

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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THE LITTLE GRANDMOTHER OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

"While I was still a girl they said, 'Wait! you will get married and that will tie you down, your young blood will be calmed, your running brook will become a quiet lake!'" And the time came when I was married, and I was conscious of no change in my spirit. I felt for the people's cause as strongly as ever—even more strongly. And then friends told me, 'Just wait, you will have an estate of your own to care for, and that will take up all your time and thoughts.' But my husband and I bought an estate, and no such result followed; for I could never let one tiny estate outweigh the vast plains of all Russia. My spirit and my convictions remained the same. And with time came new counsel from friends. Now they argued: 'Yes, you have remained unchanged by husband and home, but you will succumb to the command of Nature. With the birth of a child will come the death of your revolutionary ideals. The wings you have used for soaring high in the air among the clouds, you will now use to shelter your little one.' And I gave birth to a little one. I felt that in that boy my youth was buried, and when he was taken from my body the fire of my spirit had gone out with him. But it was not so. The conflict between my love for the child and my love for the Revolution and for the freedom of Russia robbed me of many a night's sleep. I knew that I could not be a mother and still be a revolutionist. Those were not two tasks to which it was possible to give a divided attention. Either the one or the other must absorb one's whole being, one's entire devotion. So I gave my child to Vera and my brother, to be brought up as their own.

"I was not the only one called upon to make such a sacrifice. Among the women in the struggle for Russian freedom there are many who chose to be fighters for justice rather than mothers of the victims of tyranny."

These are the words of Catherine Breshkovsky, called the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution, whose death at 74 years of age was reported the other day. At 16 she was fired with enthusiasm for the emancipation of the serfs and opened a little school for the peasants near to her father's estate. When the emancipation took place in 1861, the landlords who had owned the peasants, counting them as part of their estates, drove them from the fertile lands which had been theirs for generations and they were offered little strips of the poorest land, from which it was impossible for them to live. Catherine's father was appointed one of the arbiters whose duty was to persuade the peasants of the district to leave their old lands. The peasants refused:—

"Troops were quartered in their huts, families were starved, old people were beaten....daughters were raped....and then began the flogging....This process was carried on for five years until at last, bleeding and exhausted, the peasants gave in.... Many were carried in crippled by the knout. Sobbing wives told of husbands killed before their eyes."

* Reminiscences and letters of Catherine Breshkovsky, edited by Alice Stone Blackwell. Boston, U.S.A., Little, Brown, and Company, 1918.

But, says Catherine, "I was still a Liberal and thought only of reform not of revolution." At 25 she married a Liberal nobleman and with him started a co-operative bank and an agricultural school. But when the elections came and the peasants voted for the Liberals, the Liberals were denounced as conspirators. Many were sent to Siberia and Catherine's co-operative bank and peasant school were closed. Then she became a revolutionary. At 26 years of age, before the birth of her first child, she parted from her husband and parents, who were not prepared to share the risks upon which she was entering. She never saw them again. When her son was born she gave him to her sister-in-law, who brought him up with so little sympathy for his mother that when, in 1909, she was imprisoned in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul and friends were endeavouring to obtain bail for her, he was with difficulty prevailed upon to make the application for bail for this old woman of 65; an application which he alone could make, because it could only come from a blood relation.

That happened in her old age and in the time of her deepest discouragement. In 1874 the young Breshkovsky began her revolutionary life by a pilgrimage amongst the peasants, accompanied by two comrades, a younger woman and a lad of 20 years. As was the custom with those who travelled as missionaries of the Revolution—two thousand such missionaries started out in that year, 1874—Breshkovsky and her friends learnt trades which they might practise in their wanderings. The youth Stephanovitch became a shoemaker, and the women, dyers and painters. They dressed in peasant clothes, stained their hands and faces with acid, lived as the peasants lived, and shared their appalling hardships. The first task of the two women missionaries was directed by the woman who provided their first lodging. "You had better get some fresh, warm manure from the fields and mix it with lime. That makes a good wash for the floor." They obediently set to work to knead the nauseating mess.

Catherine had set out on her pilgrimage in July. In September, 1874, she was arrested and sent to Petrograd, where she was kept in solitary confinement in a cell five foot square and seven feet high till 1878, when she was tried and condemned to five years in Siberia. She and other prisoners were driven the 5,000 mile journey in springless carts. At night they slept in miserable wayside prisons, hearing "the endless jangling of fetters, the moaning of women, the cries of sick babies." For attempting to escape, four years were added to her term. The conditions she and her fellow prisoners were forced to endure in Siberia were so harsh that the majority of her women companions died of them.

On her release Breshkovsky returned to her revolutionary work further west. In 1900 an order for her arrest was issued; but she succeeded in evading it, and in 1903 she visited Switzerland and America to secure aid for the revolutionary cause. She collected £2,000 in America—not a

very large sum from so huge a country and in so great a cause! Most of it, Miss Blackwell tells us, was contributed by very poor Russians. In 1908 Breshkovsky was again arrested and cast without trial into the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. At last she was tried and exiled to Siberia, which she is said to have reached in August, 1910, but Miss Blackwell's dates are contradictory. She asserts that Breshkovsky was born in 1844, yet states that she was 68 at the time of her trial. In that case the trial must have taken place in 1912 and the arrival in Siberia must have occurred at least some months later. Miss Blackwell quotes the letter of a political exile, who, writing from Manzurka on September 24, 1916, says:—

"Granny passed here on August 14th....after five days of an awfully hard journey, all the time under a pouring rain in a shaky cart, with the nights passed in barracks or around camp fires. Many persons would have been quite prostrated, but our Granny looked as if she were at a students' party.... We were admitted inside the chain of the convoy, so that we were able to see her, as it were, amid her home surroundings. She was the centre of the party and the object of general attention, not only to her comrades, the political prisoners, but also to the ordinary criminals and to the soldiers of the convoy. It is a curious fact that when we were travelling under escort to our destination in April the convoy repeatedly asked us: 'When is Granny coming up? Lord grant us to see her!' The prison in Irkutsk also was expecting her. The whole of imprisoned and exiled Siberia was waiting to see this 'miracle woman'.... There was hardly time to speak to her, so many wanted to see her and pay her their respects. She was joking almost all the time—kissed us all. The guards approached her and said, 'Please, Babouskah, get up on your cart.'"

Breshkovsky was in feeble health when she reached Kerenka, where the thermometer falls at times to more than 56 degrees below zero and where she lived till the Revolution released her on March 4th, 1917. She constantly awaited the Revolution and in November, 1916, "had already one foot in the Siberian sleigh" expecting to set off.

Miss Blackburn devotes rather more than half her book to the period following this second exile and this part is mainly composed of letters sent by Breshkovsky to American friends. These letters are in the main messages of thanks for presents of money, clothing, newspapers, magazines, letters, postcards, &c., and, as is perhaps natural, they are disappointingly full of trivialities and compliments. Though Breshkovsky tells her American friends that she has "a lot of cares concerning the health (mental and physical) of more than fifteen hundred youths," her letters seem to indicate that her thoughts are largely dwelling in America and that she has fallen under the spell of the ideology of mildly reformist philanthropists and suffragists in the United States. She refers to Lucy Stone one of the early women's suffragists of America, as "our best woman," and dilates much on her character, which she has known, of course, only at

(Continued on back page.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

MR. ASQUITH.

Mr. Asquith at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on September 28th, gave the election programme of the Liberal Party, though he declares that he is opposed to a General Election "until we have reached or are within sight of the end of the war." Free trade, but free trade in a modified form, appears to be the main plank; Asquith was ever ready to compromise. He further advocated a League of Nations "which will open its doors and give a seat at its Council table from time to time, to all States which can give an earnest of their loyalty to its purpose and its spirit." Who is to decide what is an earnest of such purpose and spirit, and what is to be its purpose and its spirit? Mr. Asquith is on the fence, as usual. Why does he not openly say whether he wants a league which shall embrace all nations, or only the nations which may happen to be in alliance with the group that may, at the time, be controlling the government of this country. This latter appears the most likely interpretation of his words. In his speech he cast aside the common David and Goliath fable, in which the Allies are supposed to play the part of David and the Central Empires that of Goliath, and admitted that the British Navy was not unprepared for the war, and that "During long years of peace we spared no care and no money in maintaining, against all possible rivalry, the naval supremacy." He rejected the Austrian Peace Note, whilst admitting that he is not opposed to secret diplomacy; naturally he is not, since he has habitually participated in it! He made a virulent attack on the Russian Soviet Government, declaring that "Bolshevism is tottering to a dishonoured grave," and giving his support to the Allied intervention, which he described as tardy, and to the Czecho-Slovak warfare in Russia. Again, Asquith has

proved that there is no real difference between his policy and that of Lloyd George; Asquith hesitates more; that is all! The Liberal Party has forgotten its old cry, "Down with the House of Lords!" and is asking for a reformed Second Chamber. As a matter of fact the old Liberal Party has ceased to exist; it belonged to an age that is past. This is realised by a growing number of Liberals who are beginning to group themselves about Mr. Henderson. But Labour cannot be satisfied by a new Liberal Party. Organised Labour will make a grievous mistake whenever it wastes valuable time and energy in creating such a Party!

RUSSO-CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT COMPANY.

The Times reports that this Company has a capital of £3,000,000, and that it will acquire the share capital of the Mining and Metallurgical Bank, the Trading Company, and the Prospecting Company (amounting to 6,700,000 roubles). The Times says: "These three companies have apparently only just been formed, but will commence business as soon as conditions in Russia permit."

But Russia is now transforming itself into a socialist nation; even Kerensky and his friends profess to desire socialism. Under socialism such capitalist development companies will have no place! As soon as conditions permit "therefore means as soon as socialism is defeated in Russia"; but that, we believe, will never happen.

RUSSO-GERMANY TREATY.

Information from Lenin (whom Arthur Ransome describes as "the chief brain working at the economic reconstruction of Russia") seems to indicate that by the latest Russo-German treaty "something has been done to ease the Brest Treaty."

FRENCH CAPTAIN'S PLEA FOR THE SOVIETS

The People's Russian Information Bureau informs us that:—

The *Izvestia*, No. 182, publishes a letter from Captain Jaques Sadoul of the French Military Mission in Moscow, written on July 14th to Romain Rolland, the great French author, protesting against the proposed Allied intervention. Sadoul declared that intervention was only desired by "certain cliques who have lost all political influences in Russia," and that the whole Russian nation would rise to repel the intervention which would leave a harvest of great bitterness against the Allies. He said that Lenin and Trotsky had again and again appealed for Allied co-operation in re-establishing the economic life of Russia and expressed regret that the Allies had refused the appeal of the Soviet Government for support at Brest, and he complained that separatist intrigues of the Allied Governments with Ukraine, Lithuania, the Caucasus and so on, had undermined Russia at Brest. He declared that the "communist experiment of the Russian proletariat" has "an immense human value" and "will remain an admirable force of idealism and progress." He has sent he says, weekly notes, giving proof of what he has said to Albert Thomas, Longuet, Ernest Laffont, Pressemane, Pierre Hamp, Henri Barbusse, and others, and appeals to Rolland to approach men like Aulard, Gabriel Séailles and Maeterlinck, in order that they may help to enlighten the French people and save them from becoming the executioners of the Russian Revolution.

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A REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

KEIR HARDIE.

THIS week many meetings are being held in honour of Keir Hardie, the prophet of the British working class. He was hated, as no other man of his time was hated, by those who support the world of things that are. They merely desecrate his memory who strive to whitewash it; to make it something mildly colourless enough to be forgiven by all men's prejudices. In so far as the workers' movement partakes of Keir Hardie's spirit, it is virile and revolutionary, ever impatiently scanning the horizon of time for the opportunity to establish the Socialist Commonwealth; always eagerly, yet patiently, building the structure of the independent working-class movement.

THE RAILWAY STRIKE.

Socialists should support the railway workers in their demand for a weekly increase of 10s., as they should support them in every increase they demand, until the dividends of railway shareholders are wiped out and the railways completely socialised. The eight-hour day for engine drivers is urgent, both for them and for the travellers, and the demand for equal pay for the men and women on the railways, which was one of the issues of the strike, is highly important. When it was first agreed that women should take men's places upon the railways, it was understood that they should receive the men's rates of pay, and no one was apparently more insistent on this than Mr. Thomas. But since then he has repeatedly entered into agreements which violate the equal pay understanding. When after the London bus women had successfully struck for equal pay, the London tube women followed suit, Mr. Thomas ordered them back to work and, ignoring the fact that he was retained by the railway workers to negotiate for them, he declared that he would not open negotiations till they had obeyed him. Then he agreed to a further ignoring of the women's claim, a claim which is of equal importance to men. And now, without even a protest against the sending of troops to Newport to replace the strikers, he has accused the railway workers of bringing discredit on their union, and has thereby received the grateful plaudits of employers. We are told that the strike situation was involved in the rivalries of Bromley of the Associated Society of Enginemen and Firemen and Thomas of the N.U.R. It is said that the N.U.R. Executive might not have accepted the compromise, but for the thought that Bromley's association might do so, and that Bromley's association might have accepted the compromise but for its desire to outdo the N.U.R. But all that is between the men who sit in the executive offices; it does not affect the hardships and the desires of the men and women who are working the railways!

Finding that the members of the N.U.R. have taken to thinking and acting for themselves, Mr. Thomas has resigned. It may be that the difference will be patched up for a time and the resignation withdrawn; but it is the beginning of the end. Thomas is the first of the old-style Trade Union leaders to go; he will not be the last. The industrial rank and file movement is everywhere growing fast. The rank and file are every day more unwilling to tolerate the autocratic management of leaders who are imbued with the ideals of fifty years ago.

BULGARIA.

Rumours of revolutionary feeling in Bulgaria have been current during recent weeks, and now Bulgaria surrenders to the Allied arms without conditions. It is important to remember that the Serbs, the Bulgarians, and other Balkan nationalities were originally one people, and that their language and customs are closely allied, though again and again they have been forced to fight against each other by the quarrelsome rulers who have divided them, and by the rival intrigues of the Great Powers. The Bulgarians are said to be politically the most advanced of the Balkan peoples. In the Bulgarian Parliamentary elections of 1913, the Socialist and Peasant parties secured a majority in support of a programme which included peace between the Balkan peoples,

dismissal of the diplomatists then in office, and the establishment of an Independent Confederation of Balkan Republics. The King then refused to allow the Parliament to meet and summoned new elections, wherein, by police violence, the Court Party secured a narrow majority.

The Bulgarian Government's plea to the Allies for peace was probably caused by its fear of internal unrest. The request for an armistice was refused and the conditions of ceasing hostilities were announced as unalterable. To the Allied diplomats as the Reuter telegram which conveyed the information to the British press put it: it was "a question of the conclusion of such a military agreement as would prevent any further danger from the Bulgarian side to the Allied operations in the Balkans." For the rest, "the Allies have no intention of attempting to make a final settlement of the Balkans" till the general Peace Conference at the conclusion of the War. In the meantime, Bulgaria must evacuate the territories she has occupied during the War and then must wait defenceless to know her fate! The Bulgarian Government, unable to fight, humbly capitulated and surrendered without conditions—that is war.

What are called the terms of peace are now announced. We take this summary from *The Daily News*. The terms, at least in their present effect, are harsher than those exacted by Germany at Brest and Bucharest, but Bulgaria, we suppose, is beaten more completely—that again is war!

Bulgaria agrees to evacuate immediately all parts of Greece and Serbia.

To demobilise her army at once.

To surrender all means of transport to the Allies, including boats and railways.

To concede to the Allies control of navigation on the Danube.

Free passage through Bulgaria for the development of military operations.

All Bulgarian arms and ammunition to be stored under the control of the Allies.

Allies to have the right of occupation of all strategic points of importance.

The military occupation of Bulgaria will be entrusted to British, French, and Italian forces.

The evacuated parts of Greece will be entrusted to Greek troops.

The evacuated portions of Serbia to Serbian troops.

The News adds that the Allies will leave Bulgaria to deal with her own internal affairs! But her army is demobilised, her boats, railways and means of transport under foreign control, and the entire country under a foreign military occupation! We shall be told that Ferdinand deserved this! It may be that most rulers have deserved it, but what of the people? No one can deny that the "peace" imposed on Bulgaria is solely dictated by the military requirements of the Allies.

Mr. Henderson told the Labour Conference at Mile End on Saturday that he would look in at every door that opened to peace, but would enter only that which led to "peace with honour."

In the past "peace with honour" has too often meant peace with material advantage and the victor's material advantage alone has been safeguarded, as in this case.

We rejoice that Bulgaria has come out of the war, for no peace can be so terrible for her people as a war in which they are merely pawns. We regret that the military occupation will leave her unfortunate people still in the grip of war. We must now ensure that the Allies give to Bulgaria peace without annexations or indemnities and with the right of the people to decide their own destiny. Where there is a dispute about territorial boundaries let a referendum vote of the people be taken to decide it. Above all, there must be no interference with the independence of Bulgaria. The Allied intervention in Russia; their action there against the people's Soviets show how dangerous to the internal progress of Bulgaria the interference of the great Powers would be. The usual tendency of great Powers is to check social changes in their dependencies lest these should threaten their dominant power, and the troops of the Allies might be successful where the native rulers might fail in restraining the Bulgarian peasants from assuming control. As Mr. Henderson says the Bulgarian situation gives the Allies an opportunity of showing what they mean by a "clean peace." He is right and we look to him to show them the way. We are waiting for him to declare for no annexations, no indemnities and no interference with Bulgaria's independence and internal development.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LATEST WAR-AIMS.

President Wilson has again defined his war aims. His first point is that the war is being fought to decide whether there shall be a common standard of right and justice for all nations, or whether the stronger nations shall dominate the weaker. We must protest here that so long as the capitalist system and the great Empires remain, the rule of the stronger will prevail. In this connection we must ask: Has Mr. Wilson formally assented to the terms imposed on Bulgaria?

The President's other points are that there can be "no peace obtained by any bargain or compromise with the Central Empires" "because they are without honour and do not intend justice." He cites the treaties of Brest and

Bucharest as proof of this: the German Ministers are already taunting the Allied Governments with their treatment of Greece. They will now taunt them still more insistently concerning Bulgaria.

The third point is that the League of Nations must be established as a guarantee of lasting peace; that it cannot be established now, because it would be valueless unless it included all nations, and that Germany cannot be admitted to it until she has been defeated. This is hardly in conformity with Wilson's earlier statements. All international treaties, he says, must be made public. We suppose that this, too is "after the victory!" Otherwise we think that Wilson would have something to tell the world concerning America and Japan. He adds:—

"There can be no special selfish combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion, except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world, may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control."

If this proviso means what the plain truth-speaking man or woman would mean by it, it surely would bar out Imperial preference, Allied preference, and all the import, export, and tariff regulations by which it is proposed to "safeguard key industries," or, in other words, to ensure that British capitalists shall get more than other people of the raw materials which are most essential to all nations. Does Mr. Wilson mean this? If so, he must begin by converting the Allied Governments, and we think also his own.

As for the power of exclusion from the world's markets with which Mr. Wilson desires to endow the League of Nations, its prospect is a terrible one, for whilst capitalism endures, such questions will be treated as matters of trade rivalry and business speculation!

GERMAN SOCIALISTS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

We regret that the German Socialist Party should be willing to consider joining a capitalist coalition Government. The result of such compromises of principle by the Allied Socialists should surely have proved to them the disastrous folly of such a course! The policy of the German Government at the present time certainly offers no temptation to Socialists to share its misdeeds. All that Hertling offers by way of bribe is the passage of a far from advanced Franchise Bill. We can assure our German friends that our own Reform Bill has in no way lightened the hardships and coercions of the war! The German Socialists who support their Government and its war, unlike their Allied counterparts, who sold themselves without price, have stipulated that the Coalition Government shall be pledged to the following programme:—

1. The unrestricted endorsement of the Reichstag Resolution of July 19, 1917, with a declaration of readiness to rejoin a League of Nations.

2. The restoration of Belgium, an understanding with regard to indemnities, and the restoration of Serbia and Montenegro.

3. The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest must be no hindrance to the general conclusion of peace. Civil administration in all occupied territories to be immediately introduced. Occupied lands to be given up at the conclusion of peace. Democratic Parliaments to be established forthwith.

4. Autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine. Universal equal secret direct suffrage for all German Federal States. The Prussian Landtag to be dissolved if equal suffrage does not result without delay from the deliberations of the Committee of the Upper House.

5. Unity of Government and the appointment of Government representatives from the Parliamentary Majority or from persons in agreement with the Parliamentary Majority's policy. The abolition of Article 9 of the Imperial Constitution. Public political statements of Crown and military authorities to be communicated to the Chancellor before delivery.

6. Immediate abolition of all restrictions on freedom of meeting and of the Press. Censorship to be limited to purely military questions. Removal of all military institutions serving to exercise political influence.

We have to admit that the strategy of the German National Socialists is superior to that of their Allied counterparts, but these terms are not worthy of Socialists. They deal with no economic questions, and do not demand peace negotiations. They do not even abolish the power of the monarchy! At the same time the democratisation of Germany now appears to be proceeding more swiftly than that of the Allied Nations. How will the Allied Governments meet the situation?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

'THE DREADNOUGHT' IN FLEET STREET.

We are glad to be able to announce that THE DREADNOUGHT has moved into newspaper-land and that its publishing offices are now at 152, Fleet Street (corner of Bolt Court). This central position will enable readers and newsagents to obtain the paper more readily. All business communications concerning the paper and advertisements should be sent to the Manager at 152, Fleet Street. Manuscripts and editorial communications should be sent as before to the Editor at 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

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

It is now some seventy years since the European proletariat made its gallant but unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the governing classes of the great States of Western and Central Europe. With the exception of one or two minor incidents towards the close of the French Revolution this was the first effort of the workers to challenge and to contest the sovereignty of the state systems which had grown up on the ruins of feudalism. The Continental proletariat of the towns was not then sufficiently strong or class-conscious to achieve success and was betrayed by the upper and lower elements of the capitalist class as soon as these saw the direction in which their victory was likely to carry them.

They withdrew from the side of the workers, whose mass action alone had made it possible for them to overawe the executive power of the landed and mercantile classes (in the latter case we refer to the money merchants of Paris), and if they did not ally themselves directly with the reactionary forces, they followed such a policy as to enable those to re-conquer authority. The Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary and the Kings of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and their fellow-princelings returned to power, but with a recognition dawning in the minds of their statesmen, at any rate in Prussia, that they must set themselves at the head of the Nationalist Party, attach to themselves the capitalist interests, and adopt an internal and external policy calculated to further what those elements conceived to be to their advantage. The success of the Tudors and the failure of the Stuarts in England was not lost upon the Hohenzollerns. At the same time, in Germany, more even than in this country, the landed aristocracy became involved in the capitalist system, owing to the preponderating importance in German industry of the brewing and distilling industries and of the *Krieg-industrie*, or armaments manufacture, having its foundations in iron and coal mineral lands. The alliance of the industrial magnates and the landowners was cemented and flourished under the highest and most interested patronage of the Kaiser himself. The German Empire became an enormously powerful political organisation of these closely inter-connected economic interests. The feudal state in Germany was overhauled and re-organised scientifically on a more colossal plan. Extensively and intensively, the control of the State over the people was reinforced. Antagonism to the reactionary political regime of Kaiserism has had, moreover, to encounter in Germany the same kind of economically impelled desire for expansion as has come to affect the workers of Britain and the U.S.A. Consciously or sub-consciously, the proletarians in all highly developed capitalist countries have responded to the subtle influences of capitalist production for sale, of capitalist zeal for export trade. This

impulse is natural, because in the modern economy vast requirements of the people can only be supplied from without the frontiers of the country and, at the same time, once the market becomes congested with commodities, production must fall away and employment at remunerative wages be restricted. The workers are living within the framework of capitalist society, and the more completely they are enmeshed in that system, the more must they struggle, not necessarily with intelligence, to improve their lot. So long as the capitalist class can direct them to what it may or may not believe to be the cause of all these misfortunes, viz.: the organised capitalists of other lands, great numbers of the workers will seek that mode of escape, or acquiesce in the order to march and to fight. The modern state, the modern "executive committee of the capitalist class," is a terrible monster, against whom rebellion seems useless, and is useless, unless a high degree of solidarity and determination can be assumed among a large proportion of the workers, not only in one area or one country, but all over the world of capitalist production and government.

The German workers, in so far as they were Socialists, before the War were organised much more for a political struggle against a reactionary political system than for industrial warfare against economically powerful groups of capitalists. The German trade union movement was, largely, the child of the Socialist movement of political and political theorists. German capitalism developed at a prodigious rate. It pursued an enlightened policy towards its workers, aided by a paternal government which, at the same time, made it plain to the trade unionists that the Army was always in reserve to assist in the maintenance of public order, the order of the Junker-Industrialists. In Germany there did not arise the kind of advanced Labour Movement that appeared in every country where industrial capitalists fought out their battles with their workers face to face and without too frequent interference on the part of the State. When War broke out, and, so far as we can make out, down to the present time, there is no industrial unionism of any vigour in Germany. At the same time, there does not appear to be any revolutionary movement of action in the Army. The one man who might, and, in my opinion, would, have been likely to bring about a revolutionary movement of action in Germany was Liebknecht. He was not obsessed by theory; he was for ever attacking; he had vigour; he had enthusiasm; he had the spirit of adventure. He was not an academician, a journalist, a would-be statesman. He was an agitator, and the impression he made on me, as he talked of our plan of attack on the Armaments International, was of a man who would never be so happy as when he was hitting, hitting, hitting his enemy. He felt intensely about his work, but he

was the happy pugilist rather than the earnest Tolstoyan or eminently respectable advocate of Socialistic Pacifism prevalent in this country. He could have fired the imagination of the working men where Bernstein and probably Kautsky would never have touched them. Liebknecht is in prison and there does not appear to be any one else upon whom his mantle has fallen. If there is, we must conclude that the circumstances of War and the Law of Military Service prevent him from arousing his fellows.

The magnificent organisation of the State for maintaining the civilian life of the country; the thoroughness of the police regime; the fear of Clemenceau, "the Tiger," and his more suave-tongued colleagues across the waters, hold the German proletariat in impotence. In Austria-Hungary, where the native bureaucracy is less capable, where economic development and political organisation have not brought so strong a State into existence, and where capitalism is not so cunningly controlled as in Germany, there is a seething mass of revolutionary material. Hunger is more pronounced and the need for expansion is far less felt owing to the low economic cultivation of industry in the Dual Monarchy.

Yet, for all the seeming hopelessness of a revolutionary upheaval in Germany or a successful outbreak in Austria-Hungary, the chances are that the reactionary elements in Germany may be overthrown by those capitalists, mainly the financial gang who are so influential in New York and in London, despite their temporary eclipse, an eclipse that there is reason to believe is not so real as apparent, and that a political settlement will be established in Berlin, which many advocates of Wilson's American Democracy will immediately hail as the spiritual counterpart of their own "dollar civilisation." The present directors of the German military system will be "shanghaied," Germany will be admitted to the League to Enforce Peace, and the "best features" of her bureaucratic and military discipline will be commingled with those of Britain and the U.S.A. as the armed and official guarantees of the new constitution appropriate to the political counterpart of international production.

The U.S.A. will be the arbiter of the world, and Europe, at any rate, will be perfectly safe for the Democracy for which Washington fought; the Fathers of the Republic agitated their shrewd old lawyer brains; such sterling and self-sacrificing Union-men as Commodore Vanderbilt and Pierpont Morgan laboured to make safe with their chartered coffin ships and their antiquated carbines; and for which finally, Wilson, through rhetoric and Schwab and Vanderlip, by steel and dollars, spread to the four corners of the earth!

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

WAR PRISONERS' APPEAL.

The following letter has been sent to the Prime Minister from the prisoners interned at Alexandra Palace. If the Government is able to refute any of the statements contained herein we shall publish the correction:—

THE RIGHT HON. LLOYD GEORGE.

SIR—Dire necessity compels us to petition you. Through various channels we have been trying to get an increase in our present insufficient food rations, so far unfortunately without the slightest success. It is now the desire of the Alexandra Palace Camp as a whole—men with British born wives—to approach you. Are you aware of the actual facts with respect to the food-rations here, and have you ever been acquainted with the hunger and misery prevailing in this camp? We have suffered so long. For most this is the fourth, for many, the fifth winter in captivity. We have suffered so cruelly, and so patiently that indeed we think we should have a hearing and we earnestly urge you to institute immediate investigations and promptly to remedy our present hardships. "Humanity" is one of your watchwords and here is ample occasion to prove to the world your magnanimity and your sense of right and justice towards innocently suffering victims of the war.

Some time ago our official scale of rations was given in the House of Commons and described as the irreducible minimum* and just sufficient to keep men alive. Yet from this irreducible minimum, four ounces of bread, the cheese ration, 1 ounce of rice (or oatmeal) and half an ounce of maize meal are being deducted for men not working. The majority here do not and cannot work; firstly because there is not sufficient opportunity for all inmates of this camp* and secondly because of the restrictions re work imposed by the German Government—of the nature of which you are no doubt aware.

The five issues weekly of 4 ounces of meat have also been reduced to three and ½ ounce of Chinese bacon has been substituted on the two remaining days. This Chinese bacon often has a rancid taste, and in reality is not an equivalent for the 4 ounces of meat taken off. On the 14th of June a new official list of rations dated 2nd June 1918, was posted up in the camp, altering the 4 ounces of meat then remaining for three days per week to "Beef or Horseflesh," and ever since then nothing but

horseflesh has been tendered to us. To start experiments with not irreproachable meat—for such was the first delivery—and without ingredients, on men with low constitutions who have for months been on less than the minimum diet, must provoke disgust and produce results directly detrimental to health. Then again 4 ounces of raw horseflesh is no equivalent for 4 ounces of raw beef. It is notorious that of a horse carcass a much smaller percentage can be utilised than in the case of beef. Outside a meat coupon entitles the buyer to either 5 ounces of meat, or as an equivalent, to 2 lbs. of horseflesh.

Is it surprising therefore that, in view of all these facts, horseflesh has been refused by the whole of the camp? So far nothing whatever has been issued in lieu thereof. We are now and have been for months, altogether without meat, but we still receive 10 ounces of smoked salt herrings twice a week. The quality of this so-called "fish" is often so poor and putrid that most of it has to be thrown away. In fact these herrings are eaten by very few of the men in spite of want and hunger and their nutritive value is not far from nil. Until some time back we also received 1 ounce of jam daily, but this too is gone with the rest, and the substitute is three fourteenth's of an ounce of margarine daily.

Were the conditions outside such as really to warrant the introduction of such pitiable food conditions, you may believe us there would not be a single man here so unreasonable as not to abide by the principle of equal sacrifice for all, and to take his stand with the civilian population of this country in the hardships and trials of the war; but outside there is comparative plenty and only a few articles have been rationed at all. Yet in spite of our need all foodstuffs rationed and unrationed are prohibited from entering this camp (excepting fresh fruit and vegetables) i.e. we cannot even at our own expense have what we might care for. Why should unrationed foodstuffs not be equally accessible to us as to the public, seeing that this country was our home and we part of its civilian population?

We will not urge so much this point of the admission of foodstuffs from outside, though it also deserves your notice, because it would affect only those who can afford to buy. It is the poor man's lot we have at heart, the man who has no means; and these are now unfortunately the great majority, and for them the only and indispensable remedy is to get rations in sufficiency, rations which will sustain them properly and which will safeguard them from illness by collapse for lack of power of resistance. And this is the only thing which really matters to them.

Such is the grave state of affairs prevailing here

and truly things have gone too far already. Such is the sordid truth about this civilian internment camp—to which British-born wives have been, and are, dragging their weary feet for the last three and four years to see their husbands, shut away from them as effectively and cruelly as though they were outcasts from human society. Steeped in sorrow and distress, suffering often equal or worse privations, living on scanty allowances, they have long despaired of humanity. "Human compassion has been killed by the war," they lament; "tears and anxiety are our lot." And are these not after all your own race?

Sir, the responsibility is grave and urgency is called for in the application of the remedy. The time will come when this war will be over. May the men who are shaping the destinies of Europe, and incidentally of these frail and delicate women and children after the return of some judgment, on cool reflection, be able to say: "After all we need not bow our heads in sorrow and shame for we at least have practised humanity in accordance with all the accepted principles and standards of civilisation." When these men with their families go out again in search of new homes and spread over all parts of the world, your own flesh and blood will see that they need not say: "The memory of the country of our birth is tears and sorrow, and that of our blood relations, friends without mercy."

We leave this matter with confidence in your hands and hope to receive your urgently needed support.

We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servants,

PRISONERS OF WAR COMMITTEE.

HOLY PLACES.

"But Palestine is just as sacred to Mahomedans as it is to Jews and Christians. Jerusalem was visited by the Prophet, and for a time it was doubtful whether it would not be the chosen centre of Islamism. The tomb of Moses, the mosque of Hebron over the cave of Machpelah, with many other holy places, have always been centres of Moslem pilgrimages. The Turk, though now deprived of his long domination in Palestine, will still retain his veneration for that land which has a place in his religious life scarcely, if at all, less important than it holds for the Jew or the Christian."—*The Times*, September 27th, 1918.

On September 28th Services of Thanksgiving for the winning of Palestine from the Turk were held in St. Paul's Cathedral, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Westminster, and the Jewish synagogues.

* In the opinion of the Government's Board of Medical Advisers herrings are eaten by very few of the men, in spite of want and hunger, and their nutritive value, with all deference due to the competent, is not far from nil. Until some time back we also received one ounce of jam daily, but this, too, is gone with the rest, and the substitute is 3/14 oz. margarine daily.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4th.

Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—6 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5th.

In Tottenham.—Meet at 3 and 6.30 P.M., at the corner of West Green Road and High Road, Tottenham. Speakers: Mrs Cole, Miss Price, Mrs Walker and others.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 6th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

Finsbury Park.—3.30 P.M., Miss Price.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 7th.

Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—7 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8th.

Clock Tower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11th.

Grundy Street, Poplar.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12th.

Great Push in Hampstead.

INDOOR.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9th.

44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—7 P.M., Miss Lambie.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Clara Cole.

SUNDAY OCTOBER 6th.

Kingsley Hall.—8.15 P.M. Muriel Lester. Subject 'Justice or Love.'

PROVINCIAL MEETINGS.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 6th.

Sheffield, Westbar.—11 A.M., Mr. Goldstein, Mr. Carford.

Sheffield, Rivalin.—3.30 p.m.

FEDERATION NOTES.

BOW.—Hon. Secretary N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road. At the Branch meeting resolutions were carried: 1. Protesting against the Allied Governments' invasion of Russia. 2. Demanding the Allied Governments' acceptance of the Austro-

Hungarian proposal for preliminary and non-binding discussions on peace. 3. Sympathy with Mr. E. H. Williams on the raiding of his premises for printing *The Socialist*, and protesting against the Government's action in thus further curtailing the free expression of opinion by the workers. Next meeting October 8th and in future second and fourth Tuesdays at 8 P.M.

Branch Secretaries are asked to bring up the foregoing resolutions at their next meeting and to send them to the Prime Minister, Labour Party (33, Eccleston Square, S.W.), Trades Councils and local Labour Parties, Parliamentary candidates and M.P.s.

At the General Meeting (London Section) on September 16th it was decided to alter the date to the third Friday in the month at 8 P.M., instead of the third Monday. All members are asked to attend. Members and friends are invited to come to the Dancing Class at 400, Old Ford Road, every Monday, 7.30-10. Admission 3d.

CENTRAL BRANCH.—Hon. Secretary: Miss Eve Casey, 29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2. W. Teignmouth Shore lectured on 'Real Freedom' on Thursday. We can only offer our condolence to all who missed such a delightful lecture: collection, 4s. 10d. In spite of obstacles W. F. Watson's lecture at Chandos Hall was a success; 10s. profit being made for THE DREADNOUGHT.

Tickets 6d. each are now ready for THE DREADNOUGHT Social Evening on October 17th, and should be secured at once as only a limited number have been printed. A fine concert programme as well as other attractions is being arranged. Gifts of refreshments or money for them are greatly needed, especially sugar or saccharin; they should be sent to Mrs. Casey who is in charge of the commissariat.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS.

The Mothers' Arms appeals to friends to send gifts of towels, children's napkins, socks, shoes, knickers, overalls and frocks.

MR. AND MRS. PULLEN.

We deeply regret to announce the death from pneumonia within a few hours of each other, of Mr. and Mrs. Pullen of Canning Town, two of our oldest members. They leave four young children who are also ill.

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

A WORKERS' COMMITTEE FOR NORTH LONDON

A conference of Shop Stewards representing the North London area, was held in the Local Labour Party rooms, Fore Street, Edmonton, on Sunday, September 29th. It was an inspiring conference and the women workers were well represented. Comrades Bown (late Secretary Sheffield Workers Committee), Broad (S.I.M.T.S.), and W. F. Watson addressed the Stewards, and an interesting discussion ensued. Comrade Robson said the movement really started at the Gothic Works, Angel Road, Edmonton, where a live committee was established. A resolution was adopted to the effect that a North London Central Workers' Committee be established and the delegates were asked to report back to their respective shops for ratification. The stewards were also asked to secure the appointment of shop delegates to the next meeting so that it may be thoroughly representative in character. There is splendid material in this district and I confidently expect to see a real live committee for the whole area. Now, then, East and South London! What are you doing in this direction?

CO-ORDINATION.

The joint committee set up during the London Aeroplane Workers' Strike is continuing its activities towards establishing an Administrative Council for the London and District Shop Stewards' Movement. With this object in view the Executive Committees of all S.S. and Workers' Committees in the London area have been invited to meet in conference at Chandos Hall on Friday, October 4th, 7 P.M. It is to be hoped that it will be a representative gathering and that good will result.

The London Aircraft Woodworkers' Council has convened a mass meeting of Shop Stewards, other than metal, to take place on Saturday, October 5th, 2.30 P.M., at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. Comrade H. Joy will preside, and Comrades Rock, Lee, McConnell and Watson will address the meeting.

TOM DINGLEY AND COVENTRY.

We are glad to hear that the Coventry Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee has shown its appreciation of the pioneer work of Comrade Dingley by appointing him full time organiser. It is an interesting story and well worth relating, which we hope to do next week.

ACTIVITY AT A. & K. WATTS.

Some months ago the women workers at A. & K. Watts, Ltd., Eagle Street, Holborn, dissatisfied with their conditions, commenced to organise in the N.F.W.W., the men workers actively assisting. As a result attempts were made to establish the minimum rate and the matter was submitted to the Special Arbitration Tribunal on Women's Wages, the award being as follows:

1. That women time workers in the establishment in question be paid not less than 5d. per hour, plus 6s. per week war advance, as from the beginning of June, 1918, without prejudice to the time rates of women who now have a higher rate.
2. That a war advance of 6s. per week and of 3s. per week be paid to women piece workers over 18, and to girl piece workers under 18, respectively, in addition to their piece work earnings as from the beginning of June, 1918.
3. That the above war advances of 6s. and 3s. be paid for a full ordinary week, that they shall be taken

into account in the calculation of payment for overtime, night shift, Sunday and holiday work, and that when less than the full ordinary week is worked, they be paid in proportion to the number of hours worked.

The minimum rate for time workers (6d. per hour) has not been established, but the 6s. bonus has been secured and made retrospective. I suggest to the men and women at Watts that they immediately consolidate their gains by establishing a live Shop Stewards' Committee, and the minimum will come as a matter of course.

LITTLE GRANDMOTHER OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (continued from front page).

second-hand. She writes: "I desire to correspond with the American women, whom I esteem and admire now more than ever. Their energy in all they undertake is wonderful and is an example to the women of all the world. Accept my greetings, lovely ladies." To those who know the American suffrage movement, with its fashions and artificialities, its dining clubs, its presidents and snobberies, such expressions of admiration seem to come strangely from a woman who had dared and suffered so much for the revolution. But it is evident that the mind of Breshkovsky, removed from the main current of advanced thought in her far exile, remained politically as it was in her early womanhood. She had set out calling herself a Socialist of the Right Wing. In this country we should rather have called her a Liberal of the Left, and her mental change was probably rather to the Right than towards the Left. The stagnation which crippled her development has no doubt had the same tragic effect on many exiles.

When the great Revolution came at last she was hailed as its dearest, most popular figure; everywhere welcomed and applauded by vast masses of people. Kerensky made much of her and she worked to aid his administration, travelling hither and thither to speak to the people, organising printing presses, distributing literature, and so on. In her letters she speaks of the workers as her grandchildren. There is a note of kindly patronage in her tone. She does not realise that from the heart of the Russian workers a political faith, more scientific, more modern, and of fibre no less robust than her own, has sprung. She is whole-hearted for the War against Germany. She opposed it as Imperialist yesterday; to-day it is a war of defence to protect the Revolution. A note of complaint against a younger school of thought, against those whom we imagine to be the Bolsheviks, has crept into the letters, dimming their first unclouded enthusiasm for the new-won liberty. What happened after? Did Breshkovsky support Kerensky through all the tortuous windings of his diplomacy? Did she take her stand against the People's Soviets? Or did the light of the new age break on her at last? We cannot say: the book closes with the last pages unwritten.

Breshkovsky was a heroic figure of the nineteenth century, instinct with the idealism of her time. She does not belong to the twentieth century.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 14d. Malthusian League, 49, 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.

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INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.

Dear Friends of Humanity.—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. In a week would SEVERAL 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.

(Adv.)

To Dreadnought Readers in the Borough of Croydon.

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in Aid of the John Maclean Election Fund, will be held in the

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The Sale will be opened by

Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, of London.

Goods can be sent to Mrs. McGill, Herald League Rooms, 94 George St., Glasgow; donations to the treasurer, Miss Kate McKenzie, 38 Camden St., S.S. Glasgow. Sympathisers are earnestly requested to assist the Sale, by sending in their goods and donations as early as possible. All communications regarding the above, should be sent to the Secretary,

Mrs. STEFANIA SARAFIN-MCGILL, 26, Apley Place, S.S. Glasgow.

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.

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