THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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THE RUSSIAN SOVIETS: *How the Workers Control Them.*

Le Populaire, the French minority evening paper, publishes an interview between the London correspondent of the Avanti and the "undesirable ambassadors" of the Bolshevik Government to France and Switzerland, Comrades Kameneff and Zahlkind, during their stay in London before the British Government forced them to return to Russia :—

Why have you dissolved the Constituent Assembly ? asked the Avanti correspondent. The Russian comrades replied : Because the fight with the capitalists is not finished, as long as it continues the Soviet must be its sole fighting organisation of the workers. When all have submitted the divers social strata will again be able to send their legitimate representatives freely to the legislative and administrative assembly.

We are surprised by this answer for it seems to us that the Soviet form of Government is a more modern and more democratic form than the old Parliament elected on a territorial basis. The Avanti correspondent then asked how the workers are represented in the Soviets. The Russian comrades replied :—

A thousand workers elect a deputy, who appears before them every fortnight and can always be recalled. Twenty-five thousand electors elect a member of the Central Congress of Soviets, which meets every three months and elects the Executive, numbering about three hundred.

This is for political questions, but how are industrial affairs regulated ?

Workshops are managed by workers' committees, acting with the manufacturer, who has become a sort of technical and administrative director. No order is given without the approval of the workers' committee. If the manufacturer refuses to submit to the position the industry is nationalised, as has been done in the case of the Pontiloff factories. The Bolsheviks are masters of the situation. The decrees of the peasants and workers meet with no opposition, not even in the Ukraine, because all the working masses are agitating against the other classes. The Russian Revolution is a social revolution that could not easily be destroyed by internal reaction, because it would not be easy to retake the land from the peasants or the management of industry from the workers.

Is not Socialist Russia in advance of the time and because of this and its isolation is it not gravely endangered ?

Certainly the great difficulty is the existence of the capitalistic states which surround the Socialist republic. But how long will they endure ? Already we perceive within them comforting symptoms of their transformation. Meanwhile, the Russian State does not allow its individual citizens to import and export from other countries ; it has itself assumed the monopoly and exchanges with other States, product for product, according to the needs of the people. This monopoly is limited to raw materials and to the principal agricultural products and manufactures. A treaty has already been concluded between Austria and Ukraine in this spirit. Until to-day the countries of Western Europe have lived to a certain extent as parasites on the world, absorbing its wealth as England does from her colonies. All this will continue till after the war, which already has certainly accelerated the processes of evolution towards the revolutionary solution.

The Russo-German peace will not continue after the war. On the borders of Russia and Germany slave peasants will meet and become infected by peasants who are freed from the economic yoke. The Junkers with their rigid traditional ideas will come into conflict with the bourgeois manufacturers, merchants, and bankers, whilst the workers will call these two sections to account for what has happened. And meanwhile the Bolsheviki are demonstrating the capacity of the workers to administer and direct. The workers are replacing the old staff even in the Foreign Office itself, when each evening courses are given in foreign languages and correspondence. Socialists, and, above all, the Swiss, who have come to Petrograd, are full of admiration for what has been done and what is being done for the reorganisation of the country where, according to the bourgeois press, nothing but chaos reigns.

* * *

The Bolshevik Revolution : its Rise and Meaning. By Maxim Litvinoff (Plenipotentiary of the Russian People's Government to Great Britain). B.S.P., 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.2. One Shilling net.

A clear and thoughtful summary of the events which led up to the creation of the world's first workers' Socialist republic. Litvinoff tells us that the women of the food queues began the revolution, and that the people of Petrograd with their Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates forced the revolution upon the unwilling Liberals. In those days the most authoritative leaders of the Bolsheviki were in exile. This was why men like Tchkheidze and Kerensky became its leaders and the Soviet shrank from assuming governmental power. Kameneff was the first of the exiled Bolshevik leaders to return and he at once began to oppose the Soviet leaders who had handed their power to the middle-class capitalist provisional Government. Lenin returned to Petrograd in April, 1917, and at once submitted a new plank to the revolutionary programme, namely, that Russia must become, not a parliamentary republic, which would mean a capitalist republic like France or America, but a Soviet republic, that is to say a republic governed by organisations representing the working class—"a Socialist state organisation pursuing as its ultimate object the expropriation of the propertied classes and the Socialisation of the means of production." Litvinoff tells us that even Lenin's closest friends feared to accept the proposal and that he was "compelled to drop it for a time, expecting that life would in due course prove a more convincing teacher than himself."

Litvinoff says that even when the Bolsheviki afterwards fought for the transfer of all power to the Soviets the leaders of the Bolsheviki, except Lenin, still thought that the exercise of power by the Soviets would be but temporary, and would be voluntarily resigned to a Constituent Assembly representing all classes in which the bourgeoisie would form the Government. "It did not enter their minds that the bourgeoisie itself might abdicate its powers by proclaiming a universal boycott of Government authority, or that the proletariat, "once possessed of power, might not be willing to restore it to their class enemies." Lenin did not argue ; he merely waited for events to justify his policy.

Litvinoff says that the Russian revolution was ebbing and would have disappeared entirely had not the Bolshevik revolution come to establish the Soviet power. He argues that the Bolsheviki were right to dissolve the Constituent Assembly which they had called into being, because "it would have meant the re-establishment of the rule of those very classes and parties which had nearly ruined the revolution." He urges that the Constituent Assembly which contained a majority against the Bolsheviki did not faithfully reflect the real mind of the people, because, whilst all the Social Revolutionaries talked of land socialisation and peace, the cleavage between the left and right wings of the party was not apparent until after the election, and that had the election been held a couple of months later it would have shown a large majoirty for the Bolshevik policy. He says : "The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly then, meant the final establishment of the rule of the Soviets, that is, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasant class, pending the re-construction of society which would do away with classes altogether and admit every citizen of Russia to the full exercise of civic rights."

We do not know, and Mr. Litvinoff does not enlighten us, as to whether the mass of the Bolsheviki now think that after the secure establishment of the Socialist Republic, the Soviet form of government will pass away and Russia revert to the older parliamentary type, in which candidates represent electoral constituencies and are elected for long terms, without being responsible to, or having to report to any definite body of persons. For our own part we believe that the Soviet Government will persist, no doubt with development and growing improvement, and is destined to become the new governmental model for the Socialist republics which will shortly follow Russia all over the civilised globe. The master-mind of Lenin has no doubt foreseen this all along. In this connection our readers should note the interview between the Avanti correspondent and the Bolshevik ambassadors which we quote from *Le Populaire*.

Incidentally, Mr. Litvinoff clears up a number of little difficulties which are puzzling to many British students of Russian affairs. In a foot-note he disposes authoritatively of the controversy concerning the origin of the name Bolshevik thus : "Bolshevik is a bastard word signifying a person belonging to the majority. It was coined after the first split of the Russian Social Democratic party in 1903, when the more moderate wing was left in a minority and the revolutionary wing gained a majority of votes."

THE MINORITY RULE.

Solidarity among the Shipowners. By T. J Walton Newbold, M.A., with a foreword by Tom Mann. Glasgow, Reformers' Bookstall, Ltd., 126, *Bothwell Street.* 2*d.*

This striking pamphlet describes the world-embracing ramifications of capitalism, not merely in shipbuilding, but in armaments, telegraphs, railways, tramways, and motor transit, meat, margarine, oil, coal, iron, and steel, &c. All these, as he shows, are closely inter-related. The evidence is taken from such sources as the *Stock Exchange Year Book, The Directory of Directors, Who's Who, The Red Book of Commerce*, Company Share lists, Registers of Joint Stock Companies, the monthly files of *The Shipbuilder, Syren and Shipping*, and commercial articles, in the daily press. These Mr. Newbold has supplemented by careful reading of brass plates on office entrances, name-plates on wagons and so on. He is undoubtedly most painstaking and thorough in his observations. He considers to quote the words of Tom Mann's foreword, that "the study period has arrived, vague generalities will not serve ; the call is for facts, an abundance of facts." All our data are taken from Mr. Newbold's book. He explains that John Brown & Co., Ltd., the great colliery, iron, steel, engineering and shipbuilding amalgamation is, under normal conditions, presided over by Lord Pirrie, who was recently appointed Comptroller-General of Merchant shipping. John Brown's is interested in and partially controlled by Harland & Wolff, Ltd., of Belfast, Liverpool, Glasgow, Southampton, &c. John Brown repairs and builds for the International Mercantile Marine Co. Lord Pirrie, until his Government appointment, was a director of the Eastern Telegraph Co., Atlantic Coaling Co., Ltd. and British Union Oil Co., Ltd. He was one of the directors of Elder Dempster and Co., Ltd. His co-director is Sir Owen Philips of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., which links him up with a number of other shipping lines, some of which do great business with Africa. Says Mr. Newbold :—

"These concerns are all involved in the conflict of interests now occasioning such a furore in Liverpool and elsewhere concerning the exploitation of the vegetable oil, cotton growing, and forestal resources of West Africa."

Mr. Newbold further tells us that Sir J. Reeves Ellerman (son of Johan Herman Ellerman, who came from Hamburg to Hull) is the third largest shareholder in *The Times*, and is interested very deeply in other Harmsworth publications like *The Daily Mail*, which have, in ordinary circumstances, a very sharp nose for persons of enemy origin. Sir J. R. Ellerman, Newbold explains, is a large shareholder in the North British Diesel Engine Works and is connected with the Lion Brewery Co and other undertakings. He is head of the Ellerman Lines, Ltd., which control the Ellerman and Papayanni lines to the Near East, and the Harrison, Halland City lines to the Far East. He is also on the directorate of Wilsons and the North Eastern Railway Shipping Co., which trade with Holland, and are associated with a number of lines controlled by the International Mercantile Marine Co. of New Jersey, which, as we have seen, has relations with Lord Pirrie through Harland and Wolff. The International Mercantile Marine Co. is under the control of the American International Corporation, which includes all the great financial and commercial undertakings of W.S.A., and which Mr. Newbold says he has reason to believe "is ultimately a Rockefeller concern." He adds : "With John D. Rockefeller is J. P. Morgan & Co. of New York, and this firm is strongly behind the International Mercantile Marine."

Shades of the Mooney case ; where are Mr. Newbold's inquiries leading us ? He says :—

"Transport workers would do well to remember that it was the Rockefeller gang that used the troops against its workers in Colorado ; that it was the same Rockefeller gang that stood behind the copper companies when they brought off the infamous 'round up' of industrial unionists at Butte, Montana."

At the Blackpool Trade Union Congress we heard Mr. Lord, a delegate from the American Federation of Labour, expressing pride and pleasure in the fact that he and other Labour representatives were sitting upon a National Committee side by side with such men as John D. Rockefeller ! Oh dear, oh dear, when will American Labour wake up ?

But Mr. Newbold has not done ; he shows how the shipping lines to India and the East, Australia and all parts of the world, are connected with the oil, the tea, and the rubber plantations, and the banks, and Vickers Maxim, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Rhondda and others. Newbold says :—

"The economic and political power of the capitalist class is enormously strengthened by this world-wide industrial unionism of the shipowners and railway magnates. It affords them an endless chain of connections and influences binding together their many and scattered areas of exploitation....The workers, on the other hand, however they may be organised ashore in the various industries in this and other countries, have no firm basis of international solidarity. They have no all-powerful industrial union connecting them together over land and sea into a single mighty force, capable of encountering up-to-date capitalism on every continent and on every ocean. This defect must be made good."

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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A LITTLE ADVICE.

Thursday's *Daily News* assured us that the War Office, the Labour Ministry, and the Department of Reconstruction have been "hard at work" on the subject of reconstruction, whilst the public has been merely speculating on the subject. As proof of this assertion *The Daily News* declares that it has witnessed a demobilisation rehearsal, and that the official demobilisation scheme is based on "industrial reconstruction." *The News* says:—

"This will mean that men are not sent home for dispersal because they happen to form a battalion of the Guards or the Manchesters, but because they are part of an industrial unit which has been called for by the Ministry of Labour and the Department of Reconstruction."

It sounds inhumanly businesslike and unpleasantly suggests industrial conscription. We do not think that either the wives and mothers of the men at the front, or the men themselves will submit to any decrees of Government Departments which, at the end of the war, would discharge the soldiers to work away from their homes. Once the war is over the men and their families will refuse to regard the soldiers as mere man-power units and the Government will certainly be obliged to discard the scheme if this is what it intends.

The Daily News continues:—

"It was found that from the moment an individual soldier arrived on the parade ground to the time he had handed in his equipment, had sorted his personal belongings and curios out, had received his policy insuring him against unemployment, and was marching for the train to take him home, only 40 minutes had elapsed."

Forty minutes to release a man from the army seems to us slow, rather than quick work; but the serious point is that the Government, though it has had more than forty months to consider the matter, has not yet decided how much the unemployment policy is to be worth. Men are being discharged from the army every day and in many cases their urgent grievances are crying for redress.

Here is the case of a soldier discharged, 1915, as physically unfit for war service and granted a pension of 4*s.* 8*d.* a week for twelve months final. Eventually he received a lump sum in settlement. When the money was spent he came to us, in January, 1918, in a pitiable plight, obviously very ill and apparently on the verge of insanity, if he had not already crossed the border line. He was living by begging or selling picture postcards. His wife, who had supported him and the six young children since his discharge, had been removed to the Poor Law infirmary, dying of tuberculosis. His children were shortly after removed to the Poor Law schools. Correspondence with the Departments concerned secured no further help for him. It was said that he was suffering from neurasthenia before the war. Why, then, was he enlisted? A special Medical Board was asked to re-examine him on March 1st, 1918, but on April 15th a letter from the Pensions Ministry stated that no report had been received. These cases drag on month after month.

After the war has finished, indifference and neglect has always been the portion of the soldier; what, indeed, will be the measure of that neglect if such cases as this can take place during the war?

Here is another instance, in which a widow and children are the sufferers. The soldier was killed in France on September 7th, 1917. On September 11th the army chaplain wrote to the widow:—

"It is with deepest sorrow that I write to inform you of the sad, though glorious death of your husband. ....He was brought into this hospital on the 7th suffering from internal wounds received in action. ....You can be cheered by the thought that your husband did his duty and did it well. He has given his life, it is true, but only to gain a Higher one, which will last for ever. His sacrifice has been great, but you may be assured that his reward will be greater."

On September 23rd a friend of the husband's wrote:—

"I was only a few yards off when it happened, and the first to aid him, and I stayed with him till he was taken away....everything was done for him which hands could do....it is very hard to lose such a fine friend...."

A letter from the Regimental Record Office, dated September 14th, informed the widow that her husband had died "from gunshot wound abdomen."

It is customary for a widow to receive separation allowance for 26 weeks after her husband's death, pension beginning at the close of this period. This widow's allowance was paid, like that of others, without intimation that anything unusual was to happen, until she received a letter, dated February 21st, 1918, stating that, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Warrant, article 15, she had been awarded, not the usual widow's pension, but 15*s.* a week for the duration of the war and twelve months afterwards, without any pension at all for her child.*

Before the pension began to be paid she called at the local office of the organisation called "Comrades of the Great War," having received a letter asking her to do so from the Secretary, Mr. Geddes. She was there told that she had been refused full pension because her husband's death "was caused by his own carelessness."

What does that mean? And if the man were "careless" perpetual danger makes men so. How tragically callous to punish by loss of income the wife and child. If the poor fellow has been careless, he has paid the death penalty for it!

The demobilisation problem embraces something more, indeed, than the mere delivering up of kit on the parade ground: The Government actuary announces that if the war ends in the present year £750,000,000 will be required to meet the pension liabilities. In 1930 the pension charges will be £40,000,000, in 1940 £30,000,000, in 1950 £20,000,000; in 1960, £10,000,000. Even in 1970 pensions arising from this war will still be paid. These figures comprise the pensions liabilities by one nation alone if the war ends this year! What a legacy of debt and damage the impoverished, exhausted populations of the world will have to carry if the Jingoes have their way! Statesmen should be concentrating their attention on efforts to stop the war and end the slaughter. Demobilisation rehearsals may well wait at least till the opening of peace negotiations. The men who take part in the rehearsals may probably be killed before the actual performance.

A WORKING WOMAN'S ADVICE ON THE LAND ARMY.

For years the brushmaker was known as the cheeriest woman in her street. The dreary Bow atmosphere could not dim her enthusiasms, nor could constant personal experience of poverty deter her from the ceaseless effort to help those who happened to be in acuter trouble. The war came, with its excitement and weariness. Her brother was killed, her son left home, her old mother died, and the air-raids strangely unnerved her. She lost her spirits, she could not sleep, her plump figure became almost thin, and her face was whitey grey. After nearly four years of war she left Bow for a holiday.

In the buttercup meadows she regained her buoyancy. Her hair was curlier, it took on a reddish tinge, and the colour of her skin became a blend of honey and wild rose. Her eyes grew bluer, her cheeks again dimpled with laughter. She had found new friends, she was welcomed and consulted, and her nimble thoughts ran onward in constructive helpfulness.

The woman with whom she lodged in the country was a poor widow, living a hard life, looking back on a harder one. She aroused the brushmaker's affectionate admiration by her clever housewifery, the neat and cleanly aptitude with which she washed, cooked, and sewed. "She seems to be a mysterious woman, everything she did seemed so simple." The brushmaker spent much of her time "wooding" for the widow's fire, going back to the cottage to fetch her when she found a big log that they might carry it home together. Her mind was busy planning for the widow. Near the cottage was a little farm; its rent was only 4*s.* a week. As she has described it: "There was places to keep pigs and cows and chickens" and the widow cured "splendid bacon." "She could grow plenty of stuff there to send to London. What a place for people from Bow to come to, if only someone would send them down!"

One day the brushmaker fell in with four women from the Land Army. Seeing them passing along the road in a clumsy motor lorry, she thought: "What rough old country girls!" Later they came inquiring for lodgings to the inn where she had gone with the widow for half a pint of beer: "No 'arm in 'alf a pint of beer, if you don't abuse it, is there?" She induced the widow to find room for three of the girls and got a lodging near by for the fourth.

Thereafter the brushmaker took keen interest in these new acquaintances. She discovered them to be no country girls, and anything but "rough" when they had changed their working clothes. They had come from domestic service—a cook, a parlour-maid, and a children's nurse. She saw that their conditions were harsh and toilsome, and bent her mind to consider how to improve their lot.

They rose at 5.45 or 6 A.M., and walked several miles in all weathers to the working place, where they had to be at 7 A.M. They were allowed a quarter of an hour for lunch and an hour for dinner, which ended at 1.30, after which they worked on without a break till the end. This was supposed to be at 5, but the workers were usually kept till 6 or later. One day the brushmaker walked over to the working place to take them some jam puffs from the widow: "I asked one of the staff men, not the head 'starff, 'What time are they done?' 'At five,' he says. 'It's 'parst 6 now,' I tells 'im, 'you're makin' sweaters of 'em.' Against these girls gits 'ome they're fagged out, there's no life for 'em!" So it appeared to the brushmaker. The girls echoed her words: "We are dead beat by the time we get home."

Their's was hard labour; sometimes standing for hour on hour on the hayrick with a fork throwing the hay into the baling machine. "One machine 'as a great arm and it comes round, and one of the girls 'as to balance on this arm, laying with her stummick acrost it, and as it comes round she 'as to catch up the bale of hay with a big thing like a compass. Since I came away they wrote and told me she was 'urt. I s'pose she fell orf."

The working place was too far away for the girls to get home to dinner, and sometimes even water was too far away for them to fetch it. They were short of sugar; they disliked tea without sugar, and it was difficult to carry all that they might want for the day.

The girls had been promised a uniform a fortnight after they started work, but after five weeks only some of it had arrived. It consists of wide green corduroy breeches, a khaki overall, a green felt hat, strong boots and leggings, and a waterproof coat for wet weather. The brushmaker impressed upon us that it was a "beautiful" waterproof. Before the brushmaker came back to Bow one of the girls had got all her uniform save the leggings; the others had only got the waterproof, and the breeches, which they could not wear without the overall. They had worn out their own boots by this time and had each destroyed a suit of clothes.

They had understood that their pay would be 18*s.* a week, in addition to rations and billeting money, but they found that out of the 18*s.*, 9*s.* 1*d.* a week was stopped for rations, and 11½*d.* a day—all too little to repay the landlady—must be spent on the billet. The rations provided by the Government were supplied twice or thrice a week, and consisted of meat and bacon amounting to rather more than ½ lb. a day, tea, ½ lb. of sugar a week, and three 2 lb. loaves a week. This food was brought to them at the working place, and conveyed thither, the bread and meat without paper or other protection, in the bottom of the dirty cart which carried tools and all sorts of other things. The girls have written: "The top of the bread looks just as though it had been dragged about with rats and mice. The meat is always covered in dirt and sawdust."

The woman from Bow was indignant that food should be so used and that the girls should be expected to endure it. She protested that it was "not fit for pigs." The widow washed the meat in two waters, then scraped it before cooking. She pared off the edges of the bacon and bread.

For 11½*d.* per day the widow provided the lodging, cooked the meals, and supplied milk and vegetables. Every evening she cooked a hot supper, supplying potatoes and greens, and a pudding or fruit tart. She washed and mended their clothes and cared for the girls: "Same as they was comin' 'ome to a mother at night. She makes 'em look like little ladies when they go out; they don't 'ave a spot on 'em. Oh, she is a lovely woman! But, of course, all the billets aren't like that." So said the brushmaker, and the widow certainly did much more for them than she was paid for. The girls wanted more sugar than the ration supplied to them. They sometimes had to buy more bread, for some of it had to be thrown away owing to its dirtiness, and hard manual work in the open air sharpens the appetite. They were supplied with neither butter nor jam and must buy these or do without them; indeed, they could scarcely save for clothes out of the surplus 1*s.*½*d.* a day.

Their previous billet was four miles from the working place. It was a two-roomed cottage. The girls slept upstairs where potatoes and onions were stored. They had their meals downstairs, where slept and lived a childish, bedridden old man and his daughter. The girls had to cook and do everything for themselves. It appeared that most of the billets expected the workers to do their own cooking. The girls would soon be moving on to another part of the country and they regretted the thought of leaving the widow.

The brushmaker discussed the situation with them and the widow and she and they evolved a scheme which they want to see put into force to

(Continued on page 1018.)

* Article 15 gives a temporary pension of this kind without allowances for children to widows of men who have died of wounds, injuries or disease, neither attributable to military service nor certified as substantially aggravated by such service, but not due to the serious negligence or misconduct of the deceased man.

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION. II.

Last week I said that the programme of the Industrial Reconstruction Committee was very subtle and cleverly drawn up; this week I propose to expose its subtlety.

Firstly, it claims to be out for self-government in industry; secondly, it asserts that a trade is greater than the sum of its parts, *that it has an existence quite apart from those engaged in it*, and that it is the duty of capital, management, and labour to join hands for the betterment of that trade; and, thirdly, it says that industry will be recognised as one of the highest forms of national service. No one can take exception to the principle of industrial self-government, or administration, as I prefer to call it. The Workers' Committee Movement claims that it makes for efficiency for each industry to be administered by those actually working in the industry. We also agree that industry should be recognised as one of the highest forms of social (not national) service. But when we are told that (under a capitalist system) a trade has an existence quite apart from those engaged in it, and that it is the duty of employer and worker to join hands for its betterment, we say, with all the emphasis we can command, that such a statement is an economic untruth specially framed for the purpose of counteracting the propaganda of the antagonism of interests between worker and employer. What we must always remember is that we are living in a wage system, and that, whilst such a system lasts, whilst the worker possesses nothing but his power to labour, and is compelled to sell his labour power to a possessing parasite class, there can be no identity of interests between the two. We have seen this idea of "trade interests apart from those engaged in it" expounded before. During the great strikes of 1910-1913 the workers were continually told, in various ways, that they had no right to strike because they were inconveniencing the people. During the war we have been repeatedly told that the production of munitions is of paramount importance and no matter what onerous conditions the employers or the State impose upon us, we must not kick because there can be no antagonism of interests in this hour of the nation's peril. Now we are told that a trade has some mystical existence apart from such material things as wages profits, &c. The object is quite clear. The worker knows instinctively that his interests are diametrically opposed to those of the boss. Years of Socialist propaganda, the practical outcome of which is the Workers' Committee, have caused this instinct to develop into intelligent consciousness. As a result there is a formidable working-class army, challenging the very existence of the capitalist system. No one recognises this fact more than the capitalists themselves, so with a view to stemming the tide of revolutionary thought and ideas they say to the worker: "The TRADE, my good fellow, has interests which transcend such sordid things as wages and profits and it is your duty to shake hands with your boss and refrain from striking for better conditions. *We* are out for industrial self-government, but *we* are also out to maintain control. Oh, yes, we don't mind giving you better conditions—but in the interests of the capitalist State the wage-system must endure."

Karl Marx showed us that every system of society contains the germs of its own destruction. A study of Hilaire Belloc's 'Servile State' shows us that when a dominant class realises that its régime is near the end it apparently controls the germs of its destruction, and, as it were, uses those germs so to mould the new form of society that the same people and class continue to dominate. That is the meaning of the establishment of numerous Governmental Departments; that is the meaning of the programme of the Industrial Reconstruction Council. It is calculated that the next form of society will be collectivist and the whole object is so to guide things that the present capitalist class will continue to control. In next week's issue I will endeavour to show how the Workers' Committee Movement will counteract this very cunning scheme.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

May 28th.—When asked by Mr. King (L.) whether an opportunity would be given to discuss the position in Ireland Mr. Bonar Law said: "I have at present no intention of making any statement on the subject." Our opinion is that the actions of the Government do not bear inspection!!

MONEY *v.* LIFE.

In a lengthy speech the Minister of Pensions detailed the various improvements, enlargements, and new departments he had brought into being during his period in office. Mr. Hodge now has a staff of 6,200 as compared with Mr. Barnes's 3,700! Though he complained that whenever they got workers trained to be useful they are poached from them by "some other Government Department." Surely Mr. Hodge does not wish to convey that his 6,200 employees are *not* "useful"! Further, we cannot understand why all Government work is not equally paid, so that no temptation of better pay should cause these frequent changes. Practically all the members present—and a quorum was got with some difficulty—complained that Mr. Hodge, in his devotion to new schemes, had not yet solved the difficulties of the actual administration of pensions.

Mr. Hogge (L.) informed the House that the Minister of Pensions had to threaten to resign before he got his last Royal Warrant, which was not anything like what he asked! And yet that Government dares to call on men to go and die for *their* country! Mr. Hogge cited many cases which prove that the neglect and mistakes of the first year of the war are still prevalent. He told the House the case of a man who volunteered in 1914, was discharged from hospital in March, 1916. That man, except for two cab journeys to Pension Committees, never left his bed or sofa in his room from the day he was discharged until he died in September, 1917. He was in receipt of a pension of 4*s.* 8*d.* and got a gratuity of £7 10*s.* His case was brought before the local War Pensions Committee and eleven times before Chelsea. On September 21st, 1917, he was awarded a pension of 27*s.* 6*d.* On the 26th he drew £10, but he died on the same day. Since his death he has had three notices calling him up for re-examination! Yet that Department employs 6,200!! He also told the story of an officer's wife who is owed £50 by the Ministry and cannot recover it. Her straits were so great that she had to pawn her wedding ring last Friday morning to get food for herself and husband for the week end. The most desperate case of all was that of a man who was in the Northumberland Fusiliers, he was discharged as "not yet diagnosed" and granted 4*s.* 8*d.* a week. Less than a month ago that man's wife got out of her sick bed to make room for him to get in and die. At the time of his death there were two children in the room, both practically naked, one suffering from Bright's disease and the other from influenza. The man was buried as a pauper!! These are the men, as Mr. Hogge reminded the House, whom platform orators call the saviours of the country! This is how they are being treated, and yet the Treasury has to be threatened to do even the little that is being done. The money lent to the State will be paid in full, Mr. Hogge very aptly said. But the life is taken and used in the field, and the dependants, even the broken men themselves, are not even guaranteed against want. We ask how long are the people willing to suffer this mockery of "equality of sacrifice."

* * *

May 29th.—Criticising questions were put in reference to the forms for the new register, which members implied are most difficult to fill up correctly!

CONSCRIPTION OF RUSSIANS.

May 30th.—Mr. King (L) asked whether there was any Russian Government still existing which was party to the military Convention with Russia. Lord Robert Cecil pointed out that the Convention was in force for the duration of the war; further, that "international agreements do not cease to be valid because the Governments which concluded them are no longer in power." He refused to see the point that as far as Russia was concerned the war was at an end.

CHINESE TREATY.

Lord R. Cecil refused to disclose the terms of the Convention between China and Japan. Another Secret Treaty!

IRELAND.

Many questions were asked about Ireland and the recent arrests. Mr. Bonar Law was not in a position to make any statement on the possibility of a public trial. It seems that the Government is waiting to see what pressure will be brought to bear. The very elements of justice surely demand a public trial!

EDWARD SOERMUS.

Sir G. Cave stated that it is not intended to press the matter of the deportation of Mr. Soermus owing to his wife's health. He said: "No deportation order has, in fact, been made." Why, then, was he, "ordered to return within a week"?

EDUCATION.

On May 29th and 30th the Education Bill was discussed in Committee. It was decided that the school-leaving age be 15. Mr. Whitehouse's motion for maintenance allowances to be paid for children at school over 14 was defeated. Though it stands to reason that so long as the present social system obtains, the parents, whose means force them to send their children into the labour market before 14, cannot possibly provide for those children until they are 15. Some provision must be made.

Clause 10, which introduces compulsory education up to 18 years, was the subject of severe criticism. Colonel Wedgwood (L.) argued that the fact of making continuation schools compulsory put people's backs up against it. A vote, however, was taken and it was decided in favour of compulsion. The House rose before completing the debate on this clause.

EMIGRATION.

May 31st. A Bill to give advice to emigrants was given a second reading. It certainly strikes one as absurd to extend indefinitely the control over individuals. That is quite apart from the point as to whether emigration requires encouragement. In Ireland the contrary is the case. Does the Government think that the results there justify imitation in England?

IRELAND AND PEACE.

We welcome Mr. Devlin's statement at Dungannon that "the time has come for the influence of the Irish race throughout the world to be thrown into the growing movement for justice and a general peace." The Irish said that they would not tolerate conscription and though the Government has "discovered" a "plot" and arrested some Sinn Fein leaders, it has reverted to voluntary recruiting. Government, after all, rests on the consent of the governed. The Irish women recognise that fact, in making their declaration that they will not fill the places of men deprived of their work through refusing enforced military service.

Interesting news is to hand from Newcastle. We are informed that the A.S.E. branch secretaries have formed themselves into an organisation, the chief objects of which seems to be the raising of their salaries. At present they are wrestling with the knotty problem of how much they can charge for time lost in dispatching ballot papers for the last Man Power vote. No one wishes a branch secretary to be out of pocket in discharging his secretarial duties, but our informant says some were on holiday when the ballot was taken, so were not required actually to lose time. Nevertheless, they are wishful to book up the 15 hours just the same. All this is petty and sordid, and our opinion is that the branch secretaries could spend their time more usefully in discussing details of organisation.

WOMEN CO-OPERATORS AND RUSSIA.

THE Women's Co-operative Guild is greatly to be congratulated on the resolution proposed by its Central Committee and adopted by its Annual Conference in Bradford calling on the co-operative movement, in the interests of international co-operation, to prevent foreign capital from re-establishing its power and destroying the ideal, now being worked out in Russia, of industry controlled by the people for the people. With practical foresight the Conference drove home its point by urging the Co-operative Wholesale Society to send a deputation to Russia to establish direct business relations. Well done, women co-operators, this resolution of yours may well have tremendous results!

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS' PEACE MOVE.

AMSTERDAM, Sunday.—A Vienna telegram says that at an Imperial conference of the Austro-Hungarian Social Democratic Labour Party resolutions were passed denouncing the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest peace treaties, and requesting the Governments of the Central Powers to offer the Governments of the enemy countries a general peace on the following basis:—

"Establishment of a League of Nations of all countries which carry out a general disarmament and settle all disputes between nations by arbitration courts.

"Renunciation of all annexations and indemnities.

"Full right of self-determination shall be granted to the border peoples torn from Russia.—Reuter.

This is the best peace declaration which any Majority Socialist Party, save that of Russia, has yet made. What answer will British Socialists and the official Labour Party make to it?

GERMAN *VERSUS* ALLIED SOCIALISTS.

The German Socialist Party has only recently received the war aims of the Allied Majority Socialists. According to *Vorwaerts* Scheidemann himself a Majority Non-Internationalist, has said: "The Entente Socialists' war aims are, to a great extent, in complete accord with the annexationist aims of their Governments." Of course this is true. The Allied Majority Socialist war aims are imperialistic. We have often regretted it.

BREST PEACE SUPPLEMENT.

"AMSTERDAM, May 31.—A Berlin telegram states that the newspapers there report that the German Government has approved the Russian proposal to hold a fresh conference with the object of supplementing the Brest Peace Treaty, and is proposing that the conference shall meet in Berlin under the presidency of Herr von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister.—Reuter.

Another opportunity for Allied Socialism and the Allied Socialists! Will they join Russia at Brest-Litovsk?

The Russian Socialist Government protests against the continued forcing of Russians into the British army. What would be said if this were done by Germany?

WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, JUNE 7th.
Queen's Crescent.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JUNE 8th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Hammersmith. Meet at 3 P.M. and 6.30 P.M. at The Grove (near both railway stations). Speakers: Miss Birch, Mrs. Clara Cole, Miss Price and Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, JUNE 9th.
The Grove, Stratford, Joint Meeting with N.C.L.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Finsbury Park.—3.30 P.M., Mrs. Butler.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—6 P.M., Mrs. Walker.
TUESDAY, JUNE 11th.
Rathbone Street, Canning Town. 11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, JUNE 14th.
Pretoria Road, Walthamstow.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JUNE 15th.
Great Push Poplar and Canning Town.

INDOOR

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12th.
51, Lucien Road, Tooting.—7.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—7 P.M., Mrs. Clara Cole.
Leonard's Academy (near St. John's Church, Leytonstone).—7 P.M., Miss Lynch. Chair: Mrs. Hart.
THURSDAY, JUNE 13th.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields (Last Lecture of this Session).—7.30 P.M., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Chair: Miss A. Thomlinson. Discussion invited.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

SUNDAY, JUNE 9th.
Kingsley Hall, Bow.—8.15 P.M., Rev. Stanley B. James.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS, Tuesday, June 11th.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 2.30 P.M., Mrs. Sizer, and others.

OUR FUNDS

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

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

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Irene (weekly), £1; Miss R. Tanner, 5*s.*; Mr. Greenburg, 2*s.* COLLECTIONS: Camberwell W.S.F., 7*s.* 2½*d.*; Bow Social Evening, 3*s.* 8*d.*

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Anon., £10; Mr. Coltman (card), £1 5*s.*; Miss Woodhead (card), 19*s.* 0½*d.*; Mr. Evans, 14*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Branch, 10*s.*; Dr. and Mrs. Schutze (monthly), 10*s.*; Mrs. Brimley (weekly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Keeling, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Bent, 2*s.*

SOCIAL WORK.—Mr. Gardner, £1 1*s.*; Mrs. Hinton, £1; Contessa Isolani (monthly), £1; Miss Clemence Housman, £1; Balance of profit Nursery Social, 16*s.* 8*d.*; Miss Bodley, 10*s.*; Mrs. Gerard Fox, 6*s.*; Mrs. Fisher, 5*s.*; Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, 5*s.*; Miss Beningfield, 5*s.*; Anon., 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss E. K. Russell, 2*s.* 2*d.*; Miss Newcombe, 1*s.*; Mrs. Cobb, 1*s.* COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 6*s.* 10*d.*; Bow collection, 12*s.* 4½*d.*; Misses E. Lagsding and M. Barker (Green's Yard), 7*s.* 4½*d.*; Misses K. Lagsding and J. Watts (Cubitt Town), 6*s.*; Poplar Study Circle, 6*s.*

CLOTHES.—Mrs. Rinton, Miss Ryley, Miss Goodliffe, Mrs. Trevelyan, clothes and toys, Mrs. White, Flowers.

LABOUR COLLEGE FOR EAST LONDON.
Water Lane Higher Elementary School, Stratford, E.
On SUNDAY, JUNE 9th, at 3.15 p.m.
Chairman: W. EDWARDS (A.S.E.)
Parliamentary Candidate for West Ham.
Discussion to be opened by H. P. CLEMENTS (N.V.C.)
All interested invited to attend.
Further particulars from K. E. READ, 85 Central Pk. Rd., East Ham, E.6

A LITTLE ADVICE (continued from page 1016).

improve the lot of the women and men of the Land Army. Four women and four men were employed together at the same working place. They want to see established travelling billets and a travelling canteen for the whole party, the widow to travel with them to cook and care for them. The woman from Bow assures us that this can be done very cheaply. They want to see the plan adopted for other workers also.

She explains that the Land Army has already in use large covered motor lorries, which could easily be adapted for the purpose. To furnish the canteen she proposes two forms and a trestle table, with utensils for keeping, cooking, eating, and washing up the food. "No need to go to much expense because it's unnecessary," the brushmaker assures us. And the widow has an oil stove, which it is suggested she should use for economy's sake. In fine weather the meals would be taken in the open; in cold weather inside the travelling canteen. Two other covered lorries would be needed, as sleeping places, the one for the men, the other for the women. Our friend suggests that the Government should charge the men and women 3*s.* a week each for this accommodation, and she thinks that the Government should pay the landlady 30*s.* a week—a small wage for so arduous a post, but we understand she would be satisfied with it. The brushmaker insists that her plan would pay the Government better than the present arrangement, because the girls would be better able to work and the Government would have the satisfaction of knowing that the workers were well cared for. As for the workers, she says: "Instead of tearin' 'ome and sweatin' and gettin' wet through, they would only 'ave to sit down and wash their 'ands and eat their food and then would be ready to enjoy theirselves." No doubt if a wet evening or Saturday afternoon spent in the covered lorries should prove irksome, as well it might, our friend would feel it to be quite in keeping with her plan for the working party to drive off to the nearest village in search of a cinema theatre or public library. The thought opens up many vistas of imagining. One can foresee a very army of land workers' motor vehicles assembled when the workers have driven to the market town for a holiday festival; the idea means the ending of undesired rural isolation.

The brushmaker has returned to Bow eager to set going the plan which she has prepared with the landworkers. We have offered to forward her suggestions to the Government. In Socialist Russia there would be no reason to doubt the success of her endeavours. The adoption of the plan would be assured if the workers should desire it. But as the suggestions must be made to the British Government we cannot foretell the result.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

FREE WORLD CRUSADE,
Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self.
SONGS, RECITALS, and POEMS
by
ALEXANDER HUNTER.

FEDERATION NOTES.

As a protest against the mobbing of conscientious objectors at Knutsford and Wakefield camps and their harsh treatment by the Government, Mrs. Cole, W.S.F., organised a poster parade outside Pentonville Prison on Sunday last. W.S.F. members carried banners inscribed: "Conscience is above the Law"; "Conscience, the Courage of the Individual against the Crowd"; "We protest against the Imprisonment and Persecution of Conscientious Objectors to war"; "Conscientious objection is the only Cure for war." "Do you know there are 1137 conscientious objectors in prison?" A little hostile criticism had to be faced; but many of the passers-by were sympathetic and asked for the leaflets upholding the position of the conscientious objectors, being extracts from the speeches of Captain Gwynne and Mr. Herbert Samuel in the House of Commons.

POPLAR.—*Hon. Secretary:* Miss E. Lagsding, 20 Railway Street. On Saturday, June 15th, a Social and Dance will be held at 400, Old Ford Road at 7 P.M. Admission 8*d.*

SHEFFIELD.—*Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Newman, 87, Montague Road. Next Branch Meeting, Tuesday, June 11th, 8 P.M. at B.S.P. Rooms, West Street. Important business.

SEND US WASTE PAPER.

Friends are asked to collect all waste paper—newspapers, magazines, letters, envelopes, exercise books, &c.—and to send a postcard to THE DREADNOUGHT office when they have accumulated about half a hundred weight. This is the way to keep THE DREADNOUGHT afloat.

WASTE PAPER PRICES.

Newspapers (flat)	12*s.*	per cwt.
Newspapers (crushed)	9*s.*	,, ,,
Printed Books	9*s.*	,, ,,
Hard Ledgers (with covers) ..	10*s.*	,, ,,
Hard Ledgers (without covers) ..	14*s.*	,, ,,
Magazines	11*s.*	,, ,,
Pamphlets	11*s.*	,, ,,
Mixed Papers (waste and scraps) ..	5*s.* 6*d.*	,, ,,

Carriage paid.

IMPORTANT

No more papers on "Sale or Return" after June 24th, 1918, by order of the Board of Trade. This means that if you want a "Dreadnought" you *must* order it.

Those of our Readers who buy the "Dreadnought" from Newsagents, are asked to place their order *now* to avoid disappointment.

HELP THE "MOTHERS' ARMS" DAY NURSERY, BOW,
by taking tickets for the
BENEFIT PERFORMANCE at the **PALLADIUM**
On SUNDAY, JUNE 9th, at 6.30.
Specially attractive programme!

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

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

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

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application. —Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

SHORTHAND TYPIST WANTED. Apply 10 Workers' Dreadnought Office.

SECRETARY WANTED. Must have good shorthand. Apply by letter, Box 20, Dreadnought Office.

CAPABLE TYPIST WANTED TO TAKE CHARGE OF TYPEWRITING BUSINESS DURING JULY. No shorthand required. Whole or part time. Apply Miss Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street, N.1.

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

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CHILDREN RECEIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION.
Send Stamp to
FRED FRENCH, ARCADE, NORTHAMPTON

THE EMILY DAVISON MEMORIAL.

Sunday, 9th June, at 3 p.m.—A Service will be held in King's Weigh House Church (Bond Street Tube) by kindness of Dr. Orchard, Committee and Organist.
Rev. HATTY BAKER will preach.
Miss MAUD ROYDEN will take the service.
Mrs MARY LAYTON will be at the organ.
Those free to be ushers kindly send in their names. No tickets required. Those who are singers are kindly asked to occupy the front seats downstairs. Collection for Memorial Fund.
On Friday, 7th, at 7 p.m., at Emily Davison Club, Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett will speak on "The Evolution of a Great Deed." Also J. W. Williams will speak.
On Saturday, 8th, at 3 p.m., A Sale will be held for Club Funds. Tea will be served.

JEAN LAMBIE,
Hon. Organiser.

Emily Davison Club,
144 High Holborn, W.C.1.
(Entrance in Silver St.)

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS

Dear Friends of Humanity,—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the state, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7*s.* a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

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 7*s.* 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.
[Advt.

RECITAL IN AID OF "THE MOTHER'S ARMS" DAY NURSERY.
"BECKET" by Tennyson. Miss CLARA REED.
Incidental Music by the Composer SIVORI LEVEY, Lieut. W. Yorkshire Regt.
On Friday, June 14th, at 7.30 p.m.,
At the WEST CENTRAL CLUB, 31, Ansred Place, Store Street, Tottenham Court Road.
Tickets 2s., 1s., and 6d. (tax extra), to be obtained from Miss N. SMYTH, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, or at the door.
The Albany School of Acting (formerly known as the "Clara Reed" School of Elocution and Dramatic Art), New Oxford Galleries, 77, New Oxford Street, W.C. Directors: CLARA REED and MAIE HOEY.
For Syllabus and Particulars of Classes and Private Lessons, also appointment, write Miss Reed, above address.

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