THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

Masses of people to-day believe in Socialism as a theory; but few really possess a living belief in its coming. And yet in Russia it exists; its structure is daily being perfected, and there are in this country now actually visitors from Russia who have lived "Under Socialism"—under Socialism in its early, imperfect stages, of course, but undeniably under Socialism. Socialism is, therefore, no longer a dream but a reality, a reality extending over a territory of 8,669,436 square miles—why should it not also be established in this little island of but 89,088 square miles?

The foundation of the Socialist State, as of all others, is the workaday life of the people, and the Socialist Government of Russia, with frank recognition of this principle, is built up from the workshop and from the village community in agricultural districts.

The *Local Soviet*, or Council, is composed of representatives of the industries and of the villages, one to every 500 persons. At one time the Peasants' and Workers' Councils were separate. They are now amalgamated. Only factory-workers and peasants who do not hire other men and women to work for them can be electors. Provision is made for recording the votes of unemployed workers, but those who are of the class which refuses to work and endeavours to live in idleness on the labour of others cannot vote.

The elected representatives are delegates, who receive their instructions and report to their constituents after each meeting of the Local Soviet, which sits twice a month. The representatives are not paid for their services as such, but receive a grant to the value of what they would have earned if at work during each actual attendance at the Soviet. The pay is in no case at the rate of more than from 500 to 700 roubles a month. Each local Soviet elects an Executive Committee and a President, who transact business between the sittings of the Soviet. The President and Committee are paid, like the other Soviet members, for the time they are actually working for the Soviet. There is a paid staff of clerks in the service of the President and Committee.

The local Soviets elect representatives to the national Soviet; one representative being allotted to every 25,000 workers; thus a local Soviet elected by 25,000 people is entitled to one representative on the National Soviet. The National Soviet meets every three months. It elects an Executive of about three hundred and Ministers for the various departments of State. The members of the National Soviet are paid on the same basis as are the members of the local Soviets

THE STANDARD WAGE.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that money and wages still obtain in the Russian Socialist Republic. Money is a useful means of exchange, argue the Russians, for a man may have a sack of corn and be needing a pair of boots: must he then go seeking someone who wants corn and has also boots to sell, instead of selling to any one who wants corn? Nevertheless, since, owing to the depreciation of money as a result of warfare, and the difficulties of transport, and other inconveniences arising from the war and the old regime, trainloads of goods which the peasants need are often sent to the agricultural districts, where clothes, machinery, and so on, are exchanged for crops. So, too, in dealing with foreign nations, Russia has frequently exchanged commodity for commodity. This, however, is not, we are informed, a principle, but a method adopted where it is most convenient.

So, too, payment by wages, because of its convenience, still persists, but the subsistence level of the people has been largely equalised. The standard wage varies from 500* to 700 roubles a month, and those who do the hardest manual work get the highest wage. Thus an editor gets 500 roubles a month: a compositor 700. Lenin, the Prime Minister, gets 500 roubles a month and lodgings provided by the Government. If any member of the community is engaged in two occupations, he or she can still only draw one wage and must be a voluntary worker in the second employment. In order to silence counter-revolutionary slanders, it has been decreed that if any one of the Bolshevik leaders is found to be drawing more than one wage he shall be shot. Not one of the Bolshevik leaders has ever attempted to draw more money than one salary; this decree is merely a guarantee of good faith. The only people who receive more than the standard wage are the non-Socialist technical experts of the middle and upper classes. They are able to insist on a higher wage, because only a small minority of those whose previous economic

* 500 roubles at pre-war rates were £53 2*s.* 6*d.*; 700 roubles, £74 7*s.* 6*d.* The value of Russian money has greatly depreciated.

Continued on next page.

ALL ABOUT THE "EMBARGO." By W. F. Watson

THE EMBARGO STRIKE.

The embargo strike is in suspense having achieved the suspension of the embargo and a promise that an inquiry shall be held, and that there shall be no victimisation either by calling up notices or otherwise. If the Committee of Inquiry does not dispose of the embargo the workers will again, doubtless, manifest their discontent. For the moment things are as they were and the workers have therefore scored. The Committee will consist of nominees from the Employers Advisory Committee and the Trade Union Advisory Committee. The rank and file outside hold the industrial power.

Deplorable as a national stoppage may be at the present time the whole responsibility rests with the Government. Times out of number the workers have in no uncertain language declared their intention of resisting Industrial Conscription, and for the Minister of Munitions to say it is merely a question of rationing skilled labour is mere camouflage, when we remember that no embargo is placed upon skilled discharged soliders and sailors. We are pleased to note that for the purposes of this struggle sectional organisations do not exist, all sections are working splendidly together. All Union District Committees for London and its environs have formed a joint committee to co-ordinate activities. Our nine years' work in the Amalgamation Movement is bearing fruit, and sectional Unionism is at its last gasp. Maintain this unity, Comrades, and we are bound to win!

SHOP STEWARDS AND WORKERS COMMITTEE COVENTRY.

The Coventry strike is suspended. There is to a large extent what one might call a split in regard *to the opportune time of striking*, but as regards the strike itself, Coventry, as far as the skilled Unions are concerned, is unanimous; the only point of difference is as to whether the A. S. E. and the A. T. S. were justified in deciding on action at once. This was done after receiving reports from the scouts sent out by the A. S. E. that our comrades throughout the country were ready to give unqualified support.

L. Jackson,
Secretary C.S.S. and W.C.

MORE NOTES FOR WORKMEN.

1. What does the embargo scheme do?

It deprives the worker of freedom to choose the employer and, taken in conjunction with the scheme of compulsory War Munition Volunteers, is nothing more nor less than Industrial Conscription in a most aggravated form.

2. Is the Government sincere when it tells us it is desirous of rationing skilled Labour?

If it is, why does it not also ration skilled discharged soldiers and sailors?

3. Has the Government the ability to ration skilled Labour efficiently?

Emphatically NO. Read the letter about the Leeds and London men.

4. Why is the scheme at present limited to skilled workers?

We think because the skilled workers by their organisation have in many instances secured favourable conditions and the employers view with alarm their growing power.

5. Is there a shortage of skilled men?

May be; then why scoop them up for the Army.

6. Is the embargo intended to force men into the Army?

What else *is* it for?

7. Why does the embargo letter speak of men in receipt of District Rate?

Echo answers WHY? Perhaps it is because the bosses are fed up with paying the District Rate.

8. Is the embargo scheme deliberately calculated to undermine the power of organised Labour?

? ?

9. Why are young skilled workers being called up for military service?

Because there is an enormous unsatisfied demand for skilled labour on war work in the factories. (This is Governmentalism.)

10. How can the workers best organise to counteract these attempts to enforce industrial conscription?

? ?

11. Will the workers be intimidated by the threat to cancel exemptions?

Certainly not. The worker realises that the only reason he is not in the Army is because he is essential to the production of munitions.

12. Is it not a wicked insult to the "boys in the trenches" to threaten to put the strikers in the Army?

Yes. If the action of the strikers is criminal—and the capitalist press says it is—then it is an insult to the soldiers already in the Army, to conscript men who are criminals. Jail is the place for criminals, not the army.

13. What about the discharged soldiers and sailors?

They are all right. It is only a few disgruntled ones led by renegades like Stubbs who are incited to fight against men who are ungrudingly fighting their battles.

Ministry of Reason.
July, 1918.

RATIONING THE SKILLED.

I have received the following letter from a comrade, and the statement contained therein has been corroborated by several other members of the Toolmakers whe were present at the meeting referred to:—

Dear Comrade,—I think this is the best joke of the season and therefore deserving of space in The Dreadnought. At a Mass Meeting of the Toolmakers Society on Sunday, July 21st, at Euston Theatre, it was given out that two members of the Society were War munitions volunteers, one a native of Leeds, the other of London. The Leeds man was transferred to London and the London man to Leeds. But the best of it is that the Leeds man was in the audience, and he states that by a remarkable coincidence he met the London man going to Leeds on St. Pancras Station; you can imagine their feelings. The Leeds man went to the Ministry of Munitions for an explanation and all the satisfaction he could get was that the men from the North were used to heavy work, and the men from the South were used to lathe work. Moral, this is the way they "ration" out the skilled men.—Yours fraternally

T. C. Hollowell.

AN ECHO OF THE AEROPLANE STRIKE.

The result of the inquiry into the conduct of Comrade Rock is that he has been declared guilty of misconduct and his dismissal confirmed. I have been privileged to examine the evidence laid before the inquiry and the comments of Sir Alfred Hopkinson who conducted the inquiry have been faithfully reported to us. Rock was complimented upon the manner in which he gave his evidence. It was indisputably proved at the inquiry that Rock had been most temperate in the discharge of his duties as Chairman of the Shop Committee. As a matter of fact both Muir and Gillingham admitted they had personally thanked Rock for using his influence to prevent a hostile demonstration against those estimable gentlemen. Knowing all this we are, needless to say, astounded at this travesty of justice and we would say to the Minister of Munitions that he has accentuated the discontent. Another factor making for further trouble is that the Ministry has only taken over *part* of the firm of Waring & Gillows, whereas it was distinctly understood that the whole firm should become a national factory. The strike committee has the matter in hand and methinks more may be heard of this interesting case.

LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

As the first Sunday in August is Bank Holiday and as the Building Workers' Industrial Union wanted Chandos Hall for their Annual Conference, it has been decided to hold the usual monthly meeting of the Committee on August 11th at Chandos Hall, 11 a.m. Arrangements are now complete for the Newbold Lectures and we urge all London comrades to help make them a success. The Lectures will be on 'Industrial Development in the London Area,' the first one being on August 8th, entitled 'When London was an Industrial Stronghold,' Chairman: W. F. Watson. August 15th, 'The Decline of London Industries,' Chairman: Cedar Paul. August 22nd, 'The Revival in Thames Valley Engineering,' Chairman: H. Joy. August 29th, 'How shall London Workers Organise?' Chairman: Miriam Price. Admission 6*d.* each lecture, or 1*s.* 6*d.* the series of four. Ticket to be had at 8 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.—T. F. Knight, *Hon. Sec.*

NORTH LONDON AREA.

Efforts are being made to form a Workers' Committee for North London, from Enfield to King's Cross. Will all Shop Secretaries and other active workers willing to assist please send names and addresses to T. F. Knight, 7 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.?

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING

(Continued from front page.)

position was so fortunate as to enable them to obtain technical training, have accepted the principles of Socialism, and are prepared to accept the standard wage. The Socialist expert willingly gives his services for 500 roubles a month; he would scorn to take more than his share. The non-Socialist expert demands and secures several thousands of roubles a month. This inequality is but a feature of the passing moment; it will disappear as men and women become accustomed to living under Socialism, and as the possibility of acquiring technical knowledge becomes general. The intelligent experts, who were hitherto great landed proprietors, now take service with the peasants' co-operative organisations; the intelligent experts who were industrial employers engage themselves in the socialised industries; those privileged members of the old regime who cannot understand the new idealism continue to fight against the Revolution, even taking their money from the banks to hoard it secretly in their homes.

SOCIALISATION OF LAND AND INDUSTRY.

All forms of wealth are swiftly becoming socialised. Shares in the industries which have become the property of the community are, of course, valueless. But persons needing money and possessed of shares can exchange them with the Government for their money equivalent, up to the value of 10,000 roubles; the Government will not take more than 10,000 roubles' worth of shares from any one. Some speculators who still hope for the overthrow of Socialism, are buying up quantities of shares at a low rate, in the hope that their old value may some day return. Such people are like the man with a muck rake, grovelling in the rubbish heap and refusing to see the wondrous creation of human comradeship which is arising.

THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

Wonder may reasonably be expressed that, since everything is being Socialised, the local Soviets should only find it necessary to meet fortnightly, and the National Soviet should not remain, as our Parliament is, in almost perpetual session. "To sit all the time would mean to do too much talking," say the Russians; but the most important point to emphasise is that the organisation of affairs is not centralised and that each workshop manages itself.

Few of the factories have as yet been declared the property of the nation. But in each one there is the elected committee of workers, without the ratification of which no order can be given by the manager or employer. If a worker is dismissed from the factory, his or her wages are paid in full for one and a half months, and the employer must also pay the equivalent of the employee's wages for one and a half months to the Government unemployment bureau.

One asks: "If the industry is not yet Socialised what becomes of the surplus profit which is made after the workers have received the standard wage and the employer his salary as technical expert?" the reply is, "It goes to the factory for the time being; what will happen later is not decided." One gathers that surplus profits scarcely exist and that the privately owned factory is destined to continue but a little while.

It must be remembered that Socialism is in the making and new forms of organization are constantly being thought out, in industry as in every feature of society. The Moscow *Isvestia*, the official organ of the Moscow Soviet, has a collective organisation of all the workers on the paper: the editors, office boys, cooks, and so on. No one can be dismissed without the consent of the whole organisation. A newcomer is on trial for fifteen days, after which the collective decision of the staff can object to his remaining, either because he is not temperamentally suited to the work and environment, or for other reasons.

Is industry more costly and less efficient than under the old system? It appears not. This Moscow *Isvestia*, a daily newspaper as big as *The Daily Telegraph*, but with fewer advertisements, more newsmatter, has 3 editors, 1 business manager, 2 or 3 sub-editors, 1 secretary, 2 assistant secretaries, 5 typists, and 2 shorthand writers. This staff also produces a literary review, *The Creation*.

To assist in the technical management of industry a State Council of Production has been established and there is a district council in each province. These councils are formed of workers in the factories and representatives of trade union and professional organisations. The trade unions no longer concern themselves with ameliorating the conditions of the workers; that the workers are constantly doing for themselves in the workshop, as daily opportunity occurs or need arises. The trade unions now concentrate on improving the technique of production and distribution and in attending to the educational requirements of their members. Our workshop editor is fond of saying that in this country the workshop committees will gradually supersede the trade union and that the latter will become mere Friendly Societies. In Russia they have passed beyond that stage. The workshop committees control the industry, and friendly societies to maintain the workers, when they are ill or unemployed, or on strike are no longer needed.

The Soviets have everywhere dispossessed the great proprietors of land, agricultural machinery and stocks; and these have now become the property of the community. The small proprietors still remain in possession, but they too will in time be brought into the Socialist scheme.

REAL WAGES.—FOOD.

There is a standard wage; but, it may be asked, whether the Russian people live, on the whole, better or worse than before the war. The comparison is not a fair one, for there is a great national scarcity of food in Russia, and when there is not enough food to go round, no juggling with wage systems can disguise the fact. The scarcity is accentuated by the fact that the Germans in the Ukraine and the counter-revolutionaries elsewhere are interfering with transport from the districts where food is produced. But the Workers' Republic has secured greatly improved distribution, and the standard wage has abolished distinctions in the dietry; people of all social grades are eating, both in quantity and quality, similar food. It is estimated that the peasants have less to eat than before the war; and that though the labourers and factory workers have also less to eat they eat food of much better quality and are therefore better nourished than in pre-war days. As a rule, the workers are spending the whole of their wage, as the people who used to have larger incomes are doing: they are saving nothing; for under Socialism the individual is assured of all that the community can afford to give to each of its members.

Bread, butter, sugar, and clothes are rationed; not meat, milk, or other foods. Only ¼ lb. of butter a month is allowed to each person, and oil and other fats are difficult to obtain. Milk is scarce and costly, a ½ litre (less than a pint), costs 1 rouble 30 copecks (about 2*s.* 8*d.*)

"Do you get enough to eat?" we asked a friend newly arrived from Russia, an educated man and an expert, glad to give his services to Socialism for 500 roubles a month. "We are always a little hungry," he told us. One day recently he was only able to get dried apricots to eat; once during four of five days he only had one small piece of bread, but plenty of potatoes. Evidently his hardships had not affected him at all painfully. He referred to them with a gay, whimsical humour.

In Russia, as in other Continental countries, the townspeople live in great block dwellings which often house two hundred people. In accordance with the cooperative spirit which now prevails, and under the stress of scarcity, the inmates of each house begin to draw together as a conscious community, electing their house committee to manage the buying of food and clothes, and employing collectors and distributors of commodities. Most of these house committees form strong Socialist bulwarks; but some are fortresses of counter-revolution. Individual cooking is carried on in the home as before, but communal kitchens are springing up also. In Petrograd the members of the Cooks' Trade Union have organised two restaurants, at one of which meals may be obtained *à la carte*.

CO-OPERATION.

Co-operation has long been stronger in Russia than anywhere and it has been the practice of co-operators not to draw their dividends, but to retain them for the collective creation of libraries, children's gardens, and other enterprises resolved upon by the votes of the members. One of our Russian friends, when an exile in Siberia, assisted in starting there a library which shortly acquired 4,000 volumes. The co-operative societies of the old days were partly organised by those with the old ideals of capitalism. These are being superseded by the workers' Socialist co-operative societies. The Soviet Government, seeing the value of co-operation, desires to make it obligatory on all housekeepers to be co-operators, and the co-operative societies are becoming part of the general community organisation in conjunction with the Soviets.

HOUSING.

Housing, long inadequate, is commandeered and rationed, as food is, on the basis of one room per individual. Though commandeered the houses have not as yet actually become the property of the community. House property is taxed over 90 per cent. Its owners are frequently glad to part with it to the Government. Each child counts as an individual, and is entitled to a room. An individual living alone has one room; a family of ten has ten rooms. In Moscow, where it is very difficult to obtain a lodging, there is a billeting committee for apportioning the lodgings. The result is disagreeable, our friends tell us, but the system is necessary, under existing circumstances to preserve numbers of people from unfairly excessive suffering.

Fuel is very scarce, and in the great cold of the coming winter, it will be necessary to make the population of the houses more dense, in order that the supply of fuel may go round. Our friends spoke ruefully; this was obviously a sore point with them. But the hardship is caused by the gross overcrowding of the old regime and the difficulty of building in war-time, so they agree to submit.

EDUCATION.

The Revolution has brought with it a great fervour amongst the workers for the educational opportunities of which they have been so long deprived. They demand that the Soviets shall organise schools and universities. The Moscow *Isvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet, at the request of the workers, publishes twice a week a literary supplement, and also a weekly literary review called *The Creation*. *The Creation* has three editors: Serafimovitch, a novelist; Fritsche, a Professor of Literature; and Mestcheriakoff, an engineer. The ideal of *The Creation* is to develop the art of the people. Therefore, it chiefly contains poems, articles, stories sent in by the peasants and factory workers. These often reach a high standard. Our friends tell us that the workers write very little of love; mainly of social conditions and the Revolution. Has life been too hard to leave room for affection? Or is it that the great enthusiasm for the common good engendered by the Revolution has, for the time being, swept all personal interests into the background?

FINANCE.

And what about money? In the Czar's time, and in Kerensky's time, the Government printed paper money at will: its notes were not even numbered. The Bolsheviki have hitherto used the money of past regimes, but the Soviet paper money is now being prepared. It is said that it will be the best paper money in the world and impossible to falsify, as it will contain little faults made in the photographic negative which cannot be imitated.

There is a Finance Committee of the Soviet charged with the duty of preparing the budget. Levies on wealth are made when necessary. These take the form of compulsory contributions, not loans, from the well-to-do.

FREEDOM.

"What is the thing which most impresses you in your daily life under Socialism?" we asked one of our friends.

He smiled: "It's freedom!"

"But is there not a dictatorship?"

He replied: "Every government is in some degree a dictatorship, however mild. During war the dictatorship becomes everywhere more rigorous. Here too?"

We were constrained to answer: "Yes, here too."

"When the counter-revolution has been vanquished the Revolutionary dictatorship will relax. But in Russia the bourgeoisie, the counter-revolutionaries, have more freedom than the ordinary workers have here. The Russian bourgeoisie have many daily newspapers; in this country you have not one Labour daily newspaper. The bourgeois papers may not publish advertisements, but *The Pravda*, the organ of the Bolshevik party, may not either: advertisements are a State monopoly and may only appear in the Soviet organs. The Russian bourgeois newspapers attack the Soviet Government as no paper here attacks your Government. The bourgeois counter-revolutionaries constantly hold public meetings; they have complete freedom except to bear arms, and the inoffensive bourgeois may carry arms; it is only the counter-revolutionary who is not allowed to though he usually does!"

"Does every one bear arms?"

"Many people bear arms when there is civil war, and a great scarcity of food, and when masses of soldiers have returned from the front bringing their arms with them.

"We Socialists do not like to be forced to take harsh measures. We do not like the dictatorship. We were much distressed by the assassination in hospital of the two counter-revolutionaries; but one cannot always prevent such things when the populace is excited, and we know that as the Czecho Slovaks approach and if there is intervention by outside Powers, there will be assassinations, greatly as we shall deplore them."

The Allies are too far away to act effectively in Russia and the Soviet Government is too generally representative of the desires of the people for it to be overthrown. The Bolshevik Party is the only strong party. The Menshevik Socialists and the capitalists are very weak. The moderate Socialists have no programme except the substitution of the Constituent Assembly for the Soviet. But if the Constituent Assembly had not been abolished by the Bolsheviki; if the Mensheviki had then obtained power, the Menshevik reign would have been very short, for the mass of the people are Bolshevik. In the encounters which take place between the counter-revolutionaries and the Soviet troops, the former are usually beaten. No faith should be placed in capitalist press reports concerning Russia. Come what may, our friends believe that nothing can overthrow Socialism in Russia. They face the future with confidence.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION

By Eden & Cedar Paul.

III.—THE MONTESSORI SYSTEM.

But it is not merely a question of taking our children by the hand and leading them towards the socialist future. The benefit will be mutual. The essential thought of Dr. Westwood's parable, quoted in the first of these essays, and the essential thought of each one, is that our children, rightly led, will soon become the leaders, the pioneers, in the march towards the promised land. May we not say that while the guiding thought of what has been called education in the past was to fit children into the moulds shaped for them by the stereotyped and class-ridden societies of the past—to create a slave morality among the children of the masses and a master morality (which is but the obverse of slave morality) among the children of the dominant class—the guiding thought of the new education is to provide for the plastic mind of childhood an environment wherein can flower individual development which shall ensure for the young their rightful place in the fashioning of a new world? In the class State there are obvious limitations to the application of these ideas, and not until socialism has been realised can we expect them to be applied to any notable extent in State-provided schools. During the age of transition, socialist education must be mainly of an experimental character, and the schools in which it is to be carried on must be voluntary schools. Suggestions as to the economic basis of a movement for socialist education may be deferred to a later stage of the present study. For the moment we have to consider general educational principles, and the purport of the present section is to examine the question of the education of very young children, from the ages, say, of 3 to 7.

Now many persons arbitrarily contend that for very young children, if not for children of all ages, "the best place is the home." We differ very strongly, and this not merely because the proletarian home to-day offers a very undesirable medium. Improve the home as much as you please, and still the average home will not be the most suitable place in which to leave a child for the greater part of its waking hours. Agreed that the school, certainly for very young children, and probably for older children, should be a "home school"; agreed that it should combine with the best educational facilities the qualities that characterise the good home, and that it should be free from all taint of "institutionalism." But from the child's point of view one of the great advantages of the self-contained homes of old times was that families were large, and that in the family circle the child had the benefit of continued association with a considerable but not excessive number of other children. Yet the children were ill-assorted in point of age, for children develop best in the company of those of much the same age as themselves, and in a large family the ages necessarily ranged from early infancy to the verge of manhood or womanhood. Moreover, large families are happily becoming rare. The free-woman of the future will not as a rule consent to bear more than a small number of children; she will as a rule limit her child-bearing and child-rearing activities to a definite and fairly brief period of her wedded life, and will not be content, like the wives of old, during twenty or thirty years "to suckle fools and chronicle small beer."

But if, through birth control, the mother is set free for other social activities, and notably for self-culture, may she not best devote her expanding faculties to the education of her own limited family, at least during the earlier years of childhood? We do not think so. We contend that during these years, no less than during the later years of childhood, say from 7 to 16 or 18, and hardly less during adolescence, the unfolding of the human mind should be presided over by specialists. And these will be specialists of varied training and temperament. It is not as a rule the same persons who are equally fitted to act as educators in the case of very young children, in the case of children of ordinary school age, and in the case of adolescents. And if, in the case of those we are now considering, a mother is one of those whose aptitudes specially fit her to supervise the education of very young children, she can far more usefully and far more interestingly to herself combine the work of educating her own children with the education of the children of other women who do not possess these peculiar gifts. She can, for instance, be one of the teachers in a Montessori school.

"Democracy and solidarity, freedom and equality," writes Emmy Freundlich of Vienna in a recent article in *Gleichheit*, "must be the fundamentals of socialist education. In contradistinction to capitalist education, which has ever been and remains education in obedience, education in serviceableness to authority, it must be our primary educational aim as socialists to create a realm of freedom and equality for children no less than for adults." Let us quote another notable utterance on education, by Augustin and Henriette Hamon, published in *The Socialist Review* for November-December, 1917: "The aim of education is to teach the child to control himself, to be his own master. For the realisation of this end the most important thing of all is to allow the child's activity to manifest itself freely, without any other hindrances than those applied by the nature of things.... Personal experience is the supreme element in education. The child continually attempts to imitate whatever it sees done, while trying to realise for itself the means of satisfying its needs. It is therefore necessary to allow the child to act freely. Let it exert itself quite independently.... Never punish, and never reward.... Treat a child, even a little child, as you would treat an adult." Now none of these educationists mention the Montessori system, which is of recent growth, and which, though widely known in Great Britain, Switzerland, and the United States, as well as in the country of its origin, has as yet had but little vogue in Germany and in France. The Montessori school provides an environment in which all the above-mentioned educational principles are realised, it provides for young children and society of the new type, a socialist and surely libertarian society; this to our mind constitutes its supreme merit, and upon this perhaps mainly depends the extraordinary effect which Montessori training has upon the morale of young children. "Among the somewhat heterogeneous detail of the Montessori system," writes William Boyd, lecturer on education in the University of Glasgow, in his admirable volume 'From Locke to Montessori: a Critical Account of the Montessori Point of View' (Harrap, London, 1917, 3*s.* 6*d.* net), "two ideas stand out as more fundamental than the rest. The first is the need for freedom and spontaneity on the part of the developing child. The second is the importance of the training of the muscles and the senses in the first stages of education. By these the system stands or falls."

It is too early, in the case of a method which even in Italy, the land of its birth, has been in full operation for barely ten years, to attempt a judgment on its enduring possibilities. We cannot yet say whether a young child receiving Montessori training is, in average cases, definitely given a better start in life, and definitely better fitted to become a socialist citizen, than a child without such training. A study of principles suggests that this must be so; acquaintance with Montessori trained children reinforces the preconception; but the experience of life must be the supreme test—and life to-day in an unsocialist community will, in the still pre-eminently plastic minds of children after 7, tend to efface the impressions produced by Montessori training. How these impressions may best be reinforced during the later years of childhood will be considered in the next section. Meanwhile let us supplement the very fragmentary references made to the Montessori system by a word on Montessori literature. All essential practical details of the system will be found in 'Dr. Montessori's Own Handbook' (Heinemann, 3*s.* 6*d.* net). The same publisher has issued the various English versions of the more detailed manuals, 'The Montessori Method,' 'The Advanced Montessori Method,' &c. The author's 'Pedagogical Anthropology' will be of great interest to anthropologists and professional educationists—but we agree with Dr. Boyd's contention that this learned work has not much bearing on the system. A number of manuals by other Montessorians, Americans for the most part, will be found in any good educational library. For the general history and philosophy of the system no better guide could be found than 'From Locke to Montessori.'

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

July 22nd.—On the subject of the establishment of a Ministry of Health Mr. Fisher said that he approved of the agitation for administration "to reduce the infant mortality, which is so prejudicial to the future of this country." Governments seem only to be able to think from the point of view of man-power!

TRADE BOARDS BILL.

When the Trade Boards Bill was being finally debated, Lord Cavendish Bentinck (U.) secured an amendment which entitles a worker to overtime pay for every day that overtime is worked. The Bill was passed.

IRELAND.

July 23rd.—Mr. King (L.) drew attention to the prohibition of the annual aeridhacht at Glenbeigh, co. Kerry. Some visitors who had arrived went to picnic on the seashore and sang well-known Gaelic songs; but the police brought fifty soldiers to disperse the party, some were even struck with rifles. Mr. Macpherson alleged that the people in question were trying to hold a meeting and were therefore dispersed! Yet the Orangemen were not interfered with on their annual festival!!!

THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Bonar Law stated that there were now ninety-one Ministers in the Government. Mr. Swift MacNeill said that sixty-seven of these are members of the House of Commons. Now we can form an idea of why the Commons is so powerless.

* * *

Mr. Dillon (I. N.) gave notice of the Irish motion which is to be moved on July 29th pointing out the inconsistency between the attitude of the British Government towards Ireland and its war aims!

SOLICITORS BILL.

The Solicitors (Articled Clerks) Bill was passed without amendment. It provides that an articled clerk may reckon as time served under his articles any time served in the forces, or detained as a prisoner, or internment; it also provides that articled clerks may be exempted from their intermediate examinations.

RUSSIA.

July 24th.—Mr. King (L.) asked whether M. Miliukoff, the ex-Foreign Minister of Russia, was visiting Berlin as "an emissary of, or traitor to, the Allied cause?" Mr. Balfour was apparently in ignorance of the whole matter and could give no information.

MURMAN EXPEDITION.

The memorandum of agreement as to the Allies' action in Murmansk which appeared in the daily press is apparently unknown to the Foreign Office. When Mr. King (L.) asked as to its authenticity, Mr. Balfour spoke vaguely of having no information owing to the great difficulties of telegraphic communication!

EQUAL PAY.

Mr. Pike Pease stated that the normal pay of temporary male postal clerks in the Accountant General's Department is 42*s.* a week, plus 13*s.* war bonus; the women are paid 21*s.* to 35*s.*, plus 9*s.* war bonus.

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

The new scale of allowances makes no provision for wives, or children over 14. We presume these are expected to work for sufficient money to cover the increased cost of living!

STATUTORY UNDERTAKINGS BILL.

The Committee stage of the Statutory Undertakings (Temporary Increase of Charges) Bill was taken on July 22nd and 24th. Much controversy was caused by the action of the Government in lumping water and electricity, gas and tramways together in one Bill. Mr. J. Burns (L.) denounced strongly the purpose of the Bill as a "vicious extension of Government liability for private property, for speculators, for company concerns which are using the war as an opportunity of getting privileges and preferential consideration which no other interest, because it is small and unorganised and non-statutory, could hope to get." All these measures only lay more stress on the necessity for nationalising all commodities and thus eliminating private interests. The Bill was passed regardless of protests.

NAVAL PRIZE BILL.

On July 23rd and 24th the Naval Prize Bill was taken through all its stages and passed. The Bill provides that the proceeds of all ships sunk or captured be pooled for the benefit of all the men and officers of the Fleet engaged in the present war. It sounds like legalising piracy!

CRIMINAL LAW.

On a division it was decided that six members of the House of Commons join with the proposed Committee of the Lords to consider the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Sexual Offences Bill. We must repeat with Mr. John Burns (L.): "Beware the women"!!!

ULSTER ARMS.

July 25th.—Irish members bombarded Mr. Shortt with queries as to the number of rifles received from Ulster as a result of the prohibition to retain arms or ammunition. Mr. Shortt could make no statement.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

By the Hague Agreement it has been arranged that 120,000 prisoners will be exchanged or repatriated. The agreement is to terminate on August 1st, 1919. We should certainly have thought a "clean sweep" would be more humane and less complicated!

RUSSIA.

Mr. Bonar Law thinks it will be detrimental to the public interest to discuss the Murman expedition. Really!

JURIES BILL.

The Juries Bill was considered in Committee and passed. It makes it possible for a case to be tried in the High Court in England by a judge alone without a jury; also for an inquest to be held without a jury under certain circumstances. But we are fighting for democracy, so these little licences make no material change!

PERMITS.

July 26th.—It seems that even for meetings such as the Transport Workers, where merely wages are discussed, a permit is necessary in Ireland. Trade Unionists should protest, as this bans support in English Labour troubles.

TRADING WITH THE ENEMY.

On July 23rd and 26th a Bill to put restrictions on enemy business in this country was debated. It enables the Government to wind up foreign banks, and prohibits the establishment of any such banks for a period of five years after the war. Some members resented this short space of time, and wanted it prolonged indefinitely. The points to be considered are that these measures react on the countries which pass them, whilst it is so easy to avoid the letter of the law, although fine and imprisonment are threatened. The Bill was passed. We wonder will these rash debates tend to make these islands more insular than in pre-war days!

M. O'C.

WORKERS' ACTION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

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

SATURDAY, AUGUST 3rd.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All (in the South-Eastern District).—Meet at 3 P.M. at the Clock Tower, Lewisham, and at 6.30 P.M. at Camberwell Green where 42 'buses stop. Speakers: Miss Horsfall, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker and others.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 4th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
The Square, Woolwich. 7 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

MONDAY, AUGUST 5th.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—7 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6th.
Grundy Street, Poplar (Housing Campaign).—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7th.
Armagh Road, Bow (Housing Campaign).—7 P.M., Mr. A. A. Watts.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9th.
Hague Street, Bethnel Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 10th.
Great Push in St. Pancras.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, AUGUST 5th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6th.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.

BRANCH ACTION.

Members are asked to concern themselves with ameliorations of the workers; that is doing for themselves.

Members are asked to pass the following resolutions at the Branch Meetings, Trades Council and Local Labour Parties, Trades Unions, &c., and forward them to the Prime Minister; Labour Party, 33, Eccleston Square, S.W.; Secretary of State for War; Lansdowne Labour Committee, 31, Essex Street, Strand, respectively:—

RESOLUTIONS TO BE PASSED AT MEETINGS.

WHITLEY REPORT.

This meeting places on record its conviction that the industrial councils recommended by the Whitley Report will never establish the control of industry by the workers therein, which is our aim; and that this can only be achieved by the workers' own class-conscious organizations; we therefore declare against the Whitley Report.

RUSSIA.

This meeting recognises the Russian Soviets to be the most democratic form of government yet established, and welcomes its establishment as the beginning of the International Socialist Commonwealth, for which the workers have been for so long trying.

LANSDOWNE LABOUR COMMITTEE.

This meeting emphatically repudiates the attempt of the Lansdowne Labour Committee to link the Socialist and Labour movements to the reactionary conservative Lord Lansdowne, who was the 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 to 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 scure a meeting of the Workers' International to formulate and work for the terms of a people's peace.

Branch Secretaries are asked to collect the 1s. for Headquarters' Fund from their members and forward it to Miss Smyth; unattached members are asked to send it direct to Miss Smyth, as we are much in need of funds. All membership subscriptions due should be sent at the same time.

Literature and DREADNOUGHT sellers are asked to come to the Great Push every Saturday and other meetings advertised weekly.

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. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.
The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. 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.
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QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

IRISH DEBATE.

In the Irish debate of July 29th Mr. Dillon asked how England could demand the freeing of subject nationalities in Austria, whilst Ireland lay at her own back door under the unfettered tyranny of a military Government. The Government had arrested Sinn Feiners for doing what is permitted Ulster Orangemen. The real German plot was in Ulster. What was the Government's information through their secret agents as to the visit of Baron von Kühlmann there? Dillon still believes this war to be one on which the liberties of mankind depend. (His experience of life seems to us to be incapable of teaching him.) He suggested that President Wilson be called in to settle the Irish question: he would be content to submit the fortunes of Ireland to a jury of Americans appointed by Wilson. (Some people are very ready to trust the liberties of others to a passing whim. We advise Dillon to stick firmly to the principle of the self-determination of peoples; nothing else is safe in the long run.)

Mr. Shortt, the Chief Secretary, audaciously asked whether if Lloyd George were to take up the Irish question the Nationalists would "undertake to accept whatever he brought forward," they aptly replied "Wait and see." Whereat Mr. Shortt added that the state of Ireland has "improved." Mr. Shortt appears to be living in a fool's paradise. So, it seems to us, the Government goes rushing onward towards an inevitable and most terrible conflict.

IRISH IRELAND.

The Irish, refusing to ask for permits, are proceeding with the arrangements for their national festival, the Oireachtas. What will happen? *The Daily News* reports that the Irish Educational Company is selling twice as many Gaelic books as last year. There is an unprecedented demand for elementary primers. If you want to arouse race pride, try to crush it!

ARE YOU A BOLSHEVIK?

Poor Mr. Henderson! He is already a relic of the past that has hurried on into oblivion. In a letter to *The Times* on July 26th he wrote: "You also refer to my experiences in Petrograd, and what you describe as my 'adventures with the Bolshevists.' There is room here for some clarification, but if you desire your *readers to infer that I was in collaboration in any way whatever with those who have brought about the undoing of Russia, then you entirely misrepresent my position.* Most of those with whom I conferred have either been imprisoned or murdered, or like my friend, Kerensky, have obtained the hospitality of other countries. I am willing to leave it to the judgment of history to determine finally whether the diplomacy I represent has been the failure you expect your readers to believe." (The italics are ours.)

History, Mr. Henderson, will not remember you: your name will be lost amongst the host of would-be Labour Leaders who possessed no faith in Government by the working class; for that and that essentially is Boshevism.

Mr. Brailsford, in a vivid article in *The Herald* says: "Imagine England after such a social revolution as the Bolsheviks have brought about. The villagers of Hatfield no longer cultivate an acre of allotments: they have cut up the park. In Berkeley Square the surplus population of the neighbouring slums and mews is camping in the drawing rooms. The shop stewards sit in the Board Room of Vickers' Works, and the Miners' Federation administers the South Wales coalfield. The gentlemen of the Stock Exchange do the work of the City dustmen, and ex-privates or "ranker" subalterns sit in authority in Whitehall. You may not like the incredible picture (I find it myself too violent, too merciless, too disorderly)." Exactly! Mr. Brailsford is too fastidious to enjoy the picture; he, like Mr. Henderson, is not a Bolshevik. But the people's parks and children's playgrounds have been turned into vegetable gardens at the call of "patriots," and no one minds at all; the slum dwellers will be more comfortable in Berkeley Square, and the shop stewards, the Miners' Federation, and the privates will be obeying the desires of the majority instead of grinding down the workers in the interests of the rich. Mr. Brailsford will perhaps say that the workers in their raw ignorance will display intolerance. Could they beat this?—Naturalisation: "a loose and foolish law of which aliens take advantage" (Lord St. Davids, House of Lords, July 26th).

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

Increased allowances for soldiers', sailors' and airmen's children of 2*s.* 6*d.* a week for the first child under 14, and 2*s.* for the second will commence from next October. This will cost £14,000,000 a year.

Parents are to get a flat rate of 5*s.* a week for sons in the forces aged between 21 and 23. This by no means meets the hardship which many parents are suffering. Appeals are constantly made by widowed mothers whose only adult son—the financial mainstay of the home—is being removed, leaving her and the young brothers and sisters to semi-starvation. If the conscript has no brothers, and already another son has been killed in the war, the promise to spare the widow's only son operates. But if he has another brother who has also been conscribed, even if he is married and therefore unable to give any help to their mother, or if there is an infant brother, even a child in arms, a burden making it difficult for the mother to work, then there is no relief. This is a very serious hardship and mothers cannot go on strike! Sometimes where the parents are dead a soldier's young sister is placed in the same position, obliged to maintain a household of little children and able to claim no more than the Government's paltry allowance to parents.

DIRTIER MILK FOR POORER CHILDREN.

The Food Controller announces that as tubercular milk is being sold, especially in the towns, he will permit higher prices to be charged for clean milk. For Grade A. milk, "produced under exceptionally clean and hygienic" conditions, 4*d.* an imperial quart, or 3*d.* an imperial pint may be charged in excess of the maximum prices, *i.e.*, in London, where the maximum price is at present 7*d.* per quart, one will have to pay for clean milk 11*d.* per quart or 6½*d.* per pint! Grade B. milk, "produced under specially clean conditions," and which we may call second-rate milk, may be sold at 4*d.* an imperial gallon above the maximum price retail, or 3*d.* or 3½*d.* for wholesale, *i.e.*, 8*d.* per quart in the London shops. When the maximum price is raised shortly, these prices will of course be higher still!

The Government early in the war suspended the Clean Milk Act and the Tuberculosis Order, which enabled the inspectors, at least, to check the sale of milk from tubercular cows. Now, finding that the quality of the milk has deteriorated, the Controller seeks to protect the children of the well-to-do by offering the incentive of higher prices to the milk dealers. The children of poor parents who cannot afford the increased price are to be left to exist on dirty, diseased milk, which will tend, through this differentiation, to become poorer in quality than at present.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

THE TEACHERS' VICTORY.

"It was like the old suffrage days before the war!" so the meetings organised by the London women teachers in support of their demand for a war bonus of £1 a week were described. The teachers have secured 15*s.*, to date from April 1st.

We congratulate the women on the fight which they have won both for themselves and for the men; but we urge them to go on and get equal pay for men and women and equal pay for all adult teachers.

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS FORBIDDEN.

L'Avanti of July 21st announces that the Congress of the Italian official Socialist Party has been forbidden by the Roman authorities. As it has not been forbidden by the Government will it be held elsewhere?

THE PROTECTION CHESTNUT.

Mr. Walter Long announced at a West India Club luncheon (they settle the affairs of the world so comfortably thus) that a committee appointed by the War Cabinet had adopted a scheme of Imperial preference and the War Cabinet had approved the scheme. The Liberal newspapers disapprove, heavily serious, with the old pre-war arguments. We hope soon to see the old controversy swept away by the oncoming force of Socialism.

* * *

A C.O. prisoner on reaching the Scrubbs was surprised to find inscribed on the tin utensils in his cell these and other mottoes: "*Workers of the world unite and speed on the social revolution*"; "*Capitalism the cduse, war the effect, socialism the remedy.*"

* * *

Mr. Hodge would "rather retire from political life" if his society considered affiliation to the Labour Party of more advantage than the services he had rendered. When one is reduced to appealing to one's past services one has lost the battle of argument!

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