# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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# BUS GIRLS STRIKE FOR EQUAL PAY.

Although we missed our appointments we were glad to walk when we realised that the women bus and tram conductors were striking to secure the observance of the important principle of equal

pay for men and women.

The question has arisen on the refusal of the Committee on Production to allow the 5s. weekly war bonus-which has recently been awarded to the men to be extended to the women also. The women are determined to get that bonus because of the far-reaching principle involved. Said one of them with a buoyant determination: "We shall not give in even if it means a month's holiday; we women are going to stand strong to the last and will not go back till they tell us we've got that 5s. We were engaged on the promise that we should get equal pay and we will have it."

The men say that the work the women conductors are doing is harder than that of the men conductors before the war because, as every one is unpleasantly aware, the reduction in the number of vehicles has led to veritable fighting by crowds of would-be passengers who are pressed by those behind against the barring arm of the conductress, stretched out, either to secure a passage way for those who are dismounting, or to signify that the 'bus is full. Many inconsiderate men and women try to force their way in in spite of her, and when at last the 'bus starts she has five people standing inside where the pre-war conductor had none.

In the spring when all the workers demanded a bonus the Committee on Production awarded £1

a week to the men and to those women who were engaged on the definite understanding that their pay was to be the same as the men's. The London conductresses got the £1 bonus, but in the provinces many did not and some got as little as 4s. Yet surely the equal pay understanding applied to all the women as when they were first engaged on the trams and 'buses the men only agreed to work with them on condition that there should be equal pay for men and women. In July, when another claim was made for an increase, the workers demanded complete equality with the men for all the women, but the Committee on Production refused to assent.

Therefore the women have taken the matter into their own hands. The movement began at a private meeting of the women at Willesden Garage on Friday, August 16th, where is was decided to strike immediately, without waiting either for trade union officials or employers. The Willesden women conductors solidly refused to work on Saturday morning; they were followed by Acton and Hackney-soon the strike had spread all over London. Some of the women on the trams also struck.

The trade unions concerned are the London and Provincial Vehicle Workers' Union, to which most of the 'bus workers belong, and the Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers, of which the main proportion of L.C.C. tram workers are members. Mr. Robert Williams of the Transport Workers' Federation (to which

both the L.P.V.W.U. and the A.A.T.V.W. are affiliated), urged the women to return to work pending negotiations, and notices calling attention to this were posted in the L.C.C. depots. The majority of the tramway workers remained at work. Mr. Ben Smith and the Executive of the Vehicle Workers' Union, at a meeting on Saturday night endorsed the action of the strikers, so large a proportion of whom belonged to their union. At a Blackfriars mass meeting on Sunday Mr. Smith moved a resolution urging an extension of the strike to the provinces. He asked the meeting to consider this very seriously as it meant "throwing arbitration overboard," but in the audience of 2,000 no hand was raised against the resolution. Mr. Beal, London District Council N.U.R., said that when 128,000 miners on strike were put under the Munitions Act they refused even to consider returning to work till they were withdrawn from under the Act. He said that in a fortnight the women railway workers would be striking for the same reason.

Many of the Tube girls who belong to the N.U.R. have struck in sympathy with the 'bus girls. The tramway workers displayed less spirit, though some conductresses soon came out. The trams are under the control of the L.C.C. and various local councils. Under the latter the war bonus varies from 9s. to 16s.

The women conductors are fighting a big fight with splendid spirit. Good luck to them!

# AUSTRALIAN LABOUR ON PEACE TERMS.

conscription vote has been one of rapidly increasing Treaties, the German peace offers, the Lansdowne tension between the Labour Party and the Nationalist ( = Liberals × Labour seceders) Government. The consequent anti-war tendency of the Labour Party has now come to a head with the decision of the Inter-State Labour Conference, at Perth on June 25th last, not to participate any further in recruiting unless the Allies declare their immediate readiness to enter into peace negotiations on a basis of no annexations and no penal indemnities.

The process leading up to this decision may be traced from the Conference convened by the Governor-General in April to consider the question of recruiting. This Conference represented the Labour and Nationalist Parties from each State the Employers' Federations and the Industrial Labour Movement. The Labour delegates took the opportunity to bring forward matters which they declared to be prejudicial to recruiting, viz., victimisation of strikers, de-registration of the Unions that took part in the strike, the attempt to force men to enlist by economic pressure, the heavy penalties imposed upon political offenders, especially in connection with the last conscription campaign, the abuse of the censorship, and the failure to make adequate provision for returned soldiers. As a result the Government and employers promised to rectify those matters—re-employ strikers, re-register the Unions, put a stop to economic conscription, &c. Finally, the following resolution was passed :-

'That this conference, meeting at a time of unparalleled urgency, resolves to make all possible efforts to avert defeat at the hands of German militarism, and urges the people of Australia to unite in a whole-hearted effort to secure the necessary reinforcements under the voluntary system."

While the various Nationalist Governments, represented by the Premiers, were bound by this resolution and the promises made, the Labour representatives, having no definite mandate, had to refer the matter to the various bodies that they represented, and here the centre of interest passes to these Labour bodies. One section, headed by Mr. Morby, the President of the Sydney Trades Council held that the Conference had resulted in a bargain, and that in order to secure the reregistration of Unions, &c., the Trade Union Movement, as such, must begin a whole-hearted recruiting campaign. Hence Mr. Morby, after he had presented his report on May 17th, moved the motion carried at the Conference. There was most violent opposition from the strong body of class-conscious unionists known as the Industrial section, who are responsible for the scheme of Industrial Unionism which is at present being officially considered by the Australian Labour Movement. This section now commands a majority on the Sydney Trades Council, but has not yet captured the executive. Their leader, Mr. Judd, moved a long counter-resolution declaring the war to be

The situation in Australia since the anti- capitalist in origin and in aim, citing the Secret letters, &c., and concluding :-

> "Therefore, whilst fully expecting anti-Labour forces to misrepresent and calumniate our action, we refuse to take part in any recruiting campaign and call upon the workers of this and all other belligerent countries to urge their respective Governments to secure immediately an armistice on all fronts and initiate negotiations for peace."

> After a protracted controversy and three adjournments, during which a violent press campaign was carried on against the "seditionists and disloyalists," this resolution was finally carried by the Sydney Trades Council by a majority of 104 to 75. Thereon the press went nearly mad and set out to promote a split in the Council. A much advertised meeting of the Conservatives was held to consider the formation of a separate council. Not one fifth of the Unions, however, affiliated to the present Council are joining the new body, and these only small Conservative craft unions of little importance with the possible exception of the Electrical Trades. (This is the split which The Times has reported.)

> On June 1st the State Labour Party (New South Wales) met and considered in camera a series of drastic resolutions on peace, asserting that the war was being prolonged for imperialist and capitalist ends, demanding an immediate armistice for discussion of peace terms, and affirming that the white races were being exterminated, and that, in view of the sparse population of Australia, it was undesirable that further men should leave the country. These resolutions were after long debate carried amid enthusiasm, and sent along as recommendations to the Inter-State Conference.

> The Inter-State Conference at Perth, which concluded on June 25th, passed the following resolution on the subject of the war:

> "The attitude of Labour towards the publicly declared objects of the war is what it was at the outbreak of the war: (a) For liberty, democracy and the independence of small nations; (b) for honouring publicly made treaties; and (c) for the maintenance of public and international law.

"The aims of Labour in participating in the war purposed : (a) assistance to Britain under the voluntary system, maintaining the publicly declared objects for which she entered the war, and those only, tralia's paramount essential needs; (b) bringing about an enduring world peace on terms of equity and justice to all mankind.

Further participation in recruiting shall be subject to the following conditions: (a) a clear authoritative statement to be made on behalf of the Allies, asserting readiness to enter into peace negotiations upon the basis of no annexations, no penal indemnities; (b) that Australia's requirements in man-power be ascertained, and met in respect to home defence and industrial requirements. Immediate inquiry, upon which the Australian Labour Party shall be adequately and officially represented, to be held, and its decisions given immediate effect.

"Provided this determination shall be immediately submitted by each State executive under the direction of the Federal Executive, with a recommendation from the conference for adoption, to a referendum of the members of all branches and affiliated organisations, and shall become operative upon a majority of votes being cast in the affirmative, the ballot to close not later than November 1st. In the event of the ballot being interfered with by the Federal Government, the decision is to become operative at once."

#### THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS.

In the Isvestia of May 30th appears a statement by Trotsky explaining that for some months previously the Czecho-Slovak troops had been endeavouring to leave Russian territory. The Soviet Government had taken all necessary measures to fecilitate their departure by Vladivostok, but had made it conditional on the surrender of all arms save a small number of rifles per company for patrol service. With the assent of the Local Soviets the Czecho-Slovak troops were moving eastwood when the Japanese landing at Vladivostok and Semenoff's bands made it impossible for the troops to proceed and the Soviet Government decided that they should wait until arrangements could be made for them to sail via Archangel. Meanwhile counter-revolutionaries, with the Socialist Revolutionaries of the right as prime movers, were agitating amongst the Czecho - Slovaks and pretending that the Soviet Government had dark designs against them. Some of the Czecho-Slovak officers, numbers of whom were Russians, were connected with the counter-revolutionaries. The condition of surrendering arms had not been honestly complied with and the agitation led the Czecho-Slovaks to use them against the Soviets. The Peoples Commissariat for War . then issued a statement expressing sympathy with the Czecho-Slovak workers and peasants, but declaring that the seizure of military stations and other acts of violence (as happened in Novo-Nikclaeiovsk) could not be tolerated, ordering, therefore, that the Czecho-Slovaks be immediately disarmed, but promising that steps would be taken to enable them to leave Russia with the least possible delay.

#### RUSSIAN PROTEST.

The Russian Socialists Groups in London at their General Meeting on August 3rd placed on record their disapproval of intervention, in view of the following:

"(1) That the Russian Revolution is threatened from the enemy from within as well as from without. (2) That all the strength of the Russian proletariat is to the best of our capability, consistent with Aus- needed for the organisation and creation of the new order after the demolition of the old regime. (3) That at this particular moment any steps taken against the Soviet Government, no matter from what side, serve only the counter-revolution and interfere with the creative work of the Soviets.

"We protest most emphatically against any interference of foreign Covernments in the internal affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic and against all attempts on their part to start a new war against th Soviets, which represent and defend the interests of the majority of the Russian people. We hope that English democracy will come to our aid in time and will not allow international imperialism to crush the first Socialist Revolution in the world.....

## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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#### RUSSIA.

Our news from Russia is that the situation, from had many victories and, much better still, their harvests are already being gathered. In some districts the Soviets send armoured trains to the fields and the grain being gathered, taken away in the train lest enemies should seize it.

news which appears in the press unless the tele- political power except in so far as they are public grames come through the Bolshevik agency. servants. Phillips Price in The Manchester Guardian and What body appoints the Ministers of State? Arthur Ransome in The Daily News are the most The Central Executive Committee of the Allreliable of the capitalist press correspondents. Russian Congress of Soviets. The latter writes :-

"The rumours, mostly from German sources, of Congress of Soviets? the collapse of the Soviet, the evacuation of Moscow, and the flight of the Soviet leaders, &c., should be treated with extreme scepticism....the Soviet is still the only organised and organising force within the country.... There are two main centres in European Russia-Moscow, where there is a Government of workmen and peasants, and Kieff, which is the Germans.... The quasi-Monarchic Government at Kieff....has against it practically the whole Is the Referendum in force? working population of the towns-who, after exof the peasants-who, seeing their corn taken by the &c. Germans and their land by the old landowners, are now daily laying down their lives in the struggle Do the workers still belong to trade unions? left the country when the Germans drove out the trade union card.

Just as the workers and peasants of the Ukraine and peasants of Great Russia are anxious to described in The Dreadnought of August 3rd is policies and their deeds, but it is perhaps worth maintain them.

Slovak Commander in Eastern Siberia, published in The Times :-

"It is quite clear that the position of our troops is becoming daily more serious, whereas the forces of the enemy are growing. The task of our eastern detachment becomes, if not impossible, at least very difficult and without any guarantee of success.... If our troops do not succeed by the approach of all our troops."

than its enemies pretend, as Lenin has warned the The same is true of Marie Spindonova, the Left probably inevitably—there has been too much stress Socialists of the world, it is faced by many dangers. Social Revolutionary, and of the 200 Social laid upon the political, too little upon the economic Allied, Czecho-Slovaks, and Counter-Revolutionary Revolutionaries recently said to have been shot. forces are harassing at Murmansk and Archangel The following report, received by the Russian and Vladivostok, and at various points in Eastern Government from the Peoples' Commissary, Central, and Western Siberia. The Czecho-Slovaks Kedrov, at Archangel, and officially transmitted of an industrial system democratic from bottom to are even in Central Russia. A British force has to this country, shows that members of the forces top-of what I should call a system of guilds. arrived at Baku, no doubt intending to strike who are intervening in Russia are in some cases northward through the Caucasus, if it can. It has executing members of the Soviets:come through neutral Persia! All these forces are small, too small to endanger the Workers' Govern-Germany, advancing to expel the forces of the nations with which she is at war, will gain control of Russia and put an end to the Soviet rule. Though the Allies are invading Russia in spite of the Soviet protests, the Soviet Government is doing its utmost to avoid war, having no quarrel with the Allied peoples. The Soviet Government has implored the representatives of the Allies not to leave Russia, and when they left Vologda urged them not to go to Archangel, but to Moscow, where complete safety was promised them. Vologda grew to be a hot-bed of counterrevolution during the residence there of the Allied Hostile acts, such as the assassination of the German nesses.' Count Mirbach may now be expected from the left The Allied proclamation at Archangel stating that wing of the Social Revolutionaries, whose tactics no Russian Government will be recognised which are terrorist and who have accused the Bolsheviki does not regard itself as at war with Germany; siderable crowds lined the streets to witness the of too much toleration towards both the Central and the co-operation of the Allies with the Counter-Empires and the Allies. The policy of the, Revolutionary so-called "North Russian Govern-Bolsheviki has always been to educate the masses, ment," which demands the abolition of the Soviets not to assassinate a few tyrants. The Socialist and the substitution of the Zemstvos and Consti-Revolutionaries who are to-day used by the tuent Assembly shows plainly enough that Capitalist Press as a weapon with which to attack Socialism is attacked. Workers of Britain does Socialism were those who in the Czar's day, as not this concern you? now, resorted to assassination.

## SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

We give below the answers to a number of questions which have been asked concerning of account of the Russian Soviet Republic.

How is the Council formed which advises the workshop committees on technical questions?

The Supreme Council of National Economy appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The Local Councils of National Economy are appointed by the sentatives to these councils.

Where are the elections held for the workers' representatives on the Local and National Soviets? In the factories and workshops.

Do women vote in the Soviet elections?

of the former police, gendarmerie, and Secret Service; the nimble brain of a professional agitator or politician all members of the former reigning family, the insane, but grow out of the existing economic conditions. the deaf and the dumb, and criminals. It would \* No confidence should be placed in the Russian appear that the intellectuals are excluded from

How often are elections held for the All-Russian

Delegates are appointed for each Congress, which has hitherto been held every three months. It is proposed to hold it now every six weeks.

Is Proportional Representation used?

Yes, for the National and Local Soviets, for President of National and Local Soviets, and for the the centre of a Monarchic movement, supported by Executive Committees of National and Local Soviets.

Yes, but it has not been applied, though it is being periencing the counter-revolution, now look with demanded to express national self-determination in definite hope towards Moscow-and the great mass the provinces now occupied by Germany, Esthonia,

against the Germans and for the old reforms which Yes, they cannot obtain employment without a

OPINIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE PEOPLE.

certainly not Socialism as we expect to have it in doing. this country? It is far too like slavery as we already Most of the adverse criticism from within our own A proof that the Czecho-Slovak movement, to have it in our capitalistic republics. There is, it movement has been entirely doctrinaire, taking no which the counter-revolution has rallied, is less appears, compulsory labour and an equal bare account of circumstances or of the astonishingly successful than is pretended, is to be found in the subsistence wage, combined with private property difficult milieu in which the Bolsheviks have had to statement from General Diterichs, the Czecho- in capital and liberty to charge competition prices work. That is perhaps inevitable, just because we for education and managerial ability. That is what have no data for any more valuable type of criticism. Mr. Belloc calls the Servile State with a vengeance. Only, the fact ought to be realised, and I for one But it is absurd to pronounce upon a welter of confess that these remarks of mine are purely transition as if it were an achieved and stable system. doctrinaire, and possibly entirely beside the point.

Reports of executions and violent punishments winter, six weeks hence, in reaching their destination by the Soviet Government must usually be disit is clear that this will be equivalent to the loss of missed as false. Alexandra Balabanoff, the groupings, and is thus as far removed as possible Bolshevik, was said to have been executed by the from Syndicalist schemes. But though the Soviet position is much better Soviets months ago, but she is alive and well.

"Two scouts with forged documents sent out in the new society. Surely the abolition of the other by the Military Staff of the Entente at Kem, have classes by their absorbtion into the workers is ment. The greatest danger to Russia is that been arrested in the neighbourhood of Archangel. precisely the first object of a social revolution, and Germany, advancing to expel the forces of the The first of them, a Serbian, late pupil of the officers surely while they persist in maintaining a separate training school of Tver-named Hyitsch-related existence they can scarcely be accepted as part of a that he has been on an armoured train together with Socialist society. The amiable folk who want to see French, English and Serbians, who visited Kem, a capitalist and rentier class preserved and protected Isle of Papov, Jemtchuzhino-Angozero, disarmed by a Socialist régime have scarcely grasped the deputies of the Council Soviet, confiscated arms and elements of the matter. - Yours, &c., arrested members of the Railway Committee. During his visit at Kem, he saw how three members of the Executive Committee of the Soviet at Kem; Kamenoff, Malishoff and Vitsup have been shot by a Serbian DEAR EDITOR, -A practical outcome of the leading Military Unit, commanded by Messrs. Sirdensky and article in the issue of August 3rd might well be that Orshevitch. The members of the Executive Com- candidates for Parliament should be questioned not mittee have been arrested during their Meeting only as to how far they agree with Bolshevist ideals, session and shot on the beach near the meeting place but as to what extent they are prepared to go in of the Seviet deputies. Admiral Kemp declared carrying them out. For instance, are they prepared representatives, and it became unsafe for them to that the reason for which the members of Executive. to regard their Parliamentary work as a whole-time remain there as counter-revolutionary plots to Committee have been shot, was their resistance. job and to live upon the £400 they receive for doing secure Allied intervention by any means, in order This is not true; it is contradicted not only by the it?-Yours, &c. to crush the Soviets, endangered their safety. statement of Hyitsch, but also by some other wit-

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

amples of the exploitation of Socialist organisation by capitalism and by exceptional commercial ability. A single central organ to pool and distribute the products of industry is as necessary to a Socialist State as a heart is to a man. There is no organ of the kind equal to the work in Russia at present. There is no government in law, and it is impossible to discover whether there is any government in fact

or how far, even in that undefined section, its control is really effective. When we are told that "it is only the counter-revolutionary who is not allowed to carry arms, though he usually does," we are evidently very far from the conditions which Socialism requires. A State which cannot organise an effective police obviously cannot organise a co-operative G. BERNARD SHAW.

The franchise is possessed by all citizens of Dear Editor,-There is nothing in the Bolshevik either sex who have completed their eighteenth , scheme of things that is startling to any one excepting year: Workers and employees of all kinds the political Socialist, National Guildsmen, and the engaged in industry and agriculture, peasant and capitalist class. In general their principles have been the point of view of the Russian Socialist Soviet Cossack agriculturists who do not employ hired propagated for a number of years in this country Republic, is still hopeful. The Soviet troops have labour, workers and employees in the Soviet and amongst the workers in our most strongly organised Government institutions, soldiers of the Soviet army, industries. The difference, if any, consists in a hold on the confidence of the mass of the people and sailors of its navy. Excluded from the franchise difference of language. Substitute "Industrial Deremains firm. The food shortage is acute, but the are: All who employ labour for profit, have an mocracy," "workers' control of industry," &c., for unearned income, all traders and middlemen, all "Soviet control," &c., and it all vanishes. These servants of religious cults, all employees and agents principles, I may add, are not something hatched in

> It is the workers organised within the industries they work that must form the basis of the future society; and it is not in the least surprising to find this point of view opposed not only by capitalists; but also by professional politicians and middle-class hangers-on to the Labour movement. They are fighting for a place in the sun and, alas! the sun provides no place for them.

> One point I am, however, curious about and should be obliged if someone better acquainted with the state of affairs in Russia would enlighten us upon. It is one that was put years ago to an enthusiastic exponent of these principles from America while on a visit to South Wales. What arrangements are made, if any, for the married women to have a voice in the councils, &c. ? Our American visitor had to admit that this had been overlooked, and was a weakness, since Industrial Unionists claim that everyone rendering useful service to the community had an organisation to belong to, and therefore a voice in the control of

> I repeat there is nothing new or startling in the suggestion of building a new society upon the basis of industry, and if to subscribe to these principles means associating oneself with the Bolsheviks then I am happy to be of the number.—Yours, &c., W. H. MAINWARING.

DEAR EDITOR,-It is hard now, when the Bolsheviks are at bay, fighting for us against the two DEAR EDITOR,—The state of affairs in Russia as Leagues of Imperialist nations, to criticise coldly their

All commercially developed countries present ex- That constantly recurring criticism that the Bolsheviks are building on purely syndicalist lines

appears to me a pure misconception. The Soviets are not industrial unions, but local representative bodies elected by individuals. The whole Soviet system is based not on industrial but upon geographical

Committees are a beginning—but only a beginning and the hardest task of the Revolution, apart from the coping with external foes, will be the building up

One other point: the queer notion of some Socialists that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a bad thing, and that all classes should be on an equality

J. E. FRANCIS.

THE TRUTH IN A NUTSHELL.

The Times Vladivostok correspondent says: "Conmarch of French troops through the town....At the saluting point at the Czech Headquarters there was some cheering among the better-dressed people in the crowd. The large Bolshevist element, of course, looks upon foreign troops as taking the bread out of their mouths." Were these "better-dressed people" Counter Revolutionaries who oppose the Bolshevik determination to secure social and economic

# SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

V.—INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION. We may fitly begin this section with a quotation rom the Plebs League's pamphlet, 'What Does Education Mean to the Workers? ': "If the aim of the Labour movement is a real social reconstruction, then, in spite of all the hindrances thrown in the way by those interested in the preservation of the existing order, it must enable its members attain a full and clear knowledge of the facts about society. Now, where are the workers to turn to for full and clear knowledge of this kind ? Obviously the State will not supply it—any more than it will finance the workers to overthrow the pitalist order of society. The State exists defend the existing order; and the people who draw profit, rent, and interest, control "State" education. The State may be left to provide education in the elementary subjects . . . . although there may be ample room for improvement in the way these subjects are taught to the children the workers. But the Labour movement will be its philosophy of life. There is no possible harmony neglecting its own vital interests if it omits to provide, and to control, its own educational instiutions, in which an exact knowledge of the it is desirable for the members of that class to have oundations and development of society may be taught . . . . A master class will not teach the truth to a subject class; it is indeed incapable of seeing the truth as that subject class sees it. Antagonism of interests between two classes of society means antagonistic views as regards the desirability or otherwise of "reconstruction"; or, at least, as capitalist world of to-day has a different part from regards the extent and thoroughness of that reconstruction. The Labour movement has its basis in the antagonism of interests existing between Capital and Labour. Then the education with which it is concerned must be based on a recognition of this same antagonism." We have shown that we do not fully agree with

one proposition in this admirable passage, namely, that "the State may be left to provide education in the elementary subjects." As is obvious from the previous sections, we are in this matter even more revolutionary than the above-quoted exponents of the Plebs League policy, and we desire to urge upon organised Labour that it is eminent desirable, in the interests of rapid progress towards what the pamphlet euphemistically terms "reconstruction," to make a widespread effort to supersede

elementary education by the capitalist State might be improved so as to render it tolerably acceptable to the workers; and we have agreed, nay insisted, that "school age" is not a period of life during which it is desirable to draw undue attention to the history or the actualities of the class struggle. But after puberty the case is vitally altered. The expanding mind is now forming its general theories, between the outlook which a master class must desire a servile class to have and the outlook which in view of the possibilities of and necessity for revolt. Nor is there any harmony between the educational needs of the young adult workers in the class State of to-day and those of the young adult workers in the co-operative commonwealth of the future. The adult proletarian in the that which will be played by the adult freeman or freewoman of the polity of to-morrow. He and she (for they stand or fall together) must be made class-conscious, must become fully aware of the existence and nature of the class struggle, must learn how they can employ their energies in the great movement by which class rule will ultimately be overthrown. Either that, or remain in the Lumpenproletariat, dumb driven cattle, neither desiring nor deserving a better fate. There is but one more alternative—to seize one of the scant opportunities still offered the workers to climb out of the class in which they were born. We are realists, and have no grudge against those whose tastes induce them to avail themselves of such a

But to-hammer the cold iron hot on the anvil of tions as the University Extension Movement or the State in the education of very young children the first alternative, this is the function of the W.E.A. in this country. In Russia, one may and of children of school age. But there are two Plebs League, founded in 1908, which seeks "to presume, it has been some such movement as ifications, practical and philosophical respective further the interests of independent working-class ours, working more or less underground since the tively, for the phrase we deprecate. In the first education as a partisan effort to improve the first revolution of 1905, which has contributed to place, it is far easier to step in with the provision position of Labour in the present, ultimately render possible the Bolshevist Revolution of a definitely Socialist education at an age when assisting the abolition of wage-slavery." This is November, 1917. In the U.S. we believe that the the children of the workers have been surrendered the object of the Central Labour College, founded Rand School of Social Science pursues kindred by the State educators as finished products, than in 1909 by several districts of the South Wales aims. Its new home, the "House of Man" in it is to oust the State from the field of elementary Miners and by the Amalgamated Society of New York City, has a lecture theatre seating six education, a field where the capitalist regime has Railway Servants. This is the object of the affili- hundred persons. In Austria there is an energetic long been strongly entrenched. In the second ated bodies and classes now being organised all body called the Friends of Children which underplace, until the age of 14 or 15, until puberty (to over the United Kingdom. This is the object of takes independent working-class education, but is use the scientific term), the aims of Socialist similar organisations in various Continental coun- concerned rather with children of school age than education to-day are to a large extent identical tries and in the U.S. But before we give a very with the teaching of economics and history from with those which will be the aims of Socialist brief account of these, let us quote from the Socialist standpoint to those whose elementary education in the co-operative commonwealth— preamble of the Central Labour College—a education has been finished. A fuller account of namely, to aid and guide that expansion of in- document, we think, destined to rank in Socialist the activities of this body must be deferred to the dividuality which is the main purpose of education history beside the Communist Manifesto and the next section. Enough has been said to show that and of the whole art of life. During these earlier preamble of the American Industrial Workers of in wishing to extend, co-ordinate, and interyears of growth, the function of education has (in the World. "To the organised Labour movement nationalise all efforts of this kind, with a view to our opinion) an individual far more than a social we appeal for support upon a question which lies the exalting of the powers of the third person in reference; but the aim of assisting satisfactory, at the very foundation of working-class organisa- the new Socialist trinity, our voice is by no means healthful, and happy individual development tion. We do not trust our economic security to that of one crying in the wilderness.

coincides to a remarkable extent with the aim of the good intentions of the possessing class. We fitting the child to become a harmonious member do not rely upon the politics of our employers for of a social community—whether that community measures of progressive legislation. We establish be of the comparatively low type that prevails our own economic fortifications, we have our own to-day or of the high type that will prevail in the political weapons, we control our own literature. future. The general aptitudes and habits we Why, then, should we not as independently encourage are desirable in a society of either type. manage our own educational affairs? Even as we Conversely, the habits and aptitudes we discourage have a platform of our own and a press of our own, and counter-suggest are those which would unfit let us have educational institutions of our own.... the child to become a happy and happiness- The working class must achieve its own salvation. conferring citizen whether in the republic of Plato It must develop its own social intelligence....Our or in the dregs of Romulus. To a degree, therefore, aim is simply 'the education of the workers in the interests of the workers.' "

> Now this movement on behalf of independent working-class education is world-wide. It is one of the new trinity of Socialist methods. The old trinity, of which the present writers used to hear so much during some years spent in France before the war, was the trade union movement (old style), the parliamentary Socialist movement, and the co-operative movement. Let none underrate their importance, but it is largely historic. The new trinity consists of industrial unionism, workers committees (or soviets), and independent workingclass education. The "persons" in a trinity should be co-equal, but we sometimes incline to a heretical exaltation of the importance of the third item in our list. At any rate the third item is the subject of the present series of articles, and we shall welcome any information our comrades can furnish as to the present state of the movement in other lands. Our own knowledge is extremely fragmentary, and during the temporary suspension of Western civilisation we can hardly expect to increase it greatly. The reference in our second section to "the workers' educational committees" whose "attention has here and there been turned to child education," and indeed E. H.'s whole article shows that something of the kind is going on in Germany. In France, in many large industrial centres, there are Popular Universities (Universités populaires) which really deserve their name, i.e., they are genuinely working-class institutions and are run in working-class interests (as understood by those whose outlook on the class struggle is that expounded in this essay); they have nothing in common with such benevolent institu-

#### BACK TO THE LAND.

#### WHAT SOME DISCHARGED SOLDIERS WANT.

The Sheffield branch of the National Federation Locality. of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers has sent us the following scheme :-

SMALL ALLOTMENTS OR HOLDINGS FOR DISCHARGED SAILORS AND SOLDIERS.

and become "food producers," at the same time House. ing for lack of advice, the instruction could be either not be more than £250, inclusive of out-buildings. oral or a postal course, followed by an examination Capital.

to satisfy as to progress, &c. complete, should be built, with the necessary out- freedom to do when desirable. dings, such as a tool-shed, pig-stye, hen-house for Decease. 150 heads of poultry.

Division of Land. l acre of good garden land.

l acre of grass land. I acre for a house, and orchard to take all kinds

of fruit-trees, &c. With such a garden, worked on the Intensive System, t would provide a good living for the man and his family, and make him an independent and selfrespecting citizen.

It should be adjacent to a town, with not too distant trail or tram facilities for him to get his produce to the market; or some Co-operative Collecting System could be operative, so manipulated that the smallholder could not be exploited by the wholesaler.

It is submitted that the following scheme for What would be the cost? Three acres of land. placing discharged sailors and soldiers who may This he has paid for with his blood and family have some knowledge and desire to go on the land sacrifice. It is only a bit of the land he has fought for.

relieving the Government of the interminable expense A shelter for his family. The politician, statistician of pensions, at a comparatively small initial cost, by and the capitalist see to it that they are not the commuting the pensions of men and giving them a producers of large families, therefore they must be freehold" in their own right, in view of the pensions compelled to see that the lads that have fought for the earned. It is claimed there are hundreds, if not protection of their homes shall not be wanting for housands, who would readily take an offer of this shelter (and not a pigstye) for their families which they kind, and would succeed if only a little instruction have produced for the future benefit of the Empire. could be arranged so that they were not left flounder- It is maintained that the cost of these dwellings would

We then claim not less than £100 of capital on loan It is suggested that the Government have access (at the option of the claimant), without interest, to to Crown or Common Lands, which could be split up be repaid to the Government at the rate of £5 per ann., into small holdings of not more than "three acres," commencing at the end of the second year. A safewhich, it is maintained, is all that one man and his guard could be made that the holder could not dispose family could manage among themselves; on each of of the holding until after five years or not until he these holdings a six-roomed cottage, with a bathroom had redeemed the loan, which he would have the

In the event of decease the property would come under the custody of the survivor, i.e. (husband or wife). On the decease of the last survivor the property would be sold, the Government having the priority of purchase at the market value. The proceeds being subject to the will of the last survivor.

Disposal of the Property. In the event of the Government purchasing property of deceased, it is desirable that the property should be held in reserve for another discharged

soldier or sailor, who may require it, in order to keep the Plots to the purpose for which they were Solution of the Housing Problem.

The politician is crying out for a housing scheme for 500,000 houses. We submit here a scheme which may well go a long way to ease the congestion by taking out of the Towns the partially disabled who are able to work sufficiently to earn a livlihood by either gardening, poultry farming, or rearing pigs, or the many side lines which would be open if a man had the land and accommodation for development.

The eventual development could be accentuated by centres of instruction in horticulture, the science of poultry rearing, pig breeding, and marketing, and in many other ways.

N.B.—It is also desirable that the pension should not be touched until one year after entry on the holding. And some guarantee in the form of a preliminary examination, in whatever business the man has decided to follow as a main means of support. The examination being the result of the instruction given either by oral or postal instruction. This is submitted as a basis upon which a scheme

may be considered. Useful suggestions and criticisms are invited, but we advocate the complete socialisation of the land .-ED. W.D.]

ILLEGAL RENT-RAISING.

News reaches us from Melksham, Wilts., that farmers have raised the rents of their farm labourers' cottages from 1s. weekly to 3s. per week. In one instance the man had lived in the cottage for twentyeight years. It is noteworthy that these increases of 2s. per week date from the fixing of 30s. as minimum wage for agriculture labourers. This wage includes cost of all allowances such as milk, housing and land. Therefore, these landlords by their actions are infringing the law in two ways: first the Rent Act which forbids raising rent, and secondly the minimum wage, which makes no allowance for increasing by two hundred per cent houses or other supplies which are part of wages. It is simply robbing the unfortunate labourers.

#### LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23rd. Rathbone Street, Canning Town.-11,30 A.M. Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24th. Great Push in Waterloo Road on Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All. - Meet at 3 P.M. and 6.15 P.M.; outside "Old Vic." Speakers: Mrs. Davies, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, Mr. H. E. Russell.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 25th. The Flagstaff, Hampstead.—3 P.M., Miss Price. Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—6.30 P.M., Mrs.

MONDAY, AUGUST 26th. Hoe Street, Walthamstow. - 7 P.M., Mrs. Cressall. TUESDAY, AUGUST 27th.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30th. Morpeth Street, Bethnal Green.-11.30 A.M., Miss SATURDAY, AUGUST 31st.

Great Push in Hammersmith

MONDAY, AUGUST 26th. 44, Malden Road, St. Paneras W.S.F. 2.30 P.M., Business meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS. TUESDAY, AUGUST 27th. Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION NOTES. Clock Tower, Burdett Road. -11.30 A.M., Miss Old Ford Road, on Saturday, August 31st, at 7 P.M.

GENERAL STRIKES.

THEIR OBJECTS AND RESULTS.

employers, assisted by renegades of the Labour

tion of previous strikes, their objects and results

if the circulation can be largely increased it will

Surely it is not necessary for me to dwell upon

secures a fair hearing in the capitalist Press.

(1916). In response to a toast of the Independent

Press, Mr. John Swinton said: 'There is no such

thing as an Independent Press unless it is in the

country towns, and you know it. I am paid 150

truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of mammon, and to sell his race and country

In examining records of General Strikes it is

interesting to note that the Armed Forces of the

State have been invariably used against the

The first General Strike on record—which was

when the Plebians marched in revolt to the Sacred

Considering general strikes under modern

capitalism, we find that wages have not always been

the question at issue. For instance in 1874 10,000

workers struck in Alicante, Spain, for social

reconstruction (blessed words). This strike was

The great American eight-hour strike of 1886

teaches us many lessons. Riots were deliberately

caused by armed Pinkertons and the police.

Bomb outrages were engineered; men were jailed

and executed; workers were set against workers

as they have been recently in this country;

married v. single, under 24 v. over 24, &c. Divide

THE NEXT INTER-ALLIED SOCIALIST

CONFERENCE.

erence is to be held in the Central Hall, Westminster,

on September 17th, 18th, and 19th. What will

this Conference do regarding the Allied attack on

the Russian Socialist Government? What steps

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American

Federation of Labour is said to have asked for the

conference which he will attend. Is he about to

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON.

Our congratulations to her on having won freedom

to return home to Ireland. This she accomplished

by showing that she could neither be kept alive in

THE LUXURY TAX.

by the costly army of officials who will be employed.

More money would be saved by stopping the war.

The shopkeeperj will, of course, make the purchaser

ALLIED FOOD CONTROL.

liberations indicate that food prices will rise again.

The profiteers are being safe-guarded as usual.

Guileless people would think that Allied co-operation

Press notices of the Allied food controllers' de-

This tax will never be completely enforced even

prison nor, if at large, out of Ireland.

manage these things for themselves?

will it take to secure a meeting of the International

and rule is the object and the moral is obvious.

suppressed presumably by the military machine.

augury for direct action.

would be quite in season.

By T. C. HOLLOWELL, Amalgamated Toolmakers.

In view of the fact that the State and the

## WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

THE IRON HEEL.

Although it has been publicly announced that the Embargo on skilled men is suspended, men leaving their jobs for better conditions find that various reasons are being given by the firms for not engaging them after promising a job. After all, the embargo stunt is merely the consummation of the Derby attestation scheme and one cannot discuss it except in relation to other circumstances. Side by side with the embargo we have the compulsory W.M.V. scheme, the determination of the not permit of going into details. I am informed State not to allow employers to pay above the by the editorial staff of The Dreadnought that district rate and the determination of the employers themselves to eliminate the comparatively highly · paid workers. In The Daily Chronicle, August 17th, upon Workshop Notes will have a full page and 1918, it is reported that a well-known firm of perhaps more. So it is up to all readers to push motor manufacturers employed in making shells the paper in the Workshop and Branch. was fined for increasing wages of certain workmen without permission, and we have evidence that it the power of the Press, that is sufficiently demonis the intention of the Federated Employers to strated every day. The workers's case never reduce the workers' wages to the bare minimum. The exigencies of the war have made it necessary To quote from The State by W. Paul:to take men from the workshop and at the same time demand an enormous output of munitions, with the result that the demand for men especially skilled far exceeds the supply. The workers, recognising this, go where they can get the biggest To counteract this the Munitions Act, with paper I am connected with. We are the tools and its leaving certificates, was put on the Statute vassals of the rich men behind the scenes. We are Book. Persistent agitation succeeded in abolishing the jumping jacks. Our talents, our possibilities, the leaving certificates and again the workers and our lives are the property of other men. The began leaving their jobs for higher rates. The business of the New York journalist is to destroy the lower-rated firms kicked and to keep the worker on the border line of bare subsistence came the for his daily bread." compulsory . W.M.V. scheme and the embargo. And now another Army Order has been issued.

The Daily News of August 7th says that: "By an Army Order issued last night a soldier released from military duty for civil employment shall not be entitled to Army pay or allowances, notwithstanding that he has not been discharged or transferred to the Army Reserve "-which means that it will be possible to put us all in khaki without any pay except our ordinary wages. And what is the next step, my comrades? With the embargo and industrial compulsion in full operation the workers will, in all probability, should the war last long enough, be placed on ordinary army rations, all of which is, of course, to "make the world safe for democracy." It is time we got a move on. Let us continue to develop the Shop Stewards Movement. Therein lies our only hope.

#### LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

At the second Newbold Lecture both the Speaker and Chairman, Cedar Paul, were in great form, and the audience was deeply interested. But we want the Hall packed. It is proposed to run Lectures throughout the winter, some on Thursdays, some Saturdays. Probably on September 5th W. F. Watson will again lecture on the 'Growth and Development of the Workers' Committee Movement.' Attempts are still being made to make the L.W.C. a representative body, but more associate members are required. Further particulars from T. F. Knight, 7 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.1.

#### A MOVE TOWARDS CO-ORDINATION.

On Friday, August 16th, a mass meeting of shop modify his jingoism, or does he hope to stampede stewards was held at Holborn Hall to hear the final report of Rock victimisation case. W. F. Watson reported on the strike and inquiry. It was decided to issue a report in pamphlet form to sell at 2d. It was agreed that the Committee remains in existance until a more representative committee is elected. A resolution was unanimously adopted asking the Shops Committees to assist in organising mass meetings in their districts to get into immediate touch with the Provisional Committee and other shops in their areas and pledging the Provisional Committee to give effect to the Executive's recommendation to set up in London and its environs an administrative body representative of all workers regardless of craft, pay the tax grade, or sex.

The pending women's strike was discussed, and it was decided to recommend the Shop Committees to give the women every possible support. Similarly with the Embargo. It was recognised that the only way effectively to combat the attempts to force Industrial Conscription upon us is by and through the Shops Committees. The Secretary reported a deficit of £19 and the shops are being asked to make it good.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 13d. -Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

WOMEN WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton.—Hostess, Miss-

#### ANTIQUES.

For Genuine Old English Furniture and China MARY CASEY, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2.

Greer's Agreeable BOW.—A Social and Dance will be held at 400, BAKING, CUSTARD, EGG AND BLANCMANGE POWDERS

In 11d. Packets. Obtainable from all grocers, wholesale D. W. GREER & CO., London, S.E.5

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 Movement, are attempting to destroy the workers most powerful weapon, the strike, an examinawould 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 Unfortunately the space at my disposal does 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 be possible to increase its size to six pages, wherecitizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished.

Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

#### PIGEON CHEST, SPINAL CURVATURE. KNOCK-KNEES, AND FLAT-FOOT

"At a banquet of newspaper men in New York CURED BY EXERCISE TREATMENT.

FRED FRENCH, ARCADE, NORTHAMPTON.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

## REMEMBER THE DATE!

VOI | are cordially invited to our RUSSIAN I OU "AT HOME," on Sunday Afternoon, SEPTEMBER 8th, at 4 p.m., in the Hall, 400 Old Ford, Road. E.3.

Music, Songs, Recitations, Refreshments. Short Speeches by Russian Friends. COME and BRING YOUR FRIENDS WITH YOU.

also victorious- occurred in Rome (B.C. 494), WOOLWICH TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL WOOLWICH LABOUR PARTY Mount. The Syndicalists regard this as a good ROYAL ARSENAL SHOP STEWARD'S COMMITTEE. Under the above auspices a

# Great Labour free speech and free press Demonstration

### PLUMSTEAD COMMON

On Saturday, August 31st, 6 p.m. akers, J. Ramsay Macdonald M.P., Jack Sheppard-Chair, J. E. Mills.

Procession assembles at Plumstead Station, 5.15 p.m. Other Information from Mr. C. NEW, Acting Secretary, Woolwich Trades Council, 3, New Road, S.E. 18.

# Another Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Con- "DREADNOUGHT" ON SALE At Mrs. CARFORD'S,

WEST STREET, SHEFFIELD, Wholesale and Retail.

B. S. P. (Central London). Every Tuesday, 8 p.m., from September 3rd, at East-West Club (Minerva), 144, High Holborn. Subject for September 3rd, "IT," by Eden Paul. Admission Free.

#### LEANEY'S LTD.,

WHOLESALE NEWSAGENTS. City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought. 9 and 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4-(Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.).

would prevent prices rising in Allied markets: it -might, but it won't under present conditions. When will the workers —the great majority— decide to and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Fords Road, London, E.3

# THE WORKERS'

For International Socialism.

Vol. V.-No. 23

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31st, 1918

Price Twopence.

# THE EMBARGO.

An open letter to Skilled Workers inquiry" is going to effect I do not know; but we advantage of the interference. ght to proceed with an inquiry of our own. The embargo is what? The prevention of the EMPLOYERS WHO ARE SHORT OF like the price of bread to go up. Hence when we employment of further skilled men at certain firms in order to give a drift to skilled labour in the direction of other firms. To achieve this an Order was issued by the Minister of Munitions.

WHY WAS THE ORDER POSTED? might not have developed at all. The workers The language is clear, the tone may be pleasant, do when an employer ceases to want them, and it and the position of the worker appears cheerful. would have been some considerable time ere they Actually, however, the worker has to choose discovered the move to be deliberate.

through the channels of the labour market would ills he has, &c." appear to be one of those unique events which of the capitalist class, like the rank and file of the the embargo scheme is of an active character. trade unions, object to executive control, and are ference. Seeing that the "mutual interest" AFFECTS MOBILITY OF LABOUR. explanation has fallen through, the accusing finger

NATURALLY RISE, BUT EMBARGO PREVENTS WAGES RISING.

known as the normal action of the market. When there and of a very contemptible kind. labour is scarce, wages rise, and the effect of the naturally have been to induce employers who

existence of piece-work and bonus systems, &c, provides great scope for variations in earnings.

BROTHERS,-The extention of the "embargo" of labour. Again, the "mutuality of interest" wages, and when we are going to win a war In suspended pending an inquiry. What "the theory breaks down and the employers reap the the first instance, our wages are our prices as

Those who are short of labour get their labour, of a great Empire, which the employing classes and those who have their supply possess the own and, as they do not want to lose it, and, in weapon of coercion over their workmen. In the fact, may win some handsome prizes by fighting, Strange to relate, the Order was communicated latter case it works as follows: "Well, if you are we are viewed as heroes and heroines of a great to the workers. Had this not been done a crisis not satisfied you know you are at liberty to leave." race. would have gone to another firm, as they usually the twinkle in the employer's eye may be merry, APPROVAL OF THE WAR IMPLIES between a worse employer and the Army. In country acquiesce in its prosecution Such agree-At first glance this generous disclosure of an these glorious days of "patriotism" even the man ment implies responsibility, and when the govern-Order for the direction of the commodity, labour with a grievance grins and prefers to "endure the ing body responsible for the conduct of the war

ployers and employees; but there is a fly in the BOTH MEAN INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION. continent for, our Coventry comrades inform us Extended far enough this coercion is unare compelled, therefore, to look for another the "leaving certificate" was in vogue. The tive scheme for effecting the objects of the Governexplanation of the incident. A little research into difference between the leaving certificate scheme company reports and reconstruction publications and the embargo scheme is as follows: The leaving will reveal the fact that many of the rank and file certificate scheme was of a passive character and

ever "kicking against the pricks" of State inter- LEAVING CERTIFICATES CHECK, EMBARGO

The first was introduced and enforced to check points to an old time trick of the employing class, the mobility of labour, its tendency to move in namely, the use of the workers and their grievances search of better jobs. The embargo is introduced tion. So long as the human tragedy continues o fight the battles of individual employers and to affect the mobility of labour, to coerce it into such an attitude is contemptible. groups of employers, while they enjoy "our moving in the direction desired by the employing

WHEN LABOUR IS SCARCE WAGES LEAVING CERTIFICATES IMMEDIATE, the future of their trade. So the issue changes EMBARGO GRADUAL IN EFFECT. The first was made general at once. The second Now let us turn to the embargo. First of all it is more indirect and will be fully achieved only after the working class have acquiesced in the war and prevents the raising of wages through what is a considerable time. Nevertheless the coercion is

to attract men from other employers. But there treated as commodities. On no previous occasion of age being taken for the army, all for the prosecuis a war on-and the Government being in need, have the workers had their commodity status tion of the war. These are deadly facts to meet as we are told, of munitions, &c., steps into the thrust so insultingly in their faces. "We have now with the plea of trade interests. So long as arena to help those who are short of labour. ratoned butter, meat, sugar, and other com- the war continues with the agreement of the ONLY THE MINIMUM IS GUARANTEED. men were, and are, anxious to be treated as accepted with all their consequences. That fact There is a guarantee that district rates shall be commodities in an open market with a shortage of can never be forgotten. paid; hence it is asserted that wages are not labour, but are not prepared to be so treated when lowered. This is very plausible, but the day-rate the commodities require controlling. We can't THE CONTINUANCE OF THE WAR MEANS is the minimum which is guaranteed, and the have it both ways.

STRIKERS AND FIGHTERS.

The firms which offer the best conditions are This confusion is no new thing. It is because skilled labour which exists and the extention of usually well supplied. Thus the embargo coerces we of the working class are human commodities dilution. The consequences are not to be forgotten men into shops indirectly, without the corre- that this confusion exists. It explains the either. They are the further depreciation of the sponding return which the open market would have difference in the attitude of the employing class trade and the possibility of a further withdrawal

brought to them under the stress of the shortage towards us when we apply for an advance in commodities, and the employer does not like the price of his commodities to rise any more than we LABOUR GET LABOUR; THOSE WHO strike, the employers view us as the "unruly mob," HAVE LABOUR GET THE MEANS TO the "ignorant crowd led by youthful agitators." In the second instance we are the men and women

RESPONSIBILITY TO PROSECUTE IT There is a war on now and the workers of this makes certain demands upon them, they are faced with certain courses of action. They have either illustrate the "mutuality of interest" of em- EMBARGO AND LEAVING CERTIFICATES (a) to prove that the reasons advanced in support of the demands are not tenable; (b) to repudiate the prosecution of the war and accept responsithat they were told by their capitalist "brothers" doubtedly a kind of Industrial Conscription. We bility for such a course; (c) to assent to the in industry: "This is your funeral, not ours." We sampled one kind of industrial conscription when Government's demands; (d) to promise an alternament. No one has attempted to show that there is not a shortage of 60,000 to 70,000 skilled men and a need for more efficient distribution; nor have the workers adopted the other three courses. So we are in the midst of contradictions, an acceptance of the war policy and a refusal of responsibility. We have observed that a number of obnoxious consequences are involved in the embargo; but they do not justify an attitude of all round nega-

THE WAR V THE TRADE But we are told the engineers are concerned for to the war versus the trade. Let us face this issue squarely. The engineers along with the rest of the existence of the War Cabinet to conduct it. That body has declared the war to be primary, the trade secondary. The workers have not shortage of 60,000 to 70,000 skilled men would HUMAN BEINGS TREATED AS COM- objected. The engineers have agreed and acquiesced in the dilution of their trade by agreeurgently wanted men to offer better terms in order The trouble arises because human beings are ment. They have agreed to youths up to 23 years modities, therefore we must ration labour." The workers the problems which arise will have to be

THE DEPRECIATION OF THE TRADE.

The only way in which this immediate problem can be solved is by the efficient distribution of the of skilled labour for the Army.

Continued on back page.

was left upon M. Turpin's own hands. Parts were made in different factories, and were then put together by him elsewhere. The finished article was handed to the French War Office almost on the eve of war. Attempts have been made by German agents to discover the inventor's secret. It is believed that France will only make general use of turpinite in the last resort. It is affirmed, however, that its deadly powers have been tested experimentally against the Germans on one or two occasions.

The moral of all this appears to be that atrocities are a feature of warfare; that war itself is the great atrocity, and that to go on fighting to punish the other side for its atrocities is hypocritical, wicked,

THE COAL RATION.

The coal ration is unfair to the poor. If a single family occupies a twelve-roomed house it probably only requires two, or, at most, three fires at one time; yet it is entitled to II tons of coal per annum. A family of the same number of persons crowded into three rooms gets only 31 tons a year. It is expressly stated that furnished bedrooms which are only occasionally occupied count

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

#### WHO FIRST USED POISONED GAS?

Information replied :-

'that Dundonald, who was born in 1775 and died in 1860, and was an expert chemist as well as a great sailor, warned the British Government in the early part of the nineteenth century that it was technically possible to produce an asphyxiating gas which could be employed in military operations. Its employment by the British Government was never seriously considered, such a method of warfare being condemned as too inhuman. The fact that the Hague Convention of 1899, to which Germany was a party, expressly forbade the use of asphyxiating gas is sufficient evidence that the possibilities of gas as a weapon of offence were known to all the War Offices." .

A German wireless message of the 17th inst. maintained that poison gases were first used on March 1st, 1915, by the British and French, whilst the first German attack with poison gas took place on April 24th, 1915. The British Ministry of

The first portion of this statement is, of course, a deliberate falsehood, for which there is not the slightest vestige of justification."

The German press has asserted that the idea gas in 1914. If they will turn to some of the of using poison gas originated with the British newspaper files for September of that year they Admiral Dundonald. The British Ministry of will find that they are right; for here is an extract from The Evening Standard of September 18th,

TURPINITE. FRANCE'S APPALLING NEW EXPLOSIVE. DEATH-DEALING FUMES.

Persistent and apparently well-authenticated reports from France declare that our Ally is in possession of the most appalling engine of destruction ever devised by man. This is turpinite, an explosive which is said to have killed whole battalions of Germans at a time.

While there is probably no truth in the statement

that turpinite has actually been employed in the war, some remarkable details of the power of the deadly explosive have been received in London. It is named after its discoverer, M. Turpin, and a single 56 lb. shell is, it is said, able to kill every living thing in a space of 400 square yards. Experiments carried out with animals have proved the truth of this claim. The effect of the gases generated by the explosion of the shell is to "petrify" every living thing within the radius mentioned. Like most inventors, M. Turpin received little encouragement from the

For many years he worked away in private in the little town of Pontoise, some twenty miles from have the recollection of hearing of the use of poison Paris. The manufacture of the actual gun even

Information's reply was :-

But some people with good memories will surely