

Manceuvring for the Next War.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VII. No. 47.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4TH, 1922.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE HOUSE OF INNOCENCE.

By Anatole France.

On that day Fra Giovanni had left the Monastery at early dawn, the hour when the birds awake and begin singing. He was on his way to the city, and he thought within himself: "I am going to the city to beg my bread and to give bread to other beggars; I shall give away what I receive, and take back what I have given; for it is good to ask and to receive, for the love of God. He who receives is the brother of him who gives. We should not consider too seriously which of the two brothers we are; because only the gift is nought, but everything is in the gracious giving."

"He that receives, if he have gracious charity, is the equal of him that gives; but he who sells is the enemy of him who buys, and the seller constrains the buyer to be his foe. Herein lies the root of the curse that poisons cities, as the venom of the serpent is in his tail. It needs must be that a Lady set her foot on the serpent's tail, and this Lady is Poverty. Already hath she visited the King Louis of France, in his tower; but never yet entered among the Florentines because she is chaste, and will not put her foot in a place of ill repute. Now the money-changer's shop is an ill place, for it is there Bankers and Changers commit the most hideous of sins. Harlots sin in the brothels; but their sin is not so great as is that of the Bankers, and whosoever grows rich by banking and money-changing."

"Verily I say unto you, Bankers and Money-changers shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; nor yet bakers, nor dealers in drugs, nor such as practice the trade of wool, which is the boast of the City of the Lily. Forasmuch as they give a price to gold and make a profit out of exchange, they are setting up idols in the face of men; and when they declare 'Gold has a value,' they tell a lie. For gold is more vile than the dry leaves that flutter and rustle in the autumn wind under the terebinths. There is nothing precious save the work of men's hands, when God gives it His countenance."

And lo! as he was meditating in this wise, Fra Giovanni saw that the mountain side was torn open, and that men were dragging great stones from its flank. One of the quarrymen was lying by the wayside, with a rag of coarse cloth for his covering; his body was disfigured by bitter marks of the biting cold and scorching heat. The bones of his shoulders and chest showed all but bare beneath the meagre flesh. Despair looked grim and gaunt from the black caverns of his eyes.

Fra Giovanni approached him, saying: "Peace be with you."

But the quarryman made no answer, and did not so much as turn his head. So Fra Giovanni, thinking he had not heard, repeated:

"Peace be with you!" Then he repeated the same words for the third time.

At last the quarryman looked up at him sullenly and growled:

"I shall have no peace till I am dead. Begone, cursed black crow! You wish me peace: that shows you are a glosing cheat! Go to, and leave to simpler fools than I! I know very well the quarryman's lot is an utterly miserable one, and there is no comfort for his wretchedness. I hale out stones from dawn to dark, and for price of my toil, all I get is a scrap of black bread. Then when my arms are no longer as strong as the stone of the mountain, and my

body is all worn out, I shall perish of hunger."

"Brother," said the holy man, Giovanni: "It is not just or right that you should hale out so much stone, and win so little bread."

Then the quarryman rose to his feet, and pointing:

"Master Monk," said he, "what see you up yonder on the hill?"

"Brother, I see the walls of the city."

"And above them?"

"Above them I see the roofs of the houses which crown the ramparts."

"And higher still?"

"The tops of the pines, the domes of the Churches and the Bell-towers."

"And higher still?"

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"I see a tower overtopping all the rest, and crowned with battlements. It is the Tower of the Podesta."

"Monk, what see you above the battlements of the Tower?"

"I see nothing, brother, above the battlements, save the sky."

"But I," cried the quarryman, "I see a hideous giant brandishing a club, and on the club is inscribed 'OPPRESSION.' Yea! Oppression is lifted up above the citizens' heads on 'the Great Tower of the Magistrates and the City's Laws.'"

Fra Giovanni answered:

"What one man sees, another cannot see, and it may be the horrid shape you describe is set on the Tower of Podesta yonder, in the city of Viterbo; but is there no remedy for the ills you endure, my brother? The good St. Francis left behind him on this earth so full a fountain of consolation, that all men may draw refreshment therefrom."

Then the quarryman spoke after this fashion:

"Men have said: 'This mountain is ours!' These men are my masters. I hew stone. They enjoy the fruit of my labour."

Fra Giovanni sighed:

"Surely men must be mad to believe they own a mountain?"

The quarryman replied:

"No, they are not mad; the Laws of the City guarantee them their ownership. The citizens pay them for the stones which I have hewn, which are marbles of great price."

Fra Giovanni said:

"We must change the laws of the city and the habits of the citizens. St. Francis, that Angel of God, has given the example and shown

the way. When he resolved, by God's command, to rebuild the ruined church of St. Damian, he did not set out to find the master of the quarry. He did not say: 'Go out and find me the finest marbles, and I will give you gold in exchange.' For the holy man, who was called the son of Bernadone and who was the true son of God, knew this: that the man who sells is the enemy of the man who buys, and that the art of trafficking is more mischievous, if possible, than the art of War. Wherefore he did not apply to the master-masons, or any of them that gave marble and timber and lead in exchange for money. He went forth into the Mountain and gathered his load of wood and stones, and bore it himself to the spot hallowed to the memory of the blessed Damian. With his own hands, by help of the mason's line, he laid the stones to form the walls; and he made the cement to bind the stones one to another. Finished, it was a lowly circuit of roughly-fashioned stones, the work of a weakling. But whoso considers it with the eyes of the soul, recognises therein an Angel's thought. For the mortar of this wall was not worked with the blood of the unfortunate; this house of St. Damian was not raised with the thirty pieces of silver paid for the blood of that Just Man, which, rejected by Iscariot, go travelling the world ever since, passing from hand to hand, to buy up all the injustice and all the cruelty of the earth."

"Alone of all others, this house is founded on Innocence, established on Love, based on Charity, and alone of all others, it is the House of God."

"I tell you, verily, quarryman and brother, the poor man of Jesus Christ, in doing these things, gave to the world an example of Justice, and one day his foolishness shall shine forth as wisdom; for all things in this earth are God's, and we are his Children; it is meet the children should share alike in His inheritance. That is, each should get what he has need of; and seeing grown men do not ask for broth, nor babies for wine, the share of each shall not be the same, but each shall have the heritage fitting for him."

"And labour shall be a joyful thing when it is no longer paid. 'Tis gold only, the cursed gold, that makes the sharing uneven. When each man shall go severally to the Mountain for his stone, and carry his load to the city on his own back, the stone shall weigh light and it shall be the stone of cheerfulness. We will build the house of joy and gladness, and the new city shall rise from the foundations. There shall be neither rich nor poor; but all men will call themselves poor men, because they will be glad to bear a name that brings them honour."

So spoke the gentle Fra Giovanni, and the unhappy quarryman thought to himself:

"This man, clad in a shroud and girt with a cord, has proclaimed new tidings. I shall not see the end of my miseries, for I am going to die of hunger and exhaustion; but I shall die happy, for my eyes, before they close, will have beheld the dawn of the day of Justice."

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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

VIII.

It was by making a compact against all masters, a compact to guarantee liberty to all and a certain well-being, that the revolted citizens commenced in the twelfth century. It will also be by a compact to guarantee food and liberty to all, that the Social Revolution should begin. Because all, without any exception, seeking how to gain the Revolution, will give their first thoughts to providing food, shelter, and clothing for the inhabitants of the city or the open country; and in this single fact of general solidarity, the Revolution will find forces which have been wanting in preceding revolutions. But for this it is necessary to renounce the errors of the old political economy of the bourgeois. It will be necessary to be rid forever of wages under all possible forms, and to regard society as a grand total, organised to produce the greatest possible result of well-being, with the smallest loss of human strength. It will be necessary to accustom oneself to consider personal remuneration of services as an impossibility, as an attempt which failed in the past, as an encumbrance in the future, if it should continue to exist. And it will be necessary to be rid of the principle of authority, of the concentration of functions which are the essence of the present society, and this not only in principle, but even in the smallest application.

Such being the problem, it will be very unfortunate if the revolted workmen have illusions as to its simplicity, or if they do not seek forthwith to take account of the methods by which they intend to resolve it.

The "upper classes" are a force, not only because they possess wealth, but, above all, because they have profited by the leisure which gives them opportunity to instruct themselves in the art of governing and to elaborate a science which serves to justify domination. They know what they want, they know what is necessary to maintain their ideal of society, and so long as the workman himself does not know what he should know and does not understand how to gain this knowledge, it is likely that he will remain the slave of such as know.

It would certainly be absurd to wish to elaborate, in imagination, a society such as would result from a revolution. It would be Byzantinism to wrangle about the means of providing for the needs of future society, or to organise certain details of public life. The novels which are produced concerning the future, are only destined to direct ideas somewhat, to demonstrate the possibility of a society without masters; to ascertain if the ideal can be applied without striking against insurmountable objects.

Fiction remains fiction, but there are always certain great principles upon which it is necessary to come to agreement before constructing anything whatever.

The bourgeois of 1789 knew perfectly well how vain it would be to discuss the details of the Parliamentary government of which they dreamed; but they dreamed of a government, and this government necessarily became representative. More than that, it necessarily became very much centralised, having for its organs in the provinces a hierarchy of functionaries equally with quite a series of little governments in the municipalities, also elected. They knew perfectly well that in their idea of society, private property would of necessity be beyond discussion, and that the so-called liberty of contract would be proclaimed as a fundamental principle of organisation. And, what is more, the better disposed of them believed, in fact, that this principle would really result in a regeneration of society and become a source of betterment for all.

They were the more accommodating as to details, as to be firm upon essential principles, that they could in one or two years totally reorganise France according to their ideal and give her a civil code (usurped later by Napoleon), a code which was afterwards copied everywhere by the European middle classes when they came to power.

They worked at this with a marvellous unanimity. And if afterwards terrible struggles arose in the Convention, it was because the people, seeing themselves deceived in their aspirations, came with fresh demands which their leaders did not understand, or sought in vain to reconcile with the middle class revolution.

The middle classes knew what they wanted: they had contemplated it for a long time past. For long years they had fostered an ideal of government, and when the people protested, they caused them to work out the realisations of their ideal in conceding several secondary considerations upon certain points, such as the abolition of feudal rights and equality before the law.

Without confusing themselves with details, the bourgeois had established, long before the revolution, the principle lines of the future. Can we say as much of the workers?

Unfortunately, no. In all modern Socialism, and above all in its moderate section, we see a pronounced tendency not to search into the principles of society which they desire to redeem from the revolution. This explains itself. For "Moderates" to speak of revolution is to compromise themselves, and they foresee that if they trace for workmen a simple plan of reforms, they will lose their most ardent partisans. Also they prefer to treat with scorn those who speak of a future society or seek to define the work of the revolution. This will be seen hereafter; they will choose the best men and these will do everything for the best! This is their reply.

And as for the Anarchists, the fear of seeing themselves divided upon questions of future society, and of paralysing the revolutionary enthusiasm, operates in a similar way. They prefer, generally, among workers, to defer to some future time, discussions, which they wrongly call theoretical, and forget that perhaps in one or two years they may be called upon to give their advice upon all questions of organisation of society, from the working of bakers' ovens, to those of the schools in which the defence of territory is considered—and of which they have not even the knowledge of the ancient models which inspired the bourgeois revolutionists of the last century.

We are asked to consider revolution as a great holiday in which everything will arrange itself for the best. But in reality the day when the ancient institutions crash, the day in which all that immense machine—which, for good or evil, supplies all the daily wants of such great numbers—shall cease to act, it will be most necessary that the people themselves charge themselves with reorganising the broken-down machine. It will be different from 1848, when the Republican leaders in Paris had "Nothing more to do than issue orders, copies of the old Republican stereotyped orders, known by heart for years—Lamartine and Ledru Rollin working 24 hours with the pen."

But what say these orders? They only repeat sonorous phrases invented in the time of the Republican clubs, and they do not treat at all of the essence of the daily life of the nation. Since the provisional government of 1848 touched neither property, wages, nor exploitation, it could very well end with high-sounding phrases: giving orders to do, in a word, what had been

done in the State Departments. It only need change the phraseology. And yet nothing but such work, almost mechanical, absorbed all the strength of the new-comers.

For us, revolutionists, who understand that the people will have to eat and to sustain their children first of all, the task will be an entirely different and otherwise difficult one.

Is there enough flour? Will it come to the bakers' ovens? And how shall we secure the due arrival of meat and vegetables? Has every one a lodging? Does clothing fail? and so on.

This is what will pre-occupy us.

But all this requires immense work—ferocious work—that is the word—for those who have the success of the revolution at heart. "Others have had the fever a week, or six weeks," said old Conventionner in his memoirs. "We have had it for four years without interruption. And it is undermined by this fever, in the midst of hostility and trouble—for there will be these also—that the revolutionists will have to work. He will have to act. But how shall he act if he knows not from long time past what idea shall guide him, what great principles of organisation, according with his answer to the requirements of the people, its vague desires, its undecided will?"

And will they still dare to say there is no need of all this, that everything will arrange itself left alone? More intelligent than this, the bourgeois already study the means of managing the revolution, of juggling it, of turning it into a direction in which it will miscarry.

The Revolution will not be a holiday; they will be work for the enfranchisement of all but in order to accomplish that enfranchisement the revolutionist will have to employ a boldness of thought, an energy of action, an eagerness for work, of which people have given no proof in previous revolutions, but of which the runners began to be delineated in the last days of the Commune of Paris and in the first days of the Great Strike at the London Docks.

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THE REACTION IN RUSSIA.

"Our greatest enemies," added Jeanbon Saint-André, "are not without: we see them; they are amongst us. THEY WISH TO CARRY REVOLUTIONARY MEASURES FURTHER THAN WE DO."—Quoted from "Jacobins," Vol. V., pp. 624-625, in Kropotkin's "Great Revolution."

In the French Revolution, those who succeeded in dominating the Revolution and in checking its progress, suppressed the Paris Sections, because they were the instrument of those who went further than they did, including those who wanted to establish economic equality, and the socialisation of land and industry. In Russia, now that the Soviet Government has turned from the effort to build towards Communism, to re-establish Capitalism, it rends those of the comrades who helped to make the revolution and who are now unwilling to retrace their steps.

All over Russia there are Communist and Anarchist-Communist comrades who refuse to accept the "new economic policy" which hands Russia over to Capitalism. Therefore all over Russia it is reported that members of the Communist Party Workers' Opposition, Universalist Anarchists, and others who have co-operated with the Communists, are in prison not to mention Social Revolutionaries of the Left and others whose views were always further removed from those of the Bolshevik Party.

The following letter has recently been received in this country; it is, unfortunately, one of many such:—

"Dear Comrades—In the night of 1st to 2nd November, the All-Russian Section of Anarchists Universalists (A.S.A.U.) was broken up. There were several members of the A.S.A.U. arrested, the majority of its Secretariate (Askaroff, Shapiro, Simtchin) and the earlier arrested Barmash and Styzenke. None of us knew the cause of our arrest; but two weeks later, at the preliminary examination of members of the A.S.A.U., it became clear that this organisation, and particularly the arrested members of the Secretariate, are accused of the following: (1) connection with bandits; (2) connection with underground organisations; (3) aiding the prisoners escaped from Ryazan; (4) concealing ordinary criminals; (5) closest connection with Makhno bandits and the hiding of Makhnovszky, and (6) purchase and use of false documents.

"At the preliminary hearing of Comrade Styzenko, the examining magistrate, Tchistakoff, declared that the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Ve-Tche-Ka) accuses us on the basis of evidence of Lev Tchorny and Gavriloff (now shot), who are alleged to have stated at their secret conferences took place at the Secretariate of the A.S.A.U., and that, consequently, it was with the knowledge of the Secretariate. Also on ground of evidence of Khaya Altshuler, who is alleged to have said that the Secretariate supplied false documents to those who escaped from Ryazan prison. In addition, also on alleged testimony of Petrograd Anarchists.

"All these accusations we denied as falsehoods and calumnies. Comrades, we are deeply shocked by all this. We lack words to express our indignation and mental anguish. This frame-up case against us is the most monstrous and exceptional in the annals of Russian Anarchism. Comrade Askaroff, as an old Anarchist of 17 years' standing in the movement, and we, members of the Secretariate, declare to you that the Secretariate of the A.S.A.U. had never in all its existence had any connection or relations with expropriators, underground organisations, or Makhnovshchina. Never did it aid them either with funds, documents, or in any other way, nor has it ever received anything from them. The Secretariate has no knowledge of any meeting places of expropriators and undergrounds, and knew absolutely nothing of their plans, intentions, etc. We affirm this on our Anarchist honour and conscience. We declare that if such testimony has ever been given by anyone, it is absolutely false and calumnious. Comrades, you must understand our position:

we are powerless to defend the name and honour of Anarchism while we are in prison. We have only one means at our command—a hunger strike to the death. We are ready to resort to it at once; but do not consider such a step desirous until you are informed about everything, as this matter concerns you as much as ourselves. Here is involved the honour of Anarchism, and that of Lev Tchorny as an Anarchist thinker. Should it even be true that Lev Tchorny or anyone else testified, as claimed by the examining magistrate, Tchistakoff, then it is the basest calumny— their names should be pilloried. We demand of you, comrades, that you compel the Ve-Tche-Ka to produce the proofs. Comrades, we still have fresh in our memory the tragedy of Ferrer. We do not admit the thought that Soviet Russia could follow in the footsteps of Jesuit Spain; but the honour of Russian Anarchism is at stake. Should this calumny triumph, in whatever form, then no Anarchist will be safe from a similar fate. Do not delay! We will await our fate calmly. If you should prove powerless to expose the shameful calumny, then nothing is left to us but to hunger-strike to death."

(Signed) Askaroff, Simtchin, Styzenko. Moscow, Nov. 26, 1921.

Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, long prominent Anarchists in America, and A. Shapiro, well-known in East London, appeal on behalf of the Anarchists in Russian prisons, who are short of food, and, in the North, attacked by "tzinga," a virulent form of scurvy, in which the hands and feet swell, and the teeth fall out. It is asked that donations to relieve the prisoners be sent to Redaction, "Brand" R.A.P.R., Olandsgaten, 48, Stockholm, 4 Sweden.

NATIONAL ECONOMY.

Life In the Hub of Our Empire.

Expenditure on milk and nourishment, and medical care of necessitous infants and mothers, on housing and all social palliatives of our capitalist civilisation is being reduced and will be further reduced.

The following notes from the books of an East London Mother and Infant Clinic, recorded in 1916, are instructive:—

"Child, deformed legs and has spinal bifida. Mother, no nipples, unable to nurse baby; had 13 children. Seven are under 13 years; six dead. Home miserably poor."

"Husband invalidated out of Army, physically unfit: was in trenches six weeks at Dardanelles without taking his clothes off, was removed unconscious; suffers from hernia, unable to work, been waiting a month for War Office to settle case. New born baby, four other children living, two dead. Home poor."

"Father, chronic ill-health, now in sick asylum three months, has abscess under arm. Income 5s. Sick Insurance, 16s. Poor Law. Five children and baby, mother's health poor."

"Child born February 20th, wasting; weighed 8½ lbs. on entering Clinic, September 13th. Taken into nursery, treated with sea water plasma injections. Removed to convalescent home December 18th. Returned home in satisfactory health, March."

"Seventh living child; father, night watchman, earns 28s., rent 6s. Mother suffering from rheumatism."

"Father died before birth of child; 11 other children. Mother ill, baby has bronchitis."

"Child born September 27th; October 10th father, a labourer, taken to hospital with broken leg: two operations to leg. Four other children."

"Child born November 2nd. Came to Clinic December 8th. Mother ill with gastric trouble. Husband working short time on very low rates, as slipper maker. Home miserably poor. Four other children."

"Child born May 4th, entered Clinic November 8th, weighing 5½ lbs. Taken into nursery for special feeding, remained till March 3rd."

"Wife very delicate: seriously ill at confinement, with bronchitis, and general ill-

health. Baby weighs 2½ lbs., exceedingly feeble. Husband in hospital with ulcerated leg. Four other living children, six dead. Income, 10s. Insurance, 14s. Poor Law. Girl earns 5s. Mother's health remained poor; breast-fed baby for three months, afterwards breast and bottle; baby remained feeble; bronchitis on March 2nd, taken into nursery for special care, March 30th. History of mother: a tiny baby every year, varied with four attacks of rheumatic fever of four or five months' duration. Six babies died soon after birth. A case of severe chronic poverty, intensified by father's ill-health."

"Child born December; home very poor; very few clothes for baby; scarcely any bed clothes for family; five other children, all needing shoes. Health of mother and baby very feeble."

"Father, labourer; 15 children: eight living, seven dead. Two youngest, 14 days and 14 months respectively. Health of mother and child, poor."

"Delicate mother, had nervous breakdown after confinement, became very ill. Baby born November 24th, and five other children: poor home. Mother sent to convalescent home."

"Widow, aged 24; three children; husband died of consumption five months before birth of youngest. Widow living with her mother who has 12 children. Poor Law Guardians allow 13s. 6d. a week (pro tem.).

STEPPING BACKWARD.

Mr. Naylor, the compositor M.P., describes the programme of the London Labour Party for the L.C.C. as "amazing only in its completeness." Here it is:—

Breaking up of the Poor Law:

Abolition of Boards of Guardians, Port of London Authority, Metropolitan Water Board, and Conservancy Board;

Rating of land values;

Further application of the principle of equalisation of London Rates;

Powers to local authorities to enter remunerative enterprises;

Building schemes and slum clearances;

Public ownership of motor omnibuses and underground railways;

Control of coal, bread, fish, milk and meat supplies, public markets, slaughter houses, and depots;

Full Trade Union rates to all employees;

Public medical, dental, nursing, and midwifery services.

It will be observed that the London Labour Party asks for "control" of bread, milk, meat supplies, etc. Even the early Fabians, the mildest of politicians, demanded the production and sale, by public authority, of bread, milk, coal, etc.

The Labour Party still clings to the iniquitous old system.

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MANCEUVRING THE NEXT WAR.

Making the New Balance of Power—Will Britain Fight For or Against France?—Which Coalition Will the Henderson-Led Labour Party Join?

The Hints of Lord Grey.

All the political world is discussing the great question at which Lord Grey of the Secret Treaties has hinted obscurely. The great question is not whether secret diplomacy shall be carried on under cover of conferences, or by unreported conversations between ambassadors and Foreign Ministers: it is not whether the Allied Supreme Council, or the League of Nations shall figure in the newspaper headlines; it is not, even though Lord Grey pretended to emphasise it, whether the Prime Minister, or someone specially appointed, shall represent the nation at international conferences.

The great question at issue is whether or not Britain and France shall stand together in the new world-balance of power groupings; whether Britain and France will fight together as Allies, or oppose each other as rivals in the next capitalist war.

War or Revolution?

The next capitalist war will come upon us swiftly: capitalist expansion is constantly accelerated, and in a few years, at most, the capitalists of the rival nations will be at each other's throats again, struggling for possession of the world's oil resources and for monopoly power to exploit China, the near East, Russia, and Africa.

Only a world revolution of the proletariat, that will smash the rule of Capitalism for ever and establish Communism in its place, can avert the coming great capitalist war. All far-seeing politicians, even those who cannot reconcile themselves to the prospect of Communism, know this. We call the attention of our readers to the comments on this question, which we reprint from the Liberal organ, the Nation.

The great capitalist war just ended was terrible, but not so terrible as the coming war which threatens humanity and from which only the workers' Revolution can save the world.

France the Rival.

Before the late war, British capitalists, in the main, regarded Germany as their most formidable rival. Therefore the Foreign Office diplomatists, who acted according to the wishes of British capitalist interests, took steps to prevent the expansion of Germany, and to crush her power, whenever a trial of strength should arise.

Even before the war there was a school of British capitalist politicians which would have preferred to conciliate Germany, for a time at least.

The war and the Peace Treaties have destroyed Germany as a rival in Naval power in the merchant marine and as a military and colonial power, but the war and the Peace Treaties have raised France into a position of power which makes her a formidable rival in some respects. France is now the greatest iron Power in the world; with her vassal, Poland, she is the greatest coal Power. She has also large oil fields in the countries over which she rules. These are mainly operated by British companies; but this in itself may be a fruitful source of friction, be-

cause Britain has shut America out of the world's oil fields, and America, smarting under the defeat caused by the secret manoeuvres of Britain, may work with France in opposition to British expansion. France, with the army of Poland, an army for which France has paid, is, moreover, the greatest military Power in the world. Because France has grown powerful, many of those who approved the alliance to check the power of Germany, now desire to see an alliance to check the power of France.

A Military Alliance With France.

Lloyd George belongs to the school which does not wish to see the growth of French power: he prefers to conciliate defeated Germany, and hitherto has refused to agree to France's proposal for a military alliance between France and this country. The refusal is tantamount to admitting that the last war was not the righteous war pretended, and that the Allies were not all white and Germany all black, as the Allied legends told. Mr. Lloyd George does not worry about that, however. No one who works on the balance of power theory can possibly maintain a consistent attitude on such matters.

Lord Grey, on the other hand, still believes in the French Alliance. Lord Lansdowne first created the Alliance and Lord Grey cemented it, embroidering it with secret bribes and understandings which blossomed forth into the Secret Treaties during the war. Lord Grey says he does not believe in Secret Treaties till war actually arrives: he probably prefers to maintain the bargaining and not to give it the finality of Treaty form till the guns begin to fire.

Lord Grey is probably desirous of retaining French collaboration in the struggle with America: Lloyd George pursues another policy: both have the same object: the supremacy of British Capitalism. Should war break out, they will again fight in unison for the triumph of British arms.

The prospect of such a war may be nearer than most people imagine: undoubtedly there is considerable friction between Britain and France, and between Britain, France and America. It is not for nothing that Briand resigned; it is not for nothing that America holds aloof from the League of Nations and is doubtful about attendance at Genoa.

Will Henderson Support War with France?

Lloyd George refuses a general Military Alliance with France; Lord Grey, Mr. Asquith, and Lord Robert Cecil who announces that he would serve under the Premiership of Lord Grey, support the French proposal.

Arthur Henderson has declared against the French Military Alliance: he also has thereby denounced his attitude in the late war.

It is a curious prospect:

Lloyd George, Henderson, and some Tories versus Grey, Asquith, and some Tories.

Some Conservatives are supporting the Lloyd George refusal; others, notably the extremists who are catered for by the Morning Post, are supporting Asquith and Grey. Will the General Election produce a "Liberal" Government under Grey, with a Tory programme and Tory support?

If there is war with France, shall we again see Henderson with the War Party?

The question is idle: Henderson will always be found with the War Party, unless the war prove to be thoroughly unpopular and the Peace Party be exceedingly strong.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. By Tom Anderson.

Several correspondents have written to me, asking how they should start a Proletarian School, and a few want to know the difference between a Socialist Sunday School and a Proletarian School.

How to start a PROLETARIAN SCHOOL. To each of the correspondents who ask this question, let me say: "You are the comrade who must take the responsibility. The initial work is quite easy.

Would you like to see a School opened? If so, it can be done, if you say so, and decide so, and have the courage to carry out your resolution. Don't let the stunt word "Democracy"

stand in your way, or any "Left Brain" comrade put you off the track. Do not listen to all the suggestions that are made by the Utopian office-seekers. Keep to your resolution to open a School, and your School will be opened.

Now to proceed: first find a meeting place with a low rent—an I.L.P. Branch, a Co-op. Hall, a Labour group hall—in a word, any small hall, central and clean. Engage it for your session, say, three weeks before your opening day. Fix the hour of meeting, say 12 noon in Scotland; for England I do not know the best hour. For Wales, 12 noon suits very well. Remember you are opening the School; never forget that point; the School is your child, and as you would act to the child of your family, so should you act towards your School.

Your next work is to call on any comrades you know, who are of an advanced type of mind, and ask their assistance. Say to them, quite frankly, you are opening a Proletarian School on a certain date, etc. Put the question straight: "Are you willing to assist?" If the comrade answers "favourable and you think he or she would make a good teacher, ask the comrade to join your staff. Thus you find a teacher, say, for singing, dancing, physical culture, etc. Get a good secretary: you yourself must be the President. After you have found your teaching staff, be it large or small, the teaching staff becomes the governing body of the School. Any other Grown-Ups who may come are utilised in social work, etc. The teaching staff may remain in office for life, if they are so disposed. Never mind the Communists who may come to your School and raise "points of order" about the appointing of committees, etc. Just tell them, in plain language, that the teaching staff of the School is the governing body. If they have an idea of any value, tell them to submit it, and the staff will consider it, and if good, adopt it. There is no need to have monthly meetings of the Grown-Ups of the School; the teaching staff and social workers of the School should hold an annual meeting to review their year's work and plan the work for the future. This plan works very well. If any drops out, their place is filled, by the mutual consent of the teaching staff.

Your next work is to find the children. If you have any money, advertise your School in the local press; this is to let the "dead-heads" know you have started. To get the children, you must call personally on every family you know. You can afford it, a little leaflet (costing 10s. per 1,000) should be printed, giving particulars of your teaching staff and the course you intend to pursue. Nothing can keep you back; go ahead and prosper.

The School Session in Glasgow is September, April, inclusive. Socials are also held on New Year's Day and May Day. Rambles start in May and continue till the end of August; they are held on Sunday, starting at 11.15. Outdoor propaganda meetings are held during the months. We have also a Dramatic Class, Physical Culture, and Swimming Clubs on Monday, Wednesday and Thursdays.

This is a short outline. Start and you go, not to full manhood in a day, not in many years, but start, that is the most vital point. If I had to change my residence to another part of the country, I can assure you that there would be a School there.

To you, then, my Fellow Worker: Will you be a leader? If so, start.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL AND A PROLETARIAN SCHOOL.

The difference is a fundamental one. A S.S. is a Utopian craving for super-men and women with spiritual ideas to lead us to the land of Promise—"Love and Justice," etc. The comrades carrying on these schools are false Christians who have been matured on bourgeois ideology. They believe the workers' children require to be saved; to be taught to the ideal of human justice. All their hymns, all their lessons, all their texts and precepts are those of the bourgeoisie appealing to their masters to be more Christian, to be more like Jesus, their Master. Therefore they are tolerated by the press, the pulpit and the respectable.

(Continued on page 8.)

COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

As we have seen, the main purpose of the Soviets is to minister to the needs of the people, in clothing, housing, education, recreation, transport, and so on. The workers who are responsible for these services are linked together in their Soviets for the purposes of their work. The Soviet structure is efficient, because it is formed on the lines necessitated by the work; also because it gives every worker a responsible share in the common effort, and thereby encourages the co-operative impulse. Even under Capitalism the merits of the workshop council, which is the germ of the Soviet, have been discovered, not only by the workers, but by the capitalist himself. During the war, when the Shop Stewards' movement flourished, employers actually initiated the formation of shop councils and the election of workers' stewards. The employers did so, not merely to forestall the rebel elements, but rather because, in the great stress of war-time and with a tremendous influx of new workers, the shop council organisation would minimise the cost of management, reduce the number of paid supervisors required, and the difficulty of maintaining discipline, and increase the output by producing a spirit of willingness amongst the workers who were responsive to the patriotic appeals to produce more.

Mr. Charles Reynold, of the big engineering firm of that name, recently gave an address on workshop committees and the control of industry: he described how the works committee at his firm holds monthly meetings with the management to discuss wages and conditions of labour, and all questions of management. He declared that the confidential financial information presented to the directors is communicated to the works committee, and the result is the creation of a sense of responsibility, an understanding of the management point of view, and the acceptance of changes with comparatively little friction.

From the class-war standpoint this information does not gratify us, and presumably the scheme is part of some profit-sharing arrangement. It is nevertheless testimony to the value of the workshop council from the administrative efficiency standpoint, although under Capitalism the shop council has, of course, no real power, and only a leading-strings share of responsibility. Reynold's is but one of many capitalist firms which are endeavouring, in the interests of efficiency, to secure the co-operation of their workers, though capitalist conditions prevent the co-operation from being genuine on either side. The growth of Whitleyism shows that the intelligent British capitalists are beginning to understand that men and women only give their best when they give of their free will, feeling that they are responsible entities. This truth is too often forgotten by those who once preached it, when they attain to official positions, whether in Russia, or in Britain.

The trend of the times supports the view that the Soviet Government made a serious blunder when it decided (and put into practice its decision) that "workers' control of industry" is only a slogan useful for securing the overthrow of the capitalist, and must be discarded, once the workers have turned out the capitalist, in favour of management by an individual or committee appointed by some centralised authority.

A careful and candid survey of the Russian attempt to establish Communism will some day reveal, more clearly than at present, the proportional weight of the causes which have led to its failure. That it has failed for the present, and that only a powerful new impetus can stop the present retrogression in Russia we are compelled to admit.

Such a candid survey will provide evidence as to how far the Russian failure has been due to the capitalist resistance to Communism; how far to the unreadiness of the population; how far to the mistakes of the Communists, and especially to the mistakes of the Soviet Government.

The question of workers' control of industry will bulk largely in this connection. Viewed from the standpoint of efficiency as a fighting force, it is notorious that never were strikes so swiftly, so solidly and successfully

effected in this country as those of the war-time Shop Stewards' movement. A rank and file chorus complaining of the inefficiency, inactivity and lack of class solidarity shown by the reactionary Trade Union leaders is constantly rising and falling. During the Dublin Lock-Out of 1912, during the railway strike of 1919 and the coal strike of 1921, it swelled with indignation, but only the workers organised in the workshop committees have taken large-scale action, except at the bidding of the Union officials. This is not unnatural: until both the individual workers and the workers in each individual firm feel that others will act with them, they shrink from taking action which, if not supported, will lead to their victimisation.

To recapitulate: the Soviets, or workers' occupational councils, will form the administrative machinery for supplying the needs of the people in Communist society; they will also make the revolution by seizing control of all the industries and services of the community.

Though in Russia the Revolution was accomplished by Soviets which sprang up spontaneously in some places and by unorganised mob risings, this was only possible, because the government of Russia had broken down, Capitalism was weak and of limited extent, and the entire country in a state of chaotic disorder.

Here in Britain the machinery of the Soviets must be prepared in advance. In all the industries and services, revolutionary workers, who are habitually at work there and know the ropes, must be prepared to seize and maintain control.

The Trade Unions do not provide this machinery: they are not competent, either to seize, control, or to administer industry. They are not structurally fitted to administer industry, because their organisations do not combine all the workers in any industry, and they are not efficiently co-ordinated. Their branches are constructed according to the district in which the worker resides, not according to where he works.

The Trade Unions are, moreover, opposed to revolutionary action: their object is to secure palliations of the capitalist system, not to abolish it.

British experience has shown that the workers' council system is efficient, both as an engine for fighting the employer, and as a means of administering the industry. Experience has also shown that under favourable conditions it can be built up with remarkable rapidity.

Experience in those European countries where the workers and their organisations have been tested in the revolutionary fight, has shown that the workers' council is always the organ of the workers' struggle. The Trade Unions, having tried unsuccessfully to avert the contest, in each case threw the weight of their influence on to the side of preserving the established order, and opposed every effort of the workers and their councils to overpower the employing class.

The evidence given by J. H. Thomas in his libel case against the Communist and its officials reveals the attitude which he will adopt in the event of any struggles for Proletarian power in this country. J. H. Thomas must not be regarded as an exception: the British Trade Union officials will all adopt the same attitude. Some will denounce the revolutionary workers on platforms, openly proclaiming their allegiance to the Crown, the Government and the employing class; others will merely hold aloof from the revolutionaries and in the Trade Union conferences will vote against the Unions joining the revolutionaries in the struggle. If they do not advise Trade Union members to give actual assistance to the Government in coercing the revolutionaries, they will at least advise their members to assist the cause of re-establishing the disturbed capitalist order by remaining quietly at work—the obedient servants of the capitalist employer, or of the capitalist Government.

This is the part which the Trade Unions and their officials have played in every one of the many recent proletarian uprisings in other countries: this is the part which J. H. Thomas and his colleagues will play here. J. H. Thomas differs only in degree from his colleagues who belong to the Reformist School. The British

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Trade Union movement and its officials belong to the same school as the Trade Unions and Trade Union officials of Europe and America.

The Trade Unions have too loose and unco-ordinated a structure to make the revolution: they are ideologically opposed to it: therefore they will fight it.

The workers councils, co-ordinated industrially and nationally along the lines of production and distribution, are the organs which are structurally fitted to give the workers greatest power in the control of industry. If that power is to be used to overthrow the present system, the councils, which together will form a "One Big Union," of workers' committees in all industries, should be built, from the first, with the object of taking control.

In Germany, where the methods necessary for waging the proletarian struggle are being forged during the struggle, the Revolutionary Workers' Union, the A.A.U., is a fighting force which has had to be reckoned with. Its growth has been accelerated by the fact that the reactionary Trade Unions have expelled their revolutionary members.

(to be continued.)

CLYNES PREPARES TO GOVERN.

J. R. Clynes (ex-half-timer in a cotton mill, ex-I.L.P.-er) was invited to address the Imperial Commercial Association at Cannon Street Hotel the other day. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir Lynden Macassey, Lord Ashfield, and the chairmen of such institutions as Barclay's Bank, the Anglo-South American Bank, and the London and National Corn Trade Associations were present to hear him. What a tribute to his business capacity!

Clynes said that the Labour Party is often blamed for industrial disputes for which it is not responsible, and which it tries to compose. The Labour Party desires, he insisted, to make industrial conflicts impossible, for, he said, they involve waste and loss to employers and employed, and inflict damage on the general public. The Trade Union Rules, he said, are old-fashioned and narrow; they should be "broadened" and adapted to present day systems of production and business.

The Morning Post is declaiming against the Trade Unions, and is leading a movement to place Trade Union Ballots under legal restriction and supervision. In Germany the Trade Union leaders are supporting anti-strike legislation. Already the agreement between the railway directors, the N.U.R., the Engineers' Association, and the Railway Clerks' Association places the Trade Union ballot under the employers' supervision, and delays and limits the right to strike. This tendency is important; it increases the shackles of capitalist slavery upon the workers; it hastens the day when another and more efficient machinery must replace that of the Trade Unions.

Clynes continued addressing himself to the business men who had assembled to hear him:—

"A great deal of nonsense is talked about the designs of Labour upon private enterprise. It is not Labour that has imposed upon it a tax of 6s. in the pound, rising in some cases to double that amount. Private enterprise has to carry a heavy load of rates, payments, and interest, and none of these could be worse under any condition of Labour authority. Labour will be as considerate as any other Government in composing claims as they arise between public well-being and private gain."

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THE CONFESSIONS OF MRS. SNOWDEN.

Mrs. Snowden, who under the guidance of a kindly old Quaker lady, left the elementary school teacher's desk to become the wife of a Labour M.P., and qualified as a speaker on the Socialist platform, has just told us, Fellow Worker, that Socialism is not a complete solution for unemployment.

Some people may still think it is, she says; indeed, she candidly admits that she used to think so; but now she knows better. Under the able tuition of her present aristocratic associates she has learnt that it is not so.

She recanted her old Socialist faith, Fellow Worker, in most distinguished company: Lady Waldorf Astor preceded her as a speaker; Lady Galway followed her. The *Morning Post* declares that Mrs. Snowden "made a remarkable confession!"

That is not all: Mrs. Snowden (Comrade Snowden no more) announced also another striking discovery: she has re-discovered domestic service. She has discovered that to be the "slavery" to a Lady is a charming occupation for our girls. She desires more opportunities of training our girls to wait upon the upper classes.

She told the audience at the Morley Hall, Hanover Square, that she is "prepared to have howls of indignation yelled at" her for this new faith of hers. No yells of indignation came from the polite ladies she was addressing, dear comrade; she need not expect them from Mr. and Mrs. Fat; and if they come from you and I, Fellow Worker, ex-Comrade Snowden will bear our censure with heroism.

It is fitting that she should couple her recantation of Socialism with her declaration upon the servant question. It marks her belief in class distinctions, the privileges of the richer, and the enslavement of the many to the possessing few.

Some prick of conscience doubtless caused her to declare that "not the least lacerating of the confidences" she receives "are from mothers of very young families being literally driven to death, because they cannot get help in their homes." Those mothers Mrs. Snowden mentions are not mothers of the working-class, the really overburdened working class, Fellow Worker. They are of the employing classes. (The poorer employing classes, doubtless, who can afford to live in houses that are more easily kept clean than the workers' dwelling, and can buy more labour-saving appliances than can the working-class woman, but who cannot and do not pay enough to induce the working girl to work for them.)

Mrs. Snowden, who used to say she was a Socialist, does not think of co-operative house-keeping when she hears those "lacerating stories" of over-burdened mothers. Under the influence of her titled associates, her conventional brain only thinks of making a "slavery" of some working mother's daughter.

Mrs. Snowden, of the Society platform has forgotten that the girl who elects to do a share of housework, would prefer to do it in her own home, or in that of a relative. She has forgotten the injustice that forces the working girl to leave her own overburdened mother and become the slave of the idle well-to-do.

Mrs. Snowden has, like so many Trade Union leaders, apparently forgotten that she herself springs from the class which produces domestic servants. She explained to the audience of ladies that she had "taken some trouble to discover the real objections to domestic service." A little introspective thinking would have taught her those objections without any trouble whatsoever.

Mrs. Snowden observed that public opinion must say "the disgrace of the workers is not to be found in the work they do, but in the way they do it."

Of course, there were cheers at that, and as the ladies clapped, they whispered together: "If you saw the way she leaves those corners!" "If you only saw her brasses!"

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