

The Choice of J. H. Thomas.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE WAGE SYSTEM.

By Peter Kropotkin.

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.

sensation, 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

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?

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-



WHY NOT?

necessary to guarantee the individual against the State? 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.

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 individual 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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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.

MEN AND STEEL.

Mary Heaton Vorse has written a vivid book called "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 another 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 themselves. 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 seen much:—

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

"The yards of the mills are surrounded by tracks. Engines puff up and down, the twenty-four hours. Mountains of ore, mountains of coke, trains unloading, scrap engines unloading ore and coke, trains carrying off steel bars. Magnets everywhere are loading and unloading steel ingots into cars. Men moving in unhurried fashion. No one moves rapidly; everyone has time. There is a never-ending quality in all this."

"The size, the 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, poured steel, red-hot steel bars. Through the gloom, shafts of blue light from outside, shafts of sunlight, solid as searchlights, while little unhurried men, small men whose presence is scarcely observed, are standing on platforms, pulling levers."

"Three things impress you when you go 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 see it being made from fire and iron, with the help of great machines. That is what you think first."

"Later you say: 'Oh, men are helping, too!' 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, believed the machines were alive, and owned him for their slave.

"There are 500,000 steel workers in the United States."

"Thirty-two per cent. are not paid enough to reach the level set by the U.S. Government 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 family of five."

"Fifty per cent. of the U.S. Steel Corporation's employees, who number 191,000, work 12 hours 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 viscous mud. A lean dog was digging. Pale children paddled in the squashy filth and made playthings of ancient rubbish. Beyond was the railroad track; beyond the mills . . . no green thing anywhere."

"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 you walk across it you leave footprints in the slack fallen during the night."

"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 clothes for the women to wash, the soot and slack drift into the houses, night and day, for the women to scrub."

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

"If a man is working in the Edgar Thompson works, he must live in Braddock; if he is working for the Carnegie Steel Company in Homestead, he must live in Homestead. 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 companies have latterly begun to regard the shifting of labour as expensive and have inaugurated "Welfare" schemes to make the lives of their workers more tolerable.

The author tells of the great steel strike of 1919. The employers declared they would do as they chose in their own industry, and refused to admit Trade Unionism and collective bargaining. Federal troopers were sent into the district. They drove the people from the streets, raided their houses, broke their furniture, and arrested them by the score. Fanny Sellins, a woman organiser, was murdered by gunmen, shot in the back "as she bent over children to protect them."

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 had given in.

The steel workers, as a whole, were but recently organised. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, a craft Union of long standing, in the fifth 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 committee, which had organised 250,000 steel workers.

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

"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 grandmother."

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 hours light. . . ."

His wife said:—

"What you've been through before we can go through again and we can't go through anything so bad as we've been through! When my oldest girl was a baby, and before 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 dollars. After they took father away, I couldn't pay any more. They took away

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

"I sat on the floor of my empty house with my baby in my arms and thought of my new baby that was to come; and I thought: 'no matter, I'm a strong young woman'; I thought, 'never mind what they do to me, I'll take care of both my babies till father gets out!' I sat like that on the bare floor of my house and thought, to comfort myself, that father was right to strike like he did, and that I was going to fight shoulder to shoulder alongside of him. I know we got to win, because it's right we should win."

A Bohemian steel worker said:

"You hear what fellers say is difference between Government in Austria and Government here. He say there Kaiser rule. Here mill boss rule. That's true."

And again a woman:—

"Would I live here if I could get out? Would I live here, would I remain where the dirty water of the privy overflows and crawls over the court, under the door-sill until it makes a pool on my kitchen floor? Is that a view for children to look at year after year, year after year. To keep them clean, I must wash out in the yard. Look, missus, this is my apron! [She brought a stiff oil-cloth apron, still frozen.] I wash out in the cold, so I won't splash water over my children, so they can have a dry place to play. Eleven souls to keep clean here, in Braddock, means work."

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

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM.—Contd. from p. 4. distrust of others repelled it. At the same time, their self-interest and common sense were together driving them to revolt against the present wasteful system, with its crushing burdens and anxieties. Still more sharply do the advantages of Communism stand forth for the labourers employed by the farmers.

This village was surrounded with many acres of little-used land: permanent pasture with but few cattle to pasture upon it. Some of the men there were agricultural workers, the majority were miners. A few women worked in the jam factory, a few were employed in the shops; the majority were doing domestic work. The daughters were generally obliged to go away to seek employment, unless they married early.

About 140 people were unemployed (not more than 4 per cent.). There were no demonstrations for them; no marches to Boards of Guardians. Few had Poor Law aid. The majority existed on the insurance dole, the miners having also 10/- a week from the Miners' Association. Relatives still working lent a helping hand to many unemployed; but the miners were expecting another wages cut.

The land lay idle around them: these country-bred unemployed would have no difficulty in making it fruitful. Corn and vegetables, cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry, might be raised here, save that the landlords and capitalists, with their money and interest, stand in the way. 140 idle people might cease to be parasites and add to the comfort of the village. Workers in other districts might supply the the initial materials and machinery required.

By DIRECT ACTION the workers might sweep the barriers away.

Suppose the miners should decide to give free coal to the unemployed and even to buy what would be necessary to set the unemployed to work on the land: suppose the unemployed should begin to work some of the idle land and supply eggs, poultry and vegetables to the village, at once Authority would strive to intervene.

Nevertheless, the desire for the well-being of all; the human instinct to escape privation, urges us on to make these things be, to apply them all round, to defy the Authority which would prevent it.

The workers are all-powerful: they can do it when they will. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

FROM CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

In Prison Cells.

Box 7, Leavenworth, Kansas.

DEAR FRIEND—

Your welcome letter received: I take pleasure in writing a few lines in return. I could fill this sheet with reports of strikes, coming strikes, re-opening of the Copper Mines with an initial reduction of 50 cents a day, etc.; but I feel that I am unequal to the enormous task, and will confine my remarks to another matter which I think is worthy of consideration.

You are doubtless aware that Debs and about a score of others were extended clemency and released on Christmas Day; six of the number were I.W.W.'s five of them sentenced from Chicago, the others from Sacramento, California. Two of them, Ashleigh and Baldazzi, were released upon the condition of agreeing to an immediate deportation.

Whether anything will be done for the remainder is problematical at this time; but we are given to understand that the agitation for our release is to be carried on with renewed vigour. There are still over 100 men in prison through war-time laws, and amongst them many Britishers with sentences of ten and twenty years.

I understand the I.W.W. defence secretary has appealed to the European Labour bodies to help any of us who should be deported back to their shores. To be frank, I look with disfavour upon his action, because I think that if there is any moral obligation to help us to get back into civil life, the I.W.W. organisation should attend to that matter.

I have also heard that Lansbury, Williams, McManus, Tanner, etc., are going to act as a committee to look after those deported to the British Isles.

Speaking personally, I would suggest that they devote their time and energy in giving publicity to the outrageous sentences of twenty years that are facing Britishers like Scarlett, Brazier and Lambert, and the ten year sentence of Lorton, etc., instead of asking the British Labour organisations to donate on our behalf, ask every Labour body, and that would include parent bodies, central councils, branches, I.L.P. bodies, Socialist branches, etc., to write to President Harding and Secretary Daugherty asking for the release of the Class War Prisoners.

Action of that kind would be of considerable aid to the Amnesty Movement here and would have a great moral effect upon the American Labour Movement. *Pitiless Publicity* is the greatest help that can be given to our case, and if you should meet Tanner or any others interested, I wish you would mention my suggestions. If this idea were agreed upon, I would also suggest that a copy of each message be sent to the *New York Call*, or the Civil Liberties Union, to be used in the Amnesty campaign.

My sentence will expire in May or June, and I hope they will deport me as quickly as possible, and not keep me languishing in any 'n-famous County Jail. It will be five years next July since I was arrested, and with the slight exception of eight days out on bail, I have been continuously in custody. Quite a stretch for bucking the mighty Copper Trust; but I have no regrets to make, and would do it again if conditions demanded it.

Give my fraternal greetings to all British Fellow Workers.

For Industrial Solidarity,

JOSEPH CATES (Regd. Jail No. 18172)

Will all working class papers please copy, to help the Class War prisoners?

The Amnesty Imposture! Making Strikes Illegal.

W. Field writes from a prison cell in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas:—

"Millions of workers are unemployed, and the Courts over here are busy issuing injunctions against Labour. It will soon be impossible to breathe unless one has a special permit from some 'Pooh Bah!'

"The politicians are doing their best to obey their master's voice. In Kansas they have passed what they call an 'Industrial Relations Bill,' the object of which is to prevent

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 law national.

"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 meeting to discuss strike action."

The Amnesty Imposture.

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

"The *Daily Herald*, in its account of the Amnesty, gave 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 five years.

"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 induced him to break his undertaking and promised 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 bondsmen."

FROM FINLAND.

N. W. writes from Finland:

"As it borders on Soviet Russia, Finland is full of counter-revolutionaries of all nationalities, who are doing all in their power to hamper the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

"Although the peace signed at Dorpat still exists officially, White Guard butcher-bands are still being organised and equipped here and sent to invade Soviet Russia.

"Great protest demonstrations are being held against the war, and the assistance which the Finnish Government is secretly giving to the butcher-bands.

"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 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 itself to support the Government. The Communists use the name 'Socialist Labour Party' as a camouflage."

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 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 unemployed? Upon our Labour Exchange queues? Upon 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 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 of 500 at Plymouth;
- (6) A War Legacy. Debasement of the Standard of Honesty;
- (7) Superintendent Shot. Tragic Discovery in Stable;
- (8) Starving Irish Islanders. Children who are clothed in Sacks;
- (9) Mother's Tragic Discovery. Suicide of Girl in Norfolk;
- (10) "I Have Taken Poison." Suicide of Unloved Girl.
- (11) "No Starvation for Me." Suicide of Well-dressed Man;
- (12) Account of another suicide at Ealing.
- (13) And at Romford;
- (14) And at Stratford;
- (15) And at Bayswater, W.;
- (16) Tinsplate Mills Close;
- (17) Reckless Waste of the Government;
- (18) Teachers Ready to Fight;
- (19) A Milk Boycott.

Here, as Cobbett used to say to the Progressives 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. There 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 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 unprecedented success. England's instinct for freedom and progress is at work 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 movement needs that inspiration. We all need its fertile stimulus and the warm, friendly intercourse 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 colonies.

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 State. 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 bottom of the Thames, were acting illegally?

It is argued, moreover, that the capitalist environment and the necessity of compromise with it to obtain certain necessities, 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 co-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 mean a genuine achievement in spreading the ideas of Communism and in beautifying life.

Irish Sinn Féin, with its policy of non-cooperation 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 in a country village.

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 precept; by way of showing that there is another and better way.

The workers have the power to seize the means of production, because they are the producers.

In the Communist movement to-day are men and women of every trade and craft. In innumerable 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 without measure in this most mercenary civilisation. 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 extravagant 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 hot-water pipes to the kitchen stove, the boiling is, 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

hot 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 expenditure, to arrange matters so that several houses might have hot water provided from one fire—the cost of the fire and the adjustments could be jointly provided by the inhabitants of the group of houses. That is just one little instance of 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. Those 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 gauge precisely the extra consumption of gas. Thus we should 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 themselves into groups 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 capabilities 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 millions of our producers, in this country alone, to idleness. It condemns them to remain half-starved 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 local branch of some organisation, for no organisations existed. The heroic pioneers did not wait for someone 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, unadorned, 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 empty-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, especially, such crafts were necessary to disguise their propaganda from the authorities.

By such methods the pioneers were able to come into more intimate touch with the people, than by merely holding public meetings. Moreover, meetings are often prevented by the authorities, and may be again, in this country, as in 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 the 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 all comers, trusting to the comrades he had converted to supply his needs.

To-day many comrades should be ready to go forth as pilgrims, giving freely of their service and their Communist message, sure that the devotion of comrades will provide, without payment, for their essential needs.

Unemployed comrades, with many capabilities, who are leading a sad existence, growing too despondent even to carry on propaganda, might thus fruitfully apply themselves with the co-operation of others. They might go to the places where little or no propaganda is done; where if any meetings are held, they are addressed by speakers brought from a distance at considerable expense. These speakers come by the last available train and leave by the first—leaving their work unfinished. Those who have been awakened by the meeting are left desiring a serious discussion with the teacher who has hurried away. The questions go unanswered; the doubts unsolved. The books that should be recommended remain unknown.

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

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

The Deadlock.

It was one of a chain of mining villages. The meeting was crowded; people thronged the gangways and clustered about the platform: more of them were turned away than could secure admittance. There had never been such a meeting, they said, not even in the strike. The people had flocked there to know if 'the speaker could give the solution to "this unemployment,"

The solution offered was production for use and without profit; a large production, a large consumption, the abolition of wages, the supply of commodities unstintingly to the people, without payment, as fast as they can use them, as abundantly as they desire them.

After the meeting, three farmers came to the house where the speaker was a guest, to discuss the matter further. They were cautious men, desiring further enlightenment before forming a judgment. They were appalled by the burden of taxation weighing upon the producing populace; the burden of officialdom, the burden of the unemployed. Working in the basic industry, agriculture, they had a clear realisation of the fact that when fifteen per cent. of the producers are idle and two-thirds of the people are non-producers, the burden of the producers must be a heavy one. They believed that well-being for the community must be impossible under such conditions. They had no shrinking from work; they were accustomed to labour from dawn till dark, and, in addition, to do anything that could be, and must be done on the farm by artificial light. Long hours of work were a matter of course to them. Nevertheless they recognised the burden and poverty which must result when only a minority produces.

Moreover, they were puzzled and concerned by the fact that, whilst the number of producers is reduced, and the need for production is increased, yet want and enforced idleness are rife and apparently impassable barriers prevent the services of the would-be producers from reaching the would-be consumer. They would have liked to think that a reduction of wages would meet the case (for they were employers as well as workers); but they remembered prices are still more than 80 per cent. above the pre-war height, and they saw that to reduce wages to zero would not bring the exchange value of British money down to that of most European countries. Therefore they could not place confidence in the wages reduction expedient. They saw that as the purchasing power of the people has fallen, their consuming power has fallen also.

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

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

(continued on page 2, column 3.)

HOW SHEFFIELD UNEMPLOYED TOOK A HALL.

DEAR EDITOR—

Right from before the war, your valuable paper has taken up an uncompromising and determined fight for the working class, and particularly the unemployed worker. You have used the columns of the *Dreadnought* for showing that the unemployed are the greatest lever possessed by the capitalist class for keeping down the wages of those who are in work and maintaining them as slaves. I wonder what you and your readers will think of the following report:—

For the last six months the Sheffield Unemployed Committee has been discussing the getting of a hall for the unemployed.

On February 7th, six individuals, three of them unemployed and three fairly secured, took it into their heads to move unofficially to procure a hall at once, and, without informing the official Unemployed Committee, or the police, or any other authority, they organised 2,000 men, obtained the keys of the hall by a piece of bluff, and marched the men into the hall six hours after their decision.

The hall contained two large rooms, 100 ft. by 12 ft. and 24 ft. high; a large Committee room with furniture and other useful material.

The Unemployed sent six delegates to the authorities, stating that they were going to keep this hall until they found them another. Whilst the delegation was at the Town Hall discussing the matter with the Lord Mayor, the members of the official Unemployed Committee, realising that the ice had been cut from under their feet, came into the hall and addressed the unemployed. The Committeemen moved a vote of censure on the unofficial individuals who had acted, although they did not know of whom the unofficial committee consisted. Then the official Committeemen asked the unemployed to disperse, pointing out that the police would be soon putting us out. A dozen police had by this time come upon the scene. They were not in any way interfering with the meeting. On the contrary, they were listening to the speeches and treating the matter as though the unemployed had bought the building.

Do you know, comrades and fellow-readers, these same Unemployed Committee officials who spoke thus are all members of revolutionary organisations. They are supposed to be Red-hot revolutionaries, and I believe every one of them has been to prison. They have, however, only been sentenced for making speeches, and not for any direct action. Every one of them is out of work and does not know where the next meal is coming from; yet they are afraid of any kind of action.

Comrades, it is about time that different tactics are adopted. I should like to have the opinion of your readers on this matter.

Yours fraternally,

A. CARFORD.

CONSUMPTION AND UNDERFEEDING.

"Thanks to the work of Professor Hopkins and many others, there remains now no excuse for any dietary which may be found to be deficient in essential qualities. Indeed, the great danger of deficient diet has been emphasised again and again in these past few years. Experiment has been added to experiment, and we begin to perceive that incorrect feeding is one of the environmental factors which definitely predisposes to disease. No more striking proof exists anywhere than the change which occurs in the susceptibility of rats and mice to tuberculosis when they have been fed for a period on a diet lacking the so-called "fat soluble" vitamins. Normally these animals are exceedingly resistant to this disease. But after deprivation of the vitamins, they become exceedingly susceptible. There can be no reasonable doubt that phenomena of the same sort are to be met with in the case of the human being."

This is not the preface to a treatise on Communism, advocating the need for sweeping away all economic restrictions to ample use of the common 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.

We used to think that Kram Nawt, our great wit-snapper, was trying to make sport of us, when he told us of the antics of these humans—when a company of poor people had died and landed in Paradise. Here they found themselves in a wonderful garden, full of trees and shrubs bearing the most luscious fruits. There was sparkling wine flowing from the water-faucets, and there were glimpses of beautiful angels, clothed only in sunlight. So they had to 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 them that they had just entered Heaven, and they could not possibly begin life there by stealing or taking anything that was not theirs. 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.

"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, and are out of work."

At this Saint 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 nothing for you."

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 circumlocution.

—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 all its windy, helpless inertness."

—LORD LINLITHGOW at Bathgate.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF.

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 the cure of discontent.

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 calculated to magnify virtues a country ought to possess.

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 chair.

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;
But 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 weep,
The rich—the rich—the rich their revels keep.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

G. Brusseln, 2/6; Per S. Pankhurst, Bolsover Labour Party, £1; Charlotte Street Collection, 17/4; Mrs. Fairhurst, 2/-; Mr. Thompson, 2/6; Mrs. Crabb, 1/-; Mrs. Moschewitz, 10/-; Mrs. Payne, 2/6; Mrs. Manoin, £2; Mrs. Clarges, £1 5s.; M. Tidey, 2/6; A. Gilbert, 2/6; J. Hill, 2/6; L. Brown, 3/6; A. Pentry, 5/-; Lady Constance Lytton, £2; A. Banks, 2/6; Rev. Conrad Noel, 2/6; J. Bernstein, 2/6; G. L. Jones, 2/6; D. Potts, 5/-; Mr. Melvin, 5/-; H. J. Smith, 5/-; A. Hodson, £1; B.C., £2; E.C., 2/6; P. Durant, 2/6; F. Leech, 2/6; Mrs. Palmer, £1; T. Islwyn Nicholas, 10/-; S. Hickton, 2/6; D. Scourfield, 5/-; F. Blundell and J. Clarke, 4/-; G. Sear, Jr., 9/-; Portsmouth Branch Fund, £1; Mr. and Mrs. Locke, 6/-; Mr. Godden, 2/6; Raffle of basket, 4/6; J. Tierney, 2/6; Communist Friends, 2/6; Per Herbert Holt, 7/6; L. Devereux, 5/-; V. Lemmon, 5/-; G. H. Green, 2/6; Mr. Danker, 2/6; M. Leigh Rothwell, 2/6; Mr. and Mrs. Chandlers 5/-; G. Tooby, per F. Elder, 10/-; Anon, 2/6; W. Holdsworth, 1/6; P. Catherley, 5/-; Per E. F. Dean, 6/6; S. Pankhurst, Sale of Picture, £3. Brought forward, £62 1s. 9d. Total, £88 17s. 1d.

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 revelation 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 the 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 revolutionary outlook, and not Trade Union minorities whipped into revolutionary fervour by the Communists, 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 membership of over two and a half millions was catered for by these organisations, and that they have been compelled to form a block inside the R.T.U.I.

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 delegates] with decisive votes, there was a 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 everything 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 his 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 Andytychine, 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.T.U.I.; the end of the resolution will give the gist of the whole affair:—

"Our work and tactics in the Red Labour International must consist in constantly and energetically defending in the above indicated spirit—the basic principles of Revolutionary 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 organisation, 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. Congress, and his contention that the packing of the Congress for the adoption of desired programmes is justified; for the two documents are so similar in wording and phraseology as to be

ridiculous; the Thesis is only echoed by the R.T.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 policy of the I.W.W.; the R.T.U.I. is the Communist Party thinly disguised, and was not genuinely representative of the International Revolutionary Labour Movement.

The report is adverse to the R.T.U.I., not on anti-Communist lines so much as on lines of uniting the real revolutionary Labour organisations, 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" manifestoes.

W. J. B.

THE DYING NATIONAL WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

By Wilfred J. Braddock.

FELLOW WORKERS—

The outlook of most of the revolutionists attached to the W.C.M. is that they stand for rank and file control, and are opposed to the iron-bound discipline which many would like to 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 Editor stated it was urgent and would be brought before the N.A.C.

We in Liverpool and district, at all events, have been so engrossed in building up local committees and the strengthening thereof, that we 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, dug ourselves in and had been hammering at the local slaves and slave-owners until suddenly the 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 national administration was formed, who formed it, and what voice we had in the affair?

We found, to all intents and purposes, a N.A.C. responsible only to themselves; a secretary, president and treasurer responsible to 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 recall these individuals? Evidently not. We found we had no rules whereby we could participate in the national administration. We discovered 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 therefore he 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 him.

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 without word or warning it was cut off at the knees, without asking the opinion of the rank and file. It was costing too much, I understand, yet *Solidarity* was going for years and without losing

any fortunes. The N.A.C., I understand, were annoyed that its Editor had gone to represent them at the I.W.W. Convention without their sanction. Their president, secretary, and treasurer had sent him on this mission and had financed him without the sanction of the N.A.C.; for when the N.A.C. met, they recalled him and refused further finance to the Editor and the paper.

Have we a voice in these affairs?

Evidently instant recall is a catch-phrase for MUGS; for there is no evidence that we can recall anyone, or even call a conference. We must wait until the N.A.C. get tired and resign, or until they call a conference.

Take the case of the leaflets. We in Liverpool had three members arrested for these leaflets, and had to fight the case on our own; and because twenty or thirty men stood pat that either the three were innocent, or all were guilty, we had the case dismissed.

The officials of the movement fling money 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 outside the industrial fight.

The Editor wastes two pages in glorifying himself, his knowledge of terrorism, and incidentally attacks a young rebel, who cannot reply because 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 country that the treasurer has spent, since January (1921), £3,000, we must not discuss this, or even notice the item. Everyone knows and everyone looks mysterious, and dares not discuss it, for fear that the fact may be disclosed.

The money has been spent; but who has spent it and what it has been spent in is another matter. The money, I presume, has been given to propagate the Workers' Committee Movement, and therefore comes under the direction of the N.A.C., and, logically, under the control of the rank and file. To use a "pleb" expression, "I don't think." I suppose it would be equal to heresy in the Church to ask for a balance sheet. Such distrust of our officials! However, I am pleading with the rank and file, and I ask them to join with me in asking for such a statement. We, at least, are not a secret organisation, if the "Terrorists" are. What is the W.C.M.? Where is it? We of Liverpool are informed the N.A.C. cannot put us in touch with other Dockers' movements, and yet we find the Grimsby delegate to the Dockers' Congress is a Communist. Where is the seamen's committee outside Liverpool? If there is one, 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 money, handicaps of money system, inadequacy of gold basis, theory of money tokens, money of account, social insolvency, cycle of industrial capital, etc. A valuable study.

JUST OUT.

NEW EDITION.

COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY

KOLLONTAY'S SPLENDID PAMPHLET.

Price - 4d.

Tells what everyone wants to know about life under Communism.

Strikes a blow at Capitalist Social Conventions.
From *WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT* Office,
162, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

BY TOM ANDERSON.

The workers are "down and out"; of that there can be no question. Bread they are calling for, and there is none. They are unable to comprehend anything else—Bread. We, on our part, are keeping going to save the children from going under, and it keeps the Grown-ups from falling into the pond of despair. Some one must do it if we are to survive, and to stimulate readers of the *Dreadnought*, I am printing this letter I have received, and also another note:—

DEAR COMRADE ANDERSON—

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

"The Communist ideal has been mine for many years. I am the Chairman of the Maesteg and District Communist Movement, and I am compelled to admit that our children are completely overlooked, and they are left to 'blind chance.' This should not be; so I have decided to start a Proletarian School, and at the same time I desire to congratulate you on your splendid work on behalf of our class.

Yours fraternally,

J. MOSCOW THOMAS.

That letter comes from South Wales, and that letter contains the spirit of the fighting proletariat and, I might add, the class-conscious proletariat. Will you, my fellow-worker, go and do likewise?

The other letter comes from South Wales, from Frank Phippen, Ystrad, Rhondda.

Frank is busy educating the children, and they are busy preparing for May Day; but, strange as it may seem, we have nothing for children breathing the spirit of Communism towards our annual May Day on International Day.

Frank asks for material. He wants a dialogue of May Day and songs of May Day, and readings of May, for children. I have sent what I could do, and the following dialogue I have written for him, in the hope that it will supply the want. I write as I feel. I do not write to please. It may be that my writing at times is rather strong; but I am angry, so very angry, that I must express myself. I am so angry with it all, that I could sink the ship and go home to glory.

But to make amends we are starting a children's paper for March: it is to be called *The Young Rebel*. It will be the best children's paper in the country, and the only children's paper belonging to the working class.

Buy a copy; it is only one penny monthly. In fact, order a dozen copies.

Now read the dialogue on May Day.

DIALOGUE ON MAY DAY.

GIRL: "What is the meaning of the various Labour Groups holding the May Day demonstrations?"

BOY: "It is the harbinger of the Day of Freedom."

GIRL: "Why? Are the workers not free?"

BOY: "They think so; they are taught so; and, in their child-like simplicity, they believe it."

GIRL: "But can they not do as they choose?"

BOY: "Yes, if it does not hurt the powers that be; if it does, they go to prison, or are shot."

GIRL: "Then the workers must be slaves."

BOY: "You have struck it."

GIRL: "How long have they held their May Day?"

BOY: "This will be the thirty-third year."

GIRL: "And they are still where they started?"

BOY: "There is not much difference."

GIRL: "How is that?"

BOY: "There are many reasons; but the chief one is that they are under the domination of the master class, the Church and State, and every social activity above them."

GIRL: "Is there no hope?"

BOY: "Meantime there is none. They are 'down and out' at present."

GIRL: "Then what must we do?"

BOY: "We can only keep going on, in the 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.

In our recent references to the Paris Unity Front Conference, we stated in error that the French Communists had announced their refusal to participate, but had not been actually invited. As 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 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 International is such that no Centrist Socialist like Longuet need fear it. Therefore, from his point of view, unity is worth discussion.

The *Communist* (the organ of the Right-Wing-Parliamentary-Communists of Britain), on February 4th, sententiously chided the French Communists for declining the invitation to the Paris Unity Front Conference. On February 11th the *Communist* exhibited a complete change of front. In the course of a very flippant leader devoted to this question, it said: "Saying: 'My God and my Grandfather; we must have unity,' Jean leapt to the telephone and called a conference to meet in Paris (the cradle of revolutions!) to establish a unity of the World Proletariat."

"By the time the actual invitations were sent out, the list of the Parties of the world's workers had suffered sundry politic expurgations."

"First, the British Labour Party had said that never would they work with the Communists. . . . Therefore the Communist Party of Great Britain were scratched off the list."

"And the Belgian Communists?—there are no passport difficulties to stop them! Better not invite them. But the German 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 Communists—they cannot come—and the French—ah! those serious ones will not come! We 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 Jean Longuet!"

In spite of this elaborate explanation, a much 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 them.

Be that as it may; it is obvious that Jean Longuet and the other promoters 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 "Soma."

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 sometimes with only bread; at other times without any food.

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 except what is absolutely necessary.

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 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.

The rumours of a General Election have something to do with this; for a leader must show that he is a leader at times when our votes are wanted.

As for the unemployed, they are in a worse plight still. These retired industrial soldiers 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 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 to organise the unemployed, are now endeavouring to take them under their wing.

Robert—that nice British worker (or should I say "gentleman") in blue clothes with brass buttons—is rarely missing from the unemployed meetings, with his notebook, in order, no doubt, to record any cases of extreme necessity that may be mentioned, so that the best of all Governments, under the best of all systems in a land fit only for heroes to live in, may see to it that none of the children of Gwalia Wen may be without food or shelter while there is plenty in the "Land of our Fathers."

These are some of the conditions of the men who were once upon a time the "Aristocrats of Labour."

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 convinced.

The Welsh people are in the habit of attending meetings, in order to enjoy themselves, 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 declares that if the members of his Union decide that he shall not be, at the same time, one of the King's Privy Councillors, and an official of the National Union of Railwaymen, he will resign the position given to him by the workers, in order to retain the position given to him by the King.

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

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

Read the oath he was forced to take when he 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 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."

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 pledged 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 authority and that of his Government, and he has sworn to maintain the Honour and Dignity 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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