

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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INNER HISTORY OF KOLTCHAK RULE.

A member of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party, B. J. Golossov, read a report on Admiral Koltchak's regime on July 1st, 1919, at the Moscow Polytechnic. Mr. Golossov is a Menshevik and not a partisan of the Bolshevik Government. We reproduce this report now, almost in full, as an antidote to the eulogy expressed by Colonel Ward when he took up the cudgels for Koltchak in the House of Commons.

The general idea is that the Romanov dynasty has been re-established in Siberia—this is not true, for Koltchakism is a thousand times worse than the Romanov monarchy. Koltchakism is a fierce, savage, mad reign of militarism, "cossackism," in short a dictatorship of the knout and the nagaika (cossack whip).

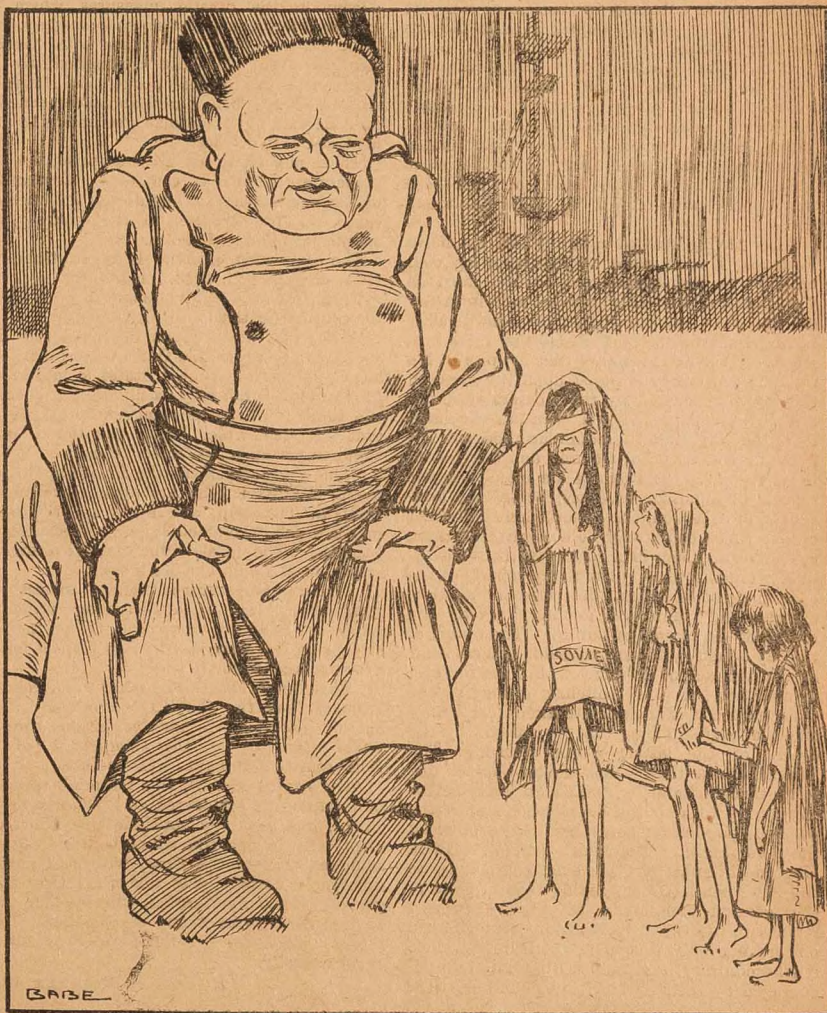
In reality Koltchak's "Government" has no power whatever. All the power is in the hands of a number of "atamans" (cossack chiefs); these atamans are not responsible to anyone, and their power is unlimited. They exercise full rights over the life and death of their "subjects." These atamans get their support from the officer class, and Koltchak's "Government," from the merchant class—the officer bloc and the merchant bloc are the forces which have effected the Koltchak coup d'état. But this bloc is disintegrating. The old antagonism between bourgeoisie and nobility is coming to the fore.

The Czarist gendarmes are the cream of the officer-ataman aristocracy. Siberia is overrun by gendarmes. All the most important posts are filled by gendarmes; Koltchak's entourage consists of gendarmes. The whole of Siberia is being terrorised by the gendarmes. The gendarmes are wreaking vengeance, and you can well imagine what that means. It beggars description. Shootings have become so common and people have become so accustomed to them that no one takes much notice when 100, 200 or 300 people are shot in one day. In Omsk, at Easter, 300 people were shot without trial. They shoot bolsheviks, mensheviks, social revolutionaries, cadets, officers, in short no one is safe. Jews are shot because they are Jews, peasants are shot without any special reason—just *pour passer le temps*; workmen are shot because every workman is a potential bolshevik.

But these ruffians are not content with shooting; they hang, quarter, impale, flog, hack to pieces, and inflict all manner of refined torture on their victims. There are whole districts in Siberia where everyone has been flogged.

ALLIES ASSIST THE MURDERERS.

The shooting, flogging, hanging and quartering is not done only by Russian gendarmes and atamans; the doughty warriors of the democratic armies of the Allies—the Italians, English, Japanese and Serbs—all take a hand in it. The Serbs are the hangers. The cossacks declared themselves ready to flog, shoot and quarter, but refused to hang. The Serbs declared themselves ready to hang, and in fact to do anything that may be required. The Italians specialise in flogging and violation of women; the Japanese in pillaging, and the English in both. General Knox declared publicly "that it is no use keeping bolsheviks in prison; it is a much better plan to shoot them without trial." The Americans are the only troops who behave decently. They do not take part in punitive expeditions, and have occasionally even supported the peasantry. The sym-



What are you crying for, my little maids?
Somebody's starving us, sir, they said.

ties of the American soldiers are for the revolutionaries.

The Czechs left long ago, and are guarding the railway so as to be able to seize the opportunity of escaping from this "hell." The communist movement is growing in the ranks of the Czechs.

JAPANESE TERROR.

Among the foreign troops the Japanese are the most brutal. It is the Japanese who by artillery fire destroy whole villages, settlements and districts. They behave like victors in a conquered country; they feel themselves the masters; and in fact they are the all-powerful masters.

No wonder that the whole of Siberia is at present in a state of revolt. The entire peasantry is armed. Siberia is one large

military camp. There is not a spot where normal conditions prevail. Cannons are booming everywhere. Travelling by train, you pass villages, settlements; two days later, on your return journey, you will see smoking ruins where those villages once stood, ruins stretching over ten versts (a verst is $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile). Do not be surprised at this; this is the trail of the Japanese.

Risings are suppressed with unheard-of cruelty and barbarity. Whole villages have been literally wiped out. And in spite of all this the peasants are rising; they cannot do otherwise. They are not afraid of death, for life in Siberia is worse than the most terrible death.

Continued on next page, col. 3.

RUSSIAN OFFICER ON KOLTCHAK.

As I am a Russian officer who has seen long service in the Russian Army, and who served in the British Volunteer Army against Germany, my interest in the military and political fate of my country needs no explanation. In addition to the natural interests of a soldier and citizen, however, I have a special interest as a journalist in seeking the truth concerning the several factions which are at present contending for the control of Russia. (I was military critic and expert in connection with Russian affairs for the London Daily Express during the war.)

With great difficulty I have recently been able to obtain a number of Russian newspapers from Siberia. These papers include the following: *Nashe Belo*, of Irkutsk; *Golos Primoria*, of Vladivostok; *Vladivostokskoe Obozrenie*, of Vladivostok; *Echo*, of Vladivostok; *Ussuriyskiy Vrai*, of Nikolsk; *Kazatchip vestnik*, and several others. These copies which I have bear dates which run from March, 1919, up to the latest issues which have reached America. All these newspapers are known as the "Koltchak Press."

After having studied carefully this extensive evidence, I have come to the following conclusion: No propaganda in the world can turn the opinion of any sound-minded man in favour of the Koltchak and Denikin crowd, after having read the self-accusations of their own Press. It is extraordinary that in spite of the rigorous censorship imposed upon the Press in the regions occupied by the Russian reactionaries, these papers should contain so many facts that discredit the administration and expose the conditions of tyranny and disorder in those regions. The papers are filled with the reports of hundreds of cases, before the local courts, of desertion, corruption, theft and other crimes which could only be committed in such excessive numbers in a society without discipline or organisation. The many reports of the execution of hostages, described in a most cynical and repulsive manner, reveal the nature of the regime in power. The orders of the day issued by the commanding officers show clearly the lack of harmony within the military organisation of the Koltchak armies. The Cossacks are dissatisfied with their reactionary chiefs and are robbing the populations by the orders of the latter. For instance: The Ataman of the third Trans-Baikal Cossack district, Colonel Zelinsky, issued an order of the day trying to stop the depredations upon the peaceful population according to the order of the well-known Koltchak general, Baron Ungern-Shternberg. He even complained to the All-Cossack Union, saying that in spite of the general complaints of all the Cossack regions to the Omsk Government, the accused officers not only escape all punishment, but, on the contrary, are promoted in rank and encouraged by their authorities to continue their

"useful" work of crushing Bolshevism. One of these Koltchak satellites, Karmandonoff, flogged and shot a number of peasants, and all efforts to arrest him were in vain—Omsk refused to interfere. As a result of his protests, Colonel Zelinsky was dismissed from his post (Order of the Day No. 145—*Echo*, June 19th, 1919). I have known Colonel Zelinsky personally for many years, and I can state with authority that he is an officer singularly devoted to Koltchak and Denikin. In general the Cossack Atamans (chiefs) are constantly quarrelling with the central military command. The general insubordination of these chiefs is plainly shown in the drastic measures which the military authorities have had to apply, and often in vain, as is the case with General Rozanoff who has not apologised to the Americans for having flogged an American soldier, arrested an American officer and shot an American boy; Koltchak was unable to force his General to do that.

These papers, to my great surprise, are only moderately critical of the Soviet Government of Central Russia. They do not fail, in some cases, to pay tribute to the honesty and organising ability of Lenin.

The following extract is taken from the *Echo* of June 6th, 1919, Vladivostok:—
Press Review. "The Japanese Press on the Recognition of the Omsk Government."

"The fact that Japan has been the first country to recognise the Omsk Government and has compelled the United States to join in this proposition, is not only a diplomatic success. We think it will be no exaggeration if we say that this step which Japan has taken is of world importance."—*Osaka Mainichi*.

"There are at present the following Governments in Russia: The Archangel Government, Denikin, Tseretelli, and many other Governments which have officially proclaimed their existence. The most influential Governments are those of Lenin and Koltchak."

"Lenin's Government cannot expect any sympathy, since it is pursuing principles which are hateful to the world, though personally Lenin is a man meriting all respect for his firmness and sincerity."

"The Bolshevik Government is absolutely stronger than the Omsk Government. Facts do not permit us to indulge in unwarranted under-estimation of the significance of the Bolshevik Government."—*Dzhi-Dzhi*.

After having read all this material, which in no case can be considered as Bolshevik propaganda, one can only conclude that Siberia is at present under a rule which is practically the same as that of the Czar, with one notable difference; namely, that under the Czar there was a despotic organisation, whereas here there is despotism without any organisation. The picture presented by these papers is one of sheer anarchy.

LT. COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

KOLTCHAK RULE

Continued from front page.

But, you will ask, if Siberia is aflame with revolts and insurrections, how is it that Koltchak is still in power? He is still in power, thanks to foreign bayonets. The Allies did not come to Siberia to fight bolshevism, but to establish the Koltchak regime firmly in the heart of Siberia. Not a single Allied army or division has been at the front. They are only operating in the rear. They are not fighting with the bolsheviks, but with the Siberian peasants, workers and peaceful inhabitants.

The Allied Press screams: "The bolsheviks are destroying the industries and the economic life of the country."

But in Koltchak's Siberia all trade and industries are irretrievably destroyed. In the Far East, on the Amur, there are some factories working, but they all belong already to the Japanese, and the workers are not Russians, but Chinese. In Vladivostok, 14 out of 16 flour mills are in Japanese hands. In Khabarovsk and Tchita the Japanese are in possession of all the electrical power stations, public baths, printing establishments, and even the small workshops have got into Japanese hands.

Industries and honest trade are killed, but speculation is flourishing. Bread prices have increased tenfold in twelve months. The speculators buy sugar for 90 copecks (about 1/10 pre-war value) per lb. in Khabarovsk, and then sell it for 35 roubles in Omsk. Millions are made in a few days. Special companies are formed for speculation; in fact what happened in Russia in 1916-17 on the eve of the revolution is happening now in Siberia.

Koltchak made an attempt to put down high prices. On the advice of merchants and traders he abolished the co-operative societies which, it was alleged, were the chief cause of high prices! Co-operation was destroyed; many prominent co-operators were shot, with the result that speculation grew apace. Koltchak is in a panic; he sees that economic ruin is inevitable, but has not grasped the idea of introducing the bread monopoly and nationalising the poor remnants of Siberian trade and industries.

In conclusion, Mr. Golosov said that the Red Army, which was advancing, would make a triumphal entry into Siberia, and that the bolsheviks would be heralded with church bells as saviours!

—*Västerpris*.

WOMEN IN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

At the first Congress of the Third International the position of men and women was debated, and the conclusion given here was arrived at:—

The International Communist Congress recognises that the solution of all the problems which have been presented, the final victory of the world proletariat, and the complete abolition of the capitalist society, can only be attained by the close collaboration of all workers in the fight—men and women. The enormous increase of female labour in all economic fields is an accomplished fact, and not less than half the total wealth of the world is produced by women. On the other hand, there can be no doubt of the important part which awaits working women in the creation of the new communist social order, especially during the transition period, even in the strictly economic field, for what concerns the reform of family customs, the realisation of the social education of children, and all the problems that relate to it, the development of their working ability, and formation into citizens of the Soviet Republic, which must be inspired by sentiments of solidarity. All this imposes on those parties which adhere to the Third International the necessity of considering a problem of the utmost importance: the concentration of all their strength and energy to draw the working women into the Party, the employment of all means to educate the workers in a spirit corresponding with the new social order, and with the new Communist ethics which they must introduce in their social and family life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can only grow strong and triumph by means of the energy and active co-operation of working women.—*L'Ordine Nuovo*.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

THE KIND-HEARTED CAPITALIST.

Too long, far too long, Henry, we have been disgraced by the class-war; we have never liked our foremen, overseers, gaffers and other gentlemen in waiting, whom a kind and far-seeing capitalist has placed in authority over us. But in this we have been most grievously wrong.

This great discovery has been made by the Printing Trades' Alliance. In a postal packet containing about fourteen circulars of beautiful printing, it informs everybody and anyone of that same mudprint on the page of history.

The P.T.A. is, to use its own words, "A NEW Trade Union on new lines, and its sole aim in life is a modest slice of the Brotherhood of Man, beginning with the Brotherhood of the Kind-Hearted Capitalist and the Loyal and Obedient Workman. This must not be mistaken for a Bolshevik snare to catch the unwary, nor should it be imagined that the beautiful circulars were paid for with Bolshevik gold. The P.T.A. is a Brotherhood of Soft Hearts—and hard heads on one side—and no doubt the Utopian comps. and machinemen, encouraged by an equally Utopian master-printer, duly set up and printed the above circulars out of the loving kindness of their hearts, free, gratis, and for nothing."

"The Printing Trades' Alliance," so writes the hefty pupil of the Correspondence School of Advertising who indited all the heartrending appeals of the P.T.A., "is a Trade Union, but—Yes, you expected a 'but' somewhere. Didn't you, Henry? but believes—"

1. That might does not constitute right (a principle for which our boys fought).
2. That a man, to be a man, must do his best (restriction of output is bad for the man, the trade and the country).
3. That the interests of capital and labour can be advanced concurrently.

All the remarks in parentheses are the P.T.A.'s own. And the above three points constitute the plank and platform of this man-brother Trade Union.

"O Oysters, come and walk with us,
The walrus did beseech;
A pleasant walk, a pleasant talk
Beside the briny beach;
We cannot do with more than four
To give a hand to each."

It were sacrilege to touch even the Beautiful Beautitudes of the Heart-Throb Union, but even a nigger may sit on the steam throttle in vain when the steam is slightly seidlitzed with truth. So out upon them, my gallant steed. Ho, squire, my halidom!

In reference to the fact that "might does not constitute right" it is all very pretty on paper, but there are four spirits in Glasgow who remember seeing tanks and Lewis guns out there on a strike. Now, what has a worker to fight a tank with? If the workers on the Clyde have an automatic pistol apiece, that fact has been hidden by the Press in a silence of fifteen languages.

"That a man, to be a man, must do his best," is a mere piece of buffoonery which means anything or nothing. I am glad, then,

BRITISH CRUELTY TO RUSSIAN PRISONERS.

It was recently stated in the House of Commons that the Soviet leaders were to be held individually responsible for any harm that might come to British prisoners in Bolshevik prisons. In *Folkets Daablad Politiken*, of October 9th, there is a protest from the Soviet Government against the shooting and ill-treatment of Bolshevik prisoners by the British. Now that negotiations in reference to the mutual exchange of prisoners are about to take place, it is well to circulate this protest as widely as possible, so that the public learns the real state of affairs.

"The Soviet Government is indignant at the inhuman way in which the British Command at Archangel is treating its Russian prisoners. If the British Government were responsible indirectly for the innumerable cruelties and atrocities committed on Russian workers and peasants by its agents Koltchak, Denikin and the rest, cruelties in comparison with which the Spanish Inquisition was child's play, then we have proof positive now of Russian prisoners of war being similarly treated by the British Command direct. Some soldiers who succeeded in making their escape from British imprisonment in North Russia told of several comrades who were shot immediately after being taken prisoners. They had themselves been mercilessly beaten with the butt ends of rifles, put in prison, kept half starved, and forced to work till they dropped. They were threatened with being shot if they refused to join the British Russian Anti-revolutionary Legion and betray their comrades. In many cases these threats were actually carried out. The Soviet Government hereby informs the British Government that it is compelled, in consequence of these happenings, to withdraw the many privileges and liberties hitherto granted to British officer prisoners in Moscow and to those recently captured on the Onga front. We have found that protests are of no avail, and we know the callousness of the British Government for the sufferings of all Russians who do not support the anti-revolutionaries. We therefore resort to this method in the hope that the British Command may act in a more humane way towards their prisoners, and by so doing make conditions of life easier for their own captive officers. The Soviet Government will continue, however, to treat the rank and file prisoners in the most friendly way, except those who have volunteered for service in the reactionary army and for the reinstatement of monarchy in Russia. As to the impudent threats of Lord Curzon, received by wireless on August 10th, the

Soviet Government declares that no threatening letters can influence its politics. Every retaliation of such threats directed to individual members of the Soviet Government adds to the possibility that the Soviet Government may be forced to consider if it can continue to negotiate with the British Government even with regard to the exchange of prisoners. "Signed, TCHITCHERIN, "Commissary for Foreign Affairs."

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA.

At a crowded meeting at Copenhagen, according to the *Folkets Daablad Politiken*, October 11th, Dr. Martiny, leader of the Danish Red Cross Expedition to Moscow, spoke on Russia under Bolshevism. The lecturer refuted the common malicious lies about chaos and reign of terror. Nothing had impressed him more than the wonderful organisation, the perfect order and the discipline of the Bolshevik state; it was an amazing chance. Under Kerensky everything was chaos, and there was no security. Now everyone could feel perfectly safe, and could even walk abroad in the middle of the night without fear. He denied the existence of "red terror," but explained that there had been, especially in the beginning, short periods of terror, each time as a direct consequence of detected reactionary plots and as a safeguard against attacks on the State. But in normal, quiet times there were no executions, and all accused persons were given every chance for their defence. The criminal courts were admirably conducted. During periods of terror, Lenin, Trotsky and Tchitcherin always exercised a moderating and restraining influence. Dr. Martiny, who is not himself a Bolshevik, considered it quite justifiable for the Soviet Government to deal severely with old officers and other anti-Bolsheviks, who banded themselves together in gangs and committed violence and robberies which were then put at the door of the Bolsheviks. He was especially struck by the great consideration shown to all foreigners, and had nothing but praise for the way in which his expedition had been treated.

SCIENTIFICALLY TRAINED WORKERS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA.

Comrade Martens, the Russian representative in U.S.A., we learn through the columns of *Folkets Daablad Politiken* of October 17th, is busy negotiating with clever engineers, mechanics, chemists, doctors, agricultural botanists and other scientific workers, and inducing them to accept positions under the Russian Soviet Government. Applicants for Russian posts should give full particulars of

for the remarks between beautifully curved lines, to wit, "restriction of output is bad for the man, the trade and the country." With a passing remark that the country comes last, you will jump for joy, Henry, to know that the harder the work, the better it is for you. Roll up your sleeves and fairly tear the machine to pieces in an endeavour to make fifty yards of shoddy shod where only one shod before. Tear around, and if your overseer asks you what's the hurry, ask him if he has joined the P.T.A.

Of course we all know that what is wrong with the country at present is not any of the things we thought of after taking away the first number, but solely and merely restriction of output. If you look around you, you will find that there are no boots in the windows of the Leathercard Boot Company, no clothes to speak of at the eight-guinea tailors, no poultry, no caviare, no nothing. Even the cows are producing less milk, and we are demanding some 140,000 of the milk-churners from Germany.

Ah, Henry, if you only produced more! There would be such a lot of things, and they would be so cheap, that when the market was overstocked and you got put on short time, or even given the bird, you would puff out your chest to think you had done one for the man, the trade and the country. And you would have "B) Advanced the interests of capital and labour concurrently."

"O Oysters, said the Carpenter,
We've had a pleasant run;
Shall we be trotting home again?
But answer came there none
And this was scarcely odd because
They'd eaten every one!"

training, what languages they know, what organisation they belong to, and if they are in need of economic help for further language training before their departure for Russia, what are their family responsibilities, and if they want a free passage. L. Martens is at the same time busy with a scheme for giving Russians an opportunity to study in America, and adequate scholarships and other help is given to assist Russians while studying abroad.

Sixpenny Sermons at Chandos Hall

21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.

Tuesday, Nov. 25th, at 8 p.m.

"Why the Catholic Crusade supports the Revolution in Russia."

Preacher: Conrad Noel. Opener of discussion: George Chambers.

(Priests of the Catholic Crusade.)

Tuesday, Dec. 2nd, at 8 p.m.

"Why the Catholic Crusade welcomes the Irish Republic."

Preacher: Conrad Noel. Opener of discussion: Godfrey Bell.

(Priests of the Catholic Crusade.)

Tuesday, Dec. 16th, at 8 p.m.

"Why the Catholic Crusade demands an English Revolution."

Preacher: Conrad Noel. Opener of discussion: Jac. Bucknall.

(Priests of the Catholic Crusade.)

Admission Sixpence. Free Discussion.

Kingsley Hall, Bow.

Sunday, Nov. 23rd, at 8.15 p.m.

STANLEY JAMES

"Labour's Re-interpretation of Christianity."

DISCUSSION AND OPEN BAR 9.30.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD

are holding a GRAND DANCE in the

WORKERS' SOCIALIST CLUB,

28, East Road, City Road, on Sat. Nov. 29th

Dancing 7.30 till 12 TICKETS 1/3

American Jazz Band Good Music,

Come and Dance and Enjoy Yourself.

:: W.S.F. : INTERNATIONAL : FAIR ::

In the Bunhill Row Memorial Buildings,

ROSCOE STREET, E.C. (Bus 54, Trams 55, 43, 65, 11 and 5. Tube—Old St. Stn.)

Friday and Saturday, 5th and 6th December 1919,

3 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. OPENERS: Doors open 2.30 p.m.

Dec. 5th. Prof. W.T. GOODE, (Recently returned from Soviet Russia.)

Dec. 6th. TOM MANN. (Newly elected Secretary of the A.S.E.)

Special Cockney Attractions. Stalls of all sorts—Concerts, Entertainments, Sideshows, Children's Dances. Admission 2s., 1s. 3d., 8d. (incl. tax).

Tickets may be obtained from—JOAN BEAUCHAMP, 7, South Square, Gray's Inn, W. C. MISS BUSH, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Sat. Nov., 22nd, 1919

CELEBRATING THE SOVIETS' BIRTHDAY.

The Italian workers knew the meaning of November 7th, the second anniversary of Soviet Russia. Throughout Italy meetings were held to celebrate the event, and at these meetings the word of the day was not Reform, but Revolution.

The Italian bourgeoisie had its day of celebration on November 4th, the anniversary of the Austrian armistice. There were flags, free band concerts, parades, and electric lights. Shops were closed and factories gave their workers a vacation.

But in Turin, and other places, the workers did not want a vacation to celebrate victory. They turned up at work as usual. They ignored the day. The only recognition given to it in *Avanti!* was the following, printed in large letters on the first page:—

May 24th, 1915—November 4th, 1918.

Dead, 507,193.

Wounded, 984,000.

Blind in one eye, 21,220.

Blind in both eyes, 19,400.

Chronic tuberculosis, 25,716.

Neuropathics, 19,600.

Lame, 74,620.

Insane, 4,060.

Mutilated (facial apparatus), 3,446.

Limbs amputated, 12,120.

Deaf, 6,740.

Dumb, 3,260.

The General Federation of Labour, comprising 1,400,000 members, celebrated the Soviets' birthday by addressing to the organised working class the following appeal:—

"We ask the attention of all the Federated organisations to the end that the factory workers should refuse to produce arms and munitions destined to serve against the Russian Revolution. We remind them also that no Federated worker, no class conscious worker, should assist in transporting such material."

"The Confederation of Labour has proposed to the Allied foreign organisations that they should adopt the same attitude, but it is necessary that Italy should furnish not only the proposal but also the example of action."

"All the Federated organisations will know how to fulfil their duty."

(Signed) Secretary of the Confederation.

Soviet Day made the Italian bourgeoisie extremely nervous—more nervous than it has been since the days before the general strike of July 21st. In Rome, which is no Socialist stronghold, but the centre of the tame Italian bureaucracy, there were thousands of soldiers and police drawn up to prevent a revolution. Now, the Socialist party had not the slightest intention of making a revolution. It never intends to make a revolution. It knows that revolutions cannot be made—that they merely happen when the bourgeois machinery has become unworkable and unbearable. It intends merely to seize and guide the revolution when it comes. But it does not expect the revolution to come this winter. And it had issued orders against petty demonstrations which could only cause bloodshed and discouragement.

Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie was extremely nervous. I counted at least two soldiers for every one of the peaceful demonstrators who gathered in the Piazza di Pilotta in Rome. The police and the soldiers were everywhere. They

"RIGHT AND FREEDOM" in IRELAND.

On Friday last Lord French issued a request to the local authorities in Ireland to give effect to the King of England's message that all activities should be suspended for two minutes at 11 a.m. on the anniversary of the Armistice, so that all might reverently meditate on "Right and Freedom."

At 11.20, a.m. on the morning of the anniversary of the Armistice, Lord French ordered his military and police to burst in the door of the premises occupied by the elected representatives of Ireland and to "arrest all on the premises."

Those arrested include Mr. Frank Lawless, elected Member for North Dublin at the last Election by a majority of 4,510; Mr. John O'Mahony, elected Member for South Fermanagh by a majority of 2,149, and Mr. John Hayes who was returned unopposed for the constituency of South Cork.

These gentlemen together with the members of the office staff were placed in a military motor lorry surrounded by soldiers with fixed bayonets, and driven to prison to meditate on England's conception of "Right and Freedom."

LECTURE ON TECHNICAL EDUCATION SUPPRESSED.

The English Military Government in Ireland has now decreed it a crime to lecture on technical Education. This is not strange in a

country where the policeman is paid more than the teacher. The following is from the Freeman's Journal of Monday, 10th November 1919:—

"A lecture which Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington was announced to deliver at Clonmel Technical Institute on Sunday on 'The Place of Technical Education in the National Life' was prohibited by the police. Notice was served on the Principal of the Institute that Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington would not be allowed to speak. This was the first public meeting Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington arranged to address in Ireland since she received concussion in a police charge at Kilbeggan last July. Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington is a teacher in the City of Dublin Technical Schools."

INSTRUCTED TO SHOOT PRISONER.

(FROM THE GALWAY EXPRESS 8TH NOV. 1919.)

At a "Crimes" Court in Galway, presided over by two stipendiary magistrates, Mr. Sean Milroy, Sinn Féin Director of Organisation was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for illegal assembly in default of finding bail. A District Inspector of Police admitted that he had threatened to shoot the prisoner on the way to Portumna Jail if the escort was interfered with, and said that his instructions were to shoot the prisoner if a rescue were attempted.

were hidden in narrow streets, crammed into the court-yards of private houses. Half a mile from the meeting a company of cavalry, with steel helmets and rifles slung over their shoulders, stood waiting for trouble. However, one thing was noticeable, the police were in the front rank. Even in these selected soldiers, apparently, the Government did not put too much trust when it came to the shooting of working-men.

In Rome, all these counter-revolutionary preparations came to nothing. A little informal parade was broken up by a few squads of federal police, headed by civilian commissioners, I suppose, who wore silly red, white and green sashes, and belloyed commands under the illusion that they were heroes. The demonstrators dispersed at the word of command, not even showing a red flag, and the various armies of soldiers and police went back to barracks without trophies.

Elsewhere in Italy, however, things were not so peaceful. In Milan, after a meeting in the People's House, a handful of young Socialists marched through the Piazza del Duomo singing revolutionary songs and displaying banners with the legend:—

"Viva Lenin."

Thereupon some of the officers of the "Arditi" (Italy's White Guard) who are always to be found drinking in the cafés and bars of the Victor Emmanuel Galleries, advanced to the attack. Revolver shots were exchanged. The bourgeois papers all assert that the Socialists fired first, though I have heard officers of the Arditi boast of being always the first to shoot. Anyway, wounds, and serious ones, were received on both sides, before the two parties were dispersed.

Arrests were later made by the police—impartially, of course, on both sides; seventy or so on the side of the Socialists, and some half-a-dozen among the Arditi. Included among these latter were Captain Vecchi, who leads the White Guard from his café in the Galleries, and Signor Marinetti, candidate for Parliament on the "Combattenti" list, the same Marinetti who unveiled futurist music to the world, and invented his new orchestra of "wind machines," "rain machines," "howlers," "growlers," and "whizzers." The arrested officers were impartially released after half an hour. The Socialists are still in jail.

In Turin a general strike was called by the local chamber of labour. The workers, who re-

fused to take a holiday to celebrate victory, insisted on taking one to celebrate Revolution. The word reached Milan later in the day, and the workers began to drift out of their factories in the course of the afternoon, until, by closing hour, it is reported, there were scarcely any left. The general strike at Spezia, called quite independently and spontaneously, was complete.

In other cities, especially in Florence, there was "informal fighting" (as they say of Allied expeditions into Russia) between Socialists and officers. The casualty list has not been completed, but it is extensive.

The demonstrations in favour of Soviet Russia were in reality extended to the following Sunday, which was the last holiday before the election. The Socialists like to make things lively for their opponents. They exercise freely their right of attending public meetings and of expressing their approval or disapproval by appropriate utterances—a right which is reckoned one of the most precious among modern democracies. Especially do they express appropriate sentiments when an orator demands a policy of national imperialism by way of benefiting the working-class. These demonstrations sometimes render it difficult or impossible for the orator to speak, and not infrequently lead to vigorous debates between those of contrary persuasions. And it must be added, regrettable as the fact is, that such debates are often conducted, in Italy, with revolvers.

Yes, Italian Socialists sometimes carry revolvers. Demobilised officers boast that they have arms with them for such occasions, but for Socialists to do likewise is certainly very wrong. At all events, revolver shots have been distressingly common in this electoral campaign. At Albano, on Sunday, two demonstrators were fatally wounded. At Bergeggi, near Genoa, the candidate of the pseudo-Socialist "Party of Labour," one Pietro Berneri, received light wounds from a revolver. Similar events occurred at San Remo, at Spezia, at Resina. The list is a long one. It is always represented in the newspapers as an example of Socialist bestiality. Yet, I notice that in an altercation with Socialists during a Republican meeting at Baginacavallo, (I quote from a bourgeois journal) "the Republicans produced revolvers and knives, and wounded four Socialists, two of whom are in a serious condition." Up to the present there has been no outcry against Republican bestiality.

H. K. MODERWELL.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

BOLSHEVIKS VICTORIOUS.

The Red Armies have put all their opponents to flight. Yudenitch has been forced back to Esthonia, where we hear he has resigned his command! Omsk, the Kolchak stronghold, has been taken and Denikin has lost Kieff. In the end all Russia will be cleared of these disturbing anti-Bolshevik forces, which could never have resisted without Allied assistance.

Does anyone wonder that such a clean sweep of the tools of the Allies should have given us another Lloyd George speech, and an anti-intervention one, to boot?

He declared in the House of Commons on Monday, November 18th, that the policy of refraining from sending armies to conquer the Bolsheviks was "a good policy."

"It is perfectly certain that this country, with enormous burdens cast upon it by the war, cannot undertake the responsibility of financing civil war in Russia indefinitely. (Cheers.) Our first concern must be for our own country. There is no sure road to Bolshevism than financial bankruptcy."

From which sentiments one can see that the Prime Minister fears the immediate future at home; despite the glowing speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer!

The remark he made about the anti-Bolshevik armies being obliged to stand by themselves now, and that they ought to be able to hold their own if the population "is opposed to Bolshevism," is very subtle. Does Lloyd George begin to realise that the Russians are Bolsheviks, with the exception of these few figure heads?

In conclusion he said, but the DREADNOUGHT puts little faith in his words:—

"I have warned my hon. friends whose detestation of Bolshevism is no deeper than mine, that Bolshevism would lead to black reaction and always has and therefore I hate it. But that is not the way to fight it. I am not afraid of Bolshevism in any land which is well governed. It has to be fought by sympathetic justice in all countries, by planting confidence in all classes, the rich and the poor; yes, and the vast multitude that are neither rich nor poor, but whose path is just near enough to the morass to see their friends drop in it from time to time. We must plant confidence in all of them that their complaints will be heard, and determine with justice after they have been heard with sympathy. If we do that I have no fear of revolution, but I dread wild adventures in lands whose conditions are unknown, and where nothing but catastrophe has awaited every Empire and every Army that has invaded them."

We should like to know if "sympathetic justice" is to be shown to the Bolsheviks by the Allied blockade? Or will this cease now? Mr. Lloyd George is a movable figurehead, therefore his non-intervention attitude is mere clap-trap without Cabinet co-operation; further, having given Denikin and Co. supplies enough to go on with till the spring, such a speech is not worth the paper it is written on.

The only value of these speeches of the Prime Minister lies in the handle given to the workers to force the immediate conclusion of peace with the Bolsheviks. A Prime Minister who has not the Government behind him and with him should resign.

PETROGRAD.

Through the *Avanti!* of October 29th we learn that after a week of active propaganda amongst the workers, the members of the Communist Party have been enormously increased.

NEW RAILWAY SCHEME.

The Government offer to the railway unions to give the workers "co-equal power, and co-equal authority with the railway management of this country." Mr. Thomas stated.

The scheme is outlined thus:—
"Two members of the N.U.R. and one of the Associated Society join the Railway Executive Committee with equal powers to the General Managers who sit on it."

"For the settlement of future disputes about hours and wages there is proposed:—

"A Joint Railway Board, consisting of:—
"Five General Managers, three representatives of the N.U.R., two from the Enginemen's and Firemen's Society."

"A Committee of Appeal, consisting of four from the companies, four from the men, four from the public."

"Local committees to deal with local disputes."

We are anxious to be quite clear as to the method by which the N.U.R. representatives will be elected; will they be chosen by the Executive or elected by the rank and file?

Does Mr. Thomas realise that "co-equal" partnership with capital recognises once and for all the system of dividends and shareholders? How can workers be a party to such an arrangement! The offer to meet the N.U.R. on these lines must surely be one of Mr. Lloyd George's ways of meeting Bolshevism in a "sympathetic way." These apparent concessions have for their object the breaking of the trade union spirit, and thereby undermining the power of the strike weapon.

N.U.R. comrades should persist in their demands for real nationalisation, and reject all such schemes of scheming politicians without thorough examination.

CONTINENTAL ELECTIONS.

In France the Republican Party seems to have scored victories to the exclusion of the Socialists of the Left. This has been worked by the anti-Bolshevik campaign which has been carried on for some time past. Chief amongst those of the Left defeated is Comrade Longuet. He will now have a free hand to work for the Soviets!

Belgium has returned twenty-five Socialists, and Italy expects to see a large number of Socialists elected.

FRENCH NEWSPAPERS.

The French capital has still to be content with two newspapers. We are glad that the workers succeeded in issuing *La Feuille Commune*, which represents *La Bataille*, *Bousoir*, *La France Libre*, *Le Journal du Peuple*, *L'Heure*, *L'Humanité*, *L'Oeuvre*, *Le Pays*, *Le Populaire*, *La Verité*. In its issue of November 12th *La Feuille Commune* gives the cause of the strike of all the branches of the printing trade thus:—Six months ago the workers asked the proprietors of the Press for a rise in wages commensurate with the rise in the cost of living. They consented to modify their demands on the definite understanding that the di-

rectorates of the newspapers should conduct a vigorous Press campaign to bring down prices of the necessities of life. However, hardly anything was done in that direction, a feeble attempt was made to start the campaign. This, however, came to a sudden standstill, and the prices are higher than six months ago. Tired of waiting the workers demanded an increase in wages of five francs per day. This demand was met with a point-blank refusal from the employers. Hence the strike.

Le Pays, while identifying itself with the organs of the workers, disapproves of the strike as a breach of contract on the part of the printers, and would have favoured a policy of conciliation. It had advocated in its columns, (1) The organisation of a Co-operative Society of the Press, which would have brought about a 30 per cent. fall in the cost of living; and (2) a provisional suppression of the Sunday morning issue, which would have enabled the newspaper administrations to grant a provisional high cost of living bonus (*indemnité de vie chère*) to their employees. And yet *Le Pays* is one of the combine that *La Feuille Commune* represents, thus proving that it stands by the strikers!

AMERICAN MINERS' STRIKE.

"In obedience to the mandate of the United States Court the order of October 15th directing the cessation of operations in the bituminous coalfields is withdrawn and cancelled."

This notice officially ended the coal strike in the United States which broke out on November 1st. As a result a most peculiar situation has arisen. The strike, however, we are glad to hear, has not been broken by this diplomatic move; merely negotiations between the owners and coal miners which ceased on the outbreak of the strike have been resumed. We wish the U.S. coal miners the maximum of success in their fight against so many enemies, and under such difficult conditions.

THE CAPITALIST HEEL.

The N.U.R. and the Co-operative Society at Birkenhead are engaged in a fight which the recent successes of Labour in the local elections have made of vital interest to every trade unionist. A N.U.R. member having been elected as Labour and Co-operative representative of the Birkenhead Town Council, the management of the North-Western and Great Western Railway Companies refused to allow him time to attend meetings, and offered him the alternative of resigning from the Council or from the railway service. If employers generally followed the lead of the railway companies a vast number of the newly-elected Councilors would have to give up either their seats or their livelihood. It is a clear case of tyranny which should be opposed by every Labour organisation throughout the country.

IN MEMORY OF THE GLORIOUS DEAD.

"But we won the Battle of the Somme with rum, and rum alone." Words of wisdom uttered by some students at Essex Hall on November 13th when "Pussyfoot" was ragged.

PEASANTS' STRIKE AT PIACENZA.

Seventy thousand peasants came out on strike in Piacenza (Italy) on October 13th, and they remained solid until they won it on November 4th. The day after the strike started the leaders of many organisations offered to start a local general strike in support of the peasants, but in view of the number of strikers, this was not considered necessary. The chief demands of the strikers were as follows:—An eight hour day, which the peasants wish to share with nearly the whole Italian working-class. This would do much to reduce the unemployment, which is very great in the Piacentino. Higher wages, to meet the increased cost of living, sick pay where suffering from complaints recognised by the doctors, no work on public holidays. Negotiations have taken place at intervals between the employers and the strikers. Troops and armed police have been stationed all over the district, supported by machine guns, armoured cars and munition wagons. A strong force was posted near the cemetery, where five peasant victims of the strike were to be buried.

The Chamber of Labour (Camera del Lavoro) has supported the strikers throughout, and issued the following appeal a few days after the commencement of the strike:—

"The peasants' strike continues solid, firm, proud and invincible. It is not true that it has ended. That is a device of the owners to throw dissension amongst us. Nothing has been settled by negotiation. Resist! In solid resistance to the end lies the secret of victory. The end of the strike will be notified

by the Chamber of Labour, when we have won. All news which does not emanate from the Chamber of Labour is false. The strike continues and will continue till victory is attained. Long live the strike."

Many comrades were imprisoned, including Angelo Faggi, Federal Secretary of the Chamber of Labour, and many Socialist organisers who supported the strike have been brutally assaulted.

The following agreement has been arrived at for agricultural labourers for 1919 and 1920. From March 1st to September 30th, 8 hours a day; from October 1st to February 28th, six hours, apart from the herdsmen, who will be paid overtime. No labourer shall work on more than 500 acres. Their wages shall be from 3,700 to 3,250 lire a year (a lire used to be about 9d.). Special male workers shall receive from 2.20 to 1.50 lire an hour, female from 1.50 lire to 75 cts. Overtime shall be paid 25 per cent. above usual pay.

British workers, both agricultural and otherwise, could learn much from the solidarity and spirit shown by the Piacenza strikers.

The *Avanti!* of November 10th reports that arrests still continue in connection with the peasants' strike; these now amount to 300, and the Chamber of Labour is holding a conference of all the branches in the town and province to consider the situation.

READERS ARE REQUESTED TO SEND IN THEIR ORDERS EARLY FOR OUR COMMUNIST NUMBER.

HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

A member of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, appalled at the slanderous and distorted reports of the reason of the break up of the Hungarian Soviets on August 1st, 1919, has written the graphic account here reproduced. The disclosures made are meant as a warning against similar mistakes in other countries, especially Germany, where the problem of Proletarian Dictatorship is at present in the balance.

When, in the last days of November, 1918, we formed the Hungarian Communist Party, under the leadership of Bela Kun, none of us thought, not even the greatest optimists, that after barely five months, on the memorable 21st March, 1919, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat would be established. Above all, no one thought of it because the opposition of the Social-Democrats and the bourgeoisie was very strong. Shortly before the proclamation of the Soviet Government, Comrade Bela Kun was nearly beaten to death in prison by the "Tisza Hussars," as the police in Hungary were commonly called. A permanent witness to his greatness of soul was that, afterwards, when he was in power, he did not take revenge, but spoke the simple words, when an enquiry was made: "They did not know what they did—they did not know what I want to bring them!"

On March 21st, 1919, when Comrade Kun, with all the other imprisoned Communists were released, the first result was that a united Party of the Social-Democrats and Communists was formed under the name of the "Hungarian Socialist Party." And at this moment the germ of the Fall of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was laid!!

This sentence may possibly fall as a warning on the ears of German and other comrades, although it may appear to some of them as very extraordinary. Only a few of us could foresee then the calamitous meaning of this coalition. But with terrible clearness, events in time taught them how right we were in our objections to the coalition.

On the setting up of the Government, no opposition was shown and no difficulties were made by the Social-Democrats and the former Social-Democratic Comrades who entered the Government took pains, at first, to work with us according to our ideas.

But Budapest was not Hungary! Many of those who were in the organisation of the former Social-Democratic Party, and the active leaders, secretaries and officials of the trade unions suddenly began to oppose us secretly, because to a certain extent they felt that they were deprived of the power they formerly possessed. The District Soviets, those were the Workers' and Peasants' Councils, chose a Directorate from amongst themselves, which oversaw the work of the District Magistrates, burgo-masters, presidents of the tribunals, executive committees and even the various higher administrative offices. In the people's selection of the Executive, for lack of others, most of the people elected were just those leaders of executives of the old Party and of the Trade Unions, and everyone will admit that they did not carry out the work of administration of these Soviets in a communistic spirit. It now became necessary to establish the "politika-megbizot," or "Political Commissioner." A Commissioner was also added to every Executive of a province and to every Directorate of a district; a Political Commissioner was appointed by the People's Commissary of the Interior, who had the widest powers. The Political Commissioners had to see that all decrees of the Soviet Government were fully carried out. In many, very many cases, these Political Commissioners were regarded by the leaders of the District Soviets as inconvenient rivals and controllers. Instead of in these strenuous times uniting all the powers against the common enemy, these members of the former Parties and Trade Unions looked upon it as their duty to fight the Political Commissioner and often to calumniate him in the filthiest way. Travelling to Budapest and back for the merest trivialities was the order of the

day. The quarrels of these People's comrades reached alarming dimensions.

With regard to the second error, I must make something clear which perhaps will not be to the liking of the German comrades.

From my earliest youth, I have been a radical Socialist and have never been an anti-semitic. I state this before what follows in order not to bring grist to the mill of the opposition or to give them a handle for their stupid race-hatred. But when I, as an honourable politician, write down the causes of the crash, I must also, for the sake of truth, expose all the faults unsparingly.

Because in Hungary, the most prominent Communist leaders were of Jewish extraction, an enormous number of quite politically indifferent Jews claimed the right to push themselves into all sorts of offices (albeit, only in those where they thought there was something to be gained). The District Soviets, often fully unconscious of the situation and with the spirit of the international, believed that they were doing what was pleasing to the Government in Budapest when "they gave the preference to people of Jewish extraction." This Jewish mercenary spirit (I purposely do not say "Jews" because a very great number of my friends are Jews, and from an ethical and humane standpoint they tower above a number of so-called good "Christians"), this inherent commercial spirit was the cause of the corruption which in certain districts and offices assumed an aspect which my pen refuses to describe. Through this prevailing corruption, in which not only the mercenary Jews took part, but more especially all those elements which the wave of Revolution had swept to the surface, and for whom the expression "Revolutionary Hyenas" is still a nickname, made the confidence of the peasants illusory, so that they spoke amongst themselves only of the Jewish Government.

This, added to the dilettante and criminal financial policy, was our deathblow. Instead of from the first producing our own bank-notes with the name mentioned in full (as was done towards the end) the Commissaries of Finance took it upon themselves to reprint Austro-Hungarian bank notes for 25 and 200 kronen and 1 and 2 kronen. These new issues were very roughly made and were stigmatised at once in Vienna as spurious. The peasants ostentatiously refused to take this "White money" in exchange for coin, although it had a forced currency and the severest penalties were imposed for not accepting it. Imagine all the Red Guards, Officials of the Soviet Republic, teachers, railway workers, post office employees, in fact everyone was paid his salary or wages in the so-called "White money" and on the other hand could get nothing for it in the country.

Woe to the Government which has the peasantry against it; it exists only in appearance.

How the scum of the earth worked, we saw in the Whitson counter-revolution of the White scoundrels in the Eisenburg Province, where in conjunction with the clergy, they carried on persecution in regard to the imprisonment of the unarmed masses of the people, and drove the blinded peasants with their antediluvian weapons (threshing flails and pitch-forks) by the hundred into the devastating fire of our machine guns. I then called this pack "soul-sellers," but no one believed me. When the riot of the teachers and the pupils of the Ludovika Academy in Pest broke out, they began to pay attention, but then it was too late.

Now about the break-up itself. When, in the memorable sitting of the Council of 500, Comrade Bela Kun, in a voice choked with tears, explained the resignation of the Soviet Government, the Socialist Ministry of Peidel came into being. Haubrich, as Minister of War, saw to it that no unrest broke out—till the Rumanians and the mental degenerate Arch-Hypocrite Joseph, the Perjurer,

came with his White Bandits. By the decrees of the Peidel Ministry all local Soviets and political commissaries were ordered to stay in office until further notice. Against their will, but in the interest of the mass of the people, the majority obeyed the order, and a few days later these conscientious comrades were arrested with the most horrible insults and ill-treatment by the officer camarilla, and tortured to death. But these murdered comrades live still in the spirit, and the seed which was sown in the four and a-half months continues to grow and will bear fruit a thousandfold when the time of the harvest comes. Then the proletarian will have its day of reckoning according to the principle: Vae Victis! An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

These ten facts were the cause of the break-up.

1. Taking over the Government unprepared.
2. Too few politically reliable comrades.
3. Union with the former Social Democrats.
4. Sabotage on the part of the former Social Democrats.

5. Plunder on the part of the People's Commissary for the Interior by nominating non-elected former Russian prisoners of war for office.
6. Corruption.
7. Antagonism of the peasants.
8. Dilettante financial policy.
9. Appointment of previous officers.
10. The military ascendancy of imperialistic mercenaries.

Comrades! Soviet Hungary is dead! Long live Soviet Hungary!

Remain firm on the basis of the Third International!

Replace the century-old Dictatorship of Capital with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

Long live the World Revolution!

INCREASE OF PRODUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

Le Populaire of October 11th states that according to advices from Zurich, a remarkable increase of production in all industrial undertakings has been observed in Soviet Russia. In spite of the terrible conditions of living prevalent in the Northern region, for example, production has been raised enormously in comparison with the condition in 1914. At the "Tudor" factories, the Osipow Copper Works, and the Skorokod Root Factory, proper Works, increased by 125 per cent., 118 per cent., and 112 per cent., respectively. At Moscow sixteen textile factories are at work, for the first time since they were closed down by their owners at the beginning of the war. At Vrasovo, in Voronezh County (gubernia), the Supreme Economic Council has, for the first time in Russian history, centralised control over sugar refineries. In the county of Volozda and in those of the Northern region (Petrograd and district), sixteen of these enterprises have been requisitioned and nationalised for this purpose since June 1st of this year. *Rkonomizatsiya Zhizni*, the organ of the Russian Supreme National Economic Council, gives the following figures, according to *Populaire* of October 30th, of trade union membership in Soviet Russia (unoccupied districts only):—

Textile industry, 714,000; railways, 450,000; metal industries, 440,000; leather and hides, 225,000; clerks, shop assistants, etc., 200,000; water transport, 200,000; clothing, 150,000; food, 140,000; building, 120,000; posts and telegraphs, 100,000. With lesser unions, a total of 3,442,000.

Le Phare (Switzerland) for October, 1919, publishes the following figures embodying the last information which has penetrated the blockade, concerning the productivity of industry in Russia. The statistics refer to the production of automobiles in the centralised and nationalised factories between January and May of the present year. Taking the manufacture of one automobile as the unit of production, we have the following table for the productivity of each factory:—

	Total time	Units produced	Relative for 1 Relative produced
January	99	100	83.0
February	179	180	45.5
March	260	262	25.5
April	285	287	24.5
May	302	305	21.5

As the works and factories are gradually being transferred to the workmen's administration, there is a marked increase in the productivity of labour. These undertakings left by owners are now being worked by the workmen themselves, who in a comparatively short space of time arrange everything and use every effort to raise the productivity. In five Petrograd suburban factories—Krasnogorod, Golodavsk, Nevsky, Slavyansk, and Babrovka—the following amount of paper has been turned out:—In January, 1919, 67,478 pounds; February, 70,556 pounds; March, 82,244 pounds.

[From the People's Russian Information Bureau.]

ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST I.W.W.

Without giving any credence to the news so freely circulated in the daily Press that armistice day was marked in Washington by excesses on the part of the Industrial Workers of the World, we are glad to give publicity at this moment to the violence used by the Government against the I.W.W. on other occasions. William D. Haywood, Secretary of the I.W.W., has sent a long list showing the abominable methods used towards anyone even suspected of belonging to the I.W.W. To give our readers an idea of these atrocities, so inhuman that they were not vouched for, and proof given, one could not credit them, we take the following extracts from Comrade Haywood's list:—

Many thousands of members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been imprisoned, on most occasions arrested without warrant and held without charge. To verify this statement it is but necessary to read the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations which gives the testimony of those who know of conditions at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where nearly 900 men and women were thrown into prison during the Textile Workers' Strike at that place. This same report recites the fact that during the Silk Workers' Strike at Paterson, New Jersey, nearly 1,900 men and women were cast into jail without charge or reason. Throughout the

northwest these kinds of outrages have been continually perpetrated against members of the I.W.W. County jails and city prisons in nearly every state in the Union have held or are holding members of this organisation.

Members of the I.W.W. have been tarred and feathered. Others have been deported, as, for instance, the cases of Bisbee, Arizona, where 1,164 miners, many of them members of the I.W.W., and their friends, were dragged out of their homes, loaded upon box cars, and sent out of the camp. They were confined for months at Columbus, New Mexico. Many cases are now pending against the copper companies and business men of Bisbee. Seven members of the I.W.W. were deported from Florence, Colorado, and were lost for days in the woods. Tom Lassiter, a crippled news vendor, was taken out in the middle of the night and badly beaten by a mob for selling the *Liberator* and other radical papers.

Our members have been cruelly and inhumanly beaten. Hundreds of them can show scars upon their lacerated bodies that were inflicted upon them when they were compelled to run the gauntlet. Joe Marko and many others were treated in this fashion at San Diego, California. James Rowan was nearly beaten to death at Everett, Washington. At Lawrence, Massachusetts, the thugs of the Textile Trust beat men and women who had

been forced to go on strike to get a little more of the good things of life. The shock and cruel whipping which they gave one little Italian woman caused her to give premature birth to a child. At Red Lodge, Montana, a member's home was invaded and he was hung by the neck before his screaming wife and children. At Franklin, New Jersey, August 29th, 1917, John Avila, an I.W.W., was taken in broad daylight by the chief of police and an auto-load of business men to a wood near the town and there hung to a tree. He was cut down before death ensued, and badly beaten. It was five hours before Avila regained consciousness, after which the town "Judge" sentenced him to three months at hard labour.

Members of the I.W.W. have been starved. This statement can be verified by the conditions existing in most any county jail where members of the I.W.W. are confined. A very recent instance is at Topeka, Kansas, where members were compelled to go on a hunger strike as a means of securing food for themselves that would sustain life. Members have been forced to resort to the hunger strike as a means of getting better food in many places. You are requested to read the story written by Winthrop D. Lane, which appeared in the September 6th, 1919, number of *The Survey*. This story is a graphic description of the county jails of Kansas.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

NOVEMBER 10TH.—Only one fine has been imposed as a result of the Profiteering Act, though 460 complaints have been heard. Do people still think that Parliamentary legislation will regenerate the world?

PRIME MINISTER CRITICISED.—Lloyd George has displeased the never-endians by his Guildhall speech. Mr. Bottomley (Ind.) asked whether the Prime Minister's speech meant that negotiations would be opened with Lenin and Trotsky? Mr. Bonar Law said it seemed to him to be only the "expression of the hope" that there may be "some method of obtaining peace in Russia." He further declared that Mr. Lloyd George had merely made a similar speech to Mr. Churchill's at the Russian debate on October 29th!

IMPERIAL RUSSIAN DEBT.—England lent the former Imperial Russian Government during the war £568,000,000. In addition the "provisional government" of Archangel was lent £1,350,000 after the armistice! It is in the vain effort to regain this money that Russia is kept in a state of ferment and a further £100,000,000 squandered on munitions to Denikin and Co.

A CONDESCENSION.—The Prime Minister has decided to grace the House on Thursdays in order to answer questions. How very kind. The House must feel highly honoured!

HUNGARY.—The reply to Commander Kenworthy (L.) on the subject of the restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty in Hungary gives food for thought. Mr. Harmsworth said: "Mr. Friedrich, the head of the present Provisional Government of Hungary, fully understands the attitude of the Allied and Associated Powers towards this question." In other words, the unfortunate Hungarians are held on line by the Allies, chiefly Great Britain, and must jump whichever way the string is pulled.

AGRICULTURE.—A second reading was given to a Bill which has for its object the encouragement of agriculture. Sir Arthur Hoscawen, who introduced the measure, explained that the war had taught the Government not to neglect its oldest industry. Will it also teach the Government to make the lot of the workers in that industry less hard, and no worse than that of skilled workers in other trades?

ALLIED INTERFERENCE.—NOVEMBER 12TH.—Mr. Long stated that "All German vessels trading in the Baltic, whether in neutral interests or not, are stopped unless they have obtained permission previously from the Allied Armistice Commission." What a nice, charitable mission for would-be peace-makers!

MILITARISM AGAIN.—In reply to Mr. T. Griffiths (Lab.) Mr. Churchill admitted that the military authorities in South

Wales secured the services of the Chief Constable of Monmouth last spring to obtain the names and addresses of the secretaries of trade union branches in the district! This appalling military act or interference Mr. Churchill passed over as merely being a precaution "in case any occasion should arise for communication with trade union secretaries." If it were an honest transaction the addresses could have been procured much more easily, and then why should the military want such information if not to interfere with trade unionism?

GENERAL SEELY'S CANDOUR.—General Seely explained to the House that he resigned from the Air Board because he regarded the present arrangement of the Air Board being linked up with the War Office as unworkable. Having come to this conclusion he explained the position to the Leader of the House, who asked him to remain till peace was signed with Germany. Then various matters delayed his meeting the Prime Minister, who gave him to understand that he approved of the present method. The only thing to do then, General Seely explained was to resign and "be no longer responsible for an arrangement which I was convinced was wasteful and inefficient." Even with this honest testimony before it the Government persists in its own way. What power Churchill must have!

A PUZZLE.—The maintenance of paupers has increased since 1914 by 10/6 per head per week; convicted prisoners by 16/5; pauper lunatics by 5/11; those sentenced to penal servitude by £1 4s. 7d. From these figures it seems that maintenance costs more the greater the offence!

INDUSTRIAL COURTS.—Further debates took place on November 10th and 12th on the Industrial Courts Bill. Mr. Clynes (Lab.) tried to divide the Bill into two parts, so that the part guaranteeing the present minimum wage until September, 1920, should be a distinct Bill. He urged this especially because the Act at present in force terminates on November 22nd. Further, the trade union branches had not sufficient time to go into the subject of arbitration in all its forms. The Minister of Labour would not hear of dividing the Bill. Labour members advocated that women should be added to the Court, and on the report stage the Minister of Labour made this concession, adding the words that one or more women should be added to the Court. Mr. Henderson (Lab.) mentioned the vexatious point that employers could not be compelled to come to these Courts, and thus increases in wages on account of increased cost of living were precarious. With the right to strike it does not seem as though this point were so very serious. The clause repealing the Conciliation Act, of 1902, was dropped owing to pressure from the Labour benches.

THE PRIME MINISTER.—NOVEMBER 13TH.—Thursday, henceforth, the day of days for both supporters and attackers of Lloyd George, found him at question time in the House.

In his usual way he over-ruled the wishes of the House, and made a speech in answer to about twenty questions on Russia. He informed the House that there was going to be an Industrial Conference to clear up the debris left by the Peace Conference, and Russia will receive attention. Frigidities to lose certain support he repeated Mr. Bonar Law's statement about consulting the House on any new policy. Has the House ever been consulted on foreign policy of late years? Why must this exception be made now when a vote against any honourable or decent attitude towards Soviet Russia is almost a certainty? Is the Government actually contemplating still more aggressive measures against the Bolsheviks, and does it think it can whitewash such action by getting a "packed" vote in the House?

NOT PAUPERS.—Mentally deranged ex-soldiers are treated in "pauper lunatic asylums." Mr. Houston (C.U.) protested against this "stigma"; but Sir L. Worthington Evans assured him that they were treated as "private paying patients," not as paupers. What a crime it is to be poor under capitalism! In Soviet Russia a poor lunatic is at least sure of decent treatment.

The present average cost of maintaining a child in industrial and reformatory schools is 18/- per week. These various facts showing what the upkeep of children and "paupers" costs, must eventually make the workers realise that their position is becoming daily stronger. For does not evidence such as this provide the best argument for a better standard wage?

IMPERTINENT.—Mr. MacVeagh (N.) was asked to withdraw from the House because he termed Mr. Macpherson, Chief Secretary of Ireland, "impertinent." But is not the whole performance of legislating at Westminster for Ireland an act of extreme impertinence?

ALIENS.—Enemy aliens are banned from this country for a period of three years from now. Without "special reasons" they will not be allowed to put foot on this hallowed soil. The result will be that all the friends of the big capitalists will always have a "special reason"; but the workers will be banned from coming to England.

DENMARK AND GERMAN REFUGEES.—German Socialists who fled from Germany when reaction set in, and who have had so far an asylum in Denmark are no longer to be allowed to remain. There have been police raids in the homes of members of the Socialist Labour Party who were suspected of harbouring German refugees, and five or six men have been sent back to Germany, this notwithstanding the fact that they never meddled in politics and lived as quietly as possible. The *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, of October 15th, remarks that there are hundreds of rich refugees from Russia and Germany who are quite free to enjoy their ill-gotten wealth in an otherwise democratic Denmark, while these poor working men are driven back to the country they fled from merely because they were suspected of revolutionary sentiments.

"I TRUST IN MY COMRADES."

An attempt has been made to secure the release of 'Gene Debs. The Ohio comrades sent down a committee to interview Debs, and he told them to return for his answer in thirty days.

On September 20th the committee returned, and received the following answer from 'Gene': *"I have studied this matter for thirty days. Every instinct in me is against making an individual fight for liberty while my comrades rot in jail! Woodrow Wilson and his political crowd sent me here from Mountville to kill or break me, I shall stay until I die or he is forced to release us all. My faith is in the rank and file of my comrades."*

Continuing, 'Gene' stated, "They have put me amongst murderers and rape fiends. But this experience has been absolutely priceless to me in enabling me to appreciate the magnificent qualities that sparkle in these men who are supposed to be the hopeless dregs of humanity."

'Gene' told stories of how prisoners had risked 130 days in the "Hole," in order that they might pass a piece of pie to him or wave their hands in greeting. They all come to 'Gene' with their troubles, in Atlanta penitentiary. It does not matter what their colour might be, there is that big human soul, 'Gene Debs, ever ready to brighten up the lives of the poor outcasts that must end their lives in the penitentiary.

"I have lost a few ounces of gristle," Debs remarked, as he touched his fleshless arms, "But I have gained tons of spirit. And while Woodrow Wilson could put me here, he can't make me look at the steel bars or the stone roof. I can see beyond the bars the flowers; and above

the roof I can see the stars, and beyond all this prison poison I can see my comrades, bravely battling for the release of all workers from bondage. We are waging a winning fight, and that makes me bear up and gives me new life."

The above message has reached us from Ohio. The rank and file there are joining the Communist Labour Party, so that better organised they may fight for the release of all class-war prisoners, about which George Hardy recently gave some lurid details in our columns. Not only in America should efforts be made to free the workers in prison, but here in this country much can be done to help.

THE IRONMOULDERS' STRIKE.

The moulders came out on strike for a 15/- increase on September 20th, and so far negotiations with the employers have been abortive. Seven thousand Scottish moulders have tendered strike notices which will expire on November 25th. The National Union of Railwaymen is to withdraw members who are making castings in the railway shops. The strikers are absolutely solid, and intend to win. We appeal for donations for the strikers' families, which should be sent to W. Ratty, Secretary, Central Committee, 5, Lyndon-road, Belvedere, Kent.

The Bermondsey Branch (Tool Makers) on the 14th, passed the following resolution:—

"That a sub-committee be elected to put into operation the necessary machinery for the purposes of obtaining a pure rank and file mass meeting to discuss and decide upon their position and attitude re the 15/- advance." The sub-committee has already met, and openly declared its rank and file intention, and sent out invitations for co-operation.

May the Rank and File of all concerns rise to the occasion.

COLONEL WARD UNMASKED.

At a banquet given at Irkutsk on the occasion of the arrival of the English division, Colonel John Ward made an imperialist speech which was reproduced in *Novosty Zhizni* (News of Life) of Harbin, Manchuria. In the extracts which we here give, Colonel Ward confesses the power of the Bolsheviks, and discloses the British Government's attitude towards Czarism. We also get a fairly clear insight into the sort of mentality of this man, whose reports on Russia receive credence in the Capitalist Press:—

"Passing over the Siberian railroad I have noticed at several stations the Bolshevik red flag, while nowhere have I seen the Russian national flag. To my demands of some of the station masters that the flag of Russian shame be taken off, and to my inquiries why the national flag are not floating—the station masters have given but vague answers. One gained the impression that the Russians were ashamed of their national flag, and that this feeling of shame was the result of the revolution. I have told these station masters that if the Russian citizens feel ashamed of being Russians, and, perhaps, do not want to have their own empire, their own Russian Government, and their own Russian flag—the vacant place may yet be occupied, and on their official institutions there may float the flag of that empire, the citizens of which have not forgotten their national integrity."

"For the first time in my stay in Russia I find myself in the company of a Russian body of men where one feels that there is a desire among them to rehabilitate their fatherland and to create such an order that Russia may again take its place among the great empires of Europe, and on equal rights with them. We English cannot but greet this with rejoicing. Our *sojourn here has one aim only—to prevent Russia from deteriorating and to help the Russians re-establish their empire.* We are indifferent as to what form the Russian Government will be moulded in: *Whether it be a republic or a monarchy, but if the leaders of Russian public opinion were to adopt as a model the old English Parliament, existing as it has since the eleventh century, and succeeding as it has done, during the long period of its existence, in working out its constitution in the best form, from our point of view, we can only hail it, and we surely will not deny them our help according to our strength.* One should bear in mind that a Government, no matter what its form—*are a republic or a monarchy, must rule the country with a strong hand, and must prevent morbid elements from unsettling the life of the State.* Our English democratic Government is at times more rigorous than any autocratic Government and knows how to force into submission the elements that make for disorder. And should it come to pass that the police, the hangmen, and the gallows were insufficient, the army loyal to the Government, would always come to the help of its country, at the moment of need."

CHEAP MILK.

The Press department of the Famine Information Bureau draws our attention to the following:—In the current *National Food Journal*, dated 13th October, 1919, and published by the Ministry of Food, the Food Controller, with the concurrence of the Minister of Health, desires to draw attention to the power vested in local authorities to provide milk for expectant and nursing mothers and for children under five years of age, through Maternity and Child Welfare Centres and otherwise, at a reduced price or free of cost in cases in which the local authorities are satisfied that circumstances justify the provision. The Ministry of Health makes a grant of half the expenditure incurred by local authorities and by voluntary societies in supplying milk at less than cost in such cases where the arrangements are approved by them. The Minister of Health has communicated with local authorities on this subject.

The working of this arrangement should not be accompanied by the usual official inquisitiveness. Thus, from February 1st till April 1st there was an increase in output of 14,766 poods.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements: One penny per word. Displayed advertisements: 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

LADY Teacher, returned from Central Europe, health grounds, owing to famine, seeks employment at once. Any position of trust acceptable. Apply Box 50, Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

READ "THE RED DAWN," a Monthly Magazine for Young Workers, Monthly, TWO PENCE.

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

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THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Friday, Nov. 21st 7.30 p.m.—The Square Woolwich. Melvina Walker.
Saturday, Nov. 22nd Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in Greenwich. Meetings at Blackheath Hill at 3 p.m. and at Stockwell St. at 7 p.m. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds and others.
Sunday, Nov. 23rd 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, Melvina Walker.
Friday, Nov. 28th—Sidney St. Mile End 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker.
Saturday, Nov. 29th Great Push in Hackney.

INDOOR.

Sunday, Nov. 23rd—400, Old Ford Rd. 7 p.m. Miss McCarthy, Chair: W. H. Cousins (see advert).
Monday, Nov. 24th 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting.
8.30 p.m. W.S.F. Reading Circle.
Thursday, Nov. 27th 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Mark Starr. Fourth Lecture on Industrial History, (Early Development in Britain).
Friday, Nov. 28th 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road E.3. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
Sunday, Nov. 23rd 12 noon—Victoria Park, Walter Pomeroy and others.
Tuesday, Nov. 25th 7.30 p.m.—Queen's Rd. Dalston Lane. Walter Pomeroy and others.
Thursday, Nov. 27th 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, Business Meeting.
Walthamstow League of Rights.
Tuesday, Nov. 26th 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall Somers Road.
Willesden Freedom League.
Sunday, Nov. 23rd 7.30 p.m.—Hamilton Hall, High Road, Willesden, near Pound Lane. Melvina Walker, W. S. F., on "A Woman's View of Present Day Issues." Admission free. Questions invited.

SOUTHWARK HERALD LEAGUE

Sunday, Nov. 23rd 7.30 p.m.—Newington Public Hall, Manor Place, Walthamstow Rd., S.E. Great Demonstration. Speakers: J. T. Murphy, David Ramsay, etc. Chair: Jack Tanner

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund. Mr. G. E. F. Coates Hansen £4; Bow Club, £1.13.3; Mrs. M. L. Bodley, 10/6. Collections. Osborn St. three, £2.7.0; Bow Workers Hall (two), £1.11.5; Dock Gates (three) 9/1; Sydney St., 4/-; Dalston, 3/6; Ealing, 2/5; Camberwell Green, 2/-.
Social Work. Mr. & Mrs. Sadd Brown £8; anon, £6; Miss Burgis, Sale of clothes, £2.7.0. Mrs. Richmond £2; Mrs. Boswell monthly, £2; per Miss J. E. Weir, monthly, £1; Nurse Hebbes 10/- weekly, £1; anon, £1; Miss Lettie Usherwood 18/-; per Nurse Clarke, 11/6; Mrs. M. L. Bodley, 10/6; Mr. W. Holmes 10/-; Mr. J. H. Fowler 2/-; Mr. Butler 6d. Collections. Per Miss Burgis £27.10.11; Miss E. Lagsding, Greens Yard, £1.3.2; Victoria Park 15/4; Miss Smyth 11/-.
Children's clothes—Miss Smith.

OUR INTERNATIONAL FAIR.

The W.S.F. Christmas Fair will be held on December 5th and 6th in the Bunhill Row Memorial Buildings, Roscoe Street, E.C. Goods of all kinds, groceries, national costumes, materials for making up, Xmas cards, etc., are very urgently required and donations towards the expenses will be gratefully accepted. A working party is held on Saturdays and Sundays at the Nursery, 438, Old Ford Road, Bow, and anyone who would prefer to make things at home can obtain materials there. Contributions, offers of help, and applications for tickets should be sent to Joan Beauchamp, 7, South Square, Gray's Inn W.C.,

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION. PUBLIC MEETING

400, Old Ford Road, E.3.
Sunday, Nov. 23rd, at 7 p.m.
Miss MCCARTHY: "Life in New Zealand."
Discussion invited.
Silver Collection.