

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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## SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIALISM AND THE WAR

By W. H. ANDREWS. (A South African Socialist Leader)

In common with the Socialist and Labour parties in nearly all belligerent countries, the War revealed a very deep and wide cleavage in the attitude of mind of the component parts of the South African Labour Party, to which the word *White* ought to be added, as it included no native or coloured people within its ranks. The majority took the same view as the majorities in Britain, Germany, France, and elsewhere, namely, that they as workers had an interest in the continuance of the particular capitalist State which they found themselves living under, and declared a party truce for the duration of the War and decided to give active support to the warlike enterprises of the ruling class. The minority declared that they would take part in no capitalist wars, which were entered into for the purpose of capturing "spheres of influence," supplies of raw material, etc., under the guise of patriotism and the rights of small nations, claiming that the party was pledged to International Socialism. They were expelled from the party for refusing to support the Jingo element, and with groups of Socialists and individuals which had remained outside the Labour Party owing to its reformist attitude formed the International Socialist League, with its headquarters in Johannesburg. The three principles agreed upon as a basis of organisation and propaganda were Anti-Militarism, Industrial Organisation, and International Socialism. The Marxian literature of the S.L.P. was adopted as most clearly representing the point of view of the organisation, which immediately issued a weekly paper, "The International," took part in elections, running candidates on the clear issue of the class war, and inevitably incurred the hatred of the ruling class and the hostility of its dupes and hirelings.

In dealing with the question of the organisation of the workers on the lines of industry as the basis of the reconstruction of society, it became at once apparent that the orthodox views on the position of the native and coloured man in industry and politically would have to be revised. Nearly all industrial and political organisations had hitherto ignored their existence, the exceptions being in the Cape Province, where limited numbers of natives were secured in their votes by the Act of Union, and where they also had learned to practise trades in considerable numbers. The official Labour Party always spoke with two voices on this matter, one in Cape Province and another in the other three provinces, where the native was voteless. The Internationalists, basing their propaganda on the class war and the destruction of the capitalist system, and with it the State as we know it, frankly recognised the native as a fellow-worker,

and advocated and worked for his organisation into industrial unions. When the history of the relationship between whites and natives in South Africa is remembered, particularly in regard to the Dutch, it will be realised what a hurricane of opposition this attitude resulted in. The native is subject to special pass, indenture, liquor, and other laws differentiating him from the white. With the above exception he is denied all political status, and in short is looked upon and treated as a serf. The dominant class plays upon the fears and prejudices of the white worker, and the result is seen in the fierce hostility of the craft unions and the White Labour Party to the policy of the International Socialists. No public halls can be hired by them for meetings; their open-air meetings have been broken up by police-aided mobs, and the Trades Hall has fallen in line with the capitalists and ejected the League from its office and refused it the use of the hall because natives and coloured men were admitted. For the first time in South Africa, owing to the heroic fight of the I.S.L. comrades, the native workers' position in society has become a live political question. The native question, so perplexing to well-meaning sentimentalists, has been discovered to be a working-class question, and only solvable by their organisation on class lines with their white fellow wage-slaves for the overthrow of capitalism, and the taking over for the use and benefit of all workers the production of all commodities. There are over two hundred thousand natives on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, as against thirty thousand whites. The same proportion obtains in nearly all industries. It is a criminal offence for these natives to refuse duty, owing to the indenture system, but by obtaining the abolition of the system or in spite of its existence these black miners must be organised for their own emancipation, as well as the emancipation of the white workers themselves. This is the task that the I.S.L. has set itself, and it looks for sympathy and help to comrades whose industrial problem is not so complicated.

I cannot do better than to quote the statement of the Management Committee of the I.S.L. to the annual conference in January this year as showing its attitude on the native question:—

"Society is divided into two classes: the working class doing all the labour and the idle class living on the fruits of labour. Strictly speaking, therefore, there is no 'Native Problem.' There is only a working-class problem. But within the working class arises the problem of the native worker. In all countries the influx of cheap labour is used as a whip wherewith to beat the whole of the working class.

"In South Africa the cheap labourer, being black, is doubly resented by the higher-paid worker. And the employers foment this colour-prejudice through their newspapers, and are thus able to wield the whip of cheap labour with double effect.

"We speak therefore to the workers: One section of the worker cannot benefit itself at the expense of the rest without betraying the hope of the children. Those who receive favours from

## Of Special Interest This Week

### The Right Use of the Vote Russia and Peace "Food" Demonstration

the master class may lift themselves out of the propertyless proletariat, but their children will inherit the fear of the abyss which their fathers helped to create.

"The power of labour lies in its ability to stop or control industry. All the workers are needed for this. *Labour*, not *Colour*, is the watchword of solidarity.

"If all those who labour cannot share in the emancipation of Labour, none can be emancipated. 'Labour cannot emancipate itself in the *White* while in the *Black* it is branded' (Marx). White standards are not in danger from the ambition of the native to improve. White standards are endangered by the attempts to keep him down. What makes native labour so cheap and exploitable in South Africa? Laws and regulations which, on the pretence of protecting society from barbarism, degrade the native workers to the level of serfs and herded cattle for the express uses of Capital. These are:—The Passport System, the Compound System, the Native Indenture System, and the special penal laws which make it a crime for a native to absent himself from work; the denial of civil liberty and political rights. These tyrant laws must be swept away. The cause of Labour demands the abolition of the pass, the compound, and the indenture; and as the native workers gain in industrial solidarity demands for them complete political equality with their white fellow-workers. Only thus can the whole of the working class—white and black—march unitedly forward to their common emancipation from wage slavery."

(Continued on page 54)

## DEATH OF A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

### HIS COMRADES STRIKE WORK

On February 6th H. W. Firth, a Conscientious Objector, died in Dartmoor Convict Prison. That evening his comrades assembled in general meeting, and 700 of them decided to strike work on the following Friday, February 8th, as a protest against the cruel ill-treatment of the dead man. In order that the men employed in the cook-house might join, abstention from the Home Office rations was agreed upon.

Before his arrival at Princetown, Firth had served nine months' imprisonment, during which he grew so ill that at last he agreed to accept the Home Office scheme for what is called "alternative service," but is, of course, alternative punishment. He was released from Maidstone Prison on December 31st, weak and emaciated, and put to work with the Heavy Quarry Party at Dartmoor on January 2nd. On January 4th he complained that he was cold and ill, but the doctor told him it was cold in the trenches, and sent him back to the quarry. Firth continued working in the quarry till January 21st, when he was transferred to the night white washing party, which is engaged from 7.30 p.m. to 5.30 a.m. He was taken ill one night and sent to hospital on the 26th. He was sent back to the quarry on January 28th, and on January 30th readmitted to hospital, where he stayed till his death a week later. An inquest was held on February

8th. It was there testified that Firth was so terribly emaciated that one's thumb and finger could meet round his wrists and ankles; that he complained constantly of illness. It is an outrage that a man in his condition should have been made to work either in the quarry or on the white-washing, especially at night. And why, we ask, should whitewashing be done at night in Princetown Prison? What pressure of need can excuse this cruel misuse of human energy? Are the men merely made to work at night in order to add a further discomfort to their imprisonment?

The following is a summary of the material evidence disclosed at the inquest, prepared from the shorthand notes:—

Mr. Sparrow, the sub-agent, produced telegrams which were sent to the widow by the authorities after the man was dead, telling her to come as he was seriously ill.

Cross-examined by Mr. Edward Roberts: The deceased did not look very robust on his arrival. Witness did not know that deceased had left Maidstone Prison ill; nor did he complain of illness. A charge was sent in against Firth on January 29th, which he produced.

The Coroner: This is the charge: "Idling away time in the closet for 25 minutes while employed at the Quarry." The man's reply was: "Sir, being a sufferer from constipation, it naturally takes me a long time to go in the closet. I assure you I was not aware I was away so long as that. I hope it will not occur again." The Manager's decision was: "First Report: cautioned."

Samuel French, conscientious objector, and orderly at the hospital, was then called.

The Coroner: Is it your opinion that everything possible was done for him?—I can hardly say that. He certainly

seemed in a very bad condition.

Do you allege any neglect?—I think that possibly something more might have been done for him in the earlier stages of his illness. I think a complaint can be lodged in respect of his diet in the early stages. I did not complain to anyone.

Did you make any report about that?—I knew that people outside were moving, and I left it at that.

By a Juror: Did you at any time substitute any other diet for that ordered by the doctor?—No. The doctor's orders were carried out entirely.

Who were the others moving in the matter?—The Men's Committee.

The Juror: There must have been some dissatisfaction if the Men's Committee were moving.

The Coroner: That is not the point.

Mr. Roberts: There are other hospital orderlies who had made representations.

Did the deceased ever complain about his diet?—Yes, he asked for milk.

What was Firth's physical condition?—He looked very emaciated. His cheeks were drawn in, and you could get your thumb and finger round his wrists and ankles.

He looked fleshless?—Yes.

Do you think Firth was able to do physical work of any kind?—I did not think so.

You did not think he was fit to do any work?—No.

The Coroner: Not light work?—Personally, I should not have put him to the lightest work. I should have given him complete rest.

Mr. Roberts: Did you think he was in a fit condition to be exposed to the weather here?—No. I was surprised when he was discharged from the hospital on the first occasion.

The Coroner: You thought he was discharged too soon?

—Yes.

(Continued on back page.)



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### LOOK TO THE FUTURE

#### VOTES FOR WOMEN.

#### SEX DISABILITY NOT REMOVED.

Women have won the vote; no, let us correct ourselves, *some* women have been given the vote. The new measure only enfranchises from four to six million women out of a total of more than thirteen million. Less than half the women will get the vote by the new Act. The soldier lad of eighteen years will be a voter, the mother who maintains her children cannot vote till she is thirty years of age, and only then if she or her husband is a householder or latchkey voter, and if neither he nor she has been so unfortunate as to be forced to ask the Poor Law authorities for aid. The adult sons of the household will go to the poll; the adult daughters will be debarred. No, the new Act does not remove the sex disability; it does not establish equal suffrage. And by its University and business franchises the Act still upholds in statute form the old class prejudices; the old checks and balances designed to prevent the will of the majority, who are the workers, from being registered without handicap.

But some people, we learn, are rejoicing with an exceeding joy over the passage of the new Act, and are making impassioned speeches, declaring its coming to be a great victory, which will herald in a "new world."

Saddened and oppressed by the great world tragedy, by the multiplying graves of men, and the broken hearts of women, we hold aloof from such rejoicings; they strike with a hollow and unreal sound upon our consciousness. Some of the organisations formed for the work of securing the vote are dissolving, or taking counsel whether to dissolve. The W.S.F. has long engaged in many activities which place on its shoulders a heavy burden of toil and responsibility; a burden of necessary work which it would seem almost an act of treachery to lay down now. The franchise is but partly won, but franchise activities have formed a mere fraction of our activities these many years past. This is but a partial prejudiced franchise, which has been extended to women, not graciously, but in a grudging spirit. Yet even had it come in full measure, justly and equally to all men and women, it could not seem to us a great joy-giving boon in these sad days in which Government by politicians has plunged the world into this lengthy War and placed humanity upon the rack! If it is to survive, very robust must be our faith in the possibility of re-creating the dry, crumbling bones of Parliament, and of filling its benches with vigorous uncompromising Socialists, determined to take immediate action to sweep away the all-embracing system of privileges, and corruptions attendant on modern capitalism and to establish Socialism in our time. Is it possible to establish Socialism with the Parliament at Westminster as its foundation? If we would have our policy grow and develop intelligently and usefully with the times, so that we may go forging on ahead in the van of progress, not falling in laggingly at its rear, we must consider very seriously whether our efforts should not be bent on the setting aside of this present Parliamentary system under which the peoples suffer, and the substitution for it of a local, national, and international system, built up on an occupational basis, of which the members shall be but the delegates of those who are carrying on the world's work; and shall be themselves workers, drawn, but for a space, from the bench, the mine, the desk, the kitchen, or the nursery; and sent to voice the needs and desires of others like themselves. Even under such a system equal suffrage and such up-to-date, businesslike, mechanical devices as Continuous Registration, Proportional Representation, and the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall will be needed, just as they are needed, and should be applied, in the Trade Union organisations of to-day.

Ah! it is not to get the vote, but to ensure the right use of the vote which is the problem of great difficulty. It is the open progressive mind, the tender heart, the fearless comradely spirit which are needed, and are so difficult, so infinitely difficult for us poor faulty human beings to attain.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## RUSSIA OUT OF THE WAR

The Peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk have been broken off. The delegates of the Russian Socialist Government have issued this explanation:—

Comrades,—The peace negotiations are at an end. German capitalists, bankers, and landlords, supported by the silent co-operation of the English and French bourgeoisie, submitted to our comrades, the members of the peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk, conditions such as could not be subscribed to by the Russian Revolution. The Governments of Germany and Austria desire to possess countries and peoples vanquished by the force of arms. To this the authority of the Russian peoples of workmen and peasants could not give its acquiescence. We could not sign a peace which would bring with it sadness, oppression, and suffering to millions of workmen and peasants. But we also cannot, will not, and must not continue a war which was begun by Tsars and capitalists in alliance with Tsars and capitalists. We will not, and we must not, continue to be at war with Germans and Austrians—workmen and peasants like ourselves.

We are not signing the peace of landlords and capitalists. Let German and Austrian soldiers know who are placing them in the field of battle, and let them know for what they are struggling. Let them know also that we refuse to fight against them.

Our delegation, fully conscious of its responsibility before the Russian people and the oppressed workers and peasants of other countries, declared on February 10th, in the name of the Council of the People's Commissioners of the Governments of the Federal Russian Republic, to the Governments of the peoples involved in war with us and of neutral countries, that it refuses to sign an annexationist treaty.

Russia, for her part, declares the present war with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria at an end. Simultaneously the Russian troops receive the order for complete demobilisation on all fronts.

Brest-Litovsk, Feb. 10th, 1918.

It seems clear, though no definite statement from Russian sources on this point has been made, that the Central Empires still occupy the parts of Russian Poland and the Baltic Provinces of Russia which they have invaded, and to which they now lay claim on the pretext that the peoples of the territories have asked for German protection. "The Times" and other such capitalist newspapers greet the situation with malicious joy, declaring that the Central Powers have scored a crushing victory over the Bolsheviks. But the German newspapers indicate that the Governments of the Central Empires are by no means pleased with the situation. The Bol-

sheviks cannot at the moment evict the Germans from the invaded territories, but they have made no promise not to do so, and the Germans realise that the Bolsheviks will not allow the matter to rest where it is.

The Bolsheviks place no faith either in war-making or diplomacy of the old style; they have no desire to conclude agreements and treaties with capitalistic States. Their aim is the international solidarity of the workers, and they look to the peoples of all lands to assist in its achievement. Thus, when Finland and the Ukraine asked to become independent of the newly created Russian Socialist Republic, the Bolshevik Government assented to the request, but the Bolshevik influence was at work in the Ukraine and in Finland; and when, as a consequence, the Social Revolution broke out in those countries, the aid of the Russian Bolshevik Government was at the service of the Finnish and Ukrainian Revolutionaries. The issue of the struggle in the Ukraine and in Finland still remains undecided, but, though temporary reverses may take place, we believe that the cause of democracy cannot fail. If the Bolsheviks have abandoned the Brest negotiations and declared the cessation of War, without concluding Peace, whilst Russian territories are still held by the Central Powers, the Bolsheviks have certainly chosen this course of deliberate and thoughtful purpose. Therefore we may expect revolutionary manifestations in the stolen territories, and we may presently find that the revolting peoples of Poland and the Baltic Provinces will be aided, not only by the Bolsheviks of Russia, but by the rank and file of the armies of occupation. We may probably see the revolutionary manifestations, begun in the invaded Russian territories, spreading over the frontiers into the Central Empires, to stimulate and mingle with the revolutionary feeling there, which was evidenced by the recent great strikes in Germany and Austria. The refusal to make peace or to continue war with the Central Empires may prove to be the most masterly and successful stroke which the Bolsheviks have yet made.

### THE UKRAINIAN PEACE TREATY

On February 8th the Bolsheviks were reported to have announced the complete success of the Revolution, and that nothing remained of the bourgeois Rada but "a sad memory." But on the following morning at two a.m. peace between the Central Powers and the Ukraine was signed. M. Litvinoff, the London Ambassador of the Bolsheviks, has stated, in the absence of reliable information, that the peace was probably made by the counter-revolutionaries who supported the Rada.

If this is so, the treaty is not likely to remain permanent.

Be that as it may, the treaty is of great importance, as it is quite unlike what the Jingoes have warned everyone to expect from the terrible Germans confronting a weaker nation. The frontier between Austria-Hungary and the Ukraine (the only place where the Ukraine is contiguous with the Central Empires) is to be the same as before the War, though a small part of the Russian and of Russian Polish territory occupied by the Central Powers is granted to the Ukraine. It is stated that this frontier will be fixed in detail "by a mixed Commission according to the ethnographical conditions and with regard to the desires of the population."

The principle of no indemnities is established by Article 5 of this treaty, the contracting parties renouncing all claim to reimbursement of cost of carrying on the War, or to indemnification for War damages. It is provided that until July 31st of this year the Ukraine and the Central Empires are to exchange surplus agricultural and industrial products, the quantities and sorts of products to be exchanged and their prices to be settled by a Joint Commission consisting of an equal number of representatives of both sides. The Governments of the Central Powers may hope to induce the capitalists of the Ukraine to seek profit from sending food to the Central Empires whilst ignoring the needs of the starving peoples of Northern Russia. In times of famine in India grain sufficient to feed the hungry has been exported because it was more profitable to send it to other countries than to save the lives of the dying peasants. But the spirit of Revolution has taken too firm a hold, we think, in all parts of Russia to allow of such proceedings.

### WILSON'S REPLY TO HERTLING

President Wilson is in the habit of using fine phrases in which all the virtues are claimed for the policy he represents, and it is always necessary to sift his words of such dressings to discover their true meaning. His speech to Congress in reply to Count Hertling is embroidered by declarations that "peoples and provinces are not to be bartered

about from sovereignty to sovereignty." But his real quarrel with Count Hertling seems to be that:

"he will discuss with no one but the representative of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces, with no one but the Government of France the 'conditions' under which French territory shall be evacuated, and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland. In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan States he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey, and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire to the Turkish authorities themselves."

Hertling's plan places the weaker nations at the mercy of their powerful immediate neighbours; Wilson's plan leaves them at the mercy of all the Great Powers or of any group of Great Powers which can dominate the rest. It is merely a choice between the devil and the deep sea for the little nations. Wilson's summary of principles are as vague as those of all the other "win-the-War" politicians, who vie with each other in expressing their desire to preserve the rights of nationalities. He says:—

"Every territorial settlement involved in this War must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States."

"All well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism, that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and, consequently of the world."

Such a declaration means absolutely nothing, as President Wilson, of course, is fully aware. It will be noticed that he carefully refrains from endorsing the Bolshevik demand that the populations concerned shall decide their own destiny. There is reason to believe that Wilson's objection to Hertling's plan does not spring from the President's desire for the self-determination of peoples, but from the fact that Hertling's plan would tend to exclude from the settlement of European questions the American capitalists who form the America for which President Wilson speaks. He insists that capitalist America is animated by the most altruistic ideals, but no one with any knowledge of the methods of capitalist America in dealing with its own people can really believe that. President Wilson says:—

"This War had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiance and their own forms of political life."

In our view this War had its roots in the capitalist system, which, by its very structure, places the capitalist on an inclined plane which gradually forces him to subordinate to the interests of his profit the rights of men and women, whether they are citizens of small nations and nationalities or of great Empires; and which enables the few to exploit the many. Only a peace based on Socialist principles can be a just and enduring one.



## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

## RATS

Mr. Henderson having supported the War and the coercive actions of the Government for two and a half years at last realised that no popular military victory was going to result. He therefore left the war ship before the sinking time and seems now in the act of hailing the peace boat. Mr. Asquith has also seen the truth which dawned on Mr. Henderson. Some of his Liberal followers in the House are, according to the "Times," beginning to look to him as a "pacifist" leader. So, though he still utters jingoisms, he now says that he prefers to speak not of "War Aims" but "Peace Aims." He is undoubtedly growing anxious about the loyalty to his leadership of the "Daily News," which is demanding a Henderson Labour Government. Does the "News" fear that its circulation will be captured by the "Daily Herald," which is expected to reappear shortly, and which is also backing Henderson (to the amazement of many of its readers)? We place no faith in Henderson; such men are a danger to the Socialist movement, and we appeal to our Socialist comrades to keep their faith in Socialism evergreen and beware of political opportunism!

## THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH

Realising that the temper of the country is not in tune with "knock out blow" oratory, Mr. Lloyd George expressed himself as having been "sincerely anxious to find (in the speeches of Hertling and Czernin) a real and genuine desire for peace." Obviously there has been trouble at Versailles and there is dissatisfaction amongst the military chiefs who weary of useless slaughter. To avoid answering questions as to functions and powers of the Inter-Allied War Council he pretended that he could not do so without revealing the details of the War strategy on which that Council has decided. His appeal to everyone interested in the efficient conduct of the War, to discourage Press discussions of War strategy, is ludicrous in view of the suppression of pacifist opinion.

## "THE TRIBUNA"

Under the Defence of the Realm Act the Hon. Bertrand Russell and Miss Joan Beauchamp, proprietor of the "Tribuna," were charged at Bow Street on Saturday, February 9th. It was alleged that they had made statements in the paper prejudicial to the relations between this country and America. Mr. Russell was sentenced to six months in the second division. Miss Beauchamp was fined £60 and ordered to pay £15 15s. costs. Both appealed against the sentence and sureties were accepted.

We understand that the case will come on again in April, when we wish both victims of D.O.R.A. every success.

## THE "WOMEN'S WAR" IN AUSTRALIA

The agitation for food and peace which our Australian Women Socialist comrades are carrying on is there called the Women's War. The Melbourne "Socialist" of October 12th, records that Miss Adela Pankhurst (now Mrs. Walsh), Mrs. Jennie Baines and Miss Alice Suter, who had been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, appealed against their sentences. They had been convicted of assembling with others to the number of 20 or more "on the pretext of making known a grievance." Mr. Justice Burton said that the word pretext was clearly used in contradistinction to the word purpose and that to convict on this charge it would be necessary to show that there had been shamming and concealment of the real purpose. No such evidence had been produced. Therefore the conviction must be quashed. Three other charges under the Unlawful Associations Act were afterwards preferred against Miss Pankhurst; two were dismissed, but on the third she was sentenced to four months' imprisonment to be suspended if she would agree to enter into a bond of £100 not to offend against the law or to speak in public without permission of the Attorney-General or the police magistrate. Of course, she refused! The "Socialist" of November 2nd has just come to hand; from it we gather that Miss A. Pankhurst was completing a month's imprisonment on another charge, and that an extensive agitation was on foot to secure the quashing of the sentence of four months' imprisonment.

....

The Hendon Food Control Committee was visited last week by a deputation of women from Hampstead Garden Suburb and Golder's Green. Apparently the complaints lodged about unequal distribution, queues and food shortage in general were acquiesced in by members of the Committee. Our correspondent informs us that the Committee was intimidated by the earnestness of the women. All showed a wish to have a communal kitchen. The Chairman promised that he would visit the various margarine and butter merchants and suggest that packets should be of 1lb. weight instead of 1lb. to ensure more equal distribution. A resolution was passed protesting against the delay of the rationing scheme.

## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

February 5th.—Mr. Outhwaite (L.) alleged that the annexationist claims of Italy to territory as shown by the secret treaties tend to prolong the War. Lord R. Cecil again refused to discuss a treaty, referred to as "secret."

## REPRISALS

To satisfy the vile instinct of revenge in men like Mr. Butcher (U.), the War Office announced that since Germany is suspected of exposing officer prisoners of war to air raids, "similar action is contemplated in this country." If imitation continues at this rate all alleged German atrocities may be surpassed. What will the "War Aims Committee" do then for material for propaganda?

## IRELAND AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Replying to Mr. Lynch (I.N.), Mr. Bonar Law said that he was quite willing to reaffirm the "principle" of self-determination in regard to Ireland, but he "should not like to define it." That is the fault that Germany is accused of in respect of her Imperial possessions!

## ARTHUR HORTON

Special inquiry into the case of the treatment of Arthur Horton was called for by Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) and Mr. Whitehouse (L.) Sir G. Cave remarked that he knew that "many extraordinary allegations have been made, but we must rely on the verdict of the Coroner." We fail to see how the Coroner could know the treatment meted out to this victim of prison cruelty and neglect.

....

Mr. Anderson (Lab.) stated that at Richmond, Yorks, the police entered two shops of newsagents and demanded the names and addresses of customers purchasing the "Herald." Sir G. Cave knew nothing of this very drastic attempt to interfere with the liberty of the Press and the individual.

## SCHOOL DINNERS

Mr. Trevelyan (L.) advocated a system of serving school

## A WORKING WOMAN'S COUNCIL

At Findon, Sussex, a Working Women's Village Council has been formed "for the purpose of collecting evidence for the State-aided Housing Scheme." Genuine Village Councils of Working Women could do much valuable work, but we think that such Councils will not stop at collecting evidence! The Findon Council is asking the Local Government Board for fifty cottages. The secretaries of the Findon Council are endeavouring to form such Councils all over England. They announce that their movement is not political. We call the attention of rural Socialists to it, and urge that they should take the initiative in forming Socialist Councils in the villages in which the Agricultural Labourers' Union should cooperate with the women in the cottages. This non-party movement will secure some reforms, but it will not go to the root of the matter; it will not be a working-class Socialist movement.

## THE WORKERS COMPARED TO THE GADARENE SWINE

The "Aeroplane," a magazine circulating amongst the manufacturers of aeroplanes, who are piling up huge fortunes out of the War, on January 30th published an article entitled "On the Gadarene Swine," which throws an interesting light upon the manner in which the workers are regarded by their prosperous employers. When they are docile and patient, the writer of the article infers that they are like "the harmless necessary pigs," but when they attempt to improve their conditions they appear to him as swine possessed by devils. But here are the writer's own words:—

In his proper place the pig is a useful and even a likeable animal. . . . The devil of lunacy which affected our politicians before and early in the War . . . seems now to have possessed a large portion of the working men of this nation, with the result that the whole herd seems to be on the point of rushing down and perishing in the waters of anarchy. It remains to be seen whether the original Gadarene miracle is to be bettered and whether the harmless necessary pigs are to find a Saviour who will cast out the devils and save them as much as the lunatics. . . . A few weeks of military discipline would soon exorcise the devils of anarchy which possess these people. . . . The country may be conquered by the British Army . . . or the country may be conquered by Germany; and that depends entirely on whether the working classes do their duty or not. The aristocracy and bourgeoisie have already done all that and more than the country has any right to expect of them. Either form of conquest would be better than the fate of the Gadarene swine. . . . Germany's policy is evidently to stir up the forces of anarchy among the Allied nations, and so end the War. Then when her enemies were thus broken up the German politico-military aristocracy would step in and govern Europe, helped by the better-class people of what are now the Allied countries, who would naturally prefer German Government to mob rule as exhibited in Russia to-day.

It will be seen that the writer of this in "The Aeroplane" desires that the British workers shall be subdued by military discipline. He makes it clear that in his view at least, and he assumes in the view of all the "better-class people," Government by German autocracy would be preferable to Government by the working class. The workers should carefully note this fact.

## MILITARY TYRANNY

2nd Lieut. St. Nagley, R.F.A., at a meeting of the Army I.L.P., proposed that soldiers should be allowed to attend political meetings. Two detectives were at the meeting. They followed him and reported him to the police. The military took the matter up and he was summoned to appear before them at Leeds Town Hall.

## IMPORTANT

Complaints have reached the Editor from the staff at Russell's Corset Makers, Roman Road, E.3. Will some employee provide us with exact details of treatment. Otherwise we are powerless to take action in the matter.

## South African Socialism and the War

(Continued from front page.)

## WOMEN WORKERS.

From whatever direction one approaches the problem of Labour in South Africa the racial question at once claims attention. The status of the woman worker in Britain, and probably in Europe generally, depends on her importance as a factor in industry as compared with the men and, to a certain extent, children of her own race. To the most casual observer the position is much more complicated in South Africa. When an employer decides on "dilution" in Britain he looks round for young persons or women. In South Africa he may do so, but is far more likely to turn to the native, the Indian, or the coloured men and women as levers to keep down the standard of living of the whites. The result has been that women in South Africa are perhaps more parasitic than in all-white communities, and the tendency is to refuse to consider many occupations as means of livelihood because they are engaged in by black and coloured workers. This is natural where such a gulf exists between the two standards of life of two sections of the population, as is the case in South Africa. White women who work for wages or salary hire themselves as clerks, typists, shop assistants, school teachers, waitresses, and a few are employed in printing works and factories, but the mass of the factory workers are non-white, and on the land as labourers and in domestic service the native men and women reign supreme. The giant influx into industry by women in Britain during the War is only feebly reflected in South Africa by a few women being admitted into banks and offices as clerks, and therefore the problem of women's status in industry is not nearly so ripe for consideration as in many other countries.

The women in South Africa in the largest numbers are the non-whites, and therefore, as in the case of men, the organisation of women workers means largely the organisation of the Malay Cape girl, the native and Indian women. The two latter do nearly all the field work and domestic service, and the former the match, cigarette, tea, sugar, laundry industries, and other work requiring rather more intelligence and skill. There is no industrial organisation whatever amongst the coloured women, and in the case of whites the work undertaken, with the exception to some extent of teaching, is looked upon as a means of supplementing the resources of the parents' home until marriage is entered into. The few women who do not marry or those who for various reasons have families to support are seriously handicapped by the willingness of girls to work for mere "pin-money," thus keeping the rate of wages ridiculously low. Three to five pounds per month are quite common wages for women to earn. Obviously, if they have only this to live upon, the "male friend" becomes a necessary factor in the problem of how to live. It has, so far, been found almost impossible to organise the women, owing to the facts stated, although repeated attempts have been made to do so. Politically, the question of the franchise for women has to be considered in connection with the racial question. The proposition that adult suffrage should be given is complicated by the fact that this would mean not only the enfranchisement of all the native and coloured men, but the women also, and refuge has been taken by advocates of women's suffrage in the use of the formula "on the same terms as men," which would automatically exclude all but a few native women and a large number of coloured and Indian women.

The present conception of parliamentary government is quite foreign to the mass of the natives. Organisation by industries offers a much simpler method of arriving at the real will of the people. The workers, men and women, could more readily be got to see that their interests lie in linking up with their fellow workers in the same industry rather than in an arbitrary geographical constituency. The administration of things rather than the government of people is the business of the future organisation of society. The property status which is the basis of parliamentary institutions must be discarded, not only property in commodities and natural opportunities, but property in women and children, as stereotyped in the marriage laws, but even the property right claimed by the capitalist State in the citizen. The woman and the coloured problems will only be solved by this change, which some call the social revolution. Organisation as women is no solution, nor organisation by race. The organisation of the future must be organisation on class lines. The working class versus the exploiting class, with the definite objective of the abolition of the latter, failing which we shall sink into the position of slaves well fed, well housed, well dressed; perhaps, but still slaves, guided, ticketed, directed from the cradle to the grave in order that we may attain maximum efficiency as producers of wealth for the modern god, the State.



### WHATS' ON? W.S.F. FIXTURES OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15th.  
Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.  
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16th.  
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Walthamstow (by special request). Meet 3 p.m., near booking office of St. James' Street Station. Speakers: Mrs. Walker and others.  
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17th.  
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker. "Flagstaff," Hampstead, 3 p.m., Miss Price.  
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Davies.  
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.  
Hoxton, 11 a.m., Miss Price.  
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd.  
Great Push in Hammersmith.

### INDOOR

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17th.  
Bow Women's Hall (a quarter to six), General Meeting, London Section.  
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19th.  
85 Camberwell Grove, 7.30 p.m., Social.  
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20th.  
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Speakers' Class, Instructor, Mr. L. Hogben.  
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.  
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 7.30 p.m., Miss Regina Miriam Bloch will give a reading from her own works. Miss P. Lynch, "The Present Outlook."

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19th.  
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, Walthamstow, 2.30 p.m., Miss Horsfall.

### TO W.S.F. MEMBERS

General meeting of London Section W.S.F. on Sunday, 17th, at a quarter before six at 400 Old Ford Road, E.3. This change has been made to enable members to attend M. Maxim Litvinoff's lecture on Monday, 8.15 p.m. at the Central Hall, Westminster.

### OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary,  
Miss M. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.  
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

### Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—Profit on Bow and Bromley Social per Miss Lynch, £4; Mr. W. J. Woods (monthly), £2; Geo. Scott, Esq., £1; Mrs. Girdlestone, £1; R. Laxton, Esq., 5s.; Mrs. Hercbergova, 5s.; Mr. G. Cohen, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. George, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £1 9s. 11d.; Bow Women's Hall, 12s. 1d.; Mrs. Bouvier, 6s. 3d.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Mr. S. Dodington (card), £1; Miss S. Gough (card), 16s. 3d.; Miss L. Isaacs, 5s. COLLECTIONS: Bow Women's Hall, 5s. 0d.

FOOD DEMONSTRATION.—Bethnal Green N.U.R., £3 10s.; Miss M. Gibson, £1; Miss Sarah Birch, £1; Miss Mgt. Molteno, £1; Miss Mary Tighe, 10s.; Miss Widdicombe, 10s.; Mrs. Southey, 10s.; Mrs. Goodman, 5s.; Miss E. M. Morgan, 5s.; Miss Hoy, 5s.; Mrs. Bennett, 5s.; Woolwich N.C.F., 5s.; Mrs. Shaw, 2s. 6d.; Miss Mgt. Smith, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Willmoth, 2s. 6d.; Miss Bent, 2s. 6d.; Mr. David Halliday, 1s.; Mr. R. J. Wallace, 6d. COLLECTIONS: Central Branch W.S.F., 6s. 4d.; given in Trafalgar Square, £9 14s. 10d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Mr. Wooster (card), £1 1s.; Miss Pilley (card), 5s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Miss M. Hay (card), 2s.; Mr. X. Y. Z., 1s. 9d. COLLECTION: Mr. G. B. A. Douglas, 10s.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), £2 19s. 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Rev. T. and Miss Gore Browne, £2; Mrs. Robertson (2s. 6d. monthly), £1 10s.; Miss Mgt. Booth, £1 1s.; Mrs. Hyde, 12s.; H. H. Goulden, 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Mrs. Sericold, 10s.; Miss Levinskaya (Montessori), 10s.; Mrs. Gillies (monthly), 4s.; Mrs. T. Campbell, 2s. 6d.; Miss E. Burden, 2s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 6s. 0d.; Mrs. Bennett, 16s.; Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 9s. 2d.; Misses Vine and Lynch, 7s. 10d.; Miss K. Lagsding and Mrs. Bertram (Cubitt Town), 6s. 0d.

CLOTHES, Etc.—Miss Claire Oldham (per Mrs. Welch); Miss Dobb; Miss Welch; Mrs. Welch; Mrs. Mintum Scott. GROCERIES.—Charles Foster, Esq., Anon.

### MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 14d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, 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.

WANTED now, Domestic Worker. Good salary; cook and gardener kept.—Apply, Woodthorpe, Stonebridge Park, N.W.10.

### INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.

Dear Friends of Humanity.—Before the storm bursts let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

### Death of a Conscientious Objector

(Continued from front page.)

Mr. Roberts: He was always complaining of thirst?—Yes, all along.

The Coroner at this point intimated that this was a public inquiry, and persons who desired to attend could be admitted. Though somewhat late in the inquiry, he desired to say that, as an important principle was involved.

A number of C.O.s who had been excluded by the prison authorities up to this time was then admitted.

Dr. Battiscombe stated: Firth was an emaciated man, unhealthy, and of poor physique. The deceased told him that he had been nine months in Maidstone Prison, and had felt the confinement during the latter part of the time. Deceased complained after the first day's work that he could not do the work. He came on several occasions to the hospital. He worked on the quarry till January 21st, when he was transferred to the whitewashing party, night duty, between 7.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. He was taken ill on that party, and went into hospital on the 28th. Deceased went back to the quarry on January 28th, and returned to hospital on the 30th. He complained of thirst and of passing a large quantity of water. He had all the symptoms of diabetes except that there was no sugar present in the urine. I abstained from putting him on a rigid diet, which was not begun till February 5th. I saw him on the evening of February 5th, but had no reason to anticipate any sudden end. At 6.30 a.m. on February 6th I was called by one of the orderlies, and found him unconscious. He did not rally, but died at 8.55 a.m. The cause of death was diabetes. The man had probably had diabetes for some time without that being known. He did not think the end was hastened by his environment or treatment at Dartmoor. If his work had been arduous it would have hastened his end, but it was turning the handle of a winch. He could do as much or as little as he chose. He never complained about his work after the 3rd or 4th January.

Cross-examined by Mr. Edward Roberts: No medical report came with Firth. He must have asked deceased whether he had been ill in prison, because deceased gave him the effects of confinement as the reason for his accepting the scheme. He never saw the man at work. He did not ask what work the deceased was doing. He did not know that the man was on heavy work. He asked to have his party changed, but did not complain of the work. He complained of the cold while going to the quarry.

You did not receive that complaint very sympathetically?—Not very.

Did not you think he was malingering?—No, because many people feel cold. But I did not consider his reasons sufficient.

In his physical condition?—He had plenty of clothes. I think you said something about its being cold in the trenches?—I did. I treated him in a business way. I had no feeling in the matter.

Did he ask for eggs at one time?—Yes; it was on February 5th. I told him it was very difficult to get them, as nearly all the eggs were required for the soldiers. However, I ordered him three eggs, and I heard they were delivered.

Cross-examined by Mr. C. H. Norman: I suggest to you that the whole time from January 1st to this man's death he was in a condition unfit to work, and that he was ill the whole period?—We now know he must have had diabetes all the time. He had various complaints during varying intervals, but not one of these complaints was sufficient to prevent him doing the work.

Cross-examined by Mr. Dan Griffiths: You said that he could do as little as he chose?—Yes.

Do you know that he was charged for being too long in the latrine?—So I have heard.

Do you still suggest that he could do as little or as much as he wanted?—As regards the arduousness of the task, I do.

Dr. Hilyer gave evidence corroborating Dr. Battiscombe's account of the symptoms and his diagnosis. When he examined the deceased there was no sign of illness. He did not consider the man seriously ill till the evening before he died. He could not say that deceased was a cheerful man.

Cross-examined by Ms. Roberts: A history sheet could not be produced because the deceased had been treated more as a casual than as an indoor patient.

Cross-examined by Mr. Norman: I suggest that you treated this man lightly, as a malingeringer.—Certainly not. I suggest he was a skeleton?—Certainly not.

Have you any record of his weight?—No.

Therefore you are merely estimating?—Yes, from my examination of the man.

The Coroner then summed up, and the jury returned a verdict that the death was due to natural causes, the complaint being diabetes, and that they were in every way satisfied with the treatment given by the doctors.

The jury also expressed their sympathy with the widow, who was telegraphed for to come to her husband after his death, and who had been receiving 5s. a week from the Government and 1s. 5d. a week from her husband out of his pay of 4s. 8d.

It should be noted that the representatives of the Men's Committee, who were instructing Mr. Edward Roberts, of Merthyr, who appeared for the widow, were not admitted until after the jury had been sworn. The bias against C.O.s of five out of the seven was well known. Had the Men's Committee been present at the time of the swearing-in the competence of these five men to act as jurors would have been challenged. When the Men's Committee were allowed in the opportunity had passed. At the conclusion of the inquest the Press and all those representing the widow and the men in the settlement were turned out of Court, whilst the Coroner, the doctors who were accused of neglecting their patient, and the prison officials remained behind with the jury during their deliberations on the verdict. As everyone knows, the proper and legal course is for the jury to retire and deliberate together, away from other influences.

The men who struck work have each received a charge sheet, and an attempt will undoubtedly be made to punish them. They are demanding an inquiry into the general treatment of men in the Dartmoor Settlement hospital and the reopening of the inquest in view of the grave irregularities connected with the opening and closing of the proceedings.

Another victim of this Government's tyranny has gone to the far beyond for conscience sake. Poor Mrs. Firth is broken-hearted; the men at Princetown are shocked and saddened by the knowledge that callous neglect has killed their friend. But in the trenches men are broken and the casualty lists mount far more rapidly than in the prisons. Do not grieve and brood in silence; come out and work to stop the War! The workers, by their power to stop supplies, can stop the War when they will!

### THE TRAFALGAR SQ. MEETING:

Last Sunday's Trafalgar Square meeting on Food was indeed a peace demonstration, for the idea of food is indissolubly associated with that of peace. As J. Fineberg eloquently reminded the audience: "War has a twin sister—Famine." The audience felt that, and every demand for Peace was enthusiastically cheered. On the north plinth when the food resolution had been unanimously carried, the Chairman (Mr. W. Carter, N.U.R.) asked for cheers for Peace, and these were given again and again with whole-hearted enthusiasm. Mr. John Syme was an unexpected speaker on the east plinth, for, seeing him there, having won his way out of prison by the hunger strike, Councillor H. W. Carter, the chairman, called on him to speak. At each of the three plinths the resolutions were carried unanimously; at each of the three plinths great enthusiasm prevailed, £9 14s. was thrown up on to the plinths by the audience as a contribution towards the expenses of the demonstration. Over

1,200 DREADNOUGHTS were sold in the Square, in addition to the other Socialist papers. It was fortunate that the current issue of the DREADNOUGHT contained a reprint of the secret treaties disclosed by the Russian Socialist Government. There were no personages at the meeting; it was entirely a rank and file demonstration. Neither speakers nor audience belonged to the well-to-do. Working women like Mrs. Butler, B.S.P.; Mrs. Mason, Railway Women's Guild; Mrs. Swales, Women's Co-operative Guild; Mrs. Moore, I.L.P.; and Mrs. Walker and Miss Price, of the East End Branches of the W.S.F., spoke with a trenchant force on the food question which the experience of many queues alone could teach. The N.U.R. was well represented, as it always is in all forward efforts, both by its banners in the processions and by its speakers on the plinths—Mr. Carter, Mr. Beale, Mr. Foot, and Mr. Gore. Miss Manicom, Workers' Union, spoke for the organised women workers. Mr. W. Watson, A.S.E., on the west plinth, was as rebellious as ever, and Mr. Louis Hill, of the Bakers and Confectioners, who spoke on the east plinth, aroused so much cheering that people came running from all directions to hear what he had to say.

The meeting closed with the singing of the "Red Flag" and the "International."

### Trafalgar Square Food Demonstration

#### ACCOUNTS.

Income.	£ s. d.	Expenditure	£ s. d.
Delegates' Fees to		Printing	21 0 0
Conference	1 18 0	Advertisements	1 13 0
Donations	11 3 10	Bands	16 10 0
Given in Trafal-		Postage	2 5 0
gar Square	9 14 10	Bill Poster	0 13 0
Deficit	19 11 10	Calico for Ban-	
		ners	0 7 6
	£42 8 6		£42 8 6

Donations are appealed for to cover the deficit of £19 11s. 10d. in order that we may go on with the propaganda!

### ANTIQUES

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

### FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

A MEETING for TEACHERS and all interested in EDUCATION  
will be held on Saturday, 23rd February, 1918, at 3 p.m., at the  
Hall of the King's Weigh House Church, Duke Street, W.  
(Entrance to the Hall in Thomas Street, near Bond Street Tube Station.)  
Address by C. A. PEASE on "MILITARISM IN EDUCATION"

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