

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. V.—No. 14

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Price Twopence.

## FINLAND'S PLIGHT.

The following letter was addressed by Finns in Melbourne to the Australian Socialist Party, by the Finnish Society of Melbourne:—

DEAR COMRADES.—We beg to inform you that the Finnish Society of Melbourne have decided in their meeting, after discussion, about the most serious position which has taken place in Finland, a struggle of life and death, where thousands of innocent people are starving for want of bread. We feel that it is our duty to try and do our best, and help them as much as possible—the small nation who has taken the leading part in this world's great movement, and that is why we do not want to see the poor people being defeated by starvation, when every soul is in need, in this strenuous campaign.

We know how eagerly the capitalist class are wanting and fighting to the very utmost to crush the working class, and keep them from their rights and freedom; so that is why we ask you freedom-loving people to hear us.

Just a few points to clear the matter. What really has brought Finland to this exhaustive position, and what are the ideals. Even in the normal times Finland has never been able to produce enough food for its own use; millions of tons of rye have to be imported from Russia every year, and wheat and other grain produce again from Australia and America—as the country is poor, and claimed unsuitable, fit only for dairying and stock grazing, which has mostly kept the people alive this last couple of years. At the beginning of the war the industrial class was a bit better off, when the ammunition and war-works gave

employment to several thousands of workers, but since the Revolution broke out in Russia there has been no employment of any kind. All the exchange and commerce with other countries which Finland relies on has absolutely been stopped according to this cursed war. So it is clear enough what a struggle has taken place in the whole country, especially among the poorer class of people.

One of the biggest curses was at the beginning of this awful war; the Russian Government (then in power) sent one million Russian soldiers to Finland, several thousand to each town. Well, as we can imagine, what a tremendous quantity of food these soldiers used every day, and it was all found from the country. But this meant the shortening of the supplies from the mouths of the people. As a matter of fact, it forced the people to demonstrate against the way things were carried on; they could see where it would lead to.

The authorities promised Russia would provide Finland with food, but without result. So after all, they were told to get the food wherever they could. Russia could no longer supply them. Now again, after the Revolution, as we know, the big landlords refused to put enough crop in; last year's harvest was absolutely a failure, according to previous harvests during this war; for just the reason to beat the organised labour. Surely there is no honest, freedom-loving human being who wants to see this great movement being defeated after all the mournful sacrifice, where so many brave fellows have lost their very lives for the sake of the world, and that is why

we appeal to you people. (We know that you have been having strenuous campaigns and great things doing lately with large expenses.) It is our only hope to turn to you, friends and comrades, if we wish to help our fellow comrades. We might be able to save some of their lives, and help them to pull through this terrible struggle, which no pen can really describe.

Money is welcome from everywhere. They have collected here in Australia relief funds for many small nations—we are sorry to say that the suffering Finland, mostly in need, hasn't got a cent, which people for this last three years have been compelled to mix in their bread an island moss, sawdust, and bark from the trees, owing to the shortage of flour. Comrades and friends, we earnestly appeal to you once more. Do give us a helping hand for the nation in want. The relief funds in Victoria will be collected by "The Finnish Society of Melbourne." Similar funds have been opened also in Brisbane. All the collections will be forwarded to the "Central Trade Federation of Finland," in Helsingfors, Finland, Europe.—We are, yours truly,

O. E. SALONEN, President.  
ELIAS MERIKANTO, Vice-President.  
KARL V. SIEMTSEN, Secretary.

Reuter's Agency has received the communication of a letter from a British source in Finland, dated the middle of May, stating that the country is on the verge of starvation. Children, suffering terribly from the results of the shortage, seemed to go to sleep at all hours of the day, while women were to be seen fainting in the streets.

## THE NEW RUSSIA.

A Bolshevik Ambassador explains a work accomplished.

The correspondent of *Avanti* at Berne interviewed the members of the new Russian legation in Switzerland, and among them the old Commissary of the people of Public Education, Lubarsky. *Le Populaire* of June 14th gives some extracts from his interesting report, in which he says that the revolutionary phase is now finished, and the work of reorganisation has begun. The greatest difficulties were caused by the sabotage of the higher employees, who refused all work but this difficulty is now at an end.

"Are the officials all converted to Bolshevism?" "Some of them undoubtedly are. The others work out of patriotism or for some other reason, but it is a fact that to-day they are returning to duty."

"Perhaps because of the high salaries?" "Ah! they do not get merely the general salary of 500 roubles a month, fixed at the beginning of the Bolshevik Government which suffices for Lenin, the Commissaries of the People and others; the construction engineers and other technical employees receive more."

"A first concession." "We could not do less. It is not opportunism, it is practical politics."

"Are the results that you obtain really good?" "The newspapers continue to speak of the appalling disorganisation of the trams and of all the means of transport."

"In this field the evil was so vast, so deep that the world cannot see (some do not wish to see) the good result of our remedies. The disorganisation of the railways was frightful, but it begins to give place to a rigorous organisation, in which the

dictatorial régime instituted by the workers is most helpful. Frankly, I can assure you, Comrade, that our political adversaries themselves, even in fighting us unrelentingly, must recognise the merits and successes of the Bolshevik Government. Besides, the disorder was such that order cannot be hoped for within several months."

"But notwithstanding the reorganisation, the bread crisis continues to be terrible."

"Petrograd is the only town where things are, or rather were, very bad. But there also the situation is improving. The daily ration of bread of 50 grammes has been realised; and larger quantities of bread will certainly arrive in the future. There is bread in Siberia, there is bread in other parts of Russia, and the Ukraine will also give us some bread, even despite the treaty of alliance with Germany, in order to have machinery for agriculture, textiles, &c."

"And can Russia manufacture them?"

"Our factories which were making munitions are now making agricultural machinery. We neither lack labour nor raw materials. Again, recently, Norway wanted to obtain from us some industrial concessions for a period of thirty-five years, and you know that numerous demands for concessions have come to the Soviet Governments from the United States. All demands from foreigners have been and will be rejected."

The Executive Committee of Soviets consists of 75 per cent Bolsheviks, 20 per cent Socialist Revolutionaries of the left and 5 per cent Mensheviks, and others. The peasants and soldiers returned from the front, who are well organised, are Bolshevik. Without doubt, the delegate of the Soviets does not deny all internal danger, but according to him the greatest dangers run

by the Russian Revolution come from the exterior enemies who also lend their aid to those inside, and against this eventuality, the only efficacious aid, in his opinion, must come from the foreign proletariat.

### THE FORCES AGAINST THE SOVIETS.

The overthrow of the Bolsheviks in Siberia is widely announced and the early fall of the Soviet Government is confidently predicted. Philip Fries, *The Manchester Guardian* correspondent, writing from Moscow on June 14th says that the anti-Bolshevik Cossack-Slovak forces are concentrated at two points, one in the region of Omsk, the other in the region of Samara. He says they have obtained Cossack support because "the basis of the Cossack movements is land" and "a fear of the tide of immigration of peasants from Muscovite Russia as a result of the calamitous economic state of the latter region has caused the Eastern Cossacks to unite to protect themselves." Further, the attempt of the Soviet Government to requisition grain in Cossack territories for the starving industrial districts of the north-west after the loss of the Ukraine has caused a reaction against Bolshevism. But the Bolsheviks are not yet defeated. The *Shanghai Daily News* correspondent at Nanchang telegraphed on June 17th: "Colonel Semenov [an anti-Bolshevik reactionary] has been forced to retreat hastily to Manchuria owing to three thousand Cossacks having gone over to the enemy after killing their officers, while the Red Guards threatened to outflank and cut off Colonel Semenov's force."

The *Times* Peking correspondent wired on June 20th that most of the Cossacks had deserted General Semenov. So information on the Bolshevik position swings back and forth. The main source of information being anti-Bolshevik news must be received with reserve. The *Times* declares there is a Bolshevik "terror" organised against counter-revolutionaries. It reports that election commissions try counter-revolutionaries, who are only shot if the vote is unanimous.

whatever the final outcome of the war might be—that was their well-calculated policy. Between Japan and Germany there are no points of friction. It is therefore to be assumed that, if the result of the war proves favourable to us, this Power will be the first to stretch out to us the hand of peace."

The German newspaper with brutal frankness thus exposes the sordid, mercenary character of the whole business. Meanwhile our Russian comrades who are dealing with wonderful courage and great success to establish Socialism are facing not merely German aggression but also the fact that the Allies may strike through war-like Japan!

### IRELAND.

The return of Arthur Griffith, the imprisoned Sinn Féin candidate, for East Galway by a large majority shows the state of feeling in Ireland. Lord Curzon's statement shows that the Government has given way to the Unionists by again withdrawing the promise of Home Rule and to the hostility of the Irish people by dropping conscription. The Unionist and Sinn Féin forces, which together dominate the situation, are, however, still striving towards a climax. Lord Wimborne's declaration that neither he nor, as far as he knew, any member of the Irish Executive had any knowledge of the German plot and that he would like to know more of it is an indication that the Government is not too confident of its position in that matter. His complaint that all Irish offices have been filled with non-Catholic anti-Nationalists is ominous, as is the declaration of martial law in Tralee.

## THE JAPANESE MENACE.

The *Times* of May 30th published a letter from its Peking correspondent, which throws an unpleasant sidelight on the Chinese civil war. According to this letter the Northern Army is for autocracy, the Southern for a more democratic government. Allied capital and influence, according to *The Times*, is backing the Northern Army. It appears that because Tuan-Chi-Jui was prepared to bring China into the war, "The Allies made promises and gave loans to Tuan without assurances that he would proceed on constitutional lines. The foreign support and the loans enabled him to do as he chose." And this is done in the name of a war for freedom!

It now transpires that since Tuan-Chi-Jui came into power the resources of China have been heavily mortgaged for the upkeep of military operations.

The telegraphs have been pledged to a Japanese syndicate; the opium traffic has been revived; a secret treaty has given Japan a large measure of control over China's military forces; a Japanese has been nominated Financial Adviser; Japanese have been given control of the State banks, of the currency, and of innumerable national resources. Even the Peking correspondent of *The Times* is now urging the Allies to save China from "the military party, which is making ducks and drakes of the revenues and resources of the country to no profitable end whatever." *The Manchester Guardian* says: "It is melancholy to recall, however, that it was precisely with the blessing of the Allied Governments that the military party came into office."

This plainly shows us how little morality is to be

found in the international dealings of present-day capitalist Governments. But there is more to follow. After many months of agitation it now seems to be finally decided that Japan will invade Russia, ostensibly to counteract "German influence," and it is said that the Japanese Government is making even greater preparations for this effort than when it victoriously fought the Russian War. President Wilson is now said to have withdrawn his objections to the invasion. The comments on the situation of Germany, the organ of the German centre party, further illuminate the situation:—

"When Japan, who owes us a great deal, has nevertheless joined our enemies, the reason for it is to be sought not least in her shrewd policy. She wanted a free hand in the Far East without having to stake on the card the strength which she urgently needs for the future. She has actually succeeded in attaining, without fighting, as an ally of the Entente, what she could have attained as our ally only at the cost of very considerable sacrifices, namely, the domination over China and the paramountcy in the eastern parts of Siberia. The Japanese had realised that, if the war ended unfavourably for us, they, as our allies, would have to risk a good deal, and that, on the contrary, as our enemy they had nothing to fear from us even if the Entente were beaten by us. As for employing their strength to any appreciable extent in the European theatres of war, they had never thought of doing that in any circumstances. Their alliance with our enemies, therefore, could only bring them advantages



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### INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Since the very outbreak of war most curiously divers sorts of people have assumed the advocacy of what Upton Sinclair calls SOCIAL JUSTICE. These buoyant optimists have never tired of assuring war sufferers that all their losses will be amply compensated by the great reforms which will arise from the slaughter. They point unceasingly to a wonderful love for the poor and lowly which they perceive to be animating the wealthy commercial classes. To us this love appears to be like the love of the horse leech. What has resulted from it? At the outbreak of war there appeared the Queen Mary workrooms, with their 10s. weekly wage, and the Mayor's Relief Committees. Now come the Government's schemes for INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION, comprising the establishment of the Industrial Councils recommended by the Whitley Report and an extension of the Trade Boards Act.

Take the last first. The Trade Boards undoubtedly have done something to raise wages in the lower levels of the outrageously sweated trades to which they have been applied, especially in the case of the Cradley Heath chain makers, where, roughly speaking, their immediate effect was to raise women's wages from 5s. to 10s. a week, a wage still at sweating point.\* In this compact industry, confined to a single district and free from foreign competition, where men's wages were high as compared with other trades, there was no reason why the women's wage should not have been much further raised by the Boards. But the minor ameliorations introduced by the Boards have been conceived invariably in a pettifogging spirit, and the constitution of the Boards is humiliating to the workers, who are as a rule even denied the right to elect those who are supposed to represent them upon the Boards.

In the debate on the Second Reading of the new Trade Boards Bill on June 17th Mr. W. C. Anderson was the most enthusiastic supporter of the measure. He quoted figures to prove the efficiency of the Boards, saying:—

"In industries like the jam, pickles, sauce, and food preserving industry, the average wage of a woman in pre-war times was 9s. 11d. for fifty-four hours. The trade board rate is now 4½d., yielding £1 0s. 3d. for the same number of hours and there is a proposal to increase it to 5d. an hour which will yield £1 2s. 6d. .... In the ready-made tailoring trade in London the rate for basters before the Board was set up was 12s. 2d. for fifty-one hours. The rate is now 5d. an hour, or £1 1s. 6½d. for the same number of hours."

Has Mr. Anderson forgotten the rise in the cost of living, which has nullified these increases? Does he ignore the growing scarcity of labour, which of itself invariably tends to aid the workers in their struggle to secure increased wages? The average working woman will tell you that she has found the cost of living has more than doubled since the outbreak of war.† To keep pace with that increase the jam maker's wage of 9s. 11d. must be at least 19s. 10d.: the Trade Board has given 20s. 3d. The baster's 12s. 2d. should be 24s. 4d. on the same estimate, but the Tailoring Trade Board has only given 21s. 6½d., so the baster's real wages have fallen below the pre-Trade Board standard. Happily, numbers of women and men in the tailoring trade are earning more than the Trade Board rate.

To show the superiority of Trade Board rates Mr. Anderson quoted in contrast some appalling records of sweating: A woman, aged 28 years, in a Birmingham pinafore factory, paid 11s. 1½d.; a woman, aged 20, 10s. 1d.; and a girl of 17, 6s. 10½d. for a full week's work. Welsh shop assistants with three years' experience, paid 11s. 3d., with four years' experience, 12s. 6d., with seven years' experience, 16s. 3d. Such figures are indeed disgraceful, and indicate little capacity for fighting strategy on the part of the Shop Assistants' Union which supplied the facts to Mr. Anderson. But we cannot follow Mr. Anderson in his satisfaction with Trade Board wages. Explaining that the Sugar, Confectionery, and Food Preserving Trade Board had fixed a wage of 5d. an hour, he says:—

"It was an absolutely unanimous decision that it was a good rate, a fair rate, and a rate that the industry could pay without difficulty."

\* The Wage Board fixed 2½d. per hour for hammered chain, i.e. 11s. a week for a 48 hour week. The rate has since been raised to 4d. per hour.

† The official estimate of the increase in the cost of living was 100 per cent. in May, 1918.

The sentence affronts us: we can concur only in its last statement that the industry can "without difficulty" pay the miserable rate!

To us the Trade Board is a regrettable necessity, only to be tolerated as a temporary expedient in those industries in which the workers are so ground down by evil conditions of poverty, and so handicapped by the competition of workless or underpaid competitors, that they are not yet able to form organisations of their own strong enough to secure improved conditions. In our view the only satisfactory thing about the Trade Boards Act is that it has made legally enforceable the rates fixed by the Trade Boards. This provision enables the timid isolated worker to get legal aid in obtaining the rate, which she might otherwise be powerless to secure for herself (it is usually "she" for 80 per cent of the workers under the jurisdiction of the Trade Boards are women). But the legally enforced minimum wage is neither necessarily dependent on the creation of a Trade Board, nor confined to the poorly organised trades. The Miners, the most highly organised body of workers in this country, have won for themselves the legal protection and enforcement of their minimum rates. It is towards such an example that the more poorly organised workers should look, not to the standard of the Trade Boards.

The constitution of the Trade Boards is, in our view, altogether harmful. The Government White Paper on Industrial Councils and Trade Boards, just published, states that, "in nearly all cases," the representatives of employers and employed upon the Trade Boards "are now nominated by the Minister." The Report affirms that this method of appointment is found "preferable" to that of direct election, and explains that the Employers' Associations and Trade Unions are "invited to submit the names of candidates for the Minister's consideration," and that "full weight is given to their recommendations." The Employers' Associations will, no doubt, see to it that they are represented by their most forceful protagonists, but that point does not concern us. The workers know only too well from oft repeated experience, that when Government Departments choose working-class representatives only those who are held to be safely amenable and moderate are chosen. The Report says that the reason why it is "preferable" for the Minister to choose the representatives of Labour is that the industries are not yet fully organised. The excuse is a poor one. Has not the world witnessed the creation within a few months of the Russian Soviets? The powerful national machinery of organised Labour, backed by Governmental aid, would not fail to secure the direct election of representatives of the workers in every industry in this country if a serious effort were made to that end! But the idea that women workers can best be represented by one of themselves, appointed and instructed by them, is only just beginning to emerge. Even amongst the women themselves it is as yet a comparatively new thought.

Having chosen for the Trade Board those who are to represent both workers and employers, the Government proceeds to appoint, as representing itself, some impartial persons, usually three in number, one of whom acts as chairman, the other as vice-chairman. The Board being thus composed we need not wonder, perhaps, that the Sugar Board was so comfortably and unanimously satisfied with its 5d. rate, since none of those compelled to live on the 5d. rate were present at the discussion. In the main the standpoint of the Government's representatives will tend to coincide with that of the employers, rather than with that of the rank and file workers, though where the grosser forms of sweating are in question the Government representatives may vote with the workers' representatives. But it is a far cry from the grosser forms of sweating to the communal ownership of the industry and its control by the workers engaged therein, which is our goal.

The new Trade Board Bill was attacked on the ground that it gives increased power to the Minister of Labour. It gives him power to apply the Act to any trade, or to withdraw it from any trade, by means of a special order, which may become operative at once, but may be annulled by the King, if an address praying him to do so is presented to either House within forty days. Minimum rates under the new Bill would come into force in three months, instead of after the nine months' delay occasioned by the present procedure. The new Bill would empower Trade Boards to fix, not merely minimum time rates and piece rates, but a guaranteed minimum time rate, to be assured to all piece workers whatever their piece rate earnings might in fact amount to. The Bill also gives the Boards power to fix overtime rates; but does not compel them to do so.

Clause three section 4 contains the following provision:

"Where a Trade Board fix a minimum rate so as to apply to any class of workers in a trade they may, if they think it expedient so to do, attach to the fixing of the minimum rate the following conditions, that is to say:—

- (a) A condition that workers who are members of the class must be holders of certificates to that effect issued by the Trade Board; and
- (b) If the class consists of persons who are learning the trade, such conditions as the Trade Board think necessary for securing the effective instruction of those persons in the trade.

If any condition so attached is not complied with in the case of any worker, he shall be deemed not to be a member of the class, and where a condition with respect to the holding of a certificate is so attached, the Trade Board shall issue a certificate to a person applying therefore on production of evidence to their satisfaction that the applicant is a member of the class.

Sir Frederick Banbury was afraid that the condition attached to the grant of a certificate might be membership of a trade union. We can imagine other and more objectionable conditions. The matter should be explained. On the face of it the power seems a dangerous and unnecessary one. What is it that the Government has in mind here? Is it to preserve certain trades exclusively for men or for women? Is it to preserve some trades perhaps exclusively for disabled soldiers? We should regard all such attempts as highly dangerous to the workers; to make any industry the close preserve of a class of workers, who, by reason of disablement or otherwise, are economically feeble, is to rivet conditions of under payment upon that class.

The vitally important question as to whether it is far sightedly wise for the workers to take part in the administration of joint boards of employers and employed, arises, in considering both the Trade Boards and the Joint Industrial Councils advocated by the Whitley Report. The Government White Paper explains that the Joint Industrial Councils which the Government proposes shall be set up are:—

1. Applicable only to the more highly organised industries uncontrolled by the Government.
2. Shall be voluntary in character and having at least for the present no statutory power to enforce its decisions.
3. Can only be brought into existence with the agreement of the organisations of employers and employed in the particular industry.
4. Shall be composed exclusively of representatives of the Employers' Associations and Trade Unions concerned without any Government nominees, unless the Employers' and Workers' organisations concerned ask that Government representatives be appointed to assist in forming the body and to remain in an advisory capacity.
5. Shall be self-supporting and receive no monetary aid from the Government.
6. Shall determine their own machinery and functions. They will probably deal with other man wage questions.

The Trade Board on the other hand is:—

1. Primarily intended for industries where wages are low.
2. Its decisions are enforced by law.
3. Is brought into existence by the Ministry of Labour as and when he deems expedient.
4. Its members are usually wholly and always in part appointed by the Ministry.
5. Its expenses are met by the Ministry.
6. Its primary function is to deal with rates of wages.

The White Paper states that both a Trade Board and a Joint Industrial Council may be established for the same industry, the Trade Board having compulsory powers, and ordinarily dealing with wage questions only; the Industrial Council having no legal power to enforce its decisions, and, even should such powers be later added unto it, having no power to override the decisions of a Trade Board or to apply its decisions in the domain governed by a Trade Board.

It is intended that the Joint Industrial Councils, in the trades where they are established, shall be the recognised representatives of the industries they serve and shall be the channel through which the Government will alone communicate with the industry. Where no Joint Industrial Council exists the Trade Board will be recognised as representing the industry. What clashes with the rank and file will here arise! What efforts there will be to crush them into submission to the Councils and the Boards on which will sit the "tame" Trade Unionists who are supposed to represent the men and women in the shops and who will probably withhold the strike pay!

Workers, this is not the SOCIALISATION OF INDUSTRY, which alone will ensure your salvation; it is not even capitalism with its claws drawn, but capitalism with its fur nicely curled and arranged to hide them!

What did Mr. G. Roberts, the "Labour" Minister of Labour, say of these plans of Reconstruction in the debate on the Trade Board Bill?—

"I believe that everybody desires now that the wages in every trade shall assure to those engaged in that trade a satisfactory standard of living, and having regard to the independent and expert character of a trade board, I think it may safely be urged that this power is not too great a one to confer upon it."

"...Wages are often a subject on which cleavage is relatively sharp, but there are many other matters in which a real community of interest exists between the two parties in the trade.... If we can get the parties in a trade to consider not only matters of wages and labour conditions, but persuade them to have a full regard to all the affairs of that trade, that must surely contribute.... splendidly to the real prosperity of the State and of both the parties in the trade...."

"It has been strongly represented to us that Parliament should fix a national minimum wage.... It must be seen that it is difficult for Parliament to agree upon any one figure which may be adaptable to every one of our industries.... It raises highly controversial questions as to the relationship of men's and women's wages.... whether the wage shall be sufficient to maintain an individual or a family, a large or a small family, or a family of

(Continued on page 1030.)



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

## AND SHALL TOM MOONEY DIE?

What is the meaning of "Frame up Labour Case"? I have several times been asked. It means, my comrades, that certain employers when they see the Industrial Movement grow powerful, hire a gang of thugs and Pinkerton detectives to plant some dynamite near the scene of a strike and then arrest the strike leaders for participation in the outrage, the object being to discredit the Trade Unions and to jail the prominent men and if possible execute them. In my opinion and that of others the evidence in this case clearly shows that the prosecution paid witnesses to swear Mooney's life away.

The Commission appointed by President Wilson to inquire into the case said in their report "We find in the atmosphere surrounding the prosecution and trial of the case, ground for disquietude....The most damaging testimony produced against Mooney came from a witness named Oxman....After Mooney's conviction there came to light letters confessedly written by Oxman prior to his having been called to testify. The plain import of these letters is an attempt by Oxman to suborn perjury....When Oxman was discredited the verdict against Mooney was discredited."

In spite of this, however, the Californian Supreme Court affirmed the sentence and Tom Mooney will hang unless the workers of Europe stretch out the hand of comradeship to save him.

The London Workers' Committee has decided to organise a huge protest demonstration on Sunday, July 7th, to demand that the British Government shall make representations to President Wilson with a view to securing Tom Mooney's release.

The procession proposes to assemble on the Embankment (near Cleopatra's Needle) at 2.45 and march to Hyde Park via the American Embassy, where a monster demonstration will be held. It is intended that there shall be at least three platforms and there will be an imposing array of speakers, details of which will be in next week's DREADNOUGHT.

Now, workers of London, do you propose callously to allow Tom Mooney to die? Or will you help to raise such a volume of protest that shall strike fear into the hearts (if they have any) of certain capitalists of America?

The following song should be learned by every one, as we propose engaging a band to play the tune:—

## THE SONG OF THE WORKING FOLK.

"And shall Tom Mooney die?"

[Words by Eden and Cedar Paul, with acknowledgments to the memory of Robert Stephen Hawker, author of 'Trelawny—the Song of the Western Men.']

1.  
A firm will and a trusty hand!  
A brave heart and a true!  
The monied class shall understand,  
What working folk can do!

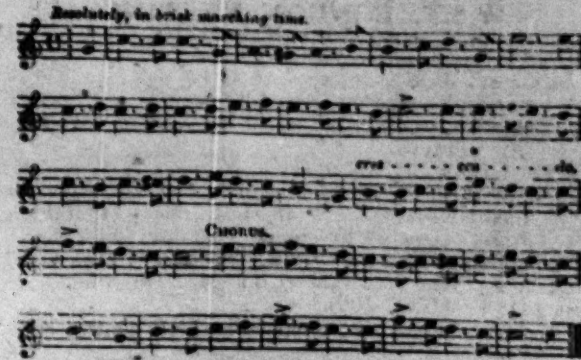
2.  
And have they fixed the where and when?  
And shall Tom Mooney die?  
Here's fifty thousand working men  
Will see the reason why!  
[Repeat stanza 2 as chorus.]

3.  
From Russia to the farthest west  
Our song now stirs the breeze,  
One bond unites the dispossessed  
Across all lands and seas.

4.  
The comrades leal in every land  
Join in a single cry;  
The workers voice the one demand:  
"And shall Tom Mooney die?"  
[Repeat stanza 4 as chorus.]

5.  
Though war's dissents our powers lame,  
The workers are one race!  
Our minds are stirred, our hearts aflame,  
The master class we'll face!

6.  
Tom Mooney still lies fast in jail,  
Tom Mooney he may die;  
But the world's workers will not fail  
To see the reason why!  
[Repeat stanza 6 as chorus.]



## LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The Concert Lecture was a great success. Comrade Scormus simply enchanting us with his fiddle. Unfortunately, Miss Pankhurst at the last moment was unable to turn up, so Mr. W. F. Watson gave an interesting address showing the similarity between the Bolshevik Movement and the Workers' Committee Movement. We are fixing up Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold of Manchester to give a series of Lectures at Chandos Hall. Further particulars later. Next Monthly Meeting Sunday, July 7th, 11 A.M., Chandos Hall, W.C.—T. F. KNIGHT, Hon. Sec.

## ACTIVITY AT CROYDON.

A live Workers' Committee has been formed at the Wadden Aerodrome, Croydon, S.E. It is built up on right lines and has already made itself felt. We should like to see it affiliated to the London Workers' Committee.

The Final Report of the National Metal Engineering and Ship Building Amalgamation Committee—recently merged into the Workers' Committee—is now issued together with a detailed balance sheet. Any one desiring a copy should apply to 7, Featherstone Buildings, enclosing a 1d. stamp to cover postage.

## UNEQUAL PAY FOR LAND WORKERS.

The Agricultural Wages Board has fixed a wage of 5d. an hour for women over 18 who have worked not less than three months on the land. Women who have worked less than three months will get 4½d. an hour. Time and a quarter is to be paid for overtime on week-days and time and a half for Sunday work. The fixing of the women's rates on an hourly basis means that they will be paid only for the hours during which they are actually employed; if the weather proves unsuitable they will get no pay! This is a very serious hardship. The Wages Board fixed a weekly rate of 36s. for a 60 hour week for men with 10d. an hour for overtime and Sunday work. The men will be paid in all weathers.

## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

June 17th.—Mr. Prothero admitted that no inquiry was made as to the effect on individual farms, before the military authorities decided on the recent "clean cut."

## LAND FOR SOLDIERS.

Sir Edward Carson (U.) and Sir J. Craig (U.) again pressed to know what answer is to be given a recruit in explanation of the Government Proclamation promising land to volunteers. Mr. Samuel saved himself from giving a reply by saying that possibility to discuss the question would be given on Tuesday. We greatly fear that unjust confiscations may result from this promise. The only land available in Ireland is in the hands of the aristocracy.

## FINLAND.

In reply to Mr. King (L.) Mr. Balfour stated that His Majesty's Government do not propose to recognise the present Finnish Government because it is under German influence. Does he not mean capitalistic influence?

## TRADES BOARDS.

A Bill to amend the Trades Boards Act of 1909 was given a second reading. We discuss it in our news columns.

## THE INTERNED IRISH.

June 18th.—Mr. King drew attention to the fact that Mrs. Maud Gonne McBride has been unable to see her fourteen year old son since her internment. That she was prevented from knowing that he had applied repeatedly to the Home Office to visit her. Mr. Bruce said that it had been decided that she might see her son under certain conditions. What magnanimity!

## WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS.

June 18th.—The Federation of Women Civil Servants has put in a claim for increased remuneration. Mr. Baldwin said a reply would be sent shortly.

## VOTE OF CREDIT.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a sum of £500,000,000 be granted, and explained later that the sum was less than that voted in March. It would seem that this was not due to any special leaning towards cutting down expenditure, but because another vote of credit would be needed before the adjournment of the Session! His review of the war amounted to his assertion that the German objectives had been Paris and the Channel ports and that neither of these had so far been obtained! Mr. Asquith in the course of his usual complimentary critical speech excelled himself in regard to Russia by saying: "We, the representatives of the British people, are as anxious now as we ever have been to have Russia upon our side, and to give to the great Russian democracy the assurance that in all the pains and anxieties of the tumult and the turmoil....we believe their sympathies are with the cause of progress and justice...." Subsequent remarks showed that Mr. Asquith is not a Bolshevik, he would like the Russians still to fight for capitalist governments. As if to divert the attention of the House from the serious questions of war and peace, Mr. Adamson

(Lab.) was called on to speak. His topic was the necessity of raising separation allowances. He pointed out that since July, 1914, the retail price of food had increased 108 per cent, whilst the average increase in cost of living amounted to about one hundred per cent. Mr. Macdonald (Lab.) and Mr. Hogge (L.) also made speeches proving that 12s. 6d. per week was absurd as maintenance allowance. Mr. Bonar Law hinted that the House usually wanted to cut down expenditure, but here it was advocating a most colossal outlay. But still he condescended to add that the Government had decided that the subject of separation allowances needed "further investigation." Mr. Samuel (L.) in his plea for economy did not at all refer to saving at the expense of those who were fighting—he wants the Report of his Committee regarding expenditure to be obeyed, and system and economy practised in the big Departments. So do we....

## NAIVE!

June 20th.—When asked to publish the Roumanian Treaty Mr. Balfour replied: "I do not think the treaty can be published. It is one of the secret treaties, if I remember rightly."

## BELGIUM.

Mr. Outhwaite (L.) asked whether the Belgian Government had been associated with the territorial claims of the Allies as set out in the Secret Treaties. Mr. Balfour stated in reply that the Belgian Government was not a party to those treaties!

## IRELAND.

Mr. Shortt said that no prosecutions for treason of the interned Irish prisoners are considered necessary or advisable. We are of the contrary opinion, the bubble of treason must be burst.

## TYRANNY.

Major Baird explained away the action of a lady supervisor over women cleaners at the Air Board, Hotel Cecil, Strand, who threatened to dismiss them if they become members of a trade union. He said: "The action referred to was due to a misapprehension on the part of a subordinate official, and the necessary instructions are being issued to put the matter right."

## PEACE MOTION.

On the Consolidated Fund Bill Mr. Morrell (L.) moved and Mr. Snowden (Lab.) seconded the following motion: "This House desires an assurance that the Government will lose no diplomatic opportunity to settle the problems of the war by agreement; and to that end expresses its opinion that the Secret Treaties with the Allied Governments should be revised, since in their present form they are inconsistent with the objects for which this country entered the war, and are therefore a barrier to a democratic peace." Mr. Morrell in a speech pointing out the various attempts made on the part of the Central Powers to negotiate peace, asked for a revision of the surviving Secret Treaties. Mr. Snowden spoke in the same strain though he was less conciliatory. The speeches broke no new ground, and were more or less a repetition of previous peace debates, excepting Mr. Balfour's reply which was a splendid example of the impotency and duplicity

of secret diplomacy. He opened his speech by explaining the meaning of a peace offensive. It is an attempt to divide the Allies. What does he call the attempts to divide the Central Powers? He denied that the responsibility for continuing the war lay on the present Government, "we passionately desire an honorable peace," but he added that it could only be obtained by "struggling" to the end. At this moment during the offensive neither party could consider peace. He denounced the idea that the Secret Treaties were the cause of the prolongation of the war as "fantastic"! Mr. Balfour then went on to clear up his own position by saying the treaties were not made by him nor by the party to which he belongs; but at the same time did not leave the impression that he would have done otherwise. His words on the possibility of the revision of the Italian Treaties were: "If it should turn out that in the common interests of the Allies as a whole that treaties made some years ago should require modification, I do not doubt that a modification will be made by the Italians themselves. It rests with them. They are our Ally, and we are bound to them, and we mean to keep to the full to the bargain we have made." Knowing the position we fear that we must again impress on our readers our opinion that the present Government has little or no desire to stop this slaughter. It is too deep in the mire for anything to be hoped from it. When even a Balfour, says like a school boy, "I didn't do it, it was so-and-so," what has the country come to? Those unconverted to the argument of a people's peace must surely now feel that it is the one resource!

## THE TEACHERS' PROTEST.

A teacher writes: "A meeting of women students from Teachers' Training Colleges was held last Saturday at the Memorial Hall to protest against the inadequate initial salary offered to women teachers on leaving college by the various Education Authorities throughout the country. The teachers demand a minimum of £130 per annum, with an annual increment of £10. The L.C.C. offers £108 for three years and £7 annual increment. This the teachers rightly say is not even a living wage at this time when £1 is worth only about 10s. After training for five years and receiving very little remuneration, these girls are offered this princely salary of £108 a year which is subject to deduction for Superannuation both by the Government and by the L.C.C. which leaves only just over £2 a week. At the same time this same L.C.C. is offering its temporary women attendance officers £2 6s. a week, with possibilities of rising to £4 in two years!"

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## W.S.F. LONDON MEETINGS.

## OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, JUNE 28th.  
Grundy Street, Poplar.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.  
Dock Gates, Poplar.—7.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker, Miss Smyth.  
SATURDAY, JUNE 29th.  
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in the Kentish Town District. Meet 44, Malden Road, Kentish Town, at 2.45 and 5.30 P.M.; meetings at 3 and 6 P.M. Speakers: Mrs. Cole, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Gosling.  
SUNDAY, JUNE 30th.  
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.  
Mile End Waste.—5 P.M., Mrs. Walker.  
TUESDAY, JULY 2nd.  
Hague Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 3rd.  
Grundy Street, Poplar.—7 P.M., Mr. A. A. Watts and others.  
FRIDAY, JULY 5th.  
Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.  
SATURDAY, JULY 6th.  
Great Push in Waterloo Road.

## INDOOR.

MONDAY, JULY 1st.  
44, Malden Road, Kentish Town (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 3rd.  
Islington and Holloway Branch Liberty Club and Institute, 318, Green Lanes, Finsbury Park.—8 P.M., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.  
TUESDAY, JULY 2nd.  
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.  
SUNDAY, JUNE 30th.  
Kingsley Hall, Bow.—8.15 P.M., Speaker, Subject:  
SUNDAY, JULY 7th.  
Mrs. Furniss (Woman's Labour League), 'The Problem of Housing from the Christian Point of View.'

## DREADNOUGHT FUND.

Twenty-nine Socialist and Progressive members of the 2nd Southern Co. N.C.C. Portsmouth, have sent 12s. 6d. as a slight expression of thanks for the DREADNOUGHT's efforts on behalf of their N.C.C. comrades in France.

## POPULAR HOUSING CAMPAIGN.

The effect of the deputation sent by the Poplar Local Labour Party to urge that the persons rendered homeless by air raids should be accommodated in good houses standing empty, whether inside or outside the borough, was most disappointing. The point was unfortunately not made clear by the spokeswoman, and the Borough Councillors proceeded to disgrace themselves by recrimination, in which the welfare of the people was entirely forgotten. Whether people are "pacifists making money out of the war," or jingoes, "making money out of the war and trying to prolong it," is really of minor interest. Gentlemen of the Council you should endeavour to forget your own insignificant personalities and concentrate your attention on the work which you have been elected to perform.

## FREE WORLD CRUSADE.

Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self, SONGS, RECITALS, and POEMS  
by  
ALEXANDER HUNTER.

## A GERMAN SOLDIER'S PEACE POEM.

## A GERMAN SOLDIER'S PEACE POEM.

A poem, of which the following is a translation which appears in the June issue of *Flying*, was found on the dead body of a German soldier. The British authorities reproduced the letter in facsimile and threw it from aeroplanes into the German lines. Some of the copies were blown into the British lines and a British soldier who caught one sent it to *Flying*. The editor of *Flying* writes: "Its value for propaganda purposes is a matter of opinion. The sentiment is of the class that Americans describe as 'mush.' We disagree with the editor of *Flying*. This German soldier voices our own view:—

I was a soldier, but only by compulsion;  
When they enlisted me a feeling of revulsion  
Obsessed me, as away from those who cared  
They drove me to the barracks like the common  
herd.  
Yes, from the homestead and those I loved so  
dearly  
I had to vanish, and now I feel sincerely  
The pangs of longing for the home I blessed  
And anger's passion surges in my breast.

## INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

(continued from page 1028).

average size. Such diverse views are advanced.... Parliament has not the information.... Statutory figures are in the highest degree inelastic, and can only be changed by further legislation; meanwhile irreparable damage might be done....

"The trade boards might ask power to be given to them to so fix rates that they would rise gradually, and allow the trades time to adapt themselves to the new conditions. That is the principle on which we have worked in our trade union experience.... We have generally been able to compromise and make arrangements whereby the advances, mutually agreed upon, were brought into operation by degrees.... I want to see the whole of our industries covered by joint industrial councils or wages boards.... I feel that both of them are essential to the maintenance of harmony in industry."

Obviously, the Trade Boards and Industrial Councils are intended to maintain and preserve from danger the capitalist system of industry. What we desire, on the other hand, is to overthrow the system!

The majority of the present Trade Union leaders appear already to have committed themselves to these Boards and Councils. They have evidently enjoyed their association with Government Departments and private employers in war-work and they desire to continue the partnership. The longer the partnership is maintained the further the Trade Union leaders drift and will drift from communion with the workers in the industries—the producers who maintain all the rest.

To achieve the socialisation of industry, in face of the joint forces of Governments and employers and old-fashioned Trade Union leaders, the workers must build up their own rank and file organisations, in which the officials must remain workers in the shops, appointed merely as delegates always subject to recall and acting only under instructions. The organisation of the Workers' Committee in the workshop, as differentiated from the residential branch, becomes the more imperative, because the Whitley Industrial Councils include workshop bodies and undoubtedly a more intimate, and practically useful appeal is made by a body formed of those who work together, and thus able to deal effectively with each workshop incident as it arises, as well as with questions affecting the entire district or the industry as a whole. Old-fashioned trade unionism, both by its faulty structure and indefinite spirit will be beaten in the struggle against the Whitley Councils.

The new Trade Boards Bill will undoubtedly pass in some form or other. The Whitley Industrial Councils will be set up in many trades. The Boards will make insignificant alterations; the Councils will accomplish very little because the employers' representatives will not agree to any but minor alterations. The great fights, the momentous changes will be made by the power of the workers organised independently of these bodies. Those who desire the establishment of the Industrial Socialist Commonwealth in our time, will concentrate on organising the workers' rank and file committees and in spreading the propaganda of Socialism amongst the workers. Serious Socialists have no time to spare for building up compromise bodies.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## THE INTERNATIONAL.

## TROELSTRA'S PASSPORT.

The British Labour Party invited Troelstra, the Dutch Socialist, to its Conference. His passport has been refused. What pressure has the Labour Party employed to secure the passport? What protest will it make?

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The Austrian peace and food strikes grow in frequency and accompanying violence. It appears that two movements are convulsing the country, the workers' struggle for emancipation and the racial antagonisms between Germans, Poles and the smaller nationalities. The Jewish Correspondence Bureau at the Hague reports also the fomenting of an anti-Semitic movement and says speeches at the German National Congress in Vienna in which the Burgomasters and Members of Parliament blamed the Jews

for the food shortage, were greeted with cries of "Pogrom." Since the racial feuds do not strike at capitalist supremacy they are able to secure wealthy influential backing as well as receiving allied support. The Italians have held conferences with the Southern Slavs; Professor Mazaryk, the Bohemian, has been powerfully helped in his anti-Austrian campaign in Britain and America. Nevertheless, in spite of any efforts which may be made to side-track the Social Revolution by racial feuds, the workers' movement has undoubtedly grown to formidable proportions. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* of June reports a manifesto issued by an Imperial Conference of the German-speaking Socialists which, whilst stating that "the excited masses would like to hear only one call—the call to a rising," advises them not to strike now as the present position is unfavourable. These are the counsels of the moderates. That they feel it

## MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

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## INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS

Dear Friends of Humanity.—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the state, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORK-HOUSES, 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.

[Adv.]

necessary to give them is significant. The following resolution mutilated by the censor was passed by the conference:—

The peace treaties of Brest and Bucharest contradict the principles of a peace by understanding, without annexations and indemnities. (Several lines excised by the censorship.) The conference therefore protests against the contents of these peace treaties, and demands that they should be submitted to the Reichsrath for examination and acceptance before they are ratified.

The conference calls upon the Governments of the Central Powers to offer to the Governments of the enemy countries a general peace on the following basis:—

1. The establishment of an alliance of nations of all countries which should carry through a general disarmament and settle all disputes between nations by arbitration courts.

2. Renunciation of all annexations and indemnities, in the west and south as well as in the east and south-east.

3. The border nations separated from Russia to be given complete right of self-determination.

The rest is blank.

The Austrian Parliament cannot meet as the Cabinet is without a majority. The Emperor hesitates to accept the Premier's resignation. Austria seems to be on the verge of revolutionary happenings. A general strike has broken out in Hungary. Is Austria-Hungary about to follow the lead of Russia?

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