the knowledge of the Reichstag and Reichsrat without delay, and must be annulled immediately on the demand of the Reichstag."

The law is to take effect on the day of its promulgation, and to cease if the present German Government goes out of office or its party composition is changed. In any case the measure is to lapse on March 31st, 1924.

The measure is comprehensive enough to allow the Government to crush its opponents in mud and blood—if it dare.

Obviously the Capitalist Republic has established a dictatorship so far as the letter of the law is concerned. How far the Government is able to assume dictatorial powers remains to be seen.

The old Stresemann Government was brought to an end by the influence of the German industrial capitalists, amongst whom the Stinnes group is foremost. The Social Democrats have again displayed their slavish desire for office on any terms by entering the new Stresemann coalition which had secured this dictatorial Extraordinary Powers Act.

In entering the Government the Social Democratic leaders joined the industrial capitalists and other sections of the coalition in the sacrifice of the eight-hour day, the only legal remnant left to the workers of what they gained by the revolution.

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THE RESOLUTION AGREED to by the Social Democrats and the industrial capitalists declares that owing to the urgent need for production the eight-hour day may be departed from in practice, though it is still to be preserved in principle. Thus is abandoned the one reform which the Social Democrats have boasted they "won" by social revolution, and have clung to as the one thing they have "saved" from the revolution: the revolution which they did their best to prevent.

Eight-Hours Day Abandoned

It is also announced that the Government in which the Social Democrats hold three seats out of 31 will abrogate that provision in the Demobilisation Order, still in force, which forbids employers to lock out their employees, except with Government permission, and after a month's notice.

Meanwhile the employers have announced an increase in the working day to 9½ hours for underground workers and 10 hours for others, without waiting for Parliamentary sanction. The workers announce their resistance to the innovation.

Another fall in real wages in the metal industries has also occurred because the wages for the week are only raised by 25 per cent. whilst the cost of living index shows an increase of 50 per cent. and the mark has fallen 100 per cent. The day-to-day class struggle for the workers' subsistence continues, whilst the forces grow which shall destroy the system. The Trade Unions, with empty exchequers owing to the fall in the value of money, are useless to the workers: they must depend on their workshop solidarity for protection, as for ultimate liberation.

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THE MOVEMENT towards dictatorship, now so strong in Germany in spite of its new Republicanism, is inevitable in a class society, when the established order is threatened. True freedom of the individual and the mass is only possible to a society without social classes and economic differences.

The Inevitability of Dictatorship

The efforts to set up a dictatorship which the Germans are making is matched by a new military vigilance displayed by the Allied conquerors. The Ambassadors' Conference has notified the German Government that the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission will resume its activities which had fallen more or less into abeyance since the Ruhr occupation owing to Germany's passive resistance to it.

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NOTHING HAS BEEN LEARNT by the German Social Democratic leaders since 1914. They support the dictatorship established during the German bankruptcy as they supported the dictatorship of the war. They defend the established capitalist order now as they did during the war.

Still the United Front

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THE PRESSURE from the Control Commission just now is a reminder that Capitalism outside Germany will not be a passive spectator of a proletarian revolution in Germany. How much foreign Capitalism will be able to do against the proletarian revolution is one of the big unknown factors; that it should intervene is not new, not peculiar to the situation of Germany held down by the conquering Allies. Revolutionary France had to fight the foreign friends of her deposed rulers, the Kaiser was ready to send troops to aid the Czar in the revolution of 1905, German troops broke the Finnish Revolution, foreign troops attacked the Hungarian and Russian revolutions.

Capitalism Outside.

The only question in the present German case is whether the fact that Germany is a beaten nation held to ransome will make it easier for Capitalism to persuade the armies of other nations to fight revolutionary Germany. Our Labour Leaders who demand the retention of British troops in Germany are playing into the hand of reaction as usual.

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WHILST the German Government declares that the State must be strengthened at all costs, telling the people that they must accept a dictatorship with that object, the break-up of the State continues. The financial autonomy of the separate States and municipalities is announced by the Government: they are to levy their own taxes and balance their own budgets. The proclamation of the republic of the Rhineland and the Ruhr is daily recognised as more imminent, whilst Bavaria has made itself virtually independent in fact though not in name, and Saxony and Thuringia are discussing an alliance in opposition to Bavaria.

The Break-up of Germany

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THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL Communists have entered the coalition governments of Saxony and Thuringia. Drawing daily nearer to the Social Democrats they have thus taken a share of responsibility for maintaining the established order. They may be counted on as opposing the proletarian revolution in Germany, until it is obviously triumphant. Then they will seek to dominate it and to lead it on the path of Soviet Russia's new economic policy. Trotzki's statement is one of the many indications of this. Karl Radek, Soviet Russia's principal representative in Germany, and the German C.P. representative on the executive of the Third International, has said that the time is not ripe for a revolution in Germany. Third International propaganda in Germany is now only for reforms.

Parliamentary Communists

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MANY BRITISH capitalist papers allege that Stinnes and the rest of the German heavy industry capitalists are working in opposition to the Stresemann Government for war with France. It is significant however that the Stinnes Party supported the Stresemann Government's Extraordinary Powers Bill. Stinnes and the rest are negotiating with the French authorities for the carrying on of their business under French control, and are on most friendly terms with the French General Degoutte. Already some firms have concluded their agreements; it is said that in return for co-operating with the French they are promised special railway and customs facilities, and even French credits.

Stinnes

Even the papers that pretend Herr Stinnes is insisting on stronger resistance to the French admit he is "toying" with the idea of a Rhineland—Ruhr Republic, which means a republic under French protection and influence. Our readers should study the article of our German correspondent on this question. The French control in the Rhineland and Ruhr is said to be about to issue its own special currency, which will circulate there side by side with the franc.

The establishment of the new Ruhr—Rhine country of the Franco-German coal and iron kings is making rapid progress.

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BUT what are the prospects for the proletarian revolution? The evolutionary scroll is unfolding slowly. Crusted monarchist reactionaries, kings of capitalist industry, bourgeois reformists, would-be dictators of State Capitalism, are contending together, but behind them are mustering the proletarian hosts which can only be emancipated by free anti-State industrial Communism.

Prospects

Mr. Wilbur Dunne, of the Butte Central Labour Council (U.S.A.), caused a dramatic scene at the American Federation of Labour Congress held this week. On account of alleged Communistic activities, the meeting passed an overwhelming vote for his expulsion, and Mr. Gompers (president of the Federation) asked Dunne to leave the hall. Dunne, picking up his papers, exclaimed: "Goodbye, Mr. Chairman and Delegates, I'll meet you at the barricades."

Capital.

By TOM ANDERSON
(Proletarian Schools).

Capital is surplus value ; or, in other words, "capital is dead labour that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks."

"Capital can multiply itself only by exchanging itself for labour-power, by calling wage-labour into life. The labour-power of the wage-labourer can exchange itself for capital only by increasing capital, by strengthening that very power of which it is the slave. Increase of capital, therefore, means increase of the proletariat."

"Capital perishes if it does not exploit labour-power, which in order to exploit it must buy. Capital therefore presupposes wage-labour ; wage-labour presupposes capital. They condition each other ; each calls the other into existence."

These quotations are taken from *Capital*, by Karl Marx. How many understand them?

Our intellectuals from the Labour side explore all the avenues of thought, except that which matters, and so they attribute the conditions under which the people suffer to an "inherent sinful nature of mankind." "If the capitalists were more humane," they say ; "if they would but meet the workers half-way, a great advance would be made in our social life." To read a speech of J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., you would think he was the incarnate entity of all goodness, and that the politicians, i.e., the capitalists whom he is decrying, were the lowest of the low.

Mr. MacDonald seems to forget, or does not understand (I am inclined to think he does not understand), that the politician is not first, foremost and all the time a politician ; he is only a politician in so far as it safeguards his interests as a capitalist. He is a capitalist in thought, word, and deed. From when he rises in the morning until he goes to bed at night, all his interests are interests of "Capital."

This then is a material thing, and no inate spirit can in any way move him from the concrete whereby he lives ; all his consciousness of life comes from it. He makes laws to guard it, his aims are more of a doctor, lawyer, minister, priest, professor, artist, judge, as the case may be. They are saturated with the same ideology. To tell any of these people that "Capital is surplus value" is equal to telling them that they do not possess it. They know better. Capital to them is power, Capital is life ; in a word, there is no power in the modern world except "Capital."

"Capital presupposes wage-labour ; wage-labour presupposes Capital." Here we have the common material things of our social life making our philosophy for us.

Every joint conference of the capitalists and the workers to settle the difference between them about certain working conditions ends in favour of the capitalists. This is only natural, because Labour is dependent on Capital. It is foolish to think that you could get what might be termed justice. The meaning you give that word is not your master's meaning.

An ordinary middle-class conception of Capital is : "It is a something which in itself has the creative power to increase and multiply itself without the aid of any other power." You can buy war-saving certificates at 5 per cent., and for £100 worth of them you will get at the end of the year the sum of £5 given to you, and you still have your £100.

Suppose you had a million golden sovereigns, they would be of no value, except under certain conditions—in fact, it would be useless labour to produce them, if the conditions were not in existence which would be favourable to them. To-day they are useful, owing to the capitalist mode of production. The present mode of production is the production of commodities for the world's market, for the purpose of a sale for profit : that profit is "surplus value," which goes to increase capital. There is no other way of increasing Capital. "Increase of Capital means increase of the proletariat."

A golden sovereign is just so much socially necessary labour-time: nothing less and nothing more. The same value as is contained in the sovereign manifests itself in 20s. worth of pig-iron, or in any other commodity of like value. But then 20s. worth of pig-iron does not bear "interest," so say all your savants. There is no valid reason why it should not ; they are value for value. If you want 20s. worth of pig-iron you must give your golden sovereign for it. They are both Capital : the one is gold, the other is pig-iron. Where the sovereign scores over the pig-iron (not that they are in any way different from the point of value), is from the fact of the one being made a universal equivalent for all other commodities. Gold is the king, the others are its subjects. Subjects of a king, our own King for example, must consider themselves his subjects, and they do so, or else his kingship would be useless ; in like manner it so suits the capitalist mode of production that the sovereign should bear "interest." It is nothing less nor more than the ringing of "the change" in your mentality.

You have to-day nearly two million Capital-creators doing nothing, and if you could set them to work for one year, over and above keeping themselves, they would create an increase in Capital of at least £200,000,000. You must remember that money or gold is not Capital of itself ; it only becomes Capital from the fact of its being a commodity, which contains a given amount of socially necessary labour.

Under a Communist State there would be no Capital, and that being so, no commodity would bear any interest. Then all that Capital means, all the boasted talk about it, whether it be quoted in millions or billions, it is only so much unpaid labour. The interest of £400,000,000 on the war debt, which is paid each year to your master, simply represents the surplus taken from twenty million wage-slaves of various degrees. It does not represent money, i.e., money has nothing to do with it. The original loan did not consist of money; it consisted of the different commodities which the workers produced, and their masters, having no use for them, sold them to the Government, and in return they were debited in the Bank of England with so much stock or war loan. For example: "Received from Messrs. the Glasgow Steel Manufacturing Co., Ltd., the sum of two million pounds sterling." This was bought at ninety-five per hundred, so that the Capital they have invested, instead of being £2,000,000, is £2,010,000, a net gain of £10,010 on the purchase. They are paid 5 per cent. on the loan, and the principal has never been paid. That means, if they chose, they could pay up the loan which they have invested by taking the interest, to liquidate it. Ninety-seven per cent. of all our foreign trade consists of exchanges. When you understand this, you will understand what Capital is.

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £98 5s. 8d. J. Sear, jun., 5s. ; A. Gilbert, 2s.; Norwich Comrades, 10s.; G. P. Bailey, 7s. 6d.; Anon., 10s. (monthly); T. Foxall, 2s. 6d.; Ada Hodson, 4s. (monthly); W. L. Falconer, 5s.; A Sympathiser, £1; A. Carford, 16s. 6d.; J. Humphrey, 2s.; J. Bernstein, 2s.; Office meeting collection, 14s. 8½d.; W. J. Paul, 2s. 6d.; J. Clarke, 2s.; E. T. Leonard and Workmates, 5s.; W. Barker, 10s.; Stockport Socialist Fellowship, £1 6s. Total for week, £7 6s. 8½d. Total, £105 12s. 4½d.

IMPORTANT!

We urgently suggest that comrades should endeavour to secure new subscribers to the "Workers' Dreadnought" and that they should collect at meetings and from their friends whatever is possible. However small the sum you can collect, it will be welcomed. Send it in stamps or postal orders. The "Dreadnought" is not self-supporting: the editing and managing is unpaid.

In response to this appeal Mr. Henry Marchant sends us six new readers this week, and usefully notifies their occupations, in order that we may know for what sort of service to appeal to them.

Unemployed Workers Organisation.

The scenes in the Board-room at Poplar on September 26th are still being debated, both by unemployed and employed workers of this and surrounding districts. The action of the pseudo-revolutionary Guardians has been food for thought and a subject for speculation. The policy of the U.W.O. is definitely anti-Parliamentary, and we can claim a victory from our defeat by being able to prove the fallacy and futility of the local governing bodies in their endeavour to abolish poverty and distress.

Perhaps their claim will be that they do not intend to abolish poverty, but they are there to relieve distress. This may be true of some Boards of Guardians, but it was not the election cry or the first set policy of the Poplar "Reds."

Since the authorised baton attack on the Unemployed, these Guardians of the "law" have been compelled to reduce the scale of relief. This cut, with a few more, is inevitable. We of the U.W.O. realise these things, and when we attempt to point out that this is the inevitable outcome of dabbling with capitalist machinery, the Guardians attempt to silence us with the baton.

Although the U.W.O. has well over fifty of its members seriously injured, a considerable number in hospital, and one in prison, it has not damped the enthusiasm of its members. We are still carrying on with our active agitation and endeavouring to put before the working-class a real revolutionary policy.

The Guardians have made a number of fruitless and unsuccessful attempts to whitewash their action in Poplar. They must remember, especially the guilty members, that they cannot crush a movement by force. The more it is persecuted, the greater it grows, and we have found this the case with the U.W.O. "Men may die, but principles will live."

We have been promised an inquiry into the case by the C.P.G.B. They seem to consider it a most shameful action. They should, knowing that two of their members were present on the Board, but they ignored the affair in their official organ—"The Workers' Weekly."

If the Labour Party carry out their promise the incident at the Guardians' office will be gone into and threshed out in public at the Bow Baths Hall on Monday, October 15th. The U.W.O. will be there, and I am sure it will be an interesting discussion. Comrade Keyes, the next Mayor of Poplar, promised us this opportunity of meeting the Guardians face to face in public. This we shall be pleased to accept. We are unashamed of our action and not afraid to meet George Lansbury, John Scurr, or any other member of the Board. The U.W.O. have now found out who are their real enemies ; we know how to deal with our enemies ; false friends are far worse than real enemies.

The U.W.O. is steadily growing, and this can be attributed to the untiring work put in by those responsible.

This surprise attack by the Labour Party has not disheartened us ; we are still determined to carry on, and we are prepared to fight for our principles, which we consider the workers' cause. We should be pleased to hear from interested comrades outside London.

J. T. BELLAMY,
Area Organiser.

LIST OF SOME OF THE INJURED.

H. Griffin, aged 63, 22, Ida Street, Poplar.—Bruised shoulder and sprained knee.

A. Crocker, aged 34, 84, Grosvenor Bldgs., Poplar.—Bruised forearm and bruised knee.

J. Giles, aged 45, Canning Town.—Head cut open.

J. Pearson, aged 22, 49, Bath Street, Poplar.—Shin injured.

E. R. Bell, aged 18, 24, Market Street, Poplar.—Injury to back.

J. Payne, aged 50, Millwall.—Cut eye and bruised face.

A. T. Peacock, aged 54, Millwall.—Cut head.

W. J. Robinson, aged 45, Millwall.—In hospital.

W. Gape, aged 24, Poplar.—In hospital.

J. Bristow, aged 40.—Cut head.

C. Long, aged 50, Millwall.—Arm severely injured.

J. Rose (one-armed man), aged 40, Millwall.—Back and ribs bruised (alleged through kicks).

J. Hatton, aged 62, Poplar.—Cut head and broken rib.

G. Freeman, aged 32, Poplar.—Cut eye (6 stitches).

G. White, aged 65, Poplar.—Cut head.

J. Bidgen, aged 55, Poplar.—Bruised arm.

A. F. Cox, aged 34 Poplar.—Cut head.

J. Hampton, aged 62, Poplar.—Black eye and bruised shoulder.

J. Bell, aged 65, Poplar.—Head, arm and leg injuries.

F. Bundock, aged 25, 3, Bright Place, Bow.—Arm and back injuries.

T. Clasper, aged 83, Poplar.—Arm severely injured (wears sling).

A. E. Radley, 57, Wellington Road, Bow.—Cut head.

W. White, Prince Arthur Avenue, Bow.—Bruised back.

—. Algar, Bow.—Cut head.

F. Attwood, aged 39, 37, Stafford Road, Bow.—Injured head and shoulders.

J. Snell, aged 23, 32, Gray Street, Bromley.—Ribs, leg and arm bruised.

C. Hawkes, aged 47, 66, Malmesbury Road.—Head and forearm bruised.

J. Thurling, aged 54, 28, Cricket Street.—Injured ribs.

W. Rose, aged 35, 91, Marner Street, Bromley.—Back injured.

D. Roberts, aged 70, Marner Street, Bromley.—Legs and back injured.

—. Cooper, aged 26, Bow.—Bruised arms.

H. Isaacs, aged 25, 1, Milford Street, Bow.—Slight injuries to eye (glasses smashed), bruised leg.

D. Shea, aged 37, 119, Renby Street.—Cut head.

A. Bingham, aged 39, 23, Giraud Street.—Head, shoulders, arm, and legs injured.

G. Noble, aged 49, 35, Giraud Street.—Head and shoulder injured.

F. Hamilton, aged 49, Bygrove Street.—Leg injured.

A. Turner, aged 37, Bow. — Arm and leg bruised.

A. Carter, aged 38, St. Sphephen's Road, Bow.—Neck injured.

Terry O'Brien, aged 23, Poplar.—Leg bruised.

H. Miller, aged 22, St. Stephen's Road, Bow.—Back injured.

W. Dunn, 40, Poplar.—Right foot injured.

J. E. Bellamy, aged 21, Poplar.—Knee, arm and shoulder bruised.

T. Nicholls, aged 21, Poplar.—Bruised head, forearm and leg.

G. Smith, aged 20, Kerby Street.—Arm and head injuries.

J. Johns, Bow.—Injuries to mouth.

E. Darrington, aged 25, Dock Cottages, Poplar.—Arm and leg bruised.

—. Rainer, 15, Cantill Road, Bow.—Head cut.

F. Rawlings, aged 27, Poplar.—Head cut.

M. O'Brien, aged 45, Poplar.—Head cut.

N. Menther, 16, Stewards Cottages, Bow.—Head cut.

G. Kiel, aged 29, 65, Cottage Street.—Head, arm, jaw and back bruises.

H. Radley, 52, Wellington Street, Bow.—Head cut.

A large number of more slightly-wounded cases are not considered serious enough for publication.

Some of the wounded do not wish their names given, as they fear their relief might be stopped.

RATIONAL LIVING.

A radical, independent magazine for the workers, devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living in present society, always emphasising the social-economical-industrial background of wrong living. Stands for prevention of disease, for conservation of health, for drugless healing, and against all swindles in the healing professions. Special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6 for 12 numbers). Our famous book, "The Child and the Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical upbringing of children, special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought." 1.50 dol. (7/6). Address: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New

CORRESPONDENCE.

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION.

Dear Editor,

There is plenty of talk about locking the Guardians in, but which is the biggest crime—to lock the Guardians in, or to bring in the police to baton the unemployed? I would rather go through an air-raid than last Wednesday night's baton raid, to see men lying in the road bleeding like pigs, and when they were lying there, kicked and batoned again.

Our M.P. has told us many a time: "Make yourselves a nuisance : I don't care how many times you come to me!" He also said he knew the relief is not enough to live on, but what is the good of the Unemployed organisation, with about fifty members. Now we have 500 members in Bow, and we get treated worse than before.

M. PARKER.

A. B. Dumbar writes from the Communist Workers' Movement of Johannesburg, S. Africa:

"The Third International in gradually slipping back to the old Socialist Reformist platform. Obsessed with politics, their one aim is to overthrow the Government ; it makes no matter to them whom you elect in its place, so long as you get the present Government out. That is their policy, but as far as I am concerned, it makes no difference what Government you get in.

"Smuts has gone to Europe as an angel of peace. He and his Cabinet are busy reorganising the Defence Force here to keep the peace!

"Unemployment grows daily. The white workers are being ousted and the black and coloured workers hired at a lower rate of pay.—Everything is unsettled."

"THE CHILD STEALERS."

Mr. Overbury, whose case we referred to recently, writes to say that his child is still at large, and will be protected from "the child stealers" by every means in his power. He encloses his letter to the Education authorities on the subject, which reads as follows :—

Sir,—In reply to your threatening letter of November 11th, in which you demand that I shall recognise the authority of yourself and your committee, over myself and my child, I have to inform you that there is here a great principle at stake, and that your committee, in failing to recognise the existence of such a principle, have shown themselves wholly incompetent to take charge of any genuine system of Education.

Morality is the basis of Education, and the authority you serve is a profoundly immoral authority. It is part and parcel of that same authority that sent men out to commit murder, in the name of patriotism and the Empire,—that is of national pride and ambition.

Moreover it is part of that same authority that upholds Usury, Profit and Rent, and which gives to a class of landowners the power to live parasitically for ever on land users.

Education in social and economic justice forms no part of your educational schemes, nor does education in freedom and responsibility.

Being perfectly aware of these facts, and of your moral incompetence, you wish to avoid any inquiry into your moral standing. Yet at the same time you hope to bluff men into supposing that you *have a moral* standing.

For that purpose you pretend to be interested in the education of my child. You choose to forget that I am much more sincerely interested in the essentials of education than you are, and have already suffered imprisonment, to prevent you from blurring those essentials in my child's mind.

Truthfulness, love, and the force of example, are the primary factors in right education, and in none of these things have you any faith or reliance. You will not even take the trouble to understand me, still less do you care whether you hurt or terrify the mind of my child.

You are actually so ignorant and stupid, that you do not know when to let well alone, or how to tell a man who is above your standard, from one who is below it.

What you desire me to do, is to act a lie. You want me to pretend that you are not only more competent and more conscientious than I am, in looking after my child's education,—but that this alleged competence of yours rests upon your official position, as the agents of a corrupt, thieving, lying, and murderous governing class.

To that preposterous falsehood I will never give consent by any act of obedience. The more you imprison me, the more you will disgrace yourselves, and the more obvious will it become that you rely upon brutality in place of rectitude.

I am exceedingly desirous of discrediting false authority, in the eyes of an oppressed people, and unless you wish to help me convince them that you are without pity, justice, honesty or discretion, and are concerned only to uphold your own tyranny,—unless you wish, in short, to justify the worst that can be said of you,—you had better refrain from trying to bulldog me into accepting you at your own valuation.

As long as you claim authority over me, and threaten me, just so long am I bound to refrain from discussing my child's education with you. That is the only way to teach you elementary manners and morals.

Yours faithfully,
T. SIDNEY OVERBURY.

The Failure of Poplar

By LIONEL GRANT.

One thing stands out clearly to the impartial observer in the recent disturbance at Poplar. It is the complete failure of attempting to administer adequate relief to the unemployed workers under the capitalist system. The deputation of the unemployed asked that the coal allowance should be restored to them and for an increase in the scale of relief to the single men and women.

They were answered by the police truncheons, which is but a foretaste of that day when the oppressing classes will not hesitate to use the rifle and the machine-gun to oppose the legitimate demands of the workers. The horror is, that men calling themselves representatives of the interests of the workers should have for a moment lent their sanction to the calling in of the police. Some of these men on the Guardians have themselves been in the hands of the police before to-day; they know full well all that the calling in of police aid means every time to the worker, so that under no circumstances whatever is their action justified, nor can it be forgotten.

The failure of the Guardians is that they had not the courage to come out and tell the unemployed that their efforts to give relief under the capitalist laws governing relief had miserably broken down. Had they told the representatives of the unemployed that while they were being forced to reduce the scale of relief, they themselves were utterly opposed to such a measure, knowing as they do that the scale of relief before any suggested reduction had taken place was barely enough to keep body and soul together, they might easily have averted the present deplorable exhibition of brute force. By their actions they choose to place themselves on the side of the capitalist, and so it will be by these self-same actions that the workers of the future will judge them. It is not enough that a man should give spade-work to the movement, no matter how valuable it may be, if at some crucial moment he is going to turn round and betray the people who have placed their trust in him. Better that our leaders be few and trustworthy, than that we be betrayed in the moment of our need.

Poplar should serve us as an example of the failure which must always come from trying to give to mankind the right to live under a capitalist system. The laws of Capitalism were not made for men to live in comradeship together. It will only be when those laws are swept away, together with the system which makes them possible, that mankind will get its heritage of a full and joyous life.

The Old Red Herring Stunt.

Some of you got your heads smashed, fellow workers who are workless, when you went up to ask your Labour Party comrades, who are Poor Law Guardians, to give you the winter coal allowance.

Now that your heads have been smashed, some people are asking you to believe that you must not blame the dear Guardians who called the police to beat you. They say you must blame instead any of your comrades who happened to come out of the fight without conspicuous wounds.

"Look," say the kindly Guardians, "look at those men! They are not wearing bandages on their heads; neither their noses nor their limbs have been broken. Yet they were the organisers of the deputation. Surely it is their duty to be in hospital!

"You ought not to blame us," say the Guardians; "we only set the police on to beat you. These comrades of yours who are unwounded brought you on the deputation. They ought to have had the worst beating of all. As they did not, there must be something wrong. Let us have an inquiry to find out why these men have not been seriously injured as they ought to have been."

We believe, fellow workers, that you will not be gulled by nonsense of that sort. If you could be drawn off the track by such a striking red herring as that, then the only thing your enemies would have to do to destroy your organisation would be to give some of your members a good beating, taking care to sparethe more active and energetic workers.

We all know, fellow worker, that the police are more apt, in a baton charge, to hit the man who is running away, and who does not look as though he would hit back or try to snatch away the truncheon of the policeman who hits him. The proof of this is that whilst dozens of those who were injured on September 26th were beaten in the back and on the back of the head, very few have their faces injured; very few were struck in front. The man who escaped injury was, as often as not, one who turned to face his assailant.

As a matter of fact, fellow workers, the active workers in the organisation did not come out unscathed. Richardson, the Secretary of the Poplar branch of the U.W.O., is still in hospital suffering from his injuries; Gape, who is one of the most active speakers, has only just come out of hospital, and even those of the active workers who were not seriously hurt, had plenty of bruises they could show had they desired to make a parade of them.

Do not allow yourselves to be drawn off the track by red herrings, fellow workers, whether you live in Poplar or not.

The point is that the unemployed workers were fighting for better conditions, and the Labour Guardians of Poplar put themselves in between the unemployed workers and the capitalist class, and said to the unemployed workers: "Thus far and no farther."

The workers who are out to break down the capitalist system and establish plenty for all cannot be held back by Labour Guardians, or anyone else. They must go forward.

The Poplar Labour Guardians should have said to the unemployed: Capitalism and its Poor Law system cannot help you—we refuse to administer it any longer. We shall come out and fight with you. The Guardians should have said to the Government: We wash our hands of the business: what we give to the people is already too little; we refuse to reduce it: we refuse to assist you by administering an iniquitous system. We resign and will now concentrate all our efforts on destroying this system and creating a better.

The Guardians did not take that course. They decided to cut down the scale of relief and to bring the police to beat the revolting people.

Having chosen that course, let the Guardians shoulder the responsibility of their actions, instead of endeavouring to evade the consequences by an attempt to sow spy-mania in the ranks of those they have injured.

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