THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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CENTRAL POWERS REPLY TO ALLIED SOCIALISTS.

Much criticism and even recrimination has been levelled at the Socialists of the Central Powers on the ground that they had neglected to reply to the Interallied Labour and Socialist Memorandum on War Aims agreed upon on February 20th and 24th, 1918. Their delay in replying was, however, due to the tardiness of the Government officials on both sides. The authorisation to send the memorandum out of the country was not received by the British Labour Party until May. The German reply would have been given at the Labour Party Conference, but for the fact that the British Government refused a passport to attend there to, Troelstra, the Dutch Socialist, who had interviewed the German Socialists in order that he might place their answer before British Labour. The following summary of Troelstra's interview with Scheidemann, the German Majority Socialist leader is now to hand :—

THE GERMAN REPLY.

Scheidemann declared to Troelstra that the German Majority Socialists have always been in favour of negotiations, not on the basis of the military situation but on the general principles of a Socialist Congress. The main point remains the constitution of a League of All Nations, in order to prevent new conflicts, to create arbitrage, avoid economic war, abolish armaments, and make the world safe for democracy. With regard to the concrete points, the German Majority does not refuse to recognise the Alsace-Lorraine question, and in the case of Belgium they have declared in favour of complete independence. They are of opinion that the question of indemnities for the little nations which are unable to restore themselves, ought to be settled by a general fund, for one day of war is more expensive than the payment of one nation. They are, in other words, willing to adopt as a basis of discussion, the proposal of the neutral Socialists formulated at Stockholm under the chairmanship of Branting and Troelstra, and they agree without reserve to the convocation of an International Conference. They agree also that Troelstra, Branting, and Huysmans should arrange to convoke this conference, and they accept Berne or any other Swiss town as the place of meeting. It appears they are ready to discuss the question of the origin of the war, though they are of opinion that this debate will not be conclusive. They note that the Minority Socialists have announced their views at Stockholm as being favourable to a speedy peace and do not care much about territorial questions, which, in the case of a general settlement and the creation of a League of Nations, are of secondary importance.

This brief reply should help to smooth the way for the international workers' Conference towards which those who desire the speedy ending of the war have long been looking. The statement that the German Socialists, even the Socialists of the Majority, "do not care much about territorial questions" is encouraging; it seems to indicate a realisation of the fact that territorial additions to an Empire in no way benefit the workers of the Empire, that the nationality of the employer often makes little difference to those he employs and that a democratic Socialist Government must necessarily reflect the desires of the people living in the area of its jurisdiction whatever its name may be.

Objection will be raised in some quarters to any German Socialists' proposal to adopt the Stockholm suggestion for an international fund to indemnify Belgium and the other small nations that have been invaded. The suggestion is in our view both practical and just, but it should be noted that the German Socialists do not insist upon this as a condition of joining the conference; indeed it would seem that they make no conditions. That they desire and have always desired the conference. The tone of the statement and the fact that they are content to leave the calling of the conference in the hands of Branting, Huysmans and Troelstra, two of whom are considered pro-Ally in sentiment, appears to indicate that they are prepared to adopt an international attitude and are not at the moment nervously trimming their sails to meet the hostile criticism of jingoes at home, a weakness too frequently displayed by the Majority Socialists of all countries.

THE AUSTRIAN REPLY.

The Austrian Socialists' reply was published on June 29th in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the organ of the Majority Party. The Austrian Socialists desire :—

1. The union of all the peoples in a League of Nations which would effect international disarmament and the submission of conflicts between States to the decision of a competent tribunal which would bring the collective strength of the whole League to bear on any State which transgressed international law.

2. No annexations. The solution of all territorial questions on the basis of the liberty of every people to decide its own fate.

3. No indemnities, the equal freedom of economic development for all peoples, and the prevention of all economic wars.

The Austrian Socialists recognise that such a peace cannot be attained by the victory of one imperialist group over another—such a victory would not bring about the right of self-determination, but would violate it. For instance, if Italy were to have complete victory over Austria-Hungary Italian Imperialists would not merely try to possess themselves of the Italian parts of Austria, but would also seize great Slav districts. If, on the contrary,

Continued on next page.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

THE FINNISH MASSACRES.

Swedish papers report that up to date 11,000 Finnish Socialists have been executed by the victorious counter-revolutionaries. Since the Paris Commune no massacre of Socialists on such a large scale has taken place. Even the number of those executed by the Tsar's henchmen during the years 1905-09 falls far short of 11,000, and the fact that the reported Finnish massacres are said to have taken place within as many months adds to the ghastliness of the charge against the Finnish bourgeoisie.

The Finnish Socialist and Trade Union organisations were powerful already under the Tsar, but martial law and the opposition of the Finnish bourgeoisie prevented the workmen and petty farmers from improving their conditions. To the last Diet elected under the Tsar 103 Social-Democrats and 97 middle-class men were returned. But owing to its composition the Diet was never convoked. When the Tsar was overthrown the Diet assembled and Comrade Pokoi was elected president. The Russian Provisional Government promised Finland full autonomy and Kerensky, when he first visited Helsingfors, sealed the promise by giving Comrade Tokoi a kiss. Was it a Judas's kiss ?

When the Russian and Finnish bourgeoisie realised that all power was to pass into the hands of the workmen and petty farmers it took fright and Kerensky dissolved the Socialist Diet. [We may note here *en passant* that Kerensky, "the lover of freedom," dispersed a Socialist Diet, while the Bolsheviki "dictators" knocked a counter-revolutionary bourgeois constitutent assembly on the head.] Those Socialist deputies who attempted to hold a sitting were dispersed by Kerensky's dragoons.

A new Diet was elected to which, owing to corrupt practices on the part of the Finnish bourgeoisie, 107 middle-class deputies and 93 Socialists were returned. The bourgeoisie immediately started to pass measures detrimental to the working class and the petty farmers, and began to organise the White Guards to enforce its unpopular measures. The Socialists were bound to act in self-defence and began to organise the Red Guards.

When the Marximalist revolution was accomplished the Finnish Socialist Party formed a Central Revolutionary Workmen's Committee, seized all important centres, and sent the following ultimatum to the Diet : "The Diet in session is declared to be illegal and the old Diet dispersed by Kerensky is to be convoked." As a result the White Guards started open civil war and the bourgeoisie invoked German aid to overthrow the Workmen's Government, which had proved itself the strongest power in the State even under the Tsar.

The Workers' Organisations were gradually defeated and the frightful massacre of Socialists still continues. We invite Socialists and Labour organisations to pass resolutions condemning the savagery of the Finnish bourgeoisie and calling upon it to discontinue the executions if Finland is to be regarded as a civilised nation. A. S.

CZECHO-SLOVAKS NOT ANTI-BOLSHEVIK.

According to the *Izvestiya* (organ of the Petrograd Council), Nos. 107 and 109, the revolutionary Czecho-Slovak organisations recently held a Congress in Moscow. The majority of the Czecho-Slovak soldiers were represented and the debates showed that only a minority supported the counter-revolution. The following resolution, moved by Comrade Ruzicka, was passed : "Only the Russian Bolshevik Party has remained true to Marxian Socialism. In order to emphasise the unambiguous difference that exists between them and the discredited Social-Democrats of the Second International they have assumed the proud name Communists. We lay claim to the same name and wish to fight in the ranks of the international proletariat till Socialism is victorious." The Congress also issued an appeal to its compatriots misled by the counter-revolutionaries. The appeal says : "Comrades, bethink yourselves ! Do not bring disgrace upon the honourable name of the Czech proletariat. Drive away your leaders who are the Tsar's former henchmen....To arms against our Czecho-Slovak counter-revolutionaries !"

* * *

According to *Politiken* (S.-D., Stockholm), "The Czecho-Slovak troops have been defeated at several places and have been pushed back by the Council troops. In Petrograd the opinion prevails that the critical stage has passed. It is believed that a regular train service with Siberia will be established." A. S.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK MYSTERY.

We are informed from a reliable source that the Czecho-Slovaks have not been armed by Trotsky but by Kerensky and they were incorporated into the Russian Army for fighting against Austria and Germany. After the Bolshevik Revolution the International Socialists among the Czecho-Slovaks rallied round the Soviets, but the greater part under the influence of Russian Contra-Revolutionary officers refused to fight against Germany for the Soviets, abandoned the Ukraine and demanded to be transferred to the Western front. On the way to Vladivostock they were bribed by money by the bourgeoisie, suppressed the Soviets, and restored to power the bourgeoisie. They are acting now simply as mercenaries. Their exact number cannot be given, but it will be between 50,000 and 100,000. As they are properly armed and disciplined, and as the Bolsheviki do not keep garrisons in every town, the Czecho-Slovaks succeeded temporarily in becoming masters of the situation in various localities. In the course of time the Soviets will be able to disarm them, unless they are reinforced by foreign troops.

THE ALLIED MOVE IN RUSSIA.

Capitalist governments may fight each other, but they will sink their quarrels and fight their common enemy—the awakened revolutionary working class. In 1871, when the Prussians were at the gates of Paris, they released French prisoners of war and lent them to the French Government to crush the Paris Commune. In 1918 German arms set up a reactionary regime in the Ukraine and crushed the Ukrainian Council Government. Also, in 1918, France "recognised" the reactionary bourgeois Government of Finland and Germany stepped in to crush the Finnish Red Government.

That Allied intervention is an immediate danger threatening Russia is shown by the following telegram sent by Zinovyev (one of Lenin's chief supporters) to the Councils (Soviets) on the Murman Railway and to the Railway Administration : "Exciting events take place on the Murman Coast. Foreign troops are being landed and concentrated at various points, and an attack on the Murman territory may be expected. It is possible that the White Guards may attempt to join hands with the Czecho-Slovaks. Hence the Council of People's Commissaries has resolved that : Immediate steps must be taken to safeguard all stations and bridges in the Murman territory and those of the Northern Railway. Passengers in all trains must be examined and all armed Council forces are to be held in readiness. All counter-revolutionary elements which seek to come to an understanding with foreign troops must be dealt with severely. The measures taken are to be at once reported."

The rumours spread by the capitalist press to the effect that the people of the Murman territory as a whole have invited Allied intervention is not true and a pretext for the invasion of the territory against the wishes of the local Soviet Government.

We call upon the British working class to protest against the invasion of Russia by Great Britain and to take immediate action to prevent the overthrow of the Russian Socialist Republic. A. S.

A SERIOUS CHARGE.

M. Writski, President of the Petrograd Commission against counter revolution alleges that Britain has given £40,000,000 to crush the Soviet and is prepared to give £250,000,000 more. Mr. Lockhart the Bitish representative at Moscow, denies the charge.

WHAT ANTI-BOLSHEVISM MEANS.

This is the programme of General Horvat who is seeking to form a counter revolutionary Czecho-Slovak Government in Siberia :—

The abolition of all Bolshevik laws and ordinances.

The recognition of all former alliances, conventions, and agreements with Allied and neutral countries.

The restoration of the Army, with the strictest discipline and without political rights.

Restoration of the right of ownership of private property.

Restoration of commerce and trade by the abolition of the nationalisation and socialisation of commercial and industrial organisations.

AMERICA.

Conscription is being enforced against the American Indians and the San Francisco *Chronicle* reports that 200 Creek Indians are resisting the draft at the instigation of one of their women, who is said to be organising a new secret society. This woman visited Washington and on her return began lecturing the Indians and telling them that they cannot be forced into the army and that the Government is robbing them and trying to send them across the waters to be killed.

NEXT WEEK'S DREADNOUGHT

will contain

A Speech to the Moscow Soviet

By LENIN.

(The Bolshevik Prime Minister).

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EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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CENTRAL POWERS REPLY TO ALLIED SOCIALISTS

(Continued from front page).

Austria-Hungary were to gain a complete victory over Italy the Austrian Imperialists would consider it right, not only to refuse to the Italians in their own district, self-determination, but under the pretext of improving the strategic frontier, they would annexe Italian districts without consulting the populations concerned. It would be the same in the case of France and Germany: if France were to be victorious, French Imperialism would not only try to annexe Alsace-Lorraine, but also, in all probability, parts of the essentially German Rhineland. If, on the contrary, the German Empire were completely victorious it would not only retain Alsace-Lorraine, but would also try to annexe, against the will of their populations, the mineral districts of French Lorraine. In both cases the right of self-determination would be disregarded. If the Central Powers were completely victorious, they would possibly proclaim the right of self-determination for Ireland, Egypt, and India, but they would consider the settlement of the rights of their own peoples to be a question of interior policy; if, on the contrary, the Entente were victorious, they would possibly proclaim the liberty of the Letts, Ests, and Poles; but they would postpone the recognition of the rights of the peoples of Ireland, Egypt, and India. It is evident, therefore, that the victory of no Imperialist group can bring about the democratic order. The Austrian Socialists, therefore, advocate a so-called peace by conciliation. But whilst urging this, they recognise that such a peace concluded by capitalist Governments would not completely realise the objects of International Socialism. It would not be determined by democratic principles, but by the relative strength of capitalist Governments.

For this reason the war cannot possibly be the means of creating a democratic order in the world. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the workers in all countries to strive that the coming peace shall, as far as possible, realise their ideals, although they must recognise that the true democratisation of the world cannot be secured as a result of this war, but by the class struggle and social revolution, for the people who bleed from endless wounds cannot afford to continue the war until the working class becomes the dominant power in all countries. The Austrian Socialists are convinced that, since the future will either be a peace dictated by the victorious to the vanquished, or a peace of conciliation, the Labour and Socialist Parties of the world should strive to secure the latter. It is possible to obtain peace by conciliation now; to secure a victory peace for either side, the war must continue yet for several years. A victorious peace would lead to new wars, because it would create in the vanquished the desire for revenge. A peace of conciliation would facilitate a better understanding between peoples.

A victory peace would consolidate the authority of Imperialism and Militarism in the victorious countries and would render the democratisation of those countries more difficult. A peace by understanding would convince all peoples that wars created by capitalist Governments only bring to the people endless sacrifices. Such a peace would therefore consolidate the peaceful and Socialist tendency in the various countries, especially if their Governments were obliged to conclude such a peace by the pressure of International Socialism and Labour. If Socialism and Labour were to succeed in bringing their Governments to the table of negotiations, they would appear to the peoples as the peace-bringers, as the liberators from the horrors and sacrifices of war. By this act millions would be gained for Socialism.

The Governments on both sides have used, in turn, the favourable or unfavourable state of the military outlook as a pretext for refusing to negotiate, but the Austrian Socialists have desired all along and without considering the military situation to enter into peace negotiations. The sooner the working classes in all countries press their Governments to begin negotiating, the sooner will the workers influence, not only opening of negotiations, but the terms of peace and the future organisation of mankind.

The Austrian Socialists agree to the proposals of the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference concerning a League of Nations. They agree with the proposals for the economic relations of peoples and social reforms to be included in the peace treaty, especially with those formulated by the Conferences at Berne and Leeds.

They demand the transformation of Austria-Hungary into a League of Autonomous Nations.

They desire the creation of a League of Balkan Peoples.

They repudiate the annexation by the Central Powers of the frontier provinces detached from Russia. They declare that they have fought against the peace of Brest Litovsk and Bucharest both in Parliament and the press.

They claim the restoration and compensation of Belgium; but say they, "we do not consider as decisive for the opening of peace negotiations the question of who is to bear the expense of this compensation. Considering the immense sacrifices of war, not only in money but in human life, we cannot agree to the prolongation of the war on account of financial disagreements."

They desire that the position of Alsace-Lorraine, Italy, Poland, Turkey, and the tropical colonies shall be settled according to the peoples' right of self-determination, but, they add, "we are under no illusions on this point and we understand that this demand, owing to the actual distribution of forces, will not be realised; we do not favour the prolongation of the war till complete self-determination is possible." Whilst International Socialists should accept a peace of conciliation (in other words, a compromise peace) they must use their influence to secure the furthest application of the principle of self-determination that is possible without prolonging the war.

The Censor has here suppressed 25 lines. We conclude that these lines were of such a character as to dissociate the Austrian Socialists from the policy and aims of the Governments of the Central Powers.

The Socialists continue: For this reason we desire as soon as possible the convening of an International Labour and Socialist Conference in a neutral country. We accept as a basis for the discussion for this Conference the Stockholm Memorandum and also the Memorandum of the Inter-allied London Conference.

This memorandum of the Austrian Socialists marks a distinct advance in the movement towards the international consolidating and reconciliation of the official working class parties. Compare it with the Inter-Allied Labour War Aims Manifesto, to which it is a reply. That memorandum demands an Allied victory. It one-sidedly declares that "A victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe," and that the Allied Socialists "are inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved." "The victory of the Allied Powers," it is asserted, "must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the World." Who is to make it a victory of this kind? How can it be done by the official Socialist parties, which have been too weak even to induce Governments to allow them to hold an International Conference, or to prevent Governments refusing passports to their delegates and guests? Small efforts these in comparison with the herculean task of forcing capitalist Governments, which have always steered their course in accordance with Imperialistic motives, to abandon all their aims of annexation! How right are the Austrian Socialists in their statement that a victory peace secured by either group of belligerents would lay the way open to imperialist annexations by the victorious Power. Such a peace might mean the sweeping away of all altruism from the peace settlement and the cancelling of all the high falutin' promises to "make the world safe for democracy" that are so glibly uttered to-day!

In view of this clearly reasoned statement of the position, how weak is Mr. Henderson's comment that an International Labour and Socialist Conference would provide an opportunity to convince the peoples of the Central Empires that the Allies neither pursue a policy of political extermination against the Central Empires, nor seek to isolate and crush their economic life! In face of his disclaimer of the trade war, comes the demand of the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, for an Allied "economic bloc," made in a speech on July 14th, and his statement that "having repulsed the brutal attacks of the enemy we must not allow him to insinuate himself into our industrial life." The Paris Conference resolutions, the Inter-Allied Commercial Conference in London, the reports of Trade Committees set up by the Government, all point to the economic war which the capitalists intend to wage. How is Mr. Henderson able to ignore these threatening factors; how is he able to assure the Socialists of the Central Empires of the loving kindness of the Allied nations, since he expressly states that the conversations of the International Socialists "will have no binding effect upon any of the Governments" and that there is "no intention of negotiating peace" through the Workers' International!

Nowhere does the Allied Memorandum refer to Socialism. How wisely the Austrians recognised that even a peace of conciliation made by capitalist Governments "would not be determined by democratic principles, but by the relative strength of capitalist Governments"! How right they are in their recognition of the fact that capitalist Governments will never make a Socialist peace; and that the people of the country which obtains a victory will suffer bitterly from the triumph of their own capitalists and militarists; their struggle for Socialism, even for palliative social reforms, being rendered more difficult by the victory!

Perhaps it is the fact that the Austrian Socialists have so clearly realised this truth, which has led them to demand reforms and disannexations within the Central Empires, instead of following the bad example of the Inter-Allied Memorandum, which ignores the annexations and oppressions within the Allied Empires, whilst it denounces in detail the annexations of the Central Empires, both prior to and during this war, and demands release and self-determination for all the subject peoples within the Central Empires, even to the total disruption of Austria-Hungary and the substitution of a federation of free Danubian States, a solution which would in no way distress the Austrian Socialists. The Allied Memorandum has nothing to say in regard to restitution and self-determination for Ireland, India, Persia, South Africa, Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt. Perhaps it is intended to deal with these countries under the section entitled 'Colonies and Dependencies,' which calls for "administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain to a certain degree of civilisation." Ireland, at least, would deeply resent the classification and mere "administrative autonomy" means very little.

The passages in which the Austrian Socialists reject the idea of prolonging the war until the right of self-determination has been secured to all peoples, will be—and, indeed, have already been—selected for special criticism by those whose outlook is governed by narrowly nationalistic prejudice; but, read in conjunction with the entire memorandum, we think that the words must be taken to mean primarily that the Austrian Socialists do not desire Austria to continue fighting until the self-determination of the peoples of other empires has been conceded. The Austrian Socialists express their desire for the application of the principle of self-determination within the Austrian Empire; and it is to be assumed that they will continue to work for this after the war, if it is not secured by the peace settlement.

The Austrian Socialist Memorandum has not the Bolshevik spirit: it does not boldly call on the workers to overthrow the capitalist Governments and assume control. Its protestation that the Socialist Party has "fought" against the Brest-Litovsk peace and the Bucharest peace "in Parliament and in the press" sounds rather tamely in view of the fact that members of the Party are killing and being killed on the battlefields in support of what the memorandum, we think, by implication, recognises to be a capitalist war. But this unfortunate position is that of all Socialist Parties, save those which have achieved the social revolution. Perhaps it is the experience of their helplessness in face of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest which causes the Austrian Socialists to realise the futility of boastful talk in regard to national peace terms, whilst capitalist Governments remain in power. Perhaps it is this which causes them to point out to their comrades of all nations that the measure of their power to force the Governments to open negotiations, is the measure of their power to influence the character of the peace settlement. It should be noted that whilst the Allied Memorandum asks for the limitation of armaments, the Austrians demand disarmament.

BULGARIAN REPLY.

The reply of the Bulgarian Socialists was published in *Narod* on April 23rd and May 26th, 1918. It was evidently based on press reports of the Inter-Allied Conference as the actual Memorandum was not dispatched till May. The Bulgarian Socialists accept the general principles laid down in the Inter-Allied Memorandum. They desire:—

International arbitration.

Self-determination of peoples.

International control of armaments leading to total disarmament.

A League of Nations which Socialism will transform into an international labour organisation. This League of Nations should ensure to all people the right to use the natural monopolies, including outlets to the sea, which exist in certain countries, in order that others may not endeavour to secure these for themselves. The Bulgarian Socialists hope that the final opinion of the International may be "bolder" on the question of colonies than that of the Allied Memorandum which they say "adheres closely to the existing situation, a situation that may give rise to conflicts in the future, even as it has given rise to the present conflict." The Bulgarian Socialists desire all colonies to be placed under the control of the League of Nations for the economic use of all peoples. They complain that the Allied Memorandum has considered only British interests in dealing with colonies; only French interests in dealing with Alsace-Lorraine; only Serbian interests in dealing with the Balkan question, and especially with the controversy between Serbia and Bulgaria. They complain that treaties which are unjust to Bulgarians are not mentioned in the Memorandum. They recall that the Russian Soviet demanded that Macedonia should obtain a provisional autonomy to give its population the opportunity to decide its own destiny; they recommend this example to 'foreign comrades' who do not understand the controversy."

To do the framers of the Memorandum justice, many of the Bulgarian complaints appear to indicate that they have not seen a complete authentic copy of the text, but the Bulgarian protests provide further evidence of the wisdom of an international meeting.

What will the Allied Labour and Socialist Parties; what will the British Labour Party do, to ensure the speedy meeting of the International?

A FRESH PHASE OF THE WAR.

We believe still that the Bolshevik Government is more firmly entrenched than the capitalist Powers would have us believe. The still persistent appeals for Japanese intervention, seem to us to be evidences that the stories of counter-revolutionary successes are exaggerated, for surely, if the counter-revolutionaries were able to vanquish the Bolsheviks, they would cease to appeal for foreign aid.

We believe that the power of the Bolshevik Government lies in the fact that it has done what the majority of the Russian people desire, and, possessing the devotion of the people, we believe that it cannot be permanently overthrown. Though it may be faced with stronger armies than those at its disposal, the industrial power, which the Russian workers have learnt to use, is greater than the power of any army, and this force will never support the counter-revolution.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

SOME THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

"A social revolution of some kind will be necessary in England after the declaration of peace on the Continent; for, even supposing some fair principle established by force of arms, it has still to be wrought into a living practice by right education and good government. For many of us the greater war is yet to come." These words are quoted from the preface to H. Caldwell Cook's brilliant volume on education, 'The Play Way' (Heinemann, 8s. 6d. net). It is possible that when Mr. Cook writes of a social revolution he is not contemplating anything very drastic, that he does not understand the phrase as it will be understood by the more Bolshevist among the readers of these articles; it is possible again, that when he speaks of the greater war yet to come he is not thinking in terms of the class struggle; but even so, it is significant that the thought of a prominent and successful bourgeois educationist (Mr. Cook is a teacher in the famous Perse School at Cambridge) should be so extensively permeated with the spirit of socialist criticism.

Let us quote from a yet remoter source. On March 4th, 1917, in All Souls' Church, Winnipeg, the Rev. Horace Westwood, D.D., preached a truly remarkable sermon on 'Our Educational Forces and the Problems of War and Peace." We cannot even summarise his lengthy address, and will give no more than the text upon which he preaches and the parable with which he concludes. The text is from Aristotle, and runs: "The best laws are of no avail unless the young are trained by habit and education in the spirit of the polity." Here is the parable: "One day a prophet of the most High God went into the presence of one of His angels and said unto him: 'O thou who art a servant of the Most High, I am weary with the troubles of earth and discouraged by the hopeless task of seeking to bring goodwill, peace, and justice among men. Will these things ever be, or is it all a hopeless dream? Give unto me a vision so that I may return to earth and prophecy with certainty what shall come to pass among men.' The angel pondered long and then said to him: 'Return to-morrow at this hour and thy request shall be granted.' As the prophet lay awake that night on his couch he wondered greatly what the vision would be. There passed before his imagination the hosts of humanity glorious and free. He beheld fair cities in which there was nothing vile. He looked upon smiling villages untouched by the blight of poverty and upon nations freed from the curse of war. And he said to himself: 'Surely this will be the vision that the angel of the Lord will give.' And then he slept. Next day at the appointed hour he went once more into the presence of the angel. But he was given no glorious vision. Instead, the angel led him unto a child and said: 'Here, O prophet, is the answer of the most High God. For in the child there lies the solution of the riddle of destiny.'"

It is in the realist and not in the religious spirit that we quote this parable. We idealise children just as little as we are inclined to idealise their elders, just as little as we are inclined in most respects to echo the words of the rabbi who said: "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." But we certainly lean to the view that there is more to be hoped from the average child than from the average adult; we think that there is good ground for believing that the larger the number of those who receive a genuinely socialist education, the speedier will be the coming of the kingdom of man. The crux of socialism, and the means of its realisation, have ever seemed to us to be intimately interconnected with this question of socialist education. The active participants in the social revolution are likely to be a minority, which may be small but must not be infinitesimal. That minority must be able to count upon the active support, as soon as success looms on the horizon, of the great masses of the workers; it must not be fettered by the inertia of those whose whole education and vital experience have served to convince them that the established order is unchangeable if not positively sacrosanct. But the inevitable tendency of State systems of education—we speak, of course, of the capitalist state, without prejudice to the question whether under socialism the State as we know it will "die out"—is to turn the average proletarian into an average Henry Dubb to whom the employer is (as our German comrades phrase it) the "bread-giver." Capitalist state education makes of the workers' children the "ragged trousered philanthropists" of Robert Tressall's fascinating study; people who when grown up thankfully accept what is as "good enough for the likes of us," rather than self-respecting human beings fully aware that the class war must be waged to the bitter end until class rule is overthrown. It is capitalist state education which has made even avowed socialists willing to serve on governmental committees appointed "to make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen"!

Enheartening as has been the Bolshevist revolution in Russia, we must not too readily apply its lessons to countries where capitalism is more strongly enthroned, and where State education has for a couple of generations been carried on under capitalist auspices. Russian conditions are peculiar. Four-fifths of the Russians are peasants whose grandfathers were serfs. The main interest of these peasants is in their land-holdings, and the support given by the peasants to the groups of Marxists among the operatives of the towns has assured the success of the Bolshevist revolution—if its success, as we hope, be even yet assured. Russia seems likely to skip the epoch of fully fledged capitalist industry and its concomitant bourgeois parliamentarism. We need a Bolshevist revolution here no less, a proletarian revolution is indispensable to all the countries of the western world, but they are not likely to get it on such easy terms. We are faced by the old problem. A socialist community, a co-operative commonwealth, needs socialists for its realisation; but capitalist society, working through capitalist State education, through militarism, through a myriad ingenious sophistications ranging from religious idealism to the Whitley report, generalises a mentality adverse to the revolutionary spirit. There are, of course, counter-vailing forces, both economic and political. In the end, perhaps, like the mills of God, they will grind exceeding small; but at present they grind slowly. Is there no way of quickening the pace? We think there is. The workers must found their own educational institutions outside the framework of the capitalist State. They must provide in all big industrial centres for infant education more or less on the lines of the Montessori system. They must provide largely for elementary education to rival and ultimately to supersede capitalist State education, on the lines of the "new school" movement. This carries on education up to the age of 16 to 18. Pending these developments, and during their continuance, the workers must do everything possible to promote "independent working-class education" for young adults on the lines already vigorously promoted by the Labour Colleges and the Plebs League. These three branches of activity will be separately considered. But before discussing infant education let us invigorate our minds by recognising how even amid the stresses of war, our continental comrades are thinking similar thoughts and advancing along the same paths.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

July 8th.—Mr. King (L.) drew attention to the surprise expressed in France at the internment of Mme. Gonne MacBride "under colour of being guilty of plotting with Germans." He suggested that the British Ambassador in Paris should make inquiries of her friends there with a view to consider her release. Mr. Bonar Law protested that it was the lady's actions in Ireland that caused her internment. Though Mr. King's suggestion was meant in a spirit of goodwill, we feel sure Mme. Gonne wishes her case to be heard on its merits, and not in relation to her previous behaviour. Her friends should demand public trial for her as well as for her compatriots.

STATUTORY UNDERTAKINGS BILL.

Mr. Wardle asked that a Second Reading be given to a Bill which would authorise State intervention in such enterprises as gas and tramways where the position is so seriously affected as to call for such intervention. We ask why should companies be exempted from hardships, when the individual consumer receives no protection, but is being called on to pay increased rates without more reason than the company's inability to pay pre-war dividends. Why *should* pre-war dividends be paid, we ask again!

POOR FOREIGN OFFICE!

July 9th.—Lord R. Cecil protested that there is no ban on press statements concerning Russia beyond that which applies to military operations. Mr. G. Lambert (L.), however, alleged that Germany has access to Russian news of the help the Allies are giving there, whilst the British public is kept in ignorance, because the newspapers have been prohibited from publishing the information. Lord R. Cecil pleaded the innocence of his Department, saying: "I am sure that if my Department is blamed it is blamed unjustly." Dignity, gentlemen of the Foreign Office, more dignity!

PRINCETOWN STRIKE.

As a result of the strike at Princetown after the death of Mr. Firth, J. P. Hughes and C. H. Norman were court-martialled and both sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Mr. R. Lambert (L.) pointed out that now Mr. Hughes is allowed to take up work under the exceptional employment scheme, whereas C. H. Norman has been refused any work at all. Sir G. Cave remarked that a man's past career was also taken into consideration; but the remark made by Mr. King (L.) that Mr. Norman "brought a case against the Law Courts and lost it" seems to be an explanation of the differentiation against Mr. Norman.

"MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN."

July 10th.—A tale of wretchedness was disclosed by Mr. Jowett (Lab.) when he enumerated the reasons why a certain J. W. Muff should not be called upon to serve. Both his parents are blind and aged, 67 and 73 respectively; he is their sole support; their daughter in London earns only 5s. a week in wages as a waitress and uncertain sums in gratuities, out of this she pays 5s. a week for the supervision of her child during working hours. Sir A. Geddes explained that three separate tribunals had decided that the man should serve.

PROLONGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

On July 8th and 10th a Bill to prolong the life of the present Parliament until January 31st, 1919, was introduced and passed. This means that the present House will have continued for eight years. Is it any wonder that many of those who were staunch supporters of Parliament are now seeking for a more democratic form of Government! No guarantee was given that this would be the last occasion on which this autocratic process of lengthening the tenure of office of the present members would take place.

PENSIONS.

The following motion was moved by Sir Montague Barlow (U.): "That, in the interests alike of the State and of the wounded and discharged sailors and soldiers and their dependants, and of the widows and orphans of those who have fallen, it is essential that all questions relating to pensions and allowances should be kept free from party politics and the influence of party organisations." The motion was carried though, as Mr. Pringle (L.) remarked, it was "fatuous, futile, and canting." He further and justly pointed out that so long as two members of the Government were prominent in the British Workers' League, the Leader of the House had no right to vote for the resolution, his action in so doing being one of "sheer hypocrisy." And thus hours were spent in recriminations from all sides of the House. Meanwhile the party that had done least for these men wanted to get credit for being too noble to use such weapons. As Mr. Bonar Law put it: "I think it would be abominable."

IRELAND.

July 11th.—Many questions on the subject of various injustices committed by the Government in Ireland were put by Mr. King (L.). The Chief Secretary, Mr. Shortt, from his replies does not seem to incline towards leniency or fair play. For instance, he stated that Orange celebrations will be subject to the same conditions as any other demonstrations. Unfortunately, the reports in the newspapers indicate the contrary.

HYDE PARK MEETING.

Sir George Cave carefully explained to the House that the Peace Meeting arranged by the Women's International League and others could not be permitted because a demonstration of sympathy with the French nation would take place in the Park on the same day. The police authorities advised him that undue demands would be made on the police, so he decided to "prohibit the pacifist demonstration." Is there any reason to believe that soldiers or the French would cause disturbance when the question of peace is being discussed? Further, which meeting was the first to obtain a permit? If the French, then why were not the "Pacifists" recommended to choose another day? We fear Sir G. Cave tries to be too diplomatic at times! Also what about the Tower Hill Meeting?

ALIENS.

In a long speech Sir G. Cave told the House that he received a wire to return from the Hague—where he was negotiating for the exchange of prisoners—to deal with the subject of interning aliens. We are glad to notice that he preserves a little more sense of decency than those who are hunting their fellowmen for what is no fault of their own. Can any one help being born a German or a Turk! The whole attack is as idiotic as it is vile. The aliens abroad must be much amused at it too, for England has not even a British dynasty or purely British Government. However, Sir G. Cave remarked that as an Englishman he did not feel proud of the methods employed by the "Intern them all" clique. Committees are to be set up to pacify the indignant Britishers, and a British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill will be introduced. Mr. Lloyd George is becoming pious and wishes "to save from temptation" those Germans as large at present. But, mark you, not because of the "outcry in the press," but because "the time has come for a revision."

PIGSTYES FOR THE WORKERS!

July 12th.—Mr. Anderson (Lab.) stated that "housing in Sheffield is so short that two families—both those of discharged soldiers—are housed in disused pigstyes. Are there no vacant houses of the well-to-do for the "defenders of their country"?

IRELAND *v.* ESTHONIA.

Mr. King (L.) asked whether the Government acquiesced in the recent action forbidding the use of the Gaelic language in public places. The answer was in the negative. Does the Government forget the recent R.I.C. prohibition of Irish songs and speeches at an Irish festival? Is this denial merely opportunism used to fall in line with the complaints in the press against German tyranny which compels Esthonians to use German as the official language? Is not Ireland now "an illegal" assembly?

BRITISH NATIONALITY.

A Bill to introduce wider powers of revoking certificates of naturalisation was introduced by Sir G. Cave, "The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill." We anticipate much inconvenience for both "friendly and enemy aliens" as a result of this measure should it be passed. It was given a Second Reading.

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE BILL.

The Committee stage of the Maternity and Child Welfare Bill was taken on July 9th and on the 12th it was given a third reading and passed. Where there are no women on the Council, "it will be compulsory on the Council to co-opt women."

M. O'C.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, JULY 19th.
Cobden Statue.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, JULY 20th.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All in the Holloway district. Meet at 3 and 6 P.M. outside Nag's Head (corner of Seven Sisters' Road and Holloway Road, 10 minutes' walk from Finsbury Park Station). Speakers: Mrs. Edmunds, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and Mr. A. Mackinlay.

SUNDAY, JULY 21st.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
The Flagstaff, Hampstead.—3 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

MONDAY, JULY 22nd.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—7 P.M., Miss Price.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24th.
Armagh Road, Bow.—7 P.M., Mr. A. A. Watts and others.

FRIDAY, JULY 26th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, JULY 27th.
Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, JULY 22nd.
44 Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24th.
Leonard's Academy, High Road, Leytonstone.—7 P.M., Mrs. Horsfall; chair: Mrs. Hart.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

TUESDAY, JULY 23rd.
William Morris Hall, Somer's Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Lambie.

THE EMILY DAVISON CLUB.
144, High Holborn, W.C.1.
For weekly meetings see last week's "Dreadnought."

W.S.F. SOCIAL WORK.

"Mothers' Arms Day," organised by the Nursery Staff, was very successful. The sellers worked hard, some starting at 4.30 A.M. and did not leave off till 9.30 P.M. All the boxes are not yet in; balance sheet next week.

W. F. S. NOTES.

Members are asked to attend "Push" Meetings on Saturdays; more sellers of DREADNOUGHTS and other literature and canvassers in the immediate neighbourhood needed; people should be appealed to to join the Federation. All willing to help should apply to Miss Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, or to the nearest Branch Secretary. Those who have not had the following pamphlets should get them at once: 'The Schooling of the Future,' 1*d.*; 'How to Solve the Housing Question,' ½*d.*; 'Mothers' Pensions,' 2*d.*; 'The Birthrate,' 1*d.*; 'Parents and Militarism,' 6*d.* for 50. Discount for quantities.

A deputation consisting of thirty Old Age Pensioners from Bow, Poplar, Stepney, and Kentish Town, got up by the old people themselves, went to the House of Commons to demand 15*s.* a week. Another deputation from Walthamstow will be going shortly. Further particulars from Miss Price, W.S.F., 76 Plimsol Road, Finsbury Park.

We are calling a Conference, representative of all organisations interested in spreading the true knowledge of Russian conditions, at Chandos Hall on July 24th at 7.30. All organisations interested in this question should apply to the Meetings Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, for delegates' credentials.

BOW.—Branch Meeting: 400 Old Ford Road, Tuesday, July 23rd, 8 P.M. Bow members start for the Outing at 10 A.M. outside Bow Station (North London) and go by 'bus to George Lane. Members are asked to sell as many tickets as possible, price 3*s.* All unsold tickets to be sent to Miss Bush by Thursday, July 25th.

ST. PANCRAS.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Brumsdon, 38 Dale Road, Kentish Town. Branch Meetings every Monday at 2.30.

SHEFFIELD.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carford, 183 West Street. Branch Meeting, B.S.P. Rooms, 198 West Street, Tuesday, July 23rd. Good literature sales at Comrades of the Great War Meeting. More sellers of literature and DREADNOUGHT needed.

BRYN MAUR and NANTY GLO.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hayward, Coedcoe Garn Fach. Meetings were addressed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst in the Market Place, Bryn Maur, on July 13th, and July 14th at Blaina. The attendance, literature sales, and collections were good. Mrs. Hayward made a very successful chairman.

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.

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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

AEROPLANE STRIKE: By W. F. WATSON.

WARING & GILLOWS SACKED.

The aeroplane workers brush with the employers is now over, and the following settlement has been effected: "That we, the National Woodworkers' Aircraft Committee, London District Aircraft Committee, and other representatives of the workers (both metal and wood) hereby pledge the whole of the men and women now on dispute, loyally to abide by the decision of the proposed inquiry, if Mr. Rock be allowed to start work as soon as the Ministry of Munitions has assumed the effective control of the factory, and that if Rock be acquitted he shall receive compensation from the date of his dismissal from the Alliance Aeroplane Company. Further, we hereby recommend an immediate resumption of work at all shops now on dispute."

By taking the drastic step of sacking the firm, the Minister of Munitions administered the D.O.R.A. and the Munitions Act with far more equity than has hitherto been displayed by Ministers of State. This was not necessarily due to any sense of justice, equity, or magnanimity on the part of Mr. Churchill; it must be remembered that the industrial forces were too strong to be ignored. From all parts letters and telegrams were received to the effect that the workers were prepared to down tools in sympathy, and had the Ministry turned down the workers' demands the order would have been to bring out the whole of Woolwich Arsenal.

Rock himself was on the deputation to the Ministry, as also were delegates from the unofficial committee and from the Arsenal Shop Stewards. But what is perhaps best of all is *that Rock actually re-started work before the firm became a national factory.* It appears that Rock presented himself for work on the Monday morning. The Government representative in charge declined to engage him; but, upon being informed by the Shop Committee that there would be trouble if Rock were not started, the gallant Major thought better of his refusal and our comrade worked for an hour or so before attending the inquiry.

As one who took an active part in the negotiations and a member of the deputation, I should like to record my impressions of it. Some difficulty was encountered with the officials, who did not wish the unofficial executive to be on the deputation, although they were willing that two men from Waring & Gillows should accompany them. However, this opposition was overcome, and we met Mr. Churchill at 2.30 on Tuesday, July 9th.

The Minister of Munitions, evidently hoping to impress us with his impartiality, told us he had had very little friction between workers and employers during his tenure of office. He then went on to say that the sun was very hot, inferring that that was why the men struck. He urged that they must be got back to work as quickly as possible, because of the war position. He was mainly concerned about beating the Huns. One of the deputation very pertinently asked him if he would apply the "hot weather" argument to Capt. Waring, who was understood to be a very hot-headed individual.

When Stennet had stated the workers' case, Mr. Churchill said he had no proposals to offer until he had heard the employers' side; but he expressed the view that arbitration should settle whether Rock should be reinstated. The deputation pressed for reinstatement prior to arbitration. Mr. Churchill said that was not a matter of substance (although it is one of principle), for if Rock were reinstated he would not be actually at work, since his presence would be essential at the inquiry. Of course, the Minister may have been sincere; but it appeared to me that he was trying to "kid" us.

Mr. Churchill then left to interview the bosses. We learned that Sir Alan Smith of the Engineering Employers' Federation was in attendance, and knew that we were up against the organised employers.

Upon his return the Minister informed us he was unable to give his decision then. It was unfortunate that the strike would have to go on, but it could not be helped. He hoped to be able to give his decision on the following day at 3 P.M.

We duly showed up next day, when we found that the National Aircraft Committee had been brought into the dispute, at the instigation of the Ministry. After we had waited over three hours Mr. Churchill came in and told us of the drastic action he had taken in sacking Waring & Gillows. He hoped the transfer would be accomplished in a few days. All the men should apply for employment and priority would be given to those previously working there. He modified this by guaranteeing employment to all working there including Rock. An inquiry would be immediately set up to deal with the whole case. We drew from Mr. Churchill a definite promise that if the firm, or any member of the management, were proved by the inquiry to be guilty they would be adequately punished.

There then remained two points: (1) What was to happen to Rock during the period of transfer; and (2) the question of compensation. Mr. Churchill desired guarantees that the men would abide by the result of the inquiry and was informed that these would be forthcoming. Upon being pressed for a definite promise that, in the event of such guarantees being given he would use his influence to secure the immediate reinstatement of Rock, he said he would not give his decision then, but would leave us to discuss the matter. I believe the whole of the deputation was of opinion that, providing we gave the necessary guarantees, Mr. Churchill would insist upon the immediate reinstatement of Rock. As a result of our discussion a resolution embodying guarantees was drawn up, adopted, and sent up to the Minister. The reply was that he had no power to compel the firm to reinstate Rock. Unfortunately, from my standpoint, the rest of the deputation accepted the position, and a resolution to that effect was sent up. The reply was quickly forthcoming and it was found that four words had been inserted, making Rock's reinstatement subject to the inquiry, compensation to date from time of re-starting work. However, we were quite alert, and Sir Stephenson Kent was reluctantly induced to delete the obnoxious words and to make compensation date from the time of dismissal.

The inquiry started at 11.30 on Friday and finished on Monday, and we may expect the verdict by the time this is in print. I thoroughly enjoyed the fight, and the way all sections worked together was splendid. The Workers' Committee Movement has been amply justified. It is for us to consolidate our gains by establishing a real Workers' Committee for London that shall co-ordinate the activities of all workers regardless of craft, grade, or sex. I may add that I was not very much impressed by the ability of either the Minister of Munitions or any of his officials.

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WORKSHOP NOTES.

THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE???

A pamphlet issued by the above League states that its aim is "to bring the employer and employed together in an atmosphere conducive to a calm and fruitful discussion of industrial problems in which they are mutually interested." The League seems to be an adjunct to the Industrial Reconstruction Council the object of which is to back up the recommendations of the Whitley Report. Amongst the Executive Committee we find the names of A. Bellamy, C.B.E., N.U.R., G. Latham, R.C.A., G. H. Roberts, G. J. Wardle, and Robert Young, O.B.E., A.S.E.

At a meeting of A.S.E. Shop Stewards held on Sunday, under the auspices of the London District Committee, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That this Mass Meeting of Shop Stewards resolves to report back to the shops for their approval its opinion that the Government's attempt to make exemption from military service conditional upon enrolment as W.M.V.s is a further attempt upon the industrial freedom of the organised workers, and declares its intention on behalf of its free units not to participate in this attempt to suborn our liberties. We further express the opinion, after careful consideration, that the obvious duty of every organised worker at present enlisted as a W.M.V. should be to repudiate his contract, in view of the Government's arbitrary abrogation of its voluntary basis."

A further resolution asking the L.D.C. to convene a conference of all shop stewards, regardless of craft or grade, to discuss ways and means of giving effect to the resolution, was accepted by the chairman as a recommendation to the L.D.C.

The following candidates for Chairmanship of the A.S.E. are now announced: J. H. Ballantyne, Toronto; J. T. Brownlie, Woolwich (3); G.H. Colwill, Swansea; J. D. Lawrenee, Woolwich (2); J. J. Vipond, Stockton; Henry Wilson, Gateshead. Kirkwood's name does not appear and there is no mention of his treatment in the A.S.E. monthly journal. Has the Executive no shame at all? Many branches resent the action of the Peckham autocrats and have resolved not to take the vote until Kirkwood's name appears on the paper. I appeal to the candidates to use their influence to stop the ballot until Kirkwood gets justice. What about it, Jack Lawrence?

* * * * *

The following circular issued by a Federation firm has been sent to us for circulation. Comment is quite unnecessary; it shouts for itself!—

"In accordance with instructions received from the Minister of Munitions we are prohibited until further notice from engaging skilled men of any type. By the term "skilled men" is understood any man in recept of at least the Standard District Rate. You are requested to note that any infringement of this rule renders us liable to heavy penalities under the D.O.R.A., Section 8A, and every effort therefore must in future be exerted whenever it is necessary to employ men to make use only of semi- or un-skilled men.

"Nothing in the foregoing prohibits us from employing a discharged soldier or sailor."

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