

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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THE EMBARGO. By J. T. Murphy.

An open letter to Skilled Workers

BROTHERS,—The extension of the "embargo" is suspended pending an inquiry. What "the inquiry" is going to effect I do not know; but we ought to proceed with an inquiry of our own. The embargo is what? The prevention of the employment of further skilled men at certain firms in order to give a drift to skilled labour in the direction of other firms. To achieve this an Order was issued by the Minister of Munitions.

WHY WAS THE ORDER POSTED?

Strange to relate, the Order was communicated to the workers. Had this not been done a crisis might not have developed at all. The workers would have gone to another firm, as they usually do when an employer ceases to want them, and it would have been some considerable time ere they discovered the move to be deliberate.

At first glance this generous disclosure of an Order for the direction of the commodity, labour through the channels of the labour market would appear to be one of those unique events which illustrate the "mutuality of interest" of employers and employees; but there is a fly in the ointment for, our Coventry comrades inform us that they were told by their capitalist "brothers" in industry: "This is *your* funeral, not ours." We are compelled, therefore, to look for another explanation of the incident. A little research into company reports and reconstruction publications will reveal the fact that many of the rank and file of the capitalist class, like the rank and file of the trade unions, object to executive control, and are ever "kicking against the pricks" of State interference. Seeing that the "mutual interest" explanation has fallen through, the accusing finger points to an old time trick of the employing class, namely, the use of the workers and their grievances to fight the battles of individual employers and groups of employers, while they enjoy "our funeral."

WHEN LABOUR IS SCARCE WAGES NATURALLY RISE, BUT EMBARGO PREVENTS WAGES RISING.

Now let us turn to the embargo. First of all it prevents the raising of wages through what is known as the normal action of the market. When labour is scarce, wages rise, and the effect of the shortage of 60,000 to 70,000 skilled men would naturally have been to induce employers who urgently wanted men to offer better terms in order to attract men from other employers. But there is a war on—and the Government being in need, as we are told, of munitions, &c., steps into the arena to help those who are short of labour.

ONLY THE MINIMUM IS GUARANTEED.

There is a guarantee that district rates shall be paid; hence it is asserted that wages are not lowered. This is very plausible, but the day-rate is the minimum which is guaranteed, and the existence of piece-work and bonus systems, &c., provides great scope for variations in earnings. The firms which offer the best conditions are usually well supplied. Thus the embargo coerces men into shops indirectly, without the corresponding return which the open market would have

brought to them under the stress of the shortage of labour. Again, the "mutuality of interest" theory breaks down and the employers reap the advantage of the interference.

EMPLOYERS WHO ARE SHORT OF LABOUR GET LABOUR; THOSE WHO HAVE LABOUR GET THE MEANS TO COERCE IT.

These who are short of labour get their labour, and those who have their supply possess the weapon of coercion over their workmen. In the latter case it works as follows: "Well, if you are not satisfied you know you are at liberty to leave." The language is clear, the tone may be pleasant, the twinkle in the employer's eye may be merry, and the position of the worker appears cheerful. Actually, however, the worker has to choose between a worse employer and the Army. In these glorious days of "patriotism" even the man with a grievance grins and prefers to "endure the ills he has, &c."

EMBARGO AND LEAVING CERTIFICATES BOTH MEAN INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

Extended far enough this coercion is undoubtedly a kind of industrial conscription. We sampled one kind of industrial conscription when the "leaving certificate" was in vogue. The difference between the leaving certificate scheme and the embargo scheme is as follows: The leaving certificate scheme was of a passive character and the embargo scheme is of an active character.

LEAVING CERTIFICATES CHECK, EMBARGO AFFECTS MOBILITY OF LABOUR.

The first was introduced and enforced to check the mobility of labour, its tendency to move in search of better jobs. The embargo is introduced to affect the mobility of labour, to coerce it into moving in the direction desired by the employing class.

LEAVING CERTIFICATES IMMEDIATE, EMBARGO GRADUAL IN EFFECT.

The first was made general at once. The second is more indirect and will be fully achieved only after a considerable time. Nevertheless the coercion is there and of a very contemptible kind.

HUMAN BEINGS TREATED AS COMMODITIES.

The trouble arises because human beings are treated as commodities. On no previous occasion have the workers had their commodity status thrust so insultingly in their faces. "We have rationed butter, meat, sugar, and other commodities, therefore we must ration labour." The men were, and are, anxious to be treated as commodities in an open market with a shortage of labour, but are not prepared to be so treated when the commodities require controlling. We can't have it both ways.

STRIKERS AND FIGHTERS.

This confusion is no new thing. It is because we of the working class are human commodities that this confusion exists. It explains the difference in the attitude of the employing class

towards us when we apply for an advance in wages, and when we are going to win a war. In the first instance, our wages are our prices as commodities, and the employer does not like the price of his commodities to rise any more than we like the price of bread to go up. Hence when we strike, the employers view us as the "unruly mob," the "ignorant crowd led by youthful agitators." In the second instance we are the men and women of a great Empire, which the employing classes own and, as they do not want to lose it, and, in fact, may win some handsome prizes by fighting, we are viewed as heroes and heroines of a great race.

APPROVAL OF THE WAR IMPLIES RESPONSIBILITY TO PROSECUTE IT.

There is a war on now and the workers of this country acquiesce in its prosecution. Such agreement implies responsibility, and when the governing body responsible for the conduct of the war makes certain demands upon them, they are faced with certain courses of action. They have either (a) to prove that the reasons advanced in support of the demands are not tenable; (b) to repudiate the prosecution of the war and accept responsibility for such a course; (c) to assent to the Government's demands; (d) to promise an alternative scheme for effecting the objects of the Government. No one has attempted to show that there is not a shortage of 60,000 to 70,000 skilled men and a need for more efficient distribution; nor have the workers adopted the other three courses. So we are in the midst of contradictions, an acceptance of the war policy and a refusal of responsibility. We have observed that a number of obnoxious consequences are involved in the embargo; but they do not justify an attitude of all round negation. So long as the human tragedy continues such an attitude is contemptible.

THE WAR V THE TRADE

But we are told the engineers are concerned for the future of their trade. So the issue changes to the war versus the trade. Let us face this issue squarely. The engineers along with the rest of the working class have acquiesced in the war and the existence of the War Cabinet to conduct it. That body has declared the war to be primary, the trade secondary. The workers have not objected. The engineers have agreed and acquiesced in the dilution of their trade by agreement. They have agreed to youths up to 23 years of age being taken for the army, all for the prosecution of the war. These are deadly facts to meet now with the plea of trade interests. So long as the war continues with the agreement of the workers the problems which arise will have to be accepted with all their consequences. That fact can never be forgotten.

THE CONTINUANCE OF THE WAR MEANS THE DEPRECIATION OF THE TRADE.

The only way in which this immediate problem can be solved is by the efficient distribution of the skilled labour which exists and the extension of dilution. The consequences are not to be forgotten either. They are the further depreciation of the trade and the possibility of a further withdrawal of skilled labour for the Army.

Continued on back page.

WHO FIRST USED POISONED GAS?

The German press has asserted that the idea of using poison gas originated with the British Admiral Dundonald. The British Ministry of Information replied:—

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

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

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

But some people with good memories will surely have the recollection of hearing of the use of poison

gas in 1914. If they will turn to some of the newspaper files for September of that year they will find that they are right; for here is an extract from *The Evening Standard* of September 18th, 1914:—

TURPINITE.

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

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

While there is probably no truth in the statement that turpinit has actually been employed in the war, some remarkable details of the power of the deadly explosive have been received in London. It is named after its discoverer, M. Turpin, and a single 56 lb. shell is, it is said, able to kill every living thing in a space of 400 square yards. Experiments carried out with animals have proved the truth of this claim.

The effect of the gases generated by the explosion of the shell is to "petrify" every living thing within the radius mentioned. Like most inventors, M. Turpin received little encouragement from the authorities.

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

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

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

THE COAL RATION.

The coal ration is unfair to the poor. If a single family occupies a twelve-roomed house it probably only requires two, or, at most, three fires at one time; yet it is entitled to 11 tons of coal per annum. A family of the same number of persons crowded into three rooms gets only 3½ tons a year. It is expressly stated that furnished bedrooms which are only occasionally occupied count as rooms!

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DO YOU UNDERSTAND?

The spirit of the Russian Revolution, which is the spirit of the new time, is reaching, gradually and tentatively as yet, but quite distinctly, the rank and file workers of this country, as of all others. Independence and initiative are growing apace amongst the workers; they are beginning to look at life and the world from their own standpoint; beginning at last to act without prompting. In Japan rice riots break out against the profiteers. In Britain every day brings its rank and file strike.

The workers are finding that month after month passes in futile negotiations whilst a strike brings an immediate solution of the grievance. Since the Government's first call to women to replace men in war service the trade union officials have been pledged to secure that women should not do men's work at lower rates of pay; it is vital to the man and his family, to the trade union, as well as the woman concerned, that women shall not be employed at lower rates of pay; but unequal pay standards have been tolerated and it is evident that they would have been tolerated, like so many abuses - including the abuse of capitalism itself - with less and less protest on the part of the union officials, had it not been for the defiant strike of the women who draw the unequal pay. Now, if the women workers stand firm equal pay will be established, just as the leaving certificates under the Munitions Act were abolished by a rank and file strike; just as the embargo will be abolished if the rank and file remain determined that it shall.

At one time the rank and file workers were often nursed and stimulated into some semblance of self-respecting discontent, some largely pretended much exaggerated mass action by a few energetic individuals who usually became officials; to-day the mass action is real and spontaneous; it is the officials, those who are emancipated from the toil of the bench, who are pushed onward. The Labour movement is industrially no longer a stage army but the old guard who worked for this day do not like it very much now it is here. The struggle which the co-operators are putting up against the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees is an evidence of that.

Whilst industrially the rank and file of the movement is beginning to sweep aside the old officials and the old subservient policy of the willing, humble wage-slave; politically the movement is still in the earliest stage of development.

The workers have largely thrown off the glamour which at first led the mass of them to judge the war and all pertaining to it from the capitalist standpoint. There is a general feeling now in the Labour movement that the workers should have some say in regard to the peace settlement; there is a general feeling now that an international meeting of workers' representatives should take place. But again passports have been refused and there seems to be no suggestion for dealing with the situation save that of passing a resolution. The idea that the workers' industrial power should be used to compel the issue of passports as yet seems fantastically extreme to the mass of the Labour delegates; still more extreme that Labour should use its industrial power to force the Government to offer terms of peace dictated by Labour.

In the field of world politics the rank and file workers as yet show no sign of an awakening comparable with that which has taken place in regard to workshop matters. Still there are "Labour representatives" in the Government; still Mr. Henderson desires to be the leader of the movement for the international without breaking altogether with the Government. His latest publicly-made complaint that the German socialists have declared the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist War Aims Manifesto to be "far too partial," and his apparent deduction that therefore the manifesto must be insisted upon by Allied Labour should be enough to depose him from the position of leader, for, indeed, the manifesto is exceedingly one-sided and imperialistic, as everyone who reads it must inwardly acknowledge.

Whilst Labour hesitates, only as yet feeling its feet in the smaller matters of day to day workshop life and wages, leaving the great international movements which bear with governing force on

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

BULGARIA

It is reported that a revolution may be about to take place in Bulgaria. This need not surprise us. Already in 1913 the Bulgarian Parliamentary elections resulted in the return of 37 Socialists out of 112 members. The Socialists with the aid of members of the Peasants' League held a majority of the seats and demanded a democratic republic and an independent confederation of Balkan States. The Government, therefore, refused to summon Parliament until after a new election in which by police violence a small majority was obtained for the established order. In the General Election of 1911 not one Socialist candidate had been returned. The rapid growth of the Socialist vote was due to the experience of the war. The experience of a still greater war and the example of the Russian Revolution shortly may produce decisive results. In expectation of this jingoism are raising the cry of "No separate peace with Bulgaria."

LORD ROBERT CECIL'S REPLY TO DR. SOLF.

Lord Robert Cecil's reply to Dr. Solf is not of the stuff which would bring peace nearer. Though a Tory Lord Robert has the reputation of being a gentleman. It is therefore a pity to find him saying that the force of what Dr. Solf, the German Foreign Minister, said the other day "about commonsense and the horrors of war" "is entirely destroyed by the fact that until the tide of war appeared to change we heard nothing about such doctrines." On the contrary German Ministers, like British Ministers, have continually professed their love of peace, whilst waging war with all their might. And what of the many "peace intrigues" and "peace offensives" of which Lord Robert himself has from time to time warned us? He further said that there has been no proposal to annex the German colonies, but that "Mr. Balfour and others have said that it is impossible to resume control of her colonies." Oh, for a little honest frankness!

JOHN BURNS.

So Mr. Burns has at last joined the Labour Party. We believe that the war has changed both Mr. Burns and the Party.

CENSORED.

It is curious to note that it is forbidden to send abroad the Official Reports of Parliamentary Debates.

everyone's daily affairs, the world is being changed. America, spending 50 per cent more per day on the war than Britain which was till now the main purse bearer of the Allies, is ousting this country from its ruling place on the seas. According to a *Manchester Guardian* correspondent the British output of new ships in July was 141,948 tons, whilst that of America was 421,296 tons. Prior to the war American shipbuilding was held to be of no account. In 1911 the shipping owned by America for foreign trade was only about 850,000 tons.

The change which, as though by magic, has deposed Great Britain from the position of first maritime power is momentous; but it is as nothing to the great change from capitalism to socialism, on the brink of which mankind is struggling. Whilst organised Labour is yet politically asleep, British workers are being sent to oppose socialism in Russia where first it has appeared. Bulgaria now shows signs of following Russia, and already there is an outcry that even should Bulgaria transform itself into a democracy, the Allies must give her no quarter in this war for democracy. The revolution in Austria may come at any time. To continue fighting against the Austrian revolutionaries in support of particular counter-revolutionary factions would be as easy to Allied capital as it is in Russia.

In Russia the Government of the Workers and Peasants still wonderfully maintains its power in spite of everything. Arthur Ransome in *The Daily News* reports that after three days without bread, rioting broke out in Petrograd. He says:—

"The Petrograd riot seems an exact counterpart of several similar hunger troubles in the provincial towns, where the opposition parties have tried to excite the mob to the point of smashing the Soviet, and then proved their own inability to provide an efficient substitute. The result of a short period of anarchy has usually ended in the re-establishment of the Soviet. In one instance the Church got control of the mob; the Soviet was destroyed, whereupon the mob turned on the Church, and, by a strange irony, Church relics were defended by a few Jewish students. Thereafter the town was flooded with hooligans from the surrounding country, who declared simultaneously their intentions and their sense of humour by erecting one night twenty little gibbets in front of the church, and hanging the town's watch dogs, which remained swinging as the last relics of law and order until the subsequent re-establishment of the Soviet, when the normal life of the town was resumed and the hooligans suppressed."

Hence whilst famine may drive despairing, disorderly sections of the populace to abandon the Soviets. The mass of the people swiftly return to these—their own representative Councils!

British workers will you remain the passive spectators, the inarticulate tools in the great struggle between the old regime of capitalism and the uprising workers of the world?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

NATIONAL BAKING.

The Times, August 21st, publishes an article advocating the Nationalisation of bakeries on the ground that 90,000 persons are engaged in the baking trade, and that, by centralised organisation, the work could be done by 30,000, the released men being taken for the Army. *The Times* writer says that the matter can be easily arranged, for it is not necessary to buy out "a number of rich men like brewers" and "owners of valuable goodwill like publicans of established connection." The goodwill of the small baker has "a negligible market or selling value." Capitalist ethics demands compensation for the rich property owner, but that from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath. We also believe that Labour could be saved by socialising the bakeries, but we do not desire to save labour in order to transform it into cannon-fodder.

MR. CLYNES AND HIGHER PRICES.

Mr. Clynes explains that we must pay more for cheese because if the farmer cannot make more profit he will not keep cows. Yet we have the military conscription of men and the embargo on men's labour! Jam, margarine, tinned fruits and meats will all cost more because profiteering has increased the cost of production and "which has to be borne by the ultimate consumer." Mr. Clynes cannot convince us that there is no profiteering. Has he the power and the courage to socialise the food supply?

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN JEWISH PALESTINE.

The Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs informs us that: "There will be no need for 'Votes-for-Women' campaigns in the new Jewish State that is to be established in Palestine. Equal suffrage is being accepted as a matter of course by the pioneers, who are engaged in the task of reorganising Jewish communal life so as to meet the requirements of national existence. When word reached Palestine that, following the British Declaration in favour of the establishment in that country of a national Jewish home, a Jewish administrative commission was on its way to take over the actual government of Jerusalem, Jaffa, and the Jewish colonies, all of the elements interested called conferences to facilitate the work of the commission. Equal suffrage was adopted by the Jewish community of Jaffa and a number of colonies, and the women participated in all the proceedings of these conferences, which were of a quasi-political character. Before the outbreak of the war, equal suffrage had gained a strong foothold in Palestine; indeed, it prevailed from the very beginnings of the present Jewish colonisation, during the eighties, owing to the fact that so many Jewish women had become 'persons of property.' The real difficulty was to persuade the women to avail themselves of the right to vote. It is noteworthy that equal suffrage is characteristic of the Zionist organisations throughout the world. Women are so prominently identified with the movement that their right to vote at the International Congresses and at the national conventions is taken as a matter of course."

RUSSIA.

The Times's special correspondent in Vladivostok, which has been taken by the counter-revolutionaries and where the Allies appear to be in control, writes: "It has just been announced that the Bolsheviks have obtained a majority in the municipal elections of 54 candidates out of 101. This gives them power, among other things, to nominate the next Mayor, and puts the Allies in the impossible position of recognising the Municipal Council which the Bolsheviks will control. Several newly elected members are in gaol and cannot be released. Altogether the situation is highly anomalous, and cannot be dealt with except by special measures, of which the most obvious and most convenient is martial law."

Who said "freedom and self-determination"? In the same column *The Times's* Stockholm correspondent complains: "If there is one principle which has been universally proclaimed throughout this war and given as the basis of the future peace and the great gain which is to result from the general upheaval, it is the principle of national freedom, of the right of peoples to self-determination, yet wherever peace has hitherto been made, the result has been the very negation of this principle. Such has been the experience of the peoples freed by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, whether in Poland, the Ukraine, or the Baltic Provinces, not to speak of Rumania. ... Such also is the tragic experience of Finland. She applied to Germany for aid in a national crisis. ... What modest shred of national independence remains after paying this price is now being denied her, and Germany is dictating to her the form of government she is to adopt. ... She must be a limited Monarchy, or be placed under German military rule. No such nonsensical ideas as an appeal to the people in the matter by referendum or by new elections can be tolerated."

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were passed by the Walthamstow League of Rights for soldiers and sailors and their wives and relatives:—

"This meeting strongly protests against the injustice to soldiers' widows involved in the present system of house-letting. Agents constantly refuse to let houses to widows, thus leaving the widows and children of men who have died for their country homeless."

"This meeting also calls upon the Ministry of Pensions to increase the widows' pensions on a level with the soldiers' wives' allowances, for it is utterly impossible to live on the pension, nothing more nor less than starvation for widows and orphans."

MAKESHIFT DEMOCRACY.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND VOTES FOR WOMEN

President Wilson long sat silent on the fence in regard to Votes for Women. Then he announced that he was convinced of its justice: but that he was immovably wedded to the view that each State had the right to determine its own franchise, and that even a measure of justice ought not to be imposed on the States by the Central Government of U.S.A. Whilst posing as a champion of State rights in this matter Mr. Wilson was imposing much other legislation upon the States, but consistency is not a commonly-found virtue amongst politicians! Now that America is ostensibly out to impose standards of freedom, not merely upon the States of her Union, but upon the world, not by legislative decree, but by force of arms, President Wilson discovers the inconsistency of the "State Rights" position on votes for women too glaring to be maintained. He might not have made this discovery but for the fact that the American "Women's Party," by their constant reminders and picketing of his Official Residence, and their willingness to go to gaol, have kept the matter always before his mind. The Woman's Party declares that the President can secure the adoption by Congress of nation-wide Votes for Women by making support of it a question of Party discipline. Hitherto, the President has not gone so far as this, but he has taken to sending letters (which are also communicated to the Press) to anti-suffrage members of his party, pleading with them to give a suffrage vote. To Senator Beard of New Jersey the President has written: "The whole subject of woman suffrage has been very much in my mind of late and has come to seem to be a part of the international situation as well as of capital importance to the United States. I believe our present position as champions of democracy throughout the world

would be greatly strengthened if the Senate would follow the example of its House of Representatives in passing the pending amendment. I, therefore, take the liberty of writing to call the matter to your serious attention in this light and to express the hope that you will deem it wise to throw your vote and influence on the side of this great and now critical reform."

To Senator Shields of Tennessee, he wrote: "If it were merely a domestic question, or if the times were normal, I would not feel that I could make a direct request of this sort. . . I know you will indulge my unusual course, and permit me to beg very earnestly that you will lend your aid in clearing away the difficulties which undoubtedly will beset us if the amendment is not adopted."

THE REGISTER.

It is said that 10,000 Plymouth persons entitled to vote idly or ignorantly neglected to fill up the registration forms and that all over the country large numbers of infants have been placed on the register by parents who did not know what the forms were for. If these things are so, they reveal a very unfortunate state of affairs. We proud British people who cannot trust the Indians, the Egyptians, or even the Irish to govern their own affairs, who are supposed to be fighting to extend the benefits of liberal democratic institutions to Eastern and Central Europe—masses of us are unable to fill up our voting papers! The Manchester Guardian protests that a house to house canvass of explanation was necessary. Oh, grievous confession of weakness! What an ignominious farce is our system of compulsory elementary education; what a graveyard for thought the power of our factory system is if

an educational canvass were really needed! But we are a little sceptical as to the extreme badness of the register. We have an idea that a part, at least, of these protestations of its inadequacy, springs from the desire that the proposed General Election shall be postponed.

FLAWS IN THE FRANCHISE ACT.

The wives of the Oxford and Cambridge Dons cannot vote, because their husbands, living in the colleges, are not on the Municipal Register. Another absurdity arising from the refusal to enact Adult Suffrage! More serious is the decision of the Town Clerk of Bolton at the Revision Court on August 22nd, that in order to be entitled to vote a woman claiming in her own right as a latch key voter, must be the tenant of an unfurnished room of the rateable value of £5 per annum. Conscientious objectors and Irish policemen are also debarred from voting.

40 D.

Cases of women arrested under 40 D. for communicating venereal disease to soldiers, the women being found on medical examination to be free from disease, continue to occur. The regulation is most abominable; it gives opportunities for terrorism and blackmail to any blackguardly soldier, civilian, or any policeman who may care to avail himself of them. It is monstrous that any man unrestrained in his license, who consorts promiscuously with women after woman should be given the legal right to prosecute one of his partners because he has suffered the natural consequence of his imprudence!

SOCIALIST EDUCATION VI. held over till next issue.

SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

REGULATIONS ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ADOPTED BY THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

[In considering these regulations it must be remembered that they have been adopted in face of tremendous difficulties such as are unknown in this country, or in any country in normal times. The impossibility of obtaining raw material in a given district of Russia may throw masses of people out of work, and the vast distances to be covered with the scarcity of means of transport, may prevent workers moving to the district where the raw material is to be found. This and other difficulties may for a considerable time render it impossible to adopt the method of shortening hours of labour until all workers are absorbed into the industry. Our readers may say that the scheme appears to them too mechanical, too reminiscent of the capitalist state. It is well to remember, however, that this is but Socialism in the making, and that privately-owned industries still continue side by side with socialised industries, though they are in process of elimination. It should be noted that the rate of unemployment benefit is to approximate to the normal earnings and shall be paid to those who cannot obtain employment at trade union rates. Persons deprived of their employment by a strike are not held to be unemployed. What happens if the capitalist is in fault—or, in any case, what happens? This regulation is open to serious objections.—
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1. The present regulations shall be operative throughout the territory of the Russian Republic and shall extend to all persons, without distinction of sex and age, engaged on hire in all branches of labour, independently both of the nature of their work and the institution or person employing them (whether it be a Government, private or social institution, or a private person).

2. The present regulations do not concern those persons, whose regular earnings exceed the triple average rate paid to workmen of given locality and fixed by local or regional councils of trade unions.

3. In the present regulations the term "unemployed" is understood to mean every person capable of work, deriving the main source of his or her livelihood from wage-earnings and not able to find employment at a rate of remuneration fixed by the respective industrial unions, or, in their absence, by the Labour Exchanges, the above person having been duly registered at the local Labour Exchanges or trade unions, or, in their absence, at the Hospital Fund Unions.

(Remark.—Persons deprived of their earnings through a lock-out are considered as unemployed.)

4. In the present regulations the term "unemployed" does not extend to: (a) persons deprived of their work without loss of earnings; (b) persons deprived of their earnings through a strike—so long as it lasts; (c) persons, who according to the determination of the local unemployment fund union or its authorised agents left their previous work or started new work, without satisfactory reasons, or who are not in immediate need of assistance.

5. The genuineness and duration of unemployment shall be determined by local unemployment fund unions through Labour Exchanges and trade unions.

6. Means for providing insurance relief for unemployed shall be obtained by deducting a certain part for this purpose from the progressive income-tax, property tax and inheritance duty.

7. Prior to the introduction of the above named taxes, the means for providing insurance relief for the unemployed shall be obtained from the contributions of employers.

8. These contributions shall be made by the employers to the local unemployment fund which shall go to join a Sole All-Russian Unemployment Fund. The All-Russian Unemployment Fund shall

be deposited, kept and expended in accordance with the rules issued by the Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment (clause 25).

9. The amount contributed by the employers to the unemployment funds shall be determined in proportion to the worker's wages, and shall be fixed uniformly for the whole of Russia by the Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment at no less than 3 per cent of the worker's wages (in accordance with data produced by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions). The contributions of employers in regard to seasonal workers shall be fixed at 5 per cent of their wages.

10. By decision of the local Unemployment Fund Committee or of the County or Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment, instead of estimating the contributions in proportion to the earnings of each separate person, a scheme may be accepted for fixing these contributions according to categories.

11. The contributions shall be paid by the employers to the local unemployment funds within a week from the day when wages are distributed. Monies not paid within the specified time shall be exacted from the employers by the Commissary of Labour as indisputable State claims, and a further penalty in favour of the Unemployment Fund shall be imposed on the employer, amounting to 10 per cent per month on the sum not paid in due time (any fraction of a month being considered a full month).

12. The employers are bound (a) to notify the Unemployment Fund Union, within a week, of any person newly engaged or discharged; (b) to furnish separate information to such Union in the form determined by the Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment, concerning the sum earned by each person employed; (c) to keep records containing such information; (d) to produce the necessary documents, accounts, records and books in confirmation of such information, to persons duly authorised for this purpose by the Committee of the Unemployment Fund.

13. By the term "earnings" in the present regulations shall be understood: (a) a sum earned within a given time as salary or wages, including overtime work (independently of the system of payment adopted—whether it be piece-rate or a daily or monthly wage, or any other system); (b) the cost of maintenance (board, residence, &c.) during the same period, if such maintenance is offered to the employee (the charge for residence being fixed at 20 per cent of the earned wages, and board, &c., being charged for at actual cost); (c) a share of the person's participation in profits and any commission received.

14. Assistance given to any unemployed person shall amount to the average local daily rate, but shall not exceed his or her actual earnings. The time of commencement for distribution of assistance by each local unemployment fund shall be determined, after its establishment, by the Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment, who shall grant monies for this purpose to the local fund. The Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment shall reserve for itself the right to lower the rates of assistance fixed by virtue of the present clause, according to circumstances.

Remark.—The average local rate is determined by the local or regional councils of professional unions.

15. The right of an unemployed person to obtain assistance shall arise from the commencement of the fourth day of unemployment.

16. In the case of the illness of an unemployed person who has no right to receive assistance from the hospital fund, the local unemployment fund shall come to an agreement with the local hospital fund for the purpose of giving him assistance during his illness at the hospital fund rate, the expenses so incurred being debited to the account of the local unemployment fund.

17. The local unemployment fund shall be established immediately in every town or settlement

having a population exceeding 20,000 inhabitants. In other localities local unemployment funds shall be established so that each of them shall embrace a certain area, their respective boundaries being determined by the Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment upon a suggestion of the County Commission of Insurance against Unemployment.

18. The local unemployment funds shall have the right to form unions and enter into agreements both with one another and with other organisations and institutions.

19. Each local unemployment fund may acquire rights in respect of property in its own name, including the right of ownership and other rights on real estates. It may enter into engagements, sue and answer summons.

20. The business of the local unemployment fund shall be managed by the Fund Committee, three fourths of which shall consist of representatives of the Council of local professional unions and one-fourth of representatives of the local hospital fund. If in a given locality there is no council of professional unions or there is no local hospital fund, delegates of institutions corresponding to professional unions and hospital funds shall meet separately and elect a proportionate part of such Committee.

21. The fund committee shall appoint from among themselves (a) the administration; (b) the Control Commission.

22. Complaints in connection with decisions of the Committee of the Local Unemployment Fund arrived at in conformity with the present regulations, may be lodged within two weeks at the County Commission of Insurance against Unemployment; in respect of decisions of the County Commission they must be lodged within the same time at the Central Commission (clause 25). The lodging of a complaint does not prevent a decision from being carried out.

23. The functions of the County Session for Insurance and of the Insurance Council shall be conferred, by virtue of the present regulations, on the County and Central Commissions of Insurance against Unemployment.

24. The County Commission of Insurance against Unemployment shall consist of nineteen persons, nine of whom shall be delegates from the Council of Professional Unions, four from hospital funds, one from the Labour Exchange, one from the Commissariat of Trade and Industry, one from the Municipal Council and one from the County Council (Zemstvos).

25. The Central Commission of Insurance against Unemployment shall sit at Petrograd and shall consist of twenty-three persons, thirteen of whom shall be delegates from the All-Russian Council of Professional Unions, five from the Workmen's Insurance Section at the Insurance Council, two from the Commissariat of Labour, one from the Commissariat of Trade and Industry, one from the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos (County Councils) and from the All-Russian Union of Towns.

Remark.—The Central Commission shall have the right to issue directions and instructions, which shall bind all local fund committees and county commissions in the same way as all decisions.

26. The administrative activities in connection with the inception of Unemployment Funds and County and central Commissions shall devolve on the respective councils of professional unions and, in their absence, on the Conference of Delegates of Professional Unions and Hospital Funds.

27. Where the organisations named in clause 26 fail to begin within a month the establishment of unemployment funds, the latter shall be established by order of the Commissary of Labour.

28. The present regulations shall come into force forthwith and shall be promulgated by wire. For the infringement of the present regulations a penalty not exceeding one year's imprisonment may be imposed by the Courts.

December 11th, 1917.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30th.

Morpeth Street, Green Street.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31st.

Great Push for Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All in Hammersmith.—Meet at 3 P.M. and 6.30 P.M. at the Grove (near both railway stations).
Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

Finabury Park.—3.30 P.M., Miss Price.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3rd.

Armagh Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th.

Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th.

Great Push in the Tottenham District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2nd.

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

PROVINCIAL MEETINGS.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st.

Sheffield, Westbar.—11 A.M., Mr. Goldstein, Mr. Carford.

Sheffield, Rivelin.—3.30 P.M.

REMEMBER THE DATE!

YOU are cordially invited to our **RUSSIAN** "AT HOME," on Sunday Afternoon, **SEPTEMBER 8th, at 4 p.m., in the Hall, 40b Old Ford, Road. E.3.**

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

SHEFFIELD.

Sheffield W.S.F. is making great headway and THE DREADNOUGHT sales rapidly increase. On Monday, August 19th, meeting was held outside Vickers and on Thursday, the 22nd, outside National Projectile Factory, Templeboro. W. Carford took the chair and R. H. Goldstone spoke. Meetings will be held in future every Sunday, 11 A.M., at Westbar, and every Sunday at Rivelin at 3.30 P.M. Speakers, Goldstone, Carford, Barton, Fletcher, and others. Hon. Secretary, Mrs. L. Carford, 183, West Street, Sheffield.

PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.

It has been stated that a candidate has been put forward by the W.S.F. in a Lancashire constituency. The National Executive of the W.S.F. has sanctioned no such candidature.

DARDANELLES HERO INTERNED.

Justice Sankey's Advisory Committee for intern- ing alien enemies has just got to work and already 300 orders of internment have been handed to the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, and during a week 59 orders have been carried out. This is what happened in one case: A family of Galician Poles came to this country some nineteen years ago. They had with them a little son born in Austria. Afterwards four children were born to them who are held to be British subjects. The lad born in Austria was 17 when the war broke out. He enlisted at once, but became ill and was discharged. On January 27th, 1915, he enlisted in the Royal Fusiliers and was sent to the Dardanelles, where he remained from October 24th, 1915, to March 23rd, 1916. He was twice wounded and suffered from enteric and shell shock. After being in hospital in Malta he was transferred to hospital at Wandsworth. He was now a nervous wreck and therefore said: "I am an Austrian subject, but I have done my share to help this country." He asked for his discharge, which was granted on May 11th, 1916. He made no application even for temporary pension. Returning home he was altogether changed, and caused his family untold suffering. "He was mad, not ill," says his mother. He broke into uncontrollable passions, breaking the furniture or anything that was at hand. One night in his sleep he almost strangled his younger brother. His parents, hearing the sound of moaning, were but just in time to prevent

a tragedy. But, as time passed, his madness waned and he settled down to work with his father, a fur dealer. One day, however, the lad was out with a friend, who was accosted by a policeman as an absentee. The friend tried to escape, but the policeman flung him to the ground. A fight developed. Some of the passers-by assisted the absentee, others the policeman. The lad was arrested and imprisoned for six weeks. He was accused of striking a carter: if he did so his mother, knowing the nervous excitability from which he has suffered owing to shell shock, claims that he did so as a result of his affliction. However, the lad served his sentence. At this time his father died, leaving him to carry on the fur business as the main support of the family. The boy pulled himself together, saying to his mother: "I will work; don't worry; don't cry." He became so devoted that the neighbours wondered. Last Monday, without warning, a police officer came to intern him. The next brother, aged 18, has not worked in the fur business and is now expecting to be taken into the army. Another brother, aged 16, is with relatives in France. A sister, aged 13, is at school. A brother aged 12, always delicate, is now in a convalescent home and is expected home shortly. The mother suffers from varicose ulcers, and knows nothing of the fur business. She is distracted with grief for the loss of her son and sees her little store of money disappearing. A Great Nation has done this!

THE MOONEY CASE.

The Tri-City Labour Review reports tremendous meetings on Mooney Day throughout America. The case has become above all a struggle between Capital and Labour. The decision of Governor Stephens to defer Mooney's execution from August 23rd to December 13th postpones the final choice till after the election. This the rival candidate, Judge Bordwell, has not failed to point out, accusing Stephens of moral cowardice. The San Francisco Chronicle says that Stephens has given "the Unions hope without destroying the hopes of the Chamber of Commerce." Tom Mooney asks the Governor to insist that Sickert the District Attorney responsible for the prosecution proceed with one of the other charges against him, in order that the whole case may be re-opened or that the State Attorney General shall do so. The defence is confident that Mooney will be vindicated.

Another crime maker Richard Hughes, a "private watchman" employed by the California has been found guilty of trying to incite marines to raid a trade union meeting of cotton operatives on the pretence that they were pro-German.

MONEY LENDING AND THE WAR.

In American banking quarters it is understood that Spanish banks have agreed to lend the Government of U.S.A. about £20,000,000. Chicago and New York bankers have lent £10,000,000 to the Chinese Government. Mr. Arthur Reynolds, Vice-President of the Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, expressed the following view of China to a Press representative: "It has almost limitless undeveloped resources, men—everything but money. Given the money, it will be equipped as no other nation in the world. Other nations are having trouble to marshal the men, but China has the man-power, and, by financing that country, a great commerce can be developed between China and the United States. In financing China in the original loan we felt that a tremendous amount of business would grow out of it, and we would like to have Chicago share in that business. The Chicago loan... was made a popular loan for the purpose of popularising the Chinese Government in this country." China is in the War. We think Spain will shortly follow.

THE EMBARGO

continued from front page.

THE PROBLEM IS TO REPLACE THE LABOUR OF 70,000 SKILLED MEN.

The problem in essence is this—to obtain the rate of production which would be possible if there existed another 60,000 or 70,000 skilled men.

THE MONOPOLY POSITION OF THE TRADE GONE.

This achieved, the further extension of the process is a natural development resulting from the call for more men for the Army, the return of the discharged men, and the increasing employment of women. The monopoly position of tradesmen has gone never to return. Rapidly passing prior to the war, the war has accelerated every process and the sectional struggles against the process are as futile as an attempt to restore the Middle Ages.

TRADE UNIONISM BELONGS TO A PAST ERA.

In conclusion I must now ask whether the time has not arrived when we should face the facts boldly and realise that we are members of the working class which can never have real freedom so long as we are prepared to maintain methods of organisation and points of view which weaken instead of strengthen our position! Trade unionism belongs to an era that is past. We of the working class have nothing to gain by retaining obsolete weapons. The struggle is the workers' struggle. The weapon to wage the struggle efficiently is a workers' organisation. Let us, therefore, turn our attention to the building of the Workers' Committee, which must put on one side the recognition of particular unions and regard all questions from a new standpoint. Ask not "How does this affect my trade?" but "How does this affect my class?" Along these lines we march to the "Workers' Republic."—Yours fraternally.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 14d. Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

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

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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. In a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.
The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.
S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY. (Adv.)

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MEETINGS.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st.
Kingsley Hall, Bow.—8.15 P.M., Muriel Lester on "God or Mammon."
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3rd.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Sizer, Miss Lambie.

A MOTHER'S CRY.

A soldier's mother writes to the Secretary of the League of Rights:—
"I received my boy's money alright, 7s. 7d. a week, but that does not give me my boy in his home, his right place, or the money he used to give me. He is in France now: God knows what his ending will be—like thousands of other poor lads. Every mother for her own."
MRS. RAYNER.

AN OUTRAGE.

"SEND YOUR OWN HORSES FOR THE FIRE ENGINE."
"Owing to the shortage of horses in the town," says an advertisement issued by the Goole Urban District Council, "persons requiring the services of the fire brigade must send a pair of horses equipped with harness to draw the engine." The council until recently relied on a motor to haul the fire engine, but this has been sold for war work.
Are poor people to be burnt?

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