THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

Vol. V.—No. 25 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th, 1918 Price Twopence.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

The Trade Union Congress this year celebrated its Jubilee. Its constituent bodies have added a million and a half to their membership during the year and it now represents four and a half million organised workers. Had it the will thereto and were its members vitally active in its policies it could make history; it could control the destinies of this country. But it does not yet; it stands outside the main current of events; it awaits humbly the dictates of the Government and the employing class.

The Mayor of Derby opened the Congress, wearing his civic chain and backed by a row of halberdiers in shabby ancient dresses, looking as dismally foolish as stage supers without the footlights. He told the delegates that he welcomed them, not for the numbers they represented, but because they had shown themselves "as ready to take up the burden of Empire as any section of the community," and assuring them that the ideals of the employing classes were the same as their own and that employers regarded trade unionism in quite another light than before the War.

The Congress was fortunate in its President, J. W. Ogden, a typical Lancashire cotton operative, a plain man, kindly and humorous, patient and fair in his ruling, so that he was able to preserve order though his words were heard with difficulty in the turmoil. His opening address was not revolutionary, but it showed the influence of the revolutionary thought which is growing amongst the rank and file of British trade unionism; it reflected, too, the war weariness and disillusion and the desire for international amity amongst the workers which now obtains amongst the vast majority of the delegates to Labour conferences. He advocated the union of the forces of the political and industrial movements and the co-operative movement, stating that during the year a united advisory Council of Trade Unionists and Co-operators had been formed, that the two movements represent eight million members, and that no power can withstand their onward march. The rank and file of the trade union world is moving towards amalgamation; industrial unionism is invincible. He referred to the perpetual friction between unions on questions of demarcation, and declared that the workers must be consolidated in *one trade union*. He complained that the activities of the trade union movement are impeded by the war and urged that advantage must be taken of every opportunity to stop the destruction of human life, that the sword had been tried for "four terrible years" and that the workers must not "supinely" allow it to go on doing "its awful work year after year." Again and again he affirmed his faith in the International. "Internationalism has not yet failed....fully representative Internationalism has not yet been tried." He hoped that the Jubilee Year would begin the building of an International Trades Union Organisation that would be world wide in its ramifications and influence. An International Labour and Socialist Conference he considered "a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of a lasting and democratic peace." It was probably futile to argue the immediate causes of the war after four years, but "discussion could take place on the Manifesto of the Neutral Socialists (signed by Branting), Allied Labour's War Aims, and the Memoranda submitted to the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee at Stockholm." In this it would seem that Mr. Ogden has gone further than Mr. Henderson's recent declarations in which he appears to have expressed the view that the Inter-Allied Manifesto must form the basis of the discussion, and that the German Socialists must express their willingness to accept that before an International Conference can be held. "A discussion on the origin of the War could not be excluded if this were desired by any section." This would seem to imply that Mr. Ogden does not desire it. The German Socialists have been blamed for declaring such a discussion futile. Did Mr. Ogden here express the views of official British Labour? He added:—

"Even this will not be the last war unless the democracies of the world make up their minds to take the sceptre from the hands of those who in the past have had the power by devious, secret, and questionable diplomacy to unsheathe the sword.... The peoples of Europe....had themselves no hand in it....All war is cruel and inhuman....Our aim should be to get the peoples of the world to reason together, rather than to slaughter each other. So long as the workers allow themselves to be divided war will always be possible. Let us divest ourselves of the bickerings that have divided us as workers as the consequence of the war....World brotherhood may seem further away to-day than ever. In spite of that I shall still look towards it as the salvation of the world and the only hope of the workers...."

And yet, after all that, sincere and good man as no doubt he is, his face was wreathed in smiles as he announced with expressions of pleasure that Lens had fallen to the British. When we are really internationalists; when we genuinely believe in "world brotherhood" we shall find no pleasure in military victories in a war in which "the peoples" have had "no hand"!

Mr. Ogden observed that the British Government has no intention of granting facilities to the workers to hold a conference, but he suggested no action to meet that situation. He did not refer to the new war which has broken out between the Russian people's Soviet Government and the capitalistic Governments of the Allies. His speech struck the keynote of the Conference; a sad, inactive compunction for the old war between the Governments of the Allies and Central Empires; a lack of realisation of the war between the people of Russia and the Governments of Europe.

THE PASSPORTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

The Report of the Parliamentary Committee tells the story of the abortive attempts made to hold an International Conference. First the resolutions adopted at Blackpool last year approving the holding of an Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference on war aims, and determining that should agreement be reached by that Conference that an International Conference should be held in Switzerland. Then the Inter-Allied Conference in London on February 20th. The decision to send a delegation to secure the co-operation of the official American Labour Movement which was holding aloof. The refusal of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, on the suggestion of Mr. Havelock Wilson, to man the ship in which the delegation was to sail. The arrival of a Labour delegation from America and the refusal of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union to allow Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, to cross the Channel to a consultation in Paris. In the report was a letter from Havelock Wilson stating that his Union was "quite prepared to face the issue at the next Trade Union Congress." Smith of the London and Provincial Vehicle Workers here intervened, asking: "What has the Seamen's and Firemen's Union done to restrain you?" and "What action does the Parliamentary Committee recommend this Congress to take?" The Chairman replied: "We recommend nothing," and referred Mr. Smith to the Standing Orders Committee. Later in the week he again tried to raise the matter without success.

The Report went on to tell of the Government's refusal to grant a passport to Miss Bondfield to attend the Convention of the American Federation of Labour as a delegate from the Parliamentary Committee, the excuse being that regulations had been issued "prohibiting women and children from travelling overseas." Other women had been allowed to go. Therefore the Parliamentary Committee recorded in its Report an emphatic protest, but it was decided that Mr. Stuart Bunning should go instead of Miss Bondfield, only it was then too late for passports to be obtained in time for the Convention. It was also told how passports to meet Troelstra in Berne had been refused to the Chairmen and Secretaries of the two great Labour Executives. Robert Smillie complained that the Parliamentary Committee had acted weakly and had lowered the prestige of the movement, that it ought to have called a conference of its constituent bodies when Miss Bondfield's passport was refused. The Government ought to be told that it was possible so to rouse Labour that Labour would take some action. Robert Williams asked that the Standing Orders Committee should draft a strong resolution upon this question though he did not believe very much in resolutions. The 'bus girls and London police men had shown themselves able to force the Government to action. Sanders, one of the 'busmen, said that the Parliamentary Committee ought not to show itself weaker than a little body of 30,000 like the London Vehicle Workers.

The Chairman said: "There is nothing to prevent delegates from going to the Standing Orders Committee with a resolution. They will go with

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QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

RUSSIAN ASSASSINATIONS.

We regret very greatly the death of Captain Cromie and we regret equally the deaths of three soldiers whom he killed, according to the official reports, "with his own hand." In considering the matter we must ask whether the Soviet Government was justified in searching the Embassy. Arthur Ransome writing from Stockholm to *The Daily News* says on the authority of the Moscow *Pravda* that among those arrested in the Embassy was Prince Shakovskoi, "who, of course," says Ransome, "from the point of view of the Soviet is an extreme counter-revolutionary. His presence there was quite enough to justify the suspicions of the Soviet that some sort of dealings were going on with the anti-Soviet parties....it is evident that the Soviet Secret Service had something to go on...." and added that the murderer of the Soviet Minister, Uritzky, made his escape through a house where members of the British Mission had a flat.

Now, if the British Secret Service had had "something to go on" in the case of Mr. Litvinoff and had decided to search his house, and he had replied with armed resistance, what would have happened? What would have happened if John McLean the Bolshevik representative in Glasgow had offered armed resistance when he was arrested and imprisoned because the British Government disliked the speeches he had made? Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the British Government, in common with the other Allies has invaded Russian territory in defiance of the Soviet Government and is actually attacking Soviet troops

Mr. Litvinoff and his staff have been arrested and interned. They made no attempt to kill anyone. We are told that Mr. Litvinoff's papers including his seal were removed from his office by the police without being sealed and he therefore rejects all responsibility for them. Under the Czar's regime when the rooms of suspects were searched and nothing incriminating found, incriminating matter was frequently placed amongst the papers of the suspect. Mr. Litvinoff fears that a similar thing may happen by accident or design. We should like to assure him that in this country such things are impossible, but the world is awry. We can only hope!

Happily Lenin appears to be recovering.

Cut off from food supplies on the one hand by Germany, on the other by the Allies, Bolshevik Russia is in the grip of starvation, but still the Soviet Government holds.

KERENSKY.

Kerensky appears to have fallen between two stools; he has done with the masses and the classes seem to have done with him. Russian officers invited to meet him at the Holborn Restaurant on September 6th walked out refusing to hear him.

PEACE?

There are persistent rumours that the Germans contemplate another peace move. Speed the day!

UNREST.

Strikes for higher pay continue to arise amongst London firemen, postal sorters, asylum attendants, and wardresses asking for equal pay with men can now be added to the list.

THE WHEELDON CASE.

As a result of the visit of Trade Union Congress delegates to Derby a Wheeldon Release Committee has been formed to conduct an agitation to make known the facts concerning the Wheeldon case, and to secure the release of Mrs. Wheeldon's daughter and son-in-law (Winnie and Alfred Mason), who are still kept in prison, though Mrs. Wheeldon herself has been released. It is believed that organised labour can and will secure the release of the Wheeldons. Further particulars can be obtained from Hetty Wheeldon, 907, London Road, Derby.

LONDON WORKERS COMMITTEE.

On Saturday, September 21st W. F. Watson is to lecture at Chandos Hall on "The Position of Women in Industry"; time 7 o'clock. On Saturday, October 12th C. and E. Paul will lecture on 'New Tactics for the Social Revolution,' and on Nov. 9th there is to be a dinner when we expect a goodly gathering of rebels.—T. F. KNIGHT.

Full Report of the Birmingham Conference, by W. F. Watson, in our next issue.

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THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

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our blessing." Eventually the resolution was drafted and brought before the Congress next day and carried by a large majority. Its terms are stronger than those which have figured at Labour Conferences since the war :—

"That this Trade Union Congress having observed the persistent refusal of the Government to afford passport facilities to the properly elected representatives of organised labour, condemns the policy of the Government, and declares that the continuance of such policy is bound to lead to an acceptance of the Government's challenge by the organised Labour Movement.

"This Congress, in view of the repeated appeals made by the responsible State Authorities to speed up the production of munitions and materials of war], warns the Government that the patience of the organised workpeople is rapidly becoming exhausted at the continued affronts to their frequently declared statements in favour of the resumption of international working-class activities."

Moved by R. WILLIAMS.
Seconded by B. SMITH.
Supported by C. G. AMMON.

Is this resolution going to be applied in the form of definite action when the next refusal of passports takes place or is it merely bluff and wind and much ado about nothing? Robert Williams, in supporting it, said that if the Government should continue to flout Labour the, time might come when trade union officials like himself, though they would not call strikes, would cease to restrain them as they did at present. That is asking other people to take the risks and to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for you, Mr. Williams! You should be willing to take the risks with the rest of the Labour army. It is strange that men like Williams and Smillie, who put forward this strongly menacing resolution, should have uttered no word to break down the conspiracy of silence on the terrible happenings in Russia!

ABANDONING THE INTERNATIONAL.

Evidently official Labour intends to let the passport question rest where it is for the present, and, for the moment to abandon the attempt to secure a meeting of the International, for the emergency resolution on the war situation arrived at by the usual compromise between the jingo and relatively pacifist sections makes no direct mention of an international meeting of the workers; it merely asks that "when peace is being discussed adequate Labour representation should be admitted to the peace conference." Here it is :—

"This congress reaffirms the Blackpool Congress resolution and calls for the war aims of the Labour and Socialist parties of the Central Powers in answer to the war aims of the Inter-Allied Conference held in London, which asks for the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world, or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence; and further demands that when peace is being discussed adequate Labour representation should be admitted at the Peace Conference. It urges the Government to establish peace negotiations immediately the enemy, either voluntarily or by compulsion, evacuates France and Belgium, and reaffirms its belief in the principle of the International as the safest guarantee of the world's peace."

The terms of this resolution apparently reduce the passports resolution to mere bluff. It is extraordinary that delegates who have advocated peace by negotiation for months past should have agreed to this resolution, since it virtually commits them not to urge negotiations until the Germans have evacuated France and Belgium. Evidently the Peace by Negotiation Section assented in the belief that the present Allied advance will speedily push the Germans back to their own territory; but how, relatively small is the advance! And how probable it is that another long deadlock will presently follow. The winter, when all war movements are held up, will soon be here.

Moreover, how restricted is the scope of this resolution! Does it not provoke the question, What of Italy? What of Serbia? to name but two of the claimants who possess insistent voices. If we are to wait to negotiate till one set of claimants is satisfied, the others will also feel themselves entitled to make demands.

J. H. Thomas moved the resolution in one of those diplomatic speeches of his, the gist of which is always: Pray do not imagine I mean to suggest that we, the British, are not fighting for freedom alone and are not absolutely in the right; but let us be sure that we shall continue in our righteous course. British Labour, he said, would not sacrifice one life to add a yard to the territory of the British Empire, nor one penny to add to the power of Kings or Emperors; but Labour would fight on and on till militarism, the cause of all wars, was removed. How fighting "on and on" will end militarism he made no attempt to prove, but his speech was greatly applauded.

Will Thorne seconded the resolution. Evidently fearing that his fellow jingoes would say he had given in, he specially informed Mr. Havelock Wilson that he had not been either hypnotised or chloroformed, and that he would not agree to "any international talk" till the German Socialists had tanked their war aims, a thing he was sure they would never do. He exultantly declared that the resolution would allow no peace negotiations until every German had been "knocked out" of Belgium and France.

Ben Turner was brought by the shouts of his supporters to the centre of the arena beneath the platform. His sturdy figure was the centre of cries and counter cries, as with huge stentorian voice he poured forth volleys of pacific words which had no bearing at all upon the resolution he was supposed to be supporting. When he had done Ben Tillett rose in the gallery, squaring his shoulders to outdo Ben Turner's effort. Tillett too was summoned by his backers to the foot of the platform, and whilst the Conference waited for him to make his way down from the gallery, the Chairman's Lancashire accents, with the typical drawing out of the final consonant, announced that, the weather having proved unpropitious for the Mayor's garden party, the delegates were invited to "the drill-ll 'all, the drill-ll 'all, the drill'll 'all." He smiled as though hoping by this diversion to pour oil on troubled waters. And now Ben Tillett's oration. What was it all about? what connection had it with the Conference or the resolution?—

"Democracy is on its trial; there may be a bloody execution of democracy unless those who love liberty stand by democracy in its fight.... I have been to the front nine times.... Who does not want peace? [Someone answered, 'the profiteers.'] Ah, [he said] the profiteers and the pacifists—the Peace Trust!.... I am blaming the German democracy, not the Kaiser—it is the part of Emperors to love murder.... That which lives by the sword shall perish by the sword.... I want to fight this war to a finish.... When we have washed our hands clean of the sanguinary taint there will come into our movement an international amity.... I asked the Germans to strike against war.... it was not even talked out; it was laughed out.... This British Trade Union Movement built up the German movement.... The fighters have given their lives; the peace prattlers have given nothing.... Whether they are right or wrong, we've got to stand by the fighters. Whether the war is right or wrong, we've got to stand by it.... I thank you for your kindness.... I hope you'll carry the resolution; it isn't half as strong as it ought to be!.... May the powers of heaven and the powers of h—— earth contribute,"

So, with a bow, he left the stage.

Havelock Wilson, gaunt and wild of aspect, now stood up in the gallery. He too was cheered by his smaller following. "Come down; Come down," some cried, and others answered: "You can't expect a cripple to come down." "Make yourself comfortable, Mr. Wilson, make yourself comfortable," the Chairman called in soothing tones. Wilson rose slowly and painfully, plodding his way along the gallery, and again the Conference waited, expectant for the next move in this trumpery oratorical contest, in which the international tragedy was used as a mere peg on which to hang the speeches. Havelock Wilson spoke bitterly. Thomas's speech, he said, was a piece of political tight-rope walking; he defied any man to say where he stood :—

"Have you heard there's a country called Russia? This has to be Labour's war aims. Who's Labour? You gentlemen so nice and genteel in this room, are you Labour? Who instructed you? On Dec. 28th you had a conference. The notices for it were sent out on December 22nd. I defy any man to say the members of the Unions were consulted. When Stephen Walsh suggested the calling of another conference to find out the views of the rank and file, you turned it down...."

Some of the jibes went home.

C. G. Ammon (Postal Group) took up the cudgels for the pacifists, declaring that every one knew that the "prattlers" on the war side were making a very good business out of it. His voice was drowned by cries of "withdraw," but the Chairman said that though the language was strong he could not ask Ammon to withdraw it. The allegation of having made no sacrifices, said Ammon, was a boomerang that had a return effect. There were men in prisons and lunatic asylums for their peace principles. Tillett had said he was prepared to support an economic war against Germany after this war. How then could this be a war to end war? Why were the schools being militarised?

AMMON REPUDIATES THE SOVIETS.

The Allied Governments, and especially that of Britain, were responsible for the present state of Russia. Had they backed the Revolution they would have maintained Kerensky in power as Henderson had begged them to do. The belligerent Governments would rather make peace with each other than allow any democracy to emerge. "Not," he added, "that I am in favour of the present regime." And why not, Mr. Ammon? Why not? Do you quarrel with the Soviets for publishing the Secret Treaties; for demanding peace without annexations or indemnities and the right of the people to decide their own destiny; for restoring the land to the people; for socialising industry on a democratic basis—a thing you have often demanded for the Postal Workers, instead of the present bureaucratic management? A more courageous working out of your own theories to their logical conclusion would force you to support, not to repudiate, the Bolsheviki.

George Roberts, the present Minister of Labour, said that though he thought this was hardly the sort of resolution that ought to go forward from the Trade Union Congress, it had a real value as an evidence of the change in the Allied fortunes, which had induced the pacifists to realise that Germany could be beaten. The resolution, he added, "commits Congress to the prosecution of the War till the Germans are driven out of France and Belgium and I am going to ask the pacifists what they are going to do to assist." He was opposed to an International Labour and Socialist Conference; a democratic peace would be negotiated by the Governments of the democratic nations; the mandate could only be given by a general election.

Delegates shouted "Vote! Vote!" but the flow of oratory was not quenched; Thomas must have his reply. Havelock Wilson had offered the delegates a breath of fresh air. Thomas answered, "not the first thing he has given 'em this week and others was much more material!" A newspaper editor in Doncaster had written to Thomas telling him that one of Wilson's representatives had a table there with his boycott petition; during 20 minutes 40 children had signed the petition and not a single adult, though a youth well-known as an idiot had been induced to sign it. Mr. Thomas was interrupted. "I am quite happy, you know," he said, waving his hands. The resolution was carried on a show of hands by a large majority.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES AND WAR POLICY.

The Jingoes had had the best of it in the compromise resolution; but apparently the compromise did not appeal to the American delegates.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labour was preceded by one of his colleagues, William J. Bowen of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' Union, who declared himself to be overcome by the honour of speaking with his chief, and certainly appeared to be labouring under the stress of some emotion, as he nervously took off and put on his spectacles and read from voluminous pages, including letters and speeches by Gompers himself. Bowen observed :—

"The great President of the American Federation of Labour is a big man.... The paid agents of the foe are to be found in every Labour organisation.... It takes as much ability to control the forces of British and American Labour as to control the troops at the front.... American Labour is being inconvenienced and we are enjoying it.... Until the war is won a man's politics are no more interesting to his neighbour than the colour of his hair or the cut of his clothes."

President Gompers himself is a trade unionist of the old school. He proudly declared that the American Federation of Labour, which represents 3½ million workers, has no politics and is equally independent of the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist Parties, though willing to receive sympathy and advice from each and all. There is now, he said, "entire agreement between the Government of the United States and the American Federation of Labour." He detailed the advantages which American Labour had obtained during the War. The Clayton Anti-Trust Law of 1916 had laid it down that "Labour is not a commodity or article of commerce," as though a verbal denial can abolish a concrete fact. A Department of Labour had been created which had assured trade union conditions to the constructors of camps and cantonments, ships, and so on. A War Labour Board had been set up, on which five representatives were appointed by the employers and five by the President of the American Federation of Labour. This Board had declared for an 8 hour day, equal pay for men and women, and a living wage for all. In the American Civil War when the cry went up for more men, the men of the North had answered Lincoln: "We are coming, Father Abraham, 500,000 strong." Now American manhood said: "We are coming, men of the democracies, 5,000,000 strong." "But," said Gompers, "I may quote President Wilson, the great leader of the democracies of the world: 'Oh! why stop at five million?'" Are men so cheap? President Gompers said that he had not been in accord with the Government of Britain in its treatment of Ireland, "but now that you have

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* This is the resolution as printed, the mover deleted the words which appear in brackets.

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pledged yourselves to give to Ireland her just demand for Home Rule it does credit to Britain." Who has been telling Mr. Gompers that the Irish question has been settled? Wishes indeed give birth to numerous children!

"Many of us were impatient that we were kept so long out of the War," said Gompers, adding that he and his colleagues were "vain enough to believe" that a conference of the American Federation of Labour, held three weeks before America entered the War, had helped to induce President Wilson to take that step. A terrible responsibility, Mr. Gompers, to be boasted of by an old man who himself will bear no share of the fighting! He finished by quoting some foolish war verses :—

God of the fighting clan
Grant that the woman who bore me suckled a man.

"Wicked old pagan!" a young reporter said.

Henderson, replying to Gompers, spoke of the need for a strong independent Labour movement to combat the attacks of vested interests. However impressive the record of Labour might be its future would be immeasurably greater. His words and voice produced a welcome reaction; he seemed endowed with strength and vigour, determination, and breadth of vision. Then he came tumbling down from the heights to argue that the policy of British Labour is neither "defeatist" nor "pacifist."

He insisted that there was only one difference between the American and British Labour representatives. The latter still have faith in the internationalism of peoples, though they have lost faith in the internationalism of kings. He summed up Labour's war aims thus :—

A League of Nations, which is to mean a League not of Governments but of peoples.
Universal disarmament.
Universal arbitration and conciliation.
No increase of territory.
Self-determination of peoples which is to apply to Ireland as elsewhere.
No economic boycott.
No isolation of Germany or attempts to crush her economic life,

The American and Canadian delegates might have expressed their opinions on these points and have responded to Henderson's appeal for the International, when, later on, gold and silver souvenirs were presented to them; but they did not.

THE MOONEY CASE.

Shortly afterwards they heard the mover of the resolution demanding a new trial for Tom Mooney and his comrades, asking whether the American Federation of Labour believed their innocence and, if so, what they were going to do to save them. "Can any one imagine a member of the Miners' Federation being so treated in this country?" The representatives of the American Federation had come here teaching British Labour its duty to democracy; the rights of individual workers were as precious as the rights of small nationalities.

THE BOYCOTT RESOLUTION.

The Sailors and Firemen's Union resolution to boycott the German nation for five years as a punishment for the submarine warfare and the ship stewards' amendment that those responsible shall be brought to trial and punished were both wiped out by the carrying of the previous question by a large majority. The ship stewards' representative described the boycott resolution as "a bit of tariff reform trickery" for the General Election. He would not be a party to using the dead bodies of the seamen for such a purpose.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The inevitable growth of industrial unionism causes perpetual friction between the little men on both sides, who are only able to judge the great evolutionary processes as they affect themselves. Thus, year by year, the Trade Union Congress is disturbed by such contests as those between the Miners' Federation and the Enginemen and Stokers and between the National Union of Railwaymen and the Enginemen and Firemen's Union. This year Messrs. Shirkie and Parker of the Enginemen and Stokers adopted a less bellicose tone than at Blackpool, appealing to the Parliamentary Committee to obtain for them "peace by negotiation" with the Miners' Federation. Robert Smillie expressed the willingness of the Miners to negotiate with any organisation catering exclusively for workers in and about the mines, but not with organisations which accept members employed in other industries. A resolution calling on the parties to negotiate was carried by a large majority. The Thomas *versus* Bromley feud, which has become more bitterly personal than ever, again occupied much time.

More cruelly serious, but of like character, is the struggle which has developed between the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees on the one hand and the Co-operative Wholesale Society and a number of craft unions on the other. The craft unions concerned put forward an emergency resolution supporting the C.W.S. and opposing the A.U.C.E. Mr. Elvin of the National Union of Clerks moved the resolution, urging that Congress had pressed that it should be recognised that the Co-operative Movement and the Trade Union Movement were one; the A.U.C.E. now found itself strong enough to defy both. Congress had voted against the A.U.C.E. plan of combining co-operative employees in one union and in favour of organising them in separate craft unions; the C.W.S. was now insisting that its employees should join the various craft unions and abandon the A.U.C.E. As this was in accordance with the vote of Congress, Congress should support the C.W.S. against its workers. Mr. Elvin did not explain that the new-found affection of the C.W.S. for the craft unions, which hitherto it had refused to recognise, is due to the desire to crush the A.U.C.E. He appealed to the self-interest of Congress, which desires to add the strength of the Co-operative Movement to its own by merging the two movements, saying: "Are you not going to help the C.W.S. which we have wooed during the past two years?" Mr. Smith of the Miners' Federation here asked that the matter might be left over to the following morning as the Miners could not vote until they had held consultation upon the matter, but this was refused. Mr. J. Turner of the Shop Assistants' Union with much heat joined in the attack on the A.U.C.E., declaring that every union in turn would be attacked by that body, since it claimed the right to organise all co-operative employees. Here was the trade union official fighting for the retention of his members! Miss Rowse of the Postal Group vigorously defended the A.U.C.E. The C.W.S. must be judged with the ordinary capitalist employer. If a vote of the Manchester Trades Council were taken* it would have condemned the craft unions. The printers' union had not organised the skilled and semi-skilled workers, but when the A.U.C.E. had done so the printers' union had bought recognition by the C.W.S. at the expense of the strikers and had then imported blackleg labour. E. Bevin of the Dock and Riverside Workers complained that the Shop Assistants' Union and the Clerks' Union had at Plymouth blacklegged not only the A.U.C.E. but also the dockers. Moreover, after trying unsuccessfully for years to get the C.W.S. to recognise them, the Shop Assistants and Clerks had obtained recognition at the expense of the strikers and by accepting less than their own national minimum. He appealed to Congress not to intervene in the strike against the A.U.C.E. because the A.U.C.E. was not represented at Congress. The A.S.E. had withdrawn from Congress because of a dispute with other unions; the Seamens' and Firemen's Union was out of Congress for years, but Congress had not thought it right to blackleg them. Amid shouts and clapping, however, the resolution against the A.U.C.E. was carried by a two to one majority. It was an unlovely and distressing exhibition of petty jealousy and failure to realise that big principles were at stake.

AMALGAMATION OF UNIONS.

After this it was a little difficult to take Mr. Elvin very seriously when he moved a resolution on the amalgamation of unions. This resolution proposed the setting up of a committee to which six members were to be appointed by Congress, six by the Parliamentary Committee. This committee to prepare a scheme for :—

(*a*) Fixing the various industries and the lines of demarcation between them.

(*b*) Suggestions for the unification of the forces in each industry.

(*c*) Provision for the transfer of workers between industries whereby full trade union membership and title to benefits may be retained.

(*d*) Suggestions for a uniform minumum standard of contributions and benefits to apply to all industries.

Mills of the Woolwich Engineers welcomed the resolution as containing the germ of what might prove to be the most statesmanlike thing done by Congress. The workers should be acting together as one huge family; a national and international clearing house was needed. Except Miss Mary MacArthur, who supported it, the representatives of general unskilled unions opposed the resolution, probably because it emanated from the craft unions. The Railwaymen and Miners expressed no opinion. Potter of the Navvy's Union said that if something were not done by the officials to secure amalgamation the rank and file would take the matter into their own hands. As a matter of fact the Workers' Committee Movement is bringing about an amalgamation of the rank and file which will continue whatever the officials may do.

LEGISLATION *VERSUS* DIRECT ACTION.

The contest between the older and newer unionism again showed itself on a resolution instructing the Parliamentary Committee to secure the introduction of a Bill to enact a legal eight hour day. An amendment was moved by John Hill of the Boilermakers and A. Liddle of the Scottish Moulders urging that working hours should not exceed 44 per week, that systematic overtime be declared illegal, that certificates for overtime not exceeding 32 hours per month may be granted by courts consisting of an equal number of employers' and workers' representatives, that a special Congress be called at which the workers shall fix a date for putting the resolution into operation, the employers and Government to be informed of this intention. Will Thorne attacked the amendment, declaring that it entailed a "down tools" policy. The resolution was carried by a narrow majority. However, the method advocated by the amendment has been adopted already in many centres! Just so the old unionism carried a resolution favouring the Whitley Report; the new unionism will have none of it!

* The A.U.C.E. trouble began at Longsight, Manchester.

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

We remember in the early days of the War, when Mr. Runciman first issued the Government appeal for women to replace men, how we called a preliminary conference which resulted in a conference called by the Labour War Emergency Committee, in which the resolutions drafted by the officials of the National Federation of Women Workers and Women's Labour League refused to assent to the principle of equal pay for men and women, whether employed on time rates or piece rates. Therefore, it was a welcome sign that the times are moving—though slowly, very slowly—to hear Miss Symons of the National Federation of Women Workers moving on its behalf an equal pay resolution, and declaring that women wanted to be placed on an equal footing, that a man is not placed on his mettle to prove that he can do what the man before him did, but is paid the usual rate for the job, and that the same must apply to women. Bravo, Miss Symons! but the resolutions of your executive still need stiffening. The logic of events is forcing even the most conservative trade union officials to recognise the necessity for equal pay.

CLYNES AND MEAT PRICES.

In spite of two speeches by Mr. Clynes, the one Labour Minister who still retains a fair measure of popularity with Congress, a resolution was carried demanding that meat prices should remain stationary and calling on the Government to subsidise meat if necessary to prevent its cost rising. The subsidy would cost £14,000,000 a year—less than two days' cost of the war. Clynes argued that to prevent the cost of meat rising might prejudice the claims of the workers to higher wages. The case of bread was different because it was the food of the poor. Evidently Clynes assents to the view that the poor should do without meat. Certainly, however much the prices rise, the rich will always be able to buy. Attention was called to revelations concerning the operations of the American beef trust which have appeared in *The Morning Post* and *The Times*, but Mr. Clynes could give no definite reply.

THE TRADE UNION LABOUR PARTY.

The discussion on the new constitution of the Labour Party received less serious consideration than the subject deserves because the ultra-Jingo minority has made it a peg on which to hang its complaints against the indefinite majority and the Socialist anti-war minority. It may be that there is no other point on which we could find ourselves in agreement with Mr. W. J. Davies, who moved the resolution for a Trade Union Labour Party, than his opposition to the admission of middle-class politicians to the Labour Party otherwise than through the medium of affiliated Socialist Societies. It seems to us only too probable that the pacifist members of Socialist organisations, who have welcomed middle-class Liberal (or very recently ex-Liberal) politicians into the ranks of Labour's Parliamentary candidates, because of their pacifist views will find these newcomers most bitter opponents when industrial struggles arise. Then the newcomers may become the allies of the more reactionary trade unionists, to counteract whose influence they are now welcomed. The Trade Union Labour Party proposal was, of course, purely a wrecking project. It was defeated by a large majority.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PRISON REFORM.

The Penal Reform League is urging that at least two women be added to the Prison Commission; that the Commission appoint a Special Committee of women as directors of women's prisons and women's portions of prisons; that the governors of women's prisons should invariably be women and that the medical officers in charge of women prisoners should invariably be women; and that Nursing Sisters should be employed in all prisons. Qualified nurses in prison hospitals are unfortunately rare. The Reform League also points out that it is undesirable that women should be asked to leave the Court when men unconnected with the case or with those being tried are allowed to remain. It is important always to remember that crime is chiefly a poverty disease springing from our faulty economic system.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace and Votes for All in Hoxton.—Meet at 2.45 and 6.30 P.M. at St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, near Shoreditch Church and Old Street Tube Station, meetings at 3 and 6.45 P.M. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, Mr. H. G. Russell.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.
Mile End Road.—6.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.
Clocktower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.
Cobden Statue.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.
Great Push in Holloway.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting, London Section.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—7.30 P.M., Mr. Tochatti, "How the land was robbed from the people."

PROVINCIAL MEETINGS.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th.
Sheffield, Westbar.—11 A.M., Mr. Goldstein, Mr. Carford.
Sheffield, Rivelin.—3.30 p.m.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.

FEDERATION NOTES.

Branch Secretaries desiring parcels of literature should write to Mr. Young, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, E. Buy all your books and pamphlets through the W.S.F. Have you seen our leaflets on 'Housing,' 'Militarism in the Schools,' and the 'Schooling of the Future'? In view of the talk of re-establishing the Czardom read Tolstoi's 'The Autocrat,' published by the W.S.F., one penny.

NOTTINGHAM, BULWELL and BASFORD.—*Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Arthur Pendleton, 498, Vernon Road, Basford. A meeting of this branch was held at The Homestead, Basford, on September 5th. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst spoke to the members. It was decided to organise a series of lectures on 'Socialism,' 'Socialism and the Workers' Committee Movement,' 'The Russian Revolution,' and 'International Socialism.'

SHEFFIELD.—*Hon. Secretary:* Mrs. Carford, 83, West Street. Record DREADNOUGHT sales in Sheffield week ending September 7th. Mr. Carford alone disposed of twenty quires. Nearly two hundred copies were bought by the police force alone. Mr. Carford has constant customers amongst the discharged Soldiers and Sailors Federation. Thus we see the two most powerful bodies of Government in this country fraternising with the workers. For is not supporting THE DREADNOUGHT the best proof that this is so?

SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

VII.—WAYS AND MEANS OF REALISATION.

Conclusion of series.

"To escape its wretched lot," wrote Bakunin nearly half-a-century ago ('God and the State,' 1871), "the populace has three ways, two imaginary and one real. The two first are drink and the church, the third is the social revolution." And the social revolution, Bakunin was never weary of declaring, was at hand. He confidently expected it before the close of the ninteenth century. But revolutions, he said, were not made, whether by individuals or by secret societies. They were automatically brought about by the power of things—but those who foresaw the course of evolution were able to hasten and facilitate the change. Bakunin himself spent a large part of his life in an individual's premature attempts to "make" revolutions, and in paying the penalties exacted by the protagonists of the established order. But he had glimpses, especially in old age, of a sounder method, the educational. Force, utilised or held in reserve, might be requisite in the end, but force would be frustrate unless the ground had been prepared. The people would make the revolution, but to help on the birth of the revolution we must "first spread among the masses thoughts that correspond to the instincts of the masses." What, he asks, in the 'Memoir of the Jurassic Federation' (1869), "what keeps the salvation-bringing thought from going through the labouring masses with a rush? Their ignorance, and particularly the political and religious prejudices which, thanks to the exertions of the ruling classes, to this day obscure the labourer's natural thought and healthy feelings ....Hence we must aim at making the worker completely conscious of what he wants and evoking in him the thought that corresponds to his impulses. If once the thoughts of the labouring masses have mounted to the level of their impulses, then will their will be soon determined and their power irresistible." Allowing for the gradual change in terminology during five decades, and allowing for the fact that we are presenting in English the ideas of a Russian who wrote in a tongue foreign to him (French), would it be easy to find a more succinct formulation of some of the aims of what we have termed socialist education?

Marx, in a famous utterance, said that force was the midwife to every old society pregnant with a new one. Does not Bakunin in effect say, and more truthfully, that socialist education will be the midwife of the social revolution?

That which to Bakunin was little more than a casual thought, or at best an old man's half reluctant admission that the energies of his own life had been greatly misdirected, we have endeavoured to expound as a definite part of socialist philosophy. It would be premature to come forward at this stage with a finished scheme of principles and methods, or to attempt a formal statement of the means of realisation. It would be presumptuous for two isolated socialists to undertake anything of the kind. We have aimed, indeed, at synthetic treatment. We are not without hope that we may have thrown light on the correlated aspects of the Montessori system, the New School system, and Independent Working-Class Education, considered as parts of a scheme of socialist education to be carried out with a clearly conceived revolutionary aim. For sympathetic readers the strength of our arguments must assuredly have been re-inforced by the evidence we have adduced in favour of the existence of an international movement along kindred lines. But these are no more than "thoughts and suggestions"; we are inquirers rather than dogmatists; we eagerly invite criticism and shall welcome fuller information. What we have to suggest concerning practical details is implicit in what has been said in previous sections.

All that we advocate is that a somewhat wider scope should be given to the telling phrase in the preamble by the founders of the Central Labour College: "Why should we not independently manage our own educational affairs?" In this case the "we" means "organised labour." Why should not organised labour do in this and other countries what according to Emmy Freundlich it is already doing in Austria, and what E. H. appeals to it to do in Germany? Why should it not interpret Independent Working-Class Education as meaning infant education and elementary school education as well as the teaching of socialist history and socialist economics to those who have outgrown the school age. "To the organised Labour movement we appeal for support upon a question which lies at the very foundation of working-class organisation. We do not trust our economic security to the good intentions of the possessing class. We do not rely upon the politics of our employers for measures of progressive legislation. We establish our own economic fortifications, we have our own political weapons, we control our own literature....Even as we have a platform of our own and a press of our own, let us have educational institutions of our own." *Let us have Montessori schools and New Schools founded, run, and staffed by ourselves, in or adjacent to every big industrial centre. Let us begin in infancy and childhood to liberate our children's minds from the octopus-like tentacles of the class state.* Who can venture to say that the italicised words added to the preamble are out of harmony with the spirit of the words twice quoted from that document. We know that among the workers there are many who even now dissent from the whole idea of independent working-class education. The W.E.A., with its quaint insistence upon the need for "unbiassed" education, with its appeal to working-class students to accept the gilded pill of academic tuition, is not without genuine working-class support. Nay, even some of the original supporters of the Central Labour College, may be not entirely free from alarm at the results of their bold experiment. But there are no misgivings in the Plebs League! There are no faint hearts among the students of the Labour colleges! There is a stir upon the Clyde and in South Wales; there is a stir in the industrial Midlands; there is a suspicion of movement even in fat and sleepy London, "the Daniel Lambert of cities!" To the Plebs League, and to the younger and more revolutionary spirits among the unions and the co-operatives, we address a confident appeal to reconsider the whole question of independent working-class education from the wider outlook we have endeavoured to present in this essay. Till that reconsideration has been effected it would be utopian to formulate more than the outline sketch already given. The "ways and means of realisation" we had in mind when we chose the title of this concluding section were: to arouse the interest, concentrate the intelligence, stimulate the will, of class-conscious labour upon a matter which is its primary concern. Without interest, intelligence, and will, nothing can be done. With them, all difficulties will vanish. For then, as Goethe once said, "You need only blow upon your hands."

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Dear Friends of Humanity,—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the state, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.
The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.
S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.
[Advt

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WAR VICTIMS.

A clever young marine watch and chronometer maker, in business for himself, was the sole support of his old mother. He married an American woman, who had earned her living as a dancer since she was a child, but whose health had completely broken down. The wife was expecting her first baby, and the doctor has said that with very great care and the absence of all worry she would pull through. Then conscription claimed the husband. He was taken away from his highly skilled work and sent to France where he is employed as an unskilled labourer, digging a road, which is to be used for commercial purposes after the War! The separation allowance is 16s. a week for the wife, nothing for the mother. The husband applied for further assistance from the Civil Liabilities Committee, but the months pass and no relief comes. The old home has been disposed of—the wife and mother are living in a slum. The wife, expecting her confinement in September, has become seriously ill; she believes that she will die and that only her husband's presence will save her. She is too ill to do any housework; most days she is obliged to remain in bed. The old mother, who is nearly 70 years of age, has had two strokes since her son was taken, and her mind is failing. Nevertheless, she does the housework and cares for her daughter-in-law in the morning, and in the afternoon goes to a factory to make artificial flowers. For some time she earned 3s. a week at this work. Now she works from 2 P.M. to 8 P.M. and earns from 5s. to 6s. a week.

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