THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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LENIN'S SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOVIETS.

This speech was delivered on April 23rd, 1918, and has been translated from the newspaper *Isvestia* dated April 24th :—

Comrades, I welcome the new Council of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, elected at this tragic and painful moment, when the development of our Revolution is in its most dangerous phase. All those who are hostile to the Revolution, all who support the enemies of the people, built their hopes upon this election. Believing that a stop had been put to the triumphant march of the Revolution they thought we should now have come to the period of our defeat. But, in this moment, the workers have again emerged in the full power of their class-consciousness. They see clearly that the great sufferings which have befallen them do not depend on us, but upon the trend of historic events. With heroic determination the workers will bear their great privations in order to make good the achievements of the October Revolution.

There is no doubt whatever that, although it must yet endure hard trials, the Revolution has entered upon a phase of new successes, which, though they may appear inconspicuous, are no less important than the brilliant victories of the October barricades. Looming before us are two mortal enemies ; the one internal, the other external. The external enemy is international capitalism, armed to the teeth with all the appliances of modern technical development and watching an opportunity for a murderous attack upon the Soviet Republic. It behoves us to look this grim truth unflinchingly in the face.

As a result of this most reactionary of all the wars which our lacerated country has ever had to endure, we have not at the present time the forces required for an armed struggle with the reactionaries of the entire world. As yet we stand alone surrounded by mortal enemies.

When, in the October rising of the workers, we unfurled the Red Flag of the Socialist Revolution, we lived through a period of easy and brilliant successes. The workers of other countries listened to the far-off echo of the Revolution and realised that their battle was being fought by the Russian workers. At that time we easily vanquished reactionary bands and without difficulty disposed of Menshevik detachments, proceeding against us, not by open battle with arms in their hands, but by the mean weapons of falsehood and vile treason. Our greatest victory over the counter-revolution is to be found in the fact that the bravest of counter-revolutionaries, Korniloff, was killed by his own soldiers, who rose up against him. Taking advantage of the hesitation of the international bourgeoisie, we chose the right moment to strike at the counter-revolution. The civil war is now practically over. Naturally there will be still some isolated encounters, some spasmodic shooting affrays provoked by sectional attempts of reactionaries to overthrow the Soviet power, but there is no doubt that on the inner front the reactionary movement has been definitely stiffled by the revolutionary masses.

Thus we have lived through the first epoch of revolutionary development, which had its beginning in October ; and we have now reached the most difficult and the gravest phase of our Revolution. The task before us is to summon up all our strength for a new creative effort. Only by iron self-discipline and self-control can Russian Revolutionary workers, striving so absolutely alone with their titanic work, await the liberating period in which the international proletariat will come to their aid.

We are one of the revolutionary divisions of the working class, we have come to the front, not because the Russian workers are superior to those of other countries, but solely because ours was one of the most backward countries in the world. We shall only attain a final victory when at last we succeed in breaking down international imperialism with all its advantages of technical development and discipline. This victory we can only achieve with the help of the workers of all countries.

History ordained that we should sign the harsh peace treaty of Brest. This peace may be treacherously overthrown at any moment by the numerous enemies of the Revolution, who are threatening us on all sides and whom at present we are unable to meet in active battle. I wish you to understand that those who would call you now to active armed conflict with rapacious imperialism, are guilty of treason to the people, and are either willing or unwilling agents-provocateurs and the servants of one or other imperialistic group. Even if they call themselves "Socialists of the Left," or perchance, "Super-Left Communists," they are bad revolutionaries or not revolutionaries at all.

The backward development of Russia pushed us to the front ; we shall go under unless we are able to maintain our position until we are reinforced by the powerful support of the revolutionary workers of other countries. Our task is the relentless pursuance of the proletarian struggle. The Soviet, which is the first People's Parliament of the new type, is opposed by a dangerous secret enemy, more formidable than many avowed counter-revolutionaries—this enemy is the small proprietor, whose only idea is : "Grab what you can ; nothing else matters ;" who says : "We have been oppressed and crushed ; why should we not take advantage of such a favourable opportunity ?" Out of every such greedy grabber emerges a Korniloff. Indeed, this enemy is stronger than all the Korniloffs, Dutoffs, and Kaledins put together, and unless it can be overcome victory is impossible. Our first task is to secure a complete dictatorship of the working class and to organise discipline in the ranks of the workers. The menacing spectre of approaching famine constitutes another danger ; but we perceive that every class-conscious worker (and their number is rapidly increasing) reasons that the only way to combat the dangers which are threatening us is to work with all our might and to practise self-control. In these days of great trial those who give way to despair and who lose hope and energy, should remember we have always said that the path from capitalism to victorious Socialism can never be the bloodless, easy way of persuasion and conciliation, and that we shall only reach our goal as the result of a fierce struggle. Our course must be self-control, solidarity, an iron dictatorship of the working people. In many instances the Soviet power has failed to display sufficient determination in the struggle with the counter-revolution ; instead of being hard as iron it has been like soft pulp on which Socialism cannot be built. We have not conquered the middle class. We must be merciless towards our enemies, as well as towards any wavering and harmful elements among ourselves, who may dare to carry disorganisation into the hard constructive work of building up a new existence for our working people.

We have set out to wrestle with the problem, the solution of which will carry with it the complete establishment and consolidation of Socialism. Famine and unemployment will be successfully overcome by the introduction of work necessary to the nation.

The Moscow elections prove that the workers, who realise that the Soviet is no mere bauble, can use their power well. These re-elections to our Soviet give me hope and assurance that we are on the right path which will make Socialism victorious.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

LORD WIMBORNE'S PEACE MOVE.

First Lansdowne, now Wimborne ! Certain aristocratic sections are at last beginning either, to weary of the war, or to think that the time has come to adopt a less bluntly Jingo attitude. Lord Wimborne's motion was indignantly repudiated by the Government; indeed, he said that in his absence Lord Curzon instructed Lord Colebrook to take it off the Order paper. Afterwards Lord Crawford, the Government spokesman, said that he could not reply to Lord Wimborne, because he had not seen the motion. Politics played in this way is not a noble game !

We urge our readers to realise that Lord Wimborne's motion says nothing definite . Here it is :—

"That in the reception accorded to enemy peace proposals more regard should be paid to the opportunities such occasions afford for defining our own terms and for discrediting militarism in the eyes of the people of the Central Empires themselves."

As Lord Wimborne himself expressly explained, this is "not a pacifist motion." It merely indicates a desire to answer the German peace offers in order that *they*, not we, may have the discredit of refusing to make peace. With more candour than Mr. Henderson and his official Labour colleagues, whose voices were silent when the Russians opened negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, Lord Wimborne says that if the British Government had consented to join the negotiations : "Perhaps the world would have stumbled into peace." Perhaps it would ; but, as the German Foreign Minister says, territorial aims are separating the belligerent groups. If Wimborne means business let him define the basis on which he wishes this country to make peace. Let him say whether he is, or is not, on the side of those who desire annexations. It is interesting to note that Lord Curzon admitted having endeavoured to induce Lord Wimborne not to bring forward his motion and that Lord Crewe advocated "a frank [and we suppose private] interchange of views *outside* the House." Is this representative Government ?

WHY THEY DON'T MAKE PEACE.

The observations on the war situation made by the Austrian Foreign Minister to the Prime Ministers of Austria Hungary, as reported by Reuter, are illuminating. He says :—

"Territorial aims are the only things now separating the different belligerent groups....The enemy's obstinacy in regard to his territorial demands concerning Alsace-Lorraine, the Trentino, Trieste, the German Colonies, &c., appears to be insurmountable. ....The enemy not only wants to cut from Austria-Hungary what he would like for himself, but the inner structure of the monarchy itself is to be attacked, and the monarchy to be dissolved, if possible, into its component parts. Our enemies.... want to crush our very powerful organism, in order to make the weak parts, one after the other, serviceable to their own purposes."

It seems to us that the war parties of both belligerent groups have precisely the same aims. The Austrian Foreign Minister aptly sums up the policy of Allied jingeos, but he omits to define his own. Referring to the war itself and to the bad peace terms which Germany forced on Russia, he says :—

"Both groups should certainly honestly attempt to clear this up and settle it by mutual agreement, but not in the same manner, as, for instance, our peace treaties in the East were judged. *The fact is that all our opponents were invited to join in those peace negotiations, and they could have contributed their share in bringing them to a different issue. But now when it is too late their criticism stands on weak ground*, for there is no legal right which would entitle them to condemn the peace conditions which were acceptable to the contracting parties, *or which could not be avoided*." (The italics are ours.)

Again we are forced to agree that the Allied Governments could have secured a very different peace for Russia, if they had supported her at Brest Litovsk. The German Minister appears to experience no shame in thus admitting that Germany took advantage of Russia's weakness to force harsh terms upon her. These are the ethics of old-fashioned competitive capitalism in the realm of foreign policy. Socialism will change all that.

LONDON WOMEN TEACHERS.

We congratulate the London women teachers on their fight for a living wage ; we advise them to insist unflinchingly upon the principle of equal pay for men and women and on the raising of the pay scale for both men and women. The miners "next step" will be a demand for equal pay for all grades. We recommend this ideal to the teachers. The teachers are indispensible ; they have the L.C.C. and all the national and local Education Authorities in a cleft stick. They will get whatever they demand. Twelve thousand women teachers may shortly be on strike, but we think their demands will be conceded.

WAKEFIELD C.O.s.

The conditions at Wakefield Work Centre have undergone no change since the disturbances at Whitsuntide, when the inquiry held exonerated the C.O.s. We understand that a condition akin to internment still prevails under very trying conditions.

These men at Wakefield are employed on what is known as the Home Office Scheme. This Scheme originated two years ago. Owing to the faulty administration of the Military Service Act a large number of conscientious objectors were then being sent into the army and thence into prison. In order to meet the difficulty, an arrangement was come to between the Army Council and the Home Office by which those men who were adjudged by the Central Tribunal to be genuine conscientious objectors were offered a scheme of alternative service under civilian control. This scheme was at first in charge of men who were anxious to provide genuine work of national importance. But gradually those officials were superseded by men trained in the prison service. The result has been a system of steadily increasing severities, until by the end of 1917 the Scheme had ceased to be one of alternative service and had become one of alternative punishment.

Now the Home Office Committee have no legal power to enforce their orders on the men thus employed by them. But if a man refuses to obey them, the Committee asks the Army Council to recall him to the army, where he is court-martialled and returned to prison. Thus if a man incurs the displeasure of the Committee, he is liable to indefinite imprisonment, and that without any semblance of a trial for his alleged offence. It is solely by this threat of a return to prison that these men are controlled.

Seven weeks after the disturbances, the Chief Constable, who advises the Local Management, still declares that public order is not sufficiently re-established to enable the conscientious objectors to leave their quarters as they had been accustomed to do for twenty months or more ; while the Home Office, which appears to have taken no action against either the instigators or the perpetrators of the disturbances, is content to keep its employees under lock and key.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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LANSDOWNE OR THE INTERNATIONAL?

An organisation calling itself the Lansdowne Labour Committee, and writing from 31 Essex Street, Strand, is circularising local Labour Parties with the following memorial:—

"LONDON WORKMEN'S MEMORIAL TO LORD LANSDOWNE.

"We are of opinion that the time has now arrived in the interests 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 that 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."

Let there be no mistake about the meaning of this extraordinary document; it asks Lord Lansdowne to become the leader of that growing part of the Labour movement which desires the ending of the war and is reaching out in solidarity to our brothers and sisters in all lands. It represents a disastrous policy: a policy inspired by lack of faith in the power of Labour to achieve anything except by reliance upon the capitalist class. To adopt the policy of the Lansdowne Labour Committee is to attempt to undo the work of all the great pioneers who have striven to build up a movement of the workers themselves. That attempt will never succeed, for the number of class-conscious workers which has seen the vision of Socialist brotherhood and sisterhood is growing fast, and the genuinely class-conscious worker who thinks seriously upon this question, can never make common cause with the reactionary aristocratic party for which Lord Lansdowne stands.

To adopt the Lansdowne-Labour Coalition policy is to repudiate the policy of the Workers' International. The two policies cannot be harmonised. Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues will never conform to the spirit of the Workers' Socialist International, for all their prejudices and traditions, every fibre of their being is antagonistic to its spirit. The root idea of the Socialist International is independence of the International Capitalist-Imperialism of which Lord Lansdowne is a prominent pillar. The Socialist International is seeking to end wars between nations and between classes and individuals, by establishing the International Socialist Commonwealth. Lansdowne belongs to the party which desires to preserve for all time the capitalist system that has caused this war and will cause other wars if it continues. Lansdowne held the strings of British foreign policy when the web was woven which swifty precipitated this war of capitalism. Ask Lansdowne what is his policy in regard to the Workers' International and its part in the making of peace. Ask him on what terms he would make peace. Ask him for his views on the freedom of the workers, now and after the war. Ask him his policy, now and in the future, in regard to the Russian Revolution and the efforts our Russian comrades are making to establish Socialism.

Ask him his views on the British landing at Murmansk. Ask him his policy on profiteering, on the treatment of broken soldiers and their families. Ask him his policy on the freedom of small nations, beginning across the Irish Channel.

Inquire too of the candidates which the Labour Party is adopting for the coming General Election; who amongst them are for Lansdowne and his future policy, of which we really know nothing though we are fully aware of his reactionary record; who amongst them are for Jingoism and Lloyd George?; who amongst them are for the Workers' International?

The resolution of the Lansdowne Labour Committee should be met with one on the following lines:—

"This meeting emphatically repudiates the attempt of the Lansdowne Labour Committee to link the Socialist and Labour Movement to the reactionary conservative Lord Lansdowne, who was Foreign Secretary when the Imperialist Boer War was declared, and who as Foreign Secretary when the Morocco intrigue was begun, is one of the few in all countries who have created the international policy which precipitated this capitalist war.

"We stand for the complete independence of the International Workers' Movement, and regard any attempt to sidetrack it into supporting Tory, Liberal, or any other form of capitalist coalition, as a gross betrayal. This meeting addresses itself, not to Lord Lansdowne, but to the rank and file workers, and calls for a united effort to secure a meeting of the Workers' International to formulate and work for the terms of a people's peace."

Socialists, keep your faith in Socialism; rely on the workers.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

SOME THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

II.—A GERMAN VIEW.

[The following section is epitomised from an article which recently appeared over the signature "E. H." in the Women's Supplement of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. It was entitled "Working Class Children and their Future."]

What have we socialists hitherto done to promote the education of children in our own sense, in accordance with our own ideals and demands?

Indisputably we possess a noteworthy pedagogical literature. That literature has been fertilised by the materialist conception of history; it has built upon the foundations established by the thoughts and the activities of the great socialists who have gone before us, whether utopian or scientific; it has further developed the best of the creative ideas on education to be found in the classic works of bourgeois literature and philosophy. Such social democratic educationists as Robert Seidel, Otto Rühle, Kate Duncker, &c., have done much valuable work. They have drawn our attention to the special needs, to the physical and mental peculiarities of the proletarian child; they have recognised the importance of productive labour in relation to the training of mind and character; they have formulated the ideal of the socialist individuality, and have not failed to give us practical pointers along the path of socialist education.

The literature of which we are speaking appeals to parents and teachers. It assumes that readers are not merely animated by the desire, but likewise possess power and opportunity, to form the minds of proletarian children in the spirit of socialist education. But how if power and opportunity be lacking? Who, we must ask, is to be the true educator of our children? Is it to be the proletarian father, away at work from morning till night, so that he hardly sees his children? Is it to be the proletarian mother, whose back is almost broken beneath the double burden of domestic slavery and wage labour? Can the proletarian family, whose decomposition set in long ago, become an instrument of true education? Even when the parents are exceptionally capable, difficulties arise owing to the claims made upon their time by their active participation in the work of socialist and trade union organisation, and by the need they feel for the continuance of their own education.

Far be it from us to underestimate the importance of the influence exercised by the atmosphere of the home upon the mentality of the proletarian child. Many working-class parents might be much more to their children than they are to-day, and would be much more did they but recognise the supreme significance of socialist education. In this matter, ignorance, indifference, and slackness are still too general among the proletariat. But making full allowance for all this, the fact remains that neither legally nor otherwise are working-class parents in a position to train their children in their own spirit.

The evil has long been recognised, but few of us even yet are fully aware of our far-reaching responsibilities. The matter has been doubly and trebly underlined by the war. Under war conditions, the decomposition of the proletarian family has been completed, and our children have been delivered more fully than ever into the hands of capitalist society. Many a working-class mother, forced to go out to work, is delighted to know that her child is being cared for in a crèche, a school, or in some one of the many charitable institutions called into being by the war. As a hard-pushed working woman she cannot but congratulate herself, but as a convinced socialist she cannot but be heavy-hearted. No matter whether the institution be public or private, the upshot is the same. Capitalist society, garbed as an angel of light, gradually withdraws the young human being from the favourable influence of its mother, and estranges it from the outlook for which the parents have fought and perchance suffered.

As an individual mother, the proletarian woman can do little to resist this tendency. It would be a false consolation if she should say to herself, "Life, which has made me a socialist, will make my children socialists also." Were this true, agitation and propaganda would be superfluous, for the masses would flock to our ranks with the simple inevitability of a natural law. In practice we know this does not happen. It depends upon us whether the road to socialism shall be short or long, smooth or rough; it lies with us who have become aware of the evolutionary trend, to favour that trend, and to clear obstacles out of the path.

It is no use looking on with folded arms. The diagnosis of a disease does not cure the disease. The mere voicing of complaints changes nothing. The proletarian family is powerless. Agreed; but mightier than the family is the organisation of the proletarian class. Our class organisations must enter the breach, just as long ere this the bourgeoisie has striven to secure mastery of proletarian offspring by means of the organisations it has specially provided for this purpose, by school and church, by secular and religious societies, by cadet corps and barrack life. We have given a long start to the dominant class, and for this error we have to blame, not solely the political and economic weakness of the unthinking masses, but also and largely the indifference of the organised workers in the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions.

What have we in Germany hitherto done in this field? Such trifling beginnings as have been made should shame rather than encourage us. Almost the only noteworthy work as yet has been that of the child protection committees, but the activity of these committees has been mainly concerned with the physical and moral welfare of child workers, with attempts to put an end to the more barbarous forms of exploitation. The only endeavours made on behalf of the mental life of our children have been those of the few working-class committees to secure country holidays for children, and to promote half-holiday amusements. Here and there, too, the attention of the workers' educational committees has been turned to the problem of child education.

Taking it all in all, however, how little has been done! Why should we be content to leave our children to the State school, to the street, to bourgeois philanthropy, and to chance? Doubtless, our organisations lack money, time, suitable places and persons. They have naturally turned their attention in the first instance to the schooling of adult members. As for young people over 14, there are various institutions to look after their interests.

Well and good. We will not stop to inquire whether these various institutions have always set to work in a genuinely socialist spirit, or whether they have not at times been unconsciously influenced by the bourgeois mentality. The main question is, why should we wait to begin our work until the mind of the proletarian child has been permeated with the bourgeois imperialist outlook? Why should our children be left for fourteen years or more to bourgeois-minded teachers of both sexes, in order that then, at great cost, they should be regained on behalf of their class interests? Is this an economic method?

No one can deny that a certain degree of intellectual ripeness, a certain experience of life, are requisite to the understanding of political and economic problems. Those only who are mature and experienced can act with a due sense of responsibility, and with a full consciousness of their aims. But as regards the education of young children, this question does not concern us. What we desire, and rightly desire, as proletarian parents, is that our children should not be estranged from the ideals and the mentality of the class-conscious workers; we desire the creation of an adequate counterpoise to the one-sided bourgeois, nationalist, and imperialist influences to which they are now exposed. We wish to propagate our own convictions in the minds of our children; we desire that our children should from the first become accustomed to regard their class organisations as their true home; we desire that from early childhood upwards they should be animated with the spirit of equality, liberty and international brotherhood.

IRELAND.

The Irish M.P.s are returning to Westminster. It appears that the real struggle for Irish liberty will be left as heretofore, to the Sinn Feiners and the working class. Meanwhile, the Militant Orangemen demonstrated on July 10th; though Sinn Fein and other Nationalist meetings are prohibited. The supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party, who dislike Sinn Fein as much as Carson does, object to the order against the assembling in public places without police permission. The Ulster branches of the Ancient Order of Hibernia and the United Irish League have resolved to hold the demonstrations usual before the war and refuse to apply for permission.

ALIENS.

The Government has decided that no German may be naturalised for five years after the war. Do you think any German would want to be naturalised? We understood that the Kaiser was fighting to make us all into Germans!

THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

The only humane thing to do is to exchange all interned prisoners *en bloc*, regardless as to whether one nation has more of these unfortunates in its keeping than another! But stop war!

* * * * *

The Manchester Police used their power to prevent a peace service in Trafalgar Square; but their power did not prevent the Friends' Meeting House, where a private meeting was being held, from being raided.

* * * * *

Bradford Corporation promised equal pay to the women employed by it to replace men. We have been told that the men are now getting bonuses amounting to 25*s.* a week; the women 13*s.* The men are offered a further 5*s.* a week, the women 3*s.*

* * * * *

Mr. Balfour has been making another "great" speech containing nothing of importance.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

THE ALLIES AND RUSSIA.

The *Athenæum* Press has sent our observations under this head to the censor, and the censor will not permit them to appear. Our warning under this head was mutilated by the censor last week.

WHAT THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES ARE DOING.

A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent in Russia reports:—

"What between the Germans in the Ukraine and elsewhere and the rebellion under Krasnoff, the material losses inflicted upon Russia will be, or may become, colossal. Here is a brief summary of them, based on an official report recently presented to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets at Moscow:—

	Per cent.
Cultivated area (cereals)	28
Beetroot area	85
Forests	3
Railways	33
Iron production	73
Coal production	80
Metallurgical and engineering works ..	15

As the same report states, Soviet Russia needs about 35,000,000 poods of cereals a month for human consumption on a very modest estimate; if not only the Ukraine but the entire south should be lost, the supply would only amount to about 15 to 20 million poods. In that case Siberia will remain the only source available which could save Russia from death by starvation."

This correspondent further states that a speech made by Prof. Vassilenko, the first Ukrainian Premier appointed by "Hetman" Skoropadsky, who was a member of the Central Committee of the Cadet party and Assistant Minister of Education in one of M. Kerensky's Administrations, said that the Rada, though composed of moderate Socialists of the anti-Bolshevik type—that is, Menshviks and Revolutionary Socialists—was "ruining" the country. The chief act of barbarity committed by the Rada against "culture," "heritage of centuries," &c., was the nationalisation of the land after the hated Bolshevik model.

UKRAINE.

It is reported that 200,000 men are on strike in Ukraina. The South Eastern, Southern, and Podolian Railways have stopped working. The strikers demand the restoration of the Soviet power and the withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian troops.

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS AND WAR CREDITS.

The German Social Democratic members of the Austrian Parliament have unanimously decided to vote against the war credits. The Prime Minister may be left without a majority. When will that happen here?

At a mass meeting of Austrian railway workers Deputy Müller demanded "peace above everything in order to end the distress."

AUSTRIA AND EMPIRE.

The Austrian Parliament has at last met. The non-German parties greeted the Premier with uproarious shouts; the Germans received him with cheers. Dr. Von Seidler said that it is impossible to rule Austria either against or without the Germans, and that a combination of the non-German parties cannot form a majority, whilst the British press is gloating over the racial struggles which threaten to disrupt the Austrian Empire. The German press displays a similar pleasure in the Irish struggle for freedom. Britain and America help Mazaryk, the Bohemian, in his struggle against Austria. Germany helped Casement and Dowling. The racial strife which the rival capitalist governments stimulate for their own advantage is less fundamental than the struggle between the workers of all lands and international capitalism.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The Johannesburg *Times* referred to as "dangerous tampering with the natives on the Rand" meetings at which *The Times* alleges a minimum wage of £15 a month for the coloured workers was advocated, and it was urged that the natives, who have hitherto been organised apart from half-cast people should have a working agreement with them. As a matter of fact, the International Socialist League desires to abolish all colour and race bars and to organise in common natives, half-casts, and Europeans.

The International, the organ of the South African International Socialist League, quotes a letter from *The Johannesburg Star* referring to stray cats and dogs which says: "Our Town Council is too busy to think of the sufferings of these speechless creatures who do not even own a trades union." *The International* comments: "The foxes have holes, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head. The black cats and dogs are commiserated for not having a trades union, but the black men and women who work for 'us' are to be prosecuted for attempting to have one.

All may have unions but one:
Thou, Jim Sixpence, may'st have none.

—Shelley's 'Men of England,' adapted."

The International mentions that General Botha in a debate on the Postal Servants' Union, said he regretted "to perceive the spirit which prevailed amongst public servants," and advised them "instead of forming associations to look to Parliament for the protection they were entitled to get." "Of late," he added, "attempts have been made to get the natives on the Rand to form themselves into a union. It is a serious state of affairs. If this is allowed to go on, where will it end?"

* * * * *

In refutation of the persistent French accusation that Germany did not respect Corpus Christi Day by refraining from bombarding Paris whilst the English did not bombard towns behind the German lines on that day, the *Vossiche Zeitung*, June 10th, 1918, explains, according to an agreement between Pope Pius VI. and the French Consul, dated April 9th, 1802, Cardinal Caprara issued an order—still valid to-day—that *all Fete days*, with the exception—Christmas, Ascension Day, Ascension of the Holy Virgin, and All Saints—*were to be celebrated on the Sunday following their real date.* The German Supreme Command issued a special order that on Sunday, June 2nd, no bombarding of Paris should take place, and this was strictly adhered to. Do these ecclesiastics believe that God will pardon the murders of six days because a truce is called on the seventh?

PEACE OVERTURES AND THEIR REJECTION.

Peace Overtures and their Rejection (U.D.C., 2*d*), compiled by Arthur Ponsonby and E. D. Morel, recalls that between December, 1916, and March, 1918, nine opportunities of entering into peace negotiations were rejected by Mr. Lloyd George's Government. The following brief summary is given in detail. First opening December 12th, 1916, the German Chancellor informed the Reichstag that the Central Powers had proposed that morning to enter into peace negotiations. The note repudiates any wish to crush or annihilate the enemy. Lloyd George describes the offer as "a noose." Briand the French Premier, calls it "a snare." The Czar "a confession of weakness." The offer is collectively rejected as a "sham proposal." Second opening December 20th, 1916, President Wilson urges negotiations. The Central Powers accept and urge a meeting of delegates at a neutral place. Allies "judge it impossible to-day to bring about a peace," assuring to them "reparation," "restitution" and "guarantees." They are determined to "carry the war to a victorious end."

Third opening, Emperor Karl of Austria seeks to open negotiations with the French President, through Prince Sixte of Bourbon, offering peace on President Wilson's terms, freedom for Belgium and Serbia, and offering to support such claims of France to Alsace Lorraine as are just. The offer rejected by Lloyd George, the French President and Premier and the Italian Premier.

Fourth peace opening, Spring, 1917.—The Russian Revolution and the Soviet declaration of "no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies."

Sixth peace opening, July, 1917.—The Reichstag peace resolution, only nineteen British M.P.s vote for a resolution to respond to it.

Fifth opening August 1st.—Pope's appeal welcomed by Germany and Austria. Allies make no reply.

Seventh opening, August 17th.—German Government makes overtures through Briand, ex-Premier of France. Offer rejected by French President and Premier, Italian Premier, and Lloyd George. American and Russian Governments not informed till after rejection.

Eighth opening November-December, 1917.—Bolshevik Government proposes an armistice. Germany and Austria agree, and enter into negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. Allies refuse to join.

Ninth opening January, 1918.—President Wilson invites the Central Powers to publicly discuss peace terms. Replies by Central Powers not unfavourable. Allies declare "only immediate task before" the Allies to be "the prosecution of the War with the utmost vigour and in the closest and most effective cooperation of the military effort of the Allies...."

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

July 15th.—The fact that it was not permitted to publish in the Irish Press on July 4th the Address of the Lord Mayor of Dublin and others to the President of the United States of America was explained by Mr. Shortt. He alleged that the Irish Censor temporarily suspended publication of the Address in order that it might be considered, but the London Censor allowed the English press to make it public. Mr. Shortt denied that any distinction had been made between the two countries, it was only that in Ireland "we may have been a little more dilatory." We think "a little more nervous" would be a truer remark!

A DISGRACE!

July 16th.—We cannot condemn too vehemently the statement of Mr. Baldwin of the Treasury on the Old Age Pensions. He said: "I am not satisfied that the increase in the cost of living since August, 1917, when the existing scheme for additional allowances of 2*s.* 6*d.* a week to old Age pensioners came into force has been such as to justify an increase of these allowances." A representative of a Government which votes over seven millions daily for war thus to deny a substantial increase to Old Age Pensioners is a national disgrace! In 1914 5*s.* a week was the pension; the cost of living has increased so that at least 10*s.* a week should be the equivalent sum now. We advise the old people to retire to the workhouse, perhaps *then* the Government will wake up to a sense of decency.

EDUCATION.

The Education Bill as amended went through its final stages on July 15th and 16th, and was passed after much discussion. A new clause to abolish the differentiation in payment of men and women teachers was introduced by Mr. Whitehouse (L.). He made an appeal to the Board of Education to set an example to the country of equal pay for men and women. The reply and arguments used by Mr. Fisher only prove how necessary was the adoption of this clause. He said: "It would be an expensive one for the Local Education Authorities, and I cannot accept it....My reason for resisting the clause is that if the State were to come to the conclusion that there should be no differentiation in pay grounded upon sex, it should come to it first of all in reference to its own employés, and not in reference to a great body of servants who are appointed, dismissed, and controlled by other bodies." And this minister expects to find sufficient teachers to carry out the extension in education involved in the new Bill! As Mr. King (L.) said, Mr. Fisher's reply "was certainly unfortunate and unequal to the occasion." Colonel Yate (U.) urged that at least one-fourth of school-time be allotted to physical training. An excellent idea, of course. But it was suggested because when he was recruiting in Leicester (under the voluntary system) 27½ per cent of the men who offered to enlist were rejected on account of insufficient height and chest measurement! A hard fight was made by reactionaries to legalise the employment of children for two hours before school; but Mr. Fisher was not to be persuaded. A similar stand was made on the question of the abolition of fee-paying elementary schools. The subject was put to a division and the House decided for the abolition. Colonel Wedgwood (L.) formally moved the rejection of the Bill, in order, it would seem, to get an opportunity to put on record his ideas on education. He said the Bill was being imposed on the country, as the Commons was "utterly out of touch with the electorate." A similar argument could be applied to all war measures. But when Colonel Wedgwood insinuated that the Bill was a "revolutionary measure," we must refrain from taking him seriously. Why, the main objection to the Bill is that it is a compromise, Mr. Fisher himself acknowledges as much!

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

Sir G. Cave moved that the Commons concur in the Lords' message: "That it is desirable that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill [Lords] and the Sexual Offences Bill [Lords] be committed to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament." Mr. King (L.) protested strongly against going on with this legislation, which would cause great controversy, until after an election which would enable women to express their views. The House divided and decided in favour of the Lords' message.

TO WAR-WORKERS.

July 17th.—Sir A. Geddes: "A man who volunteers for work as a War Agricultural Volunteer, or, I may say, as a War-Work Volunteer, does not by so doing become a Government employee. The employer to whom he is allocated pays him his wages, and is in every sense his employer, with all the legal responsibilities which that implies"!!!

IRISH LABOUR.

Irishmen, between 18 and 51, who come to work in Great Britain of their own accord are liable to military service. Sir A. Geddes added that those brought over "on an understanding given by the Government" will not be liable. We feel such an understanding should be a written one! What about the Irish who are brought over against their will?

MURMAN FRONT.

July 18th.—Mr. King (L.) asked whether it is usual to develop a new front (the Murman) "without any public announcement or information being given." Lord Robert Cecil decided the doubt by answering: "It is a matter which must be determined by military considerations"!!

IRISH RECRUITING.

Mr. Samuels was unable to tell the House when the figures of Irish recruiting would be published. Are there any?

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON.

Sir G. Cave stated that Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington was warned before leaving America that she would not be allowed to go to Ireland. The Irish Government thinks her return would be "injurious." If we know anything about the Irish people we are convinced that this action keeping Mrs. Skeffington here in England, whilst her boy of 9 has been allowed to go on to Ireland, will prove "injurious" rather to the Government than the Irish people!

WARING & GILLOW'S.

Mr. Hogge (L.) remarked that, as the terms were not made public, he doubted that Waring & Gillow's had been taken over by the Government. But Mr. Kellaway affirmed that the conditions were under negotiation!

SUPPLY.

A sum of £152,265 was voted for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. Mr. Prothero made a long speech rehearsing practically the whole thorny path since the outbreak of war. He seems satisfied that ploughing has been overdone, so we may await some new call to patriotism. However, the big farming interests spoke in favour of revising the Corn Production Bill, and deplored the conscription of their best labour.

ALIENS.

The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill was debated on July 17th and 19th and passed. It does not come up to the expectations of those sleuth-hounds who seek a kind of rabble notoriety by developing this mania against people of other nations against whom they have no personal grievance. Sir E. Carson (U.) styled the Bill an "anæmic" one. And so it was, too, from the standpoint of administering justice in the real sense. Sir W. Dickinson's (L.) effort to include the right of women to decide whether they should adopt their husband's nationality, and whether they will now cast it off, showed that some members had kindly feelings towards their country women. Sir G. Cave put the matter on one side, saying: "I am not disposed to have the matter dealt with in this Bill." Perhaps it is better to have a separate Bill in order to show the wide difference between the aim in view!!

M. O'C.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

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

SATURDAY, JULY 27th.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All in Hammersmith.—Meet at 3 P.M. and 6.30 P.M. at the Grove (near both stations). Speakers: Miss Birch, Mrs. Davies, Miss Price, and Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, JULY 28th.
Finsbury Park.—3.30 P.M., Miss Price.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—6.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, JULY 30th.
Armagh Road (Housing Campaign).—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 31st.
Grundy Street, Poplar.—7 P.M., Mr. A. A. Watts (Housing Campaign).

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2nd.
Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 3rd.
Great Push in the South-East District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, JULY 29th.
44 Malden Road.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JULY 30th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

GENERAL FUND.—R. McC. Smyth, Esq., £10; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20*s.* weekly), £3; Mrs. E. E. Palmer (20*s.* Peace), £3; Mrs. Sanger, £2; Miss Marian Gibson, 10*s.*; Mrs. Sizer, 5*s.*; Mrs. C. Hardcastle (Peace card), 4*s.* 4½*d.*; per Mrs. Eglington, 1*s.*; Miss Alice Peachey (Peace card), 1*s.*; Mrs. Heil (Peace), 1*s.* COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £2 14*s.* 7½*d* Poplar Study Circle, 5*s.* 6*d.*; Lee's Hall, 5*s.* 3*d.*; per H. S. Redgrove, Esq., 5*s.* 3*d.*

SOCIAL WORK.—Mothers' Arms Day, £91; Nurse Hebbes (10*s.* weekly), £2; Mrs. Carter, £2;—Mrs. W. Sinclair, £1 15*s.* 6*d.*; Misses Gulland, £1 15*s.*; Miss Mary McCarthy, £1 8*s.* 6*d.*; Contessa Isolani (monthly), £1; Mrs. Richmond (10*s.* fortnightly), £1; Miss Gamman, £1; per Miss Rock, £1; Miss Mary MacFarland, £1; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), 15*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Lettie Usherwood, 10*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Julia Drewry (monthly), 10*s.*; Miss Mary Hoy and Friend, 10*s.*; Mrs. Morrison, 10*s.*; Miss D. Hancock, per Miss McCarthy, 8*s.* 6*d.*; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5*s.*; Mrs. Fahey, per Miss McCarthy, 3*s.*; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss A. Craft, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Clara Symonds, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Gertrude Wilkinson, 2*s.*; Mrs. Gull, 6*d.* COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £3 5*s.* 7*d.*; Misses E. Lagsding and M. Barker (Green's Yard), £2 2*s.* 11*d.*; per Nurse Hebbes, £1 17*s.* 7½*d.*; Bow collection, £1 3*s.* 5½*d.*; Mabel Sennett, £1; Misses K. Lagsding and J. Watts (Cubitt Town), 14*s.*; per Mrs. Watkins, 12*s.* 4½*d.*; Aircraft Workers, per Miss Beamish, 8*s.* 6½*d.*

'DREADNOUGHT' FUND.—Mrs. A. D. Sanger, £5; Profit on Chandos Hall At Home, £4 8*s.* 2½*d.*; Aberdare I.L.P., £2 16*s.* 2*d.*; S.W.M.F., Llwynpia Branch, £1 1*s.*; No. 3, South Griffin, per Mr. W. Dunn, £1 1*s.*; Mr. C. O. Dobell, £1 1*s.*; Miss Joachim, £1; New Era Union, £1; S.W.M.F., Merthyr, £1; Mrs. Hyde, 14*s.*; Nantyglo W.S.F., 13*s.* 8*d.*; Dr. and Mrs. Schutze (monthly), 10*s.*; Mr. and Mrs. Durant (monthly), 10*s.*; Miss Ethel Fenton (card), 10*s.*; S.W.M.F., Cwmneol Lodge, 10*s.*; Mr. H. Bool, 10*s.*; Joyce Halley, 10*s.*; Miss Marian Gibson, 10*s.*; Miss Gittens, 10*s.*; Mrs. Brimley (2*s.* 6*d.* weekly), 7*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. Corio, 5*s.*; Mr. Brewer, 5*s.*; Mrs. Mary Parr, 5*s.*; Covent Garden N.U.R., 5*s.*; Miss G. J. Titford, 4*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. F. Edwards, 4*s.*; Miss M. A. Barker, 3*s.*; Mr. W. Toop (monthly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. J. R. Jones, 2*s.*; Mr. Samuel Gardiner, 2*s.*; Miss S. W Newsome (monthly), 1*s.*; Mr. Hull, 1*s.* COLLECTION: Miss Pankhurst, 2*s.* 6*d.*

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

THE COVENTRY REVOLT.

Unless the Ministry of Munitions saw fit to withdraw its obnoxious instructions forbidding the employment of skilled men without licence (a letter bearing upon which I gave last week), twenty thousand men were to cease work. And we fear it will not be confined to the town made famous by Lady Godiva. Rightly or wrongly the workers can see in this circular letter an attempt to enforce Industrial Conscription in all its nakedness. Of course, the capitalist Press is frantically furious at the workers' revolt against what appears to them to be a further encroachment on their liberties, and the deep wells of calumny and vituperation are being exhausted. The A.S.E. Executive consistent, with its policy of assisting the Government, urges the members of the A.S.E. to remain at work. *The Sunday Chronicle* editorial says the Coventry workers are revolting against the State and throws out a veiled threat about the power behind the State. This is all moonshine. It is the workers, unhappily natural revolt, against industrial slavery. In a lengthy statement issued by the Ministry there is much talk about scarcity of skilled workers necessitating their being rationed, economising labour, &c., concluding with the usual talk about "high standard's fine records," "extreme national danger," and "grave consequences."

If there *is* a scarcity of skilled engineering workers must they go on taking them for the Army? And if the Ministry of Munitions is sincere in its desire to ration skilled labour, why was the proviso added that the prohibition to employ skilled labour of any type did not prevent these firms employing discharged soldiers and sailors? In view of its paramount importance I again print the letter referred to:—

"*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 receipt of at least the Standard District Rate. You are requested to note that any infringement of this rule renders us liable to heavy penalties 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.*"

If it be deplorable that there is a stoppage of work in all fairness let the blame be apportioned to those who deserve it.

A REGULAR JOB.

Jack Trevelyan was one of those rolling stones who went from shop to shop never letting any one boss suck his brains for a lengthy period. He has often bragged of being in his fortieth job. Towards the close of 1914 he landed in the East Turnery at the Arsenal. Behind him was an old chap named Tom Taylor, well on to his threescore years and ten. Rumour has it that old Tom walks in his sleep, and at 4 o'clock one morning the police found him ringing the bell at the main gates. He had worked there so many years that his footsteps unconsciously turned towards his WORK even when asleep.

"I suppose you have been here a long time, Tom, haven't you?" said Jack one day.

"Aye, lad," replied Tom, "come next September I've been here forty-three years."

"Have you!" said Jack, "I guess you are beginning to think you have got a regular job, aren't you?"

LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Under the auspices of the above, Comrade Newbold will deliver four lectures on the 'Development of Industry in London,' at Chandos Hall. The first will be on Thursday, August 8th (at which W. F. Watson will preside), and on the three following Thursdays. Cedar Paul will chair the second lecture. Full details later. The tickets will be sixpence each or one shilling and sixpence for the series of four, obtainable at 7, Featherstone Buildings. The Committee is preparing a winter educational and propaganda programme of which more anon.. Look out for a big social function in the autumn.—T. KNIGHT, *Hon. Secretary.*

ANOTHER OFFICIAL GONE.

The number of Trade Union officials, who are now State employes, is steadily increasing, and we shall certainly have to consider the advisability of starting a "black-book." There is one thing certain, we must not permit them to re-enter the Labour movement when this ghastly crime is over. What strikes one most forcibly is the similarity of progress of these men. They invariably pose as advanced thinkers and when a vacancy for some office occurs, issue revolutionary election addresses upon which they secure election. For a time they maintain their revolutionary fervour and carry out their duties to the satisfaction of those who "burned the midnight oil" propagating their candidature. After a while, however, a change overcomes them; close association with the bosses and State officials begins to take effect. The boss or the State offers them jobs. At first the official resists the temptation, but the very fact of being offered a "position" has a psychological effect, he becomes discontented with his official job, his efficiency thereby becomes decreased, and his supporters commence to criticise him. This seems to annoy our aspiring official, and he commences to create the atmosphere which eventually causes him to resign his trade union job. He begins to complain volubly either about the insufficient salary, too much work and insufficient assistance, or that the workers are hopeless.

We are often being told that the very slow progress of the movement is due to the apathy of the rank and file. That the mass of the rank and file are apathetic cannot be disputed, but those who desert the ranks of labour, I am thoroughly convinced, are not only largely responsible for this apathy; but they are mainly responsible for the slow progress of the movement. The remedy, my comrades, is place not your faith in officials, leaders, politicians, press, or pulpit. Get on with the development of the Workers' Committees, and learn to rely more upon yourselves.

KARL MARX AND ALSACE-LORRAINE.

Le Populaire publishes a letter written by Karl Marx to Engels in 1870:—

"In *The Daily News*, reproduced by *The Pall Mall* to-day, you will see that an 'eminent writer' is about to publish a pamphlet in English, in favour of the annexation of Alsace Lorraine by Germany! The eminent writer, who has put the notice about himself in *The Daily News*, is none other than the ex-student Blind. This miserable rascal may cause misfortunes with his intrigues in the English press. Since you have the entry to *The Pall Mall* you should bring forward this dirty trick as soon as it is published and execute this individual. KARL MARX."

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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

UNDERTAKING TO BE SIGNED BY EXCEPTIONALLY EMPLOYED MEN BEFORE BEING PERMITTED TO TAKE UP EXCEPTIONAL EMPLOYMENT.

I ..... being a man employed by the Committee on Employment of Conscientious Objectors as a condition of being free from military control and military duties, and having been authorised by the Committee to take up Exceptional Employment under ..... at ..... hereby undertake, as a condition of being allowed to take up and remain in such exceptional employment:—

1. That I will take up such employment within 14 days of signing this undertaking.
2. That I will be of good conduct in such employment and otherwise, and will work in such employment to the best of my ability.
3. That on receipt of a direction to that effect I will obtain from my employer and forward to the Committee a report stating whether I remain in his employment and whether my industry and conduct have been satisfactory.
4. That in the event of my employer refusing to report or making an adverse report I will furnish the Committee with any information they may require to enable them to decide whether I shall be authorised to remain in Exceptional Employment, and will hold myself at the disposal of the Committee.
5. That if at any time my employment ceases, for any reason whatsoever, I will immediately on receipt of notice that the employment is about to cease or immediately on the cessation of such employment should it cease without previous notice, report the fact to the Committee and hold myself at their disposal.
6. That I will refrain from propaganda of any kind whatsoever during the duration of the war.

I understand that these are the conditions on which I am permitted to take up and remain in Exceptional Employment and that if and when I cease to carry out any of the foregoing conditions I shall be liable to be recalled to the Army, or, at the discretion of the Committee, to be directed to return to employment under them, and that as from the date of such direction I shall immediately become subject to the rules and conditions applicable to the men ordinarily employed under the Committee.

Signed.....
Date.....191..

I certify the above is a correct copy of the mentioned rules and conditions. E. H. J.
July, 1918.

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