THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

Vol. V.—No. 21 SATURDAY, AUGUST 17th, 1918 Price Twopence.

BELFAST PRISON SCANDAL.

The following statement has reached us from Ireland :—

[COPY.]

COUNTY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN. TO WIT.

I, Charles Kenny, of 1 Ulster Terrace, North Strand, in the City of Dublin (Sanitary Contractor), do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:—

That the Statement made and signed by me, dated the 19th day of July, 1918, which is attached hereto, and upon which marked with the letter "A" I have endorsed my name previous to the making of this Declaration, is a true statement of events as they occurred, and I make this solemn Declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true and by Virtue of the Provisions of "The Statutory Declarations' Act, 1835 (5 and 6 Wm. IV., c. 62)."

(Signed) CHARLES KENNY.

Made and subscribed before me this 19th day of July, 1918, at No. 11 College Green, and I know Declarant.

(Signed) PETER SEALES,
A Commissioner to Administer Oaths for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

STATEMENT

Of Charles Kenny, of No. 1 Ulster Terrace, North Strand, Dublin, taken at the Mansion House, Dublin, on the Nineteenth day of July, 1918.

I am twenty-five years of age. I am a sanitary contractor. Having been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for drilling, I was sent to Belfast Jail during the second week of April from Mountjoy Jail, where I had spent a fortnight. There were over one hundred others in Belfast Jail serving sentences for drilling, &c. In Mountjoy and for a time in Belfast I, with other prisoners serving sentences for drilling, making speeches, and other similar charges, were allowed to wear our own clothes, meet daily in community, have our own food sent in from outside, were allowed to receive newspapers and tobacco from outside, to take the windows out of our cells to give more air, and if we did not avail ourselves of the facility of getting in our own food we got a special prison diet superior to that given to prisoners serving sentences for ordinary criminal offences; this treatment being, I believe, that agreed to be given to all prisoners serving sentences for political offences after the intervention of the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Alderman Laurence O'Neill) towards the end of the year 1917 subsequent to the death of Thomas Ashe in Mountjoy Jail.

In May the prison diet to any of the men who were not getting food from outside was very poor, and gradually became worse until in the middle of June we were being given the diet of ordinary criminals as amended and reduced by the Food Controller. The question of diet having been discussed amongst us, we authorised our leader, Commandant Joseph McDonagh, to interview the Governor and demand what we were entitled to. Subsequently Commandant McDonagh reported that he had interviewed the Governor, who had stated that he was powerless as he was acting under the directions of the Food Controller.

The conditions as to food continued, and on the 27th day of June, 1918, all the men met as usual after breakfast on that day. Some of the men occupying cells on the top landing complained that the windows of their cells had been replaced and fixed so as not to allow any air to come in through them. This action was discussed, and whilst at exercise we saw the warders fixing the windows in the cells and we were informed that the windows in all the cells were to be similarly closed. We looked upon this action as a piece of petty tyranny on the part of the authorities, the men decided not to allow the windows to be replaced, and in order to prevent it the men proceeded to break the windows as a protest and as a means of preventing the cells from becoming unbearable to live in. A few of the windows had been broken when the Governor came on the scene and said that if the breaking was stopped he would not have the windows put in. This was agreed to and nothing further happened until that night when the men had been locked up each in his own cell.

At 7.30 the Governor and warders came on the scene and proceeded to remove the men from their own cells to the basement cells, which are smaller than the ordinary cells and are for prisoners under punishment. As this was a breach of the conditions the men resisted, and proceeded to barricade the doors of the cells. Thereupon a big force of police—I think there were two hundred—were brought in from Belfast and they proceeded to break in the doors with sledge hammers and crowbars, at the same time turning a water-hose on each man in his cell. When they entered the cells the police brutally assaulted the men with batons and sticks, and having manacled the men with their hands behind their backs, they kicked and punched them when lying helpless on the floor. The police entered my cell and beat me to the ground, striking me on the head with their batons. When the men were handcuffed they were dragged down the iron stairs to the underground cells, some of them head first. I saw Mr. McKenna, the Chairman of the Kerry County Council, being dragged down the stairs head first while his hands were manacled behind his back. I saw two policemen dragging Hugh McNeill of Dublin along the ground. They were holding his feet and dragging him along on his face while his hands were handcuffed behind his back. In the month of May I had been suffering from pneumonia, necessitating my removal to the Mater Hospital, Belfast, and from that time up to the 27th June I was under the care of the prison doctor. The police came to my cell, turned the hose on me, broke open the door, entered my cell, and attacked me with their batons, striking me on the head, and handcuffed me with my hands behind my back.

The doctor and the Governor were outside my cell and were in a position to see the way in which I was treated, and when the other prisoners were being removed from the cells the doctor and Governor were standing outside their cell doors and saw the manner in which they were dealt with and in the case of any man badly wounded the doctor attended to him in his cell before he was removed to the punishment cells, amongst these being Hugh McNeill and a man named McMahon of Mullingar; the former had his fingers badly torn and the latter had his head split with a blow of a baton. Five of the men, including Brosnan, Talty, Quinn, and Quealy, all of the County Clare, had to be removed immediately to hospital in consequence of the injuries they received. The other men were left handcuffed and wounded, lying on the bare floor in their wet clothes and some of them half naked, until Friday morning. As they could not open their clothes to relieve themselves, many of the men were in a filthy condition in the morning, and as a result of this in particular I have not been able to walk properly since, my legs being frayed and scalded. When I was put in the basement cell I had not been before the Governor and was not under any order for punishment, and had not been charged with any offence against prison discipline, nor, as far as I am aware, had any of my comrades who were similarly treated.

On Friday the handcuffs were removed for a few minutes only while we were eating, but only after a refusal to eat with the handcuffs on. They were then fastened on again in front. On Friday also we were told by the Visiting Justices that on account of insubordination all our privileges were withdrawn. On Saturday morning we went to Mass, as it was a holiday, but the handcuffs were not taken off.

Subsequently some of the men smashed the handcuffs, and in consequence the police were brought in again and also a detachment of military with fixed bayonets, whereupon Commandant MacDonagh ordered us to submit to the handcuffs, which we did.

We were brought one by one before the Visiting Justices and sentenced to terms of bread and water punishment, varying from three days in some cases to twenty-eight days in others.

On Saturday we went to Confession handcuffed, *and on Sunday every one of the ninety-three men went to Communion. Except the men from the hospital, all the men going to Communion were handcuffed, some of them were even in straight jackets, and most of them, besides being handcuffed, were "muffed," the "muffs" consisting of trebly-locked straps from arm to arm so that it was impossible to move the elbows. Many of the men were unable to stand up to leave the altar rails without assistance.* The clothes of most of the men were in a filthy condition for the reasons I have already given.

On Sunday afternoon two priests—I think one of them was Father McGlenaghen of the College—came round to visit the cells. They found Flanagan, a boy of eighteen, belonging to Dublin, unconscious in his cell, and McGinley, another Dublin boy, also unconscious. They were removed to hospital. Later that day Commandant MacDonagh came round with the chief warder and ordered the men

Continued on back page.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THE RUSSIAN MYSTERY.

With the telegraphic communications interrupted between this country and Russia, all news through German or other sources must be received with suspicion. We do not know the facts about the British agent, Mr. Lockhart; he is now reported to be released; it is questionable whether he was ever imprisoned! How can the statements of the flight from Moscow of Lenin and Trotsky then be credited? Capitalist Governments must sway public opinion in favour of "intervention"; a good means of so doing is to publish unverified reports, damaging to the repute of the Bolsheviki. We must therefore await direct news from Russia.

* * *

The treatment of Mr. Lockhart is termed by *The Times* as "a gross outrage against the usages of all civilised peoples." What then does it think is the invasion of a neutral country?

* * *

A Moscow telegram to the *Weser Zeitung* says the situation produced by Japan's action is the subject of continuous deliberations under Lenin's presidency. Lenin adheres to his resolve not to go to war. It is assumed, however, that the Government will be forced by the course of events to declare war on Japan, but the population is opposed to fresh warlike complications.

AUSTRIA.

Austrian Socialists are moving in the Austro-Hungarian Parliament a motion stating that democracy will only be possible in Austria when it has been transformed into a confederation of free peoples.

PARLIAMENTARY RECESS.

The last debate of the session took place on August 8th; the next sitting of the House is to be on October 15th. If we recollect loud protests were made in previous years at the idea of even a short recess in war-time. Now an adjournment of ten weeks passes almost unnoticed. Why? Is it that people have at last realised how futile Parliamentary action has become?

WOMEN AND PARLIAMENT.

The law officers of the Crown have decided that women are not eligible to sit in Parliament. Though it is illogical to give women the vote and refuse them the right to sit, we expected this decision as it is in conformity with previous legal decisions—Chorlton *v.* Lings, Regina *v.* Harrald, Lady Sandhurst and the L.C.C., &c.—by which it was declared that women are entitled to no privileges under the British constitution unless an Act of Parliament specifically extends those rights to them. Pains and penalties are assured to women whether they are mentioned or not—it has been decided to extend them under Lord Brougham's Act and other statutes. The Government is said to be considering the extension to women of the right to sit in Parliament and the Labour Party is pressing for facilities for a Bill—rival claimants for the favour of the women voters. We take it that if the Government is prepared to let a Bill go through it will prefer to take full credit by doing the thing itself. The question is how anxious is Mr. Lloyd George to retain the services of the so-called Woman's Party and how highly are those services priced? We are looking beyond this politician's gamble to the coming of the Social Revolution.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MRS. SKEFFINGTON.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington is being subjected to a veritable martyrdom. Since the murder of her husband, an international pacifist, who would not join the Sinn Fein rebels, but merely sought to prevent looting, she has never been free of police espionage; and the authorities first sought to prevent her visit to America, then her return to Ireland. There she was takan prisoner, and after a hunger strike she was deported. Possibly fearing an outburst in Ireland the Government, we now learn, has released Mrs. Skeffington from Holloway Prison. The police, however, are to be kept informed of her movements.

STRIKE AGAINST C.O.s.

On August 1st a strike against the employment of conscientious objectors took place at Bibby's Mills, Liverpool, twenty-one days notice to strike having been given. The C.O.s regarded the strike as an attempt to deprive them of the right to live and as a dangerous precedent which might spread to all workshops where C.O.s are employed. They decided, however, to withdraw their labour during the stoppage. On August 2nd the men returned to work with the C.O.s pending a settlement. The C.O.s expect to be represented on the arbitration board. We support their demand for the right to work, but we urge them to use this opportunity to press for the right to work like free men, not at blackleg wages, but at the recognised trade union rate and not under the humiliating conditions which at present pledge them to abstain from all industrial and political activity. We urge the trade union representatives to support the C.O.s in demanding the right to work on equal terms with others; the present slave-like position of the C.O. employee is a source of weakness both to himself and his fellow-workers.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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SELF-CONDEMNED.

The people who made the war for the purpose for which they made it are still there prosecuting the same sinister purpose.

In this, the most important sentence in his speech to the Commons on August 7th, Mr. Lloyd George implicates himself and his colleagues in the Allied Governments, as well as the men who are predominant on the Councils of the Central Powers.

What are the tests by which he seeks to prove that it is not possible to make peace at this time?

THE FIRST TEST IS THE TREATY OF BREST LITOVSK, of which he says:—

"When some of the statesmen of Germany went in—I believe with good intentions—they were, I believe, prepared to negotiate a peace which according to their lights would be on fair lines. What happened? As soon as there was any indication that there was to be anything except a most humiliating and drastic peace imposed upon Russia, the German High Command swept on one side Count Hertling, Von Kühlmann, and Count Czernin, and imposed their own terms."

Mr. Lloyd George's statement that some of the statesmen of Germany (the official representatives of its Government remember) went to Brest Litovsk "with good intentions" and "prepared to negotiate a peace which according to their lights would be on fair lines," is an important one. What did Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues in the Allied Governments do to strengthen the hands of those Germans who went in "with good intentions," what did they do to aid them to make peace to ensure that it should be fair? Nothing and less than nothing! By refusing to join the Brest negotiations; by treating them as a traitorous "peace intrigue," the Allied Ministers played into the hands of those in Germany who are fighting, like themselves, for annexation and conquest. Why did Lloyd George and his colleagues refuse to join the Brest negotiations? We believe because they desire to achieve the objects enumerated in the Secret Treaties which they have concluded.

THE SECOND TEST IS THE PEACE IMPOSED BY GERMANY UPON ROUMANIA. Compare that with the negotiations with the Allied Governments which preceded the entry of Roumania into the war. Is there ought to choose from the moral standpoint? We think not.

THE THIRD TEST IS THE FALL OF KÜHLMANN. Says Lloyd George:—

"What happened after Baron von Kühlmann's speech in the Reichstag. He said things which I should have thought would have been perfectly obvious to any one who had witnessed the course of the war from the point of view of the Germans. In a few days he was swept away."

Yes, he was swept away. Was it because he had made a bid for peace which was unsuccessful and which was scorned and repudiated by Mr. Lloyd George and the other Allied statesmen?

"The people who made the war for the purpose for which they made it are still there, prosecuting the same sinister purpose. You cannot have peace so long as they are predominant in the councils of our chief enemy."

So says Lloyd George, and then goes on to show the metal of his own intentions. He says:—

"I believe in a League of Nations; but whether the League of Nations is going to be a success or not will depend upon the conditions under which it is set up.... every one knows that when there is any great decision here, what really determines it is, not so much what is said in the course of the debate as the fact that there is some power behind which takes a certain view and has power to enforce that view. It is the electorate here.... The same thing might conceivably happen in your League of Nations.... You might enter it the Germans saying.... Had it not been for our economic difficulties you would never have won, we will take good care next time to prepare, and not to be short of rubber, corn, cotton, and essentials."

The power behind the decisions of the League of Nations must not be the sword of Germany, says Mr. Lloyd George, but he indicates that there shall be a dominant power. What is that Power to be?

"There must be a power behind that justice—a power which will enforce its decrees, and all who enter that conference must know that. When we have demonstrated even to the enemy that such a power does exist on earth peace will then come, but no sooner."

It seems to us obvious that Mr. Lloyd George means by these words that he will only agree to a League of Nations when the Allies, or perhaps Britain itself, has the assurance of being able to dominate it, and especially to dominate the supplies of raw materials—rubber, corn, cotton, and other essentials. Those whose purpose it is to procure such dominant power, either for this nation, or for the Allies as a whole, are making peace impossible, just as those are doing who desire to secure a dominating power for the Central Empires.

RUSSIA.

The fact that this country is now at war, in fact, if not in name, with the Russian Soviet Republic was not referred to by either Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Balfour, who discussed the war and foreign affairs before Parliament rose. And Parliament made no protest at being thus ignored! And the people make no protest. Truly we have reached the servile State! Lloyd George had nothing to say regarding the fact that British soldiers are fighting in Russia, but he dealt superficially with the fact that the Governments of America and Japan have decided to land troops at Vladivostok and with the Czecho-Slovak question, saying:—

"The only desire of the Czecho-Slovaks was to leave Russia and to go to the West to fight for the Allies.... they asked us for ships.... We took the ships from very important and essential work elsewhere in order to send them to Vladivostok for that purpose.... The Bolshevist Government [Mr. Lloyd George declared in the same speech that there is no Russian Government] refused to allow them to get through to Archangel and Vladivostok.... they tried to disarm them, but they would have been lunatics if they had handed over their arms.... The result has been that they have only made for themselves that great movement in Russia which centres round the Czecho-Slovaks. You cannot blame the Czecho-Slovaks for getting assistance wherever they could in order to save themselves."

The object declared, not merely in Mr. Lloyd George's speech, but in various official proclamations, is that the Allies are only intervening to save the Czecho-Slovaks and to enable them to reach Vladivostok to get out of Russia. Again and again it is declared that the Allies have no intention of interfering with the internal affairs of Russia and that, as Mr. Lloyd George said, the Russian people ought to be free to choose their own government for themselves. The American Acting Secretary of State on August 4th issued a statement that

"Military action is possible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czecho-Slovaks.... to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defence in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance, whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk and Archangel.... The Government of the United States has therefore proposed to the Government of Japan that each of the two Governments send a force of a few thousand men to Vladivostok, with the purpose of co-operating as a single force in the occupation of Vladivostok and in safeguarding, so far as it may, the country to the rear of the westward moving Czecho-Slovaks, and the Japanese Government has consented."

Notice the expression "westward moving Czecho-Slovaks" How can the Czecho-Slovaks be moving westward if they are endeavouring to reach Vladivostok to leave Russia by sea? The Russian version of the Czecho-Slovak question is that the Bolshevik Government agreed that Kerensky armed the Czecho-Slovaks to fight against the Germans in the Ukraine, but they refused, that it was then agreed between the Soviet Government and the Allies that the Czecho-Slovaks should be transferred to the west front. Instead of carrying out this agreement the Czecho-Slovaks, proceeded to ally themselves with the counter-revolutionaries and to pillage and seize railway lines. The press telegrams certainly seem to bear out the Russian version, regarding the truth of which there is in our minds no shadow of doubt.

The American and other Allied statements all declare that there is to be no interference with Russian affairs, but since, as the American statement admits, the Allies propose "to steady any efforts at self-government.... in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance" and as the sympathies of the Allied Governments are obviously anti-Bolshevik and pro-capitalist, we think there is no doubt that the present struggle is between Capitalism and Socialism.

To Socialists the struggle is of paramount importance. It is important too from the standpoint of peace. Lord Rothermere, the head of the Ministry of Information, the appalling extravagance of which has just been disclosed by the Select Committee on National Expenditure, has recently stated that Allied intervention in Russia and Roumania will make for the prolongation of the war. Presumably Lord Rothermere voices the views of the Prime Minister, who placed him where he is and retains him as head of the Government's official Information Bureau. Therefore it is interesting to note that he thinks "there is much to justify those [which probably includes himself] who think that the war will, last at least three years more," that Britain is more wasteful of her fighting men than any other Power, that "we ought to raise 1,000,000 coloured troops for service in the fighting line on the western front" and should employ mercenaries where possible, and, further, that "Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Milner are not as fully in control as they ought to be." So the militarists are not yet satisfied: they demand yet more power!

As usual Mr. Lloyd George declared that grave mistakes had been made in the past—not his, of course—but that all will now be well. The mistakes of his Government have been made good by the sending into the front lines of "lads of 18½ who had received only five or six months training."

How much longer will the people endure this Government? The Government has again flouted the Labour Party by refusing passports to Messrs. Henderson and Bowerman, Secretaries to the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and to Messrs. McGurk and Ogden, the Chairmen of those bodies. These hitherto very devoted henchmen of the Government had been deputed to meet the Dutch Socialist leader Troelstra in Switzerland to discuss further the views of the German Socialists as to the possibility of making peace. The excuse for refusing passports is that Troelstra passed through Germany to reach Switzerland—without Allied assistance he could not have reached there by any other way. We understand that the Trade Union Congress will pass a strong resolution of protest against the refusal of the passports, which is in reality an intimation to Labour that it is expected to leave the conduct of foreign affairs to its masters. Of what use is such a resolution if Labour representatives are to remain in the Government?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS.

In a letter commenting on the Prime Minister's speech and his remarks on the Russian situation, Mr. Arthur Finch writes of the Czecho-Slovaks:—

"The Czecho-Slovaks, like Irishmen under the yoke of a great Power, refused to be conscripted in the Austro-German armies, and deserted when the opportunity presented itself to Russia. Thus, according to international law, they became prisoners of war; and, when the Brest-Litovsk treaty was signed, could have been handed back to the Germanic Powers, who would promptly have shot them as deserters from their armies. Now, whatever may be claimed for these Czecho-Slovaks, they are not Russians; and, therefore, by using arms against the present regime in Russia, they are interfering with the internal administration of the Soviets, as, for example, in Vladivostok. And, whilst they may object to the humiliating treaty of Brest-Litovsk (which all who have any knowledge of Russian affairs know the Soviet Government had perforce nothing else to do but sign, owing to the causes already outlined and the general desire for peace), as foreigners they have no authority to run amuck in a foreign country viz., Siberia. Mr. Lloyd George, forgetting that these Czecho-Slovak troops were enjoying the protection of Russia, intrigued to provide ships for their departure from Vladivostok, a Russian, not an English port, so that they could come to the west to fight for the Allies. Naturally, the Russian Government, unless it wanted to be at war again with Germany, and thus have the country completely despoiled, could not countenance this movement. But Mr. Lloyd George, undaunted, has troops landed on the Murman coast and at Vladivostok—again, let me state, Russian territory—and yet maintains, in spite of the facts to the contrary, that 'we have no desire to interfere with Russian internal affairs.' *O tempora, O mores.* Comment is needless."

Oxford, August 8th, 1918.

SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

The article which appeared on August 3rd on the Russian Soviet Republic has aroused much interest amongst our readers, several of whom have written to ask us our opinion as to whether the future British Socialist Republic will be organised on similar lines and whether its representative and economic systems will be similar to those of the Soviets.

We therefore invite expressions of opinion on this subject from our readers and propose to reserve space in our columns for the discussion which may arise. We believe that the more vividly actual and immediate the vision of Socialism becomes the greater will be the stimulus to work for it. All letters should be addressed to the Editor, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3, marked S. *Correspondence already received unavoidably held over until next week.*

40 D.

In view of the application of Regulation 40 D, and the attitude of the Government in persisting to enforce it, despite vigorous protests, the following letter is of interest:—

DEAR EDITOR,—Last year I had some correspondence with you on the subject of an article that you published in THE DREADNOUGHT about the medical examination of women supposed to be suffering from venereal disease, which I had thought exaggerated. This letter is an *amende honorable*. I did not then know the special nature of the examination employed in such cases. I am horrified to hear of what it consists. I can only suppose the men who framed Regulation 40 D were as ignorant as I was, and perhaps even the doctors who carry it out do not fully realise what they are doing, as the sexual nature of women is a subject that has been so little studied. That is why I feel, as a mother of girls, that it is necessary to draw special attention to this painful aspect of an unjust law, and I should be glad if you would print this late acknowledgement from me of the justice and courage of your correspondent's article.

The point of the whole thing is that this examination may do real moral harm to the subject. It is a totally different proceeding to that employed in the ordinary medical examination of women, which is not disgusting or harmful, but only unpleasant.—Yours, &c., MILDRED MINTURN SCOTT.

WORKSHOP NOTES. By W. F. Watson.

WOMEN'S WORK IN MUNITIONS.

The Times Engineering Supplement for July gives a lengthy report of Mr. Kellaway's speech at the opening of an Exhibition of Women's Work at the Art Gallery, Nottingham Castle, on July 8th. It is extremely interesting, showing as it does the enormous extent to which women have entered the industry. "Reference was made to the present personnel of a London works mainly making internal combustion engines. Before the war it had only half its present number of hands and only one per cent. were women. Now the women are more than half the staff, including half the toolsetters and of the toolroom, and maintenance hands a larger proportion of the machine hands, including two-thirds of the centre lathe turners, and nine tenths of the viewers and guagers. Some of them are being upgraded to be charge hands over centre lathes and more dilution is coming." And the A.S.E. has persistently refused to admit the women workers to its membership!! Let us hope the 1919 Delegate Meeting will put this right. Mr. Kellaway says: "Similar results are recorded in the manufacture of engineers' small precision tools. In one works only 10 per cent of the men, including the foremen, are skilled and more than two-thirds of the hands are women.... How rapidly girls can learn to do good work is illustrated in the case of one who for three months was taught by her father, a mechanic in the same shop, *and when only 15 years old could set up her own work on a screwcutting lathe, calculate her change wheels for herself, cut square threads up to 1½ ins. and grind her own tools.*" We know many a member of the A.S.E. who has served an apprenticeship who cannot do this.

"In forgings, again, women in some shops have had unexpected success. In one shop half the hands are women operating the presses, taking the work away and guaging it. In another shop women not only work the presses, but do so under women charge hands.... The physical endurance of women is illustrated even more strikingly in a works engaged in reducing aluminium from ore in electric furnaces. There are thirty-seven furnaces. One is worked by men released from the colours and discharged soldiers, the other thirty-six by women in gangs of eight or nine, each gang under the charge of a man." One example is given as representing practically complete dilution of skill, man power, and material. A works is making new cartridge cases, and repairing old ones, which are returned to the works with heaps of what apparently is rubbish—hoops, ends, nozzles, old screws. The cases are brought back to shape, what is missing is made good from the heaps of rubbish, no new material being used, and the whole of this repair work is done by 39 women, with the help of a semi-skilled metal worker of 56, and a labourer of 53 under a discharged soldier; two women inspecting the whole of the work, which is said to be as good as new. The new cases are made by 60 women under two discharged soldiers."

It is tolerably certain that most of these women have come to stay in the industry. And why should they not if they wish? It is idle to think the problem will be solved by antagonising the women workers by adopting the policy advocated by some trade unionists of attempting to drive them out of the industry. The correct policy is to organise on a class basis, and thereby prevent the boss using either sex at the economic expense of the other. The object of the organisation must be that of controlling industry and its structure must be calculated to administer it efficiently when control is secured. Such is the structure of the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee Movement.

THE EMBARGO DISPUTE.

As stated in these columns in our issue of August 3rd, the embargo strike is merely suspended. The capitalist press is loud in its praise of the firmness of the Government, and the simple readers of those organs of Anaanias are asked to believe it was the threat of military service that drove the men back to work. I am inclined to think that had the Government been foolish enough to put the threat into operation the prisons would have benefited to a far greater extent than the army. The Committee of Trade Union District Committees for London and its environs has resolved to reserve the right to determine action should the inquiry go against the organised workers. This committee is still at work holding periodical meetings, extending its scope to other industries and to the provinces—this will result in co-ordination of activities and increased strength.

With the Shop Stewards Movement as the driving force much good work can be done by this semi-official committee.

Speaking of Churchill, *The Sunday Chronicle* hints at a possible change in the Minister of Munitions. "Whitehall" says: "I have no doubt that a decent interval will elapse and that *the removal will take the form of a promotion for Mr. Churchill is a man capable of causing a good deal of trouble as a free lance.* I think however that no more risks will be taken with such an explosive compound as Churchill and Labour." This is the parliamentary way of saying Churchill is to be sacked for incompetency; but such is the influence of the family that his dismissal will take the form of a better job. Addison was sacked for mismanaging the May, 1917, strike and now Winnie is apparently under notice. I wish the workers had a real conception of the capabilities of their rulers. They are fearful mediocrities, they are bankrupt in ideas, and were they compelled to earn an honest living would probably die of starvation. When the workers do understand they will sack the lot and take over control themselves.

[*The italics are the Author's.*]

LONDON AIRCRAFT DISPUTE AGAIN.

Owing to the difficulties in the way of making Waring & Gillows a complete national factory the case was re-opened, and the following is the agreement arrived at by the men, employers, and Ministry:—

It is agreed that the terms of settlement re the dispute between the Alliance Aeroplane Company and their workpeople shall be as follows:—

1. Rock to be re-engaged.

2. The Management to continue to recognise the Shop Stewards as hitherto provided the Shop Stewards are elected by the workpeople in the shops and on the understanding that the Works' Rules are conformed to.

3. For the purposes of negotiation the Management to recognise a small Committee, not exceeding seven in number, consisting exclusively of Shop Stewards and elected by the Shop Stewards.

4. The ordinary procedure for a workman bringing any question before his foreman shall be allowed. In the event of the workpeople desiring to put any case before the Management, it shall be done in the first instance with the foreman or manager of that department, and that if no settlement is reached it shall be discussed between the standing Committee of Shop Stewards mentioned above and the Management. If these discussions do not result in a settlement, the whole matter at issue shall be referred either to the Executives of the Unions affected or to the London District Aircraft Committee on the one hand and on the other to the Engineering Employers' Federation.

It will be noted that Rock will be reinstated, and the *status quo ante* established. And this in spite of the fact that at the inquiry Rock was found guilty of misconduct, and his dismissal confirmed!

LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The lectures on 'Industrial Development in the London Area,' by Mr. Walton Newbold, began on Thursday, August 8th. Lectures still to come are: August 22nd, 'The Revival in Thames Valley Engineering,' Chairman: H. Joy. August 29th, 'How shall London Workers Organise?' Chairman: Miriam Price. Admission 6d. each lecture, or 1s. 6d. the series of four. Tickets to be had at 8 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C., or Chandos Hall. The Committee is organising a winter programme of socials and whist drives.—T. F. KNIGHT, *Hon. Sec.*

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

August 5th.—Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) asked whether the "British Government has made to the Provisional Government of Siberia a categorical declaration that it has no intention of infringing the territorial integrity of Russia?" Mr. Balfour: "Yes, sir." Replying to Mr. King (L.) Mr. Balfour quoted the declaration of the Government as follows: "The aim of His Majesty's Government is to secure the political and economic restoration of Russia, without internal interference of any kind, and to bring about the expulsion of enemy forces from Russian soil. His Majesty's Government categorically declare that they have no intention whatever of infringing in the slightest degree the territorial integrity of Russia." Mr. Snowden (Lab.) expressed a doubt as to whether the accentuation of civil war in Russia were likely to bring about the objects of the declaration. Mr. Balfour protested. We seem to have heard the term "unfriendly" used in reference to similar "intervention" when undertaken by other Powers!!!

40 D.

Mr. Bonar Law said that a Committee had reconsidered Regulation 40 D and decided that "in the interests of the health of our soldiers and of those of the Dominions the Regulation must for the present be maintained." Mr. Chancellor (L.) put the case in a nutshell by inquiring whether the "provision for lust" was one of the "ideals" for which the war was being waged.

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION.

On the second reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill, Mr. Leif Jones (L.) opened the debate on the Ministry of Information. Many details of method, staff, and expenditure were reviewed. Both he and other members denounced the system of printing thousands of pamphlets which in more than one instance were left lying in stores; others were sent to Russia to be distributed amongst a population 80 per cent of which is illiterate! Mr. Jones drew attention to the new departure of propaganda by film; the film, "Once a Hun, always a Hun" depicts two German soldiers in a ruined French town striking to the ground a woman with a baby in her arms. Later these two men appear as commercial travellers, their wares are refused because of the trade stamp "Made in Germany." We feel with Mr. Jones that the big business interests, which include banks, electric power companies, gas, railways, newspapers, rubber, insurance, iron, steel, Pullman cars, ships, and tobacco, are simply using public money for their own ends. The officials of the Information Department consist of company directors, one being director of thirty-six!! "The whole thing is so detestably vulgar," said Mr. Jones, and so it is! As for the future developments of the Ministry, he hinted at the news being "strained through Government strainers"; this, in his opinion, was a real danger to the freedom of the country. Is there any left to be endangered?

Mr. Pringle (L.) alleged that there are spies upon the Labour Movement of this country, and that he knew that important leaders in the trade union movement had been approached for the purpose of spying upon their fellows. Sir Frederick Banbury (U.) stated that one of the books destined for propaganda was an illustrated life of the Prime Minister! It had pictures of his children and himself in various walks of life. How touching, and how very modest! With Mr. Robertson (L.) one may well ask: "Has the Department any standard of dignity or ability?" Mr. Devlin (I.N.) cited the case of the book called 'The Oppressed English,' by Mr. Ian Hay, which has been circulated as propaganda in America, but is banned from this country because it is "a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end." It tries to whitewash the injustice done by the British Government to Ireland; tells how "an unfortunate man named Skeffington, a harmless visionary.... wandered forth into the streets of Dublin during the height of the rioting." His execution was the result of the unstrung nerves of the officer, who had recently returned from the front! The incident of spending £21 in two days on drink and £5 on cigars to entertain American journalists in Dublin was explained by Mr. Devlin as done to dim the truth; as he put it, "to enable them to form a judicial, cold, clear, and lucid view of the Irish question"!!

What did the spending of these sums matter when compared with the crying injustices of Ireland, Mr. T. M. Healy queried. Some eighty or ninety men have been imprisoned without trial since May 17th, the treatment of Mrs. Skeffington, and the awful Belfast prison scandal (the affidavit we give in full on our front page!) about this Mr. Shortt promised an inquiry. How can a Government guilty of such inhumanity prate of German atrocities?

Mr. Baldwin for the Treasury promised strict supervision of the expenditure of the Department of Information, excusing the appointment of so many business men by saying: "When you are founding a new Ministry you are between the devil and the deep sea." Which does he wish us to think he has chosen? He tried to show the necessity for propaganda; but no member objected to that; what caused the debate was the reckless expenditure, such as £126,000 on telegrams, &c., and the undignified and vulgar methods used, more likely to degrade the country in the eyes of decent people than otherwise.

ULSTER ARMS.

August 6th.—Mr. Shortt stated that it is believed the Ulster Volunteers possess 50,000 rifles and 11 machine guns.

INDIA.

The debate on constitutional reform, opened by Mr. Montagu, merely placed it on record that sometime in the distant future the promise of August 20th, 1917 (a form of self-government) will be realised! Meantime all sorts of committees are being set up, and Mr. Montagu hopes to receive their reports next year. Will India too be driven to lose faith and patience in its Government as Ireland has done?

LOTTERIES.

It was proposed to give a second reading to the Lotteries Bill (Lords). Sir G. Cave explained that it was to legalise lotteries for war charities and only during the war. As an example of the gain he cited the instance of the Pearl Collection which if sold by auction would realise between £100,000 and £200,000; but if raffled would produce from £1,000,000 to £2,000,000!! It was Mr. Theodore Taylor (L.) who moved that the Bill be read this day three months, that brought about the rejection of the Bill by a majority of five votes.

EDUCATION.

The Education Bill as amended by the Lords was finally passed. Their chief amendment being the restriction of Sunday labour to children over 12 and the time of work to two hours.

RUSSIA.

August 7th.—In reply to Mr. King (L.), who referred to the Russian operations as "a new front," Mr. Balfour still alleged that the political relations between this country and Russia remain unchanged!!!

WOMEN IN THE HOUSE.

Mr. Bonar Law stated that should there be a "general desire," the question of opening the Strangers' Galleries to both men and women will be discussed after the recess. We are getting on; shortly we shall have left all this Turkish segregation behind.

REVIEW OF THE WAR.

The Prime Minister made a lengthy statement on the war which we deal with elsewhere. Mr. T. P. O'Connor (N.), who has recently returned from America, detailed to the House the difficulties caused there by the attitude of the Government towards Ireland. The news of conscription for Ireland came like a bombshell, he said. Yet Mr. O'Connor continues to believe that there is hope of reconciliation between Ireland and England. Lord Cavendish Bentinck (U.) and other members made an urgent appeal that something ought to be done to alleviate the hardships of British prisoners in Turkey. So many efforts ending in nothing have been made that the great effort to stop the war seems to be the one thing on which all who wish to stop suffering should concentrate.

(Continued on back page.)

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16th.
Cobden Statue.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, AUGUST 17th.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All in the Holloway District.—Meet at 3 and 6 P.M. outside Nag's Head (corner of Seven Sisters' Road and Holloway Road, 10 minutes walk from Finsbury Park Station). Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, Mr. Mackinlay, and Mr. H. E. Russell.
SUNDAY, AUGUST 18th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
The Square, Woolwich.—7 P.M., Mrs. Walker.
TUESDAY, AUGUST 20th.
Grundy Street, Poplar.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, AUGUST 23rd.
Rathbone Street, Canning Town.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, AUGUST 24th.
Great Push in Waterloo Road.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
400 Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somer's Road.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Sizer, and others.

LEYTONSTONE.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hart, 73 Calderon Road. A Meeting will be held on Wednesday, August 21st, 6.30 P.M., at Leonard's Academy of Music, 698 High Road, Leytonstone. Speakers: Mrs. Edmunds, and others. Chair: Mrs. Hart. All are welcome. Admission free.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

IV.—THE NEW SCHOOL.

(*continued*).

I.

1. The New School is a *laboratory of practical pedagogy*. It is to be a pioneer example for the State schools.

2. It is a *boarding school*. (This is because the New School provides an environment so essentially different from that of the ordinary bourgeois family that its full educational effects can only be realised away from home. But the tendency of a boarding school would be to declass the proletarian child, which at present we certainly wish to avoid. The main advantages of the New School can be secured in a day school.)

3. It is *in the country*. (This is eminently desirable, but the condition is hardly reconcilable with the establishment of a school to be attended by day scholars residing in an industrial centre.)

4. The school has a *family atmosphere* different from that of an ordinary boarding school, being divided into separate "houses," each containing no more than from ten to twelve pupils, and presided over usually by a married couple.

5. There is *co-education of the sexes*.

6. *Manual work* is engaged in for several hours daily, for its educative effect, and for its collective uses, not with an eye to the specific lifework of the adult—*i.e.*, it is not conventional "technical training."

7. Work in the *carpenter's shop*, *gardening* and *practical agriculture*, and the *care of farm stock*, play a large part in the manual training.

8. Considerable scope is given for *free occupations* selected by the individual pupil.

9. *Natural gymnastics* are practised, more in the nature of Swedish body training than of ordinary drill or gymnastics with apparatus.

10. *Excursions* and *camping out* are frequent.

II.

11. The aim is to secure *general culture* of the judgment rather than an accumulation of memorised facts.

12. *Specialised training* is mainly based on *individual aptitudes and desires*.

13. Instruction is derived from actual *experience* rather than from books.

14. It is based on the child's *personal activities*—*i.e.*, "knowledge" is not poured into him as water is poured into a jug.

15. The instruction of course varies in accordance with the variation in spontaneous desires as age advances.

18. Direct instruction is practically limited to the morning hours.

19. Not more than one or two branches of study are pursued on any one day.

20. Very few branches are studied in any one month or term.

III.

21. The basis of moral education is that the school is a *republic*, is practically self-governing.

24. The only *rewards* are the granting of special opportunities for individual creative work.

25. The only *punishments* take the form of endeavours to make the child understand how it has erred and how it may do better in the future.

26. *Emulation* is only stimulated in the form of encouraging the child to compare notes with its own past achievements.

27. *Order* and *beauty* must be primary characteristics of the school environment.

28. *Collective musical practice*, vocal or instrumental, is freely engaged in.

29 and 30 concern *moral education* and *education of the practical reason*—but to an attentive student of the system it is obvious that formal instruction under these heads is superfluous. If the social environment is right, such instruction cannot be required; if the social environment is wrong, the formal instruction can be of no avail. It will have about as much effect as the "parson's patter" is likely to have upon the habitual criminal amid the noisome degradations of the modern jail.

"In the Socialist Sunday schools of Great Britain and Switzerland," writes Emmy Freundlich in the article we have previously quoted, "attempts have been made to work upon a method which appears to me to be utterly fallacious. One is not good because one wishes to be good and because the will to be good has been preached at one; one becomes good when one can live in a community where this goodness can be practised. Habit and example are the only educational methods which can lead to freedom and equality. Now it cannot be denied that the scientific educational doctrines of modern educationists have smoothed the path for us, alike practically and theoretically. But these educationists have invariably failed, and their failure was inevitable, because they have attempted to institute their educational community in the class state and in a class-ridden society. For the workers there are other possibilities. The workers, too, have to live in the class state, and their wills are restricted by the limitations imposed by the State; nevertheless, within their own organisations they can transcend the class state and can create the social community of democracy and of the socialist commonwealth. As things are, the statement must be made with reservations, but it contains large elements of truth. One of the greatest responsibilities of the working class is here indicated, the necessity for honestly striving towards equality and liberty, the necessity for creating the new realm.

"The socialistic educational community will not preach; it will create. It will revive the family in its earlier form. Of old the family was the focus of production and of consumption; in the family, the means of life were communally created, distributed, and enjoyed; in this family community of old, the child could find everything it required in the shape of practical learning and experience. The family has perished; it is nothing more than a community for sleep; it cannot be an educational organism; at most it is a union of individuals for common consumption. Nor can the present-day school, the other contracting party, be an educational organism, for it is merely a learning community, not a working community. Both family and school as they exist to-day must be replaced and perfected by the socialist educational community, which does not solely learn out of books, but creates out of daily life. The new community must not provide fragmentarily for the lives of the children, but must care for their whole lives synthetically. In this matter, too, capitalist pedagogues have led the way; but socialism alone can provide a harmonious conjuncture of education with the philosophy of life"

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

continued from page 1059.

August 8th. WAR AIMS.

On the adjournment debate Mr. Anderson (Lab.) reminded the House that the war has now entered upon its fifth year, and misery and cost are accumulating. He argued that democratic opinion in all countries ought to be considered, since the war was said to be to make this world "safe for democracy." As an instance of how the efforts of the people were treated he cited the case of M. Troelstra, who was prevented from bringing firsthand news to his colleagues here merely because he had had conversation with German Socialists! Mr. Ponsonby (L.) urged that peace when it does come must rest on the people's approval, the days of diplomatic peace-making had passed. He declared that the Prime Minister and other "knock-out-blow" disciples were the cause of keeping Germany united. Mr. R. Lambert (L.) denounced the war as "the most horrible atrocity that has ever visited this earth." The truth at last!! Mr. Balfour, in a more vindictive style than is his wont, remarked that the "true obstacle to any legitimate peace is....German militarism." He styled it a "gross and immoral" heresy and explained that the only way to eradicate it is to show that war does not lead to success at all! Is not that what sane people are saying since the war began? If it is true for one belligerent it must be true for another! He destroyed any idea of peace in the near future by asking the "pacifists" if they wanted the German-African colonies given back to the Germans? Surely Mr. Balfour wants to keep up the semblance of no conquests! In spite of these unwise remarks he added that he and his colleagues are most anxious to take any opportunity of arriving at a safe and durable peace. Well, we must not take his words too seriously; but they are not so warlike as the utterances of Winston Churchill or the Prime Minister.

M.O'C.

THE BELFAST PRISON SCANDAL

continued from front page.

to give an undertaking that if the handcuffs were taken off they would not break the bed-boards. This was obeyed, and the handcuffs were then taken off and the beds and bed-boards were returned to the cells, but not the rest of the cell furniture, which had all been absent since Thursday. The men were then enabled to take off their clothes, which most of them had been unable to do for three days.

On Monday night I recollect hearing some of the men singing, and after that I knew no more until I awoke in the hospital on Wednesday evening. I had been three days on bread and water before I collapsed, the bread allowance being twelve ounces per day—four ounces for each meal.

On Saturday, 7th July, it was announced to the men that Dublin Castle had conceded their demands, and the bread and water was then discontinued and the men returned to their own cells, the conditions previous to the 27th ult. being restored. I was released on Saturday, 13th July, on account of the state of my health, having completed four months of my sentence. The prison doctor, Dr. O'Flaherty, told me that owing to the condition of my heart I was not to get into a state of excitement or attempt any sudden exertion. I affirm that this statement is absolutely and entirely true.

(Signed) CHARLES KENNY.

19th July, 1918.

Witnesses:—(Signed) LAURENCE O'NEILL,
Lord Mayor of Dublin.
(Signed) PATRICK WM. CORRIGAN,
Alderman of Dublin Corporation.
(Signed) REV. PATRICK FLANAGAN, C.C.,
Church of the Holy Family, Aughrim Street.
(Signed) JOSEPHINE MARY PLUNKETT,
26 Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin.

[COPY.]

Exhibit "A" referred to in Declaration of Charles Kenny, made before me this 19th day of July, 1918.

(Signed) CHARLES KENNY,
(Signed) PETER SEALES,
Commissioner for Oaths.

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