THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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THE GENERAL ELECTION. By W. F. Watson.

For months past we have held the view that a General Election would be inflicted upon the country about the same time as the end of the war, and I was not mistaken. I contended that the war itself had a dividing influence upon the people, preventing them from uniting, and when that influence was lifted there would be a tendency towards industrial unity unless some other dividing influence were released. And there is nothing better calculated to divide the people than a General Election. Therefore, I find myself at variance with Bernard Shaw when he says in *The Herald* for December 7th: "They [the politicians] calculated that the history of the South African War would repeat itself: that is, that they would secure a khaki election before the end of the war and that this would enable them to do as they pleased until the inevitable repetition of the 1906 reaction, during which interval they would have time to guide our half-Socialised industries safely back into the hands of Capitalism."

I do not think the politicians worry a great deal about piloting the controlled factories and railways back into the hands of the Capitalists. It would in fact, suit them just as well if all industries were nationalised provided a bureaucratic Parliament were in control, whatever particular brand of politician happened to be in a majority. What they are most concerned about is regaining and maintaining the credit of the Parliamentary Machine, which has been greatly impaired by four years of industrial activity. What Bernard Shaw and most politicians forget is that for over four years the workers have had to rely wholly upon their industrial organisations, with the result that the Parliamentary machine has become somewhat discredited in the eyes of intelligent workers. Further than that, the abject failure of constitutional officialism forced the rank and file to rely upon its own resources, and the success of the unofficial strikes during the war period has given an enormous impetus to the rank and file industrial movement and developed confidence and initiative amongst the workers themselves.

The politicians saw quite clearly that immediately the dividing influence of the war was removed the workers would come together upon the industrial field, and a united people upon the signing of the armistice would be a serious menace to the Capitalist system. Hence the General Election. Not only does a Parliamentary election divide the people but it also diverts their energies and activities from the industrial movement. Men who should be concentrating on the Shop Stewards' Movement are either Parliamentary candidates or actively working for candidates. Scores of full-time trade union officials are away from their duties as officials, in consequence of which the organisation suffers. Take the A.S.E. as an example. The candidates include the Chairman, General Secretary, an Assistant General Secretary, two Organisers, and a member of the Executive Committee—all full-time officials who, for two weeks at least will spend the main part of their time electioneering. Similarly with other unions; and we know of one organisation whose organisers have been taken off trade union work to canvas for votes. Besides which there are men like J. T. Sheppard, Arthur McManus, J. T. Murphy, J. T. Walton Newbold, and W. Paul, wasting valuable time messing around with the abominable Parliamentary machine. I know these men to be sound and that they will seize the opportunity to preach the Class War and Industrial Organisation, but the mere fact that they are Parliamentary candidates, to my mind, confuses the issue and they could have done far more useful work by keeping well away from the dangers of the Parliamentary morass.

I am more than ever convinced that the revolutionary industrialists will sooner or later have to repudiate the Parliamentary machine entirely and build up, through the Workers' Committees a National Administrative Council outside of any Capitalist structure, to supersede the functions of the Parliamentary machine.

The Triumph of American Labour: Gompers is Granted an Audience by King George.

[*With acknowledgments to the 'Liberator.'*]

Our Special Illustrated Russian Number December 28th. Order now to avoid disappointment.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

The great question before us, Henry, is whether we shall vote for Baggs or make a cross in favour of Maggs: there is also the form of Snaggs in the background making violent noises. In fact they are all making very violent noizes. And about what? Well, we need not linger longer in our ignorance, for here is *The Daily Mirror* (Dec. 3rd, 1918) to inform us what the row is about. Says Lord Rothermere, or perhaps his editor, the questions that the people want answered in this great Election are, firstly about the Kaiser, secondly about the Kaiser, and thirdly about the Kaiser. The people want to know, you know. They are suffering, not from a potato scarcity, but from a thirst for information. When you saw that queue outside that greengrocer's, the people in it were only waiting to ask the greengrocer's opinion on the Kaiser. Coal merchants are being worried to death by people with one eye on a coal truck and the other on the Kaiser. They will not be happy till they get it—not the coal, but his opinion on the Kaiser.

That is all the people want to know. I did hear from an unofficial source that Mr. George Windsor (late Wettin or Guelph) was recently asked by some discharged soldiers in Hyde Park, "What about my pension?" But one knows that Christmas time is the time for riddles and conundrums. The great, the only questions are—but why repeat myself?

And now, Henry, these pressing problems of Baggs and Maggs, not to say Snaggs. You are a British citizen. You own a part of India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ireland and the Cannibal Islands. It is true you don't own a yard of England, but one must not be greedy. It is likewise true that you cannot pay the landlord by offering him your share in all the above. Neither can you spread it on your bread in place of margarine. But—you have a vote.

All Baggs asks is that you exercise your vote in his favour. Maggs is of the opinion that Baggs is deceiving you, and your cross will be cheerfully borne by him (Maggs). Meanwhile Snaggs asks you to propel Maggs and Baggs into the outer darkness and take him (Snaggs) to your bosom. But all of them are anxious to make your life pleasanter, by promises at least, and politicians never break pledges, you know. Never? Well, hardly ever.

Lord Rathermore, as you may have guessed, Henry, is a sad joker, like brother Alfred Northcliffe. The questions about the Kaiser, and making the Huns pay, to put it mildly, are persiflage. Or, to use Bermondsey dialect, just so much "gas." Boil the Kaiser in oil, snatch old Hindenburg baldheaded, and roast the Crown Prince slowly in Trafalgar Square—where are you? Back at work on Monday and all the other Mondays. And perhaps your boss wanting to know: "What did you take that day off yesterday for?" That's where *you* are.

The majority of people *may* want to know what the Kaiser's fate will be—which I beg leave to doubt. You have the testimony of the Press to that effect. They jump in your face every morning in big headlines and assure you most solemnly that those are the questions you are asking. And what the majority of people are asking. Naturally, being a democrat, friend Dubb, you may believe in majorities: you will soon be told, when all the noses—tut-tut, votes have been counted that Snaggs has got in by a majority of umpteen hundred. But that is a delusion. It is just another red herring, unless Snaggs has more votes than Maggs and Baggs put together. And that occurs about once in a blue moon—which is as often as Parliament passes a law that does you real good. Anyway what about the minority?

Well, what about them, you ask: being a modest man, Henry, and letting other people wear out their brain boxes whilst yours drops to pieces. There is this about them. If the Government said: "The majority of voters are in favour of intoxicants; we have therefore passed a law that all adults are to assist the revenue by consuming three gallons of liquor—preferably Government ale—per week per head": now where would you and I be, Henry, with out teetotal inclinations? Conscientious objectors, shirkers, cowards, molly-coddles, and white-livered noodles who would rather another man got drunk for us than drink half-a-pint ourselves. So much for majorities.

But to return to Snaggs, and Maggs and Baggs, they are all anxious to do anything—or anybody. They will at least promise anyway, and if they forget, it will be, as John Hill carefully explains to his worthy brethren in *The Boilermakers' Monthly* (November, 1918), a *lapsus memoriae*. But what in effect do *you* want? I take it you want good food, good clothes, a good job and plenty of leisure. And freedom. Do you expect to get them by merely marking a cross against the name of Baggs or Snaggs or Maggs? What have the Baggses and the Snaggses done for you? Say rather, they have *done* you. Conscription and the Munitions Acts, and Dora. And read these: "Soldiers in charge of railways: Riflemen sent to South Wales" (*Star*, September 25, 1918), "Clyde strikers to be put into the Army; Government give three days to return to work" (*Daily Chronicle*, September 29, 1918). Then the deplorable "accidents" at Featherstone, Tonypandy, Llanelly and Liverpool. That is what you get from a grateful Government—and five bob a week if a miracle happens and you live till seventy.

The electricians did not go round to the Government cap in hand to get them to wake up Mr. Carter of the Albert Hall. They gave the electric shock to the gentleman themselves. And he woke up.

When you want to buy a new pair of boots you do not mark a cross on a piece of paper and wait for Parliament to pass an Act. I believe I am not far out in saying you just do it. And them's my sentiments, Henry.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIALISTS.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INTER-ALLIED SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.

It will be remembered that at the recent Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conferences which during the War have attempted to take the place of the Socialist International, non-representative persons from Italy, Russia, and other places have been invited to attend as consultative delegates and have been given the right to speak and to vote! In view of these unconstitutional proceedings an inquiry should be made into the extraordinary treatment meted out to Comrade W. H. Andrews, the duly accredited delegate of the various Socialist organisations of South Africa. On first arriving in this country Mr. Andrews was assured that his credentials were good and that he would be welcomed as a delegate. But by the time that the conference was held it had transpired that he was an anti-war, pro-Bolshevik and pro-Internationalist Socialist. He was told that he could not be a delegate to the conference.

The following resolution, which has been passed by the International Socialist League of South Africa, sums up the report which Mr. Andrews has had to make on the matter, besides embodying the protest of South African Socialists:—

"Whereas a cable was received by the International Socialist League (S.A.) from the Secretary of the British section of the International, 1917, inviting that body to send a delegate to an Inter-Allied Conference to be held at London in August, 1917, and later to a proposed Conference to be held at Stockholm.

"And whereas, in response to that invitation, the above organisation in Conference assembled with the Social Democratic Party, Cape Town, the Social Democratic Party, Durban, the Jewish Socialist Society, Cape Town, the Indian Workers' Union, Durban, the Native Workers' Union, Johannesburg, the Tailors' and Tailoresses' Union, Johannesburg, Kimberley Socialists, the South African Peace and Arbitration Society, Cape Town, Pretoria Socialist Society, and many unattached Socialists, on August 5th, 1917, in Johannesburg, and decided to send a delegate.

"And whereas Comrade W. H. Andrews was unanimously selected, and at considerable sacrifice to himself and the above organisation, sailed on August 19th, 1917.

"And whereas on arrival in England he was too late to attend the first mentioned Conference, but at an early date presented his credentials to Mr. Henderson, Secretary to the British section of the International.

"And whereas Mr. Henderson assured him that at any Inter-Allied or International Conference he would be entitled to attend—Mr. Henderson's exact words being: 'You can depend upon it there is no possibility of a meeting being held without your being informed, as we ourselves would be very much disappointed if any working class representative holding credentials such as yours was in this country and not present when an Inter-Allied or International Conference was held.

"And whereas, notwithstanding this assurance, no invitation was given Comrade Andrews to the Inter-Allied Conference, to be held on Feb. 20th. 1918, and on our delegate asking for explanation he was informed that he could only be admitted in a consultative capacity with no right to speak or vote; and that, on attempting to address the Conference for the purpose of stating his case, he was asked to resume his seat by the Chairman, instructed by Mr. Henderson, and was obliged to remain a silent spectator throughout the proceedings.

"And whereas one primary object of our delegate's journey was unaccomplished owing to the prejudiced attitude adopted by the conveners of the last-mentioned Conference.

"This Conference of delegates from the before-mentioned bodies and unattached supporters, meeting in the Palmerston Hall, Johannesburg, on Sunday, August 11th, 1918, places on record its most emphatic protest against the injustice of such proceedings, and trusts that the Socialists of Great Britain and other countries will insist that at any future Labour-Socialist Conference all sections of the workers' movement shall be adequately represented, and that, in addition, the pernicious system of voting in national groups at the International Conference be departed from."

"THE TOILING MASSES."

Mr. A. Aspden, Fleetwood Trades Council appeals on behalf of a local comrade, G. G. Bailey, who has been sentenced to pay £21 and costs for circulating the appeal from the Russian Socialist Republic to the "Toiling Masses of Europe." Our comrade is the only support of his mother, and the Fleetwood comrades are but a small band of rebels engaged in breaking up new ground.

* * * * *

DEAR COMRADE,—In the present serious time when revolutionary feeling is higher than ever before, and perhaps, higher than it will ever be again in our time, it is of the utmost importance that all our efforts should be of *real* value.

I am convinced that attempting to get an uneducated mass to vote for believers in revolutionary Socialism, is sheer waste of energy. Consider the following, and smash them if you can:—

1. Huge numbers of the masses are apathetic and incapable of being educated to our aims. They are the despair of propagandists.

2. Education is the one and only necessary action, because it only requires an educated minority of the working class in order to overthrow the capitalist minority. The apathetic mass always follow the winning side.

3. That the excuse, that good propaganda is done during an election is absurd by reason of the fact that propaganda can and should be *always* carried on, and secondly that serious education is more possible in comparatively quiet times, as opposed to during the stress of wild electioneering.

4. That the excuse, capture Parliament in order to control the armed forces is *invalid*, because Parliament cannot control an opposition army. (Remember British Army and Ulster, also Russian Government and "their" troops.)

We must educate the Army, they are our sons and brothers. Which is preferable:—

(*a*) A Socialist Government attempting to control a reactionary army, or

(*b*) A Capitalist Government attempting to control a revolutionary?

I invite sincere and candid criticism in the interest of education. Let us recognise the truth.

—Yours fraternally, W. SAVAGE.

THE SOVIET AND HOURS OF LABOUR.

An 8 hour day! After 1920 no young person under 20 years shall be employed to work for hire! Decree by the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Russian Republic on the duration and distribution of the working hours.

1. This law extends to all undertakings and business concerns, whatever their extent or ownership, and to all persons working for hire.

2. The time during which, in accordance with the hire agreement (articles 48, 60, 96, 98, and 103 of the Statute on Industrial Labour), the worker is bound to be on the business premises and at the disposal of the manager for the execution of the work, is called the working time, or the number of working hours per 24 hours.

Note (*a*).—In mining the time necessary for the descent and ascent is included in the working time.

Note (*b*).—The working time of workers employed outside the establishment is to be determined by special agreement.

3. The working time laid down by the rules for the internal order of the establishment (§ 1 art. 103, Stat. on Ind. Lab., normal working time) must not exceed 8 working hours every 24 hours, or 48 hours a week, including the time necessary for cleaning the machinery and putting the working place in order.

On Christmas Eve (December 24th) and on the eve of Trinity Sunday all work must be stopped at noon.

4. An interval of not less than one hour for rest and food must be allowed not later than six hours after beginning work.

RULES TO BE MODIFIED BY REASON OF TECHNICAL NEEDS AND THE DESIRE OF THE WORKERS.

Such intervals, during which the workers may dispose of their time freely, and even absent themselves from the premises, must be indicated in the rules posted on the premises. During the intervals machinery must be stopped; exception only being made for overtime work carried on in accordance with art. 18-22 of this law and for working on machinery for ventilation, pumping, lighting, &c., or where for technical reasons, in the case of unfinished castings, bleachings, and so on, machinery cannot be stopped.

Note (*a*).—Works which the Chief Labour Department permits to be uninterrupted and where three shifts of workers are employed are not subject to these rules, but there too the workers must be allowed a certain time for meals.

Note (*b*).—If the working conditions prevent the workers absenting themselves for meals a suitable place must be set apart for this purpose. A special place must be provided for workers in contact with materials (such as lead, quicksilver, &c.) recognised by the Chief Department for Factories and Mining Works as prejudicial to health.

5. The total duration of all stoppages of work during the working day must not exceed 2 hours.

6. After 9 P.M. and before 5 A.M. is called night.

7. Women and workers under 16 years may not be employed at night.

8. In works employing two shifts the time between 9 P.M. and 5 A.M. is called night. The offtime may be reduced to half an hour for each shift.

9. Where the workers desire (for instance, in brick kilns), or for climatic reasons, intervals of a longer duration may be advantageous, the Chief Department for Factories and Mining Works (or the organisation acting in its stead) may allow digressions from arts. 4, 6, and 8 of this law.

CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS.

10. In hiring minors under 18 years of age the following rules are to be observed, in addition to those stated above:—

(i.) Children under 14 cannot be hired for work.

(ii.) The working time of children under 18 years is seven hours.

NOTE.—From January 1st, 1919, no one under 15 years of age can be hired for work. From January 1st, 1920, no one under 20 years of age can be hired for work.

[This is one of the most remarkable things done by the Soviet Republic. It is a striking indication of the vast changes which Socialism will bring about. Overburdened British working-class parents may say: "It is impossible that we should keep our children without working till they are 20 years of age!" But remember that in Russia a standard wage and the abolition of capitalists and employers place all the people in a position of economic equality and make it possible for all parents to send their children to the University. Under Soviet Socialism poverty is abolished, and all are rich, in that they have enough. The best educational opportunities are at last open on equal terms to all children.—EDITOR 'WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.']

11. In the list of holidays on which hired work is prohibited (§ 2, art. 103 of Stat. on Ind. Lab.) are included all Sundays and the following feast days: January 1st and 6th, February 23rd, March 25th, May 1st, August 15th, September 14th, December 25th-26th, Good Friday and Saturday, Easter Monday and Tuesday, the day of the Ascension of Christ, and second day of Descent of Holy Spirit.

Note (*a*).—Persons not belonging to the Christian faith are allowed to take other holidays instead of Sundays in accordance and to include other holidays.

Note (*b*).—At the desire of the majority of the workmen in an establishment January 1st and 6th, August 15th, September 14th, December 26th, Good Saturday, and Easter Monday may be replaced by other holidays.

12. When working with one shift daily, the Sunday or holiday rest must be 42 hours. When there are two or three shifts the duration of the Sunday or holiday rest must be arranged by agreement with the workers' organisations.

13. No mutual agreement between the manager and the worker can make it obligatory to work on any holiday enumerated in article 11 instead of on a working day. Any such agreement must be immediately communicated to the functionaries responsible for the administration of this law.

14. The Chief Department for Factories and Mines (or the organisation acting in its stead) may prescribe rules allowing for necessary digressions from articles 3-5 and 8, in the case of industries satisfying public requirements, which must be carried on at night or irregularly at different seasons of the years: for instance, the lighting and water supply of towns.

15. For specially injurious works or manufactures where there are specially unfavourable conditions or danger of professional poisoning (drying kilns, quicksilver, bleaching, &c.), the working time mentioned in articles 3-5 and 8 must be reduced. A list of such works and manufactures, with indication of the duration of working time and other conditions for each separate work, shall be drawn up by the Chief Department for Factories and Mines (or the organisation acting in its stead).

16. Women and boys under 18 years may not be employed underground.

17. Digressions from article 3-5, 8-12 are only allowed by agreement with the workpeople and the approval of the labour organisations, in regard to workers employed for such auxiliary services as heating, water supply, lighting, guard and fire brigade service, and works necessarily executed before the starting and after the stoppage of the general factory work.

18. Any work which, according to the time table, is outside the working hours is called overtime work. Overtime work is only allowed under the conditions given in articles 19-22 and is paid for at a double rate.

19. Women and boys under 18 may not work overtime.

Workmen over 18 years are allowed by the labour organisations to work overtime:—

(i.) When work, begun in due time, is delayed, owing to unforeseen accidental conditions arising from the mechanical conditions of manufacture and the stoppage of such work at the usual time would be dangerous or would damage the material and machinery (chemical processes, castings, &c.).

(ii.) When the work is necessary for averting danger to life or property, or averting accidental circumstances infringing on the technical requirements for the regular working of water supply, lighting, sewers, or public communications.

(iii.) In the case of necessary repairs in the event of sudden damage to boilers, motors, machines, appliances (buildings, dams, boreholes, &c.), which may give rise to a stoppage of work.

(iv.) For the execution of necessary temporary works in some branch of the enterprise where fire, breakage, or other unforeseen circumstances have stopped the work either completely or for a time, and when such work is necessary to keep going the other branches of the enterprise.

20. In the case mentioned in article 19 (iv.) a special authorisation for overtime work must be obtained from the Labour Commission or Inspector, in which must be indicated the duration of overtime work per day and the period over which it will extend. For overtime work in the cases mentioned in (ii.) and (iii.) article 19 a simple notification thereof is sent to the Inspector.

21. All overtime work and pay for same must be recorded in the workmen's settlement books, and a full and precise account for each workman separately must be entered in the office books.

22. Overtime work under the conditions mentioned in articles 19-22 shall not be allowed for more than 50 days in the year for each branch of the works, and a special account must be kept of every day of overtime in each branch, even though but one workman should have worked overtime on that day.

23. No workman shall work more than 4 hours overtime in two consecutive days.

24. For the immediate future, until military operations cease, by agreement with the workers and labour organisations regulations limiting overtime (art. 19-23) and regarding the offtime between work (art. 4-6) may be set aside in the case of those engaged in defensive work.

25. The law is to be promulgated by telegraph and shall be enforced immediately. The maximum penalty for any infringement will be one year's imprisonment by verdict of the Court.

In the name of the Russian Republic.

J. LENIN,
Labour Commissary ad int.

Petrograd, October 29th, 1917.

FREE RUSSIA GREETS THE GERMAN WORKERS.

On the receipt of the news of the German Revolution, the Russian Bolshevik Government sent out the following wireless from the Tsarskoe Selo station:—

"November 11th.—To all Workers', Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils of Germany. We have learnt, from a Kiel wireless, that the workers, soldiers and sailors of Germany have taken possession of Government power. The Russian Soviet Government congratulates you from the bottom of its heart, and deplores with you the victims who have fallen in the glorious fight for the emancipation of the working-class....We have learnt that Prince Max of Baden is still at the head of the Government, and that Ebert is to be appointed Imperial Chancellor—the same Ebert who for four years has been supporting Wilhelm and the capitalist Government. Workers, soldiers and sailors of Germany, whilst you tolerate a Government consisting of princes, capitalists and the powers of Scheidemann, the Government will never be in your own hands. The Scheidemannites and the Erzbergers will sell you to the capitalists. Do not let yourselves be persuaded by fine phrases to call a Constituent Assembly. You know where you have been landed through your Reichstag. Only a Council of Workers, Soldiers, and Sailors, and a Workers' Government will gain the confidence of the workers and soldiers of other countries. Such a Government will propose to the workers of England and France an honest peace, and we are convinced that they will then follow our, and your, example in settling accounts with their capitalists and generals. An honest peoples' peace will then ensue.

"Simultaneously with the fight for peace and freedom, you must also fight for bread. So far as Russia is concerned there is enough bread, both for you and ourselves in the Ukraine, in the Don, and in the Kuban district....Scheidemann's Government has expelled from Berlin the Ambassadors of the Russian Soviet Government. It fears all intercourse between the German and Russian soldiers. Come into contact with us by wireless; call on the wireless stations at Moscow and Tsarskoe Selo, and tell us what is happening in Germany. We are doing our utmost to send you bread immediately. Long live the international solidarity of the Russian and German workers and soldiers! Long live the German Soviet Republic!—(Signed) The Russian Government of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Soviets, Moscow."

FREE RUSSIA SENDS FOOD TO GERMANY.

On the same day Tchitcherin sent the following telegram to the German Soldiers' Councils on the Eastern front: "Comrades! unite with your Russian comrades. Come into close contact with the Russian revolutionary organisations and representatives. In Russia our Workers and Peasants have actually got foodstuffs for the German revolutionary people. Two trains laden with corn are ready to proceed to Berlin. Inform us where and when our delegates could meet yours in order to discuss the needs of the hour."—*Volksrecht*, November 18th.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE ELECTION.

"No, I'm not going to vote," said a poor woman in a 'bus, "the British Government would take the blood from your heart." In those bitter words she summed up her attitude towards the empty political balderdash, which now issues in prolific streams from the mouths of Parliamentary candidates and their supporters, and all but fills the newspapers.

We hope nothing from this election, save that it may serve to spur the workers on to abolish Parliament, the product and instrument of the capitalist system, and to establish in its place Councils of Workers' Delegates, which shall be the executive instruments for creating and maintaining the Socialist community.

The Parliament which is now being elected cannot possibly be fitted to cope with the great and important changes that are impending. The Coalition is the Party of Capitalist reaction, the Liberal Party is but a weaker embodiment of the same thing. As for the Labour Party—if all, and more than all, its candidates were elected, even if, by reason of their numbers, it could capture the reins of Government, it would give us nothing more than a wishy-washy Reformist Government, which, when all the big issues that really matter came to be decided, would be swept along in the wake of capitalist policy. The list of Labour Party candidates presents a curious medley of ex-Liberals, ex-Tories, Jingo Trade Unionists of narrow outlook, middle-class pacifists, with a small sprinkling of Socialists. It would be impossible to secure decisive action from such an assemblage on any really vital question.

Mr. Sidney Webb, whose ideas, long discarded by the awakened rank and file in the workshops, still hold the executive in thrall, has foisted upon the Party the tame, middle-class reformism embodied in that document, ridiculous as coming from a workers' party, which is called 'Labour and the New Social Order.' The pettifogging reforms there laid down will change nothing; they will leave the poor still poor, the rich still rich. When every one of those resolutions has been enacted, still we shall have with us men and women dwarfed in every faculty by chronic want: the class that is lectured and patronised, written about and legislated for, and for whom charities are arranged, the parents, whose children it is said to be necessary to "protect" from their "ignorance." The acceptance of Webb's new social order will neither empty the prisons, which are filled by poverty's crimes, nor deprive the rich Theosophists of the opportunity to develop the gentler side of their natures by visiting the slums.

Webb and the majority of the Executive, the Parliamentary candidates, and the prominent personages in the Labour Party, are struggling hard against a philosophy, growing fast amongst the rank and file—a philosophy which it is found convenient to call Bolshevism; but which, of course, is simply Socialism. Says Webb in *The Daily News* of December 10th:—

"The essence of Bolshevism is a contempt for Parliamentary institutions; the loss of faith in Democracy as we understand it; reliance on 'direct action' by the wage-earners themselves; the supersession of the House of Commons by 'Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils,' from which all but the manual workers are excluded; and the dictatorship of the Proletariat.' This is the revolutionary epidemic which is now spreading westward over Europe.

"The way to prevent this 'moral influenza' from making headway in Britain is to restore a Free Parliament; to ensure that every popular grievance is heard in the House of Commons; and especially to make it clear to the whole of the wage-earners that there is no attempt to vote down those candidates who are voicing the aspirations of Labour.

"The best antidote to the Bolshevism that would ruin us would be the return of a couple of hundred members of the Labour Party under Mr. Henderson and Mr. Thomas, in order to save the Government from having to succumb to the profiteers."

Webb for a political generation has been called a Socialist. Was he really a Socialist in his youth? If he has ever had a glimmering of the vision of Socialism he must surely realise that, under Socialism, we shall all be the proletariat, that there will be but one class. In the transition stage, when people who employ others and live on incomes they have not earned still remain, surely it is but wise to concentrate the voting strength in the hands of those who are workers. It is right to do this, if only as a symbol that honour is due to the worker, not to those who live as parasites on the wealth produced by others. If in the transition stages the Webbs, as well as the Northcliffes and Rockefellers, should be deprived of votes surely their practice in wielding the pen still gives them more than their share of influence. The tide of Socialism, bringing all power to the workers, is sweeping over Europe and waves of Socialist thought, of working-class longing, are rising to meet it in this country; Webb and those who are holding the reigns of power in the Labour Party shrink from it, fearfully trembling. Unconscious lackeys of the capitalist system, instinctively they fear that system's fall. Is there no spirit in their souls to answer to the call of Socialist fraternity? It seems not.

Our German Comrades.

Ramsay MacDonald has again repudiated the phrase: "Our German friends." Thus men push greatness from them! Thus Parliamentary politics narrow and cramp the vision! Gladly we note the courage of our German Socialist comrades and the progress of their tremendous struggle. Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and the others of the Spartacus Party take their lives in their hands. An attempt has been made by the Government of Ebert and Scheidemann (the pseudo-Socialist Government, which forms the German equivalent of our Labour Party) to arrest the Executive of the Workers' Council. The attempt has failed. The Council is too strong. The unarmed people of Berlin have been fired on by the machine guns of Ebert's Government. These things are explained away as "mistakes"; the Government dare not justify them in the eyes of the people. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg have been arrested, but the Government found it wisest to set them free. Kurt Eisner, Premier of the new Bavarian Republic—another Ebert, another Kerensky, a Henderson—strives to adhere to the old Parliamentary system and to hold back the Soviet idea. He appeared before the troops with armoured motor cars to guard him, but the soldiers insisted that these should be sent away. The people have caught the spirit of freedom, German Socialism grows apace.

Allied Troops welcomed by German Counter-Revolutionaries.

Press correspondents report that the German counter-revolutionaries, the "well-to-do people," welcome the Allied troops as deliverers, who will protect them from the German workers. Philip Gibbs, in *The Daily Telegraph*, reports that on December 6th the Burgomaster of Cologne sent a special message for the British troops to enter before the appointed time and that some British machine gunners were sent forward. Gibbs and others say that there are still plenty of cakes and chocolates for the German rich, but that the children of the poor have pinched faces and some have died of hunger. So the rich fear the poor. Because of the soldiers with red flags, *The Times'* correspondent was told by the Chief Burgomaster of Duren that he was glad the British troops had arrived. Aix, too, we are told, has been very desirous of getting the British military police for its protection.

British Armistice Commission refuses to negotiate with Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

The principle of share and share alike, of social and economic equality for all, is now that which inspires the German people. If the application of that principle is denied, trouble, a rising, is clearly inevitable; the people refuse to continue starving in the midst of plenty. The Workers' and Soldiers' Council, the instrument designed to create the machinery of the well-ordered Socialist community, is the only body which can maintain the peace and satisfy the just demands of the people. Its good offices are still checked by the timid reactionary Ebert Government, but that Government must shortly disappear by command of the masses. As in Russia, only foreign armies can prevent all power passing to the Council. As in Russia, so in Germany, the Allies seem determined to oppose themselves to the Workers' Council. Wilson's message we have already noticed. Now it is reported that Admiral Browning, on behalf of the Allies, has refused to negotiate with the German Workers' and Soldiers' Council. Here is the press telegram as published in *The Times*:—

"AMSTERDAM, Dec. 6.—A Wilhelmshaven telegram, dated December 4th, published in the *Rheinisch Westfalische Zeitung* says:—

"'The British naval squadron under Admiral Browning arrived here to-night, and was obliged to anchor in the Schilling roadstead owing to fog. The squadron was met by the small cruiser Regens (? Regensburg). Admiral Browning has sent a wireless message saying he would not negotiate with the representatives of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.—*Reuter*.'"

Henderson and the Armistice.

And what has the British Labour Party to say to all this? Its voice is silent. It makes no protest against the flouting of the German workers who have established themselves as the controlling power in Germany. Oh, no! for of course, like Mr. Webb, it objects to "dictatorship by the proletariat." Apparently our Labour leaders are of opinion that it is the duty of the workers to pass resolutions and plead with their masters, but by no means dictate to them! How feeble, in the light of this, are the projects for calling Labour and Socialist International Conferences, which are timidly put forward, from time to time, by the Henderson-Huysmans Combination! How feeble, too, is the proposal of reactionary old Gompers to call an International Trade Union Congress, though Gompers acts with a confident vigour arising from the comfortable sense that the approval of some at least of the master class politicians is behind him! But let us give Henderson and the Labour Party Executive the benefit of every possible excuse. They do not approve of Bolshevism; they believe that to set up a Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates in place of Parliament would be our ruin. That being so, it must not be expected that they should run the risk of press abuse, and consequent popular disfavour, by standing up for the German Soviet, especially during these vote-catching election days!

But the policy of Ebert, Scheidemann, and their so-called Socialist Government, must assuredly be the policy of the British Labour Party—if it has a policy, which is often doubtful. What have Henderson and the British Labour Party done to protect the Ebert Government? That is a question that Ebert and his colleagues will certainly put to Henderson and the British Labour Party Executive if, by any remote chance, they have the courage to force a meeting of the International before both are overthrown.

The Ebert Government is threatened by the growing power of the Spartacus group, because the war and the Allied blockade have created food scarcity, and a general condition of

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AT AN ELECTION MEETING.

A Working Woman: "Can I have a few questions with you, Mr. Blair?"

Reginald Blair, M.P. for Bow and Bromley: "Yes."

Working Woman: "Where have you been for four years when we've been to the House of Commons asking for you time after time?"

R. Blair: "I've been in France."

Working Woman: "We didn't ask you to go to France; we asked you to represent Bow and Bromley. Did you take the £8 a week?"

R. Blair does not answer.

Voices: "Answer the woman."

R. Blair: "Yes, I did take the £8 a week. I wasn't aware you were at the House so often."

Working Woman: "No! and you didn't understand the budgets we took to you at the beginning of the war; you weren't aware that we were standing in queues."

Working Man: "I'll buck you up, missis."

Working Woman: "I don't want bucking up. I can do enough for him. As his mob browbeat us in Victoria Park for asking for a vote, so I'll browbeat him. I've been looking for him for four years. You were aware that I was mobbed by your friends in Victoria Park. You didn't hold with the vote for women. Do you hold with it now?"

R. Blair: "No."

Working Woman: "You want them to vote for you though! But they won't; not one of them, if I can help it."

THE ELECTION

(continued from page 1152).

which the masses find unsupportable, and from which the Spartacus programme and control by the Workers' and Soldiers' Council alone offer a way out. The Allied control of Germany's railways and occupation of her ports and industrial districts, the taking of ships and locomotives, the rules that workers may not leave the factories, and the doffing of their hats to Allied troops will spur the German people on to take more drastic measures. German capitalists say to the workers: "You must have American and other foreign help: foreign Governments will not aid you if you establish Socialism." But to the starving and oppressed workers these are empty words; the workers have been fed on words (the principal fruit of the Parliamentary system) far too long. Therefore the armistice terms are helping the Ebert Government, by producing in the mind of the German people the sense that as it is is not worth continuing, and that it is not worth while facing the great risks involved in a bold effort to build up life on a new basis.

The armistice terms are obstructing a German Social-Reformist Government, the sort of Government Henderson approves; yet Henderson sets the seal of his approval on the armistice. He does more, he not merely supports it as a temporary measure to make the resumption of hostilities by Germany impossible; he seems to suggest that the conditions of the armistice which admittedly are designed and effect the purpose of holding Germany down so that she cannot resist whatever terms the Allies may decide to impose on her) shall be the conditions of the peace! Does he really mean that the ships, and the locomotives, and the motors, and the occupied territories and towns are to be retained? And then he talks of "a Wilson peace" and "international co-operation, instead of international hatred and ill-will"!

He is reported to have said at Cardiff on December 7th:—

"There is a disposition in certain quarters to go as far away as possible from the conditions of the Armistice. I hope we are not going to make the whole country look ridiculous; for no nation has talked more rightly, or held up more nobly to scorn the great country that had torn as a scrap of paper its signed document."

We want to know from Mr. Henderson whether the terms of the armistice were agreed on whilst he was still in the Cabinet; and whether it was then arranged that they should form the basis of the peace. If the answer is in the affirmative, he may explain the reason why Henderson thus invests the terms with a sacred character, though it will not enhance our respect for the British terms which Mr. Henderson agrees shall be imposed, not on the Kaiser, but on the German people who have rebelled against their tyrants.

It is an extraordinary thing that no single well-known Labour leader has raised an emphatic protest against the harsh punishment intended for a capitalist Kaiser being imposed on the German people by a combination of capitalist Governments. If there were no other reason for abolishing the Parliamentary system, this would be reason enough, for this silence is due in great part to fear of a press hue and cry which would result in loss of votes.

Small Nations and the Peace Conference.

It is announced that at the Peace Conference the small nations will not be admitted to the general discussions, but only to those directly affecting their own countries. Thus the Great Powers protect themselves against pressure from a combination of small nations. Oh, Wilson! where are your fourteen points that promised to the weak and small equality with the strong and great? Cast down, oh workers of all lands, all faith in capitalist diplomacy! Build up the Workers' Industrial Republic; though the straight path may be steep and narrow it only will lead you, at last, to the promised land.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE WORKERS' AWAKENING.

Two thousand workers of the London Small Arms Factory last week went marching to Whitehall. When the Armistice was declared they, in common with the other munition workers were told that there would be no discharges for six months. Then on November 27th discharge notices to expire on December 3rd were served on 450 workers. The other workers were offered a time wage of £2 5s. a week for 33 hours. So they all went marching to Whitehall to demand that wages should not fall below £3 a week and that no one should be dismissed before Christmas. No settlement was arrived at but the notices have been postponed.

The experience of the London Small Arms factory workers has been similar to that of workers all over the country. The Woolwich Arsenal workers held a procession and demonstration on Tower Hill on Monday and many other meetings and deputations have taken place. The most remarkable feature of the proceedings is that they are organised in many cases spontaneously by the workers in the shops, not arranged by officials outside and there is a general tendency to demand not out of work pay, but nationalisation of the industry, the adaptation of the plant from war work to peace work and there is a demand that the workers shall draw the profits of the industry save for a percentage paid over to the Government. These mark an important new stage in industrial politics.

FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK.

A mass meeting of Sheffield engineers and allied trades yesterday rejected the offer of a forty-seven hour week, and decided by an overwhelming majority of a full-week of forty-hours.

SOLIDARITY.

The possibility of a strike of the whole South Wales Coalfield because the Bedwas Collieries are reported unsafe is another instance of the growing solidarity of the workers and their recognition of their industrial power.

MILITARISM.

BY MAUD GONNE MACBRIDE.

With a friend I was passing the Shelbourne Hotel, one day in the beginning of May, and was attracted by the sight of two soldiers with fixed bayonets, marching up and down in front of it; they marched ten paces away from each other and ten paces towards each other and pivoted on their heels each time they met, with the precise exactness of mechanical toys, their faces also had the expressionless stare of painted toys. Two ragged little boys and one little girl stood looking critically at them. One little boy tried to imitate their stiff movements. "Oh, come on," said the little girl, "they aint alive," and away they ran into the Green gardens where the ducks were diving and swimming under the bridge. I wondered what thoughts were passing behind those wooden faces, and pity began to take the place of amusement. Why should human creatures be made riduculous? But bitterness took the place of pity when I remembered the fate of a young Kerry schoolmaster at the bidding of an officer who had ordered him and others of his kind mechanically to fix bayonets and clear a Gaelic League hall:

There was agitation in the hall of the Shelbourne Hotel, a young officer appeared at the door, and with immense importance gave brief words of command, which increased the jerky movements of the automatons and then brought them to a sudden standstill, amid a clanking of sword and accoutrements. A fat and red, overfed specimen of khaki-clad humanity came out, and got into a motor car; it was the Commander of the Forces in Ireland. The young officer again became important and pronounced some magic phrase which brought the mechanical toys again to life and they recommenced the series of their jerky movements up and down. I said to my companion with a smile, "Isn't this sort of thing an anomaly in the 20th century."

Was it for the smile or were those subversive words overheard by some one of the army of plain clothes detectives who also guard the majesty of militarism in Ireland? A few days after I was seized in St. Stephen's Green by military order, and without trial shut up in an English prison.

HYNDMAN AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The National Socialists Party wants Lloyd George to send H. M. Hyndman to the Peace Conference. It gives as one of its reasons Hyndman's "old and close friendship" with Clemenceau, the French Premier. What a strong reason for a *Socialist* organisation to give!

LLOYD GEORGE'S RECORD.

The Prime Minister at Leeds on December 7th based his claim to popular support on the plea that his Government had not only won the War but that its record has been progressive. He said that the Education Bill gives equal educational opportunities for all children. We deny that absolutely. He said that before the war agricultural labourers got 15*s*, 16*s*. and 17*s*. a week, and that now agricultural Wages Boards are giving them between 30*s*. and 40*s*. a week. He omits to state that the cost of living has more than doubled and that his Government fixed the legal minimum wage for agricultural labourers at 25*s*. and resisted our amendment to make it 30*s*. He also claims credit for the Rent Act, ignoring the fact that it was obtained by the women who went on strike in Glasgow, London, and elsewhere.

Mr. Lloyd George is also claiming the credit of giving votes to women; but Mr. Asquith disputes that claim, and says that the Franchise Act was the result of the proposals he made when Prime Minister. The women, of course, know that it was the result of their own agitation. We fail to see how any self-respecting woman can support either of these men who for years refused to grant women the rights of citizenship

RUSSIAN FAMINE.

M. Oudendyk, Dutch Minister in Petrograd, has arrived in London and is alleged by the press to have said that the working classes have never suffered as they do now, and that the situation in Petrograd was one of utter starvation. Let him urge the Allies to cease from invading Russia and from cutting off the food supplies from Petrograd and Central Russia!

WORKSHOP NOTES.

WOOLWICH WORKERS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

The workers of Woolwich Arsenal are making headway with their campaign for increased unemployed pay and the suspension of all discharges until after Christmas. There were at least 25,000 on Tower Hill on Monday, December 9th, and the temper of the crowd clearly showed that they do not intend to be trifled with.

As Matt Horsburgh so well put it: if the Committee on Production fix a wage which is the minimum necessary to maintain a decent physical standard whilst working, then that minimum is just as essential during periods of unemployment. A large portion of the crowd afterwards marched to Downing Street.

THE 47 HOUR WEEK.

The rank and file are by no means satisfied with the recommendation arrived at between the unions and the Masters' Federation, and there is a general demand for an even shorter week.

The London District is pressing for a 44 hour week and the Newcastle District for a 36 hour week. The pity of it is there is but little co-ordination. The advanced element should long ago have projected a national programme for a 6 hour day' a 5 day week, and a minimum of £1 a day for all workers.

* * *

MANCHESTER.—At a meeting of shop stewards, last Sunday, a resolution was passed that the organisation be called Manchester Workers' Council in future. It was decided that machinery be put in motion with a view of immediate action being taken for shortening of hours. Discontent is increasing owing to continual dismissals of workers.

COVENTRY.—Van Raudoeck, the Belgian Socialist, who was sentenced to three months' hard labour for distributing the 'Toiling Masses' leaflet, is still in gaol, notwithstanding mass meetings of protest and the distribution of thousands of the same handbills since his imprisonment.

Coventry Shop Stewards and Workers Committee has now been re-organised; this was necessary owing to the fact that thousands of workers are being dismissed from the large firms in the city; a peculiar feature is the amount of active men who are being dispensed with. The new secretary of the Workers' Committee is Harry King.

SHEFFIELD WORKERS COMMITTEE.—A meeting of S.W.C. took place Saturday, November 23rd, and it was decided to broaden and reorganise the Committee so as to cope with any emergency that might arise. Many factories are preparing to close down. Some shops are putting the men on a 4½ hour-day. Discontent is serious and trouble likely to ensue unless something is done.

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN INTERVENTION.

To give effect to the resolution adopted at the Holborn Empire meeting last Sunday, the Executive of the London Workers' Committee has decided to convene a National Conference of all organisations willing to co-operate in bringing about a cessation of the Allied Powers' violation of Russia. The Conference will take place in London early in January, and it is hoped that the preliminary convening circular will be in the post next week-end. Financial and clerical assistance will be needed to make the Conference a success. All those willing to help in any way are asked to write at once to the Hon. Secretary, London Workers' Committee, 7, Featherstone Buildings.

A further conference in connection with the London and District Council of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees will be held at Chandos Hall, Maiden Lane, W.C., on Saturday, Dec. 21st, 3 P.M. The business will include: the adoption of constitution, rules and financial basis and the election of the necessary officers. All S.S. and Workers' Committees should be represented.

FUR WORKERS.

Whitechapel fur workers have organised themselves under the I.W.W. Meetings take place Tuesday evenings, 8 P.M., at 3, Great Garden Street, Whitechapel, E. 1. Secretary, H. Frankel.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

RUSSIA.

The Soviet Government has adopted the metrical system of weights and measures. It will be adopted in all schools, institutions, &c., for official transactions from January 1st, 1918. Where this rapid adoption is not possible, as in the case of existing machinery, &c., the old system will be tolerated till January 1st, 1922.

Free Medicine.

The Federation of Chemist and Druggist at their recent Congress in Moscow has decided to nationalise all dispensaries and chemists' shops. Henceforward, upon medical prescription, all medicines will be provided free to everybody.

New Schools and Universities.

During 1918 the Soviet Government opened over 1,000 new elementary schools in the county of Moscow alone, and more would have been opened but for the difficulty of finding new teachers. During 1918 *six* new Universities have been established in Soviet Russia. During the last two hundred years of the old regime there existed only twelve Universities in all Russia!

A census has been taken of all children of school age and the technical education reorganised. It will consist of two scholastic periods: one of five years; another of four. The former is obligatory for everybody.

The large building of the Cafe-Chantant "Maxim," a fashionable dancing and drinking resort of Moscow, has been commandeered and is now used as a popular day and evening school.

Clubs for juveniles have been formed in several quarters of Moscow, to withdraw the children from the demoralising influences of the streets.

The Literature Train.

On November 1st last Lenin inaugurated the first "Red Train," which will tour the towns and villages of Soviet Russia. From this "Red Train" of Propaganda over 20,000 pamphlets and books were sold for ready cash in the first seven days, and 60,000 educational books were distributed freely to various local Soviets. The weekly sale of the *Isvestia* also carried on from this train, increased during the same period by 10,000 copies. Twelve mass meetings were held at various stopping places. A cinematograph operator taking films and several painters making sketches of the life of each town visited travel with the train. The films and sketches are exchanged in order to acquaint the people of the various districts with each other's mode of life, habits, and dress.

* * *

By a decree dated November 3rd, 1918, all private libraries were declared public property. Books kept therein can henceforwards be read and consulted by everybody, but not removed.

* * *

By a decree of the same date Maxim Gorky was nominated Minister of Soviet Propaganda.

* * *

Chicherin, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Soviet Government has nominated Comrade Dr. Narchlevsky Russian Ambassador to Poland.

Russian Railwaymen and Education.

Along the railway line Moscow-Kiev-Voronesh the railwaymen on their own initiative have organised elementary and secondary schools. Books, teaching, and meals are provided free. Homes are provided for orphans

IN FREE AMERICA.

Comrades in this country who are beginning to agitate for the release of Tom Mooney should remember that in the "Free" Democracy of the States the well-known woman Socialist Richards O'Hare is now serving a sentence of twenty years; Eugene Debs a sentence of ten years; and that in the trial of the I.W.W., which took place in Chicago, ending on August 30th, 1918 (*vide* DREADNOUGHT for October 19th), the presiding judge distributed 820 years of penal servitude. In the prisons of Leavenworth our comrades of the I.W.W. are now serving:—

15	sentences of	20	years.
32	"	10	"
34	"	5	"
1	"	3	"
8	"	2	"
3	"	1	"

We do not count a few smaller sentences of less than one year.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE COTTON STRIKE.

One hundred thousand cotton operatives have struck work and 250,000 others are involved. They have asked for a 40 per cent advance on the present rate of wages and this has been refused. The cotton workers appear to have entered upon a very serious struggle in which the rest of the labouring world, whilst wishing for their success, must be on the alert for opportunities to help them.

NATIONALISING THE RAILWAYS.

Mr. Churchill's announcement that railways are to be nationalised shows that even the Coalition realises it is not only popular but necessary to take this great public service out of private hands. But nationalisation on the lines of the Post Office does not free the workers, indeed it may even add to the strength of their fetters. National ownership should go hand in hand with control by the workers in industry.

EIGHT HOURS ON THE RAILWAYS.

We are glad that the railway workers have won an 8 hour day. They will have more time to think and study.

ENLARGING THE STANDING ARMY.

The War Office announces a scheme under which men who enlisted for the duration of the war or who enlisted for a term which has expired may extend their service for two, three or four years. The scheme, we are told, is produced 'in order to provide men for overseas garrisons and the necessary reserves at home." It was said that this was "a war to end war," but bigger armies are already resulting from it. Soldiers, and especially the younger soldiers, must take note that no legal power exists to force them to extend their period of service under this scheme; they have as yet the legal right to refuse.

WOOLWICH HUT DWELLERS.

The tenants of Government hutments in Woolwich pay 9*s*. 6*d*. a week rent, or 10*s*. with bath. They complain that leaking roofs, exposure to cold and lack of convenience and warmth render the structures worth but half the price.

When will the nation build houses instead of huts for the workers?

CHARITY FLATS.

Lord Milner, Lord Goschen and others are appealing for funds to provide flats for disabled officers and officers' widows, who, because of their small pensions "will perforce relapse into conditions of life at once pitiful and sordid."

The pension of an officer or officers' widow is a good deal bigger than that of the soldier and his widow. In Petrograd free housing is provided for all who need it.

NO RENT STRIKE.

Five hundred tenants of Stoke Heath have for the second time organised a "No Rent" strike, until a financial statement of the cost of the houses is supplied. In the first strike they obtained from the Coventry Corporation a reduction of 1*s*. 7*d*. per week, retrospective, reducing the rent revenue of the Corporation by approximately £2,200 per annum.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST SOCIALIST RUSSIA.

The Financial News, November 20th, under the title of 'The Future of Russia,' says: "In the City it is realised that events are shaping more and more towards an international suzerainty over Russia, modelled on the British surveillance of Egypt. Such an event would transform Russian bonds into the cream of the international market."

It is a dastardly, mercenary plan; but we are confident that it will fail. Workers of the world, see that it does! The German Soviets have arisen to help the Russian Soviets. Which Soviets will come next?

ON INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA.

John Reed, the well-known American Socialist writer and Co-Editor of "The Liberator," who, after his stay in Russia, was made Bolshevik Ambassador in New York, has written an article 'On Intervention in Russia,' from which we take the following extracts:—

"My arrest and indictment by the Federal authorities because of a speech opposing Allied intervention in Russia raises a more important question than that of Russian intervention itself. It directly involves the conduct of the war by the Governments of the United States and of the Allies for democratic aims.

"My point is, that the American people are misinformed about conditions in Europe, and especially in Russia, and that in the case of Russia our Government is acting upon false information....

"There is definite evidence now in the United States sufficient, I believe, to prove that the leaders of the Soviets have not been pro-German, but, on the contrary, if anything, pro-Ally." John Reed is of opinion that this information "is not allowed to reach the public." Colonel Raymond Robbins, former chief of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia and unofficial diplomatic agent of the United States Government in contact with the Russian Soviets, who has more information on the subject than any foreigner alive, has such evidence. So has Colonel William Boyce Thompson and Major Thomas Thacher—both of the Red Cross Mission.....

"History will prove that, instead of plotting in the interest of Imperial Germany, the leaders of the Soviets attempted to enlist Allied aid in their hopeless resistance to the German advance." John Reed believes that: "*Some days before the ratification of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the Soviet leaders summoned the American representatives, and made an offer of co-operation with the Allies, asking for supplies and technical assistance, stating definitely that if the aid were granted the Soviets would [illegible] to ratify the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and that Russia would continue the war against Germany.* This appeal was cabled to Washington, but never answered by the United States Government. And not only were the people of the United States kept in ignorance of this communication, but I am told that the President himself was not informed until long afterward, if at all. Similar offers of co-operation were made by the Soviets to the Governments of France and England, and either ignored or refused.....

"The Bolshevik revolution was a revolution against all imperialism, German imperialism included; and *the Soviet Government was and is the most powerful menace to Imperial Germany, and all it implies, in the world; and the Russian leaders, whatever the Germans may have thought they would do, have consistently endeavoured to break up the German power, and to organise Russia industrially and in a military way, so as to turn again into open war the secret war they have been conducting so effectively.*

"I, myself, as well as several other Americans in this country, can testify to this secret war and to its effects. I was employed by the Soviet Government, in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Among other things, I assisted in the preparation of revolutionary propaganda to spread among the German troops and the German war-prisoners, and helped to get it to them. From the Commissariat we sent out every day more than half a million newspapers, in German, Hungarian, Polish Croatian, Czecho-Slovak, and other languages, besides translations in those languages of the decrees and proclamations of the Soviet Government, and the pamphlets of the revolutionary leaders; we sent speakers into the German lines to harangue the soldiers; we organised conventions of war-prisoner delegates and dispatched hundreds of agitators to the prison camps. This propaganda was so effective that the German and Austrian Governments took the most energetic means to stamp it out, protesting and threatening, putting their troops under the most rigid control, and arranging 'quarantine camps' for returning prisoners, who were forced to remain isolated from their own people for several months, during which time they were thoroughly 'educated' by patriotic speeches and literature. It was so effective that when the time came to advance into Russia many regiments refused to move and had to be replaced by other units drawn from the western front, where the soldiers were not 'contaminated.' It was so effective that tens of thousands of war-prisoners made application to become citizens of Soviet Russia, and thousands joined the Red Army, in whose ranks they resisted the advance of the German and Austrian armies as best they could.

"The Brest-Litovsk peace brought Germany nothing from the Russia that remained. Neither food nor raw material nor any rest from the flood of propaganda. The workers in factories manufacturing goods for Germany struck; so did the miners getting out ore and coal for Germany; so did the railway workers on trains carrying materials to Germany. Rather than let Germany have grain the peasants burned their crops. And these are the same people who, election after election, in town after town, voted more and more for the representatives of the political parties which make up the Soviet Government. The Brest-Litovsk peace was never referred to by the Soviet leaders except as the 'Brigands' Peace,' and never regarded by them except as workmen regard the settlement of a lost strike—as a respite in which to re-organise for another strike....

"The American statement concerning intervention justifies military action in Russia upon the grounds that the Tchecho-Slovak troops—who were supposed to be leaving Russia by way of Siberia to join the Allied armies on the western front—were attacked by 'armed German and Austrian war-prisoners.'

"Several months ago that same story of 'armed German and Austrian war-prisoners in Siberia' reached Moscow, and at the request of Trotsky, members of the American and British military missions were given a special train to make an investigation of the charge. And they reported to their Governments that the story was without foundation. Other observers tell the same tale.

"It is true that these former German and Austrian deserters and prisoners, most of them International Socialists, many of whom laid down their lives in battle against Imperial Germany and Austria, fought and are still fighting in the ranks of the Soviet army. The commander and most of the staff of the Soviet army combating the Tchecho-Slovaks in Siberia are themselves Tchecho-Slovaks.

"As for the accusation that the Tchecho-Slovaks were attacked by these mythical Teutons—there is no competent evidence to that effect from any disinterested quarter; and there is evidence that the Tchecho-Slovaks themselves obstructed *unarmed* German and Austrian war-prisoners who were being returned to their homes under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

"It is a fact that these Tchecho-Slovaks were ....given transportation across Siberia by order and permission of the Soviet Government at the request of the Allied embassies, upon the understanding that they were to be transported to France to fight the Germans. On their way to Vladivostok they marked their journey by upsetting local Soviet governments, and, in some cases, upholding the anti-Soviet elements.... Those who arrived at Vladivostok executed an armed rising in that city, in which they overthrew the Soviet, killing almost all the defenders of the Soviet headquarters.

"It was not until the Governments of Japan and the United States issued their statements, in the first week of August, that it was publicly admitted that the Tchecho-Slovaks were 'westward-moving,' and that it was the aim of the Allies to protect their 'rear,' as well as to 'guard military stores' in the neighbourhood of Murmansk and Archangel.

"The statement of our Government was profuse in its professions of goodwill towards the Russian people, and of entire disinterestedness.

"'In taking this action,' it says, 'the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs—not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military forces may be obliged to occupy—and no impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or hereafter....'

"The British Government is, however, more candid. Lloyd George speaks frankly of the Tchecho-Slovaks as 'the centre of activities hostile to the Bolshevik Government.' But whatever the phrasing of intention the Governments of the Allies, our own included, stand sponsor to an expedition which has interfered with the political sovereignty of Russia, intervened in her internal affairs—even to the extent of supporting Governments hostile to the Soviet Government—and are considered by the Soviet Government to be waging war upon it. With what aim? Merely to assist some sixty thousand Tchecho-Slovaks in their efforts to reach France? Is it for this that tens of thousands of troops have been diverted from the western front and shipped around to the ends of the world? Our own press speaks of the 'reconstitution of the eastern front.'.... The attitude of the official press of the Allied countries shows plainly, if the actions of Allied troops are not convincing enough, that the purpose of intervention in Russia is the overthrow of the Russian Soviet Republic. And in this adventure, against its expressly stated will, the Government of the United States finds itself involved....

"Pertinent at this point is the controversy which, according to press dispatches, has arisen in Japan over the two versions of the statement. The version for foreign consumption, says that a few thousand troops are to be dispatched to Vladivostok 'forthwith'; while the version published in Japan has it, a few thousand 'to begin with.' A Tokio dispatch of Tuesday, September 10th, is significant:—

"'A contingent of Japanese cavalry together with troops belonging to the command of General Semionov, the Cossack leader, entered the town of Chita, in the Transbaikal, on September 6th.

"'The formation of a Russo-Japanese economic organisation for the commercial and industrial development of Siberia* virtually has been completed. Russia is represented by twelve wealthy residents of Siberia and Japan by the Bank of Chosen, the Oriental Development Company and the Sino-Japanese Industrial Company. The organisation will be capitalised at from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 rubles.'

"A Washington dispatch, dated October 7th, says:—

"'The War Trade Board, in a new ruling, has announced that, beginning to-day, applications will be considered for the exportation of all commodities to Russia.

"'There has been practically no trade between Russia and the United States since Germany, through the treachery of the Bolshevik chiefs, Lenin and Trotsky, gained control of the Russian army and complete domination of the internal affairs of that betrayed country. The significance of the announcement by the War Trade Board lies in the fact that it evinces a determination of the Government to begin, at the earliest possible moment, *the opening up of general trade with Siberia and the Archangel districts*, which have successfully resisted German influence.'

".....Allied representatives in Russia encouraged and supported counter-revolutionary movements in Russia.....It is also true that German agents have supported similar counter-revolutionary attempts. From the days of the Kornilov attempt, at the end of August, 1917, *when the British were involved*,† throughout the

* This throws a significant light on Japanese intervention in Russia.

†The Revelations of Mr. Louis Edgar Browne, special Russian Correspondent of the "Chicago Daily Press," indicate that the American Red Cross "almost wholly a political mission co-operated in this plot."

JOHN MACLEAN.

We now learn on good authority that since last July John Maclean has been on hunger strike and undergoing forcible feeding. Is this country to be the last in granting reprieves. Germany has shown the way by freeing Karl Liebknecht, whose popularity has been increased enormously by the unjust treatment meted out to him. When are we going to have our political prisoners released? All sections of the community should protest against

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13th.
Pretoria Avenue, Walthamstow.—3 P.M., Miss Horsfall, Miss Price, and others.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14th.
Great Push in the S.E. District for Socialism and a People's Peace.—Meet at 3 P.M. sharp at the Clocktower, Lewisham, and at 6.30 P.M. at Grove Lane, Camberwell. Speakers: Mrs. Clara Cole, Miss Price, and Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
York Road, Walworth.—11.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17th.
The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Miss Price.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20th.
Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21st.
Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15th.
400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Mrs. Drake, Mr. G. A. K. Luhani, 'Freedom' (C.C.L.). Chair: Miss N. Smyth. Discussion.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17th.
400 Old Ford Rd., 8 P.M., Bow Members' Meeting.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Clara Cole.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20th.
400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting, London Section.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

A MEETING will be held at LEONARD'S ACADEMY, HIGH ROAD, LEYTONSTONE, on WEDNESDAY, DEC. 18th, at 7 p.m.
Mrs. HART and others.
All are welcome. Admission Free.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

[illegible] HALL.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 10th, 7.30 p.m.,

EDWARD SOERMUS,

THE GREAT RUSSIAN VIOLINIST.

Chair, MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Tickets, 2s 3d., 1s. and 8d., including tax. Application for tickets should be sent to Miss BUSH, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

SHEFFIELD.—W.S.F. propaganda still continuing actively. Open air and other meetings held almost daily. Good attendances at West Bar and Poole Square to hear A. Carford and H. R. Goldstone. Regret generally expressed that Miss Pankhurst is not opposing Douglas Vickars at Hallam, though we agree that Parliament is played out and that the Workers' Industrial Socialist Republic must be set up.

NOTTINGHAM.—A mass meeting was held in Market Square, Nottingham. At least 500 discharged men attended; a very satisfactory meeting. All available DREADNOUGHTS were sold out. W. Green (Derby S.L.P.) chairman; H. R. Goldstone (W.S.F.) speaker.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.

The Old Cockney Fair at the Holborn Hall as before was a tremendous success and we heartily congratulate the Secretaries, Mrs. Jewson Miss Smyth, Miss Gilbertson, and Mr. Young, as well as the stallholders: Mrs. Casey (antiques, bagsand beads), Miss E. Casey and Mrs. Moxon (flowers), Mrs. and Miss Pearce (fancy goods), Miss Burgis and the nursery helpers (garments and hats), Mrs. and Miss Henkal (toys), Walthamstow League of Rights (children's garments), Mrs. Fowler Shone and Mrs. Sweetlove (Christmas presents), Mrs. Lauritzen (groceries, cakes, and sweets), Master Pearce (tobacco), Mrs. Ellis, in the regretted absence of Mrs. Pascoe (fruit, vegetables, and rabbits), Mrs. Savoy (brushes), Mrs. Thring (remnants), Miss Henrietta Leslie and Miss Helsby (books, pamphlets, and Christmas cards), the Poplar W.S.F. with its Poplar Popular Coffee Stall, Mrs. Leigh (aeroplanes), and Miss Mary Carr and friends (games). We should like to thank all the splendid helpers, but space forbids, and we know that they are rewarded by the knowledge that they have helped a good cause. Mr. Wolfstein and the Athenæum Press provided a most attractive programme.

Ballads sung by boys from the London College of Choristers, Cockney songs and dances by Mary Carr, Mrs. Savoy, and others; dances by Elsa Lanchester, Joan Cheney, Joan Lawson, and Lily Ainsworth; and the Nibs Pierriots were much appreciated. Mrs. Hercbergova arranged a fine concert by Mme. Levinskaya, Miss St. Clair, and Mr. Austin Carnegie. A delightful concert was also given by Miss Nevine, Miss Sadie Jerome, Ali Khan, and Miss Katie Jenkinson. Mlle. Marinsky gave Russian dances. On the first day the Fair was opened by Mrs. Cedar Paul, with Mrs. Drake in the chair. On the second day by W. F. Watson, with Miss Price in the chair; and on the third day by Sylvia Pankhurst, with Mrs. Clara Cole in the chair. We wish we could reproduce the speeches and describe for [illegible] of the fair," but we cannot [illegible] simply advise [illegible] come next time. The W.S.F. Cockney Fair has become an institution which should not be missed. A balance sheet will be published as soon as possible.

W.S.F. SOCIAL WORK.

Donations urgently required by the Mothers' Arms Day Nursery, 438 Old Ford Road, and the Workers' Hall, 20 Railway Street. Please send gifts of clothing, food, toys, books, &c., to L. Burgis, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3. Donations to N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

"THE DREADNOUGHT."

Donations to 'The Dreadnought' Fund are urgently required. Please send what you can to the Hon. Treasurer, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

Paper is still scarce. Please collect old newspapers, notebooks, stationery, rags, &c., to be repulped for 'The Dreadnought.' When you have a bag full send a postcard to the Manager, 'Workers' Dreadnought' Office, 152 Fleet Street.

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.

We shall be pleased to insert notices of meetings in this column, giving one line free and a penny for each additional word.

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

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ON INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA
(continued from page 1155).

Kaledin movement, the separatist action of Ukraine and Finland, the 'revolts' of Semionov, Horvata, the Tchecho-Slovaks, the 'Northern Government,' headed by Tchaykovsky and all the little 'republics' set up by renegades and Tzarist officials—this has been true....

"*The Russian Soviet leaders trusted America* and America's words is destroying faith in America and hope in America, as Russia's faith and hope in the other nations has been destroyed....

"It is a fact that certain of the Allied Governments recognised the anti-Bolshevik Governments in Finland and in the Ukraine and loaned them money, and that these Governments then proceeded to call in German and Austrian troops to support them in power, and that so far as I know, the Allied Governments did not withdraw their recognition; even when, as in the case of Ukraine, a dictator was put in power by German bayonets; even when, as in the case of Finland, a German Prince was called to the throne. It is a fact that in all the Allied capitals, in Washington, as well, there are at present either official or unofficial representatives of these 'Germanised' Governments, who pursue their activities practically unmolested, while the representatives of the *revolutionary* Finnish and Russian Governments opposed to Germany are spied upon, hounded and jailed.

"We are told daily that the Russian Soviet Government is crumbling, that the forces of the Tchecho-Slovaks, the Allies, and the Russian counter-revolutionists are victoriously advancing, that the 'insurgent' Governments of Northern Russia, of Eastern Siberia, of Samara, are rapidly attracting the support of the Russian masses. The truth is, that these so-called 'Governments,' composed of anti-Soviet elements, are absolutely unsupported except by the propertied classes and foreign bayonets; that cities like Vladivostok, which before Allied intervention were anti-Bolshveik, have overwhelmingly voted the Bolsheviki into power; that the Soviet forces are every day growing stronger, and the resistance to the Allied and Tchecho-Slovak advance more bitter. Maxim Gorky's acceptance of a post in the Soviet Cabinet and the reported return of Maria Spiridonova* to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, are significant of the fact that all revolutionary Russia, the enemies as well as the friends of Bolshevism, are joining together to resist what they consider an unwarranted attack by the Allies upon Russia....

"Thousands of American fathers and mothers, sisters and wives and sweethearts, are going to want to know if the lives of their men shall be sacrificed in another and bitterer Gallipoli on the plains of Russia. And thousands of Americans who really believe in freedom will some day want to know why America, instead of leading the liberal world, joined with those whose faces are set against the tides of history.

"It is time that we knew the truth about Russia."

*A Social Revolutionist of the left wing at one time opposed the Bolsheviki. It was also reported that she was executed by the Soviet.

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