The Choice of J. H. Thomas.

Workers' Wereadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Founded and Edited by

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[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE WAGE SYSTEM.

In their plans for the reconstruction of society, the Collectivists commit, in our opinion, a double error. Whilst speaking of the abolition of the rule of capital, they wish, nevertheless, to maintain two institutions which form the very basis of that rule; namely, representative government and the wage system.



WHY?

As for representative government, it remains absolutely incomprehensible to us, how intelligent men (and they are not wanting amongst the Collectivists) can continue to be the partisans of National and Municipal Parliaments, after all the lessons on this subject bestowed on us by history, whether in England or in France, in Germany, Switzerland, or the United States.

The Failure of Parliament.

Whilst Parliamentary rule is to be seen everywhere falling to pieces; whilst its principles in themselves—and no longer merely their applications—are being criticised in every direction, how can intelligent men, calling themselves Revolutionary Socialists, seek to maintain a system already condemned to death?

Representative government is a system which was elaborated by the middle class to make head against royalty and, at the same time, to maintain and augment their domination of the workers. It is the characteristic form of the middle-class rule. But even its most ardent admirers have never seriously contended that a Parliament or a Municipal body does actually represent a nation or a city; the more intelligent are aware that this is impossible. By upholding Parliamentary rule, the middle class have been simply seeking to oppose a dam betwixt themselves and royalty, or betwixt themselves and the territorial aristocracy, without giving liberty to the people.

It is moreover plain that, as the people become conscious of their interests, and as the variety of those interests increases, the system becomes unworkable. And this is why the democracies of all countries are seeking for different palliatives and cannot find them. They are trying the Referendum, and discovering that it is worthless; they prate of proportional repre-

sentation, of the representation of minorities,

and other Parliamentary Utopias.

In a word, they are trying to discover the undiscoverable; that is to say, a method of delegation which shall represent the myriad varied interests of the nation; but they are being forced to recognise that they are upon a false track, and confidence in delegation is passing away.

It is only the Social Democrats and Collectivists who are not losing this confidence, who are attempting to maintain so-called national representation; and this is what we cannot understand

If our Anarchist principles do not suit them, if they think them inapplicable, they ought, at least, as it seems to us, to try to discover what other system of organisation could well correspond to a society without capitalists or landlords. But to take the middle-class system—a system already in its decadence, a vicious system, if ever there was one—and to proclaim this system (with a few innocent corrections, such as the imperative mandate, or the Referendum, the uselessness of which has been demonstrated already) good for a society that has passed through the Social Revolution, is, what seems to us, absolutely incomprehensible, unless under the name of Social Revolution they understand something very different from Revolution, some petty botching of existing middle class rule.

Why Labour Notes?

The same with regard to the wage system. After having proclaimed the abolition of private property and the possession in common of the instruments of production, how can they sanction the maintenance of the wage system under any form? And yet that is what the Collectivists are doing when they praise the efficiency of labour notes.

That the English Socialists of the early part of this century should invent labour notes is incomprehensible. They were simply trying to

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reconcile Capital and Labour. They repudiated all idea of laying violent hands upon the property of the capitalists. They were so little of revolutionaries that they declared themselves ready to submit even to Imperial rule, if that rule would favour their co-operative societies. They remained middle class men at the bottom, if charitable ones; and this is why (Engels has said so in his Preface to the Communist Manifesto of 1848) the Socialists of that period were to be found amongst the middle class, whilst the advanced workmen were Communists.

By Peter Kropotkin.

Proudhon's Materialist System.

If, later, Proudhon took up this same idea, that again is easy to understand. What was he seeking in his Mutualist system, if not to render Capital less offensive, despite the maintenance of private property, which he detested to the bottom of his heart, but which he believed



WHY NOT?

necessary to guarantee the individual against the Stake? Further, if economists, belonging more or less to the middle class, also admit their labour notes, it is not surprising.

To Save Private Property.

It matters little to them whether the worker be paid in labour notes or in coin stamped with the effigy of king or Republic. They want to save, in the coming overthrow, private property in inhabited houses, the soil, the mills; or, at least, in inhabited houses and the capital necessary for the production of manufactures. And to maintain this property, labour notes will answer very well.

answer very well.

If the labour note can be exchanged for jewels and carriages, the owner of house property will willingly accept it as rent. And as long as the inhabited house, the field and the mill belong to indiwidual owners, so long will it be requisite to pay them in some way before they allow you to work in their mills, or to lodge in their houses. And it will also be requisite to pay wages to the worker, either in gold or in paper money, or in labour notes exchangeable for all sorts of commodities.

But how can this new form of wages, the labour note, be sanctioned by those who admit that houses, fields, mills are no longer private property—that they belong to the Commune or the nation?

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MEN AND STEEL.

Mary Heaton Vorse has written a vivid book alled "Men and Steel," She has written of the steel factories, the steel towns, the workers and their families, as they appear to the eye: one sees them as one reads her pages. She observes keenly: she is impressed by the look of things, and she listens to the people as they talk; but she is an outsider; she comes from ther world and does not always understand, Like the Czecho-Slovak priest, whose congregation works in the steel mills, she fancies at times it is because the workers are Slavs, that they are so heavily oppressed. She pleads, rather feebly, as though she knew her appeal to be a little wide of the mark, that America should be made more attractive to the immigrant peoples who pile up wealth for American Capitalism. She urges: "We need the workers. The mills of industry do not turn of them-selves. They grind the raw products of this country into wealth, because we have had plenty of foreign workers to turn the wheels."

"We," she says identifying herself, as it were, with the exploiters. Evidently she is not fully alive to the shame of exploitation. Yet she has

surrounded by high walls, the gates are guarded by uniformed guards. You must have permit to go in. A man may live years in teel towns, and see no more of the mills than smoke and steam.

The yards of the mills are surrounded by Engines puff up and down, the four hours. Mountains of ore, mountains of coke, trains unloading, scrap engines unloading ore and coke, trains carry-ing off steel bars. Magnets everywhere are loading and unloading steel ingots into is a never-ending quality in all this.

leisure, the intensity of the fires and the furnaces give the illusion of ritual. Rooms as high as the apse of a cathedral, with a core of molten metal furnace, scarcely observed, are standing on platforms,

"Three things impress you when you go protect them." into the mills: the size, the absence of men, the absence of haste. Here a tremendous work is in progress. Here is being manufactured the steel skeleton of our monstrous civilisation. Here before your eyes, you can

Later you say: 'Oh, men are helping, This is an after-thought.

The author explains that the thought of men falling into the molten metal obsesses the minds of the workers: they tell stories of men being mingled with the structure of buildings, and of the great bell that was cast and re-cast, but would not ring true till a human being was sacrificed to it. She tells of the man who, when drunk, beieved the machines were alive, and owned him

There are 500,000 steel workers in the

Thirty-two per cent, are not paid enough to reach the level set by the U.S. Govern-ment experts for the minimum subsistence standard for a family of five.

"Seventy-two per cent, do not earn enough to reach the U.S. Government experts' standard of the minimum comfort level for a

Fifty per cent. of the U.S. Steel Corporation's employees, who number 191,000, work rs a day, and 50 per cent. of these work

seven days a week. "The men, going to work, walk with their heads down. They lurch as if heavy with sleep.

They live in two-storey brick houses, some in blackened frame dwellings. One set of houses faces the street, the other the court. The courts are bricked and littered

with piles of cans, piles of rubbish, bins of garbage, hillocks of refuse—refuse and litter, litter and refuse, Playing in the refuse and ashes and litter—children. The decencies of life ebb away as one nears the mills. I passed one day along an alley which fronted on an empty lot. Here the filth and refuse of years had been churned into viscious mud. A lean dog was digging. Pale children paddled in squashy filth and made playthings of ancient rubbish. Beyond was the railroad track; beyond the mills . . . no green thing any-

"Slack covers everything. It sifts in everywhere. . . . I have a friend who lives six miles from Braddock. Every night she sweeps her piazza: every morning walk across it you leave footprints in the slack

The smoke is not merely a stupendous background for the flaming mills. It means work for anonymous women in thousands of ramshackle homes; hard work, never-ceasing work. The men come home with oil-drenched lothes for the women to wash, the soot and slack drift into the houses, night and day, for

Why do the steel workers live in the filthy courtyards without running water, without conveniences?

Thompson works, he must live in Braddock; if he is working for the Carnegie Steel Company in Homestead, he must live in Homesstead. If you look around and try to hire a better place you will find there is none. They cannot move unless they buy,

Such conditions exist still, although the steel are loading and unloading steel ingots into companies have latterly begun to regard the shifting of labour as expensive and have inone moves rapidly; everyone has time. There augurated "Welfare" schemes to make the lives of their workers more tolerable.

The author tells of the great steel strike of The employers declared they would do as they chose in their own industry, and refused to admit Trade Unionism and collective bargainpoured steel, red-hot steel bars. Through the ing. Federal troopers were sent into the disgloom, shafts of blue light from outside, shafts of sunlight, solid as searchlights, while little raided their houses, broke their furniture, and unhurried men, small men whose presence is arrested them by the score. Fanny Sellins, a woman organiser, was murdered by gunmen, shot in the back "as she bent over children to

> Meetings were prohibited, the Press boycotted the strike and every effort was made to induce the strikers in one centre to believe that the others

The steel workers, as a whole were but resee it being made from fire and iron, with the help of great machines. That is what you think first.

Column of long standing, in the fifth week of the union or long standing, in the first week of the strike, declared that it must keep its contracts with the employers in spite of the strike. It protested against the picketing of the mills. After the strike was over, this Union withdrew from the steel-workers' national companies of the strike was over the strike. mittee, which had organised 250,000 steel workers

There is a description of Mother Jones the well-known agitator, who was active in the

"A little old woman. . . . Her hair had the pure white of extreme age. She wore a basque with lace on it, and a bonnet that had a touch of purple. A very neat, little old woman, who looked like everybody's

A striker said: "I want my boys to get a chance to read more than me. I want they shouldn't have to work fourteen hours night and ten His wife said :-

'What you've been through before we can go through again and we can't go through eggs, poultry and vegetables to the village anything so bad as we've been through!

When my oldest girl was a baby, and before

Wevertheless, the desire for the well-bein my big boy you saw going to school was born, father was on strike in the mines . . . father got thirteen months for picketing. We had got all our furniture paid for except fourteen the school was been described by the school was be dollars. After they took father away, I The workers ar couldn't pay any more. They took away when they will.

everything from my house. They took bed from my baby. They took my co stove: they didn't leave me nothing.

February 25, 1922.

I sat on the floor of my empty he my baby in my arms and thought baby that was to come; and I thought matter, I'm a strong young woman thought, "never mind what they do I'll take care of both my babies till fath I sat like that on the bare floor house and thought, to comfort myself father was right to strike like he did, an I was going to fight shoulder to shalongside of him. I know we got to because it's right we should win."

A Bohemian steel worker said:
"You hear what fellers say is differe between Government in Austria and Government here. He say there Kaiser rule. mill boss rule. That's true.'

And again a woman:—
"Would I live here if I could get o Would I live here, would I remain where dirty water of the privy overflows and c over the court, under the door-sill u makes a pool on my kitchen floor? Is view for children to look at year after year after year. To keep them clean, I wash out in the yard. Look, missus my apron! [She brought a stiff of apron, still frozen.] I wash out in the so I won't splash water over my children they can have a dry place to play. E

Men and Steel," by Mary Heaton The Labour Publishing Company, 3s. 6 be obtained at the *Dreadnought* office.

souls to keep clean here, in Braddock r

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

distrust of others repelled it. At the san their self-interest and common sense we gther driving them to revolt against the r wasteful system, with its crushing burdens anxieties. Still more sharply do the advan of Communism stand forth for the lal employed by the farmers.

This village was surrounded with many of little-used land: permanent pasture with few cattle to pasture upon it. Some majority were miners. A few women in the jam factory, a few were employed the majority were doing domestic The daughters were generally obliged

About 140 people were unemployed (not than 4 per cent.). There were no demo tions for them; no marches to Boar Guardians. Few had Poor Law aid. majority existed on the insurance dole miners having also 10/- a week from the M Association. Relatives still working lent a ing hand to many unemployed; but the r were expecting another wages cut.

The land lay idle around them: these

bred unemployed would have no difficu making it fruitful. Corn and vegetables, sheep, pigs and poultry, might be raised save that the landlords and capitalists, wit money and interest, stand in the way. people might cease to be parasites and ad the comfort of the village. Workers in districts might supply the the initial mate and machinery required.

By DIRECT ACTION the workers mig sweep the barriers away.

Suppose the miners should decide to give coal to the unemployed and even to buy would be necessary to set the unemployed work on the land suppose the unemployed she begin to work some of the idle land and sup

The workers are all-powerful: they can E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

ROM CLASS WAR PRISONERS. In Prison Cells.

Box 7, Leavenworth, Kansas

r welcome letter received : I take pleasure few lines in return. I could fill with reports of strikes, coming strikes, of the Copper Mines with an initial on of 50 cents a day, etc.; but I feel m unequal to the enormous task, and will remarks to another matter which I orthy of consideration

doubtless aware that Debs and about others were extended clemency and Christmas Day; six of the number W.'s five of them sentenced from he others from Sacramento, California, nem, Ashleigh and Baldazzi, were rethe condition of agreeing to an

anything will be done for the s problematical at this time: but we understand that the agitation for our be carried on with renewed vigour. still over 100 men in prison through laws, and amongst them many with sentences of ten and twenty

nderstand the I.W.W. defence secretary ealed to the European Labour bodies to y of us who should be deported back to To be frank, I look with disfavour action, because I think that if there is bligation to help us to get back into the I.W.W. organisation should attend

also heard that Lansbury, Williams, Tanner, etc., are going to act as a to look after those deported to the

ig personally, I would suggest that they ir time and energy in giving publicity rageous sentences of twenty years that Britishers like Scarlett, Brazier and and the ten year sentence of Lorton, and of asking the British Labour oris to donate on our behalf, ask every body, and that would include parent tral councils, branches, I.L.P. bodies branches, etc., to write to President and Secretary Daugherty asking for the

that kind would be of considerable the Amnesty Movement here and would great moral effect upon the American Movement. Pitiless Publicity is the p that can be given to our case, and ild meet Tanner or any others interish you would mention my suggestions. were agreed upon, I would also suggest the Civil Liberties Union, to be Amnesty campaign

ence will expire in May or June, and ey will deport me as quickly as pos-not keep me languishing in any 'n-unty Jail. It wil be five years next I was arrested, and with the slight f eight days out on bail, I have been in custody. Quite Qa stretch for

fraternal greetings to all British Workers

JOSEPH CATES (Regd. Jail No. 13172) all working class papers please copy, to to invade Soviet Russia.

"Great protest demons

Amnesty Imposture! Making Strikes

Field writes from a prison cell in Fort

e politicians are doing their best to

strikes. It sets up a Court of three politicians to adjudicate between the boss and his slave. Instead of preventing strikes, however, it has increased them. The coal miners of Kansas have been on strike ever since it was enacted. Alexander Howat and others are now serving time for refusing to recognise the Law and the Court it has established.

"Other States are proposing to enact similar laws, and President Harding has announced that he is in favour of making the

'The Supreme Court has declared picketing in trade disputes to be illegal. One judge down East has issued an injunction forbidding the members of a certain Union to hold a

The Amnesty Imposture.

"The long-advertised Christmas Amnesty by the President proved a fizzle. Only 24 prisoners were released or had their sentences really political offenders. Of these, most of them 'crawfished' to get out. Only Debs and two others were released without re-canting their principles. Charlie Ashleigh was one of these, and he is to be deported.

'The Daily Herald, in its account of the Amnesty, gaev an entirely wrong impression. It stated that Ashleigh and six other Englishmen were released. As a matter of fact, only two Englishmen, Ashleigh and Prashner, were released: the others are still here.

'The Herald gave the impression that all the political prisoners, save Larkin and Mooney had been set free; yet there are 125 political prisoners still in Federal prisons in the United States, and many hundreds in the various State prisons,

The workers in other countries must not believe there was a general amnesty: there was nothing of the kind. Three British workers are serving sentences of 20 years, two of ten years, and at least one is serving

Bring these facts to the attention of all those whom you can reach. If anything is to be done for us, we must have publicity, and plenty of it!

"A controversy is raging here as to whether the I.W.W. should join the Moscow Red International of Labour Unions. I should like to see a real economic International, but the R.I.L.U. will not be that if it is bossed by people who, like the American Communists, are pushing it: they are just a band of disrupters and ex-Socialist Party politicians.

"Bill Heywood left this country an avowed Communist. The Communists inavowed Communist. The Communists in-duced him to break his undertaking and pro-mised to make good the bail which would thereby be forfeited. They have failed, so far, to keep their promise, with the result that the I.W.W. has got to make the bail good to the bondware."

FROM FINLAND.

N. W. writes from Finland:

the mighty Copper Trust; but I have ts to make, and would do it again if full of counter-revolutionaries of all nationalities, "As it borders on Soviet Russia, Finland is who are doing all in their power to hamper the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

exists officially, White Guard butcher-bands are still being organised and equipped here and sent

Great protest demonstrations are being held cedented success. against the war, and the assistance which the Finnish Government is secretly giving to the

Field writes from a prison cell in Fort

"On January 15th a demonstration of more
than 5,000 met in Helsingfors, but was broken
up by the police. Two of the speakers, A.

Tuominen, secretary of the Socialist Labour ourts over here are busy issuing injuncagainst Labour. It will soon be imple to breathe unless one has a special perform some 'Pooh Bah!'

Tuominen, secretary of the Socialist Labour Party, and a member of the City Council were arrested. In other towns also, the police broke up the meetings.

"The Social Democratic Party has pledged their master's voice. In Kansas they passed what they call an 'Industrial Remains Bill,' the object of which is to prevent as a camouflage.''

The Communists use the name 'Socialist Labour Party has pledged to support the Government. The Communists use the name 'Socialist Labour Party has pledged to support the Government. The Communists use the name 'Socialist Labour Party has pledged to support the Government. The Communists use the name 'Socialist Labour Party has pledged to support the Government.

PROGRESS

The other day the meat came in a copy of the Daily Express, dated August 15, 1921. It contained an article called "An Optimist Returns to England," by one, J. W. T. Mason, the New York correspondent of the paper.

Mr. Mason begins thus :-

After nine years' absence, England seems to me like a country of new youth. I doubt whether ever before a nation has undergone so magical an improvement in so short a time. The changes are stupendous — indeed, epochal. . . . Britain to-day is at the epochal. . . Britain to-day is at the pinnacle of her power, and especially the great personages of Elizabeth's reign must feel the thrill of it as they look down from their spirit abode."

Upon what? Upon our processions of un-mployed? Our Labour Exchange queues? Our countless numbers of kerb merchants? The events recorded in our newspapers?

Such items as the following, from one issue of the Daily News—that for February 6, 1922?:
(1) "A Dirty Business." Miss Maude (1) "A Dirty Business." Miss N Royden's Opinion of Political Methods;

(2) Tragedy on Common. Man found at Clapham with Bullet Wound in Head;

(3) Film Murder Mystery. The Ill-Fated Man's Real Name;

(4) Struggle in Bar. Girl Victim of Alleged Robbery with Violence; (5) Mormons Chased. Hunted by Crowd

(7) A War Legacy. Debasement of the

(8) Superintendent Shot. Tragic Discovery (9) Starving Irish Islanders. Children who

are clothed in Sacks;
(10) Mother's Tragic Discovery. Suicide of Girl in Norfolk

(11) " I Have Taken Poison." Suicide of " No Starvation for Me." Suicide of Well-dressed Man;

(13) Account of another suicide at Ealing. (14) And at Romford;

(15) And at Stratford

(16) And at Bayswater W.

(17) Tinplate Mills Close; (18) Reckless Waste of the Government;

(19) Teachers Ready to Fight (20) A Milk Boycott.

Here, as Cobbett used to say to the Progres-

sives of his equally happy period, are "vast improvements, ma'am."

I looked through the depressing columns again, to try and find one noble deed as a slight counter-balance to all the sordidness was an account of a returned soldier rescuing another man from the paws of a shark-in Australia! In England, the most important personal event to be recorded was that of a Gaiety Girl Duchess whose husband succeeds to Leinster dukedom.

Another page informs us that the Black-and-Tans are now to be pensioned for life at a total initial cost to the British Exchequer of about £250,000 per annum. Happy England! that can afford pensions for life to Black-and-Tans, but cannot afford to build homes for heroes; that can afford to pay interest on the money-lenders' War Bonds, but cannot afford adequate doles to the Black Country workers.

But "have no fear of England's future, you "Although the peace signed at Dorpat still pessimists! The turning-point has been reached. England is on the way to new ideals of greatness. Britons need only keep their heads and think as straight as they are doing now, to gain unpre-cedented success. England's instinct for freedom and progress is at rearly as never before.

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THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM.

We are eager to see the practice of Communism, as much as may possibly be practiced of it. here in our daily lives. The Communist move-ment needs that inspiration. We all need its fertile stimulus and the warm, friendly inter-course produced by the effort to co-operate in Communist practice with those around us.

Here and there are groups of people who are endeavouring to do this. Some are living scarcely noticed among the crowded populace of city streets; some few have already founded

Such experiments, it is objected, are all imperfect, and must inevitably fail; because the world of Capitalism is all around them. They
must either compromise with Capitalism or be immediately stamped out in the days of their early weakness, by the violence of the capitalist Was it not decided, only the other day that the men who, during the coal strike, fished up some coal lying neglected and wasting at the cottom of the Thames, were acting illegally?

It is argued, moreover, that the capitalist environment and the necessity of compromise with it to obtain certain necessaries, provides too many temptations for the more venal elements of human nature, and therefore the generous are sacrificed to the dishonest and idle when free o-operation is attempted

Such objections provide no deterrent to the ardent believer, who once sees the way clear to a measure of Communist practice, which will can a genuine achievement in spreading the cas of Communism and in beautifying life.

Irish Sinn Fein, with its policy of non-co-operation with British Capitalism, and the similar movements in Egypt and India, are examples of the rapidity with which such movements may spread.

It is not necessary that we should all immediately quit our avocations and choose another environment, though many may choose to do that, and may thereby achieve the best results. Much may be done wherever we happen to be living now; whether it be in a city street of small working class houses or barrack dwellings, or

We are fond of saying that the workers do the work of the world: for the workers to begin changing life piecemeal, by way of nibbling away at the great fabric of Capitalism by way of example, always so much better than pred way of showing that there is another and

The workers have the power to seize the means production, because they are the producers. In the Communist movement to-day are men

nd women of every trade and craft. In innumer able directions we might serve each other and work together, without the use of money, which makes our labour that of the wage-slave, and takes the joy and savour from our service.

For instance, take the question of hot water.
Water is one of the very few things provided measure in this most mercenary civili-Cold water we have to use as we will; but hot water is another thing. The majority of our housewives are still obliged, at a most ex-travagant expenditure, to boil it in small quantities on a coal or coke fire, or a gas, or oil stove. Even where the landlord has fitted hotwater pipes to the kitchen stove, the boiling is, nevertheless, an extravagant business, and both nevertheless, an extravagant business, and both to save coal, and to avoid having the kitchen overheated in summer, it is a frequent custom only to light up a big fire in the stove, to get ment, for their essential needs.

not water for baths and cleaning, once a week. Yet there is hardly a group of working class houses without a man who has the knowledge which would enable him, for a trifling expenditrue, to arrange matters so that several houses might have hot water provided from one fire he cost of the fire and the adjustments could be jointly provided by the inhabitants of the roup of houses. That is just one little instance f what we might do by working in common.

The women would at once benefit greatly by mutual aid. They would thus gain more time for study and work for the movement. of us who have our gas stoves on hire might instruct the company to bring the largest size, so that several women's baking might be done in one oven. We can even have a check meter fitted to the stove, so that we can guage preisely the extra consumption of gas. Thus we hould learn the extent of our economy in the use of one product of human labour. What we save in money could be used for the movement.

Comrades, who will form themselevs into oups for mutual aid; always giving their service to each other without payment, will find that, more and more, they will be able to dispense with buying and selling. Soon we shall see the growth of mutual aid between groups with diverse capabil ties in various parts of the country.

Such efforts will stimulate the determination of the workers to break down the capitalist system, with its harsh and pitiless competition.

The capitalist system to-day condemns two lions of our producers, in this country alo to idleness. It condemns them to remain halfstarved parasites, whilst the bulk of the population is lacking the commodities these idle ones are in the habit of producing, the services they are accustomed to render.

Communist Pilgrims.

Innumerable pioneers, who did the early spade work of the international proletarian movement could not wait to be invited to speak by a loca branch of some organisation, for no organisations existed. The heroic pioneers did not wait for meone to find their travelling expenses, much less pay for their services and make their economic position as secure as it would be if they devoted themselves to Capitalism. They set forth, unaded, to carry their message. If they had any furniture or possessions that might be sold for the necessities of their journey, they sold their goods; if not, they went out penniless, tramping from village to village to village, town to town preaching the cause of brotherhood. Sometimes they had furnished themselves with a pack of goods for sale but often they went bty-handed. Some begged their way, like Franciscan Friars, or, better still, practiced some craft: carpentering, mending pots and pans, making shoes, painting or carving. In Russia, specially, such crafts were necessary to disguise their propaganda from the authorities.

By such methods the pioneers were able to ome into more intimate touch with the people, than by merely holding public meetings. Moreover, meetings are often prevented by the porities, and may be again, in this country, as others. Sometimes a craftsman-propagandist would settle for months, or more, in a village. His workshop soon became the village meeting place; thronged every evening with thee curious and the faithful, coming to hear and to discuss the great belief. When the craftsman was arrested, or forced to flee from persecution, the village mourned him.

Men and women, in Russia even boys and girls, became such pilgrims. Marie Suklov, a Russian worker, tells that, when only fourteen years of age, she thus set forth, and reaching a village at night, tapped on the windows of unknown people, begging them to let her in, that she might speak to them of freedom.

Sometimes the craftsman gave freely, alike of his skill and his teaching, to al comers, trusting to the comrades he had converted to supply

To-day many comrades should be ready to go

Unemployed comrades, with many cal bilities, who are leading a sad existence, grow too despondent even to carry on propag might thus fruitfully apply themselves wit co-operation of others. They might go places where little or no propaganda is where if any meetings are held, they a dressed by speakers brought from a distar considerable expense. These speakers co the last available train and leave by the leaving their work unfinished. Those who been awakened by the meeting are left de a serious discussion with the teacher who hurried away. The questions go unanswer the doubts unsolved. The books that should

February 25, 1922.

commended remain unknown.

The Communist pilgrims who may stay long as necessary with the seekers for knowledge, cements his work. Moreover, the servifreely given; the pilgrim's life, all trustful to-morrow and the goodwill of his kind; whole-hearted attempt to practice; these con the Communist lesson more surely than an

The Spring is coming: may these pages be the intermediary between a host of Communist pilgrims and the comrades who will receive the

The Deadlock.

It was one of a chain of mining villages. meeting was crowded; people thronged gangways and clustered about the platfo nore of them were turned away than could se admittance. There had never been su meeting, they said, not even in the strike. people had flocked there to know if 'he spe

ould give the solution to "this unemployme. The solution offered was production for and without profit; a large production, a consumption, the abolition of wages, the su of commodities unstintingly to the people, w out payment, as fast as they can use abundantly as they desire them.

After the meeting, three farmers came to ouse where the speaker was a guest, to disthe matter further. They were cautio lesiring further enlightenment before judgment. They were appalled by burden of taxation weighing upon the produ populace; the burden of officialdom, the bu of the unemployed. Working in the bas of the fact that when fifteen per cent, of producers are idle and two-thirds are non-producers, the burden of the pro must be a heavy one. They believed that w being for the community must be imposs under such conditions. They had no shrink rom work; they were accustomed fram dawn till dark and, in addition to anything that could be, and must be done the farm by artificial light. Long hours of w were a matter of course to them. Neverthe they recognised the burden and poverty w nust result when only a minority produ

Moreover, they were puzzled and by the fact that whilst the number of rodu creased, vet want and enforced idleness are and apparently impassable barriers prevent services of the would-be producers from read the would-be consumer. They would have to think that a reduction of wages would the case (for they were employers as we workers); but they remembered prices are more than 80 per cent, above the pre-war he and they saw that to reduce wages not bring the exchange value of British down to that of most European countries. fore they could not place confidence in the reduction expedient. They saw that as purchasing power of the people has fallen,

nsuming power has fallen also.

They were dismayed by the slackness of tra and their own burden of taxation. They w the cutting down of officialdom; abolition of parasitic people.

They were allured by the prospect of Co munism's general plenty; its freedom harrassing financial worries. Yet Commu seemed too good to be possible. They thought in money all their lives. They attracted by the kindliness and freedom of munism; but their cupidity, conservatism

(continued on page 2, column 3.)

SHEFFIELD UNEMPLOYED TOOK A HALL.

ght from before the war, your valuable paper taken up an uncompromising and determined t for the working class, and particularly the mployed worker. You have used the columns Dreadnought for showing that the uncapitalist class for keeping down the wages ose who are in work and maintaining then I wonder what you and your readers think of the following report :-

For the last six months the Sheffield Unemmmittee has been discussing the getting

February 7th, six individuals, three of employed and three fairly secured, into their heads to move unofficially to official Unemployed Committee, or the or any other authority, they organised ten, obtained the keys of the hall by a bluff, and marched the men into the hours after their decision.

hall contained two large rooms, 100 ft. ft. and 24 ft. high; a large Committee with furniture and other useful material

The Unemployed sent six delegates to the orities, stating that they were going to keep hall until they found them another. Whilst delegation was at the Town Hall discussing atter with the Lord Mayor, the members official Unemployed Committee, realising ice had been cut from under their feet the hall and addressed the unem-. The Committeemen moved a vote of e on the unofficial individuals who had ted, although they did not know of whom the official committee consisted. Then the official ministeemen asked the unemployed to diserse, pointing out that the police would be e come upon the scene. They were no any way interfering with the meeting. strary, they were listening to the speeches ing the matter as though the unemed had bought the building.

you know, comrades and fellow-readers, me Unemployed Committee officials who poke thus are all members of revolutionary orisations. They are supposed to be Red-hot olutionaries, and I believe every one of em has been to prison. They have however en sentenced for making speeches, and or any direct action. Every one of them is of work and does not know where the next coming from; vet they are afraid of any and of action

omrades, it is about time that different tactics adopted. I should like to have the opinion our readers on this matter.

Yours fraternally, A. CARFORD.

CONSUMPTION AND UNDERFEEDING.

Thanks to the work of Professor Hopkins any others there remains now no excuse y dietary which may be found to be den essential qualities. Indeed, the great of deficient diet has been emphasised again in these past few years. Exnt has been added to experiment, and we perceive that incorrect feeding is one environmental factors which definitely es to disease. No more striking proof anywhere than the change which occurs susceptibility of rats and mice to tuber-when they have been fed for a period on lacking the so-called "fat solvable" ne. Normally these animals are exceed-resistant to this disease. But after de-ion of the vitamine, they become exceedusceptible. There can be no reasonable hat phenomena of the same sort are to with in the case of the human being.

is not the preface to a treatise on Comn, advocating the need for sweeping away restrictions to ample use of the on food supplies by all the people. No,

it is taken from a leading article in The Times, on the dietary of the sons of the well-to-do, who attend the Public Schools, which are supposed to supply the hall-mark of the Gentleman.

KICKED OUT OF HEAVEN.

wit-snapper, was trying to make sport of us, when he told us of the antics of these umans-when a company of poor people had died and landed in Paradise. Here they found hemselves in a wonderful garden, full of trees and shrubs bearing the most luscious fruits. here was sparkling wine flowing from the water faucets, and there were glimpses of beautiful angels, clothed only in sunlight. So they had o shut their eyes continually, lest they should behold unlawful beauty. Therefore they kept their eyes mostly to the ground and were looking for the signs to warn them off the grass, and the "No Trespassing" placards; but they did not find any of these, nor could they discover the fences. After a while they became very hungry, and the hungrier they became, the more inviting seemed the fruit-laden trees. They looked around for the armed guards and the policemen; but they did not see any, though they felt sure they were merely hiding behind the bushes to catch them unawares. As they walked on, they came upon a wide, bright street. They saw gold pieces scattered everywhere, as if the whole U.S. Mint had been spilled over it; but their conscience reminded they could not possibly begin life there stealing or taking anything that was not the Then they came to the market-place, and there was everything there that they had dreamed of which might be found in their Lord's castle down below. But there were no salesmen. They passed booths upon booths, with the most delicious viands, and constantly became hungrier and hungrier. They had no money and, to their consternation, found there were not even pockets in their heavenly robes. Never before had they realised how poor in the land of plenty is a man without money. As they grew faint, they dragged themselves back to the Gates of Paradise and asked Saint Peter to let them out again as they were starving.

as they were starving.

"Starving in Heaven!" said Saint Peter to them. "Did you not see all the trees laden with fruit and all the tables set for a feast?"

"Yes," they said; "but we could not find the ticket-seller, neither have we any money,

At this Sant Peter became very angry; for he regarded it as an insult that anybody should look for work in Heaven.

"You fools," he said. "In Heaven everything is as free as it is in nature itself, and if you have not sense enough to open your mouths when it rains pottage, I can do no hing for

So he kicked them out.

I myself thought that our great humorist was merely trying to tell us a Munchausen tale; but in the course of my investigations, in order to understand the machinery of the human mind. I attended six semesters in the law course of the famous University at Ogacich, on Lake Nagichim. That is what they teach there; not in plain English—lest the proletariat become restless—but in pidgin Latin, and learned

From "Humbug Land," by Neander P. Cook.

SPICE.

"Whenever it is desired to put anybody forward to administer soothing syrup in large quantities to the British public, Mr. Clynes or Mr. Henderson modestly advances into the limelight, and I shall not offend any Liberal friend of mine here if I say that the speeches they made would be a seasonable and agreeable addition to a pleasant Sunday afternoon at a Liberal club."

LORD BIRKENHEAD at the Savoy Hotel.

"The leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Clynes, said, across the floor of the House of Commons, that his Party was not at all hungry for power at this moment. In truth, the Labour Party did not represent a menace either to the Prime Minister's continuance in power, or to the life of the present Coalition Ministry. The Labour Party was not an opponent; it did not enjoy the status even of a sparring partner; it was a punching-ball, to be walloped, or left to hang in We used to think that Kram Nawt, our great all its windy, helpless inertness.

-LORD LINLITHGOW at Bathgate.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELE Liberty in prison walls, Fraternity on the scaffold,

Equality in the grave. -V. SARDOU " 9TH OF THERMIDOR "

Ananias, the politician's patron saint. Charity, the remorse of robbery.

Emigration, a quack medicine prescribed for Freedom of speech, a privilege granted to

those who have nothing to say.

Mammon, a god worshipped by all religions.

National spirit, an intoxicating beverage cal-culated to magnify virtues a country ought to

Omnipotence, a characteristic attributed to a deity, by weaklings on their knees.

Political platform, a lot of planks covered with treacle to catch flies.

Vengeance, an extremely humane attribute when exercised by those in power.

A POEM BY ERNEST JONES.

Comrade Glyde of Bradford sends us the following poem by Ernest Jones (born January 25th, 1819, died June 26th, 1869), which was printed by private subscription at the Co-operative Printing Society, Balloon Street, Manchester, January 27th, 1869, and recited at a meeting in the Junior Reform Club, January 25th, 1879, R. M. Pankhurst L.L.D., in the

POEM BY ERNEST JONES. A vote in the laws they make? A home in the land they till? Where the hearts of the many break, The cup of the few to fill, By the right of their law I pine; t what are their laws to me For I live by right divine, And that is the right to be free. A home in my native isle, A share in the wealth I heap Where the rich in their revel smile And the poor in their anger weep.

The poor—the poor—the poor in their anger The rich—the rich—the rich their revels keep.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

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REVIEW. The First Congress of the R.T.U.I. at Moscow, 1921,

(A REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS, BY GEORGE WILLIAMS, DELEGATE FROM THE I.W.W.)

The report by delegate Williams, published by the I.W.W. at 10 cents, is certainly a revela-tion to those who as yet have only seen the report of the English delegates, and who have only had access to the literature issued by propagandists attached to the R.T.U.I. More astounding the report seems, after the roseate hues painted by the British Bureau, in view of the fact that organisations of a definite revolu-tionary outlook, and not Trade Union minorities whipped into revolutionary fervour by the Com-munists, have expressed their disgust at the failure of the Congress, at the unscrupulousness of the packing of the Congress by Communist delegates, and at the obvious crushing out of revolutionary organisations. This becomes all the more important when it is seen that a total memover two and a half millions catered for by these organisations, and that they have been compelled to form a block inside the

Williams seems to be much dissatisfied with the grouping and credentials of the delegates, and discusses at great length the American delegates, of whom he says:—

In addition to the above [five American small army of fraternal delegates, who were credentialled by the New York City Red Labour Bureau, most of whom were delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International, which was then in session, and they served as convenient stuffing for the R.T.U.I Congress. They represented verything that is known and unknown in the American Labour movement.

He points out that Dixon, representing the United Labour Council of New York City and given a decisive vote, could not even say where the offices of this body were, or who were its officials, and, moreover, could not produce credentials from that organisation. His credentials for this organisation, for the Kansas Miners, for the Kansas City Trade Education League were made out by the New York Bureau, and not by the organisations. His report gives good proof that of the five American delegates, only one, Crosby, was empowered to act in any other capacity than that of a fraternal delegate. His assertion that "the ridiculous assumption that revolutionary Labour Unions exist in Korea or Palestine, and the audacity of seating delegates from these countries in a congress of revolutionary Labour Unions are but an indication of the steps taken to stuff the Congress with enough delegates of the desired calibre to put through any programme desired," certainly makes one stop to think; especially in view of the fact that Andytchine, who was not credentialled and not a delegate, but a political refugee from America, was selected as a member of the E.C. of the R.T.U.I.

Certain it is that the resolution which was adopted at the minority conference, gives rise to grave fears as to the stability of the newly-formed R.I.L.U.; the end of the resolution will give the gist of the whole affair :-

Our work and tactics in the Red Labour energetically defending in the above in-dicated spirit—the basic principles of Revolu-tionary Syndicalism, and in fighting at every step, every attempt to pervert these principles."

The resolution was signed by fourteen definite revolutionary organisations and by an organisa-tion, unnamed, in Canada of 13,000 workers, and the total membership signing is 2,774,500.

Williams further gives two documents in parallel form: one, the programme of action from the Theses and Statutes of the Third International, and the other, the programme of action from the decisions of the R.T.U.I. es is justified; for the two documents are

ridiculous; the Thesis is only echoed by the RT.U.I. document. At the end of the lengthy report is a document by the G.E.B. of the I.W.W., which advises the membership to refuse affiliation to the R.T.U.I. on six grounds, including that the Congress condemned the including that the Congress condemned the financed him without the sanction of the N.A.C. fuse affiliation to the R.T.U.I. on six grounds, including that the Congress condemned the policy of the I.W.W.; the R.T.U.I. is the Communist Party thinly disguised, and was not refuse genuinely representative of the International paper. Revolutionary Labour Movement.

The report is adverse to the R.T.U.I., not on anti-Communist lines so much as on lines of MUGS; for there is no evidence that we can uniting the real revolutionary Labour organisa-tions,- and against Communist Party power grabbing.

It is an established fact that the I.W.W. sent out the first call for an International of Revolutionary Economic organisations and stepped aside as a mark of appreciation of the valiant Russian Working Class

The pamphlet should certainly be read as an antidote to the "Long Live" and "All Down"

THE DYING NATIONAL WORKERS' COMMITTEE. By Wilfred J. Braddock.

FELLOW WORKERS-

The outlook of most of the revolutionists ttached to the W.C.M. is that they stand for delegates] with decisive votes, there was a rank and file control, and are opposed to the force upon us.

A letter was submitted to the then official organ, Solidarity, some months ago, asking for a pronouncement of our policy, and so far the N.A.C. has not answered it, although the Extor stated it was urgent and would be brought be-fore the N.A.C.

have been so engrossed in building up local com-mitteees and the strengthening thereof, that we never gave a thought to the national movement, never gave a thought to the national movement, and that we were a component part and had duties to attend to as such. We had, as it were, the work in and had been hammering at the matter. The money, I presume, has been given matter. The money, I presume, has been given matter. The money has been spent; but who has spen it and what it has been spent in is another matter. The money, I presume, has been given matter. national card was sent to us; then, of course, we looked up and began to take notice. We began to discuss the national movement, how it was constituted, how controlled, how our na-tional administration was formed, who formed

themselves; an editor responsible to himself and then we began to sit up and take nourishment. We hurriedly looked up the minutes and correspondence, and found the N.A.C. was elected from industries, and there it ended.

Did we have rank and file control? Could we ecall these individuals? Evidently not We found we had no rules whereby we could participate in the national administration. We disovered we had a member of the N.A.C. in the district who should be attached to the district council, but who had never been near us, and whom the members of the district council had never seen. We were kindly informed that he represented the building industry (we had no delegates to that industry on the council) and herefore the was not in our sphere. Good! At all events we were a marine transport section, and, on investigation, we found we had a representative we had never seen, and as we had never heard from him, we had no control over

Further, it was discovered that he had resigned, and the remaining N.A.C. had not replaced him; if they had, it was without our knowledge. So far we have had no part in electing or selecting our N.A.C. Rank and file control. Ye Gods! control of the rank and file!

Very few, if any, N.A.C. deliberations have reached this port; all we see is leaflets now and again

We had an official paper, Solidarity, and with-Congress, and his contention that the packing out word or warning it was cut off at the knees, of the Congress for the adoption of desired prowithout asking the opinion of the rank and file. It was costing too much, I understand, yet so similar in wording and phraseology as to be Solidarity was going for years and without losing

for when the N.A.C. met, they recalled him a mefused further finance to the Editor and

Have we a voice in these affaire?

recall anyone, or even call a confer must wait until the N.A.C. get tired and resign, until they call a conference

Take the case of the leaflets. We in Liverpo had three members arrested for these leaflets and had to fight the case on our own; and be cause twenty or thirty men stood pat that eith had the case dismissed.

The officials of the movement fling mon about and end in having to go to jail with a £100 fine. We never heard any solicitations as to how we paid our share in these leaflet cases.

Take also the case of the Worker and its Editor

There is evidently so much slackness about the industrial fight, and conditions are so good that the Editor cannot find any industrial matter, and can afford to waste pages on copy outsid the industrial fight.

The Editor wastes two pages in glorifying himself, his knowledge of terrorism, and incidentally attacks a young rebel, who cannot reply cause he is in jail.

And now let us come to the finance, and this must be dealt with carefully; for although the Capitalist Press has blazoned throughout the entry that the treasurer has spent, sin anuary (1921), £3,000, we must not dis this, or even notice the item. Everyone know and everyone looks mysterious, and dares no discuss it, for fear that the fact may h

ment, and therefore comes under the direction the N.A.C., and, logically, under the contri the rank and file. To use a "pleb' sion, "I don't think." I suppose it sion, "I don't think." I suppose it would be equal to heresy in the Church to ask for balance sheet. Such distrust of our officials it, and what voice we had in the affair?

We found, to all intents and purposes, a We found, to themselves; a secre
We at least, are not a secresuch a statement. We, at least, are not a ser organisation, if the "Terrorists" are. Wh is the W.C.M.? Where is it? We of Liverporare informed the N.A.C. cannot put us in township. with other Dockers' movements find the Grimsby delegate to the Dockers' Co gress is a Communist. Where is the seamer committee outside Liverpool? If there is of it is pigeon-holed in 8 Victoria Buildings.

CAPITAL TO-DAY.

By HERMAN CAHN, 10s.

Briefly states the Marxian Theory of Value and explains contradictory functions of mon-handicaps of money system, inadequacy of g basis, theory of money tokens, money of acc social insolvency, cycle of industrial capital, etc. A valuable study.

NEW EDITION

COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY

KOLLONTAY'S SPLENDID PAMPHLET.

Price - 4d.

Tells what everyone wants to know about life under

Strikes a blow at Capitalist Social Conventions. From WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT Office, 152, Fleet Strest, E.C. 4.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

February 25, 1922.

orkers are "down and out"; of that an be no question. Bread they are for, and there is none. They are unable for, and there is none. They are unable prehend anything else—Bread. We, on the track keeping going to save the children oing under, and it keeps the Grown-ups alling into the pond of despair. Some at do it if we are to survive, and to stimu-ders of the *Dreadnought*, I am printing I have received, and also another

have been greatly impressed by your in the Dreadnought, re Proletarian ls. I must confess that your ideas and methods are the best that could be

The Communist ideal has been mine for y years. I am the Chairman of the steg and District Communist Movement, I am compelled to admit that our children completely overlooked, and 'hey are left blind chance.' This should not be; so I decided to start a Proletarian School, and he same time I desire to congratulate you our splendid work on behalf of our class. "Yours fraternally,
J. Moscow Thomas.

hat letter comes from South Wales, and that contains the spirit of the fighting proled I might add the class-Will you, my fellow-worker, go and

er letter comes from South Wales, Frank Phippen Ystrad Rhondda.

s busy educating the children, and busy preparing for May Day; but, as it may seem, we have nothing for breathing the spirit of Communism toannual May Day on International

asks for material. He wants f May Day and songs of May Day, and of May, for children. I have sent could do, and the following dialogue I tten for him, in the hope that it will e want. I write as I feel. I do not please. It may be that my writing at rather strong; but I am angry, so very nat I must express myself. I am so th it all, that I could sink the ship and

make amends we are starting paper for March: it is to be called g Rebel. It will be the best children's the country, and the only children's onging to the working class. copy; it is only one penny monthly.

rder a dozen copies. ead the dialogue on May Day

DIALOGUE ON MAY DAY. "What is the meaning of the various Groups holding the May Day demonstra-

'It is the harbinger of the Day of Why? Are the workers not free?

ink so; they are taught so: their child-like simplicity, they believe But can they not do as they

Yes, if it does not hurt the powers

if it does, they go to prison, or are

u have struck it. How long have they held their May

This will be the thirty-third year." And they are still where they

There is not much difference."
How is that?"

There are many reasons; but the is that they are under the domination laster class, the Church and State, and

cial activity above them."
"Is there no hope?"
"Meantime there is none. They are and out at present."
"Then what must we do?"

UNITED FRONT.

In our recent references to the Paris Unity ront Conference, we stated in error that the rench Communists had announced their refusal participate, but had not been actually invited. a matter of fact, the French Communist Party was invited: the reason being that the Communist Party possesses the greater part of the membership of the former French Socialist Party. The reactionary and Centrist leaders Party. The reactionary and Centrist leaders have been left with only a small number of followers. They would like to recover the old membership if they can do so conveniently.

The present propaganda of the Third Inter-national is such that no Centrist Socialist like Lonquet need fear it. Therefore, from his point view, unity is worth discussion.

The Communist (the organ of the Right-Wing-Parliamentary-Communists of Britain), February 4th, sententiously chided the French Communists for declining the invitation to the Paris Unity Front Conference. On February 11th the Communist exhibited a com-

we must have unity,' Jean leapt to the tele-phone and called a conference to meet in Paris (the cradle of revolutions!) to establish a unity

that never would they work with the Communists. . . . Therefore the Communist Party of Great Britain were scratched off the

are no passport difficulties to stop them!

Better not invite them.

Communist Party (whose Government will never let them come, because they want to come themselves) the must be invited—it will look so well, so fraternal! And the Italian Com-—ah! those serious ones will not come! We must invite them both! In that way most of those there will be the French most. must invite them both! In that way most of those there will be the French and German majoritaires, and they cannot agree to disagree for ever and ever! Such is the unity of lean Longuet!"

Robert—that nice British worker (or should brass buttons—is rarely missing from the unemployed meetings, with his notebook, in order,

simpler one corresponds with the facts: the Belgian and British Parties were not invited, because they were considered by the promoters of the conference unimportant enough to be ignored, and because the Labour Party in Britain and Socialist Party in Belgium were not willing that they should be invited. As for German Social Democrats, we fancy they could have managed to reach the conference, or to get it postponed till their arrival, had they desired it. The Italians have a nasty habit of not turning up at conferences which do not interest

Be that as it may; it is obvious that Jean Lonquet and the other promotors of the Paris Conference put numbers before principles when they drew up the invitation list. The Communist Party of Great Britain should be the last to criticise them for that

DISTRESS IN SOUTH WALES. By

Miners Going to Work without Food. Second-hand Clothes. No Money for Boots.

Men Bullied in the Pits. Sacked for Claiming the Minimum.

Conditions in South Wales are very bad. I know of cases where miners go to work some-times with only bread; at other times without

Boy: "We can only keep going on, in the tope that the workers will awaken."

Girl: "Then I will do so."

The workers try to make both ends meet by

hope that the workers will awaken."

Girl: "Then I will do so."

Boy: "Give me your hand, Comrade, and let us repeat our Proletarian text together, 'Ours is the world despite all.""

FRENCH COMMUNISTS AND THE

UNITED FRONT.

Men have been sacked for asking that their money be made up to the legal minimum wage.

The workers try to make both ends meet by buying in the cheapest shops, and very often lose in weight what they gain in price.

The miner's wife can no longer go straight to the shop with her order for food as soon as she gets the pay. First of all she has to make a strict survey of the pantry, so that she may be sure not to order anything event whet is the sure not to order anything except what is abso-

The second-hand clothes stalls at the various markets are well patronised by the women. The men spend their spare time in mending boots for the family, using all the old odds and ends of leather they can find, such as leather belts etc., to mend the children's boots. Little children, this cold weather, go about in sandals, because their parents have not the means to pay for boots.

These are some of the conditions which the fighting miners of gallant little Wales endure to-day, outside of the mine, during their "Leisure Hours."

During their working hours they are continually being bullied in order that they may produce more, and to frighten them into submission. This policy has served the bosses very well since the Lock-Out until now; but there are signs that it is being played too much. Like many a good old tune, heard too often, it has become rather monotonous, and is creating a

plete change of front. In the course of a very flippant leader devoted to this question, it said:

"Saying: 'My God and my Grandfather; 'Saying: 'My God and my Grandfather; 'In the course of a very reaction, feeble as yet, but nevertheless growing.

Miners' leaders who, parrot-like, have imitated the boss cry of "More Production," seem to be aware that the miners are getting sick of the tune, and are warning the officials that it is time to stop and change the record.

As for the unemployed, they are in a worse "First, the British Labour Party had said plight still. These retired industrial soldiers at never would they work with the Com- live (?), like the men who won the war, upon what the Government gives them; but they, in addition, sometimes get a little more from their Guardians. The latter portion of their dole is "And the Belgian Communists?—there being made less, and as it gets smaller, the men's tempers seem to increase. In places where it was rather hard to get them to organise, they are now organising. Here, again, the Miners' Federation officials seem to have scented danger; for some of them who, in the past, were more anxious to throw a wet blanket over any effort

In spite of this elaborate explanation, a much impler one corresponds with the facts: the elgian and British Parties were not invited, because they were considered by the promoters of no doubt, to record any cases of extreme necesmay be without food or shelter while there is plenty in the "Land of our Fathers."

These are some of the conditions of the men no were once upon a time the "Aristocrats of

How long will they endure these conditions, and how long these conditions will prevail, remains to be seen. They will not be changed by placing the Labour Party in power, I am con-

The Welsh people are in the habit of attending meetings, in order to enjoy themseles, and then to forget all about them. Before they can change these hard times into times of peace and plenty, they will have to realise the truth of that old saying: " More work and less talk."

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J. H. Thomas puts the King's interest before the Workers' interest; that is clear, fellow-workers

Do you consider, fellow-worker, that Thomas can faithfully serve both the workers and the King i

Read the oath he was forced to take when h became a Privy Councillor. Let every worker read that oath and understand its meaning. Show it to every worker in your shop: make a point of that; get all your friends to read it.

Here it is:-

The Privy Councillor's Oatn.

The Privy Councillor's Oath.

"I do swear by Almighty God to be a true and faithful Servant unto the King's Majesty, as one of His Majesty's Privy Council. I will not know or understand of any manner of thing to be attempted against His Majesty's Person, Honour, Crown, or Dignity Royal but I will let and withstand the same to the uttermost of my Power, and either cause it to be revealed to His Majesty Himself, or to such of His Privy Council as shall advertise His Majesty of the same, I will, in all things to be moved, treated, and debated in Council, faithfully and truly declare my Mind and Opinion, according to my Heart and Conscience, and will keep secret all matter committed and revealed unto me, or that shall be treated of secretly in Council. And if any of the said Treaties or Counsels shall touch any of the Counsellors, I will not reveal it unto him, but will keep the same until such time as, by the Consent of His Majesty, or of the Council, Publication shall be made thereof. I will to my uttermost bear Faith and Allegiance unto the King's Majesty, and will assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Pre-eminences, and Authorities, granted to His Majesty, and annexed to the Crown by Acts of Parliament, or otherwise, against all Foreign Princes' Persons, Prelates, States or Potentates. And generally in all things I will do as a faithful and true Servant ought to do to His Majesty,—So help me God."

serve, fellow-worker, that Thomas is compelled by that oath to confide to the King's ervent ought.

Observe, fellow-worker, that Thomas is compelled by that oath to confide to the King, any private business that may belong to the workers; but the private business of the King he must not confide to anyone. The King includes the Government, legally and actually in this country to-day, unless there is a conflict between King and Parliament, in which case Thomas is p'edged to the King.

If the King is opposing a Labour Government, Thomas has promised to stand by the

King.

If the Government sends troops against the strikers, Thomas is pledged not to tell the danger threatening the workers. He must keep the secret that the troops are coming. He must help the troops against the strikers, because they are the soldiers of the King and his Government, for Thomas is a King's Privy Councillor and has sworn to uphold the King's and that of his Government, and he has sworn to maintain the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

of the Crown.

Thomas is not a Socialist: he has said so: Privy Councillors cannot be Socialists.

Thomas is not even much of a democrat or he would not object to letting the majority of his Union decide whether their officials should, or should not, be King's officials.

In spite of all this, we fancy, fellow-worker, that the N.U.R. will let Thomas keep a job in the Union and be a Privy Councillor besides.

This is just one more proof of the urgent need for building up a Revolutionary Industrial Union of workers pledged to overthrow Capitalism in favour of Communism.

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