THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. V.—No. 5 SATURDAY, APRIL 27th, 1918 Price One Penny

THE SERBIAN SOCIALISTS AND THE EUROPEAN WAR

By DUSHAN POPOVITCH, Secretary of the Serbian Socialist Party.

Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst desires that I should give to English comrades some information concerning the Socialist Movement of Serbia. Socialism in my country has a long and interesting history; but as I have not space here to give it in full, I shall keep myself to a more topical subject: the attitude of the Serbian Socialists towards the war.

When our party had to decide what stand to take on the war it found itself in a difficult position: to begin with, we were the first Socialists of the International to face this awful problem; we had not the precedent of an older and stronger Socialist Movement to guide us in choosing our course and to give us moral assistance. We were left wholly to ourselves.

AUSTRIA AND SERBIA.

The difficulty was enhanced because the conflict between Serbia and Austria was not a simple one. It could not be solved according to fixed rules; it was not a conflict arising out of the rivalry of the capitalistic classes of two great States for the domination of world markets....The conflict between Austria and Serbia is a totally different one. There is, in this case, between the contending parties, a real difference in their respective positions and in their responsibility towards the war.

Austria, it is true, justifies her ultimatum to Serbia—that deed of hers which caused the war—by citing Sarayevo, and urging that because of it Austria's ultimatum was delivered in defence of her existence as an independent State. Austria seems to forget that by that ultimatum she aimed at the destruction of Serbia and of her integrity.

Was Austria defending her independence also when she annexed, without any right and without any justification, Bosnia and Hetzegovina, two provinces purely Serbian and which are, futhermore, even the racial centre of the Serbian nation?

Was Austria defending her existence when she declared, in 1905, an unreasonable tariff war against poor and small Serbia?

Was Austria defending her existence when, during the Balkan War, she twice sent an ultimatum to Serbia, because of Albania, although she is a nation not racially or geographically linked with Austria and over which she has absolutely no right?

As the sun shines, it is clear that this was not so. The Serbian people, during the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, was arrayed against Austria in a position of necessary and just self-defence. Nevertheless, we, the Serbian Socialists, from the very first day, took up an energetic attitude against the war, although to justify ourselves in adopting the contrary policy—that which would be called "patriotic"—we could have discovered many more pretexts than any other Socialist Party belonging to the International.

FOR OR AGAINST THE MILITARY EXPENDITURE?

Why, then, have we voted against the war? We know that we Serbian Socialists did not look upon this question from a purely Serbian or nationalistic point of view. To us, war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary was the beginning of a European conflict, of a world-wide conflagration. We considered this war to have been created by capitalism, which had almost reached the limits of its expansion and which tried by this barbarous method to solve the problems caused by the disorder it had produced, and, continually, with increased velocity, is producing. Such a war, to our mind, was the greatest danger to the International proletariat, to the Democracy of the world, to the whole of humanity, and to the civilisation attained by long effort.

Our duty, as members of the Socialist International—the harbinger of the free humanity of to-morrow—was clear: to defend the International and to defend humanity by attacking war. That was our duty, from the point of view of the international solidarity of the workers.

A working-class party can only claim to be Socialist in so far as it is ready, in the hour of great, historic, and tragic choice, to pass over its special national claims in order to defend the superior interests of the International.

Whosoever follows a different policy deserves the praise due to a good patriot; but, just for that reason, loses the right to claim himself an Internationalist, in other words, a Socialist.

"What about your country being attacked?" I hear them saying. Indeed, we have not forgotten that; but there are two ways of defending one's country. One way is to vote the military expenditure, and generally to assist in preparing for war. To defend one's country by this method is also to defend the politics of our ruling classes, who are always, in a direct and great manner, responsible for war. Even when diplomatically innocent, because they create, develop, and defend the economic, social, and political conditions, which, in their turn, are the ever-brooding sources of war. By accepting and assisting in the prosecution of the war we Serbian Socialists consider that we should destroy, by a series of acts contrary to our aims and mutually fiendish, our Socialist International, which can only be realised through the world-wide, identical, and simultaneous action of all Socialist Parties.

We Serbian Socialists prefer to choose another way of defending our country. We believe it to be an effective one and at the same time a Socialist one: *to vote, in all countries and at the same time, against all military expenditure.*

Through such anti-war agitation, better than by any other means, we believe that we are defending our country and at the same time the liberty of our Socialist fellow-workers and neighbours; *he*, by taking the same course, would be defending, with equal effectiveness, *our* country and *our* liberty. Both, at the same time, are defending our *true* country: the Socialist International.

Reasoning thus we Serbian Socialists chose this second method. Our deputies had always voted in Parliament against military expenditure, and our party organ, the daily *Radnichke Novine* (*Labour Gazette*), had defended, even in the days of Jingoism triumphant, the ideals of an integral internationalism.

It is true that a few days after the declaration of war our paper was suspended by our Government and that we were attacked by the bourgeoisie, who charged us with being Austrian agents and traitors to our own country. We remained calm under the flood of coarse and cheap insults. We were convinced of having fulfilled our most sacred Socialist duty, and we did not for a moment doubt that all Socialist Parties, in all countries, would do the same.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

Unfortunately, a few days after, began for us a series of long disillusions, the greatest of our lives. Simultaneously, spontaneously, as though acting under the dictates of a secret treaty, nearly all the great Socialist Parties of Europe gave their political and moral support to the present war, to the capitalism which had prepared it, to the diplomacy which had provoked it, to the Governments which had organised it, to the General Staffs which were waging it, and to the bourgeoise public opinion which was popularising it. Never before had the Socialist Parties been so enterprising, so energetic, and so agile, and at the same time in such complete agreement as when need was to fight the world-wide war, which they were now supporting!

Many of the German theorists who have systematically abused Marx before the war, now tried by all possible means to hackney in him the service of Teutonic Imperialism. The high priests of Marxism in all countries of the Entente, Plechanov in Russia, Guesde in France, and Hyndman in England, tried to put a stop to such misuse of the doctrines of Marx at the hands of his would-be followers in Germany. But how did they set about it? They did not say that both the theory and policy of Marx are opposed to war. On the contrary, they said that even Marx, were he alive, would be in favour of the war: but, of course, he would be against the Central Empires and on the side of the Entente!

Hyndman and Guesde would like to see Marx an obedient servant of Lloyd George and Clemenceau!

Whilst at the front the quasi-Marxian rifles crack, the president of the International Socialist Bureau, Vandervelde, jogs around to every point of the compass, as the traveller of the imperialists of the Entente! In faith a miserable picture.

When one contemplates the Second International, during the war, one is often reminded of "Tarass Booliba," by Gogol, who in knocking down his son Andrea, says to him: "It is I who made you; it is I who will kill you!"

Fortunately, Socialism cannot be killed, even by its leaders! And just at the very moment when the International was at its lowest ebb, when Socialism appeared a childish error and International Solidarity a dangerous lie; hark and behold the most splendid affirmation of Socialism and Internationalism: the Russian Revolution!

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON

FORTH WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

SHOP ORGANISATION BEATS OFFICIALISM.

A few weeks ago the ship repair workers at Rosyth Naval Base petitioned the departmental "heads" to have time check boxes placed on the dockside instead of on the ship. The reasons being inadequate arrangements for enabling the men to get ashore and danger of falling into the dock through hurrying to "get there." Regulations and officialdom being averse to the change the men decided to act and, through the Workers' Committee delegates, a mass meeting was convened whereat it was decided that until the check boxes were removed to the dockside no man would pick up his check upon leaving the ship. The following morning the shop stewards were sent for by the heads and as a result the point was conceded, although the men's action was against the regulations. The Workers' Committee's first brush with the enemy ended in complete victory.

I have to report rapid progress in this area. Speakers' and Economic Classes are being formed. Our meetings will be held fortnightly; next one April 20th. Circulation of DREADNOUGHT soaring up. The question of Workshop Collections for printing fund is on the agenda for next meeting.—ERNEST A. BARTLETT.

LEIGH DISTRICT SHOP STEWARDS' AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

At the meeting of April 11th the Secretary reported that contribution cards had been extensively circulated, and an appeal was made to the stewards to prevent members getting into arrears.

The woodworkers' steward, who had been summoned to explain his resignation, stated that in exercising his duty as shop steward he was rebuffed by one of the workers. A shop meeting, however, endorsed his action, but the aggressor declined to apologise, hence his resignation. A vote of confidence in the shop steward was adopted and interference with shop stewards' activities repudiated. We should have sufficient common sense to realise that no individual is infallible and instead of impeding the work of a shop steward we should render him every assistance.

Lack of finance prevents us holding mass meetings; but any and all associate members may attend our business meetings, and we trust advantage will be taken of this.

Delegates were appointed to attend the National Conference at Manchester. The circulation of THE DREADNOUGHT is rapidly increasing and we appeal to all members to assist in still further extending its circulation.—W. H. S.

LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Associate members continue to be enrolled, and efforts are being made to set up Workers' Committees in different parts of the Metropolitan area. The next monthly meeting will be held at Chandos Hall on Sunday, May 5th, 11 A.M. sharp, when delegates to the National Conference will give in their report. A series of meetings is being organised, the first of which will be held on Sunday, May 12th, 11 A.M., at Chandos Hall. Lecturer: W. F. Watson. Subject: "Origin, Growth, and Development of the Workers' Committee: its Structure, Aims, and Objects." For further particulars see advertisement columns of THE DREADNOUGHT next week. New students are invited to the Educational Classes every Wednesday, 8 P.M., at 7 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.1.—T. KNIGHT.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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A HALFWAY HOUSE.

"Whenever a modern statesman is appointed to control any industrial concern he has to elect expert and permanent officials who know something about that industry. The officials are appointed by the State—i.e., from *above*; they are only answerable to the State Minister who has to depend upon them for all his information regarding his department. The officials are conscious of their power and they use it: there is no method whereby it is possible to have democratic State control. *This is due to the fact that State control is an attempt to make a geographically elected institution conduct an industrial process....*

"The revolutionary Socialist denies that State ownership can end in anything other than a bureaucratic despotism.... Industry can only be democratically owned and controlled by the workers electing directly from their own ranks industrial administrative committees. Socialism will be fundamentally an industrial system; its constituencies will be of an industrial character.... When the central administrative committee meets it will represent every phase of social activity. Hence the capitalist, political, or geographical State will be replaced by the industrial administrative committee of Socialism.

"Socialism will require no political State because there will be no propertyless class; there will be no social disorder as a result, because there will be no clash of economic interests; there will be no need to create a power to make 'order.' Thus, as Engels shows, the *State will die out.* With it will end the government of men and make way for the administration of industry. Likewise Bebel declares....: 'The great and yet the petty parliamentary struggles with which the men of tongue imagine they rule and guide the world are no more; they will have made room for administrative colleges and delegations, whose attention will be engaged in the best means of production and distribution, in ascertaining the volume of supplies needed, in introducing and applying effective improvements in art, in architecture, in intercourse, in the process of production, &c.'" (W. Paul, 'The State: its Original Function').

"National Guildsmen," of whom G. D. H. Cole, in his 'Self-Government in Industry,'* is the spokesman, occupy a halfway house between State Socialists, like the Webbs, and revolutionary industrial Socialists, like W. Paul of the S.L.P., from whose recent work, 'The State,'† we have quoted above. Mr. Cole and his fellow guildsmen desire to retain a State, consisting of a Parliament and municipal councils, and also to set up a Guild Congress which will represent the workers in industry. Just as he essays to combine the ideas of the Fabians and the S.L.P. in regard to the State Mr. Cole also endeavours to combine those of the industrial and craft unionists within the constitution of the guilds, which he desires may be established in the Socialist community. So, too, he refers disparagingly to the Webbs. If he had confined himself to a concise exposition of his theory of the future Socialist community he would have produced a more readable volume.

But as constructive thinking is at once exceedingly rare and highly important we should avoid being hypercritical of any attempt to set forth a scheme for the actual mechanism of the Socialist community. If Cole's book serves to stimulate his critics to further creative effort in hammering out the structure of their own ideals it will have performed a useful function. As the structure of Society is always changing no one can arrange the details of its development. Nevertheless the workshop propegandists in South Wales and on the Clyde are producing better stuff than this.

Recognising that in the class struggle the workers must use their industrial power in obtaining Socialism, our author agrees that the industrial union is a better fighting organisation than the craft union. Writing as an inmate of the executive offices of one of the great Trade Unions he tactfully says, not that the unofficial Workers' Committee Movement is a healthy and essential growth, but that it is a symptom of a disease which should be cured. He invites the trade union executives to cut the ground from under the insurgent organisations of the rank and file, avoiding thereby a revolution which might swamp the present leaders, by taking the much-needed step of amalgamating various overlapping unions and using the opportunity thus afforded to reorganise the trade union structure. If, as Cole suggests, the executives were officially to abolish the "residence branch" and to substitute for it the workshop branch the union branches would be duplicates of the unofficial workshop committees, except where the workers in a given shop are members of more than one union. Cole calls on the unions to place their branches completely on all fours with the unofficial committees and to transform themselves into industrial unions. The wrangles which have taken place at recent trade union congresses between the officials of craft and industrial unions indicate that there is no immediate prospect of this advice being generally adopted by the executives. It is therefore important, as Mr. Cole no doubt agrees, that the rank and file movement should continue its activities. The fact that the reorganisation of the entire trade union structure should be seriously contemplated by masses of serious trade unionists throws a curious light on the protestations made last year by certain Labour leaders as to the importance of their being allowed to go to Russia to show the Russian workers how to organise and to ensure that they should organise on the British and not on the German trade union plan!

Mr. Cole is all for industrial organisation in the present struggle, but in planning for the future craft organisation largely dominates his thought. Into his draft constitution for a typical guild of the future Socialist community, a constitution which he admits will have to be modified to meet the requirements of each industry, craft representation enters largely. The scheme is exceedingly, and we think unnecessarily, complicated

The constitution of the Guild is as follows:—

1. *The Shop Committee*, elected by ballot of all the workers in the shop.

2. *The Works Committee*, consisting of a representative of each shop elected by ballot of the workers in each shop.

3. *The District Committee*, consisting of (*a*) works representatives elected by the Works Committees; (*b*) craft representatives elected by ballot of all members of each craft working within the district..

4. *The National Guild Executive*, consisting of: (*a*) district representatives elected by general ballot of each district; (*b*) craft representatives elected by general national ballot of each craft.

5. *The National Delegate Meeting*, elected by general ballot of the members of each craft in each district.

6. *Foremen* and heads of clerical departments, elected by ballot of all the workers concerned.

7. *Works Manager* and clerical manager, elected by ballot of all workers concerned.

8. *General Manager* of works, to co-ordinate productive and clerical side, selected by Works' Committee.

9. *District Secretary*, selected by District Committee.

10. *General Secretary of National Guild*, nominated by Executive, nomination ratified by Delegate Meeting.

11. *Assistant Secretaries* of departments in Central Guild Offices, elected by ballot of workers employed in the offices, subject to ratification by the Executive.

12. *Experts*, chosen by the committee they serve, *i.e.*, by Works' Committees, District Committees, and Executive Committee.

Cole suggests that foremen and works managers should be re-elected annually, district and general secretaries less frequently, and that experts should hold their position at the pleasure of the controlling committee. The experts may object that their tenure would thus be more precarious and their status inferior to that of foremen and managers.

No candidate, Cole tells us, would be eligible for election to a position of trust until he had satisfied the requisite tests. He believes that such professional associations as the Chartered Accountants and Institute of Civil Engineers "will assuredly survive and co-operate with the guilds." A staggering revolution in the outlook of such institutions will be necessary if this prophecy of Mr. Cole's is to be verified. He adds:—

"And beside them similar bodies will spring up to represent the unity of technical interest in the various manual working crafts. In this way an additional safeguard will be placed in the hands of the crafts and the craft representatives on the Guild Executives will be able to speak with the authority of a craft association, often extending over several Guilds, at their back."

We had hoped when Mr. Cole first referred to these craft organisations "representing unity of technical interest" that their purpose would be mainly for study and the perfecting and development of the craft, but Mr. Cole makes it clear that their object is to protect craft interests from encroachment; he evidently expects under Guild Socialism a continuance of the conflict of warring interests with which we are unhappily too familiar under capitalism. The pettifogging check and balance spirit and the setting of one group of interests against another obtrudes itself unpleasantly in Mr. Cole's presentment of his scheme. His thoughts seem to dwell too little on the idealism of Socialist craftsmanship, which he expresses in referring to William Morris, whom he claims as being "of the same blood as National Guildsmen." He says of William Morris:—

"The more he sold his wares to the few rich the more conscious he became that under commercialism there could be no art and no happiness for the great majority.

"Thus it was that Morris passed from Art to Socialism, because he saw that under Capitalism there could be no art and no happiness for the great majority. As an artist, he based his Socialism upon art, as each of us who is a Socialist must base it upon that in life which he knows best and values most—for Commercialism is a blight which kills every fine flower of civilised life."

But here we must ask Mr. Cole an important question. Under Guild Socialism will every worker be a member of a craft union or will some members of the working community be left outside as mere labourers, just as is now the case? If every worker is not to be included in the craft unions Mr. Cole's Guild Constitution is highly unsatisfactory and must be revised, for see how it works out. A worker who is counted a craftsman will vote in the election of the shop committee, the shop foreman, and works manager. As a craftsman he will also vote for the representative of his craft on the District Committee, the representative of his district on the National Guild Executive Committee, the national representative of his craft on the National Guild Executive, and his district representative on his craft at the national delegate meeting. If any workers are not counted as craftsmen they will be represented once where the craftsman is represented twice. Such an arrangement could not stand in any democratic community. It may be desirable that the various crafts should be represented as such on the National Committees of the industries, though we should imagine in practice that questions between craft and craft within the industry would be adjusted in the workshop, or at least in the district committees; but whether that be the case or no, it certainly seems to us of far greater importance that every worker should have a direct vote in electing all committees and officials, including the general secretary, whom Mr. Cole proposes shall be nominated by the National Committee, the election being ratified by the National Delegate Meeting. Each of the Guilds is to be represented in the National Guild Congress, though on what basis he does not say.

Our author makes no mention of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, without which no system of representative Government can be genuinely democratic. We would urge upon all Socialists the need for incorporating this useful machinery in any scheme for the Socialist community. Guild organisation should also include a delegate body, of which the authority should be second only to that of the Referendum, and which should consist of persons who are not officials elected to serve for long terms, but are still actually engaged in the industry they represent and who will report to those whose delegates they are. Mr. Cole does not explain whether his National Delegate Meeting is of this kind.

Our criticisms of Mr. Cole's scheme have been subordinate to the main idea so far developed, in which we heartily concur, that industry must be managed by the workers in industry, and that production must not be stereotyped, in order that freedom for original development and initiative may be assured to the individual worker and to the group of workers in the individual shop or works. The grouping of representative committees within the industries can never be adequately settled except by the workers in the industry, who are familiar with its technique. The railwaymen, for instance, would undoubtedly produce a scheme diverging from that above outlined.

We come now to the points on which we differ more fundamentally from Mr. Cole and his fellows in the National Guilds League. The basic idea of the entire scheme is the establishment of a "balance of power" (unhappy phrase!) between the consumers and the producers. The Guild Congress is to control the industrial sphere; according to Cole himself it will pass and enforce such legislation as the Coal Mines Regulations Acts and the Factory Acts—how redolent of the old regime the explanation sounds! The State Parliament will control the political sphere; but where does the political sphere end and the industrial sphere begin? The line of demarcation is imperceptible, as grows more clearly apparent the more clearly the subject is considered. Mr. Cole foresees that the Guild Congress and the Parliament may sometimes disagree, or that a dispute may arise between an individual guild and the State Parliament. Apparently this weighty problem—a problem created by the dual organisation which they are so anxious to erect—has not hitherto been considered by those who call themselves "Guildsmen." Mr. Cole lays down that in case of dispute an appeal must be made to a body more representative than either Guild Congress or Parliament. The constitution of this body he does not indicate, save that upon it, not merely all the citizens, but all the citizens in their various social activities shall be represented. He afterwards refers to this body as the Joint Council. Addressing himself to Guildsmen he says:—

"The theories of State sovereignty and Guild Congress sovereignty must early be abandoned.... The new social philosophy which this changed conception of sovereignty implies has not yet been worked out; but if Guild Socialists would avoid tripping continually over their own and other writers' terminology they would do well to lose no time in discovering and formulating clearly a theory consistent with the Guild idea and with the social structure they set out to create."

(Continued on back page.)

* 'Self-Government in Industry,' by G. D. H. Cole (G. Bell & Sons, London, 6s.).

† 'The State: its Origin and Function' (S.L.P., 46, 48, and 50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow, 1s. 3d.).

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

IRELAND.

"Denying the right of the British Government to enforce compulsory service in this country, we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist conscription by the most effective means at our disposal."

So runs the anti-conscription pledge which the Roman Catholic clergy are administering to the Irish people. Certainly we were justified in predicting strong opposition to conscription in Ireland; for the Church, the politicians, including Nationalists, Official, and Independent, and Sinn Feiners, and the industrial workers are standing against it. Masses of people in this country, as in Ireland, America, Australia, and wherever Irish and British folk are found, are asking themselves and each other what the Government means to do. Many say that conscription will never be enforced in Ireland; but the news published in *The Daily Chronicle*, that Lord French has proceeded thither and that the military authorities have taken control of the principal Irish railways, the post offices, and telephone exchanges is ominous.

WOMEN AND PARLIAMENT.

The declaration of the Keighley returning officer that he had orders from the Sheriff to accept Miss Nina Boyle's nomination if it were properly signed, carries the political emancipation of women a tiny stage further. But it must not yet be assumed that women are to be allowed to sit in Parliament without further legislative effort.

REACTION IN FINLAND.

The Times reports that Finnish reactionaries, having vanquished the Socialists, are determined, in order to prevent the recrudescence of revolutionary Socialism, to transform the Finnish republic into a monarchy, to establish a Second Chamber with the right of veto, to deprive women of the vote and to limit the voting power of men. "Prussian methods," says *The Times*, "are needed to consolidate Prussian influence."

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS.

The Vienna Socialist paper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, says: "If Parliament does not desire simply to abdicate and to renounce all influence over the most important decisions" it must declare that "it will not vote one cent so long as Baron Burian is entrusted with the direction of foreign policy." When shall we see a similar spirit here?

KING CONSTANTINE'S LETTERS.

The letters of the King of Greece to the French deputy, M. Benazet, present the picture of a feeble victim struggling in the grip of a stronger Power. But though weak in face of the Allies Constantine revealed himself as a tyrant at home.

OVERCROWDING.

The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association reports that 167,911 persons in Stepney, Poplar, and West Ham are living under overcrowded conditions!

THE SPREAD OF REVOLUTION.

The German Government has complained to the Russian Socialist Government that Austrians and Germans who are prisoners of war in Russia have formed revolutionary committees to establish equality between officers and men. The German Government demands that this sort of thing be put a stop to and "awaits an immediate reply" as to whether its orders have been obeyed. Will refusal to obey mean another German attack on Russia.

LANSDOWNE AND THE VOLUNTEERS.

In the House of Lords on April 18th Lord Besborough moved and Lord Lansdowne seconded that tribunals should make exemption conditional on joining the volunteer force. The Government accepted the amendment. Did someone say that Lansdowne is a pacifist?

'THE DREADNOUGHT.'

On Friday, April 19th, the police called at 400, Old Ford Road to seize the current issue of THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT and the previous issue dated April 13th. The activities of the police were not confined to their visit to our office; they visited also the National Labour Press and there dismantled the printing machinery. In consequence we have been compelled to make other arrangements for the paper. As the above proceedings have entailed extra expense and as we are desirous of paying what is due to the National Labour Press as promptly as possible we appeal for generous donations to THE DREADNOUGHT Fund.

THE CASE OF MR. MAINWARING.

At our first public meeting addressed by Miss Matters, on March 3rd, 1918, one of our members, Mr. W. H. Mainwaring moved a resolution asking the Government to place maisons toleres out of bounds for British troops in France, in the same way as the American Military Authorities has done for American troops. Then he followed with, according to the statements of the police, a three-minutes' speech in which they state he said, "That hundreds of women, our own flesh and blood, were being sent like cattle to France to be used in licensed houses of prostitution."

Well known local people, Mr. Hardy Jones, seconder of the resolution, political organiser for the South Wales Miners' Federation; Mr. David Evans, Chairman of the meeting, manager of a Rhondda Co-operative Stores, well known in the locality for his probity and honesty; Miss Griffiths, teacher at a secondary school, member of a local recruiting committee for the W.A.A.C.'s and Mrs. Palmer, the lady who had brought up the matter at our branch, entered the witness box and gave evidence that Mr. Mainwaring did not make the statements attributed to him by the police nor utter anything which could lend itself in any way to the impression that Mr. Mainwaring had suggested that women were being sent out for immoral purposes. The Stipendiary, however, in summing up said that he was sure that the police evidence was substantially true and that he was convinced that the defendant had made use of this statement. From Mr. Mainwaring's own evidence in the box he was convinced that he would do anything to thwart the Government in its prosecution of the war, and even if he had not used the words complained of, he would want the impression conveyed abroad that such was the condition of affairs. Mr. Mainwaring was then sentenced to pay £50 or go to prison for two months. At our branch meeting all present, who were at the meeting on March 3rd, declared they were prepared to swear on oath that Mainwaring did not utter the statements ascribed to him by the police.

We are getting up an appeal for subscriptions to cover all expenses and we are arranging to get a petition signed by all present at the meeting that the police statement is not true.

WORKSHOP NOTES. Continued from front page.

We note that Bolshevist infection amongst prisoners of war in Russia is causing the German Government grave concern. We also note that Sinn Fein infection is giving the British Government some trouble. The self determination movement is growing in India and South Africa and there is civil war in China. We must build up a WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL.

Workshop Notes will now appear weekly and all reports and items of interest must reach me not later than first post Friday morning. I am informed by the Editor that owing to the paper famine the price of the "Dreadnought" must be increased to 2d. from May 4th. Please let me know if you can still take them at the increased price. W.F.W.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

NEXT WEEK.

A SPECIAL DOUBLE MAY-DAY

MARX CENTENARY NUMBER.

You will want extra copies. Order them in advance.

With next week's issue we regret to have to announce that **the price of THE DREADNOUGHT will be raised to 2d. weekly,** owing to the high cost of production.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

April 16th.—In reply to Mr. Lees-Smith (L.), Mr. Macpherson stated "that it was considered unnecessary to consult women's organisations [on Regulation 40D.] as their views are perfectly well known from their attitude towards the similar provision in the Criminal Law Amendment Act."

INSANE.

Mr. King (L.) drew attention to the case of Madame Popowitch, a Serbian lady, who went to Malta in 1915 to aid refugees. He stated that she was to have been well-treated when she came to England, but that instead she was sent to Holloway Prison, and subsequently interned at Aylesbury, where through insufficient medical attendance and "inexplicable persecution" she has become insane. Mr. Brace declared her to be a "very dangerous enemy alien" and denied ill-treatment.

ARMY BILL.

April 17th.—In Committee on the annual Army Bill efforts were made to ensure the establishment of a Court of Appeal for soldiers desiring to obtain redress; but Mr. Macpherson urged that the military always attended to any complaints and took action accordingly.

INCREASE OF RENT BILL.

Mr. Hayes Fisher introduced a Bill to combat the evils in connection with the housing question. The Bill, which was given a second reading, though it allows the sale of houses, prevents a landlord from obtaining an ejectment order.

WIDOWS' ONLY SONS.

April 18th.—According to Mr. Beck, applications in cases of exceptional hardship, such as that of widows dependent on their only sons, "will continue to be dealt with by the tribunals." Have they been dealt with in the way we understood Mr. Asquith promised?

MILITARY SERVICE ACT.

The closing debates of the Military Service Bill took place on April 16th and April 18th, on which date the Lords' Amendments were heard and agreed upon. Mr. King (L.) introduced a new clause which ensures that Orders in Council be laid before the House, and if Parliament so wills, it can set aside those Orders within fourteen days. Sir G. Cave would not accede to the wish, so urgently put by the House, that Regulations should be treated in a similar manner. Mr. T. Healy (L.N.) deduced from this that the Government by refusing to submit the English Regulation to the Ho[illegible] showed it did not mean "genuinely by Irela[illegible]" A clause exempting the clergy was also inclu[illegible]

IRELAND.

Mr. Dillon (L.N.) moved the rejection of Clause 2 extending Conscription to Ireland, but was defeated on the Division—voting being 296 Ayes and 123 Noes. Mr. Dillon greeted the decision with the words: "The worst day's work done for England since the war began!"

Both Mr. Barnes and the Prime Minister stated that the Government intended to introduce the Home Rule Bill before enforcing Conscription, by which the Government meant to stand or fall! It seems plain from the Prime Minister's speech that "self-government" was to be offered to Ireland to prove to America that "justice was being done by Great Britain" to Ireland. Sir E. Carson (U.) denounced the idea of the introduction of a Home Rule Bill, complaining that "the handing over of Ulster is the price to be paid for Conscription." He further pointed out that the Government contemplated setting up a Home Rule Parliament "without ever having consulted the Sinn Fein element, which is, at all events, not a negligible element in Ireland." When Sir E. Carson considers Sinn Fein, it is time to begin to think.

THE BUDGET.

Our main criticism of the budget is that it still allows the rich to remain comfortable whilst adding to the burdens of the poor. The income tax is raised on the average by 1*s.* in the £, whilst sugar which is now sold at 5½*d.* per lb will cost 7*d.* Matches go up ½*d.* per box, and the duty on beer, tobacco, and spirits is increased. The luxury tax is an example of how not to do things; instead of taxing luxuries the community should either see that no one shall procure luxuries or that all shall be able to enjoy them. The postal rates are to be 1½*d.* an oz. for letters, 1*d.* for postcards, and for parcels 3 lb. for 6*d.*, 3 lb. to 7 lb. 9*d.*, 7 lb. to 11 lb. 1*s.* The increase in the postal rates will militate against propaganda work and will bear very hardly upon working people, and especially upon the poor relatives of the troops. The rates for soldiers' letters and postcards are the same as for civilians. A rebate of £25 per annum is allowed in respect of the wife of a man whose income does not exceed £800. In the old days it was assumed that wives saved more than they cost, but the Government now evidently assumes that the wives are entitled to a little pocket money. If this is the step towards the recognition that a wife is entitled to a share of the wealth of the community it is a very tiny one.

THE MARX CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE.

Sunday, May 5th, is the Centenary Anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, and Social-Democrats all over the world will assemble on that day to honour the memory of the Founder of the Workers' International and the father of modern Scientific Socialism. In addition to the meetings and demonstrations which will take place on May 5th in all parts of the country, a central committee has been formed in London, consisting of delegates of the B.S.P., S.L.P., Plebs League and Communist Club (of which Marx was one of the founders), with the assistance of the London First of May Celebration Committee. The Committee has been formed to organise the celebration in London, where the remains of Marx repose in Highgate Cemetery, and to establish a Fund to enable the Centenary to be commemorated in some permanent and appropriate manner. All contributions should be sent to the Secretary, Marx Centenary Celebration Committee, 21A Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.2. The London celebration, on Sunday, May 5th, will take the form of a procession to Highgate Cemetery, leaving the Archway Tavern at 12.45 P.M. After appropriate tributes have been placed on the grave, the procession will return to the Archway Tavern, and proceed thence, at 2.30 P.M., to Finsbury Park, to take part in the great May Day Marx Centenary Celebration at 3.30.

ANTIQUES.

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WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, APRIL 26th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, APRIL 27th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism, and Votes for All in Camberwell.—Meet at Camberwell Green (where 42 bus stops), at 2.45 and 5.45 P.M.; meetings at 3 P.M. and 6 P.M. Speakers: Miss Horsfall, Miss Price, and Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, APRIL 28th.
Highbury Corner, 12 (noon), Miss Price, and others. (Joint meeting with B.S.P.)
Hyde Park, Marble Arch, 3.30 P.M.—Joint Meeting to demand the Repeal of D.O.R.A. Regulation 40d: Miss Lambie, Miss Price, and others.
Finsbury Park.—3.30 P.M., Mr. Kings Lynne.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—6 P.M., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Walker.
FRIDAY, MAY 3rd.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price,
SATURDAY, MAY 4th.
Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR

MONDAY, APRIL 29th.
400, Old Ford Road, Bow, 8 P.M., Bow Branch Social.
44, Malden Road, 2.30 P.M., Business Meeting. St. Pancras, W.S.F.
THURSDAY, MAY 2nd.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 7.30 P.M., Mr. Francis Meynell, 'Machinery and Art'; Mr. H. Cole, 'The Present Outlook.'
FRIDAY, MAY 3rd.
400, Old Ford Road, Bow, 7.30 P.M., Mr. J. W. Williams, 'The Great Menace and the Necessity for Sex Education.' Chair: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
SATURDAY, APRIL 27th.
Jewish Trades Hall, Leeds, Leeds W.S.F., 7 P.M. Violin Recital by the famous Russian violinist, Ed. Soermus. An Address on 'Bolshevism' will be delivered by a Russian. Reserved seats, 1*s*. Silver collection.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS, Tuesday, April 30th.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 2.30 P.M., Mrs. Sizer and others.
KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—Sunday, April 28th, 8.15 P.M., Miss Muriel Lester, 'Setting up the Kingdom of Heaven.'

FEDERATION NOTES.

Well done, St. Pancras Comrades! for turning up as you did in full force at the Great Push Meeting on Saturday, in spite of the very bad weather. It was encouraging to the speakers to see so many friends round the platform. In spite of the rain two meetings were held: at 3 o'clock at Queen's Crescent, and at 7 outside the Malden Public-house. At each meeting the speakers, Mrs. Walker and Miss Price, addressed huge audiences consisting of men and women and men in khaki; everybody was in favour of peace *now*. Collection, 24*s*. Miss Bennett, as usual, got rid of a large number of papers. It was the wish of a group of men and women in the crowd that peace meetings should be held in St. Pancras every week. More speakers are needed for the Great Peace Push. Ten shillings was given to Mrs. Walker by an unknown comrade at the close of the meeting to do whatever she liked with. Mrs. Walker has passed the gift to THE DREADNOUGHT FUND. The Hon. Secretary of the St. Pancras branch is Mrs. Brumsdon.

NOTTINGHAM.—*Hon. Secretary:* Mr. E. Croft, 106 Coventry Road, Bulwell, Nottingham. On Saturday, April 27th, 1918, a Grand Concert will be held at New Annesley, Nottingham, for the benefit of Miss A. Rudd, who has lost her foot at Annesley Sidings. Chairman: Mr. W. Carter, Kentish Town. Artists: Mrs. Cupit, Miss Hunt, Mr. J. Carrington. Mr. W. Draper and Messrs. A. and J. Lee. Accompanist: Mrs. T. Richmond, A.L.C.M. Speaker: Mr. E. Croft, N.U.R. and W.S.F., Chairman of Nottingham Food Vigilance Committee. On Sunday, April 28th, 1918, Mr. W. Carter will speak in the Albert Schools, Bulwell, on "Trade Unions and Political Action." Chair to be taken by Mr. R. Boswell, W.S.F. (Local Secretary of the N.U.R.), supported by the local officials of the N.U.R. and W.S.F. Doors open 6 o'clock; commence 6.45 P.M. prompt. All W.S.F. members are asked to wear the colours.

MARX CENTENARY.

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THE PLEBS.

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Articles by W. W. Craik, G. Sims, J. T. Walton Newbold, Mark Starr, Eden and Cedar Paul, and others. Cartoons.

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All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road Bow, E.3

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Arthur Field, Esq., 15*s*.; Miss Stapleton (Peace), 10*s*.; Mrs. Lauritsen, 10*s*.; Miss Evelyn Billing, 10*s*.; Mrs. Helen Skedd (Peace), 10*s*.; Mrs.S. Branch, 10*s*.; F. J. McKay, 7*s*. 10*d*.; Miss Doris Kershaw, 5*s*. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Walker, £3 4*s*. 4*d*.; Bow Branch Meeting, 1*s*. 5¾*d*.

'DREADNOUGHT' FUND.—Mr. Jas. Reid, 10*s*.; Miss E. M. Brett, 10*s*.; Mrs. Lanchester, 3*s*. 6*d*.; Miss K. Lee, 2*s*. 6*d*.; Mrs. Brimley (weekly), 2*s*. 6*d*.; Mr. Bridge, 2*s*.

CLINICS AND SOCIAL WORK.—Miss Mabel Sennett, £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10*s*.; Miss E. J White (Montessori), 10*s*.; R. Laxton, 7*s*. 6*d*.; Mr. Hunter (Montessori), 7*s*.; Lettie Usherwood, 7*s*.; Miss Jane Levy, 5*s*.; Mr. A. Potter, 5*s*.; Mr. Arthur E Burberry, 4*s*.; Mrs. Dunckley, 1*s*. COLLECTIONS: Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 9*s*. 1*d*.; Miss K. Lagsding and Mrs. Bertram (Cubitt Town), 7*s*. 2*d*.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

THE MOTHER'S ARMS CLINIC, DAY NURSERY, AND MONTESSORI CLASS; also CLINIC, 20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR, and CLINIC, 53 ST. LEONARD STREET, SOUTH BROMLEY.—Garments for Babies, Children, and Adults, Maternity Outfits, etc., Children's Toys, Pot Plants, Flowers and Branches, etc., always wanted.

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.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

WOMEN WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton.—Hostess, Miss Turner.

WOMEN DESIRING LAND WORK AND GARDENING should apply to Miss A. Tollemache, Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, Essex.

HALL TO LET for meetings, concerts, dances, etc.—Apply, Mrs. Hooper, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

MONTESSORI METHOD.—Day Pupils or Boarders, aged 2½ to 5 years, received; also vacancy for Student Teacher.—Apply to Miss Muriel Matters, Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, Essex.

A HALFWAY HOUSE.

(Continued from page 992).

Though Mr. Cole has not worked out the constitution of the supreme council, he has set forth many points concerning the relationship of the guilds and State. The guilds, he says, must control production and the product; the State, representing the consumers, must determine the character and use of the product. The details of the dual system are as follows:—

"The Guilds *will purchase raw material* from abroad from 'an independent body,' or from another home industry producing the material required.

"*Investment will be under the joint control of the State and the Guild Congress.* The individual guild desiring new capital or to place sums to reserve will have to apply for the sanction of both bodies or perhaps to the Joint Congress.

"*The Guilds will sell their products*, either directly, or through a merchant guild or guilds. The District Committees and National Executive Committee of the guild will carry on the exchange. *The National Guild will fix the wholesale prices at which the guild will sell its wares*, taking quality into account. The District Committee will pay the works for its products according to this list. The guilds may, or may not, be retailers. They will be wholesalers disposing of their products and other guilds to co-operative societies, or municipalities and to the State.

"*The State will tax the guilds*, charging 'an annual quasi-rent' for the use of industrial plants. Each year it will budget for its expenditure and secure the revenue in a lump sum from the Guild Congress. The State and the Guild Congress will apportion the share which each guild must pay towards this sum according to its productivity. Profiteering in the guilds will be prevented by increasing the tax if the guild charges too much for its wares.

"The Joint Congress will fix retail prices, and Mr. Cole thinks it may probably give the people free transit, free bread, free milk, free education, and a free Public Health Service; also cheap theatres and libraries."

Evidently the State will pay the guild for the free services and partially pay it for the cheap services. Mr. Cole argues that a price must be set upon commodities, because "salmon is scarcer than cod, and gold than coal." He urges that the only alternative to a charge is a compulsory ration, and that "if men are to have freedom at all it must be freedom to spend." We think that this reasoning is based upon the ideas engendered by the capitalist system. We observe that if gold is scarcer than coal, coal is more largely used. We believe both that its greater price largely accounts for the preference for salmon over cod, and that if the Socialist democracy should really set its heart upon getting an abundance of salmon, or any other commodity, for everyone it would accomplish the task. We believe that the plan adopted under Socialism will not be to limit the demand for commodities, by enhanced prices, but that, on the contrary, the average need and desire for any commodity will be ascertained, and the natural resources and labour power of the community will be organised to meet that need. If, however, the general public welfare seriously dictates that any given commodity shall be sparingly used, we believe that, in the first instance, a public appeal to that effect will be issued. Should this fail to produce the desired result the people will then decide to ration themselves in respect of that commodity, but we think that such instances will seldom, if ever, occur.

Mr. Cole tells us that under National Guilds the worker will be assured of recognition and payment as a human being; of payment alike in employment and unemployment, in health and sickness, and entitled, in co-operation with his fellows, to control of the organisation of his work, and to a claim on its product. We ask whether the wage for all grades of workers will be alike and whether workers in the shops and offices will live at a similar subsistence level to that of the general secretaries of the Guilds and the Parliamentary officials. Unless it would place the subsistence level of all the members of the community on an equal plane there would be little Socialism in the practical working out of the "Guild Idea"!

We have indicated that Mr. Cole himself has recognised that the dualism of the Guild Socialist scheme may prove at times inconvenient. Indeed, he says:—

"I do not deny....that when National Guilds are in being there is a danger that the values may be upset, and the essential character of the system destroyed. That will indeed be the ever-present peril against which it will be the function of guildsmanship to guard."

Why, then, create this peril? Why set up a dual organism when the Guild Congress, or whatever we may agree to term it, might do all the work on its own account? Cole admits that the dual system of Government he advocates will ceate the the need for a supreme body. If such a body be elected by the Parliament and the Guild Congress it will be less democratic than either, because further removed from the influence of the rank-and-file people.

Every worker is at the same time a consumer, and every consumer should be a worker, to create a division is an absurdity. But Mr. Cole and his fellow "Guildsmen" tell us that the interests of the worker as consumer are not those of the worker as producer. He argues that consumers' organisations are always undemocratic and that the workers as consumers may exploit themselves as producers. Nevertheless, in his State which will tax the producer guilds and have an equal voice with them in fixing their prices and in disposing of their capital, he has deliberately created a consumers' organisation and given it power to exploit the producers.

Being a Member of Parliament always tends to become a profession, and if Mr. Cole's elaborate system of quasi-rents, &c., is to be established it is surely safer to entrust the powers he has outlined to a body representing all the workers as workers than to an assembly of professional politicians elected on a territorial basis.

Mr. Cole speaks of those who are to elect the territorial Parliament as "neighbours" and "enjoyers," and of the functions with which they will have to deal as "political." But how many questions can be set down as purely political? Will Mr. Cole's Parliament have to deal with education? Surely the teachers' guild will bear the main burden of the question, its schemes being laid before the Guild Congress or Industrial Parliament or submitted to Referendum, in order that all the workers may have their share in decisions which affect all the people. Will Mr. Cole's Parliament deal with the food supply? Surely the food producing and food preparing guilds or industries must be considered. If it be a question of domestic housewifery the housekeepers' organisation will have something to say. In the provision of theatres the voice of the players' guild must be heard. The gardeners will speak when parks are being considered. And if the vital issues of peace or war come up for decision the whole people must be consulted. In the Socialist State we hope for the abolition of armies and navies; policemen will probably have become sanitary experts, but if any representatives of law and order are found necessary these men and women will have their industrial organisations like the rest. In the management of foreign affairs we need no professional politicians and diplomatists. Our relationships with other countries are, or should be, occupied with the ordinary ways of life. in the exchange of raw materials and manufactures and arrangements concerning ships, fisheries, lighthouses, railways, and so on. The industries concerned can deal with all these matters, and it is best that they should do so.

Advocates of Guild Socialism are frequently heard to speak of men and women being "trained as industrialists" or "trained as politicians." We do not want men and women to be trained as politicians: that is the very last thing that they should be!

The guild idea is a good idea, though not a new one, in so far as it means freedom and self-government for every worker, but the Guildsmen should drop their fantastic theory of the consumers' State, which will hold the "balance of power." "The balance of power" theory is one that should be discarded both in home and in foreign politics. Let us set in its place the ideal of co-operative solidarity.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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