THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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A PROLETARIAN MOTHER. By Dr. B. Liber.

I am called in a hurry to a patient living in the block where I have my office. It is two o'clock in the morning.

She is of a waxy palor and half unconscious; she lies in a lake of blood, partly coagulated, and the flow still continues.

I send for another physician, but none is to be had; there is no time to wait and I perform the operation unassisted. When I leave, three hours later, the hæmorrhage has stopped and the patient has regained a little strength.

The next afternoon I sit near her bed and she answers my questions.

"O yes, I have asked for a preventive! I have asked the doctor, to whom I used to go twice a week to scrub the floor. You know, I don't do that kind of work except when my husband has no job. But the doctor said it was a crime to use such things."

And I learn her story which does not differ much from that of the other women of her kind. It is a never-ending tale of woe and poverty, a painful complaint against the too large number of children. Horrified by the idea that another mouth will arrive, they come incessantly and assail us medical men. They weep, they beg, they humiliate themselves. They come so often for that purpose, that whenever a woman enters my office, I am afraid she may ask me to help her "get rid of" something alive near her heart. Their cries accompany me wherever I go, and in my dreams all these suffering women become one huge, impatient, deeply unhappy, loudly protesting army and all these palpitating stories merge into one....

She was married three years and had two children. And now, as she felt the third one come, she understood what was to be her fate; to produce human beings without interruption; to be pregnant, to give birth, to nurse, and, while nursing, to become pregnant again. Her husband guessed her condition as soon as she ceased to sing and became serious, silent.

After her old mother and the babies, who in the last days were badly neglected, had fallen asleep, she and her husband sat down and had a long talk about the situation. At first, she could not say a word; the tears choked her. But he consoled her and kissed her hands, although he did not feel better than she did. They made together an inventory of their earnings and expenses. It was an account of pennies. At last, they came to the conclusion that they could not and must not have more than two children and that something should be done. He told her to make sure that what she was going to do would not harm her health; but she wiped her face and did not answer. She was decided not to flinch before any danger.

The next morning she left the children under the care of her mother and began the sad, heart-breaking pilgrimage of all the proletarian mothers.

She visited friends, acquaintances and neighbours, to learn as much as possible about other women in her position. She never dared to ask them directly about herself; she discussed the question generally. Days passed without a definite decision. She heard awful stories of women who had died as a result of artificial abortions. She feared to go to a midwife. So she tried all the means which the women had taught her. She used to come home broken and tired, but nothing worked. Then she took drugs; she swallowed the most disgusting things; pills, mixtures, powders; all to no avail. Sometimes she was very sick, but no result. She became extremely weak.

She saw her children just a few minutes every day.

Her husband borrowed money for the new expenses and he had to borrow again and again.

She went to doctors. They would not do anything illegal. Many were willing to comply with her desire, but their fee was so high that she had to renounce.

Then she took a desperate resolution. She performed the operation herself, using a—hat pin! And the consequence was the terrible bleeding, for which I had been called in the night, and the fever that developed later.

I sent her to the hospital, but complications arose and no treatment helped. She died there. I went to see her and I witnessed the last minutes of her life. Of her final words, rattled and murmured from her throat as if from the depth of a grave, I could make out but these: "My children! My children!"

[From *The Birth Control Review*, New York, U.S.A.]

* * *

Leonine Napier in the New York *Birth Control Review* says:—

"Georges Clemenceau, Premier of France, is opposed to the spreading of feminist doctrines, whatever he means by the term. He considers it to be bad for the nation to think along these lines, while the war lasts. Of course, the underlying motive is fear of birth control, fear that increased dissemination of this knowledge will defeat the Government's repopulation schemes. Radicals have been warned not to advocate feminism in the press or on the platform. At least one noted woman, Helene Brion, has been arrested. She was charged with pacifism and inciting soldiers to desert from the army, but the newspapers have made it clear that she is really being persecuted because of her activities in behalf of the freedom of her sex..

"Birth control is being combated in France to-day by the closing of channels of information, by trying to confuse the practice with that of abortion, and by the airing of a host of projects of law designed to encourage the old-fashioned ten-child family. It is proposed to penalise the parents of few children. Their taxes would be higher than those of their more rabbit-like neighbours, and, of course, each birth would earn a reduction in the rate. The State would take a larger pro-rata share of money or property willed to single off-spring. The only son would have to serve a longer term in the army than the boy who has one or more brothers. The mother (married or unmarried, be it carefully noted) is to be subsidised by the State, if not otherwise provided for. A law has been introduced in the Chamber of Deputies, giving "every Frenchwoman the right, during the four last months of pregnancy and the month following her accouchment, to a daily pension, if she remains at home and gives up all remunerative work, whether industrial, agricultural, commercial or administrative." The pension is fixed at three francs (60 cents) in neighbourhoods of less than 1,500 inhabitants; at four francs (80 cents) in cities of from 1,500 to 100,000 inhabitants; at five francs ($1) in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants. In addition, the mother is to be entitled to a special monthly allowance of 45, 60 or 75 francs (according to the size of the commune in which she lives) during the nine months following childbirth, provided she nurses her own child at the breast. The last-mentioned project is not so bad, if one is willing to accept the principle of mothers' pensions (which I am not). But the allowances are altogether too small."

MARX: DE LEON: LENIN. By Margaret P. Watt.

I

There are many emotional people who imagine that they are Socialists because they hate to see hunger and misery. These folk, therefore, contend that to sympathise with the poor is the end-all and be-all of Socialism. From their sentimental viewpoint all the large-hearted and noble souls of the past who denounced poverty were Socialists. We need not be surprised, therefore, to hear these emotional labourists proclaim that *their* Socialism is inspired by the New Testament. To these people Socialism is not the result of an historical process, nor is it the only solution to the contradictions inherent in the present economic system—to them Socialism is simply, as Mr. Bruce Glasier would say, "a state of mind."

The great contributions of Marx to social science were his now well-known theories on (1) the materialistic conception of history; (2) the class struggle; (3) and the theory of value. We cannot enter into a discussion on these questions here. We can, however, recommend two books on the first two theories, in which these subjects are dealt with in a simple manner: 'A Worker Looks at History,' by M. Starr, 1*s*.; and 'The State: its Origin and Function,' by W. Paul, 1*s*. 3*d*. The third theory is the celebrated analysis of modern capitalism which demonstrates that Labour, *social Labour*, is the source of all economic wealth. By combining the three theories we are forced to see that capitalism is only a passing phase in social development; that it grew out of the past by destroying feudalism and that it must in its turn be destroyed by the new revolutionary movement—Socialism. Viewed in this way Socialism is the logical development of the historic growth of the past and the economic forces of the present. It was not possible in the days of Christ because wealth was not produced, as it is to-day, by men and women of all countries working together in a social and co-operative manner. The war has demonstrated that when any of the great industrial countries are separated from each other and all normal intercourse between them destroyed that a great number of necessary commodities cannot be procured. The war has further shown that if any large industrial nation can be isolated it will be more completely and more speedily crushed than if it had been over-run with invading armies. Hence Britain's blockade of Germany and Germany's U-boat attack upon Britain. We mention these facts to prove that wealth is no longer produced in an individual manner by workers living in some isolated part of the world. Modern wealth is produced by the workers of *all* lands labouring collectively to satisfy the wants of society. Wealth is, therefore, *socially* produced; it is indeed created upon an *international* scale. It is this economic fact which is the basis of scientific Socialism—that is Marxian Socialism. Scientific Socialism does not mean a mere "sympathising" with the poor; it does not draw its inspiration from Biblical texts; it is not a sentimental "state of mind"—scientific Socialism is the child of the present economic conditions which are strangling society. The modern working-class must carry the social production of wealth to its logical consummation—Socialism. No reform, no parliamentary tinkering, no confused Labour Party, can save or modify the present economic system. Capitalism has outlived itself. It must be replaced by a new social system in keeping with the economic tendencies of the age. The new system must be Socialism—not out of sympathy with the poor but because of sheer *economic necessity*.

The business of the working class is to get ready *here* and *now* and organise to clear capitalism out of the way and to inaugurate Socialism. The *only* thing that matters to Labour is the *social revolution*.

II.

Marx gave the working class its ammunition and artillery but it was Daniel De Leon who elaborated the tactics, the ways and means, whereby capitalism should be attacked and overthrown. De Leon was a brilliant American Socialist who is as little known in this country as Lenin was a few months ago. The really great workers and thinkers in the working-class movement are not limelight posers or platform-firework specialists. Such clownish and theatrical capers are left for the sentimental orators who chase Lord Lansdowne or the alleged "revolutionaries" who adorn Mr. Henderson's Labour Party. De Leon is the greatest exponent of industrial unionism, and his pamphlets are the simplest and most brilliant Socialist writings in the English language. He argued that Socialism must have a *destructive* and a *constructive* policy. The destructive function must be the political organisation; the constructive function must be undertaken by the industrial organisation.

De Leon showed that the work of the political party of Socialism is *not* to make laws, budgets, or put statutes into operation. The function of Labour's political arm is to capture the State in order to *destroy* it. The State, despite what ignorant Labour "careerists" may say, is the executive committee of the ruling class. The State, which controls the *armed force* of the nation, is the means whereby the capitalist class hold the workers in subjection. Therefore, *in order to avoid bloodshed*, the working class must capture the State in order to destroy its function crushing Labour during the social revolution. The workers do not want to possess the State in order to play at being statesmen; they want to capture it in order to control the armed forces. This is the difference between reform or Parliamentary Labourism and revolutionary political action. Parliamentary Labourism looks to the State as something all-beneficent, which must be upheld as the instrument of freedom; revolutionary Socialism looks upon the State as a weapon of oppression used throughout the ages to subject the workers and as an instrument of the ruling class which must be destroyed.

The constructive element in Socialist tactics is industrial unionism. Industrial unionism means the banding together of the working class, *as a class*, irrespective of sex, colour, creed, or nationality. It means the concentration of the workers upon the machinery of production by means of which everything is created. It means the obliteration of craft jealousy and the end of sectionalism. It means that there is only *one* working class and only *one* enemy—capitalism. It means the organisation of Labour to fight for everything it can get *now* in the workshop, with the ultimate aim of taking over and controlling the industries of the nation on behalf of the community.

The final aim of industrial unionism is to control the industries of the country by setting up industrially appointed administrative committees. It means that the future Government shall be industrially elected upon an industrial basis, instead of, as at present, electing a successful soap boiler to represent an engineering constit ency on the Clyde. Industrial unionism, therefore, is the *constructive element* in the social revolution.

It was the great work of Daniel De Leon to draw attention to Socialist tactics and to elaborate how Socialism could be achieved. Here we come to the relation of Lenin to Marx and De Leon. It was the great privilege of Lenin to put the theories of Marx and De Leon into practise.

III.

Lenin, the most abused man in the capitalist world; the man whom the Allies fear more than the armies of Germany; the man whom the Germans fear more than the Allies, is a humble follower of Marx and De Leon. It is not the *individual* named Lenin who counts, it is the Socialist tactics of which he is the cleverest expounder in Russia that matters. Every one knows that Lenin is a Marxian. His relation to

(Continued on page 1022.)

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FOR A PEOPLE'S PEACE.

Europe, woe-laden, your cities slum-infested, peopled by wage-slaves existing only for joyless labour to feed the loud machinery which grinds out wealth, across your agricultural vastnesses the peasants creep, stooping and bending, piteously small they seem in the wide landscape; more piteously and hugely overwhelmed are they by the immensity of their task. War sweeps upon you and further desecrates. Comes the tramping of weary men, the furtive digging the long, foul, waiting in filthy trenches, the horrible slaughter, destruction of crops and homes and industries. Hunger arises. Longer the toil in the factories; longer the work on the land for the fewer remaining. From the battles men come back maimed, blind, mad, or with spirits broken, their number ever growing. Guns are made with the long range ever extending; aeroplanes travel further and further afield.

Out of the welter rises the Russian Revolution. Oh, human race with the wonderful brain creative, crushed to the lowest ebb of endurance, pressed beyond bearing, comes to you then divine revolt, forging out new conditions, changing the old world's face to a higher civilisation.

Great Revolution forged by events terrific; compound of numberless, unknown dreamers, of numberless poverty-dwarfed, oppression-goaded people; maintained by the tenacious hope of comrades, the joy, even in deepest agony, the faith defiant, the striving, oh the never satisfied and never satisfiable reaching upward for the ideal illusive, girt round by hideous fears, assailed by spies and plots, and all the tentacles of the old powerful, and all-embracing capitalist system, its grip stronger than ever in these, perhaps the first days of its long death-throes. The red flag tattered is dyed with the blood of pioneering martyrs.

Brooding over all is the ideal structure of the coming Socialism, the wondrous edifice, wraith-like as yet and faintly flushed with the poignant loveliness of the dawn of the golden age; a castle of dreams steadily growing into reality, a first embodiment of the great coming days. Shades of the mighty dead, wise father Marx, Morris of buoyant presence and blossoming imaginations which ever gave birth to new and newer fantasies; Keir Hardie, child of adversity, stern-browed with glowing eyes of kindness, figure of isolation, crying your message: "LABOUR'S INDEPENDENCE," in that great edifice being fashioned now in Russia with so much turmoil, comes the first realisation of your ideal.

Menaced on every side the revolutionaries stand firmly. Joyous, indeed, is the dream of equal comrades, glad and generous to all is the hope of Socialism; but to-day the Soviet Government has hard work to do, even the Terror, if it need be, to preserve the new-won freedom of the people, the Socialist Soviet which shall create the foundation for the golden age. The Russian revolutionaries will fight to protect their Socialist Republic, even as the French revolutionaries fought against reaction without and reaction within, in the days of the Terror. The revolutionaries may die, but they will not relinquish their ideal.

Came the war, with its vast ignoble slaughter, its waste, and its sordid struggle for wealth. Under its pressure the new life is born from the present agony. Russia rose first and Austria, spurred on by famine, will surely follow, though racial feuds may be stirred up to distract her people. And we? We, too, shall move. Out of this cruel slaughter hope is springing, hope with great wings beating towards us. Surely the triumph of Labour hastens!

Ah! but they smash the dreams; they cry to the workers: "You are weaklings; only the old regime can help you. Go to the man who bears the main responsibility for the South African War and the fateful Morocco intrigue." Hence this memorial:—

TO LORD LANSDOWNE.

"We are of the opinion that the time has now arrived in the interest of the nation and of humanity to consider whether the attempts to impose our will by force of arms alone are likely to achieve their purpose, or whether they are not calculated to destroy those interests through the curtailment of civil liberties and the impoverishment of the peoples. Therefore the persistent refusal of the present Government to consider any Peace Negotiations fills us with dismay. We appreciate the moral courage you have shown as the first statesman of International reputation in this country to oppose the persistent view of the press that peace can only come through victory, and believing that a peace settlement honourable to all nations is possible and desirable, entreat you to make a further public pronouncement, and place yourself at the head of a movement which, we believe, has the support of a large section of the people of all classes."

Why appeal to this man? What is his reputation to the Socialists, to the reformers, and to the international workers? It is the reputation of a reactionary.

That Socialism is the only cure for war is the message the war has driven home more forcibly than ever. How can we give that message; how can we expect a response to it if in the same breath as that which utters it we urge the workers to follow this man of the old Conservative regime, if we ourselves actually beg him to place himself at our head?

Very deeply we regret the circulation of this petition; that it should find favour with Socialist organisations is a source of astonishment and sorrow to us. Its promoters protest that they only desire Lansdowne to make peace, and that afterwards they will dismiss him. If they are so weak that they must call to him as their leader now, how can they think that they will have the power to dismiss him when they please? Who can ensure that he will make peace? Scan his words very carefully. They contain no urgent or definite plea for an immediate peace; they are cautiously phrased, with the clever artifice of a politician, and no one can say whether, if Lansdowne were in power to-morrow, he would pursue a course deviating in any way from that of the present Government. He favours a League of Nations (a League of Capitalist Powers is no guarantee against war); but he says:—

"I am not for a moment suggesting that I would accept the formation, or the assent of any Powers or any group of Powers to a policy of an International League as a substitute for a satisfactory territorial settlement....the settlement is necessary as a preliminary to the setting up of a League."

Lord Lansdowne has not disclosed his view of whether his idea of a satisfactory settlement is one which it is possible to induce the people or the Governments of the Central Empires to accept. We do not know whether it is one which is compatible with a lasting peace. Lord Lansdowne has not declared himself in regard to an International Socialist Conference, which is an essential preliminary to a people's peace. Lord Lansdowne, because he was Foreign Secretary and War Minister during the South African War and Foreign Secretary in the first years of the Morocco intrigue, because he then showed himself capable of proclaiming one policy in public and secretly carrying out an exactly opposite policy, is one of the last men whom we should choose for the making of a people's peace. His outlook, traditions, and associations make him incapable of the task. He is familiar only with the usages of secret capitalistic diplomacy; with its bargaining and manœuvring for territory, tariffs, concessions, and spheres of influence. Allied Capitalists would bring the yellow races into Europe to crush the Russian Soviets and to secure the economic domination of Russia by the Allies. They fail to realise the forces they would unchain, just as the Governments of Europe recklessly failed to foresee the monster they were unleashing when they let loose on Europe the present war. The pacifists, who weary of propaganda with its low return, know not the magnitude of the evil whose approaches they encourage when they abandon the hope of democracy.

Till the people desire peace Lansdowne, even assuming that he ardently desires to do it, cannot oust the present War Government and form a Government which will open peace negotiations. When the people are determined to end the slaughter they will be ready for another leader than Lansdowne. The men who fought in the war went, either as unwilling victims, or in the belief that they were fighting for some kind of freedom. We shall be doing them and the whole world a poor service if we leave the making of peace to the men in whose hands was the foreign policy that led up to the war.

It is reported that the Labour Party Executive will recommend to the National Conference on June 26th the ending of the political truce. The Labour officials doubtless feel the pulse of the rank and file beating towards a new orientation. Will the Socialists of the I.L.P. be less wise; will they strive to lead the workers back to the old political combinations? Do they not see the growing strength of the rank and file industrial movement, the spread of Socialist thought, the influence of the great achievement in Russia? Socialist women, pay no attention to this Lansdowne folly. Your place is with the workers. Your efforts should be spent in building up the strength and powers of the workers' movement. Send back the memorials drawn up in accordance with the feeble and hopeless political conceptions of the last century. Did you not hear, accept, and applaud Keir Hardie's message of independence, addressed so recently, so pointedly to you as well as to your brothers?

This is the century of Socialism; it comes surely, unfailingly upon us. No power can withstand it. Let us most eagerly do our part to hasten its coming, counting ourselves privileged that we may have some little share in bringing it nearer. If only the effort to secure the many, many, many palliative measures were concentrated on bringing Socialism! "It is so far away it will not come in our time," people think and say; but Russia has told us it is coming and now we must ask ourselves how it will come and how we can help it most. In Russia Parliament—the Duma—took no part in bringing it. The rank and file workers, soldiers, sailors, the Bolsheviki, the Socialist of independent and constructive thought created and now maintain the revolution. Have we not something to learn from this?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALIST RUSSIA.

The capitalists of the Allies and Central Empires are obviously vying with each other in the effort to buy the friendship of the Russian reactionaries by promising to aid them to crush the Bolsheviki. If any outside Power could extinguish the Socialist Republic, that Power would hold the reactionaries in its debt and secure the economic domination of Russia. "The Russian capitalists, according to many authorities, are inclined to prefer a German invasion to one by China and Japan. Arthur Ransome in *The Daily News* says:—

"In the Don and Kuban the openly re-actionary character of the pro-German Krasnoff Government so clearly illustrated to the Cossack working classes the need for immediate resistance, that they themselves are asking to be mobilised and many local Soviets have already introduced conscriptive methods ....As a member of the executive put it: 'The danger is not lest the Czecho-Slovaks or Krasnoff's bands should conquer the Soviet Government which is based on the support of many millions of working people, but consists in the sharpening in the crisis in supply which would result if we should be cut off from Kuban, the Don, and Siberia.' Every revolt, riot or counter-revolution weakens Russia as a whole, because it increases the difficulty of re-establishing her organism of supply."

Arthur Ransome further reports that the Russian papers publish the following telegram:—

"London, May 26th.—Reuter's Agency announces from Washington that between the United States and the Allies an agreement has been reached regarding non-intervention in Russian affairs. Moreover, it has been decided to give Russia the widest economic help. England and America have informed the Japanese Government of this decision, pointing out that it should not be considered as an act of an unfriendly character towards Japan."

This appears to conflict with the Chino-Japanese agreement. The *Isvestia*, the Bolshevik organ, asks: "Is this true?"

The Soviet Executive reports counter-revolutionary plots to blow up the Bolshevik Government, to murder the German ambassador, with the object of provoking a German occupation of Moscow, also a plot in Moscow and Petrograd which stretches throughout the whole of Russia.

Russia has been deprived of her granary, the Ukraine, the flour depots of the Don and Kuban regions are in danger. Yoffe, the Bolshevik ambassador in Berlin, says: "The question which dominates all others is the supply of bread to the people."

"The Government of the Workers and Peasants has decreed a partial compulsory call to arms in two industrial provinces and in two provinces fertile in corn. It has thus transferred the question of bread into the hands of those who are starving, and we shall see whether the counter-revolution achieves any success. It is not to allow themselves to die of hunger that the workers and peasants have taken power into their own hands. They have entered upon a determined battle for the maintenance of the political and social conquests of the Revolution brought about by the workers and peasants, and they will fight against anyone who comes in their way."

GERMANY.

A committee appointed by the German Majority Socialists Conference at Würzburg last year to draw up a programme of action has recommended the following demands:—

The ultimate decision in the nomination and dismissal of the Chancellor, Secretaries of State, and Ministers of the Crown to rest with the representatives of the people, and all members of the Government to be held responsible to the Parliaments for their official actions.

The Reichstag to have the decision as to war and peace, as well as the conclusion of treaties of alliance with foreign Powers.

The transformation of the standing army into a national army, beginning with the reduction of the period of service.

The abolition of secret diplomacy.

The creation of international law organisations (such as international disarmament treaties, courts of arbitration, &c.).

A systematic transition from the present war economy to peace conditions, the retention of the food-rationing system and maximum price lists.

A substantial levy on capital to wipe off war debts and also the abolition of all monopolies except those belonging to the State.

This is an advance on the British Labour Party's programme of reconstruction, but is far behind the practice of the Russian Soviet.

WELL DONE, GORTON!

The Gorton local Labour Party has repudiated Mr. John Hodge, who long since repudiated Labour, and has chosen another candidate. Mr. Arthur Henderson has written to say that the National Labour Party Executive desires to see the difference cemented. To do so would be to put Party before principle. We hope that the Gorton Labour Party will stick to its guns; its candidate may lose the next election, but progress will triumph in the end.

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

WHITLEY SUGAR AT A PRESERVING WORKS.

A fortnight ago the management at Morton's Preserving Works, Millwall, Poplar, E., posted a notice in a conspicuous place in the works to the effect that a joint committee of workers and employers would be set up and the employees were asked to elect their own representatives on the committee. The foremen of each department went around with blank ballot papers and two pencils and briefly explained the Whitley recommendations to the men workers. They said that a joint committee should be established to do away with all friction. The workers were told they should now elect their own representatives on the committee, *but only those with at least four years' service with the firm were eligible for election.*

The workers, however, would have none of it, and not having a works' committee of their own they sent for the trades union representatives, including the organiser of the National Federation of Women Workers.

A crowded meeting of the workers was held at an adjacent public-house called "The City of Paris" (rather significant name that!), whereat the trades union organisers and some of the employees explained the intricacies of the "Whitley Report," pointing out how very careful the worker should be of adopting any scheme projected by the bosses, especially as they were not yet properly organised. As a result a resolution was unanimously adopted rejecting the offer of the management for a joint committee, on the grounds that such a committee would be detrimental to their interests as workers, and that they were convinced that it was a "set off" against their respective unions. The meeting expressed a wish that the resolution be forwarded to the management without delay, together with a request for a 2*d.* per hour rise all round to meet the increased cost of living.

This is "the goods" and we sincerely hope that the trade unions concerned will carry out the spirit of the resolution by pressing for the 2*d.* an hour rise. Any one conversant with East London industrial conditions knows that a 2*s.* an hour rise would not be too much to ask for. We also hope the workers themselves will carry out the spirit of the resolution by immediately becoming organised and by forming their own Works' Committee, composed of shop stewards elected regardless of trade, of service, sex, or grade, determined upon not only securing better conditions now but ultimately securing control of the works. We understand that the management have again attempted to get the workers to sign the ballot papers, but, methinks, they will meet with no response. We have great hopes of Morton's and would like to hear of further developments.

ANOTHER "WHITLEY" OFFENSIVE BEATEN BACK.

The workers at a certain North London factory recently formed a Works' Committee of shop stewards, representing all grades of workers and as a result requests were made for certain specified changes in the working conditions and methods of payment. These requests were presented to the management on May 23rd. On the following day each shop steward received a copy of the following letter addressed from the private office:—

"I have this morning seen the letter of May 23rd signed by you, also the enclosure, and I note that you and the others signing claim to speak on behalf of 95 per cent of this Company's employees.

"As you may be aware, we have previously received communications from other employees claiming to represent workers or departments, and have spent a good deal of hard spared time in investigation, finding in the end that the claim to represent others was not authorised by them.

"Before going into any of the matters raised by you, I should like you to send me a list of the men you personally represent, signed by all of them who delegate you to deal with matters on their behalf. *At the same time it should be stated to which Trade Union each man signing belongs.*"

Although advised not to, the men signed their names and stated the union to which they belonged, this being handed into the office on May 25th. On Tuesday, May 28th, the following notice was posted in each shop and was considered, we suppose, to be an answer to the request for better conditions:—

May 28th, 1918.
From Private Office.

"A meeting of all workmen in these works will be held on the upper floor, Sheet Metal Shop, at 11.30 A.M. on Monday, June 3rd for the purpose of constituting a Works Committee.

"The following motion will be proposed: 'That a Works Committee be formed for the purpose of discussing and adjusting any difficulties which may arise between the employees and the Management. Its membership shall consist of *two Directors, Works Foreman, four representatives duly elected by secret ballot from the whole of the workmen, and the Chairman of the Company who will have the casting vote.*'

"The findings of the Committee shall become operative as soon as possible after the Committee Meetings and without undue delay.

"Workmen are requested to send in their nominations either of Union or *Non-Union* men, signed by at least two supporters, on or before Monday morning the 3rd June at 9 A.M., so that ballot papers can be prepared."

"A copy of this Notice has been posted to all workmen away from the works."

Here was an attempt on the part of the management to ignore the Works' Committee, and to set up a kind of a Welfare Committee dominated by directors and foremen. Apparently, it was thought that the workers would be highly pleased and flattered if two directors and the works' forman were appointed on the committee with the Chairman of the Company as Chairman, with a casting vote.

But the time has passed when the men can be so easily spruced. More and more are they beginning to recognise the antagonism of interests between employers and employees. On Saturday, June 1st, at 1 P.M., a shops' meeting was held, the whole matter discussed and the following resolutions unanimously adopted:—

1. That we object to any other committee than that already formed.

2. That we abstain from attending the meeting convened by the management for Monday, June 3rd, at 11.30 A.M.

3. That the resolutions be handed into the office on Monday at 9.30.

So there was no meeting on Monday at 11 A.M., to the great disappointment of the management, and we learn that the demands have been placed in the hands of the various societies concerned. We rather regret this step as we think that, having scotched the managment's attempt to smash the committee, the Works' Committee should have pressed their demands through the shop stewards.

Nevertheless, we congratulate the men for their good sense in sticking to their own Shop Stewards' Committee.

LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Arrangements are in hand for the Mooney protest demonstration. It is proposed that the procession shall assemble on the Embankment at 3 P.M., Sunday, July 7th and march past the American Embassy to the tune of 'And shall Your Mooney die.' Here's 50,000 workers will know the reason why. Thence to Hyde Park to hold a monster meeting. All workers are urged to get their branches to participate. The Sermus Concert Lecture is also being dealt with and the tickets will be in the post this week. Examine the advertisement columns next week.

T. KNIGHT.

FORTH AREA.

The Admiralty Scheme turned down.

We are holding a "watching brief" just now, so don't *think* we have gone to sleep because you have had no report lately. The local "blood-suckers" *know* we have not. The Admiralty Scheme of "*Joint*" Industrial Committees has been before the Dockyard workers, and, of course, received its just "deserts" evidenced by the following resolution which was dispatched to the proper quarter:..

"This Mass Meeting, representative of all departments....does hereby definitely refuse to accept the scheme, as laid down by the Lords. Commissioners, on the proposed joint committee of workmen and officers, on the ground, that the present existing Workers Committee and Shop-Stewards are quite capable of attending to the workers' grievances."

There's no mistaking the intention here!

Re THE DREADNOUGHTS, am endeavouring to bring about the formation of distributing agency for literature will report later with what success we meet.

E. A. BARTLETT.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

June 3rd.—Sir A. Stanley announced that cheap week-end tickets, formerly issued to employees in controlled establishments, were to be withdrawn. In cases where workers wish to spend the week-end with their families, this decision will cause much discontent.

RUSSIANS IN THE ARMY.

Lord R. Cecil stated that no decision had yet been arrived at in connection with the request of the Russian Government not to conscribe any more Russian subjects in this country. Meanwhile, however, Russians are being conscribed!

A SOLDIER C.O.

The case of Private A. Child, who enlisted in 1904, for thirteen years' service, but became a conscientious objector in 1908 was brought up by Mr. Snowden (Lab). This man waited for his time to expire, which was in March, 1917; he then refused to obey orders and has since been court-martialled twice and subjected once to field punishment. He is now awaiting further trial in France! Mr. Snowden asked that he might be allowed to return to this country, so that the Central Tribunal may try his case. Mr. Macpherson was satisfied in remarking that this is an exceptional case. We agree that it is; but why should not exceptional treatment be conceded?

IRISH ARRESTS.

Replying to Mr. Anderson (Lab.) the Solicitor-General for Ireland stated in reference to the recent Irish arrests that: "If the report of the Committee satisfies the chief Secretary in any case that the Order of internment may safely be revoked or varied the Chief Secretary will revoke or vary the Order accordingly." The Committee referred to is to be presided over by a judge of the High Court! This procedure is *not* a public trial and nothing less will suffice. Mr. King (L.) protested against the prevention of visits from relatives, and even alleged that letters between parents and children were not allowed.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

JUNE 4th.—Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab.) drew attention to the case of Bombadier F. Ballard who was put under arrest for writing to his late employer in this country "that the sooner we get international law the better, then the British Tommy will have a chance to speak." Mr. Macpherson refused to give an opinion as to the justice of the arrest without seeing the original letter.

SECOND THOUGHTS.

Although arrested under an Order designating internment at Frongoch Mr. Shortt acknowledged that he issued a subsequent order transferring Countess Markievicz and Mme. Gonne McBride to Holloway Prison. We should like to know whether such a procedure can be justified.

FINANCE BILL.

On June 3rd and 4th the Committee stage of the Finance Bill was discussed. None of the ameliorations were conceded which could have helped to make it press less heavy on the poor. The sugar duty is to remain, despite the eloquent speeches made to soften the heart of Mr. Bonar Law.

SMALL HOLDINGS.

The Bill increasing the acreage to be granted to soldiers desirous of settling on the land was read a third time and passed, amidst much adverse criticism.

SEX AGAIN!

June 5th.—Captain Carr-Gomme stated that women doctors in the Royal Army Medical Corps in Malta have recently been deprived of their privilege as officers of cefisoring their own letters. An officer of the rank of second-lieutenant now censors their letters. Mr. Macpherson said he was making inquiries.

D.O.R.A.

In reply to Mr. Snowden (Lab.) Mr. Brace admitted that leaflets entitled 'Scraps of Paper' had been seized at the offices of the No-Conscription Fellowship. The question as to whether proceedings shall be taken is under consideration. According to Mr. Snowden the leaflets made no reference to war or peace. Was the seizure made on account of any uncomfortable feeling caused by the title?

EMIGRATION.

On the subject of the money to be devoted to this new departure of "advising" or encouraging ex-soldiers and others about emigrating a division was taken, the voting being 105 in favour of limiting the expenditure to £10,000 in the coming year, and 129 against naming a limiting sum. The Government does not wish to limit expenditure, though at the same time Mr. Hewins said £10,000 would be "the outside expenditure" of the department. It was decided that on the Report stage the matter would again be considered.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS.

The much vaunted extension of education up to eighteen has now become more or less of a farce. Mr. Fisher, without pressure being actually brought to bear on him by the House, proposed that up to sixteen years the 320 hours annually specified may be reduced to 280 during the first seven years of the scheme, if the education authorities wish. Further, it will take two years before even these schools can be realised owing to lack of accommodation and teachers. Five years later the continuation schools up to eighteen will become compulsory! In short, in seven years from the passing of the Bill the continuation schools up to eighteen are to be legally enforced. Those who in age are on the brink of the labour market to-day will never be able to profit by this new scheme. It will only have effect on those now in their cradles. This concession will not help to carry out what Mr. Fisher had in mind when he said: "The lesson which has been borne in upon me by the experience of this war is that unless we take very earnest steps to improve our educational system we shall find ourselves left behind in the race." Does he think that Britishers are mentally so superior that with the odds already against them, they are ever going to keep pace, if seven years must elapse before any attempt at improvement in education begins?

The Lancashire scheme, put forward by Sir H. Hibbert, advocating either 600 hours schooling each year up to sixteen years or 320 up to eighteen was turned down as likely to cause confusion, and also because of its perpetuating half timers. We must realise that little is to be expected from this new Bill. Take Mr. Fisher's example to prove that Clause 10 is practical: A firm in Bolton is preparing to open a school "for the training of young persons to become good citizens." Boys are to be taught literature, English, industrial history, geography, mathematics, science, and physical training; *girls, cookery, housekeeping, and physical training.* If that is what the new Bill, when law, will advocate, we can only say, scrap it.

IRELAND.

June 6th.—Mr. King (L.) cited instances of harsh treatment of Sinn Feiners, recently interned, at the hands of Major Price. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Shortt, said he was ready to hear both sides of any charge against Major Price!

MINISTRY OF FOOD.

Mr. Clynes made a long statement of the progress of his Department. On the question of the bread subsidy he said: "It is not true that all workers are enjoying good wages." Yet when members argued in that vein on the increase in the price in sugar it was of no avail!

WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, JUNE 14th.
Cardigan Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JUNE 15th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Poplar and Bow.—Meet at 2.45 and 5 P.M. at 20, Railway Street. Speakers: Mrs. Cole, Miss Horsfall, Miss Price, and Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, JUNE 16th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss J. Stephen.
Flagstaff, Hampstead.—3 P.M., Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park.—3.30 P.M., Miss Price.
TUESDAY, JUNE 18th.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JUNE 22nd.
Great Push in the South East District.

INDOOR

MONDAY, JUNE 17th.
44. Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting (London Section).
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19th.
51, Lucien Road, Tooting (Herald League).—7.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall, 'Study Circles and the Aims of the W.S.F.'

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.

Gratefully Acknowledged unavoidably held over.

Marx: De Leon: Lenin. continued from front page.

De Leon was clearly shown by the Petrograd correspondent of *The New York World* (January 31st, 1918), who wrote in that paper:—

"Daniel De Leon, late head of the Socialist Labour Party in America, is playing, through his writings, an important part in the construction of a Socialist state in Russia. The Bolshevik leaders are finding his ideas of an industrial state in advance of Karl Marx's theories. Lenin, closing his speech on the adoption of the Rights of Workers Bill in the Congress (of Soviets) showed the influence of De Leon, whose governmental construction, on the basis of industries, fits admirably into the Soviet construction of the state now forming in Russia."

The above passage would seem to indicate that De Leon was not in accord with Marx. Daniel De Leon was a Marxian and only applied the theories of Marx to the tactics of Socialism.

The Bolsheviks, influenced by the writings of Lenin, have destroyed the Russian Parliament—the Constituent Assembly—and replaced it by the Soviets, which represents the workers organised along industrial lines. They are seeking to replace a political society by one organised upon an industrial basis. Had the Bolsheviks merely played at politicians as Kerensky did, and as our Labour Party intends to do, they would not have incurred the united wrath of Germany and the Allies. But because the Bolsheviks destroyed the political State, because they have shown what an *industrially elected* working class can do in the face of the opposition of the whole capitalist world backed up by emotional and respectable middle-class "Labour leaders"—because of these things the Bolsheviks have earned a harvest of hate. It is the very hatred of these capitalist and reactionary elements against the Bolsheviks which proves to us of the British working class that our Russian comrades are right.

Marx, De Leon, and Lenin; these three writers deserve our attention. Let us study them carefully and critically. We cannot afford to neglect those who have shown us the path along which our emancipation lies. We cannot be too well equipped in order to fight in the class struggle. For who knows how soon we may be called upon to prove ourselves worthy fighters in the class army of International Socialism?

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

AMERICAN CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

San Antonio (Texas), June 10th.—Forty-five conscientious objectors who refused to wear military uniform were recently sentenced by court-martial to imprisonment for life. General O'Neill, who reviewed the records of the trial, has now reduced the sentence to 25 year's imprisonment in each case.—*Reuter.*

WOMEN AND PARLIAMENT.

Women's present position with respect to their election as members of Parliament was engaging the attention of the Government, Mr. Bonar Law informed the Commons on June 10th in reply to a question by Mr. Whitehouse. It was, he added, mainly a question of law that was being examined.

WOMEN TEACHERS AND THE L.C.C.

Women teachers complain that their salaries are reduced rather than increased by the new L.C.C. arrangements as the war bonus is withdrawn and they have to make additional superannuation payments. Mr. Fisher is meanwhile deploring the scarcity of women teachers. Therefore the women teachers have the matter in their own hands. They can get whatever wages they demand. They were the victims of the law of supply and demand in the days when there were more teachers than jobs; let them now profit by the fact that there are more jobs than teachers and insist at least on securing equal pay for men and women. Their demands should not be limited to wage questions only. They should insist on opportunities for introducing the most up-to-date and efficient methods of education, including freedom to teach history from the standpoint of the working class, to which both teachers and pupils in the main belong.

JEANNETTE RANKIN'S LEAD TO IRISH AMERICANS.

The Hon. Jeannette Rankin of Montana, America's first woman M.P., has tabled the following resolution on Ireland:—

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that this Government recognises the right of Ireland to political independence, and that we count Ireland among those countries for whose freedom and democracy we are fighting."

DANISH WOMEN M.Ps.

FOUR women have been elected to the Danish Parliament, one of whom, Mrs. Helgar Larsen, is a Socialist. This is quite a creditable beginning. Our congratulations and best wishes to our Danish comrade.

BOLSHEVISM IN POPLAR.

Three hundred people whose houses have been destroyed in air raids are in Poplar Workhouse. At the Local Labour Party meeting Miss Smyth, W.S.F., suggested that the L.C.C. be asked to commandeer empty houses for these people. She said there were plenty of unused houses in the West End. Someone objected that the workers would feel "out of it" in Park Lane. Eventually, it was agreed to call for a special meeting of the Borough Council and there to press that unused houses both within and without the borough should be commandeered. Now comes the opportunity for the workers to invade Park Lane!

FRENCH FINANCE.

La Populaire reports an important debate in the French Chamber on the question of the privileges granted by the State to the Bank of France. It appears that the Bank has been allowed to issue an unlimited stock of paper money as and when it chooses, and thus it has been lending at high rates of interest, money which it did not possess and which had no actual existence. The profit which the Bank has made in this way has amounted to 100 million francs (£4,000,000) in 1913, 94 millions (£3,560,000) in 1914, 68 million francs (£2,760,000) in 1915, 147 million (£5,888,000) in 1916, and 217 millions in 1917 (£8,680,000)—an enormous fortune secured by means of privileges not accorded to other banks. Deputy Barthe stated in the Chamber that the balance sheet showed the bank to have made a gross profit of 902 million francs (£36,080,000) during the war and a net profit of 604 millions (24,160,000). Whilst the French Government has given the Bank of France facilities for making this enormous fortune the Bank has grossly neglected its duties in regard to maintaining a prudent gold reserve. At the outbreak of war the Bank of France had a very large reserve of gold, but by June 24th, 1915, the reserve had been allowed to fall to 3,927 million francs (£157,080,000) and during that time more than 12 milliards of francs of paper money (£480,000,000) had been issued! In the first year of war nearly a milliard of francs (£40,000,000) had been exported mainly to Spain.

The Bank of France has indeed reaped a golden harvest out of the people, what have the people received in return? The tremendous issue of paper money has, of course, greatly inflated the prices and thus debased the value of real wages. It has, therefore, acted like a heavy tax on everything that the people buy. The Government has allowed this to continue in order to avoid the necessity of taxing the rich, and many French Members of Parliament are demanding a high income tax and excess profits tax to lighten the load of the poor. Socialism, however, provides the only real cure. M. Labrone, the representative of Gironde suggested during the debate that there had been collusion between the Bank of France and the German Ministers Von Kühlmann and Von Helferich. If true, it is another argument for International Socialism.

THE COTTON SHORTAGE.

DEAR EDITOR,—The shortage of cotton is making itself felt very acutely among the women who make shirts in this neighbourhood. Before the war the cotton used for making shirts was 1¾*d.* a 1.000 (thousand) yards. The price has been increasing until now it is 7½*d.* a thousand, that means 7*s.* 6*d.* a dozen spools, that some women require in a week's work.

The cotton can be got at 6*d.* a spool, but mostly those shops are out of stock. It means a lot of running about for the women, which in turn means wearing out boot leather and loss of time in which they could earn perhaps another shilling. So the total cost or value of a spool if only *one* can be bought at a time would be more than 1*s.* 6*d.*

Some firms supply the cotton and that should be the rule all round as cotton is still getting shorter. I understand war bonuses are given and these have *not been increased* at the same time as the price of the cotton.—Yours, &c. C. DRAKE.

150, Butchers Road, Custom House, E.16.

P.S.—I tried three warehouses on Tuesday, but could not get any cotton.

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.

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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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CENTRAL THEATRE,
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Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

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. 7s. 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.

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IN AID OF "THE MOTHERS' ARMS" DAY NURSERY.
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AT THE
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