

Resolutions of United Front Conference

Workers' Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 5.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15TH. 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE LLOYD GEORGE WAY IS THE CAPITALIST WAY.

It was in the height of the White invasion of Soviet Russia, in the early days of the Soviet Revolution, when Communist fervour ran high. The press had reported that Petrograd was about to fall to the White invaders.

As I rode home in the 'bus to the East End I saw groups of people clustered under the lamp posts, reading the evening papers.

The fear sprang to my mind: "Petrograd has fallen." The thought was so sharply painful that I shrank from confirming my fears by questioning anyone or buying an evening paper for myself. Yet, reaching home, I could not rest in suspense, and set forth again to ascertain the news. When I returned to the Roman Road the crowds under the lamp posts had disappeared, the shops were shut. Under a lamp post I found lying the *Evening News*. The stop press news was printed in large blue letters:—

"BECKET BEAT McCORMICK."

Petrograd had not fallen.

I had forgotten that the great mass of workers were still unaware of the overwhelming importance to them of the workers' Revolution.

Petrograd did not fall then, nor has it since been taken by force of arms. Yet the Red Petrograd of those hopeful days has been vanquished. By capitalist pressure, by threats and intrigues the Workers' Republic has been taken for Capitalism. Every bulletin issued by the Russian Government; every speech made by its representatives confirms this tragic fact.

Is Petrograd to Provide a British Naval Base?

A startling statement is repeated by *The Times*, which appeared in the *Paris Excelsior*. The special correspondent of this paper as 'ed Trotsky:—

"Are not your relations with England excellent?"

"Have you not in your dossiers an English proposal asking, against certain conditions, for the extra-territorialisation of a considerable zone of the port of Petrograd, which zone would eventually become a British base?"

"What!" exclaimed Trotsky, not a whit disconcerted, "you know that? It is true, as a matter of fact, that the Soviets are studying this question, which might become an interesting one for England and Russia. No reply has yet been made."

Whether the conversation reported by the *Excelsior* is, or is not literally authentic, it is certain that the proposal it touches upon is in harmony with many that are being intrigued for by the Capitalist Powers to-day. China is groaning under just such burdens as this which Trotsky is supposed to have said is being considered for Petrograd at the present time.

To grant extra territorial rights to subjects of a foreign Power means to place those persons above the law of the country in which they are residing, and in practice gives them tremendous opportunities of unpunished aggression against the natives of the country. Even the good-natured capitalist politician expresses pity for the Chinese because the Western Powers possess extra territorial rights in China, and China is endeavouring to free herself from this intolerable oppression. Will the Russian Soviet Government voluntarily accept extra-territoriality for Russia, in return for some elusive promises of trade, trade credits, or famine relief?

Has the Soviet Government already admitted extra-territoriality in the zones which it has leased to the capitalists?



Whilst Farmers and Dealers are Contending for Profits, the Children are Lacking Milk.

Lloyd George, in moving the Commons resolution approving his Government's Genoa policy, on April 3rd, again made clear the conditions under which the Russian Government's delegates are invited to Genoa. These entail the complete restoration of the old rights of private property, restoration of the property of other nationals which was confiscated during the revolution, and compensation for disturbance. All the mines and factories and other enterprises into which Russian and French capital was poured, are to return to the old shareholders, with compensation.

"Impartial tribunals are to be set up for this purpose" and these tribunals must not be

"creatures of the Executive." That really means that they must not be workers' tribunals or Communist tribunals, but tribunals of persons who are devoted to Capitalism; persons, too, of whom the capitalist governments approve.

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The Russian Government is to undertake not to attack its neighbours, and to place itself under the control of the League of Nations; but the League of Nations will not take the responsibility of defending Russia, should her frontiers be attacked. That, at least, is what Lloyd George's words appear to mean, and no doubt that is the literal intention. Such attacks as that of Poland upon Soviet Russia may therefore be made whenever the capitalist Powers desire it, without any intervention by the League of Nations.

Furthermore, propaganda by the Soviet Government in other countries must cease. Lloyd George complains that it has not ceased as completely as he considers it should.

That Lloyd George was not merely talking at random, is shown by the following extracts from the resolution adopted by the Supreme Council at the Cannes Conference, as the basis of the Genoa Conference:—

"2.—Before however, foreign capital can be made available to assist a country, foreign investors must be assured that their property and their rights will be respected and the fruits of their enterprise secured to them.

"3.—The sense of security cannot be re-established unless the Governments of countries desiring foreign credit freely undertake—

(a) That they will recognise all public debts and obligations which have been or may be undertaken or guaranteed by the State, by municipalities, or by other public bodies, as well as the obligation to restore or compensate all foreign interests for loss or damage caused to them when property has been confiscated or withheld.

(b) That they will establish a legal and juridical system which sanctions and enforces commercial and other contracts with impartiality.

"4.—An adequate means of exchange must be available, and, generally, there must be financial and currency conditions which offer sufficient security for trade.

"5.—All nations should undertake to refrain from propaganda subversive of order and the established political system in other countries than their own.

"If in order to secure the conditions necessary for the development of trade in Russia the Russian Government demands official recognition, the Allied Powers will be prepared to accord such recognition only if the Russian Government accepts the foregoing stipulations."

It is highly important to observe that the following outline agenda was approved by the Supreme Council:—

"1.—Examination of the methods of putting into practice the principles contained in the resolution reached at Cannes on January 6th, 1922.

"2.—The establishment of European peace on a firm basis.

"3.—Essential conditions for re-establishment of confidence without injury to existing treaties.

"4.—Financial subjects.

(a) Currencies.

(b) Central banks and banks of issue.

(c) Public finance in relation to reconstruction.

(d) Exchanges.

(e) Organisation of public and private credit.

"5.—Economic and commercial subjects.

(a) Facilities and guarantees for the import and export of commercial products.

(b) Legal guarantees for the re-establishment of commerce.

(c) Protection of industrial property and copyrights.

(d) Status of consuls.

(e) Admission and position of foreigners in regard to the conduct of business.

(f) Technical assistance to industrial reconstruction.

"6.—Transport.

Observe that all the main branches of the internal economic administration of a country are to be discussed by the Genoa Conference. It will not be the administration, however, of Britain, France, America, Japan, the dominant strong capitalist Powers, that will be discussed, but the

administration of Russia mainly, and, to a certain extent, also that of Germany, Austria and some other weaker nations. Russia will be the main victim of the Genoa vivisection. The representatives of the Soviet Government go as bond-slaves to assist in the slaughter of what remains of the Communist Revolution.

The world has never seen a grimmer tragedy.

In return for some shadowy promises of trade credits and famine relief, the Russian Government is now fastening upon the unfortunate workers of Russia, obligations to provide for the foreign investors infinitely greater wealth than anything that may be tardily given or lent.

The hopes of 1917 have fallen low indeed!

Lloyd George exults over this gigantic capitalist victory: what are the paltry by-elections beside this tremendous thing? In the Commons debate of April 3rd, he declared that Lenin had admitted the failure of Communism. "Never," he said, "had there been such a condemnation of the doctrines of Karl Marx. He quoted Lenin as saying:—

"If Capitalism is going to win and grow, so will industrial production, and with it the proletariat. Inasmuch as the large capitalist industry has been ruined and works and factories have stopped, so has the proletariat disappeared."

Deliberately or not, Lloyd George misrepresented Lenin, who was undoubtedly arguing, as on other occasions, that through the growth of Capitalism in Russia would be developed an industrial proletariat which would establish Communism.

Lloyd George, as Lenin has observed, is a realist; he is, moreover, a lawyer, and familiar with the doctrine that possession is nine points of the law. Let Capitalism, and above all British dividend-hunters and exploiters, get themselves firmly established in Russia, and they will endeavour to make their position secure, whatever Lenin may say in his speeches.

The intentions of the capitalist Powers in regard to Russia's army are not hidden. Lloyd George, on April 3rd, said, in his own theatrical way:—

"The nerves of commerce have been shaken, while there are constant rumours of great armies being built up, of hordes of savage revolutionaries to be precipitated upon Europe to reduce the countries of Europe to the same condition of desolation."

Members of Parliament laughed, but this hypocrite who wishes to appease the conscience of the ignorant, sincere church and chapel goers, continued:—

"I hope hon. members will consider this matter seriously. I am sorry to say these rumours are not without some foundation. There are, as I say, rumours of such an intention by the revolutionaries to reduce the countries of Europe to the same terrible condition of famine, pestilence, and desolation in which Russia is. Naturally there is great apprehension. You cannot tell what is happening there. It is an impenetrable jungle."

That means, of course, that Russia is to be disarmed and placed completely at the mercy of the exploiters. But do not denounce Lloyd George: his way is the way of Capitalism. He has acted throughout in response to the wishes of the most dominant capitalist interests in this country. The Unionists who are attacking him have a policy which in large essentials is the same as the Lloyd George Government policy: it only differs in regard to some of the methods by which the same aim may be achieved.

And the Labour Party? And the Second International, of which the Labour Party forms a section? Is their policy so altogether different from that of Lloyd George?

In Berlin, where the Third International is following the will-o'-the-wisp of a united front of all the so-called proletarian parties, the Second International is playing the capitalist game of creating a *cordon sanitaire* of Capitalist States around Soviet Russia. That is what is behind the enthusiasm for independent Menshevik, or, let us plainly say it, independent capitalist Governments in Georgia, Armenia and the Ukraine.

That *cordon sanitaire* may next be used as one means of defeating a Communist revolt in Germany.

Very significant was the statement by the representatives of the Second International at Berlin, that a general Socialist International could not be held till after the Genoa Conference of the Capitalist Governments is concluded.

Why?

Because the Labour leaders of the Second International take their cue from their capitalist Governments, just as they did during the war.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE PARABLE OF THE WATER TANK.

We regret that in our last week's issue we omitted to give the author's name to the "Parable of the Water Tank." The author is Edward Bellamy, and the parable is taken from his book, "Equality," which may be obtained from the Workers' Dreadnought, price 2s. 6d.

BRITISH-AMERICAN TRADE WAR.

During the war, as everyone knows, the United States Government set up a Shipping Board to create a vast merchant service, in order that the capitalists of America might make fortunes by selling goods to Europe. Thus Britain ceased to be mistress of the seas.

The Shipping Board, having served its immediate purpose of building up a merchant service more rapidly than could otherwise have been accomplished, now desires to scrap the Shipping Board, in order that American capitalists may use some of their war profits in the shipping line.

President Harding, obedient to the will of his masters, proposes to abolish the Shipping Board, sell its 1,400 vessels to capitalists, and subsidise American ship-owners, in order that they may have an advantage over their British competitors. A St. Lawrence Canal scheme is also promised, to assist U.S.A. farmers in getting their produce to the ships.

Under the Subsidy Bill, vessels which are documented under the laws of the United States will be entitled to a mileage subsidy for foreign trade, even though they do not touch American ports. This is an inducement to shipping companies whose shareholders belong to all nationalities, to be United States Companies. The full importance of this move does not appear till war breaks out. The game that the British have tried to play in inducing the big oil companies to be British is being played in another way by America in regard to shipping.

If, in spite of the subsidy, American ships cannot be induced to compete with British or other shipping, the Subsidy Bill provides for a doubling of the subsidy. The American Shipping Board reckons that a single ship, the *Leviathan*, 54,000 tons, will earn a subsidy of £140,000 a year, in making 14 trips between Europe and America.

"This sum would be quite enough," says *The Syren and Shipping*, "to render the ship a veritable stormy petrel in the North Atlantic passenger trade."

Not only is American shipping to be subsidised, but it is proposed by the Bill to insist that half the immigrants coming to America must travel in United States ships.

What will be the result of the Subsidy Bill if it becomes law?

Firstly it will compel the U.S. workers as a whole to subsidise U.S. shipping, in order that it may be run at a loss.

Secondly it will compel the workers in the British shipping industry to work harder, longer and at lower rates, in order that their employers may struggle to compete against subsidised U.S.A. shipping.

Thirdly it brings war between America and Britain a stage nearer.

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THE CHILD AND THE HOME. ESSAYS ON THE RATIONAL UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN. By Ben Zion Liber, M.D. Rational Living Press, New York.

Dr. Liber's book begins curiously enough with a Preface by Upton Sinclair, whose views on Education are diametrically opposed to his own. Dr. Liber proceeds to reply to Sinclair's Preface before enlarging upon his own theories. His ideas and their opposition to common old conceptions of parental authority and the proper training are so well brought out in the Preface.

From Upton Sinclair:—

"Dr. Liber has sent me this book on the care of children, and I have read the work with the greatest interest. The book is full of all kinds of helpful advice to parents, and I do not see how anyone can read it without profit. It is evident that the writer had watched children carefully, and thought about them both with intelligence and love. His health advice is excellent, and his talks on the subject of sex are exactly right. It is a pleasure to be able to recommend such a book from which people will derive so much profit.

Of course, no one could write such a book expecting that any other man would agree with every word of it. Dr. Liber has sensibly offered to answer objections from his readers, so I will supply him with one subject of discussion. I think he is too absolute in his statement to the effect that children never by any possibility need to be punished. This is one of those broad, general statements which are born of our beautiful feelings about life, but which cannot always be carried out in practice. We wish to recognise that children are human beings, and to treat them with dignity and love; but, alas, sometimes we discover that children are little wild animals, and we have to compel them to change their natures suddenly.

"I think it would be an easy matter to demonstrate that in this very imperfect and ugly world it is sometimes necessary that children should be compelled to obey their parents, and to obey quickly and without discussion. For example, in our cities, children have to play in the streets, because they have nowhere else to play, and if a parent has to teach a very young child not to go off the sidewalk into the street, the parent may find it impossible to make the child understand the distinction between sidewalk and street, and the enormous importance of this distinction. The parent may reflect that it would be far less cruel to bruise that child's hands with a switch, than to have the child's bones crushed by an automobile track."

"In the same way, I found with my boy when he was a year or two old, that he had to play in a room with an open fire-place. Of course, it is a monstrous and horrible thing that a child should be brought up in the presence of an open fire-place; it is as if he had to live in the room with a devouring demon. But we lived in an old farm-house, and there was no other way to heat it, so I deliberately took this little boy and burned his finger with a match, so as to teach him fear of fire. I remember vividly how the child's mother cried, and how very cruel it seemed, but it had the effect of making sure that the baby would never go too close to the open fire-place, and never play with matches. Dr. Liber will have to explain how he would advocate solving such a problem. If he answers that he would reason with the child, I point out to him that he could never be sure that child might not disobey, and one act of disobedience might cost the child's life. By my act of 'cruelty,' I made an impression on the child's subconscious mind which the child could never disobey, or even forget."

"My rules regarding punishment would be more complicated than Dr. Liber's. I should say, first, that we should never use compulsion where, by any possibility, we can use reason, and not until we have given reason a proper trial. We should use just as little compulsion as possible, and we should watch carefully its effect upon the child. For example, I found that my little boy was of a high-strung disposition, and physical punishment excited him violently. But when he had misbehaved himself, I put him on a chair and compelled him to sit there until he was sorry, and this always solved the problem perfectly. I fully agree with Dr. Liber that it is a bad idea to make children obey—except when it is necessary. But when it is necessary, then I think they should obey, and obey promptly, and above all things they should learn that when the occasion for obeying arises, there will be no possibility of their getting out of it by argument or delay."

"Maybe Dr. Liber will be so hurt by these ideas that he will not appreciate my praise of other things in his book! At any rate, however, my objections will help him to clear up his own ideas, and, perhaps, to answer in advance, objections which will be sure to come to him."

UPTON SINCLAIR.

Passadena, California.

From the Author:—

"I expected such disagreements. My book may not have been able to convince Mr. Sinclair that all

punishments as punishments are wrong, but it may have more luck with others. At all events, if it provokes thinking, and discussion on the subject of children's bringing-up, I am fully satisfied.

"Mr. Sinclair's objection has been answered in advance in the book. But I wish to add a few words.

"Even if the parents were always perfectly intelligent and reasonable human beings, if there were no doubt as to their mental superiority over the child, if they were surely right in the discords arising between them and their children, I would not think that children should ever be 'compelled to obey' their parents 'quickly and without discussion,' that is, just as soldiers are supposed to obey their officers. Such children would become, as many do, liars and hypocrites, and totally or partially mechanical men with greatly atrophied and much debilitated thinking power.

"All the children know the difference between the sidewalk and the street. It is not difficult to explain to a normal child that the sidewalk is safe because the vehicles do not run there. The children learn that themselves, and anyone watching them impartially will find that they are quite careful, even if they do not show it. Of course, accidents happen. But don't they happen to adults, to parents? A very small child is usually not left alone and should not be left alone without oversight. But even he can be told and have it explained, and, barring an evident and imminent great danger to his life, as pointed out in the book, there is no need of using force, and there is never any need of bruising his hand. Wherever possible, and as long as possible, I would leave the small child alone, under my supervision, even in such case.

"Years ago I used to watch the children of kindergarten age in Mrs. Ferme's famous little play- and school-room in New York. An unprotected and red hot stove was standing in the middle of the room, and the children ran and danced round it as savagely as they could. Nobody reminded them to be careful; but they never burnt themselves. I have seen children playing in many places near hot stoves and open fireplaces without the slightest mishaps. Usually things do not happen as we, grown-up people full of suspicions and too much prevision, foresee them. Again, sometimes a child may burn himself. But how about the wise and experienced old people? Are they exempt from such mistakes?

"To teach the child that fire is hot by forcibly burning his fingers with a match, is not only cruel, but is not efficient. If the child is very young, he may not see the similarity between a match and an open fire-place. If he is older, he does not need such humane warnings.

Just as an inoculation of a disease with a needle, although it produces symptoms, is not a proof that the disease, when acquired in the usual way, will result in the same symptoms, so your match is not convincing to me, and probably much less to a very little child. He may think that he knows how to be careful with the fire-place, even if he could not fight against you and even if he must submit to your punishment inflicted beforehand—where, by the way, you are not as kind as blind nature would be. She logically waits with her punishment until she judges that it is deserved.

"When your child 'had misbehaved himself'—which usually means that the parents had misbehaved themselves—you 'put him on a chair and compelled him to sit there and think it over until he was sorry.' He may have told you that he was sorry, but how can you be sure he was not glad to have 'misbehaved'?

"Yes, it is easy for Radicals to speak about liberty, but the real test is their relations with children."

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This beautiful story by a Bohemian poet and dramatist is one that we can recommend to people of all ages. It transports one from the dreary life of cities and dry-as-dust theorising. It evokes in the reader a longing that life may be sweeter and kinder, more joyous. This little book should be read in every Proletarian School, and every one of the scholars will wish to take a copy home.

THE CALL OF THE DAWN. By L. Le Pla. C. W. Daniel, Ltd. Price 7s.

(A story of religious controversies.)

THE BATTLE OF THE FLAGS. By Conrad Noel. Labour Publishing Company. Price 3s 6d.

Mesurier. John Murray. Price 6s.

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HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last issue.)

The taxes alone devoured half and often two-thirds of what the peasants could earn in a year. Beggary and rioting were constant. The middle classes profited by the impoverishment of the peasants to get them into their factories, and took advantage of the administrative demoralisation to seize upon monopolies and enrich themselves by loans to the State. A time came, however, when they feared for their property, and they encouraged the people to revolt, in order to break down the power of the Court and establish their own political power. The debts of the King and State were accumulating at an alarming rate. Minor reforms were ineffectual and failed to allay discontent.

The Assembly of Notables met at Versailles on February 22nd, 1787, when it was learnt that the National Debt was 1,616 millions, and the annual deficit increasing by a hundred and forty millions annually—large sums for those days. Now everyone talked of the financial ruin of France.

The States General assembled on May 5th, 1789. The Third Estate, as the representatives corresponding to our Members of Parliament were called, were not daring or extreme in their demands, but the popular revolts had emboldened them somewhat. Their more extreme demands were that the tax on bread and meat be fixed according to the average prices, that wages be fixed periodically according to the daily needs, that work should be guaranteed to all able-bodied poor.

In the Spring of 1789, the insurrections became more serious: peasants armed with knives, scythes and cudgels, flocked to the town and compelled those who had brought corn to market, to sell it at what were called "honest" prices. Sometimes they proceeded to the corn merchants, took out the wheat and divided it among themselves at a reduced price, promising to pay for it after the next harvest. Landowners were forced to forego their dues upon flour, municipalities were compelled to increase the daily wage.

While famine was severe, the town workers went into the country to collect wheat. They broke open the granaries of religious communities, merchant monopolists and private persons, and thereby provided the bakers with flour.

Bands of peasants, woodcutters and contrabandists went from village to village seizing corn, plundering the great houses and burning land registers which registered the feudal dues, and compelling landlords to forego such privileges. At Peinier they forced the lord to sign a paper renouncing his feudal rights. Peasants refused to pay tithes and feudal dues. After March 1789, no one paid feudal taxes. The cry of "Vive la Liberté" arose everywhere.

At Agde the people threatened to sack the town if the price of all provisions were not lowered, the provincial dues on wine, meat and fish were suppressed, and the duty on milling reduced by half.

They also wished to nominate consuls drawn from their own class. Their demands were granted.

In Provence, Aix, Marseilles, and more than forty large villages and towns abolished the tax on flour at the demand of the people. Food prices were reduced and maximum prices fixed. When the owners and traders protested, they were stoned, trenches were dug before their eyes, which might serve for their graves; or coffins were brought out to impress them with the need of compliance. They capitulated without need of bloodshed.

The people saw more than half the land lying idle in the hands of the nobility and clergy. They understood that so long as they did not seize and cultivate it, famine would continue. During the winter of 1788-1789, convoys of wheat were plundered in the Jura every day, and the tribunals refused to judge the famished people.

Kropotkin, in his "History of the Great French Revolution," says:—

"The initiative came from the middle classes certainly—chiefly from the lower middle classes—but, generally speaking, the middle classes took care not to compromise themselves, and the number of them who opposed the Court, more or less openly, before the convoking of the States-General, was very limited. If there had been only their few attempts at resistance, France might have waited many years for the overthrow of royal despotism. Fortunately a thousand circumstances impelled the masses to revolt. And in spite of the fact that after every outbreak there were summary hangings, wholesale arrests, and even torture for those arrested, the people did revolt, pressed on one side by their desperate misery and spurred on the other by those vague hopes of which the old woman spoke to Arthur Young."

"Something was to be done by some great folk for such poor ones": she did not know who, nor how; 'but God send us better,' said an old woman, in 1789, to Arthur Young, who travelled through France on the eve of the Revolution."

(To be continued.)

Workers' Dreadnought

FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor
Business Communications to the Manager:
Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
(TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.)

SUBSCRIPTION:

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Vol. IX. No. 5. Saturday, April 15, 1922.

A.E.U. LEFT IN THE LURCH. Engineers' Front Broken.

The first effort of the vaunted National Joint Council as represented by Mr. Henderson, P.C., has resulted in a split in the Unions of the engineering industry. Mr. Henderson has certainly fulfilled his mission as a Privy Councillor. The Executive of the 47 Unions have urged their members to remain at work, and have agreed to further negotiation, whilst the A.E.U. still refuses to compromise. That the members of the 47 Unions voted to stand by the A.E.U. is a fact that is ignored. The members of the 47 Unions have condoned the action of their executives by obeying it.

On April 8th, the employers, with Mr. Henderson's assistance, secured a division in the ranks of the Unions, the A.E.U. being deserted by the other Unions. The *Daily Herald*, on whose policy Mr. Henderson is one of the advisers came forward on April 8th with a leading article, saying:—

"This is precisely the sort of situation from which may arise a danger greater than itself. If the various Unions allow themselves recrimination one against the other, the employers' game of 'divide and conquer' will have scored perhaps the greatest triumph it has ever known."

We do not know who wrote that sentence; the policy behind it is futile, cowardly, and consciously or unconsciously dishonest. It is simply this: the Unions are divided; but do not say so. The A.E.U., mainly representing the skilled men, is still locked out; the forty-seven other Unions, mainly representing the unskilled men, are at work and arranging a settlement with the employers; but do not complain: do not use hard words or tell the truth about the matter: gloss it over. The employers' policy was to divide and conquer: they have divided; they will conquer; but do not say it was because the Union executives were divided. Do not give that as a reason.

The article continues:—

"It has got frankly to be admitted, not only now at this moment of crisis, but always, as part of the general fact of the Labour Movement as at present constituted, that there are conflicting interests between different sections of the workers. But these are matters of domestic concern. They are matters for the Unions to settle with each other. What is essential is that, ON THE GREAT ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE THE CAPITALISTS FROM THE WORKERS, the workers should present a united front."

This is a decidedly pernicious doctrine. The division of the workers into Unions of skilled and unskilled workers, the fact that in some industries some workers are technically even the employers of other workers create superficial conflicts of interest between different groups of workers, but every effort should be made to eliminate such differences, for they are a source of weakness and confusion.

In regard to the question of management, overtime, and Union prestige, however, there can be no question of conflicting interest as between different sections. The principle involved obviously applies to all sections equally. The *Daily Herald* reiterates "no blacklegging," but it supports the 47 Unions in remaining at work while the A.E.U. is out. The *Herald* says:—

"So long as the A.E.U. believes, not merely that it is RIGHT to fight, but that it is POLITICAL to go on fighting, the rest of the Movement must refuse to weaken it by blacklegging, just as the A.E.U. must refuse to blame the rest

of the Movement for not taking the same view as itself. But the question for the A.E.U. is more than whether it CAN win by holding out; it is whether the noblest thing, from the point of view of the Movement as a whole, is not now—to go back, to thrash out the problems with the other Unions, and THEN to raise the issue; but to raise it, in that case, with the united front that is now lost. It is heroic to fight on; it may be more heroic to yield."

Such reasoning seems to us wholly false: if the A.E.U. think the fight worth while, they cannot be expected to abandon it, because others will not fight. The point is, however, that the membership of the 47 Unions instructed their representatives to fight side by side with the engineers. The representatives have disobeyed the rank and file vote, and abandoned the Engineers.

The split is another proof of the inefficiency of the Trade Unions as fighting organs, and the lack of class solidarity with the workers amongst Union leaders.

Moreover it is evident that there is no chance for the workers to win any great industrial struggle unless they will use other methods than that of the mere sectional strike. Certainly, if the employers are really serious in their determination, the strike weapon is not enough. No forward move will be made till the rank and file are prepared to organise themselves and to take action.

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COMMUNISM THRUST OUT. The Unity Front Retreat.

On another page we publish the Resolutions passed at the Berlin Conference of the Second, Third, and "Second-and-a-Half" Internationals.

What feeble, futile resolutions they are; how halting and poorly drafted! Their clumsiness springs from the fear of being committed to any definite action, any binding principle on the part of the non-Socialists of this so-called United Front.

During the Conference, Rights and Lefts poured bitter recriminations upon each other, accusing each other of worthlessness, treachery and dishonesty; yet now they pretend to have formed a United Front. The United Front is, indeed, a Dis-United Front. In every direction this is manifested—from the wrangling at Berlin to the split amongst the engineering Unions in London. Even the Reformist Right is disunited: how, then, can there be a unity which shall include the Communist Left?

The Executives of the Second, "Second-and-a-Half," and Third Internationals are proposing a broader conference, in which, not merely the parties represented by them shall be present, but also the actual Left; for the Third International has become Centrist of late; the anti-Parliamentary revolutionary industrial Left which refuses to compromise with reformism.

The object of such a conference is transparently clear: it is to put an end to Communist and Revolutionary propaganda and agitation. "This is not the time for such work" is the message, a greatly mistaken one, which the Berlin Conference has sent forth. It is clear that the object of conferring with the Left is to stop Left propaganda, because the Third International, at the Berlin Conference, expressly took credit to itself for having expelled its Left elements, and put this action forward as a proof that its object in calling for a United Front was not to sabotage the Trade Unions which dominate the Second International.

The slogans that have issued from the Berlin Conference are purely reformist:—

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.—A demand largely established in this country, and conceded in principle even by the Labour Department of

the League of Nations. Even non-Communist British workers have agitated in recent years, not for an eight-hour day, but for the six-hour day. Communists, of course, urge that when the workers manage the industries, they will fix their own working hours according to their desires and social needs.

AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.—The old Labourist demand of the right to work instead of the Communist ideal of the right to live and to use without stint, the comforts provided in abundance by the community for the community.

UNITED ACTION OF THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE.—Such unity is glaringly impossible at present: the parties called proletarian parties are not united in the desire to attack the capitalist offensive. The Second International as typified by Vandervelde, Otto Wels, Henderson, MacDonald and the others occupying official positions in it, desire to conciliate Capitalism and to co-operate with it—not to meet its offensive with a counter-attack.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ALL THE CAPITALIST STATES.—In this matter the three Executives are pushing an open door; the Capitalist Governments have re-established relations with Russia, and Genoa is the proof of this. The price has been the abandonment of Russian Communism.

The decision that a workers' International cannot meet till after the Genoa Conference has concluded, is another of the many indications that the leaders of the Second International are still Social Patriots following the lead of their respective Governments. The Second International is an International of leaders with some dumb, unconscious masses, who take no part in their decisions, behind them.

It is not for nothing that the three Internationals are referred to as of London, of Moscow, of Vienna. In the Second International the British Labour Party dominates. With the Government Socialists of the countries whose Governments are allied with Britain, the British Social Patriots completely control the Second International policy. The Vienna Two and a Half International is dominated by the bourgeois pacifists of the U.D.C. school, greatly coloured by pro-German and pro-Austrian sentiments, which naturally mix without difficulty with the anti-Reparations sentiments of the Reconstructionist Free Traders. The Third International, dominated by the Russian Soviet Government, has become purely pro-Russian, with all the good and bad which that entails.

In all this Communism is thrust out. Yet now in the deep, apathetic despair of the workers, who see no hope of preventing a continued worsening of their standard of life, is the moment when the bright hope of Communism is most needed, when it will be most eagerly received. The workers cannot secure palliative reforms at this time: every struggle for minor improvements which they may make is bound to fail if the employing classes seriously resist them. Granted that the workers are not ready yet to change the system, the chance of securing any present success is as hopeless for the reformist as for the revolutionary. Surely, then, this is indeed a time for preaching Communism and the end of the capitalist system?

If a crisis comes, what chance shall we have of securing Communism, unless we have prepared the workers to know Communism and to desire it?

None.

It is said that the masses cannot understand Communism; but if all those who profess to be Communists would but work and agitate for Communism and not for something else, then a great movement would arise amongst the peoples; for Communism alone can cure their wounds and lift their burden and create for them the life in which "all shall be better than well!"

We Left-Wing Communists are always ready to discuss Communism with anyone, but we will never lend ourselves to compromise. No promise of official position, or party advantage, can deflect us from our undeviating work and propaganda for Communism and the Soviets. We know that whatever party, which ever individuals, may climb into power, until the minds and desires of the people have been prepared for Communism, Communism cannot come.

A NEGLECTED REBEL.

Husbandman, agitator, editor, historian, orator, grammarian, publicist, writer of sermons; William Cobbett (1762-1835) was not that over-rated modern phenomenon, an "expert."

Without spending his life in the study of grammar, this amazing Surrey farmer yet wrote an English grammar which remains still one of the best of English Grammars quite holding its own with that of the "expert" grammarian, Lindley Murray. Without qualifying himself for the task by special study, Cobbett dared to "commit what he called history," and wrote a "History of the Protestant Reformation,"* which continues to be printed, and to find a place probably on as many bookshelves as the standard history of that event, for writing which its author, Bishop Burnett, received the thanks of Parliament.

Cobbett, of course, pointing out as he did, that the Reformation killed old English hospitality, created pauperism, and let loose the money-lender, previously suppressed, did not receive the thanks of Parliament for writing his History. He was sneered at, even by his friends, for his "intrepid ignorance" in attacking "the three great reformers," Luther, Calvin, and Beza; and in saying that Cranmer was a scoundrel, Latimer a blackguard, Cromwell a robbing blacksmith, Henry VIII "a rotten lump of beastliness," and so forth.

These friends of Cobbett's complained that he said nothing in his History about "the corruption, tyranny, avarice, and rapacity of the Romish Church in the 16th century." But had Cobbett mentioned these things, he would merely have been repeating what nearly all the other historians, from Fox to Hume, had repeated *ad nauseum*. Cobbett's History, "droll" though it may be, biassed and exaggerated as it admittedly is, remains, nevertheless, a valuable and needed antidote to the vast mass of equally one-sided history written to please the money-lenders; the descendants of those who benefited by the plunder of the monasteries, the church lands and the guilds; the "nobles" and their hangers-on.

Even Cobbett's sermons will compare favourably with half the sermons written and delivered by "experts" in preaching. The cleric most likely to be "rung up" by the *Daily Mail* for an extra-special sermon for an extra-special occasion—probably Dean Inge, not Conrad Noel—would not be likely to oblige with anything so fine as Cobbett's sermon on "The Rights of the Poor." But it is the Cobbett of "Rural Rides" who is most needed to-day, before Cobbett as historian, cottage economist, or writer of somewhat stodgy and priggish advice to young men.

"Rural Rides" is a series of letters written by Cobbett between 1821 and 1832, the fruit of various journeys on horseback through rural England, and all of them redolent, as perhaps no other letters in literature are redolent, of the good red earth.

In the first letter of all, we discover that Cobbett does not like "parks." They suggest to him something artificially created for the personal pleasure of a "Fundlord retired to be a country squire." He sees nothing in a "park" calculated to restore the greatness, the freedom, and the happiness of England, which, in the last letter of "Rural Rides," he says he will make it his duty and endeavour to restore.

Cobbett quite clearly estimates the difference between the old "easy" landowners, and the new rack-renting gentry; the former "attached to the soil, known to every farmer and labourer from their childhood, frequently mixing with them in those pursuits where artificial distinctions are lost, practising hospitality without ceremony, from habit, and not on calculation"; the latter "only now and then residing at all, having no relish for country delights, foreign in their manners, distant and haughty in their behaviour, looking to the soil only for its rents, viewing it as a mere object of speculation, unacquainted with its cultivators, despising them and their pursuits."

The last are our new John Bulls, successful "City men," who do not earn money, but "make" it; and they have a fondness for big red houses in Cobbett's native Surrey. They have not decreased in numbers, these new and shoddy country squires, since 1821-32. Cobbett

might be writing of present conditions in the passage which follows the above:—

"The war and paper system has brought in nabobs, negro-drivers, generals, admirals, governors, contractors, pensioners, sinecurists, commissioners, loan-jobbers, lottery-dealers, bankers, stock-jobbers, not to mention the long and black list in gowns and three-tailed wigs. You can see but few good houses not in possession of one or other of these."

Indeed, it is remarkable how many of the passages of "Rural Rides" are applicable to the present day:

"Let loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers, Jews, and the whole tribe of tax-eaters say what they will, you know that it is impossible, as it would be cruelly unjust to wring from the labourer the means of paying rent, while the present taxes and tithes remain. Something must be taken off. The labourers' wages have already been reduced as low as possible. All public pay and salaries ought to be reduced, and the tithes ought also to be reduced. . . . The interest of the debt ought to be reduced."

This was written in 1822. It might have been written in 1922. Only Cobbett did not know he was treading on holy ground in mentioning the interest of the debt. To suggest that the "patriots" who had a conscientious objection to giving their money to the State during the war (while they sneered at others for far less offensive conscientious objections) should be asked to pay for the war and its results, is blasphemy. The burden of Cobbett's complaint is that the non-producers increase in numbers while the producers decrease. "All the useful people become less numerous." The parasitic money-lenders and jobbers buy rural estates, and employ non-productive gamekeepers to patrol their useless coverts, to the exclusion of the creative peasant from the countryside.

Cobbett is especially hard upon the class he aptly calls "tax-eaters." What would he say to our "health visitors," policewomen, Labour Exchange officials, and other additions to the Dead Weight carried by the producers, thanks to "progress" since Cobbett's time? He is something of an anti-Semite, but his dislike of the Jew is mild compared with his scorn of the sect who won't play at cards, but who will play at Stocks, Lottery Tickets, and Mark Lane—the Quakers. :—

"Here is a sect of non-labourers. One would think that their religion bound them under a curse not to work. Some of the people of other sects work; do something that is useful to other people; but here is a sect of buyers and sellers. They make nothing; they cause nothing to come; they breed as well as other sects; but they make none of the raiment or houses, and cause none of the food to come."

He does not like superfluous resignation:—

"Give me none of that 'light' or of that 'grace' which makes a man content with oatmeal and water, or that makes him patiently lie down and die of starvation amidst plenty of food."

He dislikes those who give stones for bread:—

"I know that the labouring classes are in rags, and that they have not a belly-full; and know that the way to make them good . . . honest . . . dutiful . . . kind to one another is to enable them to live well; and I also know that none of these things will ever be accomplished by Methodist sermons, and by those stupid . . . malignant . . . and roguish things called Religious Tracts."

In our day, Cobbett would say that none of these things will ever be accomplished by Insurance Cards and Labour Exchanges. We have lost faith in Methodist sermons and tracts; but we still believe that the lot of the worker is eased by more and ever more bureaucratic departments; and it is only a few "reactionaries" who understand that all the new departments mean simply that the worker must pay more in taxation, in order to find jobs for an increasing number of futile administrators; or, as Cobbett would call them, "tax-eaters."

Of the capitalist system, Cobbett says:—

"This vile paper-money and funding system; this system of Dutch descent, begotten by Bishop Burnett, and born in Hell; this system has turned everything into a gamble. There are hundreds of men who live by being the

agents to carry on gambling. They reside here in the Wen; many of the gamblers live in the country; they write up to their gambling agent, whom they call their stock-broker; he gambles according to their order, and they receive the profit or stand the loss. Is it possible to conceive a viler calling than that of an agent for the carrying on of gambling? And yet the vagabonds call themselves gentlemen: or at least look upon themselves as the superiors of those who sweep the kennels."

Cobbett did not succeed in restoring greatness, freedom, and happiness to England. We have not abolished the Dead Weight, the countless swarms of tax-eaters, the money-lenders, jobbers, sinecurists, place-hunters, *et hoc genus omne*. Put "Rural Rides" still points the way back to sanity and reality.

S. HUGH SIMCOE.

* BOOKS BY W. COBBETT.—"History of the Protestant Reformation, 2/6; "A History of the Last Hundred Days of English Freedom, 8/-; "Rural Rides (Two Vols.) 5/-; "English Grammar," 2/6; "Cottage Economy," 3/6; "Advice to Young Men," 3/6.

May be obtained from *Dreadnought* office.

THE OUTLAW.

In our field, of two chanticleers therein, one is a big bird representing Might; the other is a smaller bird representing Unrest. Might maintains law and order; Unrest is an outlaw.

There was a time when Unrest had no reason or desire to be an insurgent. What, indeed, had he to rebel against, when he lived with his hens in tranquil domesticity, foraging, and "sounding the silent hours" in peaceful security?

But that was before the intrusion of Might. Might, a Nietzschean bird, imported with his family from a neighbouring field, not only retains his own harem, but has assumed jurisdiction both over Unrest's hens and over his foraging glebes, rights and privileges.

And now (is it believable?) Unrest wants his own again; he cannot understand this law of Force which deprives him of the benefit of the law. So he rebels; he is a dangerous incendiary; he disturbs the peace: he causes unseemly trouble as much by courting the hens that were his before Might appropriated them, as by illegal trespassing on Might's foraging grounds, newly acquired.

And both birds look their parts: Might, the upholder of Law and Order, is big, burly, respectable-looking as he stands four-square about the field, keeping a watchful eye on Unrest, who, harried from pillar to post, looks the disreputable, dissolute disorderly outlaw he has been made.

One day I heard Might, in a generous mood, telling Unrest that if he was not satisfied with the field, its laws and its happy constitution, why, then, did he not leave it: no one compelled him to live in the field, stirring up strife.

And Unrest, who, as a good Rebel, knows his "England, Arise!" could only reply, too disgusted to quote correctly: "Yes; all monopolists say that; but I know this: 'A robber bird has seized my hens, and I'm an Exile here!'"

S. H. S.

SPICE.

SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE.

How often have we been told that accumulated wealth is the fruit of superior intelligence! Apropos of this ancient wheeze we will cite the case of Margaret W. Folsom. Fifty years ago, then twenty-five years old, she was committed to a private hospital for the insane, having been judged incompetent to manage her \$365,000 estate. To-day, eighty and blind, she still sits in her private suite, in the hospital, but her estate is valued at \$1,928,806. "Superior intelligence" has earned over one and a half million dollars in fifty-five years!

A GENERAL STRIKE.

The Rev. Adam Hamilton, of Blackpool, threatened to go on strike for two weeks, as a protest against the empty pews in his church. Looks as if his congregation had struck first.

ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

Chinese literary men are fighting against international copyright laws; they say it should sufficiently reward a writer to know that he is able to enlighten his fellows. Who said that the Chinese were a backward and uncultured race?

THE UNITED FRONT.

I, II $\frac{1}{2}$, AND III INTERNATIONALS IN BERLIN.
THE RESOLUTIONS.

The following is the text of the Resolutions just adopted by the Berlin Conference of the Executives of the Second, Second-and-a-Half, and Third Internationals:—

The Conference of the Executives of London, Moscow and Vienna unanimously agrees that, however desirable may be the unification of the class organisations of the proletariat, there shall be no immediate question except of common deliberations for concrete objects by all the tendencies represented at this Congress.

The Conference therefore proposes that the Executives give their assent to the constitution of an organising committee of nine members, having a mandate to organise further conferences of the three Executives, also larger conferences to which shall be invited parties not belonging to either of the three Internationals. Each Executive shall be free to choose as it pleases the three persons who are to represent it. In this organising committee no decision shall be taken by the majority; its mission is to express the points of view which are common to the three Executives as they present themselves at the given time.

UNITED TRADE UNION FRONT.

The Conference considers it useful that the organising committee should undertake the attempt to bring about non-binding conversations between the representatives of the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labour Unions, in order to examine by what means may be assured the re-establishment and maintenance, both nationally and internationally, of a united Trade Union front.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES AND GEORGIA.

The Conference takes note of the declaration made by the representatives of the Communist International, that the 47 Social Revolutionaries may have, in their trial, whatever defenders they desire, and, as the Soviet Press announced before this Congress, the menace of condemnation to death shall be excluded from their trial; the trial shall be open to the public, representatives of the three Executives may be present, and for the information of their members, may have access to the shorthand reports.

The Conference records that each of the three Executives declares itself willing to receive and examine the documents expressing the various points of view on the question of Georgia. The Conference instructs the organising committee to draw up a report based on the conclusions drawn from the examination, for submission to a future conference of the three Executives.

The Conference observes that the representatives of the II International have declared that they do not think it possible to organise a general conference in April, because of the sittings of the Genoa Conference.

The Conference is nevertheless unanimous on the principle of the necessity of holding a general conference as soon as possible. It is the mission of the Executives to inform the parties adhering to them of the progress that the idea of a general congress has made during the Berlin deliberations. The Executives will give their representatives on the organising committee full power to carry to a definite conclusion the deliberations of the Berlin Conference concerning the calling of a general conference.

FOR THE UNITED ACTION OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The organisation of a general conference during the course of this month was impossible, for the reasons indicated above.

The present Conference declares it to be an indispensable duty, in view of the offensive by international capitalist Imperialism, to manifest immediately, in an international mass action, the united will of the conscious international proletariat.

The Conference therefore invites the workers of all countries to organise during the Genoa Conference on April 20th, or, if that is impossible, on May 1st, powerful gatherings of the masses, demonstrating with the greatest unity possible for the eight-hour day.

To combat unemployment, which is infinitely increased by the Reparations policy of the Capitalist Powers,

For united action by the proletariat against the capitalist offensive.

For the Russian Revolution; for famine-stricken Russia; for the re-establishing of political and economic relations between Soviet Russia and all States.

The reconstruction of the United Front of the proletariat in all countries and in the International.

The signatories were: Clara Zetkin, Radek and Frossard for the Third International; Otto Wels, Vandervelde and J. R. MacDonald for the Second; and Frederick Adler, Bracke and Crispin for the Two-and-a-Half.

IN MOROCCO.

I am on the sea side in West Africa, at Rabat, and on the way to Fez.

Fez is the inland stronghold of the Sultan of Morocco, but he now lives in a palace at Rabat, under the patronage of the French Resident, General Lantey.

No one here worries about the English elections; if mention is made of England, the comment invariably is that we are gone mad and are on the eve of losing our Eastern possessions. French officers, who swarm here and are well in touch with Mussulman feeling, always express the same opinion, and I cannot persuade them that Curzon and Churchill are not the whole of England!

The Swallows.

I have just seen two or three swallows, but the greater number of these birds are further South; on the other hand, there are plenty of large black and white storks, sitting in their rough nests along the battlements of the old town walls, reminding one of Germany and Northern Spain: I wonder why we have no storks in English villages?

A Palatial Post Office

The more I travel, the more I am ashamed of our English Post Offices. I had long ago remarked what a disgraceful contrast there is between an average English Post Office and the palatial building, for instance, at Ostend, with its ten or twelve glass-partitioned desks with pens and blotters complete, as against the dirty little corner in England, with a broken pen and a churlish notice that it must only be used for telegrams. Well, here, in Rabat, a third-rate Moroccan town, I find a spacious marble hall, with writing desks, pads and pens, a tessellated floor and seats around, with notices in Arabic and in French, about the money orders and savings bank, and the mails by steamer and by aeroplane.

It is a good thing that an Englishman looks upon his home as his castle, for he certainly is not welcome in any of his own public buildings, and even in his own streets he is considered as a nuisance that must keep moving on upon narrow pavements with hardly ever a seat or a resting place in sight, unless it be a "pub."

Private enterprise sees to that, while the Labour Party sleeps.

Burnous and Bicycle.

An Arab in white flowing robes does not look well on a bicycle; yet a good many of them here in Morocco manage to tuck up their burnous and ride among the donkeys and horses and camels, while the women, on foot, trudge along, entirely wrapped in white from head to foot; how the latter see their way is a mystery, they peep with one eye only, between the folds of their white wraps, their bare feet only showing underneath them.

The Cross and the Crescent.

I have not yet come across a single Spaniard in Rabat, although in other parts of Morocco they are fighting the Moors. The Spaniards are less successful in Morocco than the French, because they look upon their war as one between the Cross and the Crescent, whereas the French help the Moors to repair the Mosques and holy places of Islam, a much cleverer standpoint.

It is currently reported here that the Spanish soldiers expect the priests to go ahead with a crucifix in their hand, to bless the battlefield before the fight, and as the priests are not particularly keen to go too far, the conquest is pretty slow—which is lucky for the Moors!

Some of the wealthy Jewish and Arab families here still cherish in their possession the keys of the houses in Granada and Cordova from which they were driven centuries ago by the Spaniards!

ESPERANTO.

LA DUPIEDULO.

(Daŭrigo.)

— Mortigu ilin, mortigu ilin, ekkriis la ŝafo kaj la kapro kaj la cervo kvazaŭ unubuŝo. Agutiu, agutiu, kriis la anaso, la ansero kaj la koko.

— Neniam en mia vivo mi aŭdis tian aferon, diris la leono kaj ĉirkaŭrigardis per siaj vaste malfermitaj okuloj. La plej pacemaj kaj timemaj bestoj de la arbaro volas ataki la fremdulojn. Kion ili agis kontraŭ vi? Kial vi timas ilin?

— Mi same tiel ne povas tion klarigi, kiel la bovo, diris la ĉevalo. Sed mi sentas, ke ili estas danĝeraj. Mi sentastion en ĉiuj miaj membroj.

— Mi havas la senton kvazaŭ oni senhauŝigus min, min, kiam mi pensas pri tiuj-ĉi du, kvazaŭ in tiradus kaj ŝiradus min, diris la bovo.

— Mi frostotremas kvazaŭ mia tuta lanaro estus tondita, diris la ŝafo.

— Mi havas la senton kvazaŭ oni rostus min en fajro kaj manĝus min, diris la anaso.

— Ankaŭ mi, ankaŭ mi, kriis la anaso kaj koko.

— Tio ĉi estas tre kurioza, diris la leono. Mi neniam aŭdis tian aferon, kaj ne komprenas viajn sentojn. Kion povas fari la fremduloj kontraŭ vi? Nude kaj sennome ili marŝadas inter ni, prenas jen pomon, jen oranĝon kaj ne faras ie la plej malrandan malbonon. Ili marŝas sur du nazeraĵ kruroj kaj vi havas kvar, per kiuj vi ŝam forkuros facile. Vi havas kornojn, vi havas ungegojn kaj dentojn. . . . Kion vi povas timi?

— Vi ankoraŭ pentos tion, diris la bovo. La novaj bestoj estos nia pereco. La danĝero minacas vin kiel nin ĉiujn.

— Mi neniam danĝeron kaj neniam timon konas, diris fiere la leono. Sed efektive neniu estas tie ĉi, kiu parolas bonan vorton por ili?

— Se ili ne estus miaj parencoj, mi volonte farus tion, diris la orangutango.

— Sed ne estas bela. kiam oni laŭdegas sian propran familion. Lasu ilin pace, ili estas tute sendanĝeraj.

— Mi volontege diras vortojn por ilia laŭdo, diris la hundo; mia piedo estas jam proskau resanigita kaj mi pensas, ke ili estas pli saĝaj, ol vi kune.

— Neniam en mia vivo mi forgesos, kion ili feris al mi.

— Vi estas prava, diris la leono, vi estas bonulo kaj oni vidas, ke vi devenas de bona familio, mi ne kredas, ke la dupieduloj estas danĝeraj kaj ni ne intencas ataki ilin. Sed se mi renkontos ilin malsate iatage, mi manĝegos ilin. Tio estas aĵarta afero. La malsateco estas ĉies estro. Sed hodiaŭ nokte mi estas sata kaj nun mi iras hejmen, mi volas dormi. Bonan nokton gesinjonoj.

— Neniu havis kuraĝon, diri ankoraŭ unu vorton. Silente kiel ili venis, la bestoj desiris. La nokto pasas kaj komencis tagiĝi oriente.

Tiam subite la bovo, la ĉevalo, la ovo kaj la kapro revenis kure. Post ili venis, kiel rapide ili povis, la ansero, la anaso kaj la koko. Plejantaŭe la bovo kiu kun mallevitaj kornoj kuregis al la loko, kie la fremduloj dormadis. Sed en la sama momento la hundo eksaltis kaj ekbojis furiozege. La du dormintoj vokigis, kaj suprensaltis. Kaj kiel ili estis starantaj altaj kaj graciaj kun siaj blankaj membroj, klaraj okuloj kaj kiel la suno lumigis ilin, la atakintoj ektimigis kaj rekuris sur la vojo, sur kiu ili venis.

— Mi dankas al vi, mia malnova amiko, diris la dupiedulo kaj karesis la hundon.

Lia virino ekrigardis la malsanan piedon kaj parolis al ĝi per sia mola voĉo.

Dankema ĝi lokis ŝian manon. Poste la novaj bestoj banis sin en la rivereto kaj kiam tio estis finita, la dupiedulo rampis sur pomarbon por alporti matenmanĝon por si kaj por sia virino. Sur la arbo sidis la orangutango kaj maĉis frukton.

— Foriru! diris la dupiedulo kaj minacis per la fingro. Tiu ĉi arbo apartenas al mi. Sciigu kaj ne havu la impertinentecon eĉ unu pomon tuŝi.

— Diablo! diris la orangutango. Kia parolo estas tiu ĉi? Kion vi permesas al vi? Kaj mi ankoraŭ hieraŭ defendis vin, kiam ĉiuj aliaj bestoj volis vin mortigi!

— Foriru, vi abomena simio! diris la dupiedulo. Li rompis branĉon de la arbo kaj bategis kelkfoje la orangutangon, kiu kriegante forkuris en la arbaron.

FINIS.

KUZBAS OR COMMUNISM?

In reply to our criticism of the Kuzbas scheme, Tom Barker writes:

"The Russian worker on the spot does not furnish \$300.00. His stomach will be as full as mine. I guess the houses will be of twin design."

Why, then, does Rutgers, one of the sponsors and originators of the scheme, say:

"If the American workers receive more than the Russian peasants, it is because they will not and cannot work with their maximum efficiency for less."

Tom Barker says:

"There are no dividends. The Kuzbas organization is not a co-operative, with the participants cutting up the profits."

Yet there are to be wages in Kuzbas and a bonus. What is the difference between Kuzbas and an ordinary productive co-operative society? What is the difference between Kuzbas and an ordinary capitalist co-partnership firm, each employee having a share and therefore a vote in the concern?

Can Tom Barker tell us? One difference is that the Soviet Government, which in this case is the employer, can veto or dismiss the directors elected by all the other shareholders.

Tom Barker says:

"The term bonus is not to be confounded with profits. A man goes in for two years, and at the end of that time, if he wishes to return to his own country, to visit relatives, to travel, to settle down on some other project, he can be given some of the portion of his product to do so. Do you suggest that a man should work for two years, and then set off to walk to Vladivostok or to Petrograd, or live on academic phrases from the works of Marx and Engels?"

Really! does Tom Barker call himself a Communist? Why should anyone in Russia walk when trains are running? Of course, we do not suggest a Kuzbas worker should walk from Petrograd to Vladivostok. Of course we consider he should ride: what are trains for but to ride in? Under Communism there should be no question of payment.

Under Communism everyone will be entitled to make free use of social products without any sort of payment. Tom Barker does not seem to have grasped that. His ideas of Communism seem to be mere petty capitalism. Moreover, observe that the Committee is to fix wages and bonus, without reference to the workers.

Comrade Barker's defence of the Kuzbas bonus is the defence employed by every upholder of Capitalism.

Tom Barker says:

"Out of the seven members of the Management Board, six will be on the job; three in Kuznets Basin at Kemerovo, and three at Nadezhinski Kavod in the Urals, where 50 per cent. of the incoming workers are going. There will be one member in Moscow. They will be elected from the BOTTOM UP. What's the objection?"

He further asks:

"Shall we go in now, we conscious industrialists, and try out our theories there?"

The objection is that this is bureaucratic domination from the top. The "conscious industrialist" if he desires workers' management of industry, cannot try out his theories under the present Kuzbas constitution, because, according to the printed scheme sent by Tom Barker, there is to be no workers' committee or Soviet management of the Kuzbas industries, but absolute control by the committee of seven elected by the "Foreign Workers' Unit," once a year. The Soviet Government in Moscow has the power to dismiss "members of the Committee elected by the Foreign Workers' Unit."

We are still waiting for a definite answer to our question, whether all the Russian workers and peasants living within the Kuzbas area, including those employed by the Unit as unskilled, will become automatically members of the Foreign Workers Unit, with the same economic status and rights of control and management as the foreign workers? Why is the Unit called a Foreign Workers' Unit when, obviously, the natives will vastly outnumber the foreigners therein?

AN INDIAN MASSACRE.

An Indian correspondent informs us that the Bhils of the Indian State of Gujarat ceased paying taxes as a means of securing the redress

of grievances. The British Government of Bombay, on pretence of arresting Moti-Lal, an agitator for social reform, who, it was said, might resist, fired upon the people. Not a single casualty occurred amongst the Government forces, but one Government report stated that 20 Bhils were killed and 29 wounded, whilst another Government report put the number at 200 killed and 29 wounded. The Bhils themselves declare that 2,000 of their number have been killed. Moti-Lal was not captured, so that the pretext for firing upon the unfortunate Bhils still remains.

Our correspondent states that since the no-co-operative movement in British India is undermining the British power there, the British Government is increasing its hold on the Indian States under its control, where slavery, illiteracy and penury exist in shamelessly naked forms. These States form one-third of India.



Lord George: "Prices have not reached rock bottom yet."

Sir John: "You are right there: wages have got to come down still further."

Lord George: "The engineers are still standing out."

Sir John: "Let them starve a bit longer: that will bring them round."

Lord George: "That, of course, is why we locked them out."

THE WORKERS' BURDEN.

The gowns of Lady Cathcart and other society women are part of the burden borne by the workers. To produce the surplus necessary for the provision of such extravagances, the workers toil hard and long, and go short of necessities.

Lady Cathcart had an allowance of £960 a year from Lord Cathcart. Out of it she had to dress, "pay her cab fares" (of course, she never goes in a bus, or a tube, like you and me, fellow worker) she was also expected to pay for her children's governess and some small expenses of the nursery.

Lady Cathcart considered the allowance "hopelessly inadequate," she never agreed to accept such a sum. Indeed, she seems to have felt her position of poverty, as Lord Cathcart's wife, so keenly, that she went off to Deauville with the Earl of Craven, and Lord Cathcart divorced her shortly after.

Whilst she was still Lord Cathcart's wife, the costly parasite bought from Miss Gray, Ltd., in one afternoon, eight gowns varying in price from £21 to £33. Having spent her allowance, she left these gowns to be paid for by the Earl out of his tax-paid income of £4,000 a year. The unfortunate Earl was so poor on that income that he "could not afford to entertain," or take his wife out very often. Her dress allowance and other extravagances he could not spare out of his income, but sold out property to raise the cost of keeping a wife. Soon after his marriage he gave her a banking account of £1,500, but within ten days she had spent it, and came to him for more money. Shortly after, he had to pay £3,000 on her account.

The Earl refused to pay for the eight dresses bought from Miss Gray, Ltd., and the case was taken to Court. Then it was stated by the saleswoman at Miss Gray's that there was nothing unusual in a lady's selecting eight such gowns in an afternoon. A countess, or even the wife of a baronet, requires, said the saleswoman, between

30 and 40 day and evening gowns, a dozen sports suits and a few extra gowns for special occasions, for one season only: the year, of course, has four seasons! £500 to £600, the chairman of Miss Gray, Ltd., declared to be "a quite ordinary dressmaking bill" for the season of a lady in society. Such bills were, indeed, apt to amount to £1,000. Taxation had made no difference to the number of dresses ordered by ladies who had "a certain position to maintain."

The judge said that, "in view of his rank," the Earl was "a distinctly poor man."

What do you think of it, Mr. and Mrs. Workman?

TO MY LITTLE SON.

BY RALPH CHAPLIN.

I cannot lose the thought of you,
It haunts me like a little song,
It blends with all I see or do
Each day, the whole day long.

The train, the lights, the engine's throb,
And that one stinging memory:
Your brave smile broken with a sob,
Your face pressed close to me.

Lips trembling far too much to speak,
The arms that would not come undone,
The kiss so salty on your cheek,
The long, long trip begun.

I could not miss you more, it seemed,
But now I don't know what to say;
It's harder than I ever dreamed
With you so far away.

The writer of these lines is serving twenty years in the U.S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, for work as an I.W.W. organiser. 29 other class war prisoners are at Leavenworth, serving sentences of five to twenty years, and more than a hundred others are in other U.S. prisons. Tom Mooney and five others are imprisoned for life. Sacco and Vanzetti are under sentence of death.

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—Labour Monthly.

WAGE SLAVES LOCKED OUT TO PROVIDE LUXURIES FOR THE RICH.

When you read that society women buy fifty or sixty dresses costing £20 to £50 each in a season, remember, fellow workers, that you provide the wealth from which such senseless luxury is maintained. Remember that your wages are being cut down, in accordance with the fall in the cost of living. That is to keep you on the bare subsistence level, in order that there may be an abundance of surplus wealth for the very rich. Capitalism does not trouble about keeping you in the pink of health, and now that labour is a surplus commodity, Capitalism regards it as quite consistent with national economy that you should have far less than was considered necessary to keep the soldier fit for fighting the battles of the boss in the late war.

The South African Mining Review of Johannesburg says:—

"Reference was made in the report of the Van Ryn Company to the enhanced cost of the augmented diet scale laid down by the Native Affairs Department. It certainly pays to feed natives well, and for years some of the groups have given their natives a much more liberal diet than that prescribed by the regulations."

The South African natives at the present time are in favour with their bosses: this desire to train them to replace the white workers, because the natives will work for lower wages than whites demand.

The South African miners have been beaten in the Rand Lock-Out, and the South African Review, a mild Lib.-Lab. paper, says of the position:—

"Thousands of white men are going to be thrown on the streets of Johannesburg and the other parts of the Reef. The embargo against the introduction of natives from north of latitude 22 is going to be lifted by the Government, and 200,000 of these poor creatures are going to be brought in to work the mines at a shilling a day."

"Supervising these will be a few white men at 20s. a day and as few coloured men at 10s. a day as the Mines can possibly help."

"The Chamber of Mines has no more use for Union natives at 3s. a day, than it has for whites at eight times that sum."

"That is our forecast, and we think we shall not be found far out, eventually, though at first this Government-Chamber of Mines programme will be camouflaged by a great show of consideration for the workers on the gold fields—especially on paper—newspaper! The compound system will be adopted, as at Kimberley, and, in fact, the gold fields will be run on Kimberley lines, with the same supreme disregard of all interests save those of the plutocrats of Park Lane and Berlin."

The South African Review is undoubtedly correct in its forecast. The fact is, fellow workers, the capitalist has got you at his mercy, and you will not be able to put matters right till you abolish the capitalist system.

Just to make the white worker in South Africa feel his position as a beaten wage slave, special humiliations are being put on him just now.

Unemployed men on relief works in Cape Town are paid 3s. a day for single men, 3s. 6d. for married men, with 6d. for wife and 3d. for each child. Thus a married man with four children, employed on relief works has to keep himself and family on 5s. a day. How inadequate this is, having regard to the cost of living in Cape Town, is shown by the fact that natives doing similar work with pick and shovel, close to the Relief Works, are paid 6s. a day. You may be quite sure that the native gets no more than a very bare primitive subsistence.

"But what about the South African Revolution?"

What about it, fellow worker; well, there was not a revolution: make your mind up about that. There was a cold-blooded murder of the workers.

At the inquest on the three strikers shot dead at Boksburg, Mr. Hill, an Assistant Magistrate, gave evidence. You can believe his evidence, Mr. Respectability, since he is an official personage, with mind legally trained. Mr. Hill was an eye-witness of the shooting. He testified on oath that the strikers were doing no harm and threatening no harm, when suddenly Captain Fulford caused a squadron of police to charge the strikers. Mr. Hill "saw no outward cause necessitating the police charge."

Nevertheless, in the South African Parliament, a Member said he hoped Captain Fulford would understand that his conduct was viewed with admiration by the House!

General Smuts and his Government have refused an inquiry into the murder of strikers, and Smuts has protested that it is most magnanimous of his Government not to try the strikers by Court Martial, but by the ordinary Courts. Meanwhile people are being tried for such paltry matters as wearing a red rosette, and it is reported that "magistrates are running about Johannesburg, sentencing people pell-mell and holding trials even in the cells."

Meanwhile, some people are demanding that a special military railway shall be built when there are disturbances in the gold fields. It is a rotten civilisation: is it not, fellow workers?

Why not change it?

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