THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. V.—No. 4. SATURDAY, APRIL 20th, 1918 Price One Penny

NO CAPITALIST PEACE: *By St. Mungo*

The longer the War drags on the greater is the danger that it may end with a capitalist peace. An ending of that kind would be a gross betrayal of all the idealism that has inspired common men and women and children to make unprecedented sacrifices during the past three and a half years in the hope that by so doing the world would be freed from War for evermore. The War, we now know for certain, was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests; it is being prolonged by capitalist interests; and it may be ended for the sake of maintaining the dominance of the capitalist interests which set it in motion. The capitalists will lose no more time in making Peace, than they did in making War, if they think such is necessary in order to save capitalism from being overthrown by a general social revolution.

A capitalist peace under any circumstances means that the workers of Europe lose the War. A capitalist peace means the continuance of capitalism and the exploitation of the workers; and it will be an armed truce that will lead to more War. The capitalist system was born of force; it has been maintained by force; it cannot continue unless it is based on force. If the capitalists make the peace, the terms of settlement will not include disarmament, the abolition of secret diplomacy, the autonomy of small nations, or economic freedom for all States. There can be no real Peace unless these essential principles are embodied in it, and they will not be so embodied by capitalists. Only the workers will establish these principles as being necessary for an enduring Peace, and for that reason alone we must insist on a workers' Peace. Otherwise Labour will become the slave of an international capitalist power, euphemistically described as a League of Nations.

The capitalists of all countries realise that the War has given birth to revolutionary ideas which can only be controlled by an international power operated by capitalists to maintain "order" in Europe. This has been made plain by their frantic efforts to localise and crush the Revolution in Russia. In this project both sets of belligerent powers have found a common ground; and both have worked in various ways for the common aim of smashing the Revolution. They may differ as to which set of capitalists should exploit certain territories; but they are agreed that no territory should be free from capitalist exploitation. Hence their common desire to crush the Socialist regime in Russia. Unless Socialism is crushed in these countries it may raise its head in other lands.

A capitalist Peace will have for its aim the repression of revolution in Europe.

In all the warring countries there are discerning capitalists alive to the fact that the wave of revolution may flood Europe if it is not dammed in Russia; and none of them is more active in this respect than Lord Lansdowne, who wants Peace because a capitalist Peace is preferable to a general revolution. Lord Lansdowne is one of the Few who plunged this country into War; and if he now cries for Peace it is because he sees the social revolution looming on the horizon. We can offer no objection to Lord Lansdowne or any other lord or magnate swelling the chorus for Peace, but we do object to them asking us to join in their chorus, for their Peace anthem has a different tune from ours. He wants Peace to prevent a revolution: we want Peace as the prelude to a general revolution. He wants a Peace made by the men who made the War; we want a Peace made by the peoples who have suffered in the War. A Lansdowne Peace is a capitalist Peace, and that we do not want and will not have.

Some Socialists have been so far misled by his lordship's "standing and influence" that they think the cause of Peace is best served by rallying to the banner of Lord Lansdowne, and, with his capitalist followers, shouting for a Lansdowne Peace. These Socialists, too, are comrades who have spent much energy in the past three years telling the workers that the War was caused by secret diplomacy and capitalism, and would only be brought to an open and honest settlement by the workers taking the control of diplomacy and government into their own hands. Yet they are now in open association with one of the Few who caused the War, vainly imagining that he will procure for them the Peace which at one time they thought could only be won by the workers. How easily have these comrades forgotten their own principles and their own speeches and the workers' strength to make Peace. Evidently there is still magic in the call of a lord.

Let us look at the record of Lord Lansdowne and from it endeavour to find out if he is the man who will lead for an open and honest Peace. He has been a prominent politician for almost fifty years, and between 1869 and 1909 received in salaries from the State a total of £193,020—an average of almost £5,000 a year. This, too, in addition to the rental of £53,465, which he exacted annually from the tenants of his 135,517 acres in Ireland and England. He was a Lord of the Treasury in 1869-72; Under Secretary for War, 1872-4; Governor-General of Canada, 1883-8; Viceroy of India, 1888-93; Secretary for War, 1895-1900; and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1900-1905.

In none of these positions did Lord Lansdowne ever show any sympathy with the aims and aspirations of democracy, and it is unlikely he has changed his views now. He believes in the rule of aristocracy and plutocracy, and has acted according to that belief all through his public career. He was one of the men behind the South African War, and his was the hand which guided Britain into the European imbroglio with Germany over Morocco, which dispute undoubtedly paved the way for this War. As leader of the Unionist Party in 1914 he, with Bonar Law, wrote the letter pledging Unionist support of the Asquith Government if it went to War and the historians will tell us how much this letter helped the Asquith Cabinet to take the plunge. He was a member of the first Coalition Cabinet and helped, we presume, to draft some of the secret treaties, and accorded general approval of the iron heel policy at home. *Was it not his Lordship who wanted the Cabinet to inflict "drastic" punishment on the leaders of the Clyde movement against the Munitions Act?* Was he not an advocate of conscription before and during the War?

In domestic politics he has always been on the reactionary side. No man has offered stronger opposition to the enfranchisement of women than Lord Lansdowne, and he has also made himself notorious by his resistance to Home Rule for Ireland. He was against the Land Tax and the right of strikers to picket; all trade union legislation making for improvement has found in him an opponent. He owes everything to Labour, but Labour owes him nothing. Always he has been the friend of privilege and the foe of democratic progress.

And this is the man who is to lead the workers into the Promised Land where reside Peace and Prosperity!

If the workers want an honest Peace they will have to get it for themselves. Lord Lansdowne will not help them. Those who have to carry the burden of war must free themselves from its oppression. Peace, like freedom, comes from below, not from above, and the workers who rely on a Lord to lead them towards Peace are indeed weak. But the workers are not weak; they are strong; and if they use their strength, as it should be used, an honest Peace will not be denied them for long. A Lansdowne Peace would be better than war, but a workers' Peace is better still. And it is on the latter we should concentrate if we are really anxious to lead the world out of the hell of War into which it has been led by the class which is so well represented by Lord Lansdowne.

Lord Lansdowne is no friend of the peoples either in Peace or War.

THE BETRAYAL OF IRELAND

If the Government Home Rule Bill for Ireland be based on the recommendations of the Convention, it will prove to be a poor measure indeed, and unfortunately the present Government is likely to produce nothing better. The Irish Parliament suggested by the Convention is intensely undemocratic in character. The proposal to create a Senate of 64 members, including Archbishops, Lord Mayors, representatives of commerce and industry, labour, and local government, is of interest on this side of the water also; for a similar structure may probably be suggested as a Reformed Second Chamber over here. Highly reactionary are the proposals that 20 members of the House of Commons of 160 members shall be nominated by the Lord-Lieutenant, to give 20 extra seats to Ulster, and to guarantee 40 per cent. of the seats to Unionists, though they represent only 25 per cent. of the population. In the Senate it is predicted that the Unionists will get 70 per cent. of the seats. How could this be called a democratically elected Parliament? Again, the 42 Irish members of the British Parliament are to be elected, not by the people, but by the Irish House of Commons. Consider what would be said if this were done in Prussia!

The Irish Parliament would be, under the Convention's programme, not merely undemocratic in structure, but devoid of power. The executive power it is proposed to continue vested in the King, and exercisable through the Lord-Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive. It is further proposed that Money Bills shall be founded only on Viceregal messages, that the Irish Parliament may not legislate on the Crown, peace and war, treaties and foreign relations, dignities and titles, naval harbours, coinage, copyright and patent rights. Police and prison services are not to come under Irish control until after the War, and the question as to whether the Irish Parliament shall control Customs and Excise is to be left over till after the War. The Irish Parliament will in many respects, it seems, have less power than some petty Rural District Council! But small as the proposals are, they are too big for the more determined Unionists, and therefore the Government refuses to pledge itself to pass even so narrow a measure as this in return for Conscription. The answer of every self-respecting Irish man and woman will continue to be: "You can keep both your Bills!"

When War broke out, a Home Rule Act (not a satisfactory Act from the point of view of the Irish who desire independence; but nevertheless a more satisfactory measure than this) had passed through the various stages necessary for a measure to become law in this country. But the rules which apply in regard to our own British measures were disregarded where legislation was concerned which affected a subject race. Because Sir Edward Carson and his friends threatened rebellion, British law was set aside and British faith was broken, the Home Rule Act was suspended, and now the Irish are asked to accept these infamously insulting and highly undemocratic proposals in its place. Of course they will say no; of course they will rebel against Conscription. Then coercive violence will be employed, and lives will be lost.

Dominion Home Rule has often been advocated for Ireland. We must point out that Canada, Australia, and New Zealand decide the question of Conscription for themselves. If Ireland had her own Parliament, the British Parliament would have even less right than at present to *force* Conscription upon her unwilling people! The Irish Legislature itself would decide this question. The Sinn Feiners, who are now the Irish majority, will never be willing to man an English Army. Obviously, the right thing to do is to drop the Irish Conscription clause.

FINSBURY PARK

Everyone should attend the Finsbury Park demonstration on Sunday, May 5th. This is the Marx Centenary year, and Socialists should now re-consecrate themselves to the International Socialist Cause.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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OUR DUTY TO YOUTH

As conscription relentlessly claims the lads in their eighteenth year the mass of them goes unresisting. If impassioned regret stirs within them; if urgent longings to escape strive to break through, the world does not know. And as the lads go dumbly to the trenches, the girls flock into the munition factories and to the auxiliary Army, Navy, and Air Services.

The capitalist newspapers and magazines, the street wall advertisements, the novels and entertainments, the very teaching in the schools, the Empire days and flag days, all appeal to the generous heart of youth in order to gain its submission to the inhuman uses of capitalist-militarism.

Against this teaching of spurious patriotism we must set up for them the Socialist ideal of universal brotherhood and sisterhood; the joyous hope that they too may take a part in building the golden age, of seeing its happy blossoms flower around them, of tending its welcome fruits and joining in its songs, finding fulfilment of their life's destiny in its creative work. A fairer ideal this to set before our youths and maidens than the making of grim skeletons upon the battlefield and of continuing for ever to be the unheeded swiftly exhausted grist in the dull capitalist mill.

Capitalist-Militarism is on the alert to mould the minds of the children in order that when they are up-grown they may submit their vital powers to it without revolt. The propaganda of Capitalist-Militarism permeates the schools, the churches, the Sunday schools, the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements. Socialists must not rest until before every child and every parent is placed the alternative at least of the Socialist Sunday school for the younger children and the Socialist League of Youth for the elder boys and girls. Rambling, cycling, gymnastics, singing, drawing—all that youth needs and desires for its development must be provided under Socialist auspices as well as the systematic teaching of Socialism, and history from the working-class standpoint. The cultivation of a sense of the world-wide solidarity of the workers must be the basis on which all else is built. Make co-operative labour appear noble and beautiful to the children, place before them the drawings of Morris and Crane, teach them the poetry of Morris, let them know the poetry, songs, and dances of the folk in every land. Bring the hope and the loveliness of Socialism before the young; let them know, too, the sordid causes of War. There will be no doubt of their choice then; at once the spell will be broken which causes the unawakened to go unresisting to their betrayal.

Every day yet more boys reach their eighteenth year and conscription claims them; every day yet more girls become a part of the military machine. They go without the knowledge which would save them. Youth looks to maturity for guidance. Let us do more to strengthen the Socialist Sunday School movement, to assist the formation and strengthening of Socialist Leagues of Youth, to urge forward the introduction of such systems of education as the Montessori method which is preparing the way for Socialism.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

(North-Eastern Branch),

400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.3.

MARXIAN ECONOMICS.

A Series of Classes will be held at the above on Sunday Evenings at 6.30 p.m., COMMENCING ON SUNDAY, APRIL 21st, 1918.

Non-Members wishing to join please write to Secretary (Y.S.L.), c/o 400 Old Ford Road, E.3, for Syllabus, or, better still, come to the Opening Class.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Portsmouth Socialist Sunday School is a great success. A club for the elder children has developed from it which has a boy and girl committee, and a boy and girl act as secretaries. There is also a Children's Cycle Club, which makes excursions on Sundays. Mrs. Clarges, W.S.F. Secretary, goes out with the club. The younger children are to have short rambles and games. The Poplar Socialist Sunday School, held at 20 Railway Street, is also most successful, and a Young Socialist League has developed from it, which is run by the elder children. Mr. Woolfstein and Miss Isaacs are to be congratulated on their success in carrying on the school.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

National Workers' Committee Conference

By W. F. WATSON

On Saturday and Sunday, April 13th and 14th, a Conference of Workers' Committees, Manchester, London, London West, Leicester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Southport, Newton-le-Willows, Luton, Leeds, and Crayford, was held in the Milton Hall, Deansgate, Manchester, to consider a suggested Programme for Labour, drawn up by the N.A.C. The main proposals were contained in the following resolutions:—

That we, the Organised Workers of Great Britain, demand that the Government shall take a Referendum of the adult population of this country, including soldiers and sailors, whether in Great Britain or Home Waters, or serving abroad on the following issues:—

Are you in favour of the declaration of an immediate general armistice on all fronts for the purpose of an attempt being made at a general peace by negotiation, on the basis of no annexation, no indemnities, and the self-determination of nations?

Are you in favour of an International Congress of the Workers to be convened during the armistice, and that Labour shall be fully represented at the Peace Conference?

The workers of the Organised Labour movement being of the opinion that the present Government is undemocratic in its nature, and therefore incapable of accomplishing a democratic Peace, demands that a General Election be proceeded with forthwith.

Comrade H. Shaw, Leeds, occupied the chair. With the exception of Leicester and London, all the district reports were to the effect that a general peace movement would not be supported by the workers. After some discussion a resolution that the suggested programme be dropped and that the Conference proceed to discuss schemes of organisation was moved and seconded. An amendment that the programme be discussed was also moved and seconded.

Comrade J. T. Murphy said if the resolution were carried it would mean that we proceed with workshop organisation. The reports showed that the workers were not ready for a peace movement. When the programme was drafted there was a possible chance that it might succeed, but the great offensive had changed the temper of the people. Events were moving very rapidly, and before long there might be a better chance for an advanced programme. In the meantime, we should discuss workshop organisation. The amendment and resolution were put and the voting was equal, but eventually on the motion of W. F. Watson, it was decided to discuss the programme seriatim. They adjourned for tea and upon re-assembling it was noticeable that several delegates, including J. T. Murphy, were not present.

On behalf of the London Workers' Committee, W. F. Watson moved:—

That the Workers' Committee declares itself in favour of an immediate armistice on all fronts for the purpose of instituting negotiations for peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities and self-determination of all nations.

The Workers' Committee further declares its intention of formulating proposals to place before an International Workers' Congress believing that such a Congress is the only body that can settle war and peace problems in the interests of the Workers of the world.

It was astounding, said Watson, to think that the Workers' Committee should ask the Government to do anything, but to ask them to take a vote of the adult population was the height of absurdity. The capitalist rags would fill their columns with stuff to influence the people and the vote would be an adverse one in consequence. We must keep organising until we were strong enough to achieve our object. In the meantime, it was essential that we should declare ourselves in favour of peace and endeavour to set up an International Workers' Congress. W. Craven, of Leeds (who did good work as Secretary of the Woolwich Workers' Committee) said he was glad to second the resolution and Comrade Stretton, of Leicester, supported it. Comrade Bowns, of Sheffield, opposed, saying that the workers were War-mad. Men who had left £12 a week jobs for 30s. to escape military service were now anxious to join up. Comrade Davies, Newton-le-Willows, said he was not there as an individual but was representing the men in his shop who were directly opposed to peace. Comrade Brady, Manchester, moved as an amendment:—

That this conference after hearing the reports of the delegates from the different districts is of opinion that the time is not opportune to ask the workers to take action for peace terms and recommends that the delegates go back and proceed with the organisation of the rank and file on lines laid down in the pamphlet issued by the Sheffield Workers' Committee.

This was seconded by comrade Dunston, Manchester. Both mover and seconder said that after hearing the reports we could not ask workers to take action for peace. Comrade Peet maintained that we should leave questions of peace and war alone and devote our energies to building up a class organisation.

Upon being put to the vote, the amendment was carried.

When the Conference reassembled on Sunday morning W. F. Watson then moved the following resolution on behalf of the L.W.C.:—

That this Conference recognising that the Government and the State are institutions erected for the specific purpose of protecting private property and perpetuating wage slavery declares its intention of ignoring the Parliamentary machine and of building up a National Assembly of Local Workers' Committees directly representing the workers which shall render Parliament unnecessary by usurping its functions.

We also declare against Political Parasitism leaving it entirely to the individual to please himself in the event of a General Election.

In the debate on this resolution, most of the delegates appeared to be of opinion that it would be foolish to ignore Parliament. Peet suggested we should send men there to Westminster with a distinctive policy. The Crayford delegates wanted 400 Watsons in Parliament, but Watson said one Watson outside Parliament would be far better than 400 inside. The resolution was negatived.

It was agreed that the principle of movable conferences be adopted, the sitting conference to decide the place of the next conference. It was agreed that the next conference be held in Birmingham.

The following recommendations were referred to the N.A.C.:—

That national contribution cards and uniform contributions and affiliation fees be adopted, and that this Conference considers it imperative that a National General Office be immediately established.

That Secretary be instructed to ask for nominations for all General officials and N.A.C. immediately.

It was left to the N.A.C. to fix the date of the next conference.

CONTRACTS AND A CONTRAST

If the allowance of some poor soldier's wife is overpaid, if she receives allowance during her husband's desertion, after his discharge, or at any other time when she is not entitled to it, she is threatened with imprisonment, and is imprisoned unless she can prove that she was ignorant of the authorities' mistake. But what happens when Government Departments are dealing with great contracts? The audited accounts of the Ministry of Munitions provide further revelations as to the mismanagement of this "business Government":—

The price of a certain shell was reduced from £1 to 12s. 6d. in March, 1916, but the Ministry continued paying £1 for large quantities of shell till February, 1917.

In one case the contract ledger reported payments of £1,400,000, though £4,700,000 had actually been paid.

A contractor was paid an account of £111,362 twice over. He notified the Department, but in reply was paid an account of £21,540 which had already been paid!

The Departmental experts estimated that a Government factory would cost £264,100; it cost £1,153,000. Another factory, estimated at £632,800, cost £2,200,000.

A contract was arranged under which the Ministry paid to a firm £13,000 towards the cost of plant and also 36s. per hundred for filling gaines. The firm filled 4,000,000 gaines at this price. Other firms were doing the work for 17s. 6d., 14s. 3d., and 14s. per hundred.

These are just a few of the Ministerial expert's mistakes. Could the workers do worse?

The Comptroller reports that shortly before the Silvertown explosion conditions existed in the factory which were considered to have been the cause of earlier explosions. Recommendations for increasing safety had "*apparently*" been carried out when the explosion occurred. The public will wish to hear more of this. But so long as War material is produced it is certain to be a danger.

HOW WAR PENSIONS WORK OUT

Here are a few cases dealt with by the London War Pensions Committee:—

A soldier's father aged 84 was entirely dependent on his maimed son. The son's wife has only 23s. separation allowance so cannot help her father-in-law. The Pensions Committee is giving the father 12s. 6d. a week.

A soldier's wife without children suffers from gastritis and is too ill to work. Her allowance is 16s., the L.W.P. makes this up to £1. Her rent is £26 a year.

A soldier's wife has seven children. Her allowance is 43s. 6d. Her rent is 10s. a week; six of the children have whooping cough. The L.W.P. allowed her 2s. 6d. a week for two quarters. Scarcely a generous sickness allowance.

Soldier's parents, both over 60 years of age, and both ill. Two sons gave them 35s. a week and extra help. Their rent is 10s. a week, their allowance 19s. 6d. The London War Pensions Committee allows them 10s. a week.

These people are living in attenuated poverty. They are obliged to appeal to the London War Pensions Committee for grants to eke out the Government allowance, and as these doles are made for a short period only, and probably may not be renewed, the recipients are subjected to perpetual humiliation and robbed of a sense of security in even the petty sums that they get. Are you satisfied with this system? If not, join the national League of Rights and send your donations to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. A. A. Watts, 20 Selwyn Road, Bow, E.

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"We have built a vast military structure on the broad basis of the lives of our best youth."—Dr. Page at the Mansion House luncheon.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

FINNISH CAPITALISTS TO GERMAN INVADERS

General Mannesheim, Commander-in-Chief of the capitalist forces in Finland, thanks the German armies for driving out the Bolsheviki, expresses friendship for "Germany's great Kaiser," and hopes that the Finnish Army may become permeated by the "iron discipline" of the German troops. He appreciates the sacrifices which Germany is making in sending troops to crush the Social Revolution in Finland at a time when Germany needs all her troops for her own War. We can all join the capitalist Press in expressions of contempt for General Mannesheim. But what shall we say of the British Government, which has sent men to Vladivostok to crush out the Social Revolution in Russia when men are said to be needed so urgently on the Western front that the Irish must be conscribed?

AMERICAN-JAPANESE AGREEMENT

As we expected, the American Government hung back from assenting to the Japanese invasion of Russia until the U.S.A. had struck a satisfactory bargain. Now Reuter announces that an agreement has been concluded at Kharbin which gives America control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Japanese Press is angry; that means that some of the Japanese capitalists are dissatisfied. But no doubt the most powerful sections have agreed. What becomes of President Wilson's fine phrases now? "The Times" says "all the respectable elements in Siberia are eager for Allied intervention." That means that all the capitalists prefer a foreign invasion to the establishment of Socialism.

COUNT CZERNIN

The statement that Count Czernin has come into conflict with the Austrian Slavs leaves us comparatively cold, for the fact that the British Government is preparing a conflict with Ireland appears to us to be an affair concerning us more nearly. And we note that this Government has also refused passports to an Indian Home Rule deputation. When we are told that the Austrian Emperor sought to make peace with France we are not filled with triumph that his longing for peace has been disclosed, but with sorrow that his efforts to secure it were unsuccessful. Count Czernin's resignation may lead to the temporary ascendency of the Austrian war party, but that we hope may lead to revolt by the Austrian workers who yearn for peace.

ANOTHER VICTIM

Mr. John Arnall was arrested in his house on Saturday, April 13th, by Scotland Yard officials for four speeches delivered in Finsbury Park (one in December, two in March, and one in April). These, it was alleged, were likely to endanger "His Majesty's friendly relations with foreign Powers," especially Japan and U.S.A. Bail was refused, and he was kept in Hornsey Police Station till Monday, when, being brought up at Highgate Police Station, bail was given in £200, and he was ordered to present himself at Highgate on April 23rd. Comrade after comrade is thus victimised. How long is this coercion to continue?

WORKERS VOTE FOR CHILD SLAVERY

The cotton workers have shown little foresight in their vote against the abolition of the half-time system, which is so injurious to their children. The low wage standards in the cotton trade are, of course, the cause of this reactionary vote, and the parents complain that children are kept marking time after they reach twelve and thirteen years.

THE W.A.A.C.s

The report of the Women's Commission of Inquiry into the position of the W.A.A.C.s in France proves and disproves nothing. The Commissioners, during their eight days' visit to France, could see little beyond what the military authorities desired them to see. The statistics supporting their case are merely the official figures. When Mrs. Fawcett was sent to South Africa by the British Government to whitewash the concentration camps, she performed that operation with great thoroughness, but her evidence has not stood the test of time. The fact that the Commissioners recommend that the powers of dismissal and transfer be more freely exercised than at present is significant. Nevertheless, we are quite prepared to continue in our belief that the conduct of the average man and woman, even in the Army, is decent and conscientious. The most illuminating sentences in the report are those which approve the social intercourse of men and women of the rank and file, but declare that regulations forbidding social intercourse between officers and W.A.A.C. rank and filers are "desirable and should be enforced." The ladies of the Commission probably have a vivid realisation of the consternation of well-to-do parents whose sons may desire to marry working-class W.A.A.C.s. Or is it that they think the officers are not to be trusted?

PEACE WORK

We need *your* help! Write to the Hon. Sec., W.S.F., 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

STRIKE AT ROBINSON & CLEAVER'S

The Irish Drapers' Assistants' Union reports that the employees of Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver, Belfast, have been on strike for forty-one weeks and that thirty-one summonses have been issued against the pickets for alleged obstruction. One of the strikers has written a song from which the following verse is taken. Copies of the song may be obtained from 7 William Street South, Belfast, at 8s. a hundred, in aid of the strike funds.

"In Donegall Place! oh, what a disgrace,
The peelers guard Cleaver's swell shop,
Its various wares, its grand marble stairs,
And the beautiful view from the top;
Yet the wages they pay turn thousands away,
The class folks have all left this store;
Most people don't care to sample the ware
In a place with police round the door."

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

That the Government gave the agricultural labourers less than nothing when it gave them a minimum wage of 25s. is proved by the fact that the Wages Board for Norfolk has fixed the rate without overtime at 30s., and the Cheshire Board at 35s., with 9d. per hour overtime.

LORD HALDANE

Lord Haldane has again been talking about freedom and democracy. As a member of the Cabinet he must have known of the Morocco intrigue and at least some of the secret treaties. What does he say concerning them?

TO PARENTS

You do not wish your little boys, who are still at school, to be trained for soldiers.

You do not wish your girls also to be a part of the military machine.

If the boys and girls are brought up to admire warfare, wars will never cease.

THEREFORE:

TEACH YOUR BOYS NOT TO JOIN THE BOY SCOUTS.

TEACH YOUR GIRLS NOT TO JOIN THE GIRL GUIDES.

TEACH YOUR CHILDREN NOT TO DO MILITARY DRILL AT SCHOOL!

ENCOURAGE your children to join the Socialist Sunday Schools, Socialist Red Scouts and Socialist Leagues of Youth, because the Socialists are opposed to War, and your children will thus learn to hate War and love peace, and to understand that the workers of the world have no cause of quarrel.

PARENTS:

Read the Socialist papers and learn the truth about the capitalist wars in which your children are used for cannon fodder.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

April 9th.—Replying to Mr. King (L.), Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Russians transferred to the Reserve in September chose military service rather than repatriation. But he does not take into consideration that since then Russia has made peace, and is either a neutral or an enemy, and that her subjects should be dealt with accordingly.

INSANITY.

April 10th.—The Home Secretary declared that there were thirteen C.O.s in prison and three in work centres who have been certified as insane!

VENEREAL DISEASE.

April 11th.—Representations were made by Mr. King (L.) and Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) against the one-sided Regulation 40d. Sir G. Cave explained that it was intended "only for the protection of His Majesty's Forces." However, he consoled the House by pointing out that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill would shortly be introduced in the Lords, and that it would contain a clause "which applied equally to persons of both sexes." Yet the Home Secretary could give no assurance that Regulation 40d would be withdrawn when the Criminal Law Amendment Bill becomes law. We hope the new women voters will be able to change all this one-sided legislation!

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April 15th.—Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) tried to obtain an assurance from Lord R. Cecil that as soon as order is restored in Vladivostock the British and Japanese troops will be withdrawn. Lord R. Cecil styled this request a "ridiculous" one! But we have not forgotten that British troops were **not** withdrawn on a former occasion—it was promised that they should be withdrawn from Egypt—and now that country has been annexed. We have no reason to believe that history will not repeat itself.

AGE LIMIT.

Mr. Macpherson stated the age limits for military service in Allied countries. We should like to point out that these limits can be no guide for Great Britain. The Allies had Conscription, and therefore even men of sixty have had military training; here the men called up may never have made even a day's foot tour.

MILITARY SERVICE BILL.

The entire debates of April 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 15th were devoted to the new Military Service Bill. It was heralded by a speech by the Prime Minister, which was dealt with in our editorial of last week. Mr. Lloyd George was repeatedly interrupted by Irish members during his attempt to justify the insane proposal to apply conscription to Ireland—not, as had been the case in England, by degress. It even appears that there may be no tribunals. He coupled the granting of some measure of Home Rule with the Conscription proposal, so that Irish members in their disgust called out that he could keep both! Mr. Asquith warned the Government of the rashness of including Ireland; at the same time pointing out the little gain to be had from raising the age in England. Every speech may be said to have demonstrated the absurdity of hoping to tide over the present military difficulty by bringing Englishmen over forty-two into the Army, or Irishmen. By the former course, as Sir D. Maclean proved, little real fighting material could possibly be gained. His experience as chairman of a Tribunal showed that most men over thirty-nine were Grade 3 men. The extension of conscription to Ireland was denounced by Irish and non-Irish alike as an extension of the British battle front. Mr. T. M. Healy (I.N.) reminded the House that it took 30,000 soldiers to suppress the Easter rebellion got up by 950 boys! Mr. Arthur Henderson (Lab.) was almost prophetic, as events since have shown, that this action would make one party in Ireland, and that Sinn Fein. He said: "You will require more men to put the Act into operation than the Act will produce you." We might quote all the fiery speeches of Mr. Devlin, Dillon, and the rest—that idea was the keynote of all. After Clause 2, which "empowers" the Government to extend conscription to Ireland by Order in Council, Clause 3 was the most debated. It empowers the Minister of National Service or the Cabinet by proclamation to enlist all men up to a certain age regardless of previous exemptions. Mr. Snowden (Lab.) was very determined. As far as was in his power no further privileges were to be granted to a Government which nobody trusted. He put the whole blame for the present situation on the conclusion arrived at at the Versailles Conference. When Sir C. Bathurst made his usual plea for agriculture to be dealt with gently, Sir A. Geddes spoke in an ominous way, saying: "We have to consider the question of who is going to reap those crops. I do not mean what individual is going to reap them; I mean the representatives of what nation is going to reap them, for that is what is happening over large tracts of the front now."

The Government is in a funk; it should make peace now!

Clause 4, which deprives tribunals of everything but nominal power, was ably criticised by Mr. Anderson (Lab.). He pointed out that the Bill, to his mind, was an underhand way of introducing industrial compulsion. But, if Mr. Anderson recollects, the conditional exemptions of the present are the beginnings of what will happen on a larger scale under this new Bill. Why should Sir Auckland Geddes be made all-powerful otherwise? Tribunals are to be nominated, and it would seem that England is to have this method of procedure because of Ireland. That again brought the debate to the question of Ireland. In fact, if the Government had wanted to enforce the conscription of old-age pensioners, it would have succeeded on account of the all-paramount interest of Ireland. And, with all this uneasiness and opposition, Sir Edward Carson (U.) stood up and said he was afraid the Government was "playing" with the Irish members, and did not intend to enforce the Bill once it was passed! It was to his mind a "most fatal mistake" to introduce this Bill and the "promise" of Home Rule at the same time. Mr. Devlin (I.N.) congratulated Sir E. Carson on his courageous speech! Has the Government contemplated this development? As an effort to restrain the Irish Bishops from their splendid efforts to oppose conscription in Ireland, the conscription of the clergy clause has been dropped. Whilst regarding the varying interests of parties and factions as side-issues of the great problem—of peace—we must yet chronicle our opinion that this Military Service Bill is the most autocratic and unjustifiable measure of the past three and three-quarter years of oppression.

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EXTRACTS FROM ABBOT'S "LIFE OF NAPOLEON"

"A great victory, said the Duke of Wellington, is the most awful thing in the world, excepting a great defeat."

"The Liberal Party were ranged on the side of peace. Lansdowne, Bedford and Lauderdale in the Lords, and Fox, Sheridan and Grey in the Commons were the strenuous opponents of the war. They were sustained out of doors by a small minority of intelligent men, who saw through the arts by which the war was rendered popular, but, and it is a mournful fact, the advocates of peace were clamoured down, their persons and property left insecure, and even their families exposed to outrage at the hands of the populace. Yes, the whole truth must be told, for we require it to be known as some safeguard against a repetition of the same scenes. The mass of the people, then wholly uneducated, were instigated to join in the cry for war against France. When the war had been carried on for two years only and when its effects had been felt in the high price of food, diminished employment, and the consequent sufferings of the working classes, crowds of people surrounded the King's carriage as he proceeded to the Houses of Parliament, shouting: 'Bread, bread; peace, peace.'"

Join the W.S.F. and help to get Peace, Socialism, and Votes for All.

WANTED, AGENTS for the "Workers' Dreadnought." Apply to the Manager, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.

The Workers' Suffrage Federation appeals for more members and for voluntary helpers for "Dreadnought" and pamphlet selling, clerical work, organisation of propaganda work, and work in the nursery.

NEXT WEEK

"The Serbian Socialists and the European War," by Dushan Popovitch, secretary of the Serbian Socialist Party, will appear in our next issue.

WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, APRIL 19th.
Pretoria Road, Walthamstow, 5.30 p.m., Miss Price. Chair: Miss Horsfall.
SATURDAY, APRIL 20th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism, and Votes for All in the St. Pancras District: meet at 2.45 p.m., at 44 Malden Road (nearest Tube Station—Chalk Farm). Speakers: Miss Price, Miss P. Rickards, Mrs. Walker. Meetings, 3 p.m. and 6 p.m.
SUNDAY, APRIL 21st.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m.
Finsbury Park, 3.30 p.m., Mr. Kings-Lynne.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Miss Lambie, Miss Price, and others. Joint meeting to demand the Repeal of D.O.R.A. Regulation 40d.
"Flagstaff," Hampstead, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24th.
Chrisp Street, Poplar, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
FRIDAY, APRIL 26th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, APRIL 27th.
Great Push.

INDOOR

MONDAY, APRIL 22nd.
44 Malden Road, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
St. Pancras W.S.F., "Russia, Past and Present."
400 Old Ford Road, 8 p.m., Bow Branch Social.
THURSDAY, APRIL 25th.
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 7.30 p.m., Rev. Stanley James, "The Romance of a Prison"; Mrs. Hooper, "The Present Outlook."

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

TUESDAY, APRIL 23rd.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Sizer and others.

* * * *

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Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

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Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—"Irene," per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £2; Miss E. Lowy (monthly), 10s.; Miss L. Isaacs (Peace), 10s.; Miss M. S. Turner, 5s.; F. J. Mackay, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Osborn Street, 12s.; Bow Sunday Meeting, 5s. 10d.; Bow Branch Meeting, 2s. 1d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—"Irene," £50; Mr. F. Lawes (card), £1; Mr. and Mrs. J. Thurgood (card), 8s.; Mr. J. A. Marriott, 5s.; Mrs. Leigh, 5s.; Mrs. Beavis, 5s.; Mrs. Opperman, 4s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Mr. Warren, 1s. COLLECTION: Miss Bennett, 4s. 6d.

CLINICS AND SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2; Mrs. Boswell (monthly), £2; Miss May A. Taylor, £1; Miss Margaret Smith (card), £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; C. W. Scott, 5s.; Miss L. K. Clutterbuck, 5s.; Mr. Surtees, per Mrs. Syme, 5s.; Miss E. Crabb (monthly), 3s. 6d.; Mr. Burbery, 2s.; Miss Molly Newman, 2s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 3s. 3½d.; Bow, 13s. 5d.; Misses E. Lagsding, D. Morley, and J. Watts (Green's Yard, two), 13s. 3d.; Mrs. Bertram, Misses K. Lagsding and T. Barker (Cubitt Town, two), 8s. 7d.; Bow and Poplar Social, 1s. 4½d.

CLOTHES.—Mrs. White, Mrs. Parry Rd. Nevell Wilson, Esq., Mrs. O'Neill, materials.

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SATURDAY, MAY 11th, at 2.45

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Full particulars and 6d. tickets from ARTHUR FIELD, 28 Ilminster Gdns., Battersea, S.W.11

FEDERATION NOTES

BOW.—A most successful recital and dance was held at 400 Old Ford Road on Saturday, April 13th. The large audience was enthralled by Mr. Edward Soermus's violin recital of music by Russian, Italian, and French composers, which exemplified the revolutionary spirit in their respective countries. Mrs. Bouvier gave a short speech on the aims and character of the Russian Revolution, in which she emphasised especially its international character, and the need for the same spirit in this country. Mr. Soermus then played "The Song of Despair," the Russian Revolutionary March, and Funeral March in honour of those who had fallen during the present Revolution. As one man remarked, "It is worth coming a hundred miles to hear him." He also played "The Red Flag" and the "International," which were sung by all present. The rest of the evening was spent in dancing. Our thanks to Mr. Soermus; Mrs. Ellis, Miss Wildman, Mrs. Murphy, and Mrs. Eglinton, who kindly aided with the refreshments; to Miss Van Raalte, who acted as accompanist; Mr. Leonard Sergant for playing the dance music; to his friend for acting as M.C.; to the comrade and Miss Morley, who took the tickets; to Daisy Peyser and Lily Ainsworth for selling literature; to Mrs. Cox, Miss Helsby, and Miss Lagsding for their gifts towards the refreshments; and last but not least, to the Poplar members who helped to send out tickets, and thus contributed so largely to securing the large attendance. On Sunday, April 14th, a well-attended meeting was held at 400 Old Ford Road. Unfortunately, Mrs. Bessie Ward was prevented by illness from opening the discussion on "Anarchism v. Parliamentary Government," but members of the audience carried it on in a spirited manner, and Miss Smyth gave a short address.

HULL.—Hon. secretary, Mrs. Bryant. A peace picket is being organised for Sunday, April 28th. Further particulars from Mrs. Bryant. On Wednesday, May 1st, a branch meeting will be held to discuss the picket and the Annual Conference agenda.

MISS MARSH.

Our readers will remember that Miss Marsh, W.S.F., of Portsmouth, was imprisoned for her pacifist views, also that she was turned off the Local Food Control Committee for the same reason. The Portsmouth Trades Council and other bodies have taken up the latter point, and have sent a deputation to Lord Rhondda demanding her reinstatement. Well done, Portsmouth!

* * * *

We regret to hear that Mr. W. H. Mainwaring, of Rhondda, was arrested under D.O.R.A. for a statement which he made about maisons tolerées, when he moved a resolution of protest against them. We understand he has been granted bail.

WAR AIMS.

Each in a blood-stained pall,
Like mist off bloody waves,
Rank after rank they crawl
Out of their crater graves.

Rank after rank they cry,
"You called us forth to fight,
You called us forth to die
For Liberty and Right,

"So toiled we and so wrought we
For high and noble ends,
So strove we and so fought we,
As men fight for their friends;

"And is our sacrifice,
Our toil, our blood, our pain
To be the gambler's price
For Alsace and Lorraine,
"For Bagdad and Trieste,
For bits of Palestine,
For potash in the West,
For vineyards on the Rhine?
"Was it for this we paid
Our life, our very soul—
To capture German trade
And corner Briey coal?"

. . . . . .

Rank after rank they rise,
The maimed and bloody dead,
"You lured us on with lies,
Our curse is on your head!"

RONALD CAMPBELL MACFIE.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS.

Volunteer helpers are urgently needed at the Mothers' Arms to help and care for and amuse the babies and to take them out in the Park. This is most useful and necessary work, besides giving real joy to those who are fond of children. Volunteers should write to Nurse Clarke at the Mothers' Arms, 438 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

The Johannesburg Socialist weekly, "The International," says:—

"The brotherhood of Capital and *White* Labour is becoming a reality. The mass of the miners down below are black. They work for three or four pounds a month so that their white boss miners may get £25 or £30 per month, and so that the boss M'kulu may get 10 per cent. To them it is immaterial which boss miner orders to build pigstyes. They are out of this affair altogether. A fig for your family quarrels, they say.

"At one time it seemed as if the tendency was for the white miner to ally himself with his black fellow workers. But the increasing co-partnership of the Chamber of Mines with the white Union militates against the healthy principle of the solidarity of labour irrespective of colour and of wage scales. In short, the Board of Reference is buying out the Union, and making it a Boss Boy over the 'nigger' working class."

The Zulu workers have a newspaper, the "Bantu Batho," which says:—

"Perhaps the people outside Johannesburg are not aware that there is an organisation of workers which is trying to organise itself called the Industrial Workers of Africa. It has been found that the whole country, its money and wealth, is made by labour, but all for nothing. One feels ashamed to see the sons of men going down into the bowels of the earth digging gold and diamonds and coal, yet only get three pounds a month. These men have found out that it is necessary to start the organisation which is known as the Industrial Workers of Africa."

THE SCHOOLING OF THE FUTURE

with special reference to the Education Bill

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

ONE PENNY EACH, Ninepence per dozen, from the W.S.F., 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Shows the opportunities for stereotyping and militarising education introduced by Mr. Fisher's Bill. Every Socialist and Educationalist should read it.

The "Dreadnought" would welcome voluntary helpers. There is work for all in selling and distributing the paper, also doing clerical work. Will volunteers please write to Miss O'Callaghan, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

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B. W. (Box 101).—W. D. will be glad to hear from a Lady who would undertake the care of eight children, ages from 3 to 15 years, whose mother has just died.

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The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments NOW, before it may be too late.

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

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A Joint Meeting to demand the withdrawal of D.O.R.A. Regulation 40d will be held in HYDE PARK, on SUNDAY 21st at 3 p.m.
Speakers from various Societies:
Women's Freedom League:
Workers' Suffrage Federation: MISS PRICE, MR. J. W. WILLIAMS.
In the Chair - MISS JEAN LAMBIE, S.W.S.P.U.

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