The Choice of J. H. Thomas.

Workers' E Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25th, 1922.

[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

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

S. O. S.

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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 Com-

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 'heir 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.

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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MEN AND STEEL.

Mary Heaton Vorse has written a vivid book the steel factories, the steel towns, the workers and their families, as they appear to the eye: and their families, as they appear to the eye; one sees them so 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, nother 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. selves. They grind the raw products of this

country into weaten, account we have had pearly
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

een 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

The yards of the mills are surrounded by Engines puff up and down, the four hours. Mountains of ore, twenty-four hours. Mountains of ore, mountains of coke, trains unloading, scrap engines unloading ore and coke, trains carry-ing off steel bars. Magnets everywhere loading and unloading steel ingots into Men moving in unburried fashion. No one moves rapidly; everyone has time. There

one mover applify; everyone has time. There is a necreenful guilty in all this lives of their workers more letterally of the "The site, the leasure, the internal of the lives of their workers more letterally. Because as high as the large of a site between the lives of the great site of substitution of the lives of the large of a site between the lives of the lives of

"Three things impress you when you go into the milts: 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 had given in civilisation. Here before your eyes, you can

The steel workers, as a whole, were but resee it being made from fire and iron, with the
cently organised. The Amsigamated Associa-

Later you say: 'Oh, men are helping, too! This is an after-thought." 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, bewell-known agitator, who was active in the jeved the machines were alive, and owned him strike

ners 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 s

Fifty per cent, of the U.S. Steel Corpora-

12 hours a day, and 50 per cent, of these work "The men, going to work, walk with their beads down. They lurch as if heavy with

They live in two-storey brick houses ome in blackened frame dwellings. One set 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 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 be squashy filth and made playthings of ancient rubbish. Beyond was the railroad track; be yond the mills . . . no green thing any-

Slack covers everything. It sifts in lives six miles from Braddock. Every night she sweeps her pinzza: every morning you walk across it you leave footprints in the s'ack 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 amshackle homes; hard work, never-ceas 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,

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 Home-stead. 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 in-augurated "Welfare" schemes to make the

power deel, reduce steel less. Through the or simply, sold as excellaging, while make the boson, links their formation, and willow with a normalized make a secondigity, while the maked the horson, links their formation, and will make the make a secondigity of the second the maked the horson, links their formation, and will make the make a secondigity of the second the maked the less of the second to the second the second to the second the seco

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

great machines. That is what you tion of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, a craft.

Union of long standing, in the fifth week of the Union of long standing, in the fifth week of the strike, declared that it must keep its cop-tracts 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

There is a description of Mother Jones, 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

want my boys to get a chance to read ours light. His wife said

go through seam and we can't go through; eggs, poultry and vegetables to the ville anything so had as we've been through; one Authority would strive to intereste. Mexern my oblest girl was a baby, and before my big boy you saw going to school was born, all; the human instinct to escape privations. father was on strike in the mines . . . father us on to make these things be, to a got thirdeen months for pheketing. We had got all our furniture paid for except fourteen prevent it. . . . dollars. After they took father away, I The workers are all-powerful: the strike of the stri couldn't pay any more. They took away when they will,

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

" I sat on the floor of my empty house

my baby in my arms and thought of baby that was to come; and I though matter, I'm a strong young worm thought, " never mind what they di father was right to strike like he did father was right to serice like he del, I was going to fight shoulder to alongside of him. I know we got because it's right we should win." A Bohemian steel worker said:

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

And again a woman :-"Would I live here if I could get i over the court, under 'the door-sill makes a pool on my kitchen floor' t. makes a pool on my kittenen moor? Is to view for children to look at year after year after year. To keep them clean, I wash out in the yard. Look, missus, t

they can have a dev place to play * " Men and Steel," by Mary Heaton The Labour Publishing Company, 3s, 6d.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEN

distrust of others repelled it. At the same their self-interest and common sense we anxieties. Still more sharply do the advi of Communism stand forth for the employed by the farmers.

shops; the majority were doing domestic

than 4 per cent.). There were no demo-tions for them; no marches to Boar Guardians. Few had Poor Law aid. Association. Relatives still working lent a

bred unemployed would have no diffic sheep, pigs and poultry, might be raiset save that the landlords and capitalists, wit people might cease to be parasites and the comfort of the village. Workers in

By DIRECT ACTION the workers m

Suppose the miners should decide to gi wife said :— work on the land suppose the unemployed What you've been through before we can begin to work some of the idle land and

fother us on to make these things be, to apply

The workers are all-powerful: they

ROM CLASS WAR PRISONERS. In Prison Cells.

Coursey 25, 1922.

Box 7. Leavenworth, Kansas.

relcome letter received : I take pleasure few lines in return. I could fill ith reports of strikes, coming strikes the Conner Mines with an initial emarks to another matter which I

oubtless aware that Debs and about others were extended elemency and hristmas Day; six of the number s five of them sentenced from e condition of agreeing to an

anything will be done for the nderstand that the agitation for our be carried on with renewed vigour. still over 100 men in prison through with sentences of ten and twenty

derstand the I.W.W. defence secretary ed to the European Labour bodies to if us who should be deported back to is. To be frank, I look with disfavour tion, because I think that if there is obligation to help us to get back into the I.W.W. organisation should attend

also heard that Lansbury, Williams, personally, I would suggest that they

time and energy in giving publicity goous sentences of twenty years that Britishers like Scarlett, Brazier and and the ten year sentence of Lorton,
and of asking the British Labour orto donate on our behalf, ask every dy, and that would include parent tral councils, branches, I.I.P, bodies, anches, etc., to write to President of Secretary Daugherty asking for the

that kind would be of considerable Amnesty Movement here and would at moral effect upon the American ovement. Pitiless Publicity is the that can be given to our case, and ere agreed upon.I would also suggest of each message be sent to the New or the Civil Liberties Union, to be

Amnesty campaign oce will expire in May or June and will deport me as quickly as poswas arrested, and with the slight eight days out on bail, I have been in custody. Quite Qa stretch for

For Industrial Solidarity, JOSEPH CATES (Regd. Joil No. 18172)

Illegal. Field writes from a prison cell in Fort

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 Kanasa have been on atrike ever aince it was enacted. Alexander Howat and others are now serving time for refusing to recognise the Law and the

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

The Sourceme Court has declared nicketing 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 re-canting their principles. Charlie Ashleigh was one of these, and lie is to be denorted.

one or trees, and up is to be deported.

"The Daily Heroid, 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 Herold 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 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

" 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 Interna-tional, but the R.I.L.U. will not be that if it is munists, are pushing it: they are just a band
I looked through the depressing columns
of disrupters and ex-Socialist Party politicians.

Bill Heywood left this country an 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:

manded ft.
who are doing all in their power to hamper the
fraternal greetings to all British
economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

But "have no fear of England's future, you

Amnesty Imposture! Making Strikes Finnish Government is secretly giving to the

"On January 15th a demonstration of more "Only writes from a prison cell in Fort "On January 15th a demonstration of more than 5,000 met in Helsingfor, a lut was broken than 5,000 met in Helsingfor, but was broken than 5,000 met in Helsingfor, but was broken. To mainten, secretary of the Socialt Labour For Embroidery Party, and a member of the City Congel were SOUTET ARN to breathe unless one has a special per-asome 'Pooh Bah!'

aveated. In other towns also, the police broke up the meetings.

PROGRESS.

The other day the meat came in a copy of the Daily Express, dated August 15, 1921. It con-tained an article called "An Optimist Returns to England," by one, J. W. T. Mason, the No 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. so inagical an improvement in so short a time. The changes are supendous—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.

employed? 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 Buliness. Mrs Meude 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 Rant Name an's Real Name; (4) Struggle in Bar. Girl Victim of Alleged

Robbery with Violence;
(5) Mormons Chased. Hunted by Crowd of 500 at Plumonth -(7) A War Legacy, Debasement of the

Standard of Honesty (8) Superintendent Shot. Tragic Discovery

(9) Starving Irish Islanders, Children who

(10) Mother's Tragic Discovery. Suicide of Girl in Norfolk; (11) " I Have Taken Poison." Suicide of Unloved Girl.

No Starcation 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 Sirationa; (16) And at Bayawater, W.; (17) Timplate Mills Close; (18) Reckless Waste of the Government; (19) Teachers Ready to Fight;

(20) A Milk Boucatt

Here, as Cobbett used to say to the Progressives of his equally happy period, are "vast

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 meason, control and cannot attore a mighty Copper Trust; but I have "As it borders on Soviet Russia, Finland is ear afford to pay interest on the money-lenders to make, and would do it again if full of counter-revolutionaries of all nationalities, War Bonds, but cannot afford adequate doles to

"Although the peace signed at Dorpat still pessimists! The turning-point has been reached.

exists officially, White Guard butcher-hands are England is on the way to new ideals of greatness. Journ Carris (Red, Jail No. 18179)

all working class appear please copy, to timed content inteleprated as a resistance of the content of the

S HUGH SIMCOR The Borough Cottage, Thaxted.

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J. VIII. No. 50. Saturday, Feb. 25, 1922

THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM We are eager to see the practice of Commun-sem, 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 imworld of Capitalism is all around them, They 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, State. Was it not necessed, any 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 en-It is argued, moreover, that the expensions en-vironment 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

ch objections provide no deterrent to the awlent 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. operation with British Capitalism, and the

similar movements in Egypt and Indis, sre ex amples of the rapidity with which such move

It is not necessary that we should all immedi 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

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 by way of showing that there is another and

The workers have the power to seize the means of production, because they are the producers, In the Communist movement to-day are men able directions we might serve each other and work together, without the use of money, which wakes our labour that of the wage-slave, and

akes 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 civili 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 to save coal, and to avoid having the kitchen

bot 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 trilling expenditrue, to arrange matters so that several houses might have hot water provided from one firethe cost of the fire and the adjustments could 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 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 one oven. We can even have a check meter selv the extra consumption of ear. 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 themseless 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 iverse capabilities in various parts of the country

of the workers to break down the capitalist system, with its harsh and pittless competition. The capitalist system to-day condemns two millions of our producers, in this country alone, to idleness. It condemns them to remain halfstarved parasites, whilst the bulk of the popula-tion is lacking the commodities these idle ones are in the habit of producing, the services they

Communist Pilgrims.

umerab'e pioneers, who did the early spade work of the international proletarian move 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 eco-nomic 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. to town preaching the cause of brotherhood. Sometimes they had farmshed 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, their propagands from the authorities.

their propagands from the authorities. By such methods the pinness were able to come into more intimate touch with the people, than by merely holding public meetings. More-ceer, meetings are often prevented by the thorities and may be again in this country, as 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 ed, or forced to fice from persecution, the village mourned him.

Men and women, in Russis even boys and fore they could not place confidence in the girls, became such pilgrims. Marie Suklov, a reduction expedient. They saw that Russian worker, tells that, when only fourteen purchasing power of the people has fallen

see might speak to them or 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 forth as pilgrims, giving freely of their service and their Communist message, sure that the devotion of commods will provide, without pay meaning the commod of the commo overheated in summer, it is a frequent custom devotion of comrades will provi only to light up a big fire in the stove, to get ment, for their essential needs.

SHEFFIELD UNEMPLOYED MI TOOK A HALL

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

ended remain unknown, The Communist pilgrims who may star ledge, cements his work. Moreover the

freely given; the pilgrim's life, all trustf to-morrow and the goodwill of his kindwhole-hearted attempt to practice; these con

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

The Deadlack

It was one of a chain of mining villages, meeting was crowded; people througed gangways and clustered about the platfor more of them were turned away than could a admittance. There had never been an meeting, they said, not even in the strike, people had flocked there to know if the speould 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 si of commodities unstintingly to the people out payment, as fast as they can use ther

After the meeting, three farmers came to ouse where the speaker was a guest, to dis the matter further. They were cautio desiring further enlightenment before for a judgment. They were appalled by burden of taxation weighing upon the propopulace; the burden of officialdom, the of the unemployed. Working in the his dustry, agriculture, they had a clear rea of the fact that when fifteen per cent, are non-producers the hurden of the must be a heavy one. They believed that being for the community must be impo under such conditions. They had no sh rom work; they were accustomed fram dawn till dark and in addition anything that could be, and must be do were a matter of course to them. Neve they recognised the burden and poverty must result when only a minority

by the fact that, whilst the number of prois reduced ,and the need for production creased, yet want and enforced idleness and apparently impassable barriers preverservices of the would-be producers from rethe would-be consumer. They would he to think that a reduction of wages wo the case (for they were employers as workers); but they remembered prices a more than 80 per cent above the pre-war and they saw that to reduce wages not bring the exchange value of British down to that of most European countries.

titinge at night, tapped on the windows of au. They were damayed by the glackness of it known people, begging them to let her in, that and their own borneon of standom. They we she might speak to them of freedom, eager for the cuttine. They were allured by the prospect of C

munism's general plenty; its freedout harrassing financial worries. Yet Committee seemed too good to be possible. They

(continued on page 2, column 5.)

V. Letiary 25, 1922.

at from before the war, your valuable paper on up an uncompromising and determined the working class, and particularly the work worker. You have used the columns yed worker. Too save used the consums Dreadnought for showing that the un-d are the greatest lever possessed by italist class for keeping down the wages I wonder what you and your readers k of the following report :

he last six months the Sheffield Unemmittee has been discussing the getting

for the unemployed, ebruary 7th, six individuals, three of sloyed and three fairly secured, their heads to move unofficially to hall at once, and, without informing Unemployed Committee, or the any other authority, they organised , obtained the keys of the hall by a bloff and marched the men into the urs after their decision

and 24 ft. high; a large Committee furniture and other useful material, Unemployed sent six delegates to the e Unemployed sent as a delegates to the tiles, stating that they were going to keep all until they found them another. Whilst legation 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 to the hall and addressed the unem The Committeemen moved a vote of on the unofficial individuals who had though they did not know of whom the al committee consisted. Then the official cinting out that the police would be ting us out. A dozen police had by the come upon the scene. They were not way interfering with the meeting. On trary, they were listening to the speeches using the matter as though the unemad bought the building

know, comrades and fellow-readers. me Unemployed Committee officials who is. They are supposed to be Red-hot naries, and I believe every one of as been to prison. They have, however, ny direct action Every one of them is ork and does not know where the next oming from ; yet they are afraid of any ades it is about time that different tactics

I should like to have the oninion our readers on this matter. Yours fraternally

A. CARFORD.

CONSUMPTION AND UNDERFEEDING.

iks to the work of Professor Honkins any others there remains now no excuse dietary which may be found to be deessential qualities. Indeed, the great deficient diet has been emphasised again in these past few years. has been added to experiment, and we perceive that incorrect feeding is one invironmental factors which definitely its to disease. No more striking proof susceptibility of rats and mice to tuber when they have been fed for a period clacking the so-called "fat solvable Hasking the so-called "fat solvable".

E. Normally these animals are exceed-resistant to this disease. But after decision of the vitamine, they become exceed-susceptible. There can be no reasonable that phenomeno of the same sort are to the within the case of the human being." on food supplies by all the people. No.

KICKED OUT OF HEAVEN.

wit-snapper, was trying to make sport of all its windy, helpless increness
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 themselves in a wonderful garden, fun or trees and shrubs bearing the most luscious fruits. There was sparkling wine flowing from the water-faucets, and there were glimpees of beautiful angels, clottled only in sunlight. So they had shut their eyes continually, lest they should chold unlawful beauty. Therefore they kept their eyes mostly to the ground and were look-ing for the signs to warn them off the grass, and ing for the signs town them off the girst, and the "No Treasgin" piscards, but they did not find any of these, nor could they discover term of the signs of these, nor could they discover term of the signs of the s looked around for the armed guards and the policemen; but they did not see any, though sey 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 every-where, 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. steams or taxing anything that was not thers. 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 and nungrier. They had no money and, to their consternation, found there were not even pockets 25th, 1879, R. M. Pankhurst L.L.D., in the breavily robes. Never before had they crealised how poor in the hand of plenty is a man without money. As they make the property of without money. As they grew faint, they dragged themselves back to the Gates of Paraand asked Saint Peter to let them out again

as they were starving.

"Starving in Heaven!" said Saint Poter 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 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 nd, I attended six semesters in the law cor of the famous University at Ogacich, on Lake Nagichim. That is what they teach there; not in plain English—lest the proletariat become reatless-but in pidgin Latin, and learned

-From "Humbug Land," by Neander P. Cook. £2;

SPICE.

"Whenever it is desired to put anybody forward to administer soothing syrup in large quantities to the British public, Mr. (Tynes or Mr. Henderson modestly advances into the lime-light, and I shall not offend any Liberal friend

.....

it is taken from a leading article in The Times, on the delays of the sons of the well-to-do, who add, across the floor of the House of commons, attend the Palble Schoods, which are supposed to supply the hall-mark of the Gentleman, at the moment. In truth, the Labour Party, and the supposed to supply the hall-mark of the Gentleman, all how growing are supposed to the proposed to supply the hall-mark of the Gentleman. Minister's continuance in power, or to the life of the present Coalition Ministry. The Labour Party was not an oppopent : it did not enjoy the We used to think that Kram Nawt, our great punching-ball, to be walloped, or left to hang in

_Lown I by sympose of Rathest-

HISTORY REPEATING STREET, Fraternity on the scaffold, Equality in the grave,

-V. SARDOU " 9TH OF THERMIDOR " Ananias, the politician's patron saint.

Charity, the remorse of robber Emigration, a quack medicine prescribed for the cure of discontent,

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

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

Political platform, a lot of planks covered with trencle 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 fol-owing 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, Man-chester, January 27th, 1869, and recited at 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 And that is the right to be free

A home in my native ide 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

(A Breaker on our Processory by Groses 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 the propagandists affached to the R.T.U.I. More mists, 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 bership of over two and a half millions was

Williams come to be much dissatisfied with the grouping and credentials of the delegates, and discusses at great length the American

delegates) with decisive votes, there was a small army of fraternal delegates, who were credentialled by the New York City Red Labour Bareau, most of whom were delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist In-ternational, which was then in session, and they served as convenient stuffing for the earthing that is known and unknown in the

He points out that Dixon, representing the United Labour Council of New York City where the offices of this body were, or who were its officials, and, moreover, could not produce its officials, and, moreover, could not produce credentials from that organisation. His credentials for this organisation, for the Kansas Miners, for the Kansas Caty 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 motion that revolutionary Labour Unions exist in Korea or Palestine, and the audacity of sax in Korea to Lesson and the constraint in a for-seing deligated from these constraint in a for-seing deligated from these constraints in a for-se seeing deligated from the constraints of the constr

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 International must consist in constantly and energetically defending in the above indicated spirit—the basic principles of Revolutep, every attempt to perrert there

The resolution was signed by fourteen definite

Williams further gives two documents in control. Ye Gods control of the rank and file! quallel form: one, the programme of action Very few, if any, N.A.C. deliberations have from the Theses and Statutes, of the Third In-reached this port; all we see is leaflets now and ternational, and the other, the programme of action from the decisions of the R.T.U.I. so similar in wording and phraseology as to be Solidarity was going for years and without losing

relaxions; the Thesis at only colored by the report in a decument by the OLEB, of the LVW, which adopt the temperature to be used to the second to be used to be used

on anti-Communist lines so much as on lines of MilGS; for there is no evidence that we can unting the real revolutionary Labour organisations - and against Communist Party power

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

W. J. B.

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

FELLOW WORKERS-

The outlook of most of the revolutionists in addition to the above [five American attached to the W.C.M. is that bey stand for gates] with decisive votes, there was a rank and file control, and are opposed to the

A letter was submitted to the then official 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 E Tor-stated it was urgent and would be brought be-fore the N.A.C.

We in Liverpool and district at all events miffeces and the strengthening thereof, that we uniforces and the strengthening thereof, that we move an energy are a thought to the national movement, and that we were a component part and had. The money has been spent; but wha has spenditude to attend to so such. We had, as it were, it and what it has been spent in it and the state of out slaves and dare-owners until suddenly me to propagate and the state of the stat began to discuss the national movement, how it the rank and file. To was constituted, how controlled, how our na-

pondence, and round use NATAC, has circumstance from industries, and there it ended.

Did we have rank and file control? Could we recall these individuals? Evidently not We makes one stop to times, who was not recall these individuals? Evidently not We considertialled and not a delegate, but a political found we had no rules whereby we could partit refugee from America, was selected as a member of the E.C. of the R.T.U.I.

refugee from America, was selected as a member of the E.C. of the R.T.U.I.

refugee from America, was selected as a member of the E.C. of the R.T.U.I. er of the E.C. of the R.T.U.I.

Certain it is that the resolution which was district who should be attached to the district that the resolution which was district who should be attached to the district minority conference, gives size constantly and the who had not been seen as all as the end of the real-ution will reverse the work of the whole affair: which will reverse seen. We were kindly informed that he had the seen as the size of the seen as the size of the

> Further, it was discovered that he had re-Further, it was discovered that he had resigned, and the remaining NA.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 Godel control of the rank and filel Very few, if any, N.A.C, deliberations have

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 programmer is justified; for the observable of the contents are in the content of the conten

until they call a conference Take the case of the leaflets. We in Liveron had three members arrested for these leafe and had to fight the case on our own; and h

The officials of the movement fling me about and end in having to go to jail with a £10 fine. We never heard any solicitations as to ho we paid our share in these leaflet cases,

Take also the case of the Worker and its There is evidently so much slackness about

the industrial fight, and conditions are so goo that the Editor cannot find any industrial matte and can afford to waste pages on copy only the industrial fight,

The Editor wastes two pages in glorifyir imself, his knowledge of terrorism, and incentally attacks a young rebel, who cannot real cause be is in iail.

And now let us come to the finance, and the must be dealt with carefully; for although the Capitalist Press has blazoned throughout the January (1921), £3,000, we must not discu this, or even notice the item. Everyone know and everyone looks mysterious, and dares n discuss it, for fear that the fact may disclosed.

The money has been spent; but who has special ment, and therefore comes under the direction began to distinct the measurements. Due our measurements of the me gress is a Communist. Where is the sean committee outside Liverpool? If there is it is pigeon-holed in 8 Victoria Buildings

CAPITAL TO-DAY. By HERMAN CAHN. 10s.

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Strikes a blow at Capitalist Social Conventions. From WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT Office,

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. By TOM ANDERSON

Pehruary 25, 1922.

orkers are "down and out"; of that in he no question. Bread they are se, and there is none. They are unable chend anything else—Bread, We, on are keeping going to save the children of the Dreadnought, I am printing
I have received, and also another

COMBADE ANDERSON

The Communist ideal has been mine for g and District Communist Movement, letely overlooked, and 'hey are left same time I desire to congratulate you collected work on behalf of our class.

hat letter comes from South Wales, and that Will you, my fellow-worker, go and

other letter comes from South Wales, ink Phippen, Yatrad, Rhondda. s busy educating the children, and busy preparing for May Day; but, it may seem, we have nothing for reathing the spirit of Communism toannual May Day on International

asks for malerial. He wants assas for material. He wants a of May Day and songs of May Day, and of May, for children. I have sent ould do, and the following dialogue I ten for him, in the hope that it wil want. I write as I feel. I do not

make amends we are starting a paper for March: if is to be called g Rebel. It will be the best children's the country, and the only children's ropy: it is only one nenny monthly

ad the dialogue on May Day DIALOGUE ON MAY DAY. "What is the meaning of the various froups holding the May Day demonstra-

It is the harbinger of the Day of Why? Are the workers not free? think so; they are taught so

heir child-like simplicity, they believe But can they not do as they

Yes, if it does not burt the powers if it does, they go to prison, or are

Then the workers must be slaves."
You 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?" "How is that?"
"There are many reasons; but the is that they are under the domination assier class, the Church and State, and call activity above them."
"Is there no bope?"
"Meantime there is none. They are and out? at present."
"Then what must we do?"

Boy: "We can only keep going on, in the Men have been sacked for asking that their

FRENCH COMMUNISTS AND THE UNITED FRONT.

UNITED PROVI.

In our recent references to the Paris Unity to the recessary, front Conference, we stated in error that the French Community had amounted their refusal mate are well partonical clother stalls at the two partonic parts, but had not been actually invited. The second-band clother stalls at the two participant, but had not been actually invited. The present community to the part of the part time in meeding boots fee to a participant of the part time in meeding boots fee to a participant of the participant of t so participate, out mad not been actually invited.

As a matter of fact, the French Communist the family, using all the old olds and ends of Party was invited: the reason being that the leather they can find, such as leather belts etc., Communist Party possesses the greater part of the membership of the former French Socialist this cold weather, go about in smalls, because

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; must have unity,' Jean leapt to the tele-

that never would they work with the Com-munists. . . . Therefore the Communist

Command Party (whose Government will use now expensions. Here, often the short wave let them come, because they want to come be drawn offension seen to have no cased observed the must be invited—at will look of we will so fartered. And the Italian Commander to throw a web hands to ever any effects will be seen to come of them who, in the past, were more so well, so fartered. And the Italian Commander to throw a web hands to ever any effects with a fine them to be required to the sound of those through the commander the members of the sound of these with the commander of the sound of the commander of the sound of the commander of the sound of the commander of th

Jean Languar III and the side of the collection of the side of the noved, and occause the hanson ranky in arrivant pients in the same to do ranker and Socialist Party in Belgium were not willing that they should be invited. As for German who were once upon a time the "Aristocrats of

Be that as it may; it is obvious that Jean

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 some-times with only bread; at other times without

money be made up to the legal minimum wage.

The workers try to make both ends meet by

Gin.; "Then I will do so."

The workers by to make both ends meet by Boy; "Ghe me your hand, Comrade, and let buying in the deshapent slope, and very often us repeat our Profession text together, "Ours lose in weight what they gain in price, is the world despite all," "The miner's wife can no sloper go straight to the miner's wife can no sloper go straight to the miner's wife can no 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 abso-

this cold weather, go about in sandals, because their parents have not the means to pay for

These are some of the conditions which the to-day, outside of the mine, during their

Longuet need fear it. Therefore, from his point of view, unity is worth discussion.

The Communist (the organ of the Rightsion. 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.

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 erv of "More Production"

"Swing?" 30; Ood alin' in Oranitalber; imidated the boss ery of "More Production," specially family. Jean legal to the telescent because and called set evolutions? 10 cealablin a unit of the Wridt Production; ... "By the time the actual invilations were not, the last of the Parties of the world Production."

"By the time the actual invilations were not only, the last of the Parties of the world Production."

"By the time the actual invilations were not only the last of the Parties of the world?"

"By a last of the Parties of the world?"

"By a lasker at times the world world with the last in a lasker at times the whom or voles are the production."

As for one unsuper the British Labour Party had said plight still. There retired industrial zeduces.

First, the British Labour Party had said plight still. There retired industrial zeduces, at an energy model they work with the Community what the Government gives them; but they, in the contraction of the community what the Government gives them; but they in the contraction of the contracti numais. Tiesefee the Communist what the Government gave them; but they, no but yet of crust Breish were westeded out the addition, connecting set at title more from their large of the set of the set

Social Democrats, we fancy they could laive Labour," managed to reach the conference, or to get it postpaned till their arrival, had they desired, and how long will they endure these conditions, will prevail, its transference which do not interest placing up at conferences which do not interest placing the Labour Party in power, I am con-

Be that as it may; it is obvious that Jean
Longont and the other promotors of the Paris
control, in order to enjoy between the proposition of the Paris
control, in order to enjoy between, and there
Conference put numbers before principles when to forget all about them. Before they can
they drew up the drivatation last. The Cons.
—happed these had times into times of poses and
plenty, they will have to realize the truth of
hat to criticise them for that.

DREADNOUGHT "AT HOMES," Sundays at 4 to 7 p.m.

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Anureston Fore

BOVIETS OR PARLIAMENT (Buhharin)

THE CHOICE OF J. H. THOMAS. THE KING OR THE WORKERS?

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-

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

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 Oath.

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 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 Councils 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 Authorties, 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."

erve, fellow-worker, that Thomas is compelled by that oath to confide to the Ki

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

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 to of the Crown. 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.

The Searchlight.

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