THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

The Labour Party has decided to bring its representatives out of the Coalition Government the close of the present Parliament. It has ssed a resolution demanding the release of hn Maclean, a resolution forced on it by the el rank and file. These were the only two isions registered at the Conference in the tral Hall, Westminster, on November 14th. These decisions mark an advance. But the nference has once more failed to act as the asion demanded. It has failed to realise d to proclaim by word and deed its solidarity h the Revolution of the workers in Germany, stria, Bulgaria, Russia, and in the other ntries to which it is spreading. Robert illie told the Conference that the French ialists and Trade Unionists had met in nference and had passed a resolution con-tulating the German workers on the estab-ment of their republic. He said: "This nference has not the courage to follow that mple," and only a few vague voices an-ered: "Why not?" Smillie himself failed make an insistent demand that it should be e. Resolutions of congratulation mean very le, but even that mild token of solidarity withheld. How amazing indeed are the ialists who do not know and welcome the -desired Socialism when it appears!

Only two of the speeches displayed an inde-ident fighting spirit, a spirit in keeping with fact that the world is at last entering upon great period of its history in which Labour ll triumph over Capitalism. One of these eches was not delivered from the floor of the nference, but came as an interruption from gallery and an attempt was made put out the man who made it. It s W. F. Watson calling to the delegates: You are going to take a vote as to ther Clynes shall stay in the Government, t what about John Maclean, who is going to in prison?" The other note of independence s struck by Gallagher from the Clyde, who nly declared his desire for revolution.

Something has happened to the Labour Party nference, a discordant critical spirit has ered there. The atmosphere of leader-ship has vanished. "Patriotism," in the se of subservience to the Government, is at discount. Henderson, who was the hero of hour when he left the Cabinet, who was ened to as the principal leader, the man who ew, and was cheered on every appearance, s now fallen to the position of a mere nobody the Conference. He made no speech last hursday, and contented himself with reading brief business announcements on the result the voting and such formal matters. The terviews which he has been giving to the Press late have lost him the remnants of his pularity. Curiously enough, the only people o spoke of victory and its fruits were some of pacifists, who, not realising the magnitude the change that has taken place in the bour Movement, again and again made use jingo catch-phrases in order to placate the judices of their war-time opponents.

Robert Williams, in moving, on behalf of e Executive, the resolution to withdraw from e Coalition, adopted a tone of unwonted eekness. The Executive, he said, had done s best to maintain an honourable agreement th the Labour members of the Government, d he expressed his own desire to continue rking with them on amicable terms. There re some Labour members of the Government he personally thought would be better out of the movement; others, he said, "I respect, like my good friend Clynes." He wanted to see a *rapprochement* between the Labour members of the Government and the members of the Shop Stewards' Rank and File Movement. (Mr. Williams should read the parable which warns men not to put new wine into old bottles!) He wanted an Independent Party on the floor of the House of Commons to secure the Party's programme outlined in the pamphlet called 'The New Social Order.' We wonder that such a revolutionary firebrand as Mr. Williams sometimes seems to be in his speeches, should trouble about that mild and wishywashy palliative programme. If the workers could not secure the reforms set out in that pamphlet, he thought they would resort to insurrection. Was Mr. Williams implying that that would be regrettable? He did not say so, but that seemed to be the logical inference from his words: a seat upon the Executive is apt to breed a sense of caution.

Ammon (Postal Group), who seconded the resolution, has also grown of late somewhat careful. He is a Parliamentary candidate, and that too has a steadying influence. "Some of us in a few days are to meet our constituents." No, no, Mr. Ammon, *your* would-be constituents—there is a world of difference there. If candidates could only be sure of the votes how very much bolder their words would be! Ammon declared that "the work for which the Labour Party entered the Coalition is accomplished, since the autocrats of Germany have fallen." But, Mr. Ammon, we thought that you were against both the Coalition and the War! He added a saving clause. The fall of the autocrats was due as much to the German Revolution as to the force of the Allied arms. "Having won victory on the battlefield; having overthrown Prussianism..." —he was at it again. How these candidates interlard their speeches with catch phrases!

Ammon also appealed to Clynes to come out of the Coalition. Then Clynes rose to speak and was received with some applause—not with much enthusiasm, it is true, but still with applause that would have been denied to Barnes, Roberts, or Hodge. "We might get someone worse at the Food Ministry," is the thought that tempers the wind of criticism where Clynes is concerned.

The majority of the Labour members of Parliament are opposed to coming out of the Coalition before the election. The Parliamentary Party had tabled an amendment that: "The Coalition Government should be supported till the end of the War and on peace being signed the Party should resume its freedom of action." The speeches of those who supported the amendment clearly showed that in their view "freedom of action" by no means necessarily meant that the Party should withdraw its members at any period. Indeed, the main burden of their argument was that it is better to be in any coalition at any time than to be left outside.

Clynes moved the amendment. He said that it was his own and represented a middle course which he had chosen between two extremes. He appeared to be playing an independent hand, looking to his own position and not troubling about the fortunes of any Party. Knowing that the amendment would be defeated, he delivered a lateral attack upon the Party, saying the sort of things the capitalist papers were fairly certain to report against it. He accused it of whining about the election being taken at this juncture, though, he asserted, it had been the first of the Parties since the War, to begin an independent political campaign, and he twitted his colleagues in the Party for their unwillingness to appeal to the people for a new mandate after eight years. *He* was assured of the support of his constituents and of the support of his organisation; without this support *he* would not be willing to retain his place in the Government. When Clynes first entered Parliament, as an I.L.P. representative, he did pledge himself not to mere obedience to the voice of the majority, but to work for Socialism. Nevertheless, his words held a sting; there is always something contemptible in the position of those who cling to office. That is one of the great reasons why it is best that men and women should be the directly elected and instructed delegates of those they profess to serve. Continuing his attack on those who desired to withdraw from the Coalition Government, Clynes said that he had watched, "with a good deal of lamentation at times," the actions of the I.L.P. members of the Party Executive. The Prime Minister in France had told the American troops that the German people could have peace on the terms of President Wilson's fourteen points. He was interrupted by cries of "The Kaiser," and he cruelly replied: "The Kaiser symbolised the purpose of the German people at that time." It was most important, he said, that the Labour Party should have passed a resolution welcoming the declaration of the Prime Minister and that that resolution should have been sent to the German people. If that had been done he thought it might have brought the War to an end sooner, but the I.L.P. men would not agree. Curious statement, this, from one of the men who have opposed holding any converse with the German Socialists during the War! He, Clynes, was opposed to the mere drafting of resolutions; he wanted the Party to *do* something. Someone called: "What is the programme?" He tamely replied that, of course, the D.O.R.A. must be abolished, but he continued, "free speech is exactly what I claim the working masses have enjoyed during this War." Voice yelled: "John Maclean," "Wallhead," and other prisoners' names at him, but he went on: "So far as there has been interference with free speech, it has been on the part of working men themselves." Was there ever before such a bold-faced apologist for any government?

He sneered at Robert Williams for his sudden conversion to the cause of order and restraint; only last week at the Albert Hall Williams had called for the establishment of a Socialist Republic and "a notice 'To Let' at Buckingham Palace." "Is that restraint?" Clynes asked sanctimoniously, but there were no cheers, only some angry interruptions, and one heard the murmur: "Capitalist scab!" Robert Williams had appealed to Clynes and his colleagues in the Government for loyal support of the Conference's decisions: when had he himself loyally supported them? How had he treated its decisions on the War and the Coalition? Clynes spoke now with a note of bitterness; he was feeling the turning of the tide, knowing defeat. But he would not let the case go by default; he was making a fight for it. He appealed to the pride of the delegates: the War would end with the Peace Con-

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BOLSHEVIK IDEALS AND THEIR FAILURE.

(Reprinted with omissions from an article by Dr. C. HAGBERG WRIGHT *in 'The Contemporary Review,' November,* 1918.)

Revolutionary Russia thinks that England is as Imperialistic as Germany, and therefore equally a foe of its Revolution. We shall not so much as begin to understand the Russian problem until we recognise quite frankly that England—like the rest of the world outside Russia—does stand for conceptions and methods in politics and industry which Revolutionary Russia rejects utterly.

The Bolsheviks are very much out of favour just now. Our writers and talkers have emptied upon them a poor vocabulary of abuse, and, hoping to drive suburban pieties into the incredulous hearts of refractory "Labour," have made of them a sort of "bogey-man". But it must be borne in mind: **The Russian problem, the real Russian problem, is constituted, not by the violence of the Bolsheviks, but by the constructive thought for which they stand.** We must get rid, once and for all, of the misleading notion that the Bolshevik leaders are mere scum thrown up by a vicious ferment. Happily, close to my hand there is an authority....On January 9th last Mr. Hamilton Fyfe wrote :—

"To begin with, we must not—as most people here still do, I fancy—think of men like Lenin, Trotsky and Chicherin as men of no account, mere mob-leaders, hooligans; Lenin is a student, thinker, writer.

"Lenin now has for many years been director of the Bolshevik Party, chiefly in exile. A man of highly cultivated mind but deliberately careless in dress and personal appearance. Prefers to look like a peasant or a town labourer. An honest idealist"

There lies before me also a Russian pamphlet written by Lenin before he became the head of a Russian Government :—

"Our duty, therefore, if we wish to remain Socialists, is to go lower and deeper to the real masses. Therein was the whole meaning of the struggle with opportunism and of this struggle. To explain to the masses the necessity and the inevitableness of a break with opportunism, to urge them to an inspiring struggle with it, to teach them all the evil of National, liberal and labour politics, that is the only Marxian line of advance for the workers' world-movement."

The writer had already envisaged "the dictatorship of the Proletariat." From the same pamphlet I translate a few other sentences :—

Social Democracy does not aim only at the abolition of the division of humanity into small governments and of all particularising of nations, and not only at the coming together of nations—it aims at the fusion of nations."

A new general order of things, based upon a world-wide integration, moral if not institutional, of the workers—that is what Lenin is thinking of, or dreaming of....Lenin is not merely an iconoclast. He has a constructive thought; beyond the destruction he intends he sees a new polity, a new civilisation. The new civilisation would be one based upon a new order in industry: the new polity would be one based upon the workers, upon those who are now, but then would not be, the proletariat. And neither the civilisation nor the polity would be national. Each would be the local and non-particularising realisation of a thought wholly general.

The Soviet Republic intends such a polity and such a civilisation. The word "Soviet" means Council. It has become familiar in England as the designation of those Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' delegates which were established everywhere in Russia immediately after the fall of Tsardom. In the Constitution decreed on July 10th last the Russian State appears as "a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies," and is referred to under the novel designation "Russian Socialist Federative Republic."

"The present day Russian Soviet Government," said Mr. Louis Edgar Browne,* is really only the Executive Committee of a vast number of local village, town and city Soviets in which there exists a real sound democratic idea of majority rule"....

The Russian Revolution, now occupying the centre of the quaking world's stage, allows the careful observer to catch a glimpse of what that entity people really must be. The Russian people, struggling to assert itself, has in the travail of the Revolution given birth to a new creation, flexible, mobile, and yet persistent as are the thoughts and will it expresses. This creation is the Soviet. The trumpets of the March Revolution, 1917, brought down the Romanov dynasty, and the rejoicing of the Russian people knew no bounds. But the events immediately following had a sobering effect upon the masses. The first burning question arose: "Is the Revolution safe?" As the embodied answer to this question, sprang up the Soviet, a revolutionary creation, a child of the people's awakening consciousness. City, town and village, as well as each unit of the army, all formed their local Soviets to safeguard the Revolution.

These local organs, always functioning and therefore always reflecting the thoughts, desires, and will of the small communities they represent, send delegates to the capital, who form the Central Executive Committee of all the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Delegates. The election to the central body is carried out on the basis of party lines, so that the Central Executive Committee has always represented all the various currents and even undercurrents of the Russian Revolution.

Soon after the overthrow of Tsardom, the people felt that the newly-formed Provisional Government of Lvov-Rodzianko-Milyukov did not intend to deviate from the general policies of the old régime. This popular feeling imparted itself to the local Soviets, which resulted in the second question: "Who is friend and who is foe?" In other words, the Soviet was forced to explain the sense of the Revolution. The first answer was a fermentation within the Soviets, reflecting the people's questioning mind, and this fermentation ended in the cleavage of the Soviet forces. Materially the split manifested itself in the first "coalition government," headed by Kerensky.

This second question was made more vital and insistent by the Korniloff uprising. It grew more and more obvious to the people that the "coalition government" was merely an expression of the old order under a new name. In response to the growing popular unrest, the rift in the Soviet deepened; whatever elements irresistibly tended to the right were pushed out by popular pressure upon the left, and the result was the July insurrection. The Soviet thus emphasised the popular interpretation of the sense of the Revolution. It is not merely a political revolution, but an economico-social revolution, and whoever thwarts its course is the people's enemy.

But if indeed this is the historical sense of the Revolution, then arises a third question: By whom and how shall the issues of the Revolution be promoted and realised in life? Of course by the people, and by the power which expresses the people, by the Soviets. Such was the categorical answer given by the November uprising, which for ever put an end to the policy of coalition and alliances of the real Revolution with the representatives of the dying old order. Thus by a process of elimination the Soviet was finally purified of the elements leaning toward the right; a process which showed that, as the individual hesitates before making his choice and stamping as his will one or the other of the ideas conflicting in his mind, so the Russian people hesitated before it found and expressed its conscious will. The Soviet made this possible.

In brief, these are the three phases passed through by the Soviet from birth to manhood: (1) It issued from the very heart of the people as guardian of the Revolution; (2) while growing it served as the pendulum, the interpreter of the Revolution; (3) fully matured as the volitional and intellectual organ of its parent, the people, it became the instrument for realising the issues of the Revolution....

What should one say to all this? One thing seems quite clear—the Bolshevik Revolution was not merely the victory of a destructive force; it was also the victory of a constructive idea. Think of that idea what you will, it is a milestone in human history, and for many a long day and in every part of the world millions will see in it a signpost. Even if it be fallacious, it is a no worse case than some of the thoughts that have achieved, and to-day enjoy, much political credit, in circles quite respectable. I am no Social Democrat, yet it seems to me that under the Soviet Government, the Russian Revolution became a reasoned experiment towards Freedom—novel (it is true) in method and aim, but profoundly interesting and not without hopeful possibilities. Unfortunately, the Soviet Government has never had fair play. Had it been recognised by the Allied Powers, and we had accredited to it a first-rate mind, there would have been no need for it to call in the sanguinary safeguard of the Red Terror.

Why did not England recognise the Soviet Government? A people that celebrates France's Day, glorifies Cromwell, and is proud of 1688 cannot object to a Revolution merely because it *is* a Revolution. And as a matter of fact, we did *not* object to the Russian Revolution. In England as in Russia, the Tsardom was "unwept, unhonoured": in England as in Russia, we praised the Russian Revolution, and even when a continuing Revolution made Kerensky a Minister—"Kerensky the Red" as he called himself—our plaudits did not cease. Indeed, we paid Kerensky a compliment which we then thought the highest compliment in our power—we called him "the Lloyd George of Russia." Thus far we were cordial, but when the destructive character of the Russian Revolution became clear our thoughts rebounded to that palladium of the comfortable, law and order, and we withheld recognition.

Shallow reasons have been put forward in justification of our Government's attitude. It has been said, for instance, that the Soviet Government represented only a section of the Russian people, and came into being by a violent usurpation. No doubt the Soviet Government did represent only a section of the Russian people, but an American on the spot writes: "The Bolsheviks were extreme Socialists. They perfected the organisation of a central clearing house for these thousands of Soviets. They used this organisation to spread their propaganda, and won over to their point of view 95 per cent of the soldiers and 80 per cent of the peasant masses." Ninety-five per cent of the soldiers, 80 per cent of the peasants, these are larger percentages than would have voted in France for the restoration of the Bourbons after Napoleon's first downfall. I cannot, however, bring myself to spend time over percentages. England did not refuse to recognise the Soviet Government solely because the Government was "sectional," she refused also because strong forces in England—commercial, industrial, agrarian, political—felt a kinship to things in Russia which the Soviet Government did not represent, and disliked very much indeed that which it did quite effectively represent.

This brings me to the second objection—the Soviet Government "came into being by a violent usurpation." I am inclined to ask "What if it did?" But that would miss the real point. The real point should be sought in the noun rather than in the adjective—in "usurpation" rather than in "violent." Dominant powers in England dislike the Soviet Revolution because, in the Revolution, the "People" acted for themselves; they dislike the spontaneity of Freedom. A regula[illegible]

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* Correspondent in Russia of the Chicago Daily News.

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

THE NEED FOR A SHOP STEWARDS CO-ORDINATING BODY FOR LONDON.

During our many visits to the provinces we have invariably been asked what London is doing with regard to industrially organising the workers, and when we reply that London is doing its best, we are told that that benighted city is simply hopeless. And sometimes we think it is. When we think of the splendid organisation of our provincial comrades, and when we consider that to organise similarly London Workers has always been the despair of those who have attempted it, we sometimes wonder whether it will ever be achieved; but we have by no means abandoned all hope. To my mind the mistake has been in not making due allowance for local circumstances and factors which appear to militate against the building up of a powerful movement.

It is too often thought that because a certain form of organisation is suited for the workers in the Clyde or any other big industrial centre, that form of organisation is equally suited for London workers. This is a fundamental error. It must be remembered that London is NOT an industrial centre; it is the seat of Commerce and Finance. London is also the seat of royalty and government, in consequence of which it has a large and, with the growth of bureaucracy, an ever increasing population of sycophants and lackeys who have vested interest in the perpetuation of Capitalism and the State. Again we must remember that London covers a very wide area and the great mass of the workers live miles from their work, and we don't blame them, with the result that, in spite of the travelling facilities, it is very difficult to get them together except under extraordinary circumstances. And, lastly, we must not forget the thousand and one occupations the London workers are engaged in, which necessitate different modes of organisation.

Nevertheless, four years of warfare have taught the London workers the value of workshop organisation, with the result that shops and workers' Committees are springing up everywhere.

All these Committees came into existence for the same reason—the failure of the ordinary trade union movement—and all have the same object—to secure more and more control in the workshop—but by reason of varying circumstances and trade conditions each takes a different form. There is, for instance, the Woolwich Arsenal S.S. Committee, which at present is a purely craft committee mainly confined to the A.S.E. This committee is extremely powerful in the Arsenal, and as a consequence many of its members think it the ideal form of organisation. Similarly with the River Thames Ship Repairers Committee and the London Woodworkers Council. Then there is the W. London Engineer Workers Committee, influential in the W. London area, the London Workers, &c., &c. It seems to me that these committees represent varying degrees of consciousness and what we have to do is to co-ordinate their activities without in any way interfering with the method of building up the local or trade committee.

It may be said that such a co-ordinating body will tend to become re-actionary because of those committees with a lesser degree of consciousness, but this can be safeguarded against by insisting that the basis of the co-ordinating body shall be consistent with the highest degree of consciousness. This has in fact been achieved. The conference of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees which met at Chandos Hall on Saturday, October 19th, decided to accept the recommendation that a London and District Council of S.S. and Workers be formed, and it was further agreed that the basis of the Council shall be the organisation of the workers regardless of craft or sex, with the avowed object of securing control of the industries.

A further conference is to be held to draw up the few rules that will be necessary, to draft a constitution and to appoint necessary officers. The value of such a council will be apparent to all. Each co-ordinated committee will be free to develop its own organisation in its own way and each will appoint its delegates to the Council. If we ensure that the delegates directly represent the men and women in the shop, and if we have regular meetings, each committee will be cognisant of the stage of development of all other committees. Then, should trouble arise in any one section, or locality, the industrial forces of all can be quickly brought to bear upon the situation, thereby enhancing the possibilities of success. But that is only one of the advantages. By extending operations into every sphere of industry impetus will be given to the formation of more committees and by eliciting the active support of the discharged soldiers and sailors it may become the nucleus of the London Soldiers', Sailors' and Workmen's Council. There is no limit to its possibilities and potentialities, and we urge every shop steward and all committees to render service by making the Council as widely known as possible and by seeing to it that every committee is represented at the next conference. Further information may be had from 7, Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

A REAL WORKERS' MEETING.

As fully expected the politicians have so arranged things that a general election is to take place immediately, following the cessation of hostilities. It would never do to have the people united upon the declaration of peace, so they must be divided and nothing is calculated to divide the people more than a General Election. And, of course, an election necessitates numerous meetings of all factions and parties, including the Labour Party. I was at the Albert Hall on Thursday, November 14th, and was struck by the entire absence of workers amongst the speakers, by the poverty of ideas expressed and by the hostility to the Labour politicians on the part of a large element of the vast audience. The speakers were M.P.s, Trade Union officials, and middle-class people who, not being of the workers, can never, however good their intentions, give adequate expression to the desires and aspirations of the workers.

These people speak of "Labah" and the "Working Clarses" as though it was something quite apart from themselves, and as though it was some helpless infant that required a wet nurse. The two women speakers reminded one of nothing so much as Charity Organisation dames and the reference by one of them to a "tripe shop" was particularly unfortunate. We may not have the ability (if any is required) to run such a tripe shop as the Albert Hall meeting, but we have the ability and the moral courage to tell the workers the correct way to organise to enable them to achieve their emancipation even though those ideas are unpopular with the politicians.

The London Workers' Committee is somewhat "fed up" with these middle-class politicians whatever their particular label might be, and their references to "Labah" and the "Working Clarses" and, with a view to outlining a practical working policy, the members of the L.W.C. have decided to hold a mass meeting of WORKERS to be addressed by WORKERS. The meeting will take place on [illegible], December 1st, 6 P.M. The list of speakers and the hall will be announced in next week's DREADNOUGHT and other workers' papers. Some difficulty has been experienced in securing a suitable hall, and not having the financial resources of a huge Trade Union, or a big political party, and not being blessed (or cursed) with wealthy friends we crave forgiveness if we do not secure the Albert Hall. We appeal to the workers of London to bear the date, December 1st, in mind, and to roll up in their thousands to hear what the Workers' Committee Movement has to say about the problems and difficulties that immediately confront us.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

VICTORY.

On Monday, Nov. 11th, immediately after prayers, the Prime Minister rose and read the terms of the Armistice; Mr. Asquith said a few chosen and non-committal words, and, then, on the proposal of Mr. Speaker, the House adjourned at eighteen minutes past three and, with the Lords, proceeded to the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, to attend a Service of Thanksgiving to Almighty God.

Napoleon, whose power, with the assistance of the Germans, we broke at Waterloo, used to say that "God is always on the side of the big battalions." He was a bit of a sceptic, old "Bony" was, and we do not hold with that saying. We earnestly joined in the prayer for Peace, specially as we cannot be guilty of the gross blasphemy of believing that the Almighty God would ordain, on the same day, the right thing on the left bank of the Rhine and the wrong one on the right bank of that fateful river. He had, therefore, we take it, "a finger in the pie" in setting up the German Federated Socialist Republic.

JOHN MACLEAN AND SOME MYSTERY.

Mr. Munro, in answer to Mr. King, says he did not see any advantage in receiving a deputation from Glasgow, urging on him that Maclean should be released. In answer to Mr. Whitehouse, whether he is still forcibly fed, and if it is proposed to release him: "I have nothing to add to replies already given," . . "except that as Maclean is now taking two meals a day in the ordinary way, he is artificially fed only once," a reply to our [illegible] [illegible], rather puzzling, unless it is suggestive of very bad health. About 150 petitions, protests and resolutions against the continued imprisonment of John Maclean have reached the Secretary for Scotland.

DEMOBILISATION.

Personally, we do not believe it will happen as soon as many people think, but here you are: Lectures are already being given at the front dealing with the outlines of the procedure to be adopted. The claims of married men to early release have been recognised, and, conditions being equal, they will be selected in preference. In view of the shortage of coal, coal-miners are released from the Army in accordance with the decision of the War Cabinet: as many as possible. The question is also being considered of an early demobilisation of officers and soldiers of like standing whose education has been interrupted, provided that it can be proved that is the case.

DEATH PENALTY.

"The answer is in the negative," says the Under Secretary of State for War, to Mr. Trevelyan, who asked "whether, now that the armistice is signed, the death penalty will be abolished in the British Army."

RECRUITING.

"While recruiting under the Military Service Acts has been suspended," says Mr. Beck, "those Acts remain in force in case the necessity should arise for bringing them again into operation."

* * *

A man, whose exemption has expired, need not make application for renewal until public notice has been issued. He that holds a conditional exemption and ceases to fulfil the conditions may be called up for service, in the event of resumption of recruiting.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

Now that armistices with all the enemy States of Germany, the Dual Monarchy, Bulgaria, Turkey, have been concluded, Mr. King is eager to know whether the military expedition to Russia will be pressed on. Mr. Bonar Law diplomatically answers: "I can make no statement." Well, we could, but we can't, not in print anyhow. Mr. Balfour "understands" that the Maximalist authorities in Russia have "inquired whether a neutral Government would promote negotiations between them and the Allied Powers"; but, he too, cannot make any statement "as to the conditions under which our hostile operations in Russia may be concluded. "Mum," is the word, in other words, even for M.P.s. Therefore, if you really want to know something about the cessation of hostilities in Russia, at Archangel, on the Murman Coast, or the Black Sea you had better go down the Edgware Road and seek a palmist, a crystal-gazer or a thought-reader on that point, it will be just as good as Parliament.

WHAT'S A NATION? "DUNNO!"

Candid Bonar Law confesses ignorance. No definition has been reached defining the term "nation" as used in the fourteen points of President Wilson. Are the Yugo-Slavs a nation and the Irish and Scottish people not?

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd.
Castle Road, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd.
Great Push for a People's Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Hoxton.—Meet at Whitmore Head at 3 P.M. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Clara Cole, Mr. Moscovitch.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Finsbury Park.—3 P.M., John McLean Demonstration.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26th.
Clocktower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30th.
Great Push in Leytonstone.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25th.
44, Malden Road.—2.30 P.M., St. Pancras W.S.F. Business Meeting.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 28th.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—7.30 P.M., E. G. Smith
76, Whitechapel Road.—8 P.M., Rev. Ch. Wills. Chair: Mr. Moscovitch.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1st.
400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Mrs. Rosa Hobhouse, Mr. G. A. K. Luhani (C.C.L.), 'Freedom.' Chair: Miss N. Smyth.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26th.
Walthamstow League of Rights William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30. P.M. Miss Horsfall

ANTIQUES.

Highest Prices given for Old China or Antique Furniture in any condition,

MARY CASEY,

29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2.

FEDERATION NOTES.

In spite of the fact that most people were mafficking in the Albert Hall or elsewhere on Thursday; we had a small audience in Chandos Hall, to hear Sylvia Pankhurst and David Ramsay, and though we froze, the speeches were worth freezing for. We should, however, advise all Socialists to equip themselves with a "winter warmer" for meetings. We were able to hand over 25*s.* 6*d.* profit to the General Fund. On Thursday, November 28th, E. G. Smith is the speaker at 29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields on 'Dear Brutus.' Come and hear a good lecture without freezing.

SHALL TOM MOONEY HANG?

A Monster Protest Meeting

will be held at

The ORPHEUM Cinematograph Theatre, Croydon

On SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24th, 1918, at 7 p.m.

ADMISSION FREE. Collection.

Several well-known Speakers will be present, among them being JOHN MOONEY, brother of TOM MOONEY, Ex-Inspector SYME, W. F. WATSON, and other speakers.

TOM MOONEY, of the Moulders' Union of San Francisco, California, was sentenced to hang August 23rd, 1918, but owing to the intervention of Trades Unions in America, Great Britain, France and Italy, and also to the action of President Wilson, a reprieve until December 13th was granted. The Governor of the State of California has signified his intention of refusing a further reprieve or a pardon. Strong effort is therefore necessary at once in order to save Mooney's life.

TRADE UNIONISTS, COME IN YOUR THOUSANDS.

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City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought

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To Dreadnought Readers in the Borough of Croydon.

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GREAT DEMONSTRATION.

FINSBURY PARK.

Sunday, November 24th, at 3 p.m.

To Demand the IMMEDIATE RELEASE of JOHN McLEAN and all other POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Liebknecht and Adler are free, why not our Political Prisoners?

John Arnall, I.L.P.; T. A. Bibby, Hackney T. & L.C.; W. Carter, N.U.R.; E. C. Fairchild, B.S.P.; V. L. McEntee, B.S.P.; Alex Gossip, N.A.F.T.A.; Jack Mills, A.S.E.; Miriam Price, W.S.F.; H. G. Russell, N.C.F.; Councillor J. J. Vaughan; W. F. Watson, L.W.C.; A. A. Watts, B.S.P.; Mrs. Walker, W.S.F.; J. Andrews, B.S.P.

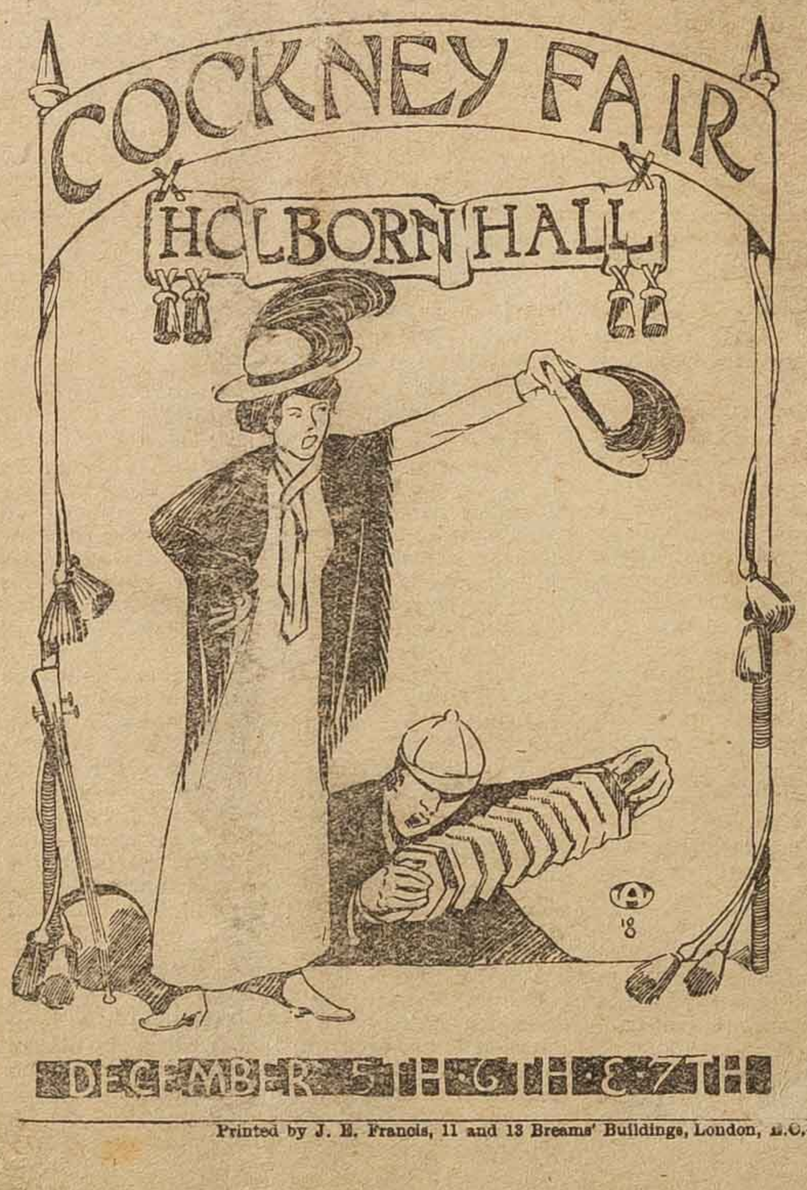
Comrades willing to distribute Bills at Albert Hall should meet C. Taylor outside main entrance on Saturday, at 5.45.

Funds urgently needed. Send a donation to G. A. Pargiter, Hon. Treasurer, 38 Florence Road, Southall, Middlesex.

Vote for The Children's Birthright

7 shillings a week to every child in our midst, as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, when they will be able to vote for themselves.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION



Thursday, December 5th, 3 to 10 p.m.

Opener - Mrs. CEDAR PAUL.

Chair - Mrs. DRAKE.

Boys from the London College of Choristers will sing.
Children's Dances. Pierrots.

Friday, December 6th, 2.30 to 10 p.m.

Opener - W. F. WATSON.

Chair - Miss PRICE.

Concert in aid of the Mothers' Arms Day Nursery. Children's Dances.

Saturday, December 7th, 2.30 to 10 p.m.

Opener - GEORGE LANSBURY.

Chair - Mrs. WALKER.

Concert—Madame Levinskaja, Madame Kontorovitch & other Artistes. Pierrots.

STALLS:

Curios - Mrs. CASEY. Vegetables and Fruit - Mrs. PASCOE.
Flowers - Miss CASEY. Remnants - Mrs. THRING.
Books, Literature, etc. - Miss HENRIETTA LESLIE.
Children's Garments - Miss BURGIS.
Garments & Christmas Tree - WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Toys - Mrs. ELLIS. Fancy Goods - Mrs. PEARCE.
Christmas Presents - Mrs. JEWSON. Grocery - Mrs. LAURITZEN.
Tobacco - "BOB" & "TANNER."
Refreshments - POPLAR BRANCH.
Psychic Delineators. Photographs While You Wait. Pearly King. Cockneys in Full Dress. Specially Attractive Side Shows.

Contributions towards the Stalls will be gratefully received by MRS. JEWSON, 54 St. Charles Square, N. Kensington, W., and should be sent by December 3rd, if possible.

ADMISSION—2/6 (3 days), 2/- (2 days), 1/3 (1 day), 9d. after 6 p.m. (including Tax).

Apply early for Tickets to MISS BUSH, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

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Stewards' M... and Bureaucracy." ... said that if the Pensions Ministry ... ternational? ... use of the machinery already ... sk ourselves. ... here might be reason in the Bill, ... the meantime our le right it had to claim more ... nnexations. ... ndemnities. ... right of the peoples ... s. ... us that Mr. Bonar ... national Federation of "Never Endians"— ... ments to grant ... statement ... money will be co... Please do your part.

JOHN MACLEAN.

We now learn on good authority that since last July John Maclean has been on hunger strike and undergoing forcible feeding. Is this country to be the last in granting reprieves. Germany has shown the way by freeing Karl Liebknecht, whose popularity has been increased enormously by the unjust treatment meted out to him. When are we going to have our political prisoners released? All sections of the community should protest against

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