

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. V.—No. 15

SATURDAY, JULY 6th, 1918

Price Twopence.

THE LABOUR CONFERENCE.

THE first Conference of the re-constructed Labour Party shows that the war fever which seized the movement in 1914 has now run its course and disappeared. Insular prejudice, narrow nationalism, remain fixedly enough in some quarters; but the fierce passion of jingoism has gone, and even the men who at one time seethed and burned with it can no longer flog themselves into the fiery utterances of a few months ago. Passion has given way to a weary hopeless boredom in those who thrilled with it. All the enthusiasm and driving force apparent in the Conference (and indeed there was but too little of these precious ingredients anywhere) had passed to the growing section, already ceasing to be a minority, which opposes the war, and to the minority of that section which clearly realises the war as an inevitable chapter in the evolutionary class struggle, now carrying humanity onward from capitalism into socialism.

The Conference opened tamely. Mr. Purdy, the chairman, tritely conventional as a company director addressing shareholders, warned us against disrupting the Labour movement, and told us that all its plans of reconstruction depended on "winning the war." He described it in well worn stereotyped phrases as a fight of "right against might," "justice against injustice," "democracy against autocracy"—phrases which are meant to be, but were not, punctuated with applause. Fred Bramley informed us that there are 5,300 electoral seats to be contested in London and, though some men occupy several seats, there is a population of 3,500 elected persons in the London area. Appalling thought! Mr. Henderson tried with little success, to raise a laugh by saying he made "no apology for the attack" which Labour is making on the University seats by nominating four candidates to contest them. Throughout the country 301 Labour candidates had already been adopted and the Executive would impose no limit upon the number. He slid easily and with evident satisfaction into the details of finance; the members' subscription was being raised from 1s. to 2s. per annum, and £20,000 would be raised thereby. Mr. Sexton, with the piteous buffooneries which have grown on him so swiftly of late, half jesting, half angry, spluttering out the names of Ponsobny, Morel, Lord Haldane, was interrupted by cries of "What's the matter with Garvin?" and was understood to complain that the list of candidates was of such a character that the Executive was afraid to publish it. Perhaps the conflicting incoherent composition of the list accounted in some measure for the lack of enthusiasm and the sense of boring unreality so noticeable during the greater part of the Conference. Or was it that whilst the war overshadows everything, the Conference was attempting to ignore the international tragedy and to discuss what the Party will do when other forces have ended it?

THE POLITICAL TRUCE.

The first great fight of the Conference came when Mr. Henderson moved the adoption of the paragraph in the Executive Committee's report dealing with the Political Truce. The paragraph ran as follows:—

The Executive Committee reported, both to the Bristol and Manchester Conferences, that soon after the outbreak of war a political truce was entered into by representatives of the Liberal Party, the Conservative Party, and our own Party, wherein it was agreed that in the event of any Parliamentary vacancies occurring there should be no contested elections. In the first instance the truce held good until January 1st, 1915. It was subsequently renewed at various dates until December 31st, 1916, when the other Parties sought to import conditions into the agreement which the Party Executive were not prepared to accept. There has, therefore, been no written compact since the end of 1916. Throughout the intervening period, however, the Executive Committee has felt that the circumstances of the times were such that it was altogether desirable that the spirit of the truce should be observed even in the absence of any written agreement. Nevertheless, on several occasions our affiliated organisations in constituencies where vacancies have occurred have accepted the Executive's view with the greatest reluctance, and, indeed, in the Keighley and Wansbeck Divisions the local organisations determined to contest the vacancies despite the Executive's recommendation. In the early part of the present year the Executive, therefore, discussed the whole position anew, and decided that the Conference should be invited to record their opinion by discussing and voting upon the following resolution:—

"That this Conference of the Labour Party accepts the recommendation of the Party Executive that the existence of the political truce should be no longer recognised."

Mr. Henderson, speaking with anger in his voice, said that it was no fault of the Labour

Party's Executive that the signed truce had not continued down to that very day; it was the fault of members of the present Government, who had insisted upon altering the wording of the truce in such a way that the Labour Party Executive had refused to sign the written instrument, though it decided to adhere to the truce in actual fact just as before. "The existence of the truce had evidently given satisfaction to Mr. Henderson; he declared that the Party had derived advantage from it, since under its operations, the election of several members had been secured. He thought it was the unanimous wish of the Executive that the need for a resolution to withdraw from the political truce should never have arisen; but the Executive, in its refusal to enforce the non-existent truce by fighting elections, was being set at defiance by the Local Labour Parties and the candidates in the constituencies. Mr. Tillett had fought and won at Salford. Elections had been fought at Keighley and Wansbeck. Therefore this recommendation had been made, but "no member of the Executive would lose a night's sleep" if it were rejected by the Conference. Was Mr. Henderson insinuating that it should be rejected? He carefully explained that the withdrawal from the truce was intended to apply only to by-elections and must be understood to operate only in that sense. Mr. Henderson again said, as he had done at Blackpool and Nottingham, that so far as he personally was concerned, he would never again enter a Government not controlled by the Labour Party; yet, as before, he expressed himself as opposed to bringing the other Labour members out of the Government, though undoubtedly he said that less definitely than at previous conferences. If at any time the Party should break with the Coalition Government, he thought this should be done on the floor of the House of Commons, not by the Conference. He thought that such action by the Conference would react on the Labour movement, and that the less the Labour movement had to do with wrecking governments during the war the sooner there would be a Labour Government. He said:—

"I hold very strongly the opinion—and that is why during the last twelve months I have declined to take any action which would have this effect—that it is unwise to bring this Government out and put in a Government whose policy you might know little about... the last thing the Labour Party ought to do is to make itself responsible, having regard to its small representation in the House of Commons, for putting one Government out without knowing what the Government was that would replace it."

The declaration is important. It dissociates Mr. Henderson from Mr. MacDonald's plan (outlined in the June issue of *The Socialist Review*) of forming a new Coalition Government under Lord Lansdowne. We believe we are right in assuming that Mr. Snowden joins with Mr. MacDonald in the Lansdowne programme, but we doubt whether it can be called the official policy of the I. L. P. We recommend the I. L. P. to make its position clear. Whilst disagreeing with Mr. Henderson on most points, we are glad that he is not at present prepared to accept a Lansdowne coalition. We say at present, for he is not in any degree endowed with the character of tenacious independence, and even this statement of his is a qualified one. It is generally said that he hopes for an early premiership. Will he obtain it? He will certainly not "set the Thames on fire" if he does.

Mr. Henderson seems to be incapable of imagining the emancipation of Labour from the habit of judging politics from the capitalist standpoint. Nevertheless, he appears to believe that a Labour Government on the lines of those which have already held office in the Overseas Dominions can be secured. We need scarcely point out that the W. M. Hughes' Government in Australia is by no means a socialist Government. We desire to see British working class opinion stimulated to demand something very much better than that.

Robert Smillie was on his feet almost before Henderson had concluded. He was amazed to learn that the political truce had no existence since 1916. He reproached the Executive with having deceived the miners, when it refused to aid them to retain Wansbeck as a miner's seat, pretending that the existence of a truce which did not exist prevented the Executive from giving support. The miners would have won the Wansbeck election, but for the fact that it was announced that the Labour Party was against the miners' candidate. Mr. Henderson had said he would not turn out the Government without knowing what Government would succeed it. It would be impossible to secure a worse government than the present. He would guarantee to find a better one by walking round that hall blindfold.

TO BRING THE LABOUR MEN OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The hall now rang with cheers; the atmosphere was turbulent; numbers of people were trying to speak. Sylvia Pankhurst moved on behalf of the B.S.P. an addendum to the resolution: "To add the words, 'And that the Labour members be withdrawn from the Government.'"

The Chairman ruled the amendment out of order, on the ground that as the resolution formed part of the Executive Committee's report, it could not be altered by the Conference. Obviously, the Labour movement stultifies itself by limiting its freedom of action and allowing discussion to be stifled in this way.

The mover replied that she would address her remarks to the resolution, but the Chairman advised her to move to refer back the entire paragraph. She agreed to take this course, and proceeded to do so, though repeatedly and amazingly interrupted by the Chairman, who seemed to forget that it is the duty of a Chairman to be impartial. Amidst general excitement, which was heightened by the Chairman's conduct, the mover stated that large sections of the Labour movement had viewed with shame the measures which the Labour ministers, who were supposed to represent them, had apparently thought it necessary to support. They had supported Conscription, the Defence of the Realm Act, and now agreed to the industrial conscription which was everywhere becoming an accomplished fact (cheers). As she went about the country one was constantly met by the words: "You have to keep very quiet now" uttered by men in the Labour movement who feared that if they took part in any industrial or political activity, if they endeavoured to maintain their individual or collective rights, their exemptions would be cancelled and they would be forced into the Army. Our comrade Mainwaring in South Wales, as a result of moving a resolution, had been fined £50, with the alternative of two months' imprisonment. Everyone knows what that means. The Labour ministers had tacitly accepted the execution of Connolly and the deportations on the Clyde. They had even voted against the agricultural labourers' plea for a 30s. weekly minimum wage. Loud cheers here checked the speaker, and Mr. Purdy stood up declaring that she was out of order. She explained that by adhering to the political truce the Labour Party was making itself responsible for every action of the Government; for its odious foreign policy; for the Secret Treaties pledging the Allies to fight for territorial annexations, raw materials, ports and trade-routes. Prince Arthur of Connaught was even now in Japan presenting a field marshal's baton to the Mikado—a military symbol! *The Times* and others were connecting this event with the proposed invasion of Siberia; one could draw one's own conclusions! This action against our Russian comrades was taking place now and the British Labour Party was sharing the responsibility, as it would undoubtedly be reminded by the other Parties later on.

But Mr. Purdy had been for some time on his feet attempting to shout down the speaker, and complaining that the Conference did not desire to be taken all over the world. The speaker protested that this was one of the reasons why Labour should fight the Government at by-elections, and in spite of an interruption from the Chairman at every sentence, she proceeded briefly to lay bare the Government's policy regarding China and Japan, quoting the revelations of *The Times* Peking correspondent who has shown that the Allies have encouraged civil war in China by backing the autocratic northern faction against the democratic Parliamentarian south, which had resulted in Japanese control of China's Army finances, telegraphs, and so on, and encouraged the revival of the corrupting opium traffic—all in the effort to secure an invasion of Socialist Russia by Chinese and Japanese troops. Finally shouted down from the discussion of foreign policy by the Chairman, she returned to domestic affairs, pointing out that whilst Labour supports the Government, it is responsible for all that the Government does, the unchecked profiteering, the unprecedented rate of interest paid on War Loan, the torture of C.O.s, the neglect of disabled soldiers, the inadequate pensions and allowances, the attempt to force conscription upon Ireland and for the War itself, the refusal to negotiate and the appalling casualty lists.

Then came the luncheon interval. The Conference reassembled in a mood of quietude scarcely broken by some cheers which greeted the state-

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should fail to submit to the decision of the National Executive in regard to the adoption of a candidate, the matter should be submitted to a ballot vote of the members of the local affiliated societies. Witard of Norwich bitterly opposed the resolution. He declared that Norwich was against Roberts, the Labour Minister, for his reactionary protectionist programme, and that the Norwich Labour Party would never support him, whatever the Conference, or even a ballot vote, might dictate. Robert Williams moved the previous question, but this was not voted on and the Executive amendment was carried. Hitherto the Executive had complete power to refuse to sanction the nominee of the local Labour Party, and at Norwich the Executive supported Roberts, though the local Party repudiated him. The new rule, therefore, improves the position from the democratic standpoint since it places the power of decision in the hands of the rank and file, where in our judgment it ought to be. To those who object that the rank and file are apathetic and ignorant, we reply that those who think they are better informed should endeavour to educate and convert them.

KERENSKY AGAIN.

J. H. Thomas presently moved, by permission of the Standing Orders Committee, that in future conferences no fraternal delegates be invited except at the invitation of the Executive Committee, or, if the application be received during the conference, by decision of the Standing Orders Committee. Mr. Thomas urged that people must not be allowed to address the conference on account of their sentiments or views, but solely as accredited representatives of bodies entitled to speak there. Evidently the resolution which was agreed to was intended as a protest against the coming of Keresky. It was, however, a very mild and ineffectual one. After lunch when the fraternal delegates appeared to address the Conference Keresky was not with them. It was known that Maxim Litvinoff, the accredited representative of the Russian Socialist Government, had applied to the Chairman for permission to address the Conference, and to reply to the attack on his Government which Keresky was about to make. Already that attack had been launched through the medium of the Press. In *The Daily Chronicle* appeared an interview with Keresky strongly attacking the Bolsheviks, and stating that:

"In his opinion, Allied policy must take a clear line against the Bolsheviks. They must not be regarded as identical either with the Russian nation or with democracy; on the contrary, they are the antithesis of both... Mr. Keresky is strongly in favour of Allied military intervention. But it should be the intervention of the Allies, and not of any one Allied Power. That would not prevent some one Allied Power, e.g. Japan, from contributing the bulk of the effective. The question for him is one of principle, not of numerical preponderance... He thinks that no condemnation of the Bolshevik tyranny can be too strong. It is worse than that of the Tsar Paul—the half-insane despot who terrorised Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century."

It was known that Litvinoff was in the gallery waiting to reply to Keresky's savage attack.

Attempts were made to move a resolution that Litvinoff should be heard. The Chairman declared that the Conference had decided not to hear him. Pressed on all sides for an explanation, he said that first thing that morning the Conference had agreed to accept the report of the Standing Orders Committee, which contained, though the Conference did not know it, a refusal to hear Litvinoff. Sylvia Pankhurst endeavoured to move the suspension of the Standing Orders, in order that a resolution might be put to the Conference as to whether Litvinoff should be heard. The Chairman refusing to listen, merely ordered her to resume her seat. She made many attempts but always with the same result. Many delegates endeavoured to raise points of order, but the Chairman shouted them down. A delegate asked by whose invitation M. Keresky was to speak there, the Chairman evading the point replied: "By the direct invitation of the Conference." Mrs. Montefiore stood, saying: "We want to hear Litvinoff." Again and again the Chairman roared at her to sit down and to be silent and finally threatened to eject her.

At last there was silence. Renaudel, one of the French Majority Socialists now addressed the Conference. He eulogised the inter-Allied Socialist peace terms manifesto, and urged that its principles should finally be adopted by the belligerent Governments, though it would be difficult for the ruling classes to accept them. He said that the Governments question the right of the Socialists to speak for the whole of the working class, but the Socialists endeavour "to represent its soul."

LONGUET.

Jean Longuet, the only fraternal delegate to speak in English and to dismiss the services of the interpreter, received a tremendous ovation. He said that secret diplomatic negotiations had gone on without the French people, or even the French Parliament, or the bulk of the Cabinet knowing anything of them. Through those negotiations a great opportunity had been missed for making peace on decent conditions. The opportunity had been missed, because of the Imperialistic designs of the Governments; because they wanted

so much that they were not satisfied, in spite of the very considerable advantages offered them at that time. The missing of that opportunity had played into the hands of the German jingoes. Germany was now in a much better strategic position than a year ago. A great crime was committed when last year's negotiations were rejected. Because these facts had become known to the French people, great unrest had arisen amongst them and a great movement for peace. There was a remarkable growth in the number of what are called Minority Socialists. 180,000 French workers were recently on strike demanding the publication of the French war aims. The strike had lasted a week. It had been terminated by its leaders, because of the military danger which menaced Paris. Many demonstrations proved that the feelings of the French workers was not controlled by the lying Press, the French workers had small opportunities of expressing their real thoughts; there had been no by-elections in France since the war. The French who hated militarism in their own country, did not wish to replace it by German militarism; but to appeal to the German and Austrian revolutionary movement for support. "We wanted to have an international meeting," he said, "because we know that the German people will not rise at the demand of the capitalist governments of France or England; it will rise at the appeal of the International." [His words were drowned in cheers; the Conference thrilled with emotion; all differences seem to be merged in a wave of idealism. Such moments come in the life of labour conferences—if only their spirit could remain!] It was just for this reason, Longuet said, that Comrade Branting had always been in favour of an international meeting.

Albert Thomas, who has been called the Lloyd George of France though he belongs to the Socialist Party, like Renaudel, avoided any definite statement of policy. Perhaps, like the British jingoes of the Labour movement, he finds that the heat of his own enthusiasm has past, perhaps he recognised that the Conference was in no mood for bellicose speeches. He said that no military force could meet the people's need and that the Socialists must reconstruct the world. Emile Vandervelde of Belgium reverted to the jingo period of two years ago, though even his words were milder than they used to be.

Branting from Sweden spoke next, a quiet man, anything but extreme, not even very advanced, but sincere, tolerant and thoughtful. He expressed his profound faith in the international, and said:

"Had our comrade Toelstra been allowed to attend here we should have heard more of the present movement in the Labour world of Germany. A blunder which I cannot understand has prevented him from coming here. In spite of that mistake, we must continue to work to establish contact in all countries between the elements which are sincerely willing to prepare the reconstruction of the International."

The British Government refused to allow Toelstra to attend the Conference; but the Standing Orders Committee of the Conference refused to allow a resolution of protest to be moved. Branting probably has strong things to say regarding that particular blunder.

KERENSKY'S SPEECH.

The fraternal delegates had now all spoken, but still Keresky did not appear. Apparently he was waiting behind the platform for Mr. Henderson to prepare the way. Certainly Henderson played his part very skilfully. Surely his voice was never so persuasive or his manner so urbane. He accepted entire responsibility for the coming of Keresky, saying:—

"During my visit to Russia I learnt to admire him and all that has happened since has but deepened my regard. [Interruption from the gallery.] Two days ago information reached me that he was in London. [Did that information come from the Government?] I was invited to meet him. I remembered the Conference. I also remembered what was due to visitors. I suggested he should visit our Conference."

How naive Mr. Henderson; but how unlike you! Would you have us believe that you invited Keresky to speak here without reflection as to the policy he is advocating and the meaning of his mission to this country?

Be that as it may, Mr. Henderson suggested to the Executive that Keresky should visit the Conference; the Committee unanimously agreed, though when Keresky came the least Mr. Henderson thought he could do was to introduce him to the Chairman and to speak, "not as a fraternal delegate, but as a distinguished visitor." This statement mollified many objectors. They refused to accept Mr. Keresky as a fraternal delegate, but being curious to hear what he had to say, they were prepared to hear him as a mere visitor. Mr. Henderson continued:—

"Before the Nottingham Conference a member of the left wing suggested that another distinguished visitor should be invited to speak. I was of the right wing; I did not agree; but I realised that toleration is a valuable asset. I put the suggestion that Litvinoff should be invited to Nottingham to the Committee. The suggestion was accepted. He made his speech. We did not agree. We listened as ladies and gentlemen and as strong believers in the right of free speech. Is it too much to expect—I ask you just to give

him an opportunity of speaking. One or two delegates challenged the statement that Mr. Keresky was invited to speak by the Conference. The Chairman gathered the voices, but I would rather go to the length of taking a card vote than have Mr. Keresky brought on to the platform and subjected to insult and humiliation."

It was difficult for good natured people to resist such as appeal. It seemed to the majority that to hear Keresky was merely a matter of politeness and that no question of giving support to his policy was involved. So, when the Chairman called for a vote, less than a dozen hands went up against hearing Keresky, and Mrs. Montefiore's "we want to hear Litvinoff also" was ignored.

Keresky came forward now bowing and smiling. Delegates stood up and cheered him, and broke into singing. "He's a jolly good fellow" and in big sections of the area the delegates sat silent, taking no part in the welcome.

Keresky's strangely harsh voice was speaking. When he spoke of the hardships suffered by the Russian soldiers in three years of war, fighting a perfectly equipped enemy, sometimes with only sticks in their hands; when he spoke of the Tsar's Government as a step-mother to the Russian soldiers, Russians in the gallery applauded him. They were silent when he came to the main purport of his speech. We others had to wait to learn what Keresky was saying till Henderson read the translation. The speech was a plea for Allied intervention and an attack on the Soviet Government, which it described as "a dictatorship not of the proletariat, but over the proletariat who have lost all the political rights which the Revolution gave them." Keresky declared that the Bolshevik Government has "destroyed the liberty of the elections, even in the councils of the workmen," and "has made an end of all institutions of self government that have been elected by universal suffrage." Yet election returns from Russia are reaching us from time to time. Mr. Litvinoff gives us the latest.

They show the growing popularity of the Bolshevik policy. The gallant effort to secure a just peace for the peoples of all the world which was made by the Bolshevik Government at Brest Litovsk, an effort which would have succeeded if Russia's Allies had stood beside her there, Keresky described as "shameful treason."

"It is for you, the oldest and most matured democracy of the whole world, to settle the question whether it is or is not possible to remain a calm spectator of that unheard of tragedy."

On the whole the Keresky appearance is, we think, considered a failure by those who are working to crush the Soviet Government. *The Times* special correspondent formerly in Petrograd wrote:—

"Any definite pronouncement by the Labour Conference repudiating the Bolsheviks will be welcomed in Russia as an indication of Allied support and will have a deterrent effect upon those misguided supporters of Lenin who blindly believe in him as an arch-exponent of Socialism."

No such pronouncement was forthcoming.

DOMESTIC QUESTIONS.

The Conference had no more moments of great tension or excitement. On the third day Miss Mary MacArthur moved a resolution with the ambitious title "The complete emancipation of women." It asked, amongst other things, for "equal pay for equal work." The Clerks Union moved an amendment asking for "equal pay for similar duties." Sam March of the Vehicle Workers ably supported the amendment, pointing out that where women drivers were doing more work than men, employers frequently paid them lower wages. He had just been on a deputation to a West End Borough Council which refused equal pay to women working on the road with men. The amendment was carried.

A resolution declaring for Adult Suffrage gave a veiled support to the proposal for a reformed Second Chamber. The Northampton L.R.C. secured the passage of an amendment declaring against a Second Chamber of any kind.

IRELAND.

The official resolution on Ireland advocated "Home Rule" "in all exclusively Irish affairs," "on the lines indicated by the proceedings of the Irish Convention." An amendment deleting the reference to the Irish Convention was accepted, but a still more important amendment removing the words: "in all exclusively Irish affairs," words which, amongst other things, would leave Ireland still open to the menace of conscription imposed from without, was lost. The Chairman asked for Ayes and Noes, and declared that the latter had it. He refused the demand for a card vote. If this important question had been discussed earlier it would have been decided otherwise. If British tries to impose conscription on Ireland, the work will soldiers who will be sent over to do the work will suffer as terribly as the unfortunate Irish. An opportunity to encourage the spirit of solidarity between organised Labour in Britain and Ireland was here unfortunately missed.

The new Labour Party Executive elected by the Conference has a majority of the Conservative wing of the anti-Soviet party and it is on behalf of this party that Keresky may be entitled to

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

DAVID KIRKWOOD AND THE A.S.E. CHAIRMANSHIP. A TRADE UNION SCANDAL.

Davy Kirkwood is a candidate for the position of Chairman of the A.S.E., a position now held by J. T. Brownlie. In accordance with the rules, Kirkwood sent his nomination form, duly filled in, to headquarters, together with his election address. One of the qualifications for this office is that the candidate must either have worked at the trade, or have been an official of the Society during the twelve months immediately preceding his nomination. The object of this rule is quite clear, viz., to prevent any member who had been away from the trade for a long period, seeking an executive position in the Society. To my mind the rule is perfectly just, for without it we should have members, who long ago left the workshop, exploiting their popularity to jockey themselves into prominent positions. But Kirkwood is one of those rebels who were deported from the Clyde for upholding trade union principles, with the result that for more than a year he was prevented from following his usual occupation as a fitter. Therefore it cannot be said that David had left the tools for some other occupation. Nevertheless Comrade Kirkwood has been declared ineligible to contest for the position as the following letter will show:—

18th June, 1918.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,—Election of Chairman of Executive Council, 1918. We duly received your acceptance form as a candidate for the above-named position, also your telegram and letter replying to our inquiry as to the date upon which you recommenced work at the trade. You give the date as 27th August last, thus showing that you had not worked at the trade for the twelve months immediately preceding nomination, as per rule 14, clause 1. It has, therefore, been decided that you are not eligible to contest for the position. We return herewith your Election Address.—Yours faithfully, P.P. ROBERT YOUNG, Gen. Sec. A. H. Smehurst.

For the General Secretary (or the Executive Council whichever may be responsible) to enforce rule 14, clause 1, in this case is nothing less than a scandal. An examination of Kirkwood's actions for the twelve months prior to his nomination, will clearly show that a grave injustice is being meted out to him. It was in the early part of 1916 that the prominent men on the Clyde (of whom David was one), were deported to Edinburgh for participation in the Clyde engineers' strike. They were absolutely forbidden to enter the Glasgow area, but were offered work elsewhere.

Kirkwood refused to work any where else, but in Glasgow, in consequence of which he was out of work during the whole time of his deportation. On Whit Monday, 1917, the Final Appeal Court, then sitting in Glasgow, elected Kirkwood as Chairman and the same day all the deportees were released. The F.A.C. lasted just over two weeks during which time Kirkwood was a paid official of the Society. He then commenced to secure the re-instatement of all the deportees (at Beardmore's Parkhead Forge). Sir William Beardmore would not hear of re-instatement although Kirkwood pressed the point for weeks. I have every reason to believe he refused a foreman's job at Parkhead because re-instatement was denied the rest of the deportees. These activities lasted close upon two months and it was August 27th, 1917, before Kirkwood started work. Can any sane person say that David had left the trade? If this decision holds good no member who has been out of work for any period of the twelve months immediately prior to nomination, will be eligible for Executive office. And it is generally the most active men who are periodically out of work. Obviously the Delegate Meeting that framed rule 14, clause 1, did not intend such an absurd interpretation to be placed upon it and it is simply monstrous that any official should do so. I earnestly appeal to all members of the A.S.E. to bring this scandal before his branch and to get a resolution of protest adopted. We should collectively decide to refuse to take the ballot until Kirkwood's name appears on the ballot paper. This is the third time David has been so treated.

THE A.S.E., L.D.C. AND THE WHITLEY REPORT.

Whatever may be said about the reactionary tendencies of the Executive Committee of the A.S.E., the London District Committee seems to be improving. The following circular letter has been sent to every shop steward in the London Area:—

London District Office, Room No. 31, Holborn Hall, W.C.1. 19th June, 1918.

FELLOW MEMBERS,—The London District Committee have carefully considered the many points in relation to Works' Committees formed on the basis of the Whitley Report and have arrived at the conclusion that such Committees will be of no advantage to the workers, as their real purpose is to defeat the Trade Union Movement in its attempt to take control of industry.

The purpose of the Whitley Committee appears to be:—

LITVINOFF'S REPLY.

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE LABOUR CONFERENCE IN LONDON, JUNE, 1918.

COMRADES, The Chairman of your Conference has withheld from me the opportunity of conveying to you the greetings of the Russian Working Classes and their representative body, the Government of the Russian Socialist Republic. He has, moreover, deemed it fair and just to allow Mr. Keresky to make a calumnious attack on this Republic, without permitting me, as its accredited representative, to reply to his charges, in spite of my own request and that of many delegates. I am sure that, absorbed in the work of the Conference, you were unable to realise at the time the unfairness of this, and the wrong done to the Russian Labour Movement. I therefore consider it my duty to address you through your labour press and to endeavour to throw some light on the Russian situation over which a fresh attempt was made, by Mr. Keresky yesterday, to throw an obscuring mist.

Whom does Mr. Keresky represent? Asked by so many delegates, this was not an idle question, for it is natural to suppose that delegates or visitors, officially invited to Labour Conferences, should represent these interests? Does he even pretend to represent them? There was a time when he stood for Labour and was raised by Labour men to power. But when he showed himself incapable of carrying out the programme of the working classes (or unwilling to do so) he was rejected by the whole of the Russian labouring people and his power was taken away from him by them. Mr. Keresky, in his speech made no mention of the working-classes; he was honest enough not to pretend to speak on their behalf, but appealed to you on behalf of the intellectuals, on behalf of officers, on behalf of "Russia." It should be remembered that the Russian Revolution was not merely a political revolution—it was and is, also, a social revolution. And as such it necessarily sharpens the class-struggle, which has now reached its extreme point, having divided the country into two opposing, completely irreconcilable camps—the factory-worker, the impoverished peasant, the unemployed, the disinherited, the despised and rejected—in fact about 85 per cent of the population—in one camp; and a small minority—the capitalist, the landlord, the banker, the stockbroker, the general, the bureaucrat of the Czar's regime, the middle class lawyer, the journalist, &c., in the other. The different shades of political opinions and parties faded into insignificant layers on the political arena two parties—supporters and opponents of the Soviets (Councils of Workers' and Peasants' Delegates).

It is difficult to believe what is nevertheless a fact, that some of the one-time socialist leaders, after being rejected by the masses for their policy of compromise and irresolution have joined the ranks of the anti-Soviet party and it is on behalf of this party that Keresky may be entitled to speak and on whose behalf he appealed for the sympathy of British labour.

I maintain that Labour whether in or out of power is more than any other class entitled to speak on behalf of its country. And this is especially true of Russia where the labouring masses are in full and indisputable control of the State apparatus, themselves forming the local and central government of their country. And when anyone speaks in the name of Russia he must be asked point blank, whether he speaks in the name of those who, after eight months of the bitterest struggles, have defeated their enemies, consolidated their power and are now the only guardians of the political and social gains of the great Russian Revolution, or whether he speaks in the name of those who, having used the foulest means at their disposal to overthrow the authority of the workers, have failed to achieve any success in Russia itself and are now invoking the aid of foreign powers, looking for support now to Germany now to the Allies.

Mr. Keresky, like our other opponents, makes the bold statement that the Soviet Government does not represent the bulk of the population, but when faced with the pertinent question: "How, then, has the Government maintained its power if it be against the will of the people?"—he finds no reply. The continuance of the Government in time of revolution for eight months, without a standing army except voluntary detachments, in considerable proportion to Russia's area, without police, without press censorship, indeed with a greater liberty of speech and press than exists in any other country (the repeatedly made and as repeatedly disproved allegations to the contrary notwithstanding), struggling against internal and external difficulties greater than any which have ever before confronted a Government in the history of mankind, can only be explained by the unlimited enthusiastic support of the great majority of the people. To obscure this striking truth Keresky was only able to make misty allusions to Germany's desire to tolerate the Soviet regime. This absurd assumption may or may not explain why Germany has not yet overrun the whole of Russia, but it certainly does not explain why the Russians themselves, who could free themselves from the strongly entrenched Czarist's regime and from the Keresky Government with its many millions strong army, have not yet been able to overthrow the Soviets, and why they desire to do so. As a matter of fact, all attempts to do this have utterly failed—attempts which have been carried out by Generals, officers and so-called "White Guards" formed from the capitalist and middle-class youngsters and some well-to-do Cossacks. Even the capitalist class had to admit that Captain Semenov in Siberia was able to enlist only about five hundred *burhats* (a primitive Siberian tribe) completing his detachments with Chinese and Japanese bands. General Krasnov is advancing on the Don with the aid of German troops and on the top of this now comes the latest revolt of the Czech-

1. To establish an improved machinery of Conciliation by which it is hoped to prevent disputes developing into strikes.

2. To meet and sidetrack the workers in their demands for the control of industry.

With the sentiments expressed in the Report we, as workers, have nothing in common, and if its recommendations are carried out in the spirit in which they appear to be made, the consequences to the Trade Union Movement cannot be other than disastrous.

Committees formed on the lines laid down by the Whitley Report must work in one of two ways:— (a) Either the Labour side will preserve an attitude of complete independence, will regard themselves as in fundamental antagonism to the employers' side, and will conduct their business as negotiation, and not as administration, or (b) Will capitulate to the employers, accept the permanent lordship of capital, and devote themselves to securing the smooth running of the workshops in accordance with the desires of their masters.

My Committee desire to point out and emphasise the fact that no scheme of so-called control can satisfy the demand of organised Labour for control of industry.

That control can only be secured by building up a strong and class conscious Trade Union Movement based upon the workshop and organised upon industrial lines, and by using that movement not merely for adjustments of wages, &c., but for the transfer of control from the employing class to the Industrial Union.

In conclusion my Committee state clearly that the fundamental antagonism of interest between employer and employed offers an insuperable barrier to any joint control of industry and that the next step on the road to control by the workers is the creation of a strong, co-ordinated class conscious movement in the workshops. The following resolution was unanimously carried by D.C.:

"That a definite instruction be sent to all Shop Stewards and Branches in the London District, that our members must not take part in the formation or working of any committee built on the basis of the Whitley Report."

W. EDWARDS, Chairman. SAM BRADLEY, Secretary.

We urge all members to give effect to the letter and we should like to see all other Districts and all other Unions emulating this admirable example. The paragraphs in italics are especially good and should be read by all workers. By the way, the General Secretary and the Executive Council think about it.

SOMETHING WE SHOULD LIKE TO KNOW.

Is it correct that the clerks in the Insurance Department of an influential Trade Union not many miles from Peckham Road recently applied for an increase in wages? And that the married men were granted 12½ per cent increase, whilst the single men only got 7½ per cent. And is it also true that the girls received an even smaller percentage increase? Surely it is only the capitalist employers who do this sort of thing. It is not the first time we have heard rumblings of discontent arising out of tyrannical treatment of employees from this same general office.

Slovaks (Austrian prisoners of war) headed by Russian counter-revolutionary officers! But the most striking reply to Keresky's fallacious statement to the unpopularity of the Soviet regime comes in a message from Russia telling us that at the elections of this month to the Petrograd Soviet two hundred and thirty-three supporters of the Soviets (Bolsheviks and social revolutionaries of the left wing) and only five anti-Soviet candidates were returned. And this in Petrograd, in the most famine-stricken city in Russia where dissatisfaction might naturally have reached its climax.

It is because the great bulk of the working people remain loyal to the Soviets and because Keresky and his friends have convinced themselves of the futility of any counter-revolutionary revolts within the country that they are now coming abroad to seek foreign military intervention for the overthrow of the Soviets under the pretext of fighting Germany. And this is the meaning of Keresky's appeal to you.

When M. Keresky promises you in exchange for this intervention in Russian internal affairs to re-create a Russian army for the resumption of the war on a large scale, I take it upon myself to tell you that this is the merest political chicanery, for he promises what we know full well that neither he nor any anti-Soviet party can perform. Anyone even slightly acquainted with Russian affairs will understand the emptiness of such promises. Space does not permit, nor can it be necessary that I should enumerate facts and substantiate my statement on this point.

No! The re-creation of the Russian front is not the purpose of the much-talked of Japanese or Allied intervention. The real object is, of course, the crushing of the Workers' Government and of the Revolution, the spread of whose influence to other countries is a standing menace to International Capitalism. Intervention is advocated by ex-officials and ambassadors of the Czar's regime living abroad and supported by French bankers and international Shylocks who hope thus to be able to extract from the impoverished Russian people their last pound of flesh, the interest on the loans contracted by the ex-Czar.

Do not allow yourself to be misled by the presumption of some of your misinformed comrades that Keresky pleaded for one labour party in Russia against another. Let me assure you that the overthrow of the Bolsheviks cannot mean that any other socialist or even democratic party will take over the power. The Soviet Government, if overthrown at the present juncture, can only be replaced by the most brutal and barbaric military dictatorship resting on foreign bayonets with the inevitable subsequent restoration of Czarism. This is the "aid" you are asked by Keresky to lend to Russia. Is British labour going to be a party to these dark schemes? Is the British Proletariat prepared to take upon itself the responsibility before history for the crushing of the great Russian Proletarian Revolution? MAXIM LITVINOFF.

Penitentiary Representative of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic of Soviets. London, June 28th, 1918.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION NOTES

LONDON MEETINGS.
OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, JULY 5th.
Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.
Dook Gates.—7.30. Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Cressall (Housing Campaign).
SATURDAY, JULY 6th.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace and Votes for All, in Waterloo Road. Secretary for the day, Miss Casey.—Meet at 3 P.M. at 29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Holborn; Meetings at 3.30 and 6.30 P.M.
SUNDAY, JULY 7th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park.—3.30 P.M., Miss Price.
MONDAY, JULY 8th.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—7 P.M., Mrs. Walker.
WEDNESDAY, JULY 10th.
Piggott Street, Poplar.—7 P.M., Mr. A. A. Watts and others.
FRIDAY, JULY 12th.
Armagh Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price (Housing Campaign).
SATURDAY, JULY 13th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Great Push in Stratford and Poplar.

INDOOR.
MONDAY, July 8th.
44, Malden Road, Kentish Town.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
WEDNESDAY, JULY 10th.
44, Malden Road, Kentish Town.—7 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Lambie.
Bow.—Members' Meeting, Wednesday, July 10th, 8 P.M. Important business. See Meetings list for Housing Campaign to secure that local authorities shall take over the empty houses for those rendered homeless by air raids and other circumstances. Buy the leaflet on 'How to solve the Housing Question,' price 1d. each. Special leaflet 'To Parents,' 6d. for 50, being advice to parents on militarism for their children.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

MODIGLIANI'S APPEAL REJECTED.

Modigliani, the well-known Italian Socialist Deputy, appealed against his sentence in connection with riots in Turin in August last. But his appeal has been dismissed by the Superior Military and Naval Court.

RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE.

On May 3rd the Russian Socialist Government published a decree abrogating the old rights of inheritance. Any estate which exceeds 10,000 roubles (£1000) is socialised and put under the control of the Local Council (*Sovet*). The next of kin of the deceased (*no distinction is made between his legitimate and illegitimate children*) are guaranteed a pension if they are unable to work. Creditors have a claim on the estate of a deceased person only after all next of kin unable to support themselves have been satisfied. The above decree is applied to all claims of which settlement is pending.

THE GERMAN HEEL IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES.

According to Moscow papers the German Imperialists are hard at work germanising Livonia, though the Brest-Litovsk treaty provides that the province was not to be annexed. All Lettish high schools have been closed and the Prussian curriculum introduced in other schools. In Riga the German language has been introduced in all the schools save two. In the country schools only such teachers have been installed as "have not been contaminated by Socialism." The work of germanization in Courland is being carried on still more thoroughly. Prussian non-commissioned officers who do not know a word of Lettish have been installed as teachers. Refugees who return from Russia lose their holdings if they refuse to pay the local German baron rent for the whole period of the war. Harshly as the Letts are being treated by German Imperialism, the Lettish Social Democratic Party does not lose heart. It is proud of its past, for in 1905 it fought in the vanguard of the Russian Revolution and in the Revolution of last November Lettish riflemen helped to defeat Kerensky near Petrograd. They still form the mainstay of the Maximalist Government and are ready to fight to their last breath to defend the present Socialist regime in Russia.

GALLOWES IN BESSARABIA.

Many a country should have liberated its own people before entering on a "war of liberation." This applies with special force to Rumania where purely feudal conditions obtained before the war. In 1907, 10,000 peasants were shot down or executed when they protested against the unjust land laws.

According to the *Berner Tageblatt* terror reigns in the country districts of Bessarabia recently annexed by Rumania. The land expropriated by the peasants has been handed back to the landlords, and this procedure is enforced by gallowes

Tickets now ready for W.S.F. Outing to Epping Forest, Sunday, July 28th. Tea, Concert and Sale at Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, at 4 P.M. Tickets, including fare, tea and concert, 3s. each. To be obtained from Branch secretaries and Miss Bush, 400, Old Ford Road, E.

Manchester.—Hon. Secretary, Miss Nagley, 10, Windsor Road, Levenshulme. Branch meetings fortnightly on Thursdays.

Sheffield.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carford, 183, West Street. A successful concert-lecture on Russia by Edward Scarnus and Councillor A. Barton was held in the B.S.P. Rooms on June 24. The Sheffield Socialist Vocal Union gave selections. £6 was collected towards carrying on the class-conscious Socialist movement in this country.

Gratefully acknowledged.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s. w.), £3; Profit on Poplar Social, £1 14s.; Profit on Bow Social, £1 8s. 9d.; Mrs. M. E. Muggidge, £1 1s.; Miss Ethel Lowy (10s. m.), £1; Mrs. Scurr, £1; Misses D. and M. Roach, 10s.; Mrs. Sizer, 5s.; per Miss Helsby, 5s.; Mrs. Brimley, 2s. 6d.; Tooting per Miss Horsfall, 1s. 1d. COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £3 15s. 6d.; Miss Smyth, 2s. 11d.; Miss Barker, 2s. 8½d.

W.S.F. SOCIAL WORK.

Offers needed for sellers on "Mothers' Arms Day," July 13th. Particulars from Nurse Clark, 438, Old Ford Road, E.

Gratefully acknowledged.—Proceeds from Palladium Performance, £200; Mrs. Alice Singer, £10 12s. 8d.; Misses Gulland, £3 10s.; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2 10s.; "In Memoriam Gift," £2 2s.; Nurse Hebbes (10s. w.), £2; Miss E. A. Matthews, £2; Mrs. Boswell (monthly), £2; "In Memory of Elsie Grant Michelson," from Assur Michelson, £1 10s.; Mrs. Marian Judson, £1 10s.; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), £1; Miss F. E. Roberts, £1 1s.; Mrs. Clarke, £1; per Miss Weir (monthly), £1; Miss J. T. Dreyry (5s. m.), 10s.; Mrs. Barfield, 4s. 6d.; Wm. Hasten, 10d. COLLECTIONS: L. S. A. Tool-room, £2 6s. 6½d.; Bow, £1 5s. 7d.; Misses E. Lagsding and M. Barker (Green's Yard), £1 8s. 2½d.; Dook Gates, 11s. 8d.; Misses K. Lagsding and J. Watts (Cubitt Town), 10s. 3d. CLOTHES: Mrs. Skeat, Mrs. Cave, Mrs. Boswell, Mrs. Harris Thring. BOOKS, &c.: Mr. Hawkins.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.

Mrs. Crosland Taylor, £3; A. J. Marriott, Esq., £1 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. Durant (10s. m.), £1; a Sheffield Working Woman (4s. m.), 18s.; Dr. S. V. Pearson, 10s.; Mrs. Brimley (2s. 6d. w.), 5s.; Mr. J. A. Morton (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), 2s. 6d.

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.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

MONTESSORI METHOD AND OPEN AIR SCHOOL.—Day Pupils or Boarders, aged 2½ years upwards.—Apply to Mrs. Harrison, Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, Essex.

NURSERY GOVERNESS OR MOTHER'S HELP wanted at once for two children 6 and 4. £30 resident.—Mrs. Gladstone, 40, Sydenham Road, Sydenham, S.E.

TEACHER OF RUSSIAN desires engagements.—Apply Box 100, Dreadnought Office.

PRIVATE EVENING TUITION IN SHORTHAND AND FRENCH. Pupils received or visited by Instructor with 8 years' experience of commercial teaching under the L.C.C.—E. P. L., Pacificist "Holmoroff," Chelmsford Road, S. Woodford.

HAND-MADE BRUSHES, BEST BRISTLES, HAIR BRUSHES, CLOTHES BRUSHES, STOVE BRUSHES, &c.—Apply Mrs. Savoy, 141, St. Stephen's Road, Bow.

YOUNG LADY, B.Sc., vegetarian, DESIRES HOLY-DAY POST. Seaside preferred. Salary not essential.—Apply, "Pax," Dreadnought Office.

ANTIQUES.

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

Greer's Agreeable BAKING, CUSTARD, EGG AND BLANCMANGE POWDERS

In 1½d. Packets. Obtainable from all grocers, wholesale only from D. W. GREER & CO., London, S.E.5

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY 91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END, W. WOODS & SONS, Family Bakers.

London Workers' Committee and W. S. F. A LECTURE on the "Growth and Development of the Workers' Committee Movement, its aims and objects," by W. F. WATSON, LEES HALL, BARKING ROAD, CANNING TOWN, THURSDAY, JULY 18th, 7.30 p.m. Chair, E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Violinist, Edward Scarnus. Tickets, 6d. each, from 400 Old Ford Road, and 7 Featherstone Building, W.C.1, and at the door.

To Dreadnought Readers in the Borough of Croydon. Do you know Croydon's own Socialist Weekly Newspaper? THE EPISTLE (estab. 1916). The Editor, Contributors, Publishers and Printers are all Socialists. Price 1d. weekly, delivered anywhere in Croydon. Send post card 112, Woodville Road, Thornton Heath, for weekly delivery.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. An Address on Causes & Cures of Child Delinquency will be given by Miss F. PENROSE PHILE, On SATURDAY, 13 JULY, at 3.0 p.m. At the Hall of the King's Weigh House Church, Duke Street, W. (Entrance to the Hall in Thorne Market, near Bond Street-Tube Station).

THE JULY PLEBS contains THE-CLASS STRUGGLE IN S. WALES. By J. T. Walton Newbold. RECONSTRUCTION. By Mark Starr. Educational Articles, Letters and Book Reviews. Monthly 2½d. post free. 2s. 6d. annually. From Sec., 176 Springvale Road, Sheffield.

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONERS. 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. Is 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. (LAWYER)

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

Printed by J. E. Francis, 11 and 13 Bremsa Buildings, London, E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.9.