THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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THE SOVIET POLICY IN THE EAST.

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF THE SOVIET POLICY IN THE EAST.

REPORT OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE FIFTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS.

[*The War has brought the East very near to us. A Soviet policy in the East has introduced a new spirit into the dealings between the Great Powers and their Eastern neighbours. This report is therefore of paramount interest this week.*]

Our policy in Eastern countries is laid down in the decree on Peace which was unanimously accepted at the sitting of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies on October 26th, 1917.

The Imperialistic Regime had created in the East a certain form of secret annexations. These consisted in the so-called right of granting concessions to Europeans, and in the institution of capitulations, *i.e.*, the immunity of citizens of imperialistic foreign countries from the jurisdiction, rules, and regulations of the Eastern countries.

The alien imperialistic Governments are maintained on foreign territory by armed forces, consisting partly of their own troops and partly of native levies raised by them locally.

These alien Governments have established in Eastern countries an order of things under which their subjects are placed in exceptionally favourable conditions, to the detriment of the population of the said Eastern countries. They have established there concessions, *i.e.*, settlements, in the precincts of which the status of the native population is akin to slavery, and from which the natives are often quite excluded. The subjects of the imperialist Powers are completely independent of the authorities of the State in which they live, and have erected a sort of inaccessible citadels from which they gradually extend their power over the oppressed peoples of the East.

Socialist Russia cannot reconcile itself to such an order of things, although it has been sanctioned by the usage of centuries. From the first days of the October revolution the Soviet announced to the enslaved Eastern peoples its determination to renounce all such claims to domination over Eastern peoples.

We renounced all secret agreements by which the ruling classes of the Eastern countries had tied themselves, either for their own gain or under threat of coercion, to the Czarist Government, enslaving the masses for tens and even hundreds of years.

PERSIA, MANCHURIA, AND THE EASTERN CHINESE RAILWAY.

We immediately withdrew our armed forces from the annexed Persian territory and recalled from Persia our military instructors, whose duty it was to create a native army for the protection of the interests of the Russian capitalists and for the support of Persian absolutism.

We notified China that we are renouncing the annexations of the Czarist Government in Manchuria and that we are re-establishing the sovereign rights of China in the territory through which runs the most important trade route—the Eastern Chinese Railway, the property of the Chinese and Russian peoples which has absorbed many millions of the peoples' money and therefore belongs to no one but to these peoples. And, further, assuming that the money spent by the Russian people on the construction of this railway were refunded to it by China, China may buy it out before the expiration of the contracts which were forced on her.

We have recalled from China all military guards at our consulates, sent there by the Czarist and by Kerensky's Governments in order to uphold the arbitrary acts of the former Russian officials.

We agree to renounce the immunity from Chinese jurisdiction of our citizens in China, Mongolia, and Persia.

We agree to renounce all contributions which under different pretexts were imposed on the people of China, Mongolia, and Persia by the former Russian Government. We should only like these millions of the people's money to be expended on the cultural development of the masses, and on efforts to bring about an understanding between the democracies of the Eastern countries and Russia.

"THE PARTY OF BROAD-MINDED HUMANITY."

One can imagine the impression made by the October Revolution on the population of the Eastern countries. The events in Russia found an echo first of all among our Asiatic neighbours. The great upheaval awakened in them aspirations for a new and free life. This fact could not be concealed from us even by the official representatives of the capitalistic Government. The party which brought about the revolution in Russia is known in China by the name of "The Party of Broad-Minded Humanity" (of Humaneness, *Guan-i-dan*).

A PERSIAN SOVIET.

In Persia, torn to pieces and too weak to struggle for its existence, there has arisen a movement which sees in the establishment of democratic organisations—on the model of our Soviets—the only means of salvation from the oppression of foreigners and their own ruling classes bought over by the former.

REVOLT IN CHINA.

In Southern China, where the population is more enlightened, there already rages open revolt, and only recently we heard one of the leaders of this movement confess that the fact that a Socialist Republic has existed in Russia for eight months gives the peoples of the East confidence in the possibility of establishing in their own countries a similar stable form of government. In the Far East, as in Europe, a struggle is waged against secret treaties. The open repudiation by Southern China of the recent alliance with the neighbouring State, an alliance which deprived the Chinese people of the right to decide their own destiny, and which draws them into sanguinary slaughter—this open repudiation has been sent to us and the democracies of the whole world by the representatives of revolutionary China.

JAPAN AND RUSSIA.

One can also imagine the impression produced by the Russian Revolution on the capitalistic Governments. In February took place the demonstration of the working masses in Tokio, which was immediately suppressed by the Japanese Government. Five of the more prominent members of the budding social-democratic party were arrested. The military censorship carefully suppressed all news from Russia.

Now our revolutionary Siberia is threatened with foreign intervention. On April 5th a Japanese contingent landed in Vladivostok and has not left it since. However, even in Japan there is a slow, but sure beginning of the people's struggle for the right of self-determination. This struggle manifested itself first of all concerning the question of intervention into Russian affairs. The man who had inspired the Japanese intervention policy, a representative of a waning but still powerful feudal system in Japan, Viscount Motono, former Ambassador in Russia, and closely connected with the Russian reactionaries who have taken refuge in Japan, had to resign. At the present time a struggle is taking place in Japan between two parties. On the one hand there are the representatives of the reactionary military party, who are endeavouring at all costs to provoke a conflict with the Russian people in order to profit by our weakness for their own aggrandisement. On the other are the representatives of the moderate liberal elements, who prefer to obtain definite advantages from us by peaceful means. They do not wish to turn Russia into a future enemy, as they know well that Japanese intervention into Russian affairs will pre-determine our mutual relations, nd perhaps the whole future history of the Far East.

We are willing to admit Japanese citizens who are striving for the peaceful exploitation of the natural wealth of Siberia to a wide participation in our industrial and commercial life. We are willing, provided China's consent for this is obtained, to renounce some of our rights to a section of the Eastern Chinese Railway, and to sell to Japan the southern branch (section) of this railway, and also to grant her other facilities for the export of Japanese products and goods to Russia. We are willing to renew with Japan the trade agreement and the fishing convention which is a source of well-being to the Japanese people, because Russian fish constitutes the staple food of the Japanese, and provides manure for the rice fields. Already an informal exchange of views has taken place between us and the Japanese Government on this subject.

The Japanese people must be made aware of all this and must judge the value of our concessions, concessions which probably are concealed from them—like so many other happenings in Russia—as probably also the fact that the Russian people wish to stretch the hand of friendship to the Japanese people, and to establish their mutual relations on a healthy and stable foundation. The Japanese people must be made aware that if this is not brought about, and our outstretched hand is rejected, the fault will rest with those classes of Japanese society who, knowing all this, concealed it from the Japanese people for the sake of their own predatory interests. If Japan, befogged and blinded by the military class, decides on the mad act of strangling the Russian Revolution, the toiling masses of Russia will rise as one man to the defence of what we hold dearest—the Socialist Revolution.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

EDUCATION IN THE ARMY.

Peace seems to be approaching but the Army Council's scheme for education in the Army does not seem to foreshadow a speedy demobilisation of the majority of the troops. What it does appear to foreshadow on the other hand is permanent conscription! Mr. Goldstone, M.P., a member of the Labour Party, is one of the Directors of Staff Duties. What does he say to this?

THE ARMS OF THE ORANGEMEN.

The new Irish Arms Order is, of course, framed to deal with Ulster: its terms are courteous, and it promises to return the arms "when this can be done with due regard to public safety." Will the arms be returned as soon as the war is over and in time for the Orangemen to use them in opposition to the Home Rule Act which was suspended for the war period. That is a question that people are asking.

IRISH CONSCRIPTION.

Irish Conscription is postponed till October 15th. What are you doing to prevent it altogether?

COAL.

The Coal Controller is limiting the consumption in his offices to 14 lb. per room per day or 20 tons per full year for 8 rooms. These rooms are only used in office hours and lighting is not included. A householder is only allowed 7 tons a year for 8 rooms out of which lighting and cooking have to be provided for!

THE MILK PRICE SCANDAL.

The Bakewell Rural Food Committee on September 27th complained that the Food Controller has fixed the minimum price of milk at 7*d.* per quart through the current price for the district [illegible] per quart. The Food Controller instead [illegible] is therefore burdening the people to the extent of an unnecessary 3*d.* per quart! Energetic protest against the exorbitant price of milk should be made all over the country. Women should go in crowds to the Food Control Committees and bombard Mr. Clynes with the demands that the price of milk be brought down to its pre war level, whether by subsidy or otherwise. Mothers do not let the children go short of milk!

MILK DEALERS' STRIKE.

Flint milk dealers are on strike against the controlled price and dealers in other places are threatening to refuse to sell. The Government has neither announced the cancelling of exemptions, as it did in the case of the Clyde engineers and the railway strikers, nor has it threatened to commandeer the cows!

WOMEN AND THE MINES.

Sir Guy Calthrop, the Coal Controller, wishes to introduce women's labour about the mines of Northumberland and Durham. It seems strange that such a proposal should be made on what is confidently predicted to be the eve of an Allied victory. Is the proposal made in order to attack the miners' position of powerful independence?

POSTAL WORKERS: EQUAL PAY AND SOLIDARITY.

At the Postmen's Federation Conference a resolution demanding that a real stand be made for equal pay for postmen and postwomen was defeated on the ground that a strike would not be successful with so much temporary labour available. Mr. Lynes, a fraternal delegate from the Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association, proposed the formation of a quadruple alliance of miners, railway, transport, and postal workers.

RED RUBBER!

At the Ninth Ordinary General Meeting of the Bukit Mertagam Rubber Co., Ltd., it was announced that last year's profit amounted to £40,000, i.e. 22½ per cent. on the Company's capital.

SATIRE AND SENTIMENT.

Mr. W. N. Ewer has published another book of verse, instinct, like all his work, with the vivid, hurrying thoughts of the moment, into which he probes with a quick, biting sarcasm, wreathed here and there with pleasant memories of trees and waters, flowers and sunny days. 'Whom the King Delighteth to Honour: a Ballade of Perorations'* should be carefully studied by Mr. John Hodge and the Prime Minister; whilst Mr. Sydney Webb should not miss 'A Ballade of Reconstruction.' 'Cousins German,' and 'London to Petrograd' are our favourites. Here they are:—

COUSINS GERMAN.

Our family affairs seem rather bad.
There's cousin William; all the papers say
He's to be hanged or somehow put away;
And cousin Constantine they say's as bad;
And now these awful things in Petrograd!
Poor cousin Nicholas has lost his job,
Kicked from his palace by a vulgar mob,
And everybody here seems strangely glad.

It makes one anxious; not so long ago
His people were as loyal as mine to me.
Now suddenly they turn and bid him go,
Saying they have no use for royalty.
The English once before grew sick of kings,
What if—Enough of such unpleasant things!

LONDON TO PETROGRAD.

So, you will give your folk the peace they crave
And will not help us to our bitter ends
And aims unspecified; then—you're no friends,
But traitors—huns—hired lunatics, who rave
Of things unspeakable. Besides, you'd save
The common folk from bondage: pah! absurd!
Freedom, my friends, is nothing but a word
We use to gild the shackles of the slave.

And you would turn this figment into fact;
God, but you're dangerous!—a vicious crew,
Democrats who believe, and think and act.
What if our people strike for freedom, too,
Fired by your mad example? Ay, what then?
Would God the Czar would take his throne again!

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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PEACE!

Before President Wilson's reply to the German request for an armistice had been made, all the press comments pointed to a refusal, and it must be remembered that the Press Bureau issues instructions to the newspapers concerning the things that may not be said and the policy which should be adopted concerning all important questions nowadays. *The Daily News* was a conspicuous exception to the general press chorus denouncing the proposal, but even *The Daily News* soon modified its cordial note of welcome.

The German Government, in appealing to President Wilson to open peace negotiations, accepts as the basis the President's fourteen points of January 8th, 1918, and his five points of September 27th. Though many of these points contain admirable principles, we have always regarded them as being used by jingoes to occupy the thoughts of the peoples, whilst the Governments and those who control the Governments are at grips with the real points in dispute between them. Surely, declares the earnest, tolerant, and trustful pacifist, President Wilson cannot refuse to open negotiations now that all his points are conceded; surely he must call on the nations to make peace now that the head of the German Government announces as its policy:—

"Willingness to join in a general League of Nations on the basis of equal rights for all, both the strong and the weak.

"The complete restoration of Belgium, particularly of her independence and her territorial integrity," with "an effort to reach an understanding in regard to the question of indemnity."

The treaties of Bucharest and Brest Litovsk "not to be a hindrance in the way of a general peace." [This would appear to mean that they are to be re-cast in accordance with the decisions of the Peace Conference.] "The Baltic Provinces in Lithuania and in Poland....shall regulate their constitution and their relations with neighbouring peoples without outside interference."

These are big concessions; concessions which Governments find very bitter in the making when forced to do so at the point of the sword, and with their native jingoes accusing them of cowardice the while! Belgium is to be indemnified and restored, Germany agrees to join the League of Nations, the Brest and Bucharest Treaties are to be set aside, President Wilson's points are conceded, but the "never-endian" press has its answer ready: it adds to the fourteen points a fifteenth, a sentence from Wilson's reply to Austria's recent appeal for negotiation without armistice:—

"We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the Central Powers. They have convinced us that they are without honour and do not intend justice."

The Allied politicians (who, happily, in this world of ever-changing circumstances will be replaced ere long, but who for the time being possess the power to say "yes" or "no" in peace negotiations) again and again have declared that they will never make a peace with the German autocracy. In America, especially, it has been insisted that only the republican form of government is sound. Upton Sinclair, that most individualistic American of semi-socialistic sympathies, has said: "May this destruction of goods, this slaughter of the world's manhood, not cease until......the people of Germany have learned the lesson which we, the people of America, have to teach them, the lesson of democratic government, the machinery of primary and party, of initiative, referendum, and recall, of secret ballot and universal suffrage." This machinery, by the way, no other Allied nation has adopted, and, in its entirety only some of the United States themselves! What can we say of such declarations since we remember that Britain and France entered the War in alliance with the Russian Czardom? Moreover absolute monarchy reigns in Japan, in Serbia and Roumania, and when the Allies forcibly took control of Greece and Bulgaria they made no steps to limit the absolute power of the monarchy in either country, assenting to the mere replacing of father by son on the respective thrones.

We see, therefore, that the Allies have not yet reformed themselves, the Kaiser nevertheless now makes some show of bowing to this Allied refusal to negotiate with Germany until she has been democratised. (Probably the people at home have forced his hand in this respect.) He has appointed as Imperial Chancellor Prince Max of Baden, who is supposed to be a Liberal, and has called into the Government, Erzberger, the chief promoter of the Reichstag peace resolution, Scheidemann and David, members of the Majority Socialist Party, and Solf, who has been praised by Allied politicians as a Liberal of pacifist tendencies, the entire Cabinet being formed from the majority parties in the Reichstag which supported the peace resolution. Prince Max, in his first speech to the Reichstag, announced that, "in accordance with the Imperial decree of September 30th the German Empire has *undergone a basic alteration in its political leadership*." He stated that the leaders of the majority parties, those who had supported the peace resolution, had been summoned for direct advice, and that he had agreed with them on his policy, that *he* had selected as members of the new government (he uses the words "in making my selections") men who had taken their stand "on the basis of a just peace, regardless of the War situation....at the time when we [the Germans] stood at the height of our military successes." He stated further that:—

1. The new manner of "constituting Imperial leadership is not something ephemeral, and that when peace comes a government cannot again be formed which does not find its support in the Reichstag and does not draw its leaders from it—..A Bill is being submitted to the Federal States to make it possible for members of the Government entering the Reichstag to retain their seats in the Reichstag."

2. The King of Prussia's message promising a democratic franchise "must be fulfilled quickly and completely." Other States should follow this example. (The majority parties made "equal suffrage" in Prussia a condition of joining the Government.)

3. During the War the extraordinary powers of the military cannot be dispensed with, but "a close relationship between the military and civilian authorities must be established....In all not purely military questions and especially as to censorship and right of assemblage," the final decision shall rest with the Chancellor.

4. The German Government will endeavour to secure that the peace treaty shall oblige the States which are parties to it to establish equally efficient institutions for the security of the lives and health of the workers, and their care in illness, accident, or invalidity.

This last comes like an echo of the Inter-Allied War Aims Manifesto. No doubt it was inserted at the instance of Scheidemann and David. We are rather sceptical concerning such declarations; their value is conditioned on the power of Labour to enforce them; but it is interesting that the German Government should be the first government to adopt such proposals for insertion in a peace treaty. Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson must look to their laurels in the direction of promise-making!

It is objected by those who would reject the German peace move that these changes in the character of the German Government all rest on the pleasure of the Kaiser; that the proposed reforms still leave him the power to make and unmake ministries according to his sole arbitrary will. If the Bill enabling ministers to retain their seats in the Reichstag is the sole legislative change intended in this respect, it appears that *The Times* and the other critics are right as to the Kaiser retaining absolute power. But is that so? The words of Prince Max are explicit: "A Government cannot again be formed which does not find its support in the Reichstag and does not draw its leaders from it." This appears to indicate that, just as in this country, the monarch will be obliged to choose as the head of the Government the leader of the party which commands the largest number of seats in the elected chamber, and it appears to go a step further than this country in establishing the rule that Cabinet Ministers must be members of the elected Chamber. Many points as to the future power of the Kaiser, of the Cabinet and of the Reichstag remain unexplained, but these points, after all, are the affair of the German people: it is they who should determine the internal management of their country. Those who in recent years have been answerable for what has occurred in Egypt, Morocco, Tripoli, and Persia, who have entered into the Secret Treaties, and who to-day are invading Socialist Russia have little right to pose as censors of international morals!

Though we believe that the German people alone should determine the manner in which Germany shall be governed, it is of course a fact that Prince Max and his colleagues do not form, in our opinion, a satisfactory Government. Scheidemann may be less bellicose than Hodge or Roberts; Prince Max may be, for ought we know, more liberal and pacific than Lord Northcliffe or Mr. Lloyd George, but we hope and predict that they will soon be replaced by a genuine people's Government. We believe the government of Prince Max to be a mere makeshift for the democratic Government desired by the Geman people, and we predict its existence will be brief.

But it is our candid opinion that if the Kaiser were to abdicate to-morrow and Germany to become a Socialist Republic, the Allies would still remain unwilling to make peace unless certain other conditions were fulfilled. We believe that, as far as this Government is concerned, the *South Wales Daily News* has pointed to the main issue at stake in its declaration that negotiations cannot be agreed to because Germany has not yet assented to surrender her African colonies. Moreover, the French Government appears to be standing out for the return of Alsace-Lorraine. Germany offers these provinces autonomy within the German Empire. This is not agreed to.

Italy, too, as the Secret Treaties and the declaration of her Ministers show, has other territorial aims, but as Italy is less powerful, her Government may have to forego such demands. We need hardly say that in our view it would be a monstrous shame to force the unfortunate peoples to continue suffering the hardships of war on account of Alsace-Lorraine and the German colonies.

President Wilson's reply to Germany's appeal for negotiations is indefinite. He asks:

(1) Does Germany accept the 14 points of January 8th and merely wish to discuss the practical details of their application?

To this Prince Max will probably answer "yes."

(2) Does Prince Max speak merely for the constituted authorities who have so far conducted the war?

Prince Max will probably say, as he did in his speech to the Reichstag, that he speaks for the entire German nation. The President may then ask for proof, and endless discussions may result. The President may be intending to ask for a General Election, the abdication of the Kaiser in favour of some one else (such changes have become quite fashionable now), or he may demand the recasting of the entire German Constitution. As we have already stated such changes are the affair of the German people.

Finally, the President says:—

before an armistice is granted, the Germans must evacuate the territories they have invaded.

Unless Germany regards herself as already defeated, she will undoubtedly reply that she [illegible] do so unless the Allies agree to do the same [illegible] in any case she is sure to ask whether her [illegible] are to cease during her withdrawal. The [illegible] are demanding that Germany shall be [illegible] unconditional surrender, and they will try to [illegible] President Wilson's reply lead to that goal. [illegible] we repeat that, in our opinion, Alsace-Lorraine and the German Colonies are the chief issues preventing peace.

Yet we believe that the Austrian Government says truly, "We are even now negotiating."

Meanwhile, the message of death is travelling daily to countless poor unknown homes in every belligerent country. One poor mother was mourning the fact that trench hardships had caused the removal of her soldier son to Claybury Asylum when she learnt that her sailor son had been lost with his ship which had been torpedoed! A common story! Already the colder weather is sending men home from France and Flanders with trench feet. The great offensive is piling up the casualty lists.

And when the War with the Central Empires ends what of the War with Russia? Is that to continue?

It is suggested that the Bolsheviki are pro-German and that they sold the honour of their country to the Central Empires at Brest Litovsk. But now the Russians have declared the Brest Litovsk Treaty, forced on them at the sword's point, to be null and void, because the Turks have violated it at Buku, Kars, Ardahan, and Batum.

As a matter of fact did not the British first invade Baku, the Turks only following suit? We hope that Russia's withdrawal from the Treaty is a sign that the Soviet Government feels confident of its power to withstand all foreign aggressors. Reports by Allied opponents of the Soviets complain that they are more firmly established than ever.

Whilst peoples mourn, financiers still are profiting How clearly this is shown by the taking of Spitzbergen the other day!. Says *The Daily News*:—

"AN ARCTIC COAL FIELD.

"The British flag has been hoisted in Ebeltaft Harbour, in Spitzbergen. German houses there and the German wireless station have been destroyed. Spitzbergen is one of a group of islands....covered with perpetual snow, but rich in coal and iron deposits....The Spitzbergen archipelago formerly belonged to America, but had been recognised as belonging to Russia. The Germans, it is said, had been scheming to obtain a hold on the islands through the Bolsheviks."

The Daily Chronicle calls Spitzbergen "an Arctic El Dorado," and declares that it contains some of the richest iron and coal deposits in the world. The expedition was conducted by the Northern Exploration Company, "with the approval of the British Government" and "the protection of the British flag." Says *The Chronicle*:—

"The Treasury has not yet sanctioned the new issue of shares for the company, but considering the national importance of the enterprise and its great urgency, there should be no delay in granting the company facilities to develop its work and thereby avoid further millions of money going to neutral countries for iron supplies."

Thus money speaks. Had Russia been strong no doubt she would have barred the way to these profitable operations!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

BRITAIN AND GERMANY.

The most interesting point revealed by the Treaty of 1891 is not that France and Russia had agreed to fight together in any quarrel with Germany, but that their decision to do so was dictated by the belief that Great Britain would join [illegible] against them.

CAPITALISM AND THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION By J. T. Walton Newbold

II.

In the last article I endeavoured to show how the peculiar political conditions which history bequeathed to the German people combined with their economic evolution to make their revolutionary movement political rather than industrial in its formation and objective. I suggested that what was more probable than an immediate working-class upheaval in Germany, was a shifting of the political institutions now in existence there by the capitalist class, who might very well dethrone the Hohenzollerns, overthrow the evident rule of the Junkers, and replace the military caste by a civil bureaucracy, in theory responsible to a democratic parliament.

This "democratisation of Germany," this "destruction of Prussian militarism," would undoubtedly meet with the entire approval of those capitalist elements that now control the affairs of Britain, France, Italy, and the U.S.A., and that are now endeavouring to re-establish a monarchy in Russia, but along constitutional lines. This is the revolutionary change which certain Americans desire to bring about in the government of the Central Powers and would welcome in Japan. The War for the idealists of capitalist democracy is the completion of their task of human emancipation of world liberation. They really hope, and expect, to extend over the whole world the political system appropriate to the régime of Capital. They are fighting amongst other things to extirpate feudalism* and the economic and political power which springs from the hereditary tenure of land. Kings, Kaisers, and the whole aristocracy of lords of the soil are to be swept away, and the world made secure for the superior persons who own and manipulate capital. The capitalist class considers itself the expression of all that is fittest to survive and to flourish over the whole face of creation. Like the feudalists of land, the would-be possessors of absolute property in capital deem themselves to be the trustees of mankind. In days gone by the capitalists were weak and struggling. Then they were a revolutionary force, the pioneers of a new heaven and a new earth. They were to a great extent cosmopolitans, advocates of free exchange, free contract, free institutions. What this really meant was that they were hostile to the institutions, laws, and customs of landlordism and feudalism. They were class conscious and, as they did not control the power of the State, they were not enthusiastic supporters of either its domestic, its financial, or its foreign policy. Now that the capitalists of Western democracy have gained control of the State power, they are directing it to serve their class interests. Over against them in Central Europe is their most deadly enemy—a union of property systems welded into a feudal capitalism, armed to the teeth, and supported by an enlightened monarchist régime. America faces Germany and around these great protagonists are grouped their political "allies," their economic vassal states. The two mighty capitalist countries, the two most highly developed productive organisations of the world are battling, first and foremost, for the market of Asia and for the labour power of 1,000,000,000 potential wage-slaves. If they can control the services of these, the capitalists of America and Germany will not mind what political "sovereignty" they acknowledge, what flag they salute, what Empire "owns" them.

The Capitalists do not desire "annexations" of land; what they mean to seize is labour-power. Because the feudalists have dominated government so long, because in the making of wars and treaties their law and their language have found expression, we talk of "annexations" and mean thereby transfers of land. To-day, however, in the proportion that the capitalist influence predominates over the landlord, the motive of conquest is the *annexation of labour-power* and of opportunities to apply it to natural resources.

Up-to-date the German politico-economic system has had greater success than the mutually jealous, conflicting, and distrustful partnership of capitalist democracies, and the world has seemed to be threatened with a revival of feudal dominion. This menace, to the writer's mind, has always been far more apparent than real, and, to him, it has been evident that sooner or later the material superiority of the Allies must tell.† When feudalism begins to fail German capitalism, that element enormously stimulated by the demand for its products during war-time, will desert Kaiserism and do all in its power to save itself from ruin. With the prospect of world-power being entirely shut off, German capitalism will not choose to go down to ruin with German junkerdom. Neither will the capitalists in the Allied countries pursue a policy calculated to complete the *debâcle* of private property in Central Europe. By "the rule of public right and order," the diplomats of political democracy do not mean Bolshevist Socialism.

When the danger of German world-dominion disappears the "Never Endians" will not be able to continue the War very long, because the destruction of militarism in Prussia will then become far less urgent than the holding down of the proletarian masses, who, in every land, are threatening to rise in revolt and sweep what capitalist politicians call "law and order, public right, and civil government" into the limbo of things forgotten.

At the present juncture it is doubtful whether peace would not injure the Russian Revolution and thereby, of course, harm the prospects of the Revolution all over the world. Lenin, far-sighted and resolute to achieve a world revolt against international capitalism, was no supporter of the Stockholm business. He believes—and with that view I myself, since my conversion to Marxism, have been in accord—that it is to our interest as Socialists that the Imperialist Powers should mutually destroy each other. For that reason I hailed the entry of the U.S.A. into the War.

The continuance of the War is producing spontaneous outbursts of revolt in every country. It is driving the governing classes to renewed efforts of reaction. It is spurring them on to increase the rate of exploitation until it becomes more and more unbearable. It is dragging the whole population into the industrial and, probably, yet into the conscript systems. It is destroying the middle class and private enterprise. It is identifying the State more and more with the exploiting class. It is breeding new industrial expressions of working-class action to take the place of officialised trade unions and atrophied political institutions. The one thing that concerns us as Socialists is not to agitate against the War, but to get ready for Revolution. We shall not occasion it. Conditions will produce the revolt, but it may well be abortive unless we are ready to give it form and system and to act as the willing and purposeful instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

(TO BE CONTINUED).

* We do not agree with Mr. Newbold in this view. We believe that capitalism is not concerned to establish Parliaments, but to secure raw material, trade routes and, as he observes, labour power.

† This material superiority appears to us to be purely a question of labour power and raw material, not of governmental machinery. Mr. Newbold's view on this point is not quite clear to us.—ED. WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

ARTHUR RANSOME'S APPEAL.

From the moment of the October revolution on, the best illustration of the fact that the Soviet Government is the natural government of the Russian people, and has deep roots in the whole of the conscious responsible part of the working classes and the peasantry, has been the attitude of the defeated minorities who oppose it. Whereas the Bolsheviki worked steadily in the Soviets when the majority was against them, and made their final move for power only when assured that they had an overwhelming majority in the Soviets behind them, their opponents see their best hope of regaining power, not in the Soviets, not even in Russia itself, but in some extraordinary intervention from without. By asking for foreign help against the Soviet Government they prove that such help should not be given, and that they do not deserve it. The Soviet has stood for six months and more, absolutely unshaken by any movement against it inside Russia. In the Ukraine the anti-Soviet minority asked for intervention and received it. German bayonets, German organisation, destroyed the Soviets of the Ukraine, and then destroyed the mock government that had invited their help. We, the Allies, supported that anti-Soviet minority, and, in so far as our help was efficacious, contributed our share in obtaining for Germany a victorious progress from one end of the Black Sea coast to the other.....In Finland we repeated the mistake....Do not let us make the same mistake in Russia. If the Allies lend help to any minority that cannot overturn the Soviets without their help, they will be imposing on free Russia a government which will be in perpetual need of external help, and will, for simple reasons of geography, be bound to take that help from Germany. Remember that for the German autocracy, conscious of the Socialistic mass beneath it, the mere existence of the Soviet Government of Russia is a serious danger....Remember all these things, if indeed you need, as I think you do not need, such selfish motives to prompt you to the support of men who, if they fail, will fail only from having hoped too much. Every true man is in some sort, until his youth dies and his eyes harden, the potential builder of a New Jerusalem. At some time or other, every one of us has dreamed of laying his brick in such a work. And even if this thing that is being builded here with tears and blood is not the golden city that we ourselves have dreamed, it is still a thing to the sympathetic understanding of which each one of us is bound by whatever he owes to his own youth.....

Well, writing at a speed to break my pen, and with the knowledge that in a few hours the man leaves Moscow who is to carry this letter with him to America, I have failed to say much that I would have said....I ask only that men shall look through the fog of libel that surrounds the Bolsheviki and see that the ideal for which they are struggling, in the only way in which they can struggle, is among those lights which every man of young and honest heart sees before him some where on the road, and not among those other lights from which he resolutely turns away. These men who have made the Soviet Government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shields and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the story of the human race. They are writing it amid showers of mud from all the meaner spirits in their country, in yours and in my own. But, when the thing is over, and their enemies have triumphed, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and the writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun when I looked from my windows in Petrograd.

And when in after years men read that page they will judge your country and mine, your race and mine, by the help or hindrance they gave to the writing of it. [Reprinted from *The New Republic*]

THE MISSION OF RUSSIA.

By a Native of the Baltic Provinces.

The events transpiring in Russia at the present time are but the repetition of the age-long struggle between the poor and the rich; between oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited. History read aright is the record of this struggle, and again and again as we turn the pages of the past we meet it—we see it in the slave revolts of ancient Rome, in the peasant revolts of the middle ages; the revolutions in England and France. But in Russia, for the first time in the history of the poor, the poor and oppressed have been victorious over their eternal enemies. In the French Revolution also the workers triumphed over their feudal overlords and the monarch; but the middle class, whose victory the French Revolution largely was, knew then how to wrest the hard-won power from the ignorant masses of their people. In Russia history is repeating itself in the same way—but with a difference. The Middle classes, greedy for power, are striving to wrest it from the Soviets. But they will not succeed. The Russian workers have learned something of history; and they have seen that the greatest enemy of the working-class is the Bourgeosie. Knowing history, they will not have any compromise with the Bourgeosie. When a man offers his little finger to the Devil [illegible] Satanic Majesty quickly possesses his wh[illegible]ntary act The Russian industrial class, though n[illegible] one, is still a party with a good pol[illegible]

Thousands and thousands of Russian workers have been compelled to emigrate; they have been in all the countries of the world; they have studied the political life of every nation, and now they are back in Russia.

Again, thousands upon thousands of Russian workers have spent years and years in the prisons of Russia; and the Russian prison is the University for the people. In the Russian prison is to be met the professor and the student, and there they give lectures to their fellow prisoners of the working class. So that the Russian worker returning to freedom from prison is equipped with a University training of three, five or ten years. Moreover, thousands of Russian students in the years that are past have been secretly teaching the workers of Russia social and economic history and science. From all these circumstances it follows that every Russian worker has some idea of the development of human society and of Marxism. It is this that makes Bolshevism so strong; for Bolshevism is the natural union between the revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary idealistic intelligence, like Lenin, Lamenoff, Lunatcharsky, [illegible] leaders of the Russian workers, are their marriage lines [illegible] class. They have come to sufficient ground for regist[illegible] because their studies in for issuing again a copy of th[illegible] taught them that it is a natural law that the destiny of the world rests with the workers; that to the workers it has fallen to introduce Socialism and emancipate the whole world from thraldom. Lenin has spent considerable time in France, England, Germany and Austria, and is probably the greatest Marxist student of to-day. This is the strength of Bolshevism; and to this strength has now been added splendid organisation and a People's army of men well armed and disciplined and ready to sacrifice themselves for the great ideals they hold.

The employing classes are, of course, doing everything in their power to overthrow the People's Government. They represent the Bolshevists as cruel, criminal and ignorant people.

Indeed they say of the Bolshevists much what the Germans are saying of the British, and the British of the Germans at the present moment. They declare that the Bolshevists are against Liberty and Freedom, but this merely means that the Bolshevists refuse to be so foolish as to allow the employing classes to organise their counter-revolution without opposition. The latest movement in this campaign is the campaign opened by Kerenski against the workers, and, as is but natural in a man with such a mission, he meets with much sympathy amongst the middle-classes of the countries he visits, including the friendship of the Australian Premier—Mr. Hughes. But no Kerenski, and no Korniloff, no power in the world can hinder the Russian proletariat from fulfilling its historical mission of realising the dream of generations—the introduction of Soci[illegible]

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11th.
Grundy Street, Poplar (Food Campaign).—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12th.
Hoxton District.—Meet at 2.45 and 6 P.M. at Whitmore Head. Speakers: Mrs. Cole, Mr. Moscovitch, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13th.
The Flagstaff, Hampstead.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—6 P.M., Mrs. Walker.
MONDAY, OCTOBER 14th.
Whitmore Head (Food Campaign).—2.30 P.M., Miss Price, Mrs. Walker.
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18th.
White Cross Street, City Road (Food Campaign).—12.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19th.
Meetings in Hampstead.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 14th.
44 Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15th.
400 Old Ford Road.—3 P.M., Miss Smyth.
85 Camberwell Grove, W.F.S. At Home 7 p.m.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17th.
Social Evenings, Chandos Hall.—7.30 P.M.
76 Whitechapel Road.—8 P.M., Mr. Moscovitch, and others.
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18th.
400 Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting, London Section.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somer's Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

FEDERATION NOTES.

A meeting will be held at Leonard's Academy, High Road, Leytonstone, on Wednesday, October 16th, at 7 P.M. Speakers: Mrs. Hart, and others. Admission free. All are welcome.

BOW.—Hon. Sec.: Norah Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road. Meetings will be held every Tuesday at 2.30 at 400 Old Ford Road. Members are asked to come and bring their friends.

CENTRAL LONDON W.S.F.—Arrangements now made for DREADNOUGHT Social Evening at Chandos Hall, October 17th. A most attractive programme has been arranged, including dances by Elsa Lanchester. The Misses Rickards and Miss Helsby will sing. Sylvia Pankhurst and W. F. Watson will speak. We hope to finish up with a dance. Tickets (6*d*. each) may be had from 29B Lincoln's Inn Fields, or at the door. Mary Casey is in great need of contributions towards refreshments.—EVE CASEY, 29B Lincoln's Inn Fields.

A SOCIAL EVENING

IN AID OF THE "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT"
on
Thursday, October 17th, at 7 p.m., 1918,
at
CHANDOS HALL, 21a, MAIDEN LANE, STRAND.
SHORT SPEECHES BY
SYLVIA PANKHURST & W. F. WATSON.
CONCERT. DANCING. GAMES.
TICKETS, 6d. EACH. REFRESHMENTS.

"DREADNOUGHT" ON SALE

At Mrs. CARFORD'S,
183, WEST STREET, SHEFFIELD,

WORKSHOP NOTES.

By W. F. WATSON.

Another illustration of the effectiveness of direct action. It concerns a comrade who is an active shop steward and a member of the Executive of the Works Committee. He is also the travelling delegate, and attends all conferences. The management wanted the girls in the grinding shop to operate two machine grinding cylinders. In his capacity as shop steward our comrade stopped them doing so until the matter had been placed before the Works Committee. This was done, and as many of the shop stewards were of the opinion that a girl could operate two machines, the change was sanctioned provided that the condition of the shop was improved and vacuum pipes installed to take away the dust. The firm agreed to put in vacuum plant but wanted the change put into operation at once, but our comrade prevented this, and the Committee definitely refused sanction until the plant was in. Then the management found fault with our comrade's work. Although he had been there *two years* he was told to look for another job, the reason being incompetency. The Works Committee took the matter up, and a deputation waited on the management, which agreed to withdraw the dismissal if a transfer was applied for. Although our comrade was quite prepared to accept the position the Committee did not cotton on to the Governmental way of sacking a man. That method may be alright for Sir E. Henry but not for a worker, so our comrade was instructed not to look for another job, but to stay in the shop. The foreman said he would personally give him a week's notice, but when he saw that the whole of the workers were prepared to down tools on the question he thought better of it, and our comrade is still awaiting that week's notice. And such is the power of the Workers' Committee Movement at Crayford

There is another similar case of victimisation in the same shop and it is being taken up by the Committee. Unfortunately the case is prejudiced by the bad timekeeping of the man in question, but the Committee is prepared to fight the matter to a finish.

THE MOONEY CASE.

Tom Mooney in San Quentin Prison, California, had as cell neighbour a negro, Fred Miller, condemned to death for the murder of a Portuguese girl. The San Francisco *Daily News* says that Mooney made notes of the negro's mental condition in the days preceding death, intending to use them in a book some day—"if he lives." Mooney, who must be saved, will probably make a strong plea against capital punishment and the iniquitous legal procedure which makes it possible to hang an innocent man. A committee representing international trade unions recently informed President Wilson that, though the Courts of California have declared themselves without power to grant Mooney a new trial on the present conviction, the Governor can arrange with Mooney for a written pledge not to plead against his present conviction, and can then prosecute him on one of the other eight or nine charges of responsibility for deaths caused by the explosion. Thus a fair trial could be obtained

UNDER 30 VERSUS OVER 40.

The Suffrage Committee of the Prussian Upper House has adopted the Government proposal concerning universal and direct suffrage, with an amendment granting a supplementary vote to all persons of 40 years of age and over. If "universal suffrage" is to include women and if the supplementary vote at 40 is the only form of plural voting, the Prussian franchise will be more democratic than the British, with its business vote and University vote and its vote on a property basis for women over 30!

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS' PEACE TERMS.

The German Socialists in Austria have moved a resolution in the Reichstag demanding peace on the following terms:—

1. The establishment of a League of Nations.
2. The avoidance of an economic war.
3. No annexations and the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and Belgium.
4. No indemnities.
5. A new settlement of the Eastern question on the basis of self-determination.
6. The amendment of the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest peace treaties.
7. The settlement of the Polish question by the Polish Constituent Assembly.
8. The solution of territorial disputes in the South on the basis of the right of the Italian and South Slav peoples to self-determination.
9. The re-shaping of the relations of the various nations of Austria to the Empire on the basis of the freedom and self-government of all races.

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND, AGAINST CONSCRIPTION.

In the bye-election for Wellington Central, N.Z. the Anti-Conscription Labour candidate polled 2,665 votes; the Independent Labour candidate, 1,044 votes; the Ministerial candidate, 784 votes, and three other candidates. 223 votes.

WHICH DESPOTISM?

General Knox, on arriving at Vladivostok, made the following statement to Mr. Avksentieff, President of the Ufa Conference set up by Kerensky's party: "You are right, Sir, in saying that we do not come here to meddle in Russia's internal affairs or to win material advantage for ourselves. During the last four years we have freely poured out blood and treasure on the battlefields of the West. Here in the East we shall do the same; and in neither case do we expect reward, territorial or otherwise. The sole remaining despotism is Prussia, and we shall fight on, both East and West, until the last agent of despotism, be he German or Bolshevist, is driven from Russian soil."

The best comment on this speech is the final verse of Ewer's 'No Annexations':—

We cannot help it if our fate
Decree that war in freedom's name
Shall handsomely remunerate
Our ruling classes. 'Twas the same
In earlier days—we always came
Not to annex, but liberate.

THE INTERNED IRISH.

DEAR EDITOR,—Will you allow me to draw the attention of the English public to the fact that the Government arrested in Ireland, nearly five months ago, over a hundred men and women under suspicion of being concerned in a "German plot." These men and women have not been tried, but have been taken from their native land and interned in various prisons in England. Until very recently they were not allowed visits from their relatives; now they are allowed, as a very great concession, one visit of half an hour every three months. As a result of this treatment the health of several of them has been seriously injured. At the time of their arrests Mr. Shortt stated that the evidence against them would be given at the trial of Dowling (who was accused of having landed in Ireland from a German submarine). When Dowling was tried no evidence was brought forward against those who are interned. Lord Wimborne in the House of Lords stated that though he was Lord Lieutenant he knew nothing of the "German plot." Is it not time that those who are interned should be released or tried? And why should they be kept under harsher conditions than criminals?

SEAGAN GONNE MACBRIDE.

U.S. AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Senate has failed to pass the Woman Suffrage amendment, as the vote of 53 to 31 [illegible] of the amendment lacked the necessary [illegible] but the question is to [illegible] appears to be [illegible] African colonies. that Great [illegible] against them.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

TRAINED HOUSEMAID who can do plain cooking, wants temporary position in the country, where she can take her little boy (aged three). Apply "400," this office.

NURSE-GOVERNESS wanted for day nursery.—Apply Box 1, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

COOK with knowledge of vegetarian dishes wanted for children's home near London.—Apply Box 2, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

MATRON wanted for children's home.—Apply Box 3, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

GARDENER wanted with good experience.—Apply Box 4, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

FOR SCRAMBLED EGGS, ETC., USE
Greer's
Agreeable Whole Dried Eggs,
2 whole eggs 2½d.
wholesale only,
D. W. GREER & Co., Camberwell, London, S.E.5

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.

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

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

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

[Advt

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