

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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## THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION.



WOMEN OF THE NEW CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC, where, as in all the neighbouring countries, Bolshevism is rapidly spreading.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT INTERVENTION.

“HOW THE RULERS OF ENGLAND ARE STRANGLING THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.”

By M. PHILIPS PRICE.

(Formerly Russian Correspondent of 'The Manchester Guardian'.)

One of the most deadly weapons wielded by the ruling classes of all countries is their power to censor the press; for thereby they are able to create, under the pretext of military necessity, an artificial public opinion with the object of hiding their fell designs. Never was this fact more clearly demonstrated than at the present moment; never was it more obvious that the governments of the Central Powers and the Allies, in order to suppress the workers' and peasants' revolution in Russia, must hide from their own people the truth about this revolution; must represent it to the proletariat of the West as the work of a gang of robbers. Just as a criminal or weak-minded man after having committed some offence against public law tries to shift the blame on to any person he finds handy, so the ruling classes of Europe, after butchering their people in a cruel four-years war, now in terror before the judgment of humanity and the inner prickings of conscience, try to create for themselves pleasant illusions

and find convenient scapegoats, on which to vent their wrath.

One cannot be surprised, of course, that the governments of England, France and Germany should, through the official agencies and their press censors, endeavour to blacken the work of the Russian Revolution. Living here in the besieged castle of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, surrounded by the armed hosts of the European war lords, I am in a position to see more clearly than those outside this iron ring, the power possessed by the ruling classes, whose fell designs include the strangling of this youngest of the governments of the toiling masses. For this is what I have to face day after day. Telegrams to my newspaper are suppressed, or, if passed by the British censor, are decapitated, so that no sense is left in them; postal communication is severed, provocative rumours about what is happening here are spread in London and Paris, and my attempts to deny them are frustrated. All the technical apparatus of the capitalist states of Western Europe is set in motion against those whose duty it is to tell the truth about the Russian Revolution and to convey to the West the cry of the Russian people for help. But let not the governments of England and France forget that “foul deeds will rise, though all the earth overwhelm them to men's eyes.” Those who

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## THE FIRST FIVE DAYS OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION.

Extract from the account of an eye-witness, Henry Charles Schmitt.

[The events here described are the events of the first revolution which created a Hungarian Republic with a National Assembly as its instrument of government, and which has since been succeeded by a second Revolution based on the Soviets. The events of the first Hungarian Revolution are, however, very closely interwoven with those of the second. The pamphlet from which these extracts are taken will shortly be published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.]

....And so I come to the actual picture-gallery of the revolutionary events.

The revolution in Hungary was not organised, not manufactured, not *menagé*. It grew up freely, and just a dozen men sufficed to hold it together. A proof for or against?....For! for the mass can only be moved by a summons relatively of the same elevation as itself. When the mass follows unknown leadership merely on account of a programme, this means that it wills to co-operate. And it co-operated, without swerving, without heat, without fail.

They made a revolution, the Hungarians, because there was nothing else to do. Because the gigantic upkeep of a gigantic army was working on their shoulders, because they saw the Hapsburg sitting ever in Vienna as Emperor and never in Budapest as King (although in such a royal comedy, directed to eye and mind and phantasy, precisely the seeing of the idol is essential to the realisation of the fairy tale), and because they had frankly had enough of fighting without motive.

History shows no Hungarian war aims—only the aim imposed upon the country of going to the aid of Austria.

Hungary's revolution was the historical consequence of a biological principle. The sick place had to be removed by operation: a non-national Government, which managed the affairs of an Empire without any relation to the people, which throughout its whole structure was antediluvian in its reactionary trend, had, in the atmosphere of our time, to perish.

Hungary had on her hands the whole weight of the war, provisioned the German troops, managed the whole question of transport with her own rolling-stock, and, beside this, exported. Now there was superfluity in Hungary, and it was constantly said to me: “In Budapest one fares splendidly, one eats white bread”—a fault of the Government, which, clinging to the principle of absolute centralisation inherent in the administration of the land, fed Budapest free, so to say, so as to relieve the capital of petty inconveniences. It was a mirage—a bid for popularity in the capital, which in no other land is so truly and wholly “The Capital” as in Hungary. The Government, in fact, powdered Budapest over with white meal in order to conceal the lack of black meal in many districts. The cause is simple. Only through the appearance of Budapest's well-being could the equally centralised press be “convinced” that all was really being efficiently administered. By these manoeuvres the Vienna Government in Budapest was able to win from the country, from the Parliament, every complaisance in the matter of supplies *ad infinitum* for the army.

And now I will carry my digression from the story no further—will not touch on Arpad's times, and on to the Anjous, down to the Hapsburgs, although precisely this Revolution has its roots in the depths. Let it be taken as a fact that this war was the cartridge that exploded a mine of aimlessness and drifting, while the powder slowly, slowly, sometimes quicker, sometimes still slower, was accumulated beneath the people by statesmen,

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## THE TRUTH ABOUT INTERVENTION.

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suppress the truth create forces that bring the truth into the light of day, but by methods which they least expect.

Knowing, therefore, the love of freedom and the sense of justice of the British working man, I am in these few lines appealing to him to understand the facts that I have here set before him—facts which I have obtained after four years' residence in Russia. When he has read them he will be able to judge for himself whether the policy of the British Government towards the Russian Revolution is a policy of which he approves.

I begin from the beginning. The Russian Revolution in March, 1917 was nothing less than the first practical step taken by the working classes of a European country to protest against the indefinite dragging on of the war for objects hidden in the Chancelleries of secret European diplomacy. There is no better proof of this than in the fact that the first act of the first All-Russian Soviet Conference in May, 1917, was an appeal to the workers of the world to lay down their arms and make peace with each other over the heads of their governments. The Russian workers and peasants were brought to this conviction by their intense sufferings during the previous two and a half years. The war, in fact, had brought their economically poorly-developed country to ruin; the industries were at a standstill, famine was raging in the towns, and the villages were filled with maimed soldiers. Long before the March Revolution one could see that the Russian army was no longer capable of the offensive, even if it had the inspiration to effect one, and meanwhile all the towns in the interior of Russia were, even in 1916, filled with deserters.

The next fact I wish to set forth is that the governments of the Allies, by refusing to allow the Stockholm Conference to take place in the autumn of 1917, destroyed the belief of the Russian peasants and workers in the sincerity of the Allied cause, weakened the hands of those in Germany who were working for peace, played into the hands of the Prussian war party, and made the calamitous Brest-Litovsk peace inevitable.

The "Bolshevik" Revolution of October, 1917, was the second protest of the Russian workers and peasants against the continuation of a war, which they had not the physical strength to carry on, nor the moral justification to support. It seemed better for them to risk the danger of making peace single-handed with the Prussian warlords, than be ruined by being dragged along in a war for objects which were disclosed in the secret treaties between the Allies. The October Revolution differed from the March one. For the first time in the history of the world a people realised that only by radically altering the whole form of human government was it possible to put down war. Declining all ideas of a compromise peace between the rulers of the countries at war (a resolution which would only have led to another war) the workers and peasants of Russia dared to create a government, which, by putting an end to the political and economic power of landlords and financial syndicates, definitely rooted out the poison in human society that alone is the cause of war. For the Russian people under Tsarism saw, more clearly perhaps than the workers of England and Germany, that the competition between the great banking and industrial trusts of London, Paris, Berlin, and New York for spheres of influence, mining, and railway concessions in undeveloped countries like their own, was the root cause of all modern wars, and that therefore, to put an end to war, the social and political system which breeds the exploiting trust must be once and for all overthrown.

From this it follows that the workers and peasants of Russia, after the October revolution, were forced to undertake a task, which the weak Kerensky Government (controlled, as it was, mainly by landlords and bankers) could not even attempt to solve; namely, to take directly under its authority the principal means

of production, distribution, and exchange. For this reason the railways, the waterways, and mines were declared State property and the banks taken under Government control. But Russia was bankrupt. Exhausted by the cruel war, through which Tsarism had dragged her for three tortuous years, her economic power was completely broken down. Food and the raw materials of industry in the country were reduced to a minimum, and the land flooded with valueless paper money. To repay the bankers of London and Paris the war debts of Tsarism, the Russian workers and peasants would have to export annually for many years to come in gold or raw material a sum not less than one milliard (300,000,000 pounds sterling) without obtaining any return. To bear this burden in addition to others brought about by the ruin of the industries, the collapse of the railways and the famine, was impossible without reducing the people to slavery. The Russian workers and peasants therefore could no longer admit the principle that they should pay tribute to foreign bankers for the doubtful honour of serving as their cannon fodder. So the repudiation of the debts of Tsarism and the nationalisation of all the natural resources of the Russian Republic to serve the interests of the people, was the first and most essential of the principles of the October revolution. But no sooner was this done than the governments of England and France began to scheme for the overthrow of the Russian Soviet Government. In November, 1917, the French Government paid a large sum of money to the Ukrainian Rada in order that it should raise rebellion against the Workers' and Peasants' Government. On the Don, General Kaledin received arms and ammunition from the Allied military missions, in order that his Cossacks should join in the attack. But the peasants of the Ukraine and the labouring Cossacks refused to be the tool of the Paris and London Stock Exchanges—threw off the yoke of the Rada and of General Kaledin, and created their own revolutionary Soviets in federal union with the Soviet Government of Great Russia. Then followed the tragedy of Kiev—when the Ukrainian Rada, which had been bought by Allied gold, finding itself threatened by its indignant revolutionary peasantry, sold itself to the German war lords and invited the armed forces of the Central Powers to protect their class interests.

Foiled in their attempts to use the Ukrainian Rada, the Allied Governments began to spread rumours that the leaders of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government were agents of Germany and had betrayed the working classes of England and France, because they had brought Russia out of the war. Against these slanders may be set the following facts. The necessity for Russia to obtain peace was dictated, firstly, by the impossibility of undertaking the work of social reconstruction at home if a foreign war was draining the country of its material resources; and, secondly, by the desire of the workers and peasants of Russia to maintain a neutral position between the armed camps of Europe, and to show to the workers of other lands that they had no partiality to any of the warring governments. The best proof that the Soviet Government was sincere in its desire to make peace, not with the German Government, but with German people, was seen in the course of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. The Soviet Government not only showed no desire to bring the negotiations to a speedy conclusion, but did everything possible to cause them to drag on indefinitely, so as to expose to the German people the rapacity and cynicism of the German Government. By these tactics they were largely responsible for the great strike in Germany during January, 1918.

This was the first real protest of the German people against the war and the policy of their government; and it was brought about by the tactics of the leaders of the Russian Revolution. Contrast this with the tactics of the Allied Governments, who, in spite of their loud assertions that by armed force alone could Prussian militarism be crushed, have, after four years

battering away at the Western front at the cost of thousands of the noblest lives, failed to call forth a single demonstration in Germany against the war. Trotsky succeeded in the Council Chambers of Brest-Litovsk in creating that spirit of rebellion among the German people which all the heavy guns and armoured tanks of Field-Marshal Haig had failed to create in the course of the whole campaign. But the strike in Germany failed and the German Government was left free to crush the Russian Revolution. Why did the strike fail?

Because Hindenburg and the Prussian junkers were able to appeal to the more uneducated and less class-conscious mass of the German people, and to say to them: "Don't withdraw your support from us, because, if you do, the Allied Governments will ruin Germany and reduce you to slavery." They were able to point to the secret treaties, published by the Soviet Government, which showed that the Allies had been fighting to annex Germany up to the left bank of the Rhine, and that their governments had not repudiated these treaties. They were able to point to the fact that although the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia had invited the Allies to take part in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, had waited in fact a fortnight for them to make up their minds, the Allied governments had refused. Thus the Prussian war lords were able to tell their people that the Allies would not hear of peace, and that, therefore, a strike at this time would be treachery to their country. It was only when the Soviet Government saw that the Russian Revolution was deserted by the Allied democracies and betrayed by the German proletarians that they reluctantly were compelled to sign the cruel Brest-Litovsk peace. And the very fact that the Kaiser and his hirelings imposed such onerous conditions, shows how much he feared the Russian workers' and peasants' Revolution, and how abominable is the slander that the Bolsheviks are the agents of the German Government. It was not the Russian peasants and workers that deserted the Allies, but the Allies, yes, and I fear the working classes in the Allied countries, who deserted the Russian peasants and workers in the hour of their distress.

Now, what was the policy of the Soviet Government of Russia after the Brest-Litovsk treaty? I submit that it was a policy which aimed at maintaining the strictest neutrality between the two great fighting camps. Yet the governments of Germany and the Allies did everything to make the maintenance of neutrality impossible, because they looked upon the Russian workers and peasants either as objects for economic exploitation or as cannon fodder to be used by them. The Soviet Government was forced to give up the Black Sea fleet to Germany (as a matter of fact a great part of the fleet was blown up to prevent it falling into German hands) and was forced to accept the principle of individual exchange of war prisoners, whereby hundreds of thousands of Russian workers and peasants were left to work in Germany in slavery under the Kaiser, and who had the ultimatums, which were showered upon the Soviet Government from Berlin, to be accepted? They had to be accepted because the Russian army had been ruined. And why was it ruined? Because the Allies had tried to through the spring and summer, 1917, to force the Russian workers and peasants to fight for the objects, which were disclosed by the Bolsheviks in the secret treaties. Whenever the Russian people, either through the Soviet or through the more progressive members of the Provisional Government, asked the Allies to define their war aims they were met by platitudes about liberty and justice. Meanwhile the peasants and workers were starving with no prospect before them but endless war for the undefined aims of foreign governments. Was it likely that a 12 million army could be kept together under these conditions?

Was it possible for the Bolshevik Government, deserted by the Allies, to do anything else but sign the Brest-Litovsk peace and bow to every ultimatum which the tyrants in Berlin chose to

## THE TRUTH ABOUT INTERVENTION.

send them? The Allied Governments, all through the winter of 1917, acted as if they feared the Soviet Government of the Russian workers and peasants a great deal more than they feared the Imperialist Government of Germany.

But, in spite of its isolation, the Soviet Government in the spring of this year commenced a program of social reconstruction. In order to succeed on this sphere it was necessary to receive help from economically more advanced countries. The railways were in a state of collapse; technical appliances were needed to repair the locomotives and wagons. The mines were flooded and broken down. Instructors and engineers were required to undertake the difficult task of restoring their working capacity. Agricultural machinery was required to help the peasant to till the soil, which as a result of the war had in large areas fallen out of cultivation. The Soviet Government asked the governments of Europe to help it in this great task. To each of the countries of the great alliances an offer was made to treat with Russia, to supply her with these material and technical needs, in return for which the Soviet Government offered certain raw materials of export and certain railway and mining concessions. These concessions, of course, were to be kept under strict public control, so as to ensure that, while the foreign capitalists should have a fair return for their undertakings, the workers and peasants should not be subjected to the exploitation, which they had experienced under Tsarism. The offer was made to Germany and negotiations are now going on in Berlin.

It was also made to the United States through the medium of one of the most sympathetic American representatives in Moscow, who personally took the proposals with him to America. But what was the attitude of the official diplomatic representatives of the Allies? They buried themselves in the provincial town of Vologda, refused to come to Moscow, and one of their number last April made a cynical statement to the press that the governments of the Allies could not recognise a government which was not, either in fact or in law, a representative of the "true" Russia. More than this; the Allied ambassadors became in Vologda the centre of every counter-revolutionary intrigue in the country, and when the Soviet Government, seeing what was going on, courteously requested them to come to Moscow, the seat of the Government to which they were supposed to be accredited, otherwise it could not be held responsible for their safety, they left the territories of the Republic on the ground that they had been insulted!!! The Soviet Government insisted in putting control on them, if they remained in Vologda, in order to prevent counter-revolutionary elements in the country from getting at them. To what extent this action was justified may be seen from the following facts.

On the basis of documents discovered on the premises of the Czechoslovak National Council in Moscow in July, 1918, the fact was established that at the end of February, 1918, an agreement was reached between certain British and French military agents in Russia and the Czechoslovak National Council. This Council had taken under its control the Czechoslovak prisoners and deserters from the Austrian army, and had formed them into a separate legion to fight against Austria. This had already been done during Tsarism, and after Brest-Litovsk the question was raised of sending them to the French front. To this the Soviet Government agreed. But it appears that the British and French governments had other work for the Czechoslovak soldiers to perform, and were by no means anxious that they should go to France. For between March and May, 1918, the French Consul in Moscow paid to two persons on the Czechoslovak National Council the sum of nine million roubles, and the British Consul in Moscow paid eighty-five thousand pounds to the same people. Directly after these payments the Czechoslovak forces, which were scattered all along the Siberian and Eastern railways, rose in rebellion, occupied most important

strategic posts in East Russia, thus cutting off Central and Northern Russia from the corn-producing districts and condemning the workers and peasants of Moscow to famine and the industries to destruction. The legend, circulated in Western Europe, that the Soviet Government was preparing to hand the Czechoslovaks to the Austrian Government is false; for the former had only too readily accepted the proposal, which the Czechoslovaks themselves made before the interference by the Allied governments, that they should be sent to France.

But even after the seizure of the Siberian railway and the opening of the road to Vladivostok, the commanders of the Czechoslovaks not only made no attempt to move their troops out of Russia, but began to advance west towards Moscow, clearly showing they were carrying out the pre-arranged plan, for which they had received these payments.

At every town where they arrived they united with counter-revolutionary forces, organised by the local landlords and bosses, and began to break up the Soviets, shoot the leading revolutionary leaders, and re-establish a military dictatorship of the propertied classes. Up to this time, every counter-revolutionary rebellion, which had been raised against the Soviet Government, had been suppressed by the Red Army, thus showing that the Soviet Government had sufficient authority and support among the masses to put it down. It was only when hired bands of foreign imperialists raised rebellion and supported the local counter-revolutionary forces, which had been defeated in square fight, that the position of the Soviet Government began to be in danger. Thus the Allied governments in East Russia, like the German Government in the Ukraine, endeavoured by financing counter-revolution and anarchy, to make the work of social reconstruction and the feeding of the starving people impossible for the Soviet Government.

The governments of England and France, in order to recoup themselves for the losses of the London and Paris bankers, incurred by the Russian revolution, are now trying to overthrow the Soviet Government, and to re-establish a government, with the aid of armed hirelings, which will impose again the milliard tribute of the loans of Tsarism upon the backs of the Russian workers and peasants. They are also trying to force the Russian people to fight in the war against Germany against their will, to use them as cannon fodder, although one of the main motives of the workers' and peasants' revolution was to free themselves from the war, which was ruining them and condemning them to starvation. To impose fresh tribute upon the Russian people, to force them to fight against their will, to increase still further their misery, indescribable as it is at present; that is the task which the British Government asks the British soldier to perform when he fights on the Murman; that is the object for which the British munition worker is toiling, when he makes shells, which are to be fired upon his Russian comrades.

As one who has lived for four years in Russia,

## PLUMER TO STOP STRIKES.

General Plumer who commands the British Army of Occupation in Germany has issued an order stating that all industrial disputes occurring in the territory occupied will be brought before the German Courts of Arbitration. If a settlement is not reached the British military authorities "will make a decision which will be binding upon both parties. Severe measures will be taken against those who do not conform to the British orders."

This is a very serious matter. What do British workers say of this? Let them remember that "An injury to one is an injury to all," both nationally and internationally.

## IMPORTANT.

All Newsagents and Railway Bookstalls throughout the country will supply "The Workers' Dreadnought" if you only place your order. The paper is now on sale or return."

has seen the sufferings of her people and their heroic efforts to free themselves, I categorically assert that the anarchy and famine now raging in Russia is the deliberate work of the imperialist governments of Europe, and in this respect the governments of the Allies and of Germany behave like vultures of the same brood. For what Germany has done in the Ukraine, the Allied governments have done in Siberia and the territories east of the Volga.

And yet the British working man is told that in Russia there is chaos and Anarchy, and that the British Government, out of sympathy for the Russian people, is sending expeditions to help them, and to bring a rule of law and order. Where is the law which finances rebellion against a government of the workers and poorest peasantry, in order to force it to pay an intolerable tribute and reduce it to industrial slavery? Where is the order which brings war to a land that is already exhausted by the three years' slaughter of the European imperial butchers? The Soviet Government of Russia asked peace, and the governments of England and France are trying to give it a sword; it asked for help in its work of social reconstruction, and it has been given the serpent of anarchy. It is just because the workers and peasants of Russia are trying to establish a new order in their country that the governments of Europe are trembling, and are trying by their treacherous attacks on Russia to destroy this new order and in its place to establish the old. For, if the Soviet Government succeeds, it will for ever put an end to exploitation by social parasites and will sweep away the profiteers that fatten out of war.

The "financial capital" of London and Paris is trying to save the "real" Russia, but it is really forging for it new chains. By a Judas kiss it is trying to hide the shekels of silver, for which it has sold the Russian people. But let the workers of England know the truth about this great crime; let them say to the British Government: "Hands off; let none dare to touch the Russian revolution, the noblest product of these four years of blood and tears."

I know how firm in the memory of British workers is the tradition of freedom with which they have for generations been associated. When the ruling classes of England acted as suppressors of movements for freedom in America, when they interfered to bolster up privilege and reaction on the continent of Europe, the British workers raised their voices in protest. At the end of the eighteenth century the landlords of England declined to treat with the ambassadors of the free French Republic, and declared war upon a people who had cast off a feudal tyranny. To-day the banking oligarchies in London try to strangle by isolation and spread of famine the great movement for freedom that has sprung up in Eastern Europe. They will not succeed now, just as they did not succeed then, and the conquests of the Russian revolution will endure, as did the conquests of the French revolution last century. But to bring this about the workers of England must know the truth, and knowing it, must care to act.

(Printed in pamphlet form in 1918 in Berne.)

## SCERMUS IN PETROGRAD:

Mrs. Scermus writes from Petrograd that she reached there two weeks before her husband, who was detained in a Finnish prison for a month, but has since joined her. She says: "It seems so strange to remember how we talked of the Bolsheviks and now I am living amongst them. I find them very interesting. It is hard to realise that the working people could have such power as they have here in Russia. Baby is getting on well; Russia agrees with her as it does with me. There is not an abundance of food, but there is sufficient, and there is plenty of good goat's milk. We are so happy. There is no one to say we must not do this or that; we are as free as the birds in the air, we, and everyone in Russia...."

Crown 8vo, pp. viii-165, boards, 2s. 9d., post paid. JOHN MAVROGORDATO.

## THE WORLD IN CHAINS

—SOME ASPECTS OF WAR AND TRADE—  
Written in 1916 while the finest emotions of men were being exploited by the basest form of Imperialism and Capitalism.  
THE BOMB SHOP, 66 Charing Cross Rd., London, W.C.2



## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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### FIUME.

We have never thought that Italy had the least justification to annex Fiume. She, of all nations, cannot say that she is short of sea ports, and Fiume clearly belongs to the Croats. But it is not at Fiume we should draw the line, but at all the territory promised to Italy by the Secret Treaty of 1915 as the price of Italy's entry into the war. It must be realised that the people who would benefit by the enforcement of the secret treaty are not the workers, the peasants, and soldiers of Italy, but the rapacious capitalists.

But whilst we repudiate the Italian claim to Fiume and the other territory promised by the treaty, we are unable to congratulate Wilson on his refusal to assent to the bargain. We cannot say with Lansbury: "Although Mr. Wilson is no Socialist or even a Labour man, he is still first on the roll of Internationalists." We cannot join with Lansbury in his call to "rally to the President and also Lloyd George... if between them they will give mankind the opportunity to build up the international co-operative commonwealth." Whilst Lansbury is supporting these men they are crushing out communism in Europe.

We cannot forget that, beside those desired by Italy, there are other annexations and other secret treaties. We remember that Wilson's fourteen points have been flagrantly violated in other directions also; that the annexation of the German Colonies, Mesopotamia and Palestine, the seizure of German territories and population on the East and on the West, the ruthless blockade, continued during the armistice and causing hardship to the neutral nations as well as to the Central Empires, the enormous indemnities demanded, the intervention in Russia, including the greedy theft of the Baku oilwells, are all denials of Wilson's fourteen points.

News is continually coming of fresh violations of public right and the freedom of small nations by the Big Four (now the Big Three), who are playing at world dominion in the name of Democracy.

The *Daily News* states that for months past a fully accredited delegation from the Persian Government has been in Paris trying in vain to obtain a hearing at the Peace Conference. Persian neutrality was violated during the war by Britain, Russia, and Turkey. Upon the Persians fell the misfortune of having part of their territory fought over by the combatants. The Persian delegation wishes to raise the question of the damage which has thus been caused and to demand the abrogation of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, which partitioned the greater part of Persia into spheres of influence for Russia and Britain, and the later Secret Treaty allotted the remainder of Persia to Britain. The *Daily News* gives publicity to the assertions that Great Britain is the only Power opposed to hearing the Persian delegates, that the British Foreign Office is demanding for the British Government the sole right to appoint Persian officials, and has refused to abrogate the Treaty of 1917. With Ireland only restrained from taking her independence by armed force, with India aflame under the iron heel, Britain has small claim to reproach Italy. Then there is Egypt!

The British occupation began there to safeguard the money of British bond holders. The Egyptians were repeatedly assured that the occupation would be only temporary, until, in 1914, a British "Protectorate" was proclaimed. America has just recognised that protectorate in return for British recognition of the Monroe doctrine.

The serious trouble which has now been occurring in Egypt broke out because Egyptian delegates were refused a hearing at the Peace Conference, before which they desired to lay their grievance against usurping Britain. The Egyptian struggle for freedom is being repressed by the iron heel. According to *The Times* Cairo correspondent, special military courts and summary military courts have been created. The former are empowered to inflict "any punishment considered necessary"; the latter may mete out fines, imprisonment up to six months, with hard labour, police supervision up to one year, and the brutal punishment of whipping or flogging. A proclamation has been issued under martial law forbidding the Egyptians to impose levies upon themselves to take street collections, and so on, for those who have suffered through the uprising for maintaining the strikers and carrying on the Independence movement. This proclamation is really an outrage. Moreover, it should be remembered that methods originally devised by governments for use abroad sometimes come to be applied at home!

We need not wonder that President Wilson's refusal to countenance the Fiume annexation (a refusal in which, by the way, he is said to be joined by Clemenceau as well as by Lloyd George, and to which is added the threat of withholding food and coal from Italy) is not regarded by Italy as altruistic, but as a greedy attempt to get the better of Italy. Italians are now reported to be leaving America in large numbers, and are returning to Italy complaining that the Americans call them "dagos" and relegate to them only the worst paid manual toil.

And why has Wilson chosen to apply his fourteen points—which nowhere else are applied—to the port of Fiume? Mainly, we suppose, because American wants to trade there and Italian capitalism desires to make it a close preserve for its own commerce. Such are the politics of capitalism!

### THE AVANTI.

The voice of the *Avanti*, the Italian Socialist daily, is silent at this critical juncture, for the Socialist press in Milan was wrecked by reactionaries on April 18th in the course of a general strike supported by the Socialists, which lasted three days and extended to Turin, Genoa, Bologna, and Brescia.

### SOVIETS IN TURKEY.

From the Bolshevik representatives at Odessa on April 21st, and in a message sent from Tchicherine to Bela Kun in Hungary on April 22nd came news that the Soviets have been established in Asia Minor and a Revolutionary Committee in Constantinople.

### Workers What Do You Say to This?

You talk of striking against the Income Tax, but you are asleep when the creation of a new world controlled by the workers is being fought by the Capitalist Class!

### THE TEACHERS.

At the N.U.T. Conference the teachers demanded free University education, and maintenance, also the abolition of the Central Schools which condemn the children attending them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The education the teachers desire to see will never be provided under the capitalist system.

### What will the Labour Movement do to support John Syme?

## THE ALLIES ATTACK HUNGARIAN SOVIET

and  
DEMAND A CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT!

Berlin, April 24th.—The *Lokalanzeiger* reports that the Hungarian Soviet Government has asked the Entente Mission in Vienna to send delegates to Budapest to negotiate concerning an armistice.

Colonel Cuninghame, after communicating with Paris, caused the Hungarian Government to be informed that the Entente was ready to conclude an armistice and immediately suspend the advance of its troops if the Soviet Government abdicated and a new Cabinet representative of all the bourgeois parties of Hungary were formed and all decrees of the Soviet Government were withdrawn. On these conditions the Entente would negotiate with the Hungarian Government.

### THE COAL INQUIRY.

The Sankey Report on Nationalisation is now postponed till June 20th. The business is very curiously conducted, since the Chairman appears to allow any one who cares to go in and interrupt, to hold up the entire procedure until he has said his say. If the miners are willing there may be another postponement when June 20th appears. How long will they consent to be played with?

### SOUTH WALES NOTES.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA.

It is now expected that South Wales will be flooded with "Hands Off Russia" literature as a result of last Saturday's Delegate Conference in the upper part of the Rhondda. Active propaganda work is to be entered upon dealing with peculiar grievances of the miners and coupled with that a general propaganda to educate the miners to the main objective. The miner should see that the purpose of his organisation is not a mere increase of wages and a decrease of hours, for those are only trivial matters, that leave the fundamental cause of poverty, unemployment, explosions, and misery still here. This fundamental cause is the present system, under which society is split into two classes, one that owns the mines, ships and railways and does not work, and the other that owns nothing but their power to labour, and performs all the work necessary for the upkeep of the nation. Under this system, if the Welsh miners succeed in getting higher wages and less hours, the fact still remains that they do not get all the proceeds of their labour. There will still exist a class of shareholders which does nothing towards production (this was admitted by a shareholder giving evidence before the Coal Commission); but still takes the lion's share of the benefits resulting from the miners' toil. If every miner realises this, then he will not be content to build up his organisation merely to gain immediate and pressing concessions, but the goal should always be the elimination of private ownership, and the control of the mines by the miners. John Maclean's visit to South Wales has contributed in creating this consciousness.

The feeling at the "Hands Off Russia" Conference was that before the miners were in a position to help their comrades in Russia they must be made to feel that their fight here was the same fight that Russia had to undergo in defending their newly raised Socialist Republic. This necessitates active propaganda during the coming summer so as to enlighten the rank and file to the true state of affairs existing in Russia, so that the time will soon come when they will no longer allow British capitalism to attempt to kill the Socialist Republics of the Continent. When the British rank and file reach that happy climax the capitalists here at home will have their hands full in trying to stem the rising tide of revolution in Britain, and will not have the opportunity of fighting the workers on the Continent.

### MAY DAY.

May 5th promises to be a red-letter day in the history of South Wales. In the Rhondda Valley six demonstrations are to be held. Labour councillors are trying to get a general holiday for school children, and it would be well if they were taught the meaning of Labour Day, for they are the future wage slaves, or shall it be the future citizens of a Socialist Republic. Merthyr as usual is topping the Bill with Sports, Eisteddfod Demonstrations, &c.

## THE SOVIETS OF THE FAR EAST.

Verbatim Report of a Conversation with Gertrude M. Tobin, wife of Krasnochokov, President of the Far Eastern Soviet in Siberia.

Mrs. Tobin, what was your husband's business in Chicago?

A. He was the superintendent of the Workers' Institute. It is an institution controlled by the working men—a sort of proletarian university.

Q. Was your husband born in Russia?

A. Yes, he was born in Kiev. He came to this country in 1902 and studied at the Chicago University, and worked at painting. Then he studied law and passed the Bar examinations in 1911. He had an office and practised law for five or six years. It was in July, 1917, that we left for Russia.

Q. Did you go back at the expense of the Russian Government with the rest?

A. Our party consisted of about a hundred Russian people. Yes, we went at their expense.

Q. That was at the expense of the Kerensky Government?

A. Yes. And when we came to Vladivostok—the second day after we came, my husband was made the secretary of the Central Union. There were many who knew him from Chicago of course. We stayed four weeks in Vladivostok and then he was urged to go to Nikolsk, a small city about six hours' ride from Vladivostok, and he was elected there very soon to be a member of the City Soviet. That was in Kerensky's régime. He tried to organise the soldiers and peasants in the villages into Soviets, and he was elected chairman of the Soviets.

Q. Did Kerensky's régime encourage the formation of the Soviets?

A. Oh, no. There were Soviets while Kerensky's régime was in existence, but they had no power.

Q. When you were forming these Soviets, was that consciously with the purpose of another revolution?

A. Yes. We all knew that the time would come when the workers would get the power through these organisations.... My husband was a member of the City Soviet about four months, I guess, and then the crash came. The Kerensky régime fell in Russia, and as soon as it fell in Russia, naturally it fell in Siberia, without any revolution and without any fighting or bloodshed. The Soviets simply took over the power.

Q. He was Mayor and Chairman of the Soviets, both, wasn't he?

A. Yes. Then immediately they called a conference in Habarovsk of all the Soviets of the Far East. That was in January, 1918, and he was sent as a delegate to that conference. He was elected Chairman of the conference—temporary Chairman, and afterwards Chairman of the State Soviet.

Q. Of the whole Far East—and how much does that include?

A. Well, Louis Edgar Brown of the Chicago *Daily News* Staff wrote once in a newspaper that he found Tobin the dictator of a territory one-third as large as the United States. Of course the population isn't as large. We had in Vladivostok about 100,000, and in Habarovsk about 50,000. Brown called him "dictator" only because he had a great influence over the people, over the peasants and working men. They loved him; he was a teacher and comrade. He would sometimes work for eighteen hours a day with the Soviets. In the evenings he would go out and teach the people, eat with them, and sleep with them.

Q. Is he back in America?

A. No, he is not back; I don't know where he is.

Q. Up to the time when this great change took place all over Russia, when the Soviets got in power, the industries and the land and the various economic enterprises of Vladivostok were still in private hands and were still private property?

A. Yes.

Q. Had the workers made any attempt to control, or to appropriate them, under the Kerensky régime?

A. No, they were just organising towards this change.

Q. Your husband, while he was Mayor under the Kerensky régime, functioned exactly as a Socialist mayor would function here in America?

A. Yes—only at the same time he educated and taught the people.

Q. But there was no form whatever of nationalisation or municipalisation of industry?

A. No, the Soviets were simply educating and organising against the Kerensky power all the time.

Q. Now, I would like you to describe as accurately as you can, just what happened as soon as the Soviets got control of the situation there.

A. Well, they went very slowly. First, they organised the State Soviet—the central power—the State Soviet of the Far East. Next they went quietly to work and nationalised the fleet. You know the Far East is surrounded by the Amur River; there are many sailors and many boats that belong to private people, and they nationalised these first. Then they nationalised the mines. First, of course, they would call a conference of the peasants and miners, and these would pass resolutions favouring the nationalising of the mines, and then they would proceed to take them over.

In Blagovieschensk a big fight was put up by the White Guards and the Cossacks. While this conference was in session, and after the resolutions were passed, they surrounded the building and arrested 400 peasants and workers and all the members of the conference. My husband was arrested among them, and kept in prison for six days.

When the peasants of the district learned that the members of their conference were arrested they came running from all the villages and all the cities around, not organising at all, but just pouring out, about 10,000 of them a day, with hammers and hatchets and wood and whatever they had in their hands, to free the members of the conference. It happened just in one day—the minute they learned that the conference was arrested. Everybody came—women with wagons bringing bread and meat, cooking right there in the open air for the fighters. It took them about a week to recapture the city. They had to put up a hard fight because the White Guards and the Cossacks got the help of the Chinese, who were just over the frontier.

When the Red Guards had captured the depot, and the White Guards saw that they were coming back strong and would soon take the prison, they issued an order to shoot Krasnochokov. But just at the same time the keys of the prison were given over to the Red Guard. They came, opened the doors and took out all the prisoners. They took him out and carried him almost all day on their shoulders in the streets. Afterwards he stayed there for six weeks, organising the city, putting the Soviets on a solid footing, and nationalising the fleet and the gold mines and coal mines. Blagovieschensk is a big city, and there is plenty of white flour and plenty of food there, and so the bakeries also were nationalised, and things were sold at half the price they had been in private hands. And the hotels were also nationalised, and the moving pictures, &c.

Q. Were such popular demonstrations organised in any way?

A. Usually it was spontaneous.

Q. Did you say they came across the country in wagons or in trains?

A. They walked and came in wagons from the surrounding villages. Many times they walked a whole day, or a day and a night, to the front. They kept on this way for four or five days—coming more and more—until there were enough to get back the city.

Q. These mines that were nationalised, were they owned by Russian capital?

A. Yes, Russian owners. I once met the

wife of a former owner of the mines. She did not know who I was, and she just went on telling me about her hard luck, and how now they had to live quietly on a farm. "Of course we brought away some money," she said, "and so we live quietly, and wait until the Soviet power is abolished again, and we hope we shall get back our mines." I said: "What does your husband do now?" And she said: "Well, he has to work; he works in the mines and gets wages."

Q. Now those mines that were nationalised by an edict of the Soviet, the titles were thereby transferred from the hands of the capitalist class, so to speak, into the hands of the Russian Republic, but what happened after that? Who ran those mines? How did they organise the work in those mines, and to what organisation was given the power to regulate all the internal affairs, and who employed the men?

A. First of all, they organised unions—industrial unions. There were no unions there before—or if there were, they had no power. Now only the unions have control over the shops and factories.

Q. And these unions were responsible only to the Soviet?

A. Every union had a representative in the Soviet—every industry. If the union consisted of more than three hundred it had two representatives. If it consisted of three hundred it had one representative, who knew all the internal affairs and protected the union.

Everyone—the manager and the common worker—received the same wages—four to five hundred roubles a month, and the Commissars also received four hundred roubles a month. The President of the State Soviet received four hundred roubles a month.

Q. Now those managers, those engineers and the highly technical experts that manage industries, you know, are generally selected from the capitalist class, and they do not come from the working class. Were those men, the same old managers belonging to the bourgeoisie, employed by the workers, or did the miners themselves develop—

A. Well, many of the experts did not want to work. The managers would sabotage against the Soviet and the unions and simply fold their hands and say, "We won't work with you." And they finally would go to Shanghai, or Japan, and join some counter-revolutionary plot. But many of them rolled up their sleeves, and helped us in the work. They remained on the job at our salary.

Q. And in other cases the workmen would select some one from among themselves to be the manager?

A. That is exactly how it was—in case they didn't get an expert.... The Soviets also tried to organise the unemployed—tried to give them work, so that they should produce something. All the unemployed were put in one big building, and every one had to work. They produced clothing and hats and shoes and everything in that building. It was called by a Russian name which means "Work for the Commune."

Q. And they were paid regular wages?

A. Paid regular wages.

Concluded in our Next Issue.

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THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION  
Continued from front page.

authorities, great heroes of history, and little intriguers of mean degree.

In the autumn of 1918 it was clear that the war was finally lost. The dictatorship built upon military authority and upon the infallibility of prerogatives was robbed of its basis. All began to totter. A current whose trend was indefinable gained in strength.

The German retreat east spherical illuminations over hill and valley. Fall on the Bourse, dissonances, confusion, rumours.

And then came the great Governmental crisis, the series beginning with the dismissal of Wokler, the endless searches for lime and cement, an unheard-of expenditure of men and forces.

And then... then the word was: Károlyi could save the country. Save? I deny that. A man is only a man, and genius is powerless against the hydrophobia. Only some months earlier Károlyi could in truth have effected something, when, relying on a half-integral military power, he might have concluded a well-merited separate peace. But from within, outward, grow revolutionary forces, which do not suffice to supply the lack of actual armies. And so the appointment of Károlyi could only have availed to rescue the dynasty for hours or days.

Once more, the Hungarian Revolution was a vote of the people. No kind of reactionary agitation, not the least, was to be remarked, and what agitation is now in existence, in so far as it is of any importance, is all ultra-radical. And a return to the old is desired merely by some odd people whose dullness only the Oriental parade of a Court could enliven.

While the revolutions in Germany, and especially in German Austria, have loosened sharp reactions, effective forces seem to arise there to defend or to rehabilitate either the dynasty or the authority of the old régime, in Hungary, on the contrary, only a movement toward still more Radical principles is in some measure perceptible, but no serious stress toward the restoration of the old is to be found, is to be roused, is to be bought.

It all had to happen as it happened. It was in the air. Invisible messages flew from heart to heart, strangers found themselves friends, a silent sensation rose over the wide land, and a telegraphy of the commonness of men.

We lay in the deepest peace in the pause of a period of world-war. One knew nothing. Only a boding cast its shadows before.

And then...

## THE EXPLOSION.

October 30th carried the saturated air of the political tension over the capital.

The newspapers gave themselves up to criticism, polemics, and a quite strange avalanche of news, for whose confirmation no "official" stamp was valid enough. The reports of the shots still re-echoed which had fallen by the Kettenbrücke. This had happened in this way:

The Governmental crisis, which in one event contained chronic, acute, and latent elements, found not the man who could have controlled it. The throne tottered, and the supposition is justified that clever councillors conjured up mirages before the eyes of the man on the throne, who, moreover, only possessed the bare uniform, without leadership or independence of thought. All things urged to the necessity of placing the truth of the further developments before the monarch's eyes. This must of necessity be attempted in the way of a popular demonstration. And as the demonstration—moving in an undeniably friendly temper—arrived at the Kettenbrücke to go on toward Ofen, so as to place the Insupportable in miniature before the eyes of the councillors of the absent Throne, Guards on horseback dashed up.

The front of the groups—for the demonstrators were not long a continuous mass—fell into wavering. The pressure from behind, however, carried the procession forward, whereupon some old Landsturm men, who formed the first cordon, desisted from employing any force against the crowd. (The warning lies in this detail: the first sign, a departure from strict obedience on the part of the soldier.) But the police employed force.

Some minutes later there broke through shooting the sickening noise of lamentation. Wounded people shrieked their despair. Far fell the bullets. Hoofs struck on the asphalt, whistles sounded, and in the hall of the Ritz Hotel I saw the first wounded.

One man died.

Near around me alternated loud command and suppressed whisper, heliograph signals clustered over the porter's lodge, outside something droned past, the hooters of the ambulance wagons formed the accompaniment.

And on the day after whizzed the hail of hate

against the police, who had not refused obedience. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the police, under this frightful and crushing contempt of the whole population, was one of the first institutions to place its services at the disposal of the National Council, already the pre-revolutionary power. The police wished to wipe out the stain by open confession to the people.

This use of force, these unholy tactics of the holders of power which they themselves in the preliminary stage applied to the development of things at the Kettenbrücke—then the scattering of a crowd of students before the Ofen Palace—all this was mirrored still in the newspapers of October 30th. At the same time the papers greeted with enthusiasm the police, who had already over night submitted themselves to the command of the President of the National Council.

October 30th mirrored all this. Rumours of strikes began to be bruited, but they proved unfounded. The compositor functioned, but the least actual flaring-up of these restrained and well-disciplined people must have been at once known.

While the evening darkened over the city, still came pouring in more rumours respecting the probable action of the no longer existing Government. About seven o'clock the foreman of the great Budapest newspaper syndicate said to me that I might have some of my packets taken away, as it was uncertain whether he would be coming to the office in the morning. He added that a sort of time limit had been fixed by the Social-Democrats, and in case the interval was not employed to effect the definite appointment of Károlyi, the strike would be proclaimed.

Late in the afternoon I learned at the Radical Party's office that something was under way, but one knew not what exactly, or was unwilling to divulge it. Only a certain heightening of activity was to be remarked, and it was as if all at once thrice as many members were about as could be seen at other times.

At the Gendarmerie there was nothing unusual to be observed. A readiness for action, almost usual already, was well maintained, some motors stood ready, and a direct and unbroken contact with the military was kept up—at this time without complaint.

I went along the Donauquai, and before the Parliament House, remembered the minister demonstration, which had passed off quietly, but only thanks to the merit of the crowd, for all had been done to goad the people to frenzy. This demonstration for Károlyi, whose aim was merely to convince the "ruling classes" that Károlyi was the only man in whose person all confidence was concentrated, presented a distressing picture. Generals with their cloaks puffed out backward by the wind, showing in this way the scarlet-red of their dress, and the blood-red of their souls in their rigidly-fixed visages, whizzed incessantly in service motor-cars over the open space. It was like a red rag to the crowd. And infantry, posses of police, and whole companies of machine-gun contingents beset the Parliament Square. Thus was exhibited to the masses, some days before the explosion of their powers of expansion, to what ends the military still, as always, was misused.

All this at the time whirled uncertainly through my head. I could give myself no reason why I did not simply go home. But I had a feeling that something must happen, to miss which was to miss an experience. I called at Gerbeaud, on the Gizellater, the best confectioner of Budapest, expecting to meet my wife there. I wound among a throng that one could hardly see over, people eating, chattering, enjoying themselves. It was as if all these people in a body wanted to insist that they could be gay. Arm in arm we went thence through the Inner Town, which seemed quite deserted. Toward half-past nine we went back to the Gizellater, in a house of which the Károlyi-party had their quarters—some rooms quite modestly furnished.

Before the house were some people, but still there might have been no party headquarters there. Slowly assembled a small throng of men. Then appeared on the balcony a speaker, who had a singularly high voice, and could not be understood in the endless noise of applause. Meantime, the throng increased enormously, new masses came up, flags were visible, soldiers appeared, and there was much passionate shouting.

Later on came Károlyi, who was received with indescribable cheering, and spoke some words from the balcony. And then arose the first impulse. Within the frame of the club-window bobbed up suddenly the helmeted silhouette of a constable. At first one knew not what to make of it. I had the impression that it was a puppet. But I soon saw my mistake, for, though men often speak like puppets, this puppet on the contrary spoke so clear and manlike, that he was keenly listened to.

The constable spoke as a man of the people to the people. In some seconds jubilation was resounding over the place. A constable who was about, and yet arrested nobody, accosted nobody with blows and roughness... the crowd was enchanted. The police, then, were on their side... was that really possible?

Above in the [Socialist] party headquarters I heard that a company of soldiers were waiting at the East Railway Station, ready to be taken to the front... It was said that precautions had been taken to prevent the company being carried away to the front. Movement below, in the street, movement above, in the head... the thing began to harmonise.

Thick throngs went away, in order to co-operate at the railway station. Meantime, fresh and still fresh throngs arrived. Quite to the Deakplatz thronged the mass. Songs were sung... and all at once broke out a mighty roar, the Marseillaise... the Internationale in the Hungarian words.

Then began the whirl of rumours. It was bruited by soldiers who arrived that the company under marching-orders had been already set free. Many said that its soldiers had been already set below. It was said that blood had flowed, and the sentinels at the station had been overcome by force. I hurried into the street, made my way into the Váciuta, got a cab, and cried to the driver "East Railway Station!" as a wild uproar arose, cries of despair, a crazy crush. Constabulary on horseback were coming—it was said. But it was only a false alarm. The throng quickly regained composure, but surrounded the cab like a flood, so that I had to get out, and my wife was lifted out bodily.

Now it was along the Váciuta in the thickest press. Suddenly someone cried out: "We need no two-headed Eagle! Down with the scutechons!"

Nimble fellows climbed up the frontages in the most ingenious ways, and crash, crash, fell the imperial and royal arms, the proud emblazonry of the purveyors to the Court. But beyond the cries and jubilation no single breach of the peace took place.

The throng pushed us with it along the Kossuth-Lajos-Strasse on to the Hotel Astoria, where the offices of the National Council were.

Along the long windows a lively movement, and over new speakers stepped out. They all recommended calm and self-possession. So far as my recollection goes, the sense of their speeches was that the most forthright things would go as Károlyi intended, and toward midnight the word was that the King had appointed Károlyi Premier. The crush had meanwhile become dangerous to life.

The 30th of October passed into the 31st. It was midnight. Rare clocks struck the hour.

## FROM MIDNIGHT TO MIDNIGHT.

A plague of cigarette-smoke, through which, for moments, cold Autumn air bored deep channels, when passage-doors and balcony-exits were opened at the same instant. An excitement which could no more be heightened. Underneath the window of the National Council quarters in the Hotel Astoria, from whose balconies speakers without intermission wrought peacefully upon the crowd and lowered its temperature. An extract of the population of Budapest was in flux: clerks, workmen, servants, officers, ladies—every class.

Twelve minutes past twelve. The first "announcement." A troop of soldiers, who had tendered allegiance to the National Council, had marched to the Maria Theresa Barracks to overcome it. The first bloodshed was impending. Indescribable excitement: motors shot by hard on the skirts of the crowd, men in wild haste climbed the stairs, an unspokeable intensity filled all men and things. The National Council had been sitting in permanence for days now. All decisions were rapidly made. The fight at the barracks must be prevented. Ladislau Fényes and Eugen Landler were sent from the Council, and their efforts succeeded in averting the conflict. The watch at the Maria Theresa barracks restrained itself—no shot was fired.

Sharp on this the second report: the Platzkommando in the Inner Town is being besieged. Alexander Garbai and the author, Ludwig Birk, afterwards Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, were despatched thither to work for quietness. They had scarcely hurried away when two officers entered with incomparable aplomb, and bluntly announced:

"Be it known to the National Council: the Platzkommando is overcome; the watch on our side; the Central Garrison alone withstands the National Council. We await its orders."

Frenzied jubilation after an icy silence; the held-back breath burst from the lungs; and while the mass below received the tidings with drunken rapture, the first salvoes roared out, salute-gun.

Continued on page 1315.

## THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. By Karl Radek.

The Socialist workers' revolution of Russia shows the proletariat the way which leads to power. The capitalist press of the world cries that this way is bloody; it denounces the rough application of force used in this Revolution. And it is absolutely justified. Was not that press created by capital as the organ to fight the working class? Its duty, therefore, is to besmirch and vilify the first workers' revolution, and thereby frighten the workers in other countries with it as though it were Medusa. But why should the Axelrods, Martovs and the Kautskys condemn the Revolution, because of the force used? They were the very people who defended the idea of a proletarian dictatorship against the reformers.

What is dictatorship? It is the form of government by which one class ruthlessly dictates its will to the other class. In the period of social evolution, in which a class is merely preparing itself for the struggle for power, it disdains the weapon of force, because it is too weak to put this to the test. It is just collecting its strength, hence the governing power is not obliged to make a display of its real power. The governing class keeps force in reserve, at the same time granting a certain freedom of development to the oppressed as long as it deems that class devoid of danger. When, however, the rulers begin to lay burdens on their victims which cause them to react, then we regard that as bringing force into play. We saw such burdens put on the workers by the war. All the few liberties which the workers enjoyed in peace-time were revoked; therefore we experienced the dictatorship of Imperialism which cost the workers millions of lives... No ruling class has ever hitherto

been conquered at one blow. Once overcome, it strives to recoup its forces; and it can revive owing to the fact that revolution, no matter how successful cannot root up completely and at once the established customs of the defeated class. The Socialist revolution is a lengthy process, which begins with the dethroning of the capitalist class; but only ends when capitalist methods have been changed and transformed into a workers' commune. This process of transition must occupy at least one generation in every country, and this period is what is termed the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the period in which the workers with one hand overthrow the capitalist class, whilst they hold the other free in order to build and construct.

Everything that has been said against the principle of the dictatorship of the Russian workers bears no other interpretation than the denial of the teachings of Marx, and even of the most commonplace occurrences of the past. What does it prove if a Renner tries to explain in a learned way that the political Revolution, i.e., the brutal use of force, is in total contradiction to the Socialist Revolution; because the latter is out to create a new mode of life, not to destroy? Nothing less than that this former devotee of Lascalle and Marx, is merely a sophist of Capitalism, and no true follower of Lascalle. The Socialist Revolution is bound to arouse the most unrelenting opposition of the former privileged class, and this can only be broken with iron. Where Capitalism is highly developed the struggle will be ruthless and bloody. In that land, then, the measures taken by the proletariat must also be ruthless and bloody in order to keep the conquered capitalists in subjection. But this argument is met by the opponents of the Russian Workers' Revolution—those who profess to be followers

of Marx—with the excuse that there is no question of the rejection of the Dictatorship on principle. The point at issue is the dictatorship in a country like Russia where the dictatorship of the proletariat will resolve itself into the rule of the majority by a minority. Such arguments are to be denounced as cowardly subterfuge.

In no country in the world will the Revolution be the act of the majority of the population. For Capitalism is not merely the physical control of production, but everywhere it controls the minds of the masses as well. Want and oppression, the cataclysmic effects even of that product of Capitalism war, will not suffice to cause a universal rising of the oppressed and despoiled. The revolt is always led by a minority which accomplishes the revolution. The success of the revolution is dependent on its affinity to the interests of the masses. It is the creative power of a revolution which succeeds in awakening the masses, and in bringing them into the camp which defends their interests, and will free them from their slavery. In fact it is quite safe to say that the minority begins every revolution; only during its development does it attract the majority and, thereby, conquer. If it were otherwise according to the Kautsky theory, the dictatorship would not be injurious in a country like Russia with a proletarian minority, but it would be unnecessary in a country with a proletarian majority—that is where the Kautskys kindly permit it. In those countries the capitalist class would be in such a minority that it would not be able even to take arms against the proletariat. Therefore, the only possible conclusion is that so long as the Marxian theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat reigns supreme, such a dictatorship can be justified in Russia as well as in any other country.

secure, smoking soldiers played on the cartridge-boxes, jested, and lounged out their weapons. But the threatened revolution of the counter-revolution that was a quiet panic and flight came not at all.

Far beamed the windows of the Hotel Astoria into the night. The pulse of all that activity made itself felt far around.

In the first vagueness of dawn I tried to telephone, but failed.

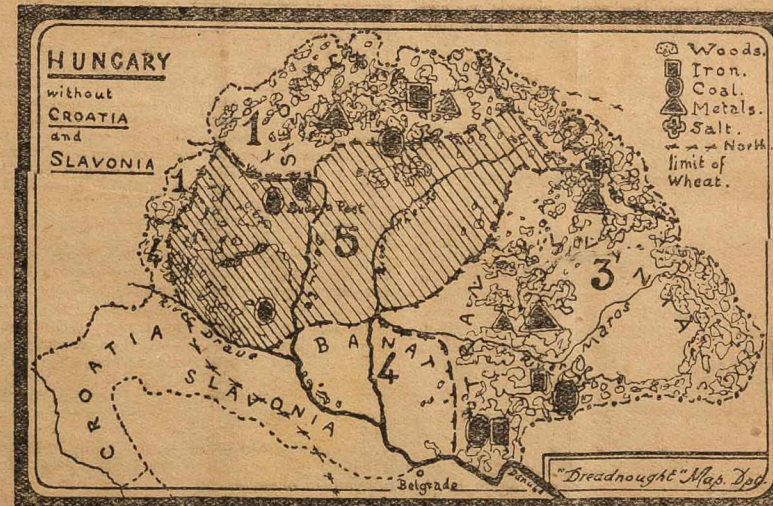
A handful of soldiers had beset the Theresa-district Telephone Exchange which readily acquiesced, and soon after had beset the other telephone-places; from this hour till further notice only the National Council was switched on, and it alone could make calls with any success. For every other place—no connection; and it was well so: for much harm might have been done, if the reactionaries could have got their orders through. The unselfish bravery of the personnel of the telephone, of those often censured telephone

girls, was one of the most satisfying phenomena of these hours of crisis, for there was still no certainty whether the members of the National Council would see the morning morally exalted, or merely physically by suitable mechanism.

It was a nerve-racking game of roulette. The winning chance was indeed enormous; but in judging these men and their worth one should not forget that each, without exception, was playing with his head.

A heavy sky full of cloud shed a light rain. We see that there was suddenly something which looked furiously like Revolution. Who did it? The answer is amazing. One, at the most, two dozen people, who, with much decision, indescribable temerity, an unsurpassed mass of disdain, contrived all that which is meant in the crisis of the foregoing short period. A few manipulators sharply grasped the nettle, in the

Continued on back page.



1. To Cheho-Slovakia. 2. To Ruthenia. 3. To Roumania. 4. To Serbia. 5. What would remain of Hungary.



## WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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### LONDON MEETINGS.

#### OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, MAY 2nd  
Tower Hill.—12 (noon), Miss O'Neill  
SATURDAY, MAY 3rd.  
Great Push against Conscription in Poplar and Bow.—Meet at 2.45 p.m. at 20 Railway Street.  
Meetings at Grundy Street at 3 p.m. and at St. Stephen's Road (corner of Roman Road, Bow) at 6.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Birch (3 p.m.), Miss O'Neill (3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m.), Mrs. Walker (3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m.), Harry Pollitt (6.30 p.m.).  
SUNDAY, MAY 4th.  
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker.  
Piggott Street, Poplar.—11.45 a.m., Miss O'Neill.  
Dock Gates, Poplar.—7 p.m., Harry Pollitt.  
Chair: Mrs. Walker.  
FRIDAY, MAY 9th.  
The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Miss O'Neill.  
Harrow Green, Leytonstone.—6.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.  
SATURDAY, MAY 10th.  
Great Push in the St. Pancras District

#### INDOOR.

FRIDAY, MAY 2nd.  
20 Railway Street.—7.45 p.m., Speakers' Class.  
MONDAY, MAY 5th  
44 Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 p.m.  
Business Meeting

#### OTHER ORGANISATIONS

FRIDAY, MAY 2nd and 9th.  
400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 p.m., East London Workers' Committee.  
TUESDAY, MAY 6th.  
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 p.m., Mrs. Walshe.  
MONDAY, MAY 5th.  
Great Liberty Demonstration at the Kingsway Hall, W.C., at 7.30 p.m. Chair: G. E. Hodgkin. Speakers: Margaret Bondfield, Jerome K. Jerome, The Lord Parnoor, the Rev. Rattenbury, Robert Smillie, Israel Zangwill. Tickets—numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d.; reserved, 1s.—from 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1 (the Rev. W. C. Roberts), or at the Hall. No seats reserved after 7.45 p.m. Admission free.

### THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION.

Continued from page 1315.

decisive moment got through a great mass of work with the worker's joy in energy, took upon themselves a responsibility superhuman, hardly measurable, and—this is their real merit—stood firm, even then when the flood was high to covering them. They did not lose their heads, held taut the reins, prevented by the highest exhibition of decisiveness, the sprouting of anarchy, and, after some days of interim order, left quite acceptable conditions behind them.

And it is a fact that the National Council had neither stamped note-paper, nor any other sort of printed thing. Only one single seal. One single india-rubber seal. It is a little piece of History. This little round seal represented during the first days of the revolution the omnipotence of the State's authority. Ludwig Kormos, who had the honour of it, says of it: "This seal of the National Council was the greatest power in all the land. The sight of it put barracks in motion, brought up batteries, directed machine-guns and forage-trains, opened the banks, and shut the drink-shops, set printing-presses working, and provided benzine, commanded the payment of wages and subsidies, sent orders to Ministers—in short, governed."

By morning the sailors, having adhered to the National Council, meanwhile had brought the Danube monitors opposite the town.

A morning misty and moist crept up over the town, and the early risers looked with wonderment round them. Heavy military motors hummed about the streets, echoes of numerous shots cracked from the walls, electric vehicles stood abandoned about the streets, like children's playthings of which they have become tired, soldiers gay with flowers were going about the city, and the people were *tutoying* one another.... huzzahs, meantime, loud cries, clattering downfall of the cafés' revolving-shutters, hurrying men and small groups whose centre in general consisted of an officer divested of the Imperial and Royal rosette on his cap.

It was a strange sight, the many officers all without rosettes, and with their sword-belts wrapped with National bands.

And how had all that happened?

Some people had sworn an oath. So simple an oath, *swearing out*, and adhered to this oath springing out of their own will, rather than to an earlier one wrung from them. They had sworn to the National Council:—"I swear and promise on my honour that I will remain true to the Hungarian National Council, am prepared for Hungary's independence and freedom to give my life, and to the best of my power will ever follow the directions and behests of the Hungarian National Council."

And they did, all, all, all, to the best of their power.

With my head in the clouds I slept half-an-hour, took a bath, and toward 8 a.m. was again in the streets.

Most businesses were shut up, but some cafés were open. Later on other shops, too, were opened. Toward 9 o'clock I learned in the National

Council somewhat as follows:—

The railway-men had gone over to the National Council, the Post-office officials and servants likewise, the police had already gone over earlier. The political prisoners had been liberated from the Honvéd Prison in the Contiutca. All the telephone-exchanges stood at the sole disposal of the National Council.

Enormously increased in number were the notices whose rank growth had covered nearly all businesses: "Under the aegis of the Hungarian National Council!"

At street corners, on houses, and kiosks and notice-pillars appeared the first edicts of the National Council, of the City-commandant Heltay, of the various departments just born. And suddenly was seen everywhere the placard: "Long live the Republic!"

In the shop-windows revolutionary poems were to be read: appealing tones the most varied met one everywhere, a polyphonic exhortation: the Event, so indescribably sudden, was struggling for rapid ratification. The victory was so great, so startlingly rapid, and so costly, that men were impelled to secure it by all means, lest it should be exposed to the danger of an ebb.

In the afternoon I learned the authentic story of the "conquest" of the Municipal Gendarmerie.

The police-constable Kormos and the detective Kormos went some time after midnight to the Gendarmerie. Kormos hastened into the house-exchange, and forbade the telephone-girls, appealing to their love of country, to make any telephonic connection whatever. And while the heads of the police were thus suddenly cut off from any possibility of communication among themselves or with the outer world, Kormos called upon the Captain-of-gendarmerie von Sandov to take the side of the National Council, and to hold his subordinates at the disposal of the National Council.

The Captain delayed, protested.... and meantime all the officers present, with all functionaries and employés, adhered to the National Council, precisely to serve against which it was that they were being kept doing over-time. Some hours later the new régime was a *fait accompli*, a new captain was appointed, and Kormos, the detective, is now Chief of Detectives, Kormos has been highly advanced, and the others who in that interval fervently espoused the cause of the National Council with great danger to themselves are in the leading positions.

Even the police were ripe for a new and humane régime, and only thus was it made possible for two persons to master the whole body.

In the afternoon hours even greater masses thronged the streets, numberless workers took holiday, speeches were made, and an agitation reigned which threatened to lead to no good. But order was nowhere seriously disturbed; only from the outer districts came in news of some plunder.

At an office I heard of the setting up of Soldiers Councils in Vienna, and the rapid spread of the movement of revolt.

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### SHEFFIELD WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

At the Annual Members' Meeting on April 13th, 1919, Comrade Goldstone was in the chair. Comrade Carford in his financial statement showed a deficit of £10 3s., but pointed out that there was £5 worth of Literature in hand. Moved by Comrade Matthews and seconded by Comrade Johnson that Comrade Carford retain possession of the Literature and a debt of £5 3s. be recognised. Election of Officers: Hon Secretary, C. Davis; Assistant Secretary, A. Carford; Chairman, J. H. Johnson; Vice-Chairman, H. Goldstone. Delegates to United Socialist Committee, C. Davis and Matthews.

Propaganda Committee: Miss Austin, Miss Brett, A. Carford, H. Goldstone, C. Davis, J. H. Johnson, Comrade Bronburg. Executive Committee: Miss Brett, Shepherd, J. H. Johnson, H. Goldstone, Mrs. Vickery, C. Davis, T. James.

### DREADNOUGHT FUND.

DEVELOPMENT FUND.—Received up to date, £29. 16s. 10d.—Mrs. A. D. Sanger, £5; Mr. D. Ernest Williams, £5; Anon., £2 8s.; Mr. F. Carlton, £1 4s. 1d.; Mrs. Bathgate, £1 1s.; Countess Markievicz, £1; Mrs. Montgomery, £1; Mr. W. Carter, £1; Mrs. M. E. Almond, £1; Mr. Edmunds, £1; Mr. J. E. Phillips, £1; Mr. Lukoff, 11s. 6d.; Mrs. Cedar Paul, 10s. 3d.; Mr. N. Duenas, 10s.; Mr. G. Wallas, 10s.; Mr. R. Whitwell, 10s.; Mr. H. D. Brown, 10s.; Dr. S. V. Pearson, 10s.; Mr. W. F. Shorn, 10s.; Mr. A. Symes, 8s.; Mr. A. T. Marriott, 7s. 3d.; Mr. H. G. Blyth, 7s.; Mr. Wathey, 7s.; Mr. B. Caplan, 7s.; Mr. J. W. Everett, 6s.; Mrs. Crosland Taylor, 5s.; Mr. A. Page, 5s.; Miss L. Dent, 5s.; Mrs. Herxbergova, 5s.; Mr. J. de Gruyter, 5s.; A. Rayleigh Reader, 5s.; Mr. P. Lamartine Yates, 5s. 1d.; Miss M. Smith, 5s.; Mr. A. E. Burroughs, 6s.; Miss E. M. Brett, 4s. 7d.; Miss Limousine, 3s. 0d.; Mr. L. Katzeff, 3s.; R. C. (Birmingham), 2s. 6d.; Anon., 2s. 6d.; Mr. J. J. Ronan, 1s.

### FIRST OF MAY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CARNIVAL

AT SHOREDITCH TOWN HALL, OLD STREET, E.C. On FRIDAY, MAY 2nd.

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N.B.—The Dance at Shoreditch on the 1st is NOT the May Day Ball.

### LONDON FIRST OF MAY CELEBRATION

Procession with band forms up on the Embankment at 2 p.m.—march off at 3—proceeds via Norfolk Street, Kingsway, New Oxford Street, Oxford Street, to Marble Arch.

Eight platforms—one for the children—fifty speakers. Resolution at 5.30 by bugle. Daily Herald provides brakes and tea for the children. Local Contingents.

East End, organised by Stratford Co-operative Society, forms up Mile End Waste, 11 a.m.

North London, organised by North London Division Herald League and St. Pancras Labour Party, forms up at St. Pancras Arches at 11 a.m.

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