

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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Price Twopence.

NORTH RUSSIA: The Truth About The Expedition.

BY AN AMERICAN LATELY RETURNED FROM RUSSIA.

PART I.

Why was there an expedition to North Russia, anyway? To prevent the Germans going through Finland and using Murmansk and Petcheng as submarine bases: that is the usual answer! And that is a clinching answer, usually! No need for justification! And if you mention the analogy of Germany's invasion of Belgium. Oh, well, the case is entirely different. Besides did not the Soviet of the Murmansk district invite the Allies to land? That foolish Soviet was immediately outlawed by the "outlawish" Moscow Soviet, and in a short time was shown the door by their whilom guests.

At Archangel the invitation was obtained after we had taken the place and nominated those who should invite us. The Provisional Government was kidnapped by members of some Russian militia and taken to an island in the White Sea. This act delighted certain elements of the Allied High Command, and in many circles, is believed to have been wholly their own plot. The American Ambassador forced the return of this Government, but the workmen of Archangel went on a strike as a protest. American soldiers put down the strike and subsequent strikes—the street-car men were always striking, I am informed—and ran the tram lines themselves.

Now that there is no German menace, what is the reason for remaining on in the country six months? Payment of Russia's war debts to England and France, is the usual answer. Very few soldiers know that the Bolsheviks have agreed to pay the war-debts. The Bolshevik answer to the Prinkipo invitation was never published in English in the Murmansk district. Matters damaging to the Bolsheviks in Anglo-Saxon eyes are rushed into print at once. That Pandora tale of the nationalisation of women, which has flown everywhere on mischievous wings, was printed and distributed among all the men? Of course, all the men read it! Other propaganda stuff was put before them. In among magazines sent out to the troops just about election time were hundreds of leaflets of the National Democratic Party, lauding the Government.

The average Tommy isn't interested in the subject of Bolshevism. He doesn't feel the ambition to fight in a war against Russia. The Bolshevik is pretty bad, no doubt, and it would be a right good thing to make him pay what he owes England (?) but then Tommy is tired of all fighting anywhere, and wants to go home.

The officers do more thinking about the object of the expedition. I heard one officer say, being irritated upon receiving news that his battalion should march on to Archangel: "Our feeling here is nothing but a capitalists' scheme to get a hand on the mines of Russia." One officer high in command spoke to me with surprising frankness: "Of course, I know very well why we are here. I, as an English officer, am here in the interest of England, in the interest of England's prosperity. I am a regular army man; we cannot have an army without money, and we as a nation cannot have money without an army." "But," I asked, "are the Italians and the French here also in the financial interest of their countries?"

"Certainly," he responded. "And how about the Americans?" I questioned: "Don't you believe in the sincerity of Wilson with his fourteen points?" "Very likely he is sincere," said the officer; "perhaps our Lloyd George is sincere also, but our politicians are only the tools of our more clever business men and real rulers." Many officers think that way, and among them, oddly enough, are Canadians, but other officers think more along the lines on which our phrase-makers talk.

I doubt if the soldiers spend much time in argument about why and where they fight. They work hard all day and in the evening during such free time as they have, are naturally enough looking for amusement. They are wondering how soon they can go home; they want demobilisation, not leave. The soldiers are not suffering greatly for want of physical comforts. They get enough to eat, at least now, though they tell me that during the summer they were working hard on less than half rations. They are warmly clothed for the most part, although some have no overcoats, and all the winter equipment did not arrive till about Christmas time.

There has been a great deal of "lifting" of supplies from quays, trains, and dumps. The Russians are blamed for this, but nearly all the soldiers know that it is our own people who are responsible. Some soldiers said they stole dainties which they knew would all go to the officers, otherwise, but of which they believed they were intended to have a share. The railroad in the Murmansk district is run by the former Russian railroad men under direction of head officials appointed by the "Allied-made" Government, through which we used to send orders relating to the Russians. Some of these railroad men will detach a car of army supplies, if possible, particularly if it be a carload of rum. Rum can be sold for a high price to the natives; they will barter the most valuable skins, or pay any number of roubles, for a bottle of rum mixed liberally with water.

Officers who promulgate the order against selling rum to Russians have been known to do a brisk business themselves, selling whisky obtained by their own messes to Russians. This bartering for large profits is called "skolkoing" after the Russian word, *skolko*, meaning "how much." The High Command has issued minatory orders about this practice, but it seems to continue, driven into subterranean channels. There have been altogether too much rum and liquors brought into the place; wet goods have been shipped when there was not space on the ships for the regular canteen comfort supplies, and when there was no writing paper to be had for love or money. Certain non-commissioned officers' messes had so much booze that the members could keep tight for days on end.

(To be concluded in next week's issue.)

TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

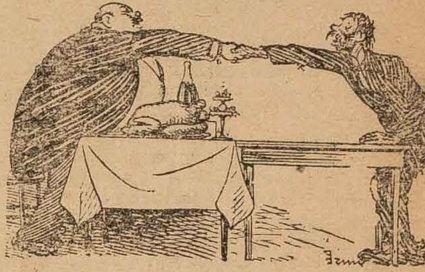
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Devon's Road, Bow, E.

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Chair: MISS S. PANKHURST.



INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

(From the "Avanti," Italian Socialist Paper).

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By An Indian.

O, Princes and Potentates, Mighty Diplomats!
Whose responsible charge is all mankind,
Who zealously strive to put an end to strife,
And make God's earth a harbour of Peace,
When you talk of a League of Nations
For the guarantee of Right and Justice,
I admit your soul is stirred with humanity,
I admit your efforts are all sincere,
But is your vision marred by racial bias
Or the unworthy consciousness of superior culture?
Since I fail to see any mention in your plan
Of the down-trodden, struggling races of the East,
Those unfortunate victims of white exploits,
Who lost liberty, wealth, and all
To pamper the greed and proud ambition
Of Imperialists. Have you forgotten they exist?
Would you close the doors of Freedom against them?
Would you keep them grovelling in thralldom and misery,
And label them out for ever "Un-free"?
Or would you, in justification of your aims,
With even-handed justice and magnanimity,
Restore to them their natural birthright
Of self-determination? Would you give up
The peaceful penetration of commerce,
Or ideas of conquest by colonisation?
Would you acknowledge their equality,
Or would you maintain that hated colour bar?
Would you liberate Egypt, would you liberate India?
Would you unshackle the unfortunate Persia?
Would you uplift the teeming millions of Africa?
Human they are all, one God's creatures.
Would you give them a place on this God's earth?
Would you, like genuine brethren and carivers of mankind,
Help uplift them to culture and progress,
Or would it harrow your soul to let go
Those vast rich fields of exploitations?
This is "an acid test of your sincerity."
By your performance alone and not by your words
Shall you be judged for ever, not only to-day,
But on the Great To-morrow, before
Him whose children we are all and
Who loves them equally. Let it not
Be said, then, that the superior races
Of whites combined to plunder and exploit
The backward blacks of half the world
In the name of goodwill and peace on earth!

M. O. ABBASI.

DO NOT MISS
OUR MAY DAY
NUMBER.

RUSSIA AND THE SOCIALISATION OF WOMEN.

Neither the Anarchists nor the Socialists have attempted it! A Counter-Revolution Forgery.

The *New Europe* began in this country a story that the Soviet Government had nationalised women. The *New Europe* has now withdrawn the allegation and has admitted it to be untrue.

The Soviet marriage law differs from the law of this country only in the provisions that the married couple may decide whether to take the wife's or the husband's name and that children born out of wedlock have the same claim on both parents as children born in wedlock. This is a reform which the women's movement in all countries has long demanded.

After many days, during which the libel was extensively circulated by the reactionaries, *The New Europe* withdrew it and admitted that there is no truth in any such allegations.

In the meantime a new libel had been started and widely circulated in the press. This time the Anarchists of Saratoff were said to have issued a decree, according to which all women were "exempted from private ownership" and "proclaimed to be the property of the whole nation," the distribution and management of the women being given over to the Anarchist Club of Saratoff. The absurdity of the libel ought to have placed it out of court altogether, but it was widely welcomed as an evidence of Bolshevik wickedness! Dr. Rickman, a member of the Society of Friends, newly returned from Russia, explained that he had

seen such a proclamation posted on a hoarding in Samara and that the Soviet authorities there had ridiculed it as a parody put up by irresponsible persons. They had said it could do no harm since people had common sense enough to know what could be nationalised and what could not. Dr. Rickman had thought that the Anarchists, who believe in no law, had put up the poster to make fun of the Soviets which were issuing so many decrees.

We always thought it more likely that the poster was put up by counter-revolutionaries, and now comes proof that our surmise was correct. In the American *New Republic* of March 15th Mr. Oliver M. Saylor having seen the proclamation in Samara, and seeing that it purported to come from the Anarchists' Club of Saratoff, 200 miles away, visited the Anarchists' Club and found them issuing a reply:—

"The enemy is powerless. The enemy is falling lower and lower. And in his fall he is blaspheming. And in his fall he is slandering. And he makes use of the most provocative means. And the enemy is spreading the vicious slander that freedom goes so far as to do violence to women. In our name they spread their dirty hand 'the Decree concerning the Socialisation of Women.'"

Mr. Saylor was six months in Russia and could find no other evidence of the nationalisation of women. So another lie is nailed to the counter; but the brains of counter-revolutionaries are exceedingly fertile.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

THE boys are off again, Henry, bless 'em. It is Russia this time, and—what did you say, Henry? That you were sick and tired of Russia? I trow not.

I know you will find *THE DREADNOUGHT* from end to end full of Russia and things Russian. You will find all the other papers full of it. You even shut your eyes, draw in your breath, and brace yourself for a shock when you open the "only Labour daily." But the shock never comes. There the Bolsheviks are again, as large as life and a bit larger.

You piously buy a comic paper and retire to a draughty but uncrowded seat in the Park. But the blessed Bolshevik looks out again and the bats in his beard are seventeen. I am sorry for you, Henry, because I hear they have even named a racehorse that way and you cannot get away from the barber-cheater even in Captain Karno's naps. There is only one thing to do, short of grasping a machine gun in one hand and a tank in the other and shipping to Russia to slay Bolsheviks at sight. What that thing is you will find somewhere in this article unless you are (a) blind, (b) dead, or (c) asleep.

Personally—and confidentially—I am fed up with Russia. But I do not mean the kind of fed-uppishness you mean. When somebody tells me that the Bolsheviks have invented a new dance which consists of jumping on your head when the Jazz-band jazzes, I almost jump on my own head for joy. And when it is added that these dances are compulsory on pain of being boiled in oil, my heart races round like Bonar Law on his way to Paris. My face has a smile that goes under my left ear and back again. "Aha, Messieurs the Bolsheviks are found out at last," I smirk. "Away to the Tower with them!"

But next morning, instead of reading a thrilling column headed "Shot at Dawn!" there is not the ghost of a whisper about it. The Bolshevik jazz dance has folded its beard like the Arabs and gone to the barbers for a revival. And in a week's time I find out, in an obscure corner of my *Daily Tellalie* that the printer had got mixed with a rector's views on the Cocaine Scandal in the West End—which is obviously not in Russia.

I am beginning to despair of ever reading a good straight-from-the-back-of-the-front story that won't go flat when you put it through the mangle. What is the use of printing in one part of a paper that Lenin is gorging himself with fruit at the rate of £60,000 a month when on the next page I am told that "Lenin is austere and ascetic to the verge of fanaticism"? All the time we are telling stories of the bold, bad Bolshevik he is going serenely along on his way. He has, he says, put his hand to the plough and a rolling rumour gathers only Dubbs, as Shakespearsky has it. He looks not to the right, neither to the left but just wades into the job he has in hand. The Bolsheviks alone of any working class in Europe are learning to mind their own business. They believe that if you want a thing done, the tried and trusted way is *do it yourself*.

It is no use hoping against hope that a miracle will happen and that a patriotic Villain will send Lenin into the outer darkness and get fined tenpence for it. The day of miracles passed away when my grand-aunt ceased to suck eggs.

It is so distressing to have to open one's morning paper and find Russia popping up again. Two years ago she was starving, but that kind of diet seems to agree with her. We sent 20,000 troops to North Russia with a nice easy job. They had only to protect the Murman Railway from the Germans (who were a hundred miles from it), swipe the Bolsheviks out of Archangel, capture Petrograd, and come back with Lenin and Trotsky tied together with their beards. And now we have to send more troops to "relieve" them.

But nobody seems to have thought that if you can send troops to the Murman Coast and Archangel, you can withdraw troops from there. Instead of using the ships to take more Mons heroes out there, why not send the same ships to fetch back the Archangel boys?

The same profiteers who plundered us in the war are out for more plunder. Having sent all the best men to the fronts in Flanders, Mesopotamia, and Salonica, they proceeded to rob their wives and children with high prices. And now they want the same men—or such of them as are alive and not grinding barrel organs for a living—to go to Russia and fight for the shares and loans which were advanced

THE NEW ALIENS BILL.

Britain was once regarded as the land of political freedom; political refugees from all parts of the world were welcome here. Now Britain seems to be qualifying for the position of the least hospitable and to the foreigner the most hostile of all countries. The new Aliens Bill proposes to extend for a further two years the operations of the Aliens Restrictions Act, under which foreigners Allied or otherwise must be registered with the police, must get police permission to travel more than five miles and so on. The new Bill gives the authorities power to determine the nationality of aliens in doubtful cases—you may call yourself a Russian or a Czech, but the authorities can decide that you are a German or an Austrian if they please. The authorities may also disregard any subsequent change of nationality in the case of any person against whom a deportation or expulsion order has been made. For instance, a German or Russian woman, who may have lived since childhood in this country, may be engaged to be married to an Englishman. The authorities may decide to deport her on account of her nationality. She may marry the Englishman and become a British subject, but the deportation order will still be carried out.

Persons interned during the war as alien enemies may be kept in internment for six months after the war is over.

The Government may prevent any dealings with or transfer of the property of persons whose countries were at war with this country during 1918.

Aliens may be punished by ten years penal servitude or three months on summary conviction for inciting to sedition or defection.

If any alien promotes or attempts to promote industrial unrest in any industry in which he is not bona fide engaged in the United Kingdom, he shall be liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months.

This is a very coercive provision; it strikes at the root of working-class liberty of propaganda.

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to the Tsar so that he could crush the Russian Revolution of 1905.

These profiteers—and their servants the parliamentary place-men and office-seekers—are blind to obvious facts. They lent money for a revolution to be crushed, twelve years ago. It was crushed. Tsardom and the Black Hundreds were triumphant. And now this revolution that was "crushed" is everywhere triumphant in Russia. And not in Russia alone. In Hungary, in Bavaria, in Brunswick, the tide is rolling. All the other countries are standing on the quicksands. Ireland, Egypt, India, South Africa—all are rocking. The Empires are on their last legs.

And above all towers the spectacle of Russia, where the workers are breaking down the dams and dykes and opening the flood-gates. From day to day Russia looms large in the pages of our morning papers, and still will loom. The reason is obvious.

Russia is merely minding her own business, instead of minding ours, we are "intervening." The British Government is supposed to look after the affairs of the nation. The British Government does not do so. If the British Government cannot do so, perhaps the working class will.

A chapter from 'The Programme of the Communists (Bolsheviks)' by N. Bukharin, Commissary of the Russian Soviet Government.

Some of those who call themselves Anarchists, and believe that there should be no government, say that the Bolsheviks, or Communists, are on the wrong track; that they wish to wield power; and that all power over others, every form of State, must mean oppression and violence. This conception of Communism is erroneous. In the Communist order of society there are neither employers nor employed; there are no capitalists, and the State does not exist.

The difference between the Anarchist and Communist order of society, does not consist, however, in the fact that the one recognises the State and the other does not, for, as a matter of fact, the State does not exist in either. The real difference between the two conceptions is as follows:

Anarchists believe that the people can only achieve complete freedom and the full joy of life by dividing production into small working communes. A group of perhaps ten people, by free agreement, form together a working association. These ten people set to work at their own risk. Another such association has been formed in another locality; a third association in a third locality, and so on. These associations negotiate with each other concerning their mutual requirements, gradually coming to an understanding, and making "free agreements."

Production is carried on by these small communes. Each individual has perfect freedom to leave the commune, and any commune may withdraw from the free association of Communes. Are the Anarchists right? Any worker who is familiar with present-day methods of production, which necessitate factories and machinery, must recognise that they are wrong. I shall proceed to explain wherein their mistake lies.

The aim of the future social order is to protect the people from two sources of evil. It is necessary to prevent the oppression of one human being by another, exploitation, and the refusal of one man to get off the back of another. This can be done by shaking off the yoke of capitalism, by depriving the capitalists of their wealth. But there is yet another task to fulfil: the task of freeing man from the yoke of nature, by making it subservient to him, and securing production by the best and most perfect means. Until this has been achieved will it not be possible for people to devote only the lesser part of their time to producing food, boots, clothes, houses, and so on, and to have plenty of time for intellectual and spiritual development, for science, art, and all that makes life beautiful.

Our forefathers, who lived in herds, half ape-like, certainly enjoyed equality amongst themselves; but their existence was that of brutes, because it was not they who had conquered nature, but nature which held them in subjection.

In contrast with that primitive state, the capitalist system has taught humanity the mastery of nature; but the workers still live like beasts of burden, because the capitalists are on their backs; because there is economic inequality.

What, then, can we deduce from this? That economic equality and large-scale production must go together. We must not be satisfied with merely eliminating the capitalist. Production, as we have seen, must also be put on the broadest possible basis. Small and inefficient undertakings must go. Energy must be concentrated in the largest factories and works, the largest landed estates. This concentration must not take place in such a way that Dick and Harry become ignorant of each other's doings; a society under which that were the rule would be worthless. We need a uniform plan of organisation and activity, and the more localities are included in this common plan the better. The whole world must finally become one huge community of workers, in which the

ANARCHY OR COMMUNISM.

entire human race shall work together on a well-conceived and elaborated plan, without masters or capitalists, with the best machinery and on the largest possible scale. In order that production may be stimulated and increased, the large undertakings inherited from capitalism must not be split up. On the contrary, the undertakings must be enlarged still further. The wider and vaster the common plan, the broader the basis on which production is organised, the easier will it be to direct and supervise it from a common statistical centre. In other words, the more production is centralised the better will be the result. The less work falls to the lot of the individual, the freer will each one be, and the more facilities for mental development will human society possess.

This future order of society is in direct contradiction to that for which the Anarchists are striving. Instead of enlarging centralising, and co-ordinating the means of production, the Anarchist order would divide them; and would consequently lessen man's mastery over nature. The Anarchist order knows no common plan, no general organisation. Under its constitution it would be impossible to make proper use of big machinery, to co-ordinate the railways system, to carry out large schemes of drainage and irrigation. A single example will prove convincing. There is much talk at present of introducing electric in lieu of steam motors, and of using the energy of the waterfalls for the production of electric power. In order rightly to apportion the electric power thus obtained, one must naturally calculate, weigh, and measure, most carefully and minutely, how much power is to be used, and in what direction; in order that the greatest profit may be derived from it, and that it may be put to the best use. All this is only possible to do when production is carried on on a large scale; when it is concentrated in one or two centres of management, research, and calculation; it would be quite impossible under an Anarchist system of small, scattered, and but loosely co-ordinated communes.

It is plain that an Anarchist order of society would make impossible the proper organisation of production, and would result in a long working day and a high degree of human dependence upon nature. The Anarchist social order would be a brake retarding the progress of humanity. For this reason Communists oppose the Anarchist doctrine.

Now it is obvious why the doctrine of Anarchy leads to divisions instead of to an ordered communistic society. The small commune of the Anarchists is not a large working community, but a tiny group, which may consist of but two persons. There was in Petersburg at one time a group: "The Association of Five Oppressed." According to Anarchist teaching "an association of two oppressed" is admissible. Just imagine what would happen if each group of five people or each couple, were to requisition, confiscate, and act wilfully off its own bat. Russia has, roughly speaking, a working population of about 100 millions. If this population should resolve itself into "associations of five oppressed," we should have in Russia twenty million such communes. One can imagine what a Tower of Babel it would be if all these twenty millions should begin to act independently! Heaven preserve us from the chaos and anarchy which would result from such a social order.

Moreover, it is evident that if such groups had independently appropriated the property of the rich, their action would have led only to division. Division would lead back again to the capitalist rule, to oppression, and to the domination of the classes over the masses.

Bukharin's pamphlet, from which we have taken the above article, is most valuable, because it explains clearly and simply the theoretical basis and practical working methods of the Communist or Bolshevik party which has taken the lead in establishing the Russian Soviets, and which is to-day the predominant party in the Soviets. Nevertheless, the Communist, like every living force, is a thing of growth and development: its exponents are many and not one of them is able

to define all its possibilities. This should be remembered by those who may consider Communism, as explained by Bukharin, too circumscribed and rigid.

It seems to us that the difference between Communists and Anarchists, here described by Bukharin, is not so irreconcilable as he makes it appear. Extreme Anarchists may find themselves in opposition to the Soviet ideal itself, but many Anarchists find themselves able to accept a social organism on Soviet lines provided its basis is voluntary. When the Counter-Revolution has been completely vanquished, when the foreign intervention has ceased, when capitalism is entirely abolished, the present extreme need for discipline amongst the Soviet forces will have passed. Then we think, there would be nothing to conflict with the essentials of the Soviet ideal in the proposal that the Soviets should group themselves on a voluntary basis. That Salford should be free, if it chose, to set up a distinct Soviet apart from the Soviet of Manchester. No law other than that of necessity and mutual advantage, would, we think, be required to induce both Salford and Manchester to co-operate in the Lancashire Soviet for certain purposes, and to send delegates to the All-British Congress of Soviets for other objects. Bukharin says that there might be excessive subdivision, that a nation might be broken up into a babel of communes of five or even two persons. But common sense will still obtain when capitalism is no more!

At the moment when private food hoarders and property owners are fighting a desperate fight with Socialism, there might be many aggressively individualistic groups. Under such circumstances, and especially during famine, individual households are found ready to fight for their own interests against the whole world. But under normal conditions we think, there would not be inconveniently many small groups. Where they existed they would not combine to deal with railways or irrigation, but with handicrafts or other works in which concentration of labour is not essential. It may be said that no small group has the right to divert itself of responsibility for the general upkeep of society, but, presumably, the group that does so will have to be entirely self-supporting, or to produce something which the rest of the community will consider acceptable in exchange for the amenities provided by the general social organism. The Soviet organisation, which for the first time gives every individual power to take an equal part in social organisation and development, opens the way to all sorts of expansion and to divers forms of grouping hitherto impossible. Bukharin lays stress on the concentration of industry in order to increase rapid production and thus free mankind from tedious labour. This must not be taken literally to mean that the industry of the future can only be carried on in immense factories where masses of workers are engaged. Modern science will provide the means whereby power and labour-saving machinery can be as readily supplied to the scattered workshops as to the huge factory.

Taken from its context, this particular article produces the impression that Bukharin regards production as an irksome, necessary task to be reduced to the smallest possible place in human life, and that he believes that all mankind desire to engage in abstract intellectual studies, literature, or the fine arts. He does not develop the fact that under a right organisation of society the production of food, clothes, houses, and so on, may be rendered interesting and pleasant, and that large sections of people might actually find greater satisfaction in such production than in any other pursuit.

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YOU ARE CALLED TO THE WAR.

Wake up! wake up! oh, sleepy British people! the new war is in full blast, and you are called to fight in it; you cannot escape; you must take part!

Out of the old inter-capitalist war between the Allies and the Central Empires, the war, the actual crude, cruel fighting between the workers and the capitalists has emerged.

Soldiers who enlisted, or were conscribed, for the old war have been quietly kept on to fight in the new war which began without any formal declaration. They have not been asked: "Do you approve this war; do you understand it?" They have merely been detained and will now fight against their comrades.

Officially the British Government is not at war with Socialism in Europe, though in actual fact British and other Allied soldiers have been fighting it for a long time, and British money and munitions are keeping the soldiers of other governments in the field against it.

There has been no official declaration of war, but the House of Commons, on April 9th, expressed its opinion in support of the war on Socialism in general, and on Russian Socialism in particular. This expression of opinion the Home Secretary claims to have been unanimous, and certainly when he challenged Members to express a contrary opinion, no voice of dissent was audible enough to reach the columns of Hansard or the press. No Member of Parliament has written to the newspapers to make his protest.

Some Socialists tell us that the floor of the House of Commons is a splendid platform for propaganda; but the trouble is that when they get into the House, their courage seems to evaporate like a child's soap bubble. We have heard of Labour Members of Parliament being ready to do and say all sorts of heroic things, to get themselves put out of the House, to arrest the world's attention on some appropriate occasion. That is not much, of course, as compared with running the risk of death in the horrible trenches or with being incarcerated for years in prison; but here was an opportunity, if ever there was one, for Members of Parliament to display all their pluck! Clem Edwards, the notorious anti-Socialist, moved the adjournment of the House, "to draw attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the alleged overtures from the Bolshevik régime in Russia to the Peace Conference in Paris."

In the debate Brigadier-General Page Croft and Lieut.-Col. Guinness suggested that some Members of Parliament supported the Bolsheviks. Did any man cry out: "Yes, we are proud to stand by our fellow workers in their fight for Socialism"? No, on the contrary, the Labour Members broke out into cries of protest against the suggestion that they had any such sympathies. Bottomley rewarded them by an assurance of "the profoundest and most affectionate respect." The Home Secretary hammered in the point, saying the debate had called forth "from every quarter of the House an indignant repudiation that the House contained a single Bolshevik sympathiser." He described the Soviet Government as "a mere gang of bloodthirsty ruffians," and said it would strengthen the hands of the Government to know there is "no quarter" for any Soviet

supporters, "at any rate in the British House of Commons."

Even then there was no protest! Where was the lead to the country, and especially to the lads who may mistakenly enlist in the counter-revolutionary armies, which our "leaders" in Parliament might have given? Of what were the opponents of the resolution afraid? Either they are cravens, or their opposition to the new war is of a very lukewarm character. The real work for the Socialist revolution must be done outside Parliament.

On April 10th, the day after the House of Commons had thus expressed itself, the first contingent of volunteers set sail for Russia. Remember what happened in the old war: first the voluntary system; then compulsion, growing till millions of men were drawn into the net. Kitchener's first call in the late war was for 500,000 men, but the Army Estimate of the other day was for 2,500,000! Conscription remains, and presently we expect to see class after class of men called up. Will they go to the war against their fellow workers who have set up a workers' government?

The child, hearing of other people's misfortunes, says, with a tiny half-regret that his own life will always be tame, and jog-trot, and yet with a very comfortable sense of security: "Things like that do not happen in our family." Death comes and suddenly strikes down his brother; but, after the first stunning shock, which reveals to him life's instability, he assures himself that his misfortune is an isolated event, that nothing like it will ever again trouble him. So he returns to his old belief till his father is killed, the household plunged into ruin, and he himself is thrust out into swiftly-changing and precarious currents. So many people remain always like that: clinging, untaught by life's experiences, to the belief that there is no change; that evolution, having created this our time, will carry humanity no further. They do not believe that great wars will come, or, if wars come, never to their country, never to their households. They do not believe in the possibility of revolutions, and if such things happen, they try to dismiss them as mere temporary upheavals, certain to be crushed by the forces of established order, which never will change, at least never in their country. A revolution in their country is unthinkable; they know it is impossible; the majority of the people are too sluggish, too ignorant, would not even vote as they did at the Parliamentary election, would not even put them on the Board of Guardians or the Town Council.

And yet we in this country are actually in the revolution, although the eyes of most of us are still shut to the fact. We are in the revolution, as we were in the war with Germany. The revolutionary war is not a fight between country and country; it cuts across national boundaries and British people are already fighting on both sides.

The British men who are in the army of the Government are fighting against the Workers' Socialist Revolution; just as are the men who are fighting in the armies of the capitalist Governments of Germany, France, Italy, America, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and any other governments which are joining in the strife. In all these armies the truth that they are fighting Socialism has dawned on some of the soldiers, and many of these have deserted and joined the Red Armies of working-class Socialism.

Many who are not actually in the fighting ranks have nevertheless ranged themselves against the capitalist governments, and on the side of the Soviets. Phillips Price, who is editing a Bolshevik newspaper in Russia, and many other British people, are aiding the Soviets over there. In this country we can also help by working with might and main to establish the British Soviets, by telling the soldiers, sailors, and workers the issues that are at stake in the International Civil War.

That war has now spread far beyond the boundaries of Russia. General Smuts has left Hungary abruptly, finding that Soviet Hungary stood firm for Communism. Shall we presently

see the armies of capitalism marching on Hungary? *The Evening News* reported that the Serbs had refused to obey the order of the Big Four to send their troops to attack Hungary, because the Allies had not yet recognised the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. But the Allies will presently secure a capitalist army from somewhere to carry on the fight. Paderewski is reported to have refused to send Polish troops to fight Communism, unless Dantzig and other territory is conceded to Poland. The Allies will bargain with Paderewski till they have bought his support or substituted a Polish ruler who is more amenable.

Churchill has revealed the fact that Germany is ordered, as one of the peace conditions, to fight Communism, and that the Germans may buy their way into the League of Nations by doing this efficiently. Indeed, the entire policy of the Paris Conference is dominated by the policy its members are pursuing in the war between the capitalists and the workers. Both false and foolish are the stories, so industriously circulated, that the British and American politicians at the Peace Conference are the pacifying influences and that they are working against a peace of annexation and oppression; whilst the French and Italian politicians are the greedy Jingoes, who, by demanding all sorts of advantages for themselves, are preventing the peace. The plain fact is that British and American capitalists have got what they set out to gain by the war with the Central Empires and the French and Italians have not.

The Secret Treaties represent the basis upon which the Allies entered the war; the prizes which induced them to support each other these set forth.

British capitalists have got all, and more than all, the Treaties promised to them. They have secured control of the German Colonies, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, all that was promised them in the East. They have seized Spitzbergen, with its rich stores of coal and iron, which was not mentioned in the Treaties; they have crushed their trade rival, Germany, and their Government is apparently to retain for the present the dominion of the seas.

The secret arrangements which brought America into the war were not disclosed when the Bolsheviks seized the Czar's archives, because they were not made until after that date. Therefore we can only surmise what they were from the passing of events and the disclosures of politicians. American capitalists have gained by the war substantial advantages in China. They have done some very remunerative trading with the Allies, and have lent them much money on exceedingly profitable terms. More important still, as will presently be seen, American capitalists have induced British capitalists not to make a fuss when they presently annexe Mexico and its wonderful oilfields, which the Mexican Government is endeavouring to re-nationalise. But America is not yet satisfied. President Wilson has ordered his ship. It is said that he is dissatisfied with the slow progress made at the Paris Conference. Perhaps he is; but it is also said that American capitalists desired to sell to France and Italy motor tractors and other goods and that France and Italy refused the offer. Since then, it is said the Americans have obstructed the Peace Conference. Time will show how much there is in the rumour. It will also throw light on the rumour that America is bringing pressure to bear on the Allies by threatening to sell the rejected goods to Soviet Russia—a step which would greatly assist her—instead of waiting to trade with Russia till the Soviets are defeated and capitalism re-established. Was not Bottomley referring to this rumour in the House of Commons on April 9th, when he spoke of "some wild, airy, idealistic element, which, under the guise of great ideals and altruism, is keeping a keen eye all the time upon material benefit which will come to those which are farthest away from Europe"?

British capitalists have gained all that the Secret Treaties promised, but French and Italian capitalists have not. French capitalism

Continued on page 1299.

SOCIALISTS & THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AS SUCH. By J. T. Murphy.

Easter week will see quite a number of Socialist bodies holding National Conferences. Each party has under review a number of important proposals, which reveals that whatever views the various executives may have, considerable numbers of the rank and file are alive to the demands of the hour. It may appear strange and regrettable, that at so late a date as this, there should be such divergence of opinion as to what is required, in what I have no hesitation in describing as a revolutionary epoch.

England has not yet felt to the full the effect of continental developments. The insularity of our position has produced an insular outlook, and also prevented us from many of the experiences which have had a tremendous effect on the movements of the peoples of the Continent.

We have been standing for some time now in comfortable isolation viewing the spread of Bolshevism with mingled feelings. Sometimes glad that the Russians were moving and yet fearful that we may have to move. It would be sad indeed if a comfortable social evening or a pleasant read in a library had to be interrupted by such a thing as a social revolution.

The Socialist movement seems to have become affected by this kind of funk, and anxious at all costs so far as principles are concerned, to be pacifically inclined. Yes! the Social Revolution! But heaven grant it may not be in our time. It would be too uncomfortable a transition. Someone might get hurt.

No one wants a row for the sake of a row. No one wants to get hurt for the fun of getting

hurt. But when a movement becomes permeated by pacific funk it is really time the challenge was given for people to demonstrate their belief in International Socialism by the practical things they do to establish it and the attitude they adopt towards those who are waging the fight on the Continent.

When such as Lansbury, McDonald, Thomas, and others occupy their time in decrying Bolshevism, etc., joining in the capitalist chorus for industrial harmony and so on, we can only describe them as traitors to the international working-class movement.

The apologetic attitude on behalf of those who are waging the conflict amidst the howls and execrations of profit mongers, is a sheer waste of time and cowardly. Our business is to watch the main currents of affairs and prepare the way here for the coming of revolutionary situations. To talk of revolutionary methods as the slow process of amelioration by legislation towards revolutionary ends, is not only a mis-use of the word revolutionary, but a refusal to learn from the revolutions which have occurred on the Continent.

However slowly we should like things to develop, history does not heed "The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are going to rise and run, they rise in their majesty and overwhelming might, and those who stand in their way are overwhelmed."

There is excuse for those who do not know this. But Socialists are supposed to know it. Knowing it, they must be equal to these movements, anticipate them, harness them, and direct them towards

our objective. Such is the prime responsibility of Socialists to-day, and those who attend the Socialist Conferences this Easter, and do not force the pace towards the embodiment of communist organisation within their constitutions and afterwards apply it, are failing to respond to the call of the international proletariat.

I say this advisedly and deliberately, because this form of organisation has now been proved historically to be the only form of organisation which can carry through and maintain and develop a social revolution.

Russia led the way towards Socialism and, as a result, concentrated hatred and power has been directed against her. We knew that it would be so. We proclaimed that such would happen. Others proclaimed it. Jaurès declared in 1897, (see the translation by B. & C. Paul, *Socialist*, April 10th, 1919),

"It is unquestionable that a European counter-revolution will be organised against any successful Socialist movement. Such is the terrible prospect which the workers will have to face, and for which they must be prepared.... The first nation to realise Socialism, will instantly find that all the terrified powers of reaction are ranged against it. It will be lost unless it is ready to draw the sword, to answer shells with shells, so that time may be secured, in which the working classes of other lands can organise and rise, in their turns."

For eighteen months the Bolsheviks have struggled, answered shell for shell, and what are we doing? The Easter conferences will show what proportion is Schiedemann's, and what proportion is International Socialist, indeed.

FRENCH SOCIALIST MINORITY ON BOLSHEVISM.

RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY FROSSARD, PAUL FAURE, VERFEUIL, AND LORiot AT THE BERNE CONFERENCE.

Why did the British delegates from the Labour Party and the I.L.P. oppose this resolution?

"The International Socialist Conference refuses to hold a debate which tends to condemn the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of democracy; just as it would refuse, if the proposition were put forward, to condemn democracy in the name of the dictatorship."

"The Conference has no mandate, and is even disqualified (owing to the absence of a certain number of national sections) for discussing the régime established in Russia by the Soviet Government. The Conference considers that such a debate could not arrive at theoretical and practical conclusions of any value, so long as the blockade and the censorship in certain countries prevent the reunion of those able to give information on the régime of the Soviets, and to help us in establishing an authoritative opinion."

"Above all, the Conference considers the very fact of criticising a régime which the capitalist classes of all countries pursue with an implacable hatred would help the designs of the governments, which, by the economic blockade and military intervention, dream of annihilating, in the name of what they call Bolshevism, an effort for liberty attempted by the Russian workers and peasants."

"Nevertheless, admitting that the intervention and blockade menace the very existence of the Russian Revolution and the even course of its development, and also contending that the international proletariat has the right to be impartially informed on the Socialist experience which is being gained in the Soviet Republic."

"The Conference declares that it is the duty of the Socialist Parties to fight with all their energy to force the governments to retire from Russia and to liberate the troops which are still fighting there, as well as to raise the blockade, which strangles the Russian people economically. The Conference decides that a Socialist and International Workers' Commission shall be charged to go and procure on the spot all the facts, with the least possible delay, which alone can enable the International to bring to bear an enlightened and definite judgment on the action and the methods inaugurated by the Russian Revolution and by the German and Austrian Revolutions."

CAUGHT!

There is a grim humour in the news given by *The Times* Omsk correspondent that the economic relief promised by the British Government to the Kolchak's counter-revolutionary Omsk Government has not materialised because private traders in Russia say they can supply all the goods that the Russian railways are capable of carrying! So the capitalist reaction is handicapped by its own members!

THE KING AND HOUSING.

The King is worried concerning housing. He and his family, he says, have been "trying to learn at close quarters" something about it. They have been round about Bethnal Green and some other slum districts. The King recalled the fact that twenty years before his predecessor opened some model dwellings and said that the difficulties surmounting the housing problem "must be surmounted." And yet, in spite of that royal decree, the housing difficulties are "unsurmounted." Was the King complaining at this neglect of political slackers to obey which has perhaps accelerated the growth of Bolshevism?

Dr. Addison may have thought so, for in replying he observed that "their Majesties have often witnessed the wretched conditions under which some of the poorer people live."

We are not surprised that the King should neglect looking around the capital of his Empire, "this is a sordid sort of place to own and these subjects of mine are decidedly ill-kept." But there will be no great change until the Soviets are established and, under the Soviet system, there is no place for kings. The King probably thinks the landlords and capitalists are greedy folk to grab so much for themselves and leave so little for the workers; but he and his family and retinue consume very great wealth and produce extraordinarily little. If every one lived as they do we should end by starving!

"Canvassing the women on last election day in three Hoxton streets, chosen at random, he formed the opinion that the tenement houses in those streets were a disgrace to the civilisation of this country. No breeder would tolerate such places for raising his stock.... eight million of the population are reported as living in one or three-roomed tenements."—Dr. Leonard Hill, Director of the Department of Applied Physiology of the Medical Research Committee, at the Royal Society of Arts.

AN AWFUL CASE.

The Secretary of the Sailors', Soldiers' and Airmen's Union writes:—"According to King's Regulations, if an order to fire was given, Private Savage being an escaping prisoner, the action, according to the Regulations, was justified. But previous to that the Regulations had been broken. They say that 'No prisoner shall appear in public in handcuffs or chains.' This man, with others, was being marched through London in chains and cuffs. My own opinion is that this is an awful case, and the whole of Labour should move. You will see in Clause 4 of our Charter we demand a revision of the various Acts and Regulations. Under the present state of affairs the powers that be consider us a lot of cattle; we can do nothing except to bring public opinion to bear, and demand that this thing shall cease."

MISS SCOTT TROY DEPORTED.

Lillian Scott Troy became known to us because on several occasions, seeing the stories of poor people in distress recorded in our columns, she sent along a few pounds to help the sufferers. She was an American subject and was running a cinema theatre in the country, which was always granted free on Sundays to Labour and Socialist meetings. But she has committed a crime: a fellow American, whom she had known from childhood, was in trouble and she stretched out to him a helping hand. He was an American subject of German extraction and had a German title, Baron Von Horst. He was interned because he was of German extraction, and he had been "associated with revolts against authority in this country before the war"—he had helped to feed the strikers' children in the dock strike; he had bailed out militant suffragettes. Von Horst was interned on the Isle of Man; he was confined in a turret. He lost the use of his limbs and had to be carried up and down from his turret prison on the back of a fellow prisoner. His business and a patent connected with it were taken from him. He brought an unsuccessful action to recover them. Lillian Scott Troy was his messenger, agent, and adviser. The case is over. He has been taken back to the internment camp. She is deported. She has written to us:—

"On Board the Cunard R.M.S. *Carmenia*. A line to say I am en route for America, having been deported! Practically no notice, two Scotland Yard men calling yesterday and took me to 'the Yard.' Then, accompanied by a matron and one detective, taken to Liverpool, travelling all night. My theatre left in care of my chief woman attendant! How she will manage I cannot even try to guess—but I know she will do her best...."

SOLIDARITY AMONGST THE SHIPOWNERS

We have before us an important document issued by the Shipping Employers' Federation on reconstruction. This document must show the workers how necessary it is that they should act solidly together as a class. Says the Shipowners' Circular:—

"The first essential, therefore, is that shipowners should be united, both in their policy and in the choice of the means adopted to give practical effect to whatever policy may be decided upon. . . . Want of unity in the present crisis will inevitably be disastrous."

The Circular gives a summary of the Whitley Report and states that "the Shipping Federation has already in existence thoroughly representative District Committees at every centre of the shipping trade, which are precisely the machinery contemplated for the formation of 'District Councils,' as suggested in the Whitley Report. Only the Liverpool Liners remain outside, but from the tonnage standpoint these constitute but a small proportion of the tonnage operated from the United Kingdom."

The Circular explains that in the autumn of 1917 the Ministry of Shipping approached the shipowners with the object of setting up a National Maritime Board. The Ministry wished to secure support for the Board from all sections of the shipowners and a meeting of the National Shipowners' Federation and Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association was held to discuss the question. It was then stated by Sir Alfred Booth on behalf of the Liverpool Association, that his association would not nominate members to sit upon the proposed National Board, and that it was wholly opposed to the Ministry's proposals to establish a flat-rate of pay for seamen, and to create a uniform and exclusive source of supply. The Employers' National Shipping Federation, however, decided to join the Board. The Circular says:—

"The Board has throughout acted under the chairmanship of a Government official and its independence has been considerably trammelled by the fact that the Secretary of the Board is also an official of the Ministry of Shipping and has not been actually the servant of the Board. The future of the Board is doubtful, but it is obvious that when vessels are released and restored to the independent management of their owners, their position will be one of greater independence and freedom."

The Employers' Federation thus objects to the chairman and secretary of the Board being under Government control, but the workers have much more reason to protest; since the Government is a capitalist one almost entirely representative of the employing classes. How seriously such Boards affect, and may further affect, the workers is shown by the following clauses defining the objects of the Maritime Board:—

A SOLDIER'S OPINION.

A British soldier in France sends us an article from the French clerical jingo organ, *Le Petit Marseillais*, which says that a French Cabinet Minister, M. Clémentel, is working for the formation of a General Confederation of French Employers, not to fight the French Confederation of Labour, but to confer with it. The *Petit Marseillais* says that the idea is good, but that the employers should be able to form their federation without suggestion from the Government; it calls "Employers of every land, unite," and adds: "Employers and employed will in the future have to collaborate to an ever increasing extent, seeing that for lack of a loyal attempt at understanding they often imagine themselves to be enemies one of the other, and come mutually to hate one another."

As our soldier correspondent points out, the methods of the British National Union of Employers and Employed are making their appearance also in France. He adds:—

"When I was home on leave I walked into Woolwich Library and happened to see *Unity*, the organ of that federation, lying on the table. It contained on one page two articles on the possibility of increased understanding between employer and employee: one article was by Sir Vincent Caillard, the other by Arthur Henderson, whom George Lansbury will persist in extolling in *The Herald* as the convener of the Berne 'International'!"

"Marseillais appears to me to be a reactionary hole. The Socialist Party does not appear to be over strong. The Socialists always seem to me

"The establishment and revision and maintenance of a national standard rate (or rates) of wages and approved conditions of employment for seamen."

"The consideration, regulation and supervision of the supply, nationality, engagement and discharge of seamen on British vessels by means of the establishment of a single source of supply jointly controlled by employers and employed."

The regulation and registration of seamen, by a Board of Employers, and Trade Union officials who have lost the sense of class solidarity, with a chairman and secretary appointed by a capitalist Government, provides a very accentuated form of tyranny.

At the ports District Maritime Boards have been set up to deal with questions affecting sailors and firemen. These Boards consist of representatives of the shipowners and of the two Sailors' and Firemen's Unions only. Mr. Havell, lock Wilson's Union may be counted out, as far as putting up any real fight in the interests of its members is concerned. It is a very serious matter for the sailors and firemen that one of the functions of this Board should be "to establish a system for the registration and joint control of the supply of seamen."

One of the most illuminating passages in the Circular runs as follows:—

"It is submitted that it would be a serious error of policy to attempt to form one body to deal with both classes of labour (dockers and seamen) even though the actual transaction of business should be left to independent committees of the same body. In the first place, to do so would be to play into the hands of the most extreme and revolutionary element of labour in the shipping trade. So far as seamen are concerned, all sections are represented by trade organisations. Their constitution, methods, and representative character may be open to criticism, but nevertheless they are essentially trade organisations, not organisations of a purely political nature. The same may be said of dock labour, the two sets of Unions being entirely distinct and independent. This is as it should be, for the questions affecting dock labour are essentially distinct from those affecting seamen which are of a quite peculiar nature."

"There is, however, an organisation known as the Transport Workers' Federation, which is a body of a purely political character, and is not a trade organisation."

Why do the shipowners so strongly object to the Transport Workers' Federation? Obviously because they realise that when all the workers engaged in transport act together in concert, they form a combination difficult to defeat. If the Employers' Federations find it difficult to defeat the Transport Workers' Federation how impossible they would find it to defeat a general strike!

to be jealously secret, but that is doubtless because repression is far more the order of the day in this degenerate, Chauvinistic, sham Republic than in England. Admission to meetings is always by annual subscription card, and I never see public meetings advertised, beyond the meetings of syndicates and syndiqués at the local Bourse du Travail. The trade unions, indeed, appear to be fairly strong. There is a trade union weekly paper *Le Midi Syndicaliste*, which is quite good and very militant. It defends such principles of, say, our paper *Solidarity* to the top of its bent, and sides entirely with the Soviets.

"The Germans still work here on the docks and elsewhere. Poor Fritz, you see, must still slave every day at coaling ships and loading trucks and lorries, whilst those whom the Allies were going to 'punish' so quickly are drinking their wine and stuffing their paunches on the fat of the land in Berlin, having shot down thousands of the workers who are starving, thanks to them and to the ruling classes of the sham Western democracies."

"European news makes awful reading at present. If Saint Woodrow of Washington is the humanitarian that platitudinous Radicals and some Socialists (who also loved to Lansbury) would make him out to be, why does he not raise his voice against the horror that is being perpetrated by Britain and France in Central Europe and in Russia by the holding back of supplies? We have not gone far, otherwise would not the workers down tools at once until this horror should cease? On the day when this possible we shall have indeed made an advance

THE LABOUR CHARTER FARCE.

Barnes in Heaven.

G. N. Barnes the ex-labour man, was chosen by the Paris Peace Conference, to move the adoption of the bogus Labour Charter. Barnes behaves as though he had died some years ago, and now, sitting in heaven with the angels, discourses of the world as it was in his time, believing that it is now totally changed. He said:

"In the old times before the war, labour conditions were largely the outcome of blind chance. Age and want, that ill-matched pair, haunted the mind of the workman in his working life....the labourer still lives upon the world a heavy burden and a great danger. They have produced a man who is class-centred, who regards work as a blessing."

Mr. Barnes is under no such delusion: he is firmly convinced that it is more comfortable in Heaven, with Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Wilson and the other angels, than to be labouring at the bench. But this poor foolish, class-centred workman

"has been deluded into the belief that the less work he does, the more there is left for his mates."

Mr. Barnes deplores this belief, surviving from pre-war conditions; but assures us it can only be eradicated by security of employment. Why does he talk perpetually of pre-war conditions? Why does he ignore the fact that a huge army of unemployed men and women is thronging the Employment Exchanges to-day? Is it because he is in heaven and through the glorious haze of good living, and distinguished company there, cannot clearly see the realities of life to-day, or, is it because having approached the work in a sympathetic spirit and from a humane standpoint he is determined not to cast stones "at any class," which of course means the employers. The verbal censures of Mr. Barnes would not trouble the world's capitalists; to them as to everyone else, deeds and not words are the things that count. Mr. Barnes and his colleagues on the Commission which has drawn up the Charter, have seen to it that their deeds shall be as innocuous as their words. Therefore the provisions of the "Labour Charter" are not to be compulsory, they are to be merely advisory. Not only this, but care is taken to safeguard Governments, which may continually reject the advice of the International Organisation and the points of its Labour Charter, against the charge of "insincerity." It is provided that there shall be special modifications of general recommendations for backward countries. Lord Sinha (what does the recording angel say of men who accept foreign titles from the Government which oppresses their nation?) rose to return humble thanks for this concession which gives to the Indian capitalist the seal of international approval on the greater sweating and exploitation of Indian labour.

Vandervelde, prosperous and essentially bourgeois, gave his support to the provision that each country should be represented by one workers' and employers', and two Government representatives, on the ground that it was by no means certain that the State would always support capital against labour. He, as a Minister, was a proof of that!

Mr. Barnes said: "For the first time in history, State, employers and workers are engaged in a common cause and animated by a common desire to raise the standard of life everywhere."

And meanwhile the spectre of Red Revolution was knocking at the door.

towards solidarity. As it is the average Englishman I meet does not know, and even when he does, I must confess he doesn't seem to trouble much.

"Meanwhile, patient, solid Fritz can go on stavedoring and loading his trucks and the Hindenburgs and Scheidemanns can drink their wine. But 'ria bien qui rira le dernier,' as the French proverb has it. It is spreading!" H. G.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

Parliament As We See It.

April 7th.—Mr. Shortt stated that it would not be "in the public interest" to prosecute Mr. Lansbury for the speech made at the recent Hyde Park Demonstration! Probably the authorities fear that too much publicity would be given to the Russian situation thereby.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

April 8th.—A motion was introduced by Mr. T. Wilson (Lab.) advocating the payment of "adequate" pensions to all widows with children, or mothers in cases where the breadwinner has become incapacitated—the pension to be paid by a committee or other body wholly unconnected with the Poor Law. Mr. Wilson told the House that the measure had been put into practice with success in America, and it was in operation in twenty-five States in the United States. The general feeling the House expressed was in favour of the motion. The position of war widows has got to be dealt with, and therefore this measure finds favour at the moment. Even Major Astor, for the Government, approved of the "principle." So too did Mr. Shortt; but he very definitely argued against granting pensions to all widows. He asked: "Is every widow, every woman, whose husband is incapacitated, without any consideration to her means, to be entitled to a pension?" And Mr. Adamson (Lab.) answered "No!" Would the Labour Party prefer a bureaucratic committee inquiring which widow should be given a pension and which not. The maintenance of such a staff fund would add largely to the expenditure whereas the "inquisition" would be most painful to the widows concerned. Is there any way out, one will ask. Has any one thought of the *leveling of all incomes*?

HOUSING.

When Labour is up in arms, social reconstruction bills trip over one another in their hurry to appease the man in the street. The Housing and Town Planning Bill was debated on April 7th and 8th and given a Second Reading. Dr. Addison was in charge of the Bill and made a long introductory speech pointing out the necessity of the Bill as though the House needed an explanation! He dwelt on the injury to health caused by insanitary dwellings and overcrowding. In speaking of South Wales, he said that people live in those old hovels there till other houses are built "from lack of other accommodation and from habit." Where does Dr. Addison expect them to live, when there are no new houses? Sir D. Maclean (Lab.) termed this Bill "the real Health Bill." Colonel Wedgwood (C.L.) denounced the measure as the worst of all the eight housing and town-planning Bills introduced since he had been in the House! He showed how the previous bills had become dead letters. The landowner's interest made itself largely felt, and one could see that all the Housing Acts in the world will be futile until the land belongs to the community. Sir T. Walters (C.U.) brought in a new element by demanding that "intelligent women" be put on the housing committees. He made no stipulation as to the qualification

THE OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES.

Our ally Japan has sent six battalions of troops to quell the national aspirations of the Koreans. The Koreans are said to be influenced by Bolshevik propaganda.

The British military authorities fired on a crowd of 5,000 people in Delhi; the crowd then tried to rush the Town Hall. Lieut. General Sir Frederick Shaw has proclaimed as disturbed areas requiring more police: Cork, East and West Riding and City of Cork, Counties of Kerry and Limerick, City of Limerick, County of Tipperary, North and South Riding. County Mayo and parts of Westport have been proclaimed as special military areas!

Daily the press assures us that the trouble in Egypt is dying down; but daily comes news that it is extending. It is a rebellion of the people driven to rebel against the long oppression by the cruelties of conscription, the high prices which have been piled up during the war, and the economic crisis caused by the provisioning of 100,000 British troops and an immense number of their animals. The Egyptians are trying to force the British Government to terminate their occupation of Egypt. The Egyptians are right; we hope they will succeed. The release of Zaghlul and his Nationalist colleagues and the raising of restrictions on travel show how great is the Egyptian uprising. A little more Bolshevism would win similar concessions for us in Britain. Only favoured persons are allowed to leave this country.

of the men who will of course be on those Committees!

HEALTH BILL.

April 9th.—The Ministry of Health Bill has passed through the House, and now will shortly become law. It was interesting to learn that the Government tried to override the proposal that no discrimination should be made between men and women in the appointment of officials to the Ministry of Health. Mr. Thomas (Lab.) pointed out that the support of Labour had been procured for this Bill on the understanding that there should be reform of the Poor Law. What a pity not to have insisted on the abolition of the Poor Law!

THE PHARISEES.

A motion indignantly protesting against any negotiation with the Bolshevik Government was made by Mr. C. Edwards (Lab.). In his opinion to recognise the Lenin régime "is to give recognition to anarchy. . . . to wicked cruelty beyond any possible conception of any British mind at least." What about the blockade, Mr. Edwards? A crowd of other Pharisees followed the line of Mr. Edwards, and when Colonel Guinness (C.U.) made reference to the members who supported the Bolsheviks cries of indignation came from all parts of the House. No, who would credit any respectable British M.P. with approving of the Bolsheviks! Only Colonel Wedgwood (C.L.) took a less extreme line and dubbed the white paper on Bolshevik atrocities as "anonymous tittle-tattle." Mr. Shortt almost congratulated the House on its anti-Bolshevik attitude, this debate would show the whole world "what is the opinion of the British House of Commons." *It will!* He knew of no peace offer from Lenin—in his opinion, he "is no more fit to negotiate with than before!" Now we know!!!!

WHICH FACTION?

April 10th.—It was, to say the least of it, very ambiguous on the part of Mr. Harmsworth to state that: "The whole question of assistance to the various Russian forces striving to re-establish order in Russia is receiving His Majesty's Government's careful attention." Who will decide which of the forces is trying to restore order? The Bolsheviks are, in our opinion.

IGNORANCE.

Many ex-soldiers who were P.O. employees object to work with C.C.s who have not done alternative service. Another instance of failing to recognise one's best friends!

THE LAND QUESTION.

A Bill to facilitate the acquisition of land was given a second reading. No section of the House expressed much delight, and it is very questionable whether the public, which is supposed to benefit thereby, will welcome the measure.

RATES.

April 11th.—A Bill was introduced by Colonel Yates (C.U.) to make it compulsory for a landlord to state the amount of rates paid on each dwelling. The Bill was favourably received and given a second reading.

APPEALING FOR RECRUITS.

The *Morning Post* says that the phraseology of the present recruiting posters is very different from that formerly adopted. It quotes an old poster: "You will find me ready to receive you with a bottle of wine in one hand and six guineas in the other. . . . I intend to treat you with a supper and a ball. . . . And another: 'India for ever! five shillings a day and a Black Servant. Brave, bold, and undaunted young Heroes of the Militia, remember your Pay in India, Five Shillings a Day, and every man a Black Servant. . . . the flashing, flaming, fighting Old Mangalore. . . .'"

The language may be different, but the appeal is the same to-day. Naval recruits for Russia being offered £12 to £13 per month, £2 2s. a week "river transport allowance," and repatriation allowance for their wives.

YOUNG SOLDIERS.

At Liverpool Street Station on April 12th was a party of soldiers of a Middlesex Regiment. Amongst them were half-grown children who could only be described as little boys!

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS.

Italian Socialists announced their intention to hold a procession in memory of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg on Lenin's birthday, April 10th. The Government prohibited the procession: the Socialists replied with the announcement of a day's general strike.

YOU ARE CALLED TO THE WAR.
Continued from page 1296.

wants more of Germany's territory than perhaps the German Government dare give, lest the German people retaliate by setting up the Soviets. French capitalism was promised the Saar basin, with its coal, and the other Allies have been hesitating as to whether it is safe to force Germany to surrender it. French capitalists were promised Syria by the Secret Treaties, but British capitalists are loth to let them have it.

Moreover, it seems that if France is to take part of the indemnity which Germany is to pay to her in the form of the Saar basin and its coal, Britain may decide to take the whole of the German mercantile marine as part of her pound of flesh; and France and Italy would both like to have a share of that.

Italy's territorial claims come into conflict with the claims of the Southern Slavs and the Big Four cannot offend the Slavs because they need them to fight Bolshevism. Italian capitalism has threatened to send soldiers to fight her late Allies to defend the territories the soldiers have occupied on the Adriatic. Italian capitalists are not concerned that those territories are not inhabited by Italians; they point out that Mesopotamia and Palestine are not inhabited by British populations.

British and American capitalism has got all it can out of the war with the Kaiser; it is preparing for the war against Socialism, in which, beside crushing a menace very dangerous to capitalism itself, they may gain still further extensive profits. Great Britain, as *The Times* puts it, "has made herself responsible for the railway communications in Poland, the Baltic States, the Caucasus, and the Don country. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have been allotted to the United States." Who controls the railways controls the nation! As *The Morning Post* has it: "The cant cry of the 'self-determination of peoples' is, we believe, a German invention." Everything is said to come from Germany now which is embarrassing to Allied capitalism!

France and Italy are again unfortunate. *The Times* explains: "Greece, Turkey in Europe, the Ukraine and the Donets basin have been undertaken by France, though with the evacuation of Odessa, her efforts in the last two regions can hardly be effective for the present." (The Italics are ours.) The French left Odessa, by the way, for lack of food—the peasants of the Ukraine would not serve them; they appealed to have it sent to them from Roumania, but the request was not granted; Canada, by the way, seems to have something to do with the Roumanian railways. French capitalism thinks its Allies have not treated it very well. "Italy is looking after Austria-Hungary." Poor Italian capitalism: it has a set of very vigorous Bolsheviks too in Hungary; Vienna may set up the Soviets any day; and Italy itself gives cause for very serious anxiety!

It is stated now that Germany is to pay the Allies between ten and twelve thousand million pounds and that the payments will be spread over fifty years, during which the Allies will occupy Germany, we suppose. Evidently it is thought that fifty years will not be too much for the crushing out of Bolshevism. Moreover, after such a period of occupation, history teaches us to anticipate that the occupying Powers will consider it inexpedient to withdraw. Ireland, Egypt, and India all stand as landmarks calling us to this conclusion.

To this pass has capitalism brought us. Europe, neutral and belligerent alike, is starving; not a household in our country, or any other, but mourns some of its members who lost their lives in the last war; and the world, in order to maintain the capitalist system, stands on the threshold of a time of still more extensive war.

British workers, which side are you on in the International Civil War?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Mr. C. Trumble, 38a Rathbone Street, Canning Town, E.3, will be glad to receive at once any outstanding accounts due from the River Thames Shop Stewards' Children's Feeding Committee.

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Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS.

SATURDAY, APRIL 19th.
Great Push against Conscription in Stratford.—
Meet at 3 P.M. at the Grove (buses and trams
from Mile End and Aldgate). Speakers: Miss
Birch, Miss O'Neil, Mrs. Walker, and others.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25th.
Cobden Statue (near Mornington Crescent Tube
Station).—5.30 P.M., Miss O'Neil, Mr. J. G.
Stone.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26th.
Great Push in Hammersmith.

THURSDAY, APRIL 24th.
Kingsley Hall, Bow Road (in lieu of Limes Hall,
Lewisham).—7.30 P.M., Dr. Rickman on
'Russia.' Chair: Sylvia Pankhurst.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25th.
3 Great Garden Street, Whitechapel.—8 P.M.,
General Meeting, London Section.

SUNDAY, APRIL 27th.
400 Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., R. H. Pollitt,
'Reform or Revolution.' Chair: Miss N.
Smyth. Discussion.

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake
(20s. weekly), £2. **COLLECTIONS.**—Poplar
W.S.F., 3s. 2d.; Miss Price, 1s. 3d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. M. Boswell (monthly),
£2; Nurse Hobbes (10s. weekly), £1; Mrs. Rich-
mond (fortnightly), 10s.; May F. Melling, 5s.

COLLECTION.—Misses E. Lagsding and J.
Watts (Green's Yard), 8s. 4½d.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

HULL.

No, we are not excited about Hull or the other
by-elections. The Government has lost this seat,
as it lost two others, and at Hull the Government
poll is down by over 6,000 votes. Undoubtedly
the electors have recovered somewhat from khaki
fever; that is quite natural; every one knew they
would; but the change in the colour of the
representation will make no difference: Kenworthy
or Percy, Liberal or Tory, it is all one. There is
no material difference between the various wings
of the party of capitalism. They are all solidly
against the Soviets. Parliament will never abolish
capitalism, and whoever preaches reliance upon it
is to that extent postponing the revolution.

CHURCHILL REVEALS THE

GERMANY TO BE COMPELLED TO FIGHT BOLSHEVISM.

When the war was raging, we said that if our
rulers should perceive any reason to fear that the
workers would rise against them, they would make
peace with the German rulers and join with them
in putting down the workers. Winston Churchill's
speech to the Aldwych Club on April 11th abund-
antly proves the truth of our contention. "The
atrocities of Lenin and Trotsky," he says, "are
incomparably more hideous than any for which the
Kaiser himself is responsible." To Churchill that
is so, for have not they dispossessed the capitalists
and the landlords and made the Soviets of the
workers the Government of the country?

Germany, Churchill tells us, is to be made to
pay for the war, but we cannot all get all we should
like out of her, and if we try to get too much the
Scheidemann Government will fall and the Soviets
take its place. Therefore, having been disarmed,
Germany must be fed and peace must be made
with her. He says: "A way of atonement is
open to Germany. By combating Bolshevism, by
being the bulwark against it, Germany may make
the first step towards ultimate union with the
civilised world." Churchill explains it plainly:
Germany is to be "made to do her share in clearing
up the mess" (otherwise Bolshevism), whilst a
strong British and Allied army stands by on the
Rhine. "Very great perils still menace us," says
Churchill. By "us" he, of course, means the
Allied ruling classes. "The Great Power which
was our foe, and the Great Power which was our
friend, are both in the pit of ruin and despair. It
is extremely undesirable that they should come
together," says Churchill, and adds that: "The
Russian Revolution is changing its character. It
has completed the Anarchist destruction of the
social order in Russia." (Yes, the Revolution has
destroyed the bad old social order and now it is
building a new order.) Churchill says that
Russia's military structure "is growing out of the
ruin"; "still weak, but growing stronger," and
that the Soviet army will soon be marching over
Europe, with only small States, exhausted by the
war, standing in its path. Churchill knows, we
all know, that the Soviet soldiers will only march
to aid the workers of any country; that they will
never attack them and only fight as a last resort
in self-defence. If Germany becomes Bolshevik
Churchill laments: "Where shall we be; where

will be that revival of prosperity without which
our domestic contentment is impossible?"
"We" to Churchill means the ruling classes;
it is their prosperity which is concerning him.

Cannot the workers see it? Surely they should
receive such speeches as this of Churchill as a
challenge which should spur them on to frustrate
the plot to use them to crush the power of the
international working class!

Says Churchill: "The Prime Minister has
given me the fullest authority to take whatever
measures the general staff of the army think
necessary to see that our men are relieved, and
brought safely through the perils with which they
are confronted."

Churchill does not say that the measures are to
bring the men home; and Churchill is nothing if
not an adventurous dare devil!

SHAM DEMOCRACY.

Lord Milner and the Royal Colonial
Institute of London and he hoped that though
the War Cabinet would disappear at the close
of the war, the Dominion Prime Ministers would
continue perpetually to sit with British Ministers
to deal with all matters of common concern to the
United Kingdom and the Dominions. The War
Cabinet has certainly been the chief governing
body in this country ever since its formation. It
has been a highly reactionary body in close touch
with the great capitalists and financiers and
obedient to their wishes. The British Cabinet has
more and more usurped the power of Parliament
which long since became little more than a cipher.
The War Cabinet has not troubled even to make
a show of reporting to Parliament and obtaining
Parliamentary assent. Indeed, it has virtually
told Members of Parliament to be silent and cease
from meddling with affairs of State.

Should any friction or conflict develop between
Parliament and the Cabinet, would not the Cabinet
insist that the inclusion of Dominion Premiers in
the Cabinet had rendered the Government, not
responsible to Parliament, but to the Empire, and
had emancipated the Government from the duty
of consulting Parliament upon the issue in question?

Parliamentarian Socialists should consider who
chooses Prime Ministers and how Cabinets are
appointed. The sovereign chooses the British
Prime Minister, and it is a matter of history that
British sovereigns have repeatedly selected as
Prime Ministers, not the acknowledged leader of
the party which has secured the majority at the
election, but some other person whose personality
and views have been less offensive to the reactionary
forces. Sometimes the individual thus chosen has
declined office, knowing that he could not secure
the support of a Parliamentary majority; but on
other occasions he has taken office, ousting the
man who ought to have been chosen. An instance
of royal discrimination recently occurred in
Sweden. Branting, the Majority Socialist, was
the leader of the largest party in the Swedish
Parliament, but the King chose a Liberal to be
Prime Minister and a Coalition Government was
formed. The Prime Minister who appoints the
Cabinet does not disclose the conditions of taking
office imposed on him by the sovereign, but no
doubt the capitalist powers behind the throne
confer with the King and advise him concerning
these matters.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

DEAR EDITOR.—You wish me to say "what
contract the workers broke" when they held a
meeting at the Crosseley Motors, Ltd.

I understood the workers were engaged by
time or for a job, in either case having started
they were due to finish it before leaving off,
except at specified intervals. I believe engineers,
being engaged by the hour, can cease work at an
hour's notice, but in the accounts of the case
spoken of no indication of even that hour's notice
of stopping work appears to have been given.

Secondly, you wish me to say "how the
workers could have guarded against such breach."

An employee should ascertain what are the
terms of his contract before he starts work—
having started he should abide by those terms
until he gives the requisite notice of refusal to do so.

In the case under consideration I have not
seen it stated that there was any particular pro-
vision in the contract, or that the fact that
repeated complaints received no attention. The
latter is what usually leads to actions which may
be technically wrong, but which must command
the sympathy of any decent employer. In the
light of the note which appeared in last week's
DREADNOUGHT I do not propose to take up space
by replying at length to Mr. Halls—after all as
we are working together there should be oppor-
tunities for helpful personal discussion—I will only
say that in my opinion it is the conduct of capi-
talists that will be responsible if capitalism has to
give way to Socialism before the majority of
Socialists have educated themselves and others
for it.

J. EDWARD FRANCIS.
[Mr. Francis seems to us to have missed the
point. The workers were not holding a meeting
to amuse themselves. The workshop was not
heated. They were cold and they held a spon-
taneous gathering to decide what to do. By the
end of the day some of them might have become
ill. Even in these days of capitalism the em-
ployer is required to supply certain minimum
heating and other amenities for the workers.]

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' COUNCIL FORMED IN CHICAGO.

American soldiers and sailors have formed a
Council in Chicago. It proposes "to make the
United States a fine place for human beings." It
is "not interested in the making of millionaires
and political heroes," but "in giving every man
and woman a chance to participate in the best
things of life." It says: "We meet in the streets
of Chicago thousands of our comrades who are
idle and penniless. They can beg, steal, or depend
on their sisters." The Council is not yet a Revo-
lutionary Socialist body, but by the example of
Russia it may become so!

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