

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

VOL. VI.—No. 19.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2nd, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

STARTLING NEWS OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR WAR.

The mail has brought us a bundle of issues of the *Western Labour News*, which grew from a weekly to a daily newspaper during the Winnipeg general strike, and served as the official strike bulletin.

Our first sensation in reading them is one of sharp disappointment. The Winnipeg Strike Committee was called in this country the Winnipeg Soviet, and we had thought the name was chosen deliberately by the strikers themselves. Extracts ostensibly from the *Western Morning News* and the speeches of strike leaders which appeared in the *London Times* distinctly stated that the strikers were out to overthrow the capitalist system, and to establish a Soviet Government. But now that the strikers' own paper is actually in our hands we find, in almost every issue, a disclaimer of these splendid objects. Here is one of the passages in which the *Western Labour News* explains its standpoint:—

"WOULD NOT SUPPORT REVOLUTION."

"For the benefit of those who fear the present strike has some ulterior purpose such as the overthrowing of the present system and the establishing of a Soviet form of Government, and the calling of a revolution; let us say calmly and with conviction that the workers of Winnipeg would respond to no such call. Even supposing a few hot heads do make such an appeal the mass of the workers would defeat it by their votes as overwhelmingly as they have supported the strike. No, the workers are dissatisfied, but they are not revolutionists. And there will be no revolution. The workers want the control of industry in their own hands as soon as possible so that they can get the full product of their toil and eliminate production for profit. But they will wait until this is accomplished by constitutional processes. The very leaders who are most maligned and suspected at this juncture are members of the Labour Party whose platform is that of gradual change from the present system to that of a more equitable justice. Were they revolutionists they would form some

revolutionary society of their own or link up with some already in existence wherever they were found."

Again and again the *Western Labour News* repudiates Bolshevism, and even makes such foolish observations as: "The real Bolsheviks are those who have profited while others have fought and suffered." It boasts that its promoters supported the war, which it still refers to as "the war for freedom."

The demands of the strikers are set forth again and again and quite unmistakably:—

(1) "A Living Wage"; in other words an increase in wages.

(2) *The Right of Collective Bargaining*, which the Strike Committee explained as follows:—

"The right of any individual to belong to a labour union if he so desires; and the right of all such unions in a given industry to form themselves into a council, to conduct negotiations through their council; when same is agreed to, they shall be signed covering all trades within the industry mentioned."

THE COMMITTEE OF 1,000.

The militant capitalism of Winnipeg, in its determination to crush industrial unionism, conducted a fight against the workers of so bitter and uncompromising a character, that, in spite of the pettifogging views of the labour officials, it brought Canada very near to the verge of an industrial revolution, and rallied twenty-five cities to join Winnipeg in the general strike.

To organise the campaign of militant capitalism, there sprang into being a so-called "Citizens' Committee," which was named "The Committee of 1,000," and had a daily newspaper of its own called the *Winnipeg Citizen*. The *Winnipeg Citizen* was given away in the streets without charge, but the strikers were not allowed a free distribution of the

*Western Labour News* on the ground that this would infringe the City Health Bye-law. The Committee of 1,000 manipulated the City Council and the Provincial and Dominion Legislatures against the strikers, got it made illegal for the employees in the public services to affiliate to the labour unions, enrolled volunteer scabs, drilled volunteer troops, secured the dismissal of the police force, the suppression of the *Western Labour News*, and the arrest of strikers and strike leaders, and organised riots and outrages.

The strike was precipitated by the truculent attitude of three great iron firms, the Manitoba Bridge and Iron Works, The Dominion Bridge Company, and the Vulcan Iron Works.

THE METAL TRADES COUNCIL.

The workers in the metal industry had organised a Metal Trades Council to cover the members of all the various trade unions employed in the metal shops! This Metal Trades Council put forward a demand that the wages and hours (9 per day) which the McAdoo award had given to the workers in the railway shops in both Canada and U.S.A., should be extended throughout the metal trades of Winnipeg. The Metal Trades Council and its demands were ignored by the employers. The Council therefore decided to declare a strike, but the Winnipeg Trades Council approached the employers in the hope of effecting a settlement. Some of the smaller firms then agreed to the terms of the Metal Trades Council, but the three great firms we have mentioned refused to negotiate, saying that there was "little doing" in the metal industry and that they could close down their workshops indefinitely. Most of the smaller firms were in part dependent upon the three big iron masters and followed their lead.

Continued on Page 1419.

## THE SECOND AND THIRD INTERNATIONALS.

The Italian-Swiss Socialist paper, *L'Avenir del Lavoro*, July 19th, comments on the fact that delegates of the Second International are meeting at Lucerne on August 1st. The paper quotes the resolution on the Second International passed by the Third International in Moscow. This resolution was moved by Zinovieff and Platten. The resolution analyses the various Socialist factions which made their appearance during the war: (1) The Social Patriots, who are roundly dismissed; (2) The Centrists (i.e., the Kautsky group, the Independents and the Social-Pacifists), from whom every effort should be made to detach the revolutionary elements still remaining in their ranks; (3) The Communists now organised in the Third International. The resolution goes on:—

"The Berne Conference in February, 1919, was merely an attempt to galvanise the Second International."

"The composition of the Berne Conference proved clearly that the revolutionary proletariat had nothing in common with it."

The victorious proletariat of Russia, the heroic German proletariat, the Italian proletariat, the Communist groups of the working classes of Austria and Hungary, the working classes of Bulgaria, Roumania and Serbia, the left Socialist parties of Sweden, Norway and Finland, the Ukrainian, Lettish and Polish proletariats, the pick of the organised workers of England, and the Young People's and Women's Internationals, all refused to take part in Conference of the Social-Patriots at Berne.

Those taking part in the Berne Conference who have still kept up a certain contact with the real working class movement of our times, formed an opposition group against the policy of the Social-Patriots, in so far, at least, as concealing the all-important question of the Russian Revolution.

The declaration of the French comrade, Loriot, characterising the majority of the Berne delegates as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, expresses the real opinion of the class-conscious workers the world over.

drivers, and that they look upon the enslavement of French and British colonies in the interests of

capitalism as a matter of course. In this way the On the so-called question of responsibilities the Berne Conference turned constantly in the orbit of bourgeois ideology. The French and German Social-Patriots hurled in each other's faces exactly the same accusations as the French and German bourgeoisies.

The Berne Conference minutely discussed one action or another of bourgeois ministers before the war, without being willing to recognise that those mainly responsible were the capitalists of the opposing coalitions, and their lackeys, the Social-Patriots. The majority at Berne wanted to find out who was chiefly responsible for the war. They could easily have done so by gazing into a looking-glass.

On territorial questions the declarations of the Berne Conference were capable of a double interpretation. This was simply playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Clemenceau, the most reactionary representative of the international bourgeoisie, showed that he recognised the services rendered by the social-patriotic conference of Berne to imperialist reaction, when he received their delegation and proposed that it should take part in the work of the different commissions at the imperialist Peace Conference.

On the question of colonies the Berne Conference followed the lines laid down by liberal bourgeois colonial policy, which justifies the exploitation and enslaving of Colonies by bourgeois imperialism, and merely strives to cover them with a philanthropic, humanitarian phraseology.

The German Social-Patriots claimed that the German colonies should remain the property of the German State, which meant, of course, that the exploitation of those colonies by German capital was to continue.

These differences of opinion on such a matter prove that the Social-Patriots of the Entente are merely taking up the point of view of the slave-Berne Conference proved that it had entirely forgotten the motto, "Restore the colonies."

In the course of the discussion on the "League of

Nations," the Berne Conference showed that here, too, it was following in the footsteps of those bourgeois elements, who, with this lie of the "League of Nations," are going to try to banish the proletarian revolution from the world. Instead of unmasking the machinations—worthy of a band of filibusters—of the Inter-allied Conference at Paris, the Berne Conference supported them, and lowered itself to becoming a mere instrument in their hands.

The attitude of humble docility taken up by this Congress in leaving to the Conference of the bourgeois States the care of deciding what the protective legislation for labour should be, shows that the Social-Patriots are conscientiously in favour of conserving capitalist slavery and of throwing to the proletariat the crumbs of a few insignificant reforms.

Attempts, inspired by bourgeois politicians, to oblige the Berne Conference to accept a resolution by which the Second International would have convined at the armed intervention in Russia, only failed, thanks to the efforts of the opposition. In this victory of the opposition at Berne over purely Jingo elements, we recognise an indirect proof of the fact that the proletariat of Western Europe sympathises with the Russian proletarian revolution and is ready to fight the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The fear that these lackeys of the capitalists feel when faced with the inevitable spread of the Soviets, is clearly shown by their timid inclination to avoid the examination of facts of such world-wide, historical importance.

The Soviet or Council of Workers' Delegates is the most important innovation since the Paris Commune. By ignoring it, the Berne Conference has but given proof of its poorness of spirit and bankruptcy of ideas.

The Congress of the Communist International regards the "International" which the Berne Conference is striving to call back to life, as a mere "yellow" International, a mere arm in the hands of the bourgeois class.

The Congress urges the workers of the world to wage a decisive struggle against the yellow International, to defend the popular masses against this International of lies and deceit.



# THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

By M. PHILIPS PRICE.

## Part III.

### ANARCHY.

Gradually the iron ring round Central Russia began to break. Revolutionary Russia had allies in all the territories hitherto occupied by the counter-revolution. These allies were found among the working classes of the towns and the poorer peasantry. No greater service has in reality been done to revolutionary Russia than the behaviour of the Allied Governments and their agents in the territories they have occupied. On the Don, in Siberia and Archangel, the whole of the social programme of the Bolshevik Government has been reversed. As soon as the feudal landlords who had taken refuge in England and France heard that the Allied troops had seized the territory where their land was situated, they returned, and, with the aid of foreign bayonets, reduced the poorer population to the condition of poverty they were in under the Tsar's tyranny. Free sale and speculation in land was again allowed. Labour organisations were either broken up, or else reduced to committees which had purely nominal power. Everywhere the Union Jack or the tricolour flew along with the old flag of Tsarist Russia, there was a restoration of enslavement for the Russian people. But this only aroused the Russian workers and peasants to a hatred of the Allies hitherto unknown. A deputation of peasants recently coming from the Volga provinces said: "The Allies have taught us a lesson, and we shall never again oppose the Soviet Republic." Gradually, in all the outlying parts of Russia, in the Baltic Provinces, the Ukraine, the Don and the Cossack territories, the oppressed workers began to come together to decide upon a common action against foreign tyranny. In Courland, Lithuania and White Russia the native workers and peasants formed their own Soviet Governments, which took power as soon as the old German army left. The landlords and rich people fled with the Germans, and in Berlin, Paris and London started a propaganda for Allied military support to reinvade these territories. The touching sympathy between the propertied classes of England, France and their erstwhile foes, the propertied classes of Germany, was never so clearly seen as now. It is a fact that during February and March of this year the German General Staff in East Prussia was in touch with the British naval authorities in the Baltic, and that Prussian Junkers' volunteer corps have received the protection of the British Fleet to carry on operations against the Bolsheviks.

Further south in the Ukraine, the local Bolsheviks had been organising during the autumn of last year a Ukrainian Red Army. As long as the Germans were there, the soldiers of this army hid in the forest, dug in their rifles and artillery, and contented themselves with propaganda. But by Christmas, 1918, large numbers of the German troops came over to the Bolshevik side, and the rest anarchically demobilised and went home. Then the Red flood was indeed let loose. The 10,000 army of Ukrainian Bolsheviks came out of their hiding and marched south, with the cry, "War on the mansions, peace to the cottages." It was met everywhere with the wildest enthusiasm. Young men fled to join the Red Army, old men brought their blessings. The landlords' domains became once more the property of the peasants; the sugar factories came again under the workers' control. Everywhere along the west and south borders of Muscovite Russia there a chain of Socialist Republics has come into being. They sprang up everywhere like mushrooms, as soon as the artificial force of the foreign bayonets had been dispelled, like an unhealthy miasma before the pure wind of heaven. There has been no invasion of these

provinces by the Red Army, no Bolshevik imperialism spreading West and South in imitation of Tsarist traditions. The advance of the Red Army has been brought about by the triumphant, social revolution within these territories, which took place as soon as the German tyranny had been removed. The Red Armies that have been formed in these border regions of Russia are all from the local population. It is not true that Chinese mercenaries are used by the Bolsheviks. Lies of this type are spread by counter-revolutionaries, in order to stir up race-feeling, and thereby hinder the creation of a united proletarian front. Moreover, the local Socialist Governments in the Baltic Provinces, in the Ukraine and the Don, are, in practice, quite independent of Moscow and have only gone into federation with the Bolshevik Government there because of the common interests and social ideals which inspire them. The Soviet Government of Central Russia does not seek to impose its authority on any people in the world. It only seeks allies, which exist in all lands among the working class, and is ready at all times to work with them.

### THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN PRACTICE.

Now, what is the Soviet as it exists in Russia to-day? We have seen that in the first days of the Revolution it was formed out of the thousands of informal gatherings of workers and peasants throughout the land, which came together to decide what next to do. The original Soviets were economic bodies, for it was natural to expect that people connected with one another by common work and common material interests should meet in times of cataclysmic social change. A factory worker's immediate interests are more closely bound up with the interests of his comrades in the same factory than they are with the workers in another industry.

For instance, the metal workers depend for their daily bread upon the welfare of the metal industry, the railwaymen on the railways, and the peasants on the agricultural industry. Ever since man first began to divide the work of civilization among his fellowmen, he has shown a tendency to congregate on the basis of guilds or special trades. At the more natural is it now, in a highly developed society in a state of temporary flux, that metal workers, railwaymen and peasants should get together in the various districts and discuss the subjects that most affect their lives. The informal economic unions, which sprang up in the first days of the Russian Revolution, became as we have seen, the basis of the Soviet system. The most important point to observe about them is that they were industrial and had no relation to territorial divisions of society, except in so far as geographical and climatic conditions imposed a certain limit to the industrial organisation. The Revolution therefore brought Soviets to life on an economic basis, and for an economic purpose, and in their first inception they were anarchic and without any common plan of action. During the first few weeks of the Russian Revolution one Soviet knew nothing of what the other was doing; only after the first month was it possible to talk of an organisation which was gradually uniting and co-ordinating the actions of all the Soviets scattered about the country. This co-ordination became most imperative for the safety of the Revolution, because the forces of the old social order which had been overthrown soon began to gather strength again. Only organised Soviets could raise the necessary barrier to reaction. Only if they expanded their activities in broad political action could they possibly safeguard those local economic interests, to protect which they originally were created. Only by becoming political bodies could they

guarantee the new social order. Thus in every town in Russia the factory committees and informal workers' unions united into a central soviet, which at once took upon itself the task of fighting the counter-revolution and controlling whatever authority the middle classes had set up. Soon the question was raised whether this central soviet, which was already exercising a sort of control over the bourgeois government, should not take all political authority into its hands. The controversy that raged about this question marked the second stage of the Revolution, which ended in October, 1917, in the victory of the proletariat and the expansion of the power of the Soviets from that of indirect political control into that of direct political responsibility. Thus, after the October Revolution, in every town in Russia the central committee of all the soviets of that district became responsible for public order, for the militia, for public works and conveniences, and for the local finances. The same thing took place in the villages, where the union of peasant communes, or, later, the committees of the poorer peasantry, which came from the former, replaced the local democratically-elected body. The latter for the most part were controlled by people who had got into power in the first days of the Revolution and had stuck to that power ever since. Finally these central urban soviets and the unions of provincial soviets sent their representatives to a great State congress of the whole country. This congress now meets every six months and elects a Central Soviet Executive, which is empowered to act with authority in the period between the congresses. This body has now become the supreme political authority in the Soviet Republic. It controls the Red Army and Navy, the foreign policy and the economic exchange with other States. Thus beginning with informal gatherings of workers bound by economic interest, the Russian Soviet has developed into a great political power, which is to be reckoned with in international politics.

But that is only half the story. We have seen that the original anarchically-formed committees were the seed from which the green shoot of the centralised political soviet grew. But this shoot soon began to put forth another—the organised economic syndicate, which came about in this way: The workers' factory committees, which elect the local political soviet for managing the militia, etc., soon began to send their delegates to a conference representing all the workers in that particular district according to their occupations. This movement was in complete antagonism to the old trade union movement, which sought, under Tsarism, to divide the workers into a number of craft unions within the industries. The essential feature of this new economic soviet or syndicate is that it is organised on the basis of industry and not on the basis of guild. Only in this way is it possible to prevent the economic power of the workers, the unity of which is so essential in the struggle against capitalism from being broken into jarring craft unions all working at cross purposes. Under the new system the wood-worker and book-keeper in the metal industry must choose their representatives to look after their economic interests along with the actual metal-workers themselves.

The same process of organising the proletariat industrially has taken place among the rural peasantry. After the October Revolution the latter sent their delegates to a political soviet, the duty of which was to organise the rural Red Guard and keep revolutionary order in the villages. Somewhat later they began to form purely economic unions, as the villages began to split

(Continued on next page)

## THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

(Continued from page 1414.)

up into factions of rich and poor peasants, and the conflict between these two classes began to develop. West Europeans imagine that the Russian peasant is a peculiar creation with habits and customs of his own, living apart from the rest of the world in dirt and ignorance. My experience in the Russian villages has taught me that just the same social divisions are to be found there, in perhaps slightly different form, as exist in the more industrialised rural districts of Western Europe. The idea that it is possible to separate the peasants from the urban population of Russia, and thereby mobilise an anti-Bolshevik force within the country, is a fantasy. The same proletariat and land labourer and middle class corn speculator are found there as in other lands. And the Russian urban worker who supports the Bolshevik has an ally in the villages in the shape of the landless peasant, just as the urban middle-class has his counterpart in the village corn speculator. It was natural, therefore, that this mobilisation of the Russian village into two social camps should be accompanied by the growth of professional unions on the basis of the new social division. Side by side with the rural political soviets, there thus grew up the union of labouring peasants, which took upon itself the duty of working the landlords' land on a communal basis.

Thus we see how the proletariat in town and country built up its professional alliances on an industrial basis. Once formed, they began immediately to gravitate towards a centre. For just as the political soviets formed State congresses for the control of foreign policy, so these economic soviets or syndicates of metal workers, cotton operatives, accountants and labouring peasants, sent delegates to State congresses of their particular branches of industry to protect the interests of each. At the present moment there is the All-Russian union of Professional Alliances which is the top of the pyramid towards which all the workers' syndicates converge. This is the real labour parliament, where the internal affairs of the different industries are attended to, and reconciled with the public interest. Here in numerous committees and sub-committees are worked out the wage-tariffs, the hours of labour and the capacity of output of each of the amalgamated syndicates.

Thus two great social institutions have sprung up in revolutionary Russia—the political soviet and the economic soviet. The duty of the former is to protect the Republic from internal and external counter-revolution. The duty of the latter is to build up under the protection of the former the new social order. Once the danger of foreign intervention is removed, it is possible that in Russia the political soviet will reduce its functions, and that the power in the land will pass to huge economic syndicates working under the control of the Central Council of Public Economy. The latter body is something like the Central All-Russian Professional Alliance, except that it concerns itself only with production, distribution and exchange on a public basis and has nothing to do with the internal affairs of the different industries, which belong to the syndicates. When the new social order is really guaranteed from foreign counter-revolution, the political conflicts which have been raging in Russia since the Revolution will gradually die down. The struggles between the Bolshevik theory of "Immediate World Revolution" and the Menshevik theory of "Labour Coalition with the Bourgeoisie" will give way to others. Then will arise the delicate problem of how to adjust the interests of the whole community to the claims of the different workers' industrial syndicates, so that private capitalists, conquered in the October Revolution, shall not reappear again in a more insidious form. All this, however, belongs to the future.

Russia has advanced by giant steps along the new road, in spite of all the wounds inflicted

on her by the war and the foreign intervention. Young and energetic, untrammelled with the century-old conventions and traditions of an older, more archaic civilisation, she has a clear field in which to begin the work of re-construction. The private exploiter no longer exists in Russia to-day. If he was unwise, he fled to Paris and London to plot counter-revolution. If he was wise, he entered the service of Soviet Russia and is now receiving an ample salary, according to his knowledge and skill in industry. Throughout the length and breadth of the Russian plain the struggle is still going on between those peasants whose ideals cannot go beyond cornering corn and holding it up for famine prices while the towns are starving, and the proletarianised labouring peasants, who have learnt in the school of adversity that only by collective labour, by communist production and distribution, can a new and juster society be created.

### SOVIET SYSTEM VERSUS DEMOCRACY.

Everywhere in Russia now the organs of the new form of society are found in the two types of soviet. Upon these political and industrial unions only those who labour by muscle and brain can elect and be elected. In order to obtain a vote, therefore, a man or woman must be organised in some sort of economic soviet or industrial syndicate, and in order to be thus organised one must do some form of productive work. This is the first essential of the soviet system. The second essential is that the soviet should be elected, not territorially, but industrially. This is the real difference between a soviet state and a democratic state. A democratic state recognises no economic divisions in the electorate. Everyone is regarded as a part of what is vaguely called "the people." How impracticable a democratic parliament is for the modern industrially specialised form of society, the following example may show. A metal worker, let us say, lives next to a railwayman, on one side, and an accountant on the other. All three have special economic interests for the understanding of which exact professional knowledge is required. Each of them, if he was to draw up a programme of his demands at a given moment, would have different claims to make for the protection of his particular economic interest. In a soviet state each would have these interests put forward through the economic syndicate, of which he would have to be a member, and the central union of the syndicate would then consider them in relation to the whole economic production of the country. In times like the present, when the fight with the counter-revolution is still going on, the syndicate would have to consult with the political soviet and obtain its sanction also. But the point is, also, that the whole soviet organisation is so arranged that the economic apparatus which is able to represent the workers' special interests and can reconcile them with the interests of the whole community is at hand. In a democratic state exactly the reverse is the case, for here the workers' industrial organisations have no political power, and can only advise a body which is brought into being by a scattered electorate. Thus the three types of workers I take above are in a democratic state only able to elect representatives for one district in which their economic interests are swamped in thousands of others. Candidates are put up by party caucuses which work on a territorial basis, and these candidates cannot possibly represent all these interests at the same time. The democratic election to a parliament, in fact, is nothing more than a device to deceive the workers by dividing them into artificial constituencies on the basis of which they cannot possibly unite and draw up a common social and economic policy. This can only be done through the development of the industrial unions as described above.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the soviet, however, is that it is capable of being continually re-elected. The workers can withdraw their delegates and elect again at will. Thus the soviets are always a reflection of the opinion of the workers at the given moment. This

was most clearly seen in the case of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918, and the Russian Constituent Assembly, which met in that same month. The former, elected only a short time after the election for the Constituent Assembly, gave a large Bolshevik and left socialist-revolutionary majority. The Constituent Assembly, however, was elected on a candidate list made up in the autumn of the previous year when quite different parties were in the political arena, and when the important split between the left and the right wing of the social-revolutionary party had not yet taken place. The result of the Constituent Assembly election was a majority for the right socialist revolutionaries, in which the left wing was hardly represented at all. For in the few weeks that elapsed between the drawing up of the list of candidates for the Constituent Assembly and the elections for it, an entirely new political situation had arisen. The Soviet Congress reflected this change, and the Constituent Assembly did not. Therefore, when the Allied Governments say that there must be in Russia a body which represents all the Russian people in a Constituent Assembly, before they can recognise the Russian Government, they are really saying that they want a government which will be put in power by scattering all the economic forces of the Russian workers, and which will become an empty shell within a short time of its election.

I would add one final word of appeal to the working class of England and France. Do not listen to the tales of horrors which the bourgeois Press of Western Europe tells about the Russian Revolution. I say, because I know, that the starvation and misery from which the Russian people are suffering is due, not to those who are building up the new socialist form of society, but to those who for three years drove Russia in an exhausting war, and then sent armed forces to invade her territory, and cut off her food supplies, and the raw materials of her industries. The Russian people appeal to all the world for peace. They long to establish the normal economic exchange between East and West Europe which alone can make good the destruction of the four years' war. Raise the blockade, they say; send us the technical advisers without which we cannot restore our industries, shattered by the war. Soviet Russia is ready to pay handsomely for the services rendered. If the workers of England and France are still content to leave private financiers to control the relations between their countries and Russia, Soviet Russia will raise no objection but will treat with their financiers and satisfy their wants in so far as they do not involve the reduction of the Russian workers and peasants to the slavery that they lived in under Tsarism. If on the other hand English and French workers take these matters into their own hands they will find in Bolshevik Russia a friend and an ally. They will at all times be welcome in the territories of the Republic, which are as safe for those engaged in honest labour as in any state of Western Europe or America. An immense field will be open to them to assist their Russian comrades with the technical advice which only they can give. On the other hand, they can learn many things which will be new to them in that wonder land that lies between Europe and Asia. Let us tear out the pages of the past! Let us write a new page in the history of the future!

A Day in the Country. **OUTING** to Federation House, George Lane, Woodford, on BANK HOLIDAY, 4th AUGUST 1919. TICKETS, 2s., including admission and Tea. Dancing in the evening.

Tickets may be obtained from Miss BUSH, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to work and old enough to vote! (Advert.)



## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: **Sylvia Pankhurst**  
Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.

Annual Subscription, post free—10s. 10d  
Back Numbers, 4d., post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at  
400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.  
All business communications to the MANAGER  
152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

Vol. VI. No. 19 Sat. Aug. 2nd, 1919.

### THE MASK OFF.

Winston Churchill, in his speech at the Centre Party's dinner, has spoken plainly; he says that the political truce between the Liberal and Tory parties that sprang up during the war should be maintained to fight Bolshevism. Bolshevism, as everyone knows, though only some dare acknowledge it, is simply the seizure of power by the working class, which means the death knell to Capitalism.

Churchill has come out as the defender of Capitalism. He says: "I am astonished to see how people are afraid to defend the capitalist system. The politicians are afraid, the newspapers are afraid; they prefer to give the thing the go-by." Churchill is right; clever capitalist politicians are afraid to defend the capitalist system openly: they are afraid to tell the workers that the only great political struggle is between Capital and Labour, because, if the poor, gullied workers understand that, they will at last wake up and fight for their own class, instead of against it. Politicians who are cleverer and more farseeing than Churchill want to put off the direct fight between Labour and Capital as long as they can, because they know that if the workers exert their full strength they are bound to win. But Churchill, reckless and hot-headed, is eager for the fight; he hopes to enjoy the big struggle and fancies himself cut out to play an historic part in it. The smug, old-fashioned Liberals, who patronise well-behaved Labour leaders, must be feeling decidedly annoyed with Churchill for so graphically showing that the Liberal and Tory parties are just the same. The little indiscretion which revealed that Mr. W. H. Smith, "the most staid, unimpeachable, blameless Tory," had privately proposed to call the Conservative Party the Liberal Party, and Lord Randolph Churchill's definition: "Tory Democracy is Democracy that supports the Tory Party," fairly sum up the sham Parliamentary politics that have been the comfortable and remunerative hobby of the leisured classes, and have gullied the workers for so long. Our sympathies are with the woman in the 'bus who said: "Vote? No, I don't believe in it; the Government'd take the very blood from y'r 'eart!"

LLOYD GEORGE EXPOSES THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FRAUD AND THE HOLLOW VICTORY.

Lloyd George's statement that the alliance between France, Britain and America, is necessary to protect France until it is certain that the League of Nations is strong enough to do it, demonstrates that the League of Nations will not preserve the peace of Europe, and that France's share in the "glorious victory" the Governments have been celebrating is less than nothing. France has been weakened and impoverished by the war; no indemnities can repay her; the only thing that can recompense the French workers for their losses and suffering is the Communist Revolution, the coming of which has been hastened by the war.

Lloyd George says that the triple alliance between France, Britain and America is to protect France if the League of Nations cannot. Wilson has said it is to fight for France until the League of Nations has passed through the formalities which will enable it to do it. These are curious stories to come from those who told us that the war would for ever make the world

## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

safe for democracy, by setting up the League of Nations, which would make war and international aggression impossible!

Churchill told the Centre Party that Lloyd George is a "necessary man," but the report Churchill publishes omits to state why he described Lloyd George as "necessary." Obviously it is that Lloyd George has a way of telling the people that he has found a new discovery when really the old thing he brings forward, or something just like it, has been with us all the time. So with this Franco-British-American Alliance. Europe was a network of just such alliances before the war, and these alliances are always described as "purely defensive," but they never are. This present alliance, of course, has its commercial clauses, its tariff bargains and concessions, its arrangements for the exploitation of native races, and so on, and undoubtedly, like Mr. Churchill, its secret clauses have something to say about "Bolshevism." Clemenceau, who fears the Red Wave with a more immediate terror than his allies, since no salt sea divides him from it, and the French workers are notoriously revolutionary, has no doubt pledged his confederates to lend him their aid in case of danger. Doubtless, too, the confederates have secured some very substantial advantages in return. But Lloyd George, Wilson and Clemenceau will soon be mere forgotten memories; more vital forces will presently replace them upon the international stage.

### THE MINERS.

At the opening of the year the spirit of revolt was stirring amongst the workers in the ship-building industry, and the workers in other engineering sections were affected to a lesser degree. The miners and railway men were appealed to then to join the revolt, but failed to respond. Now the miners are turbulent, and the railway men in certain sections are restless. There is a smouldering fire that might carry us further, but those who rose in the new year are now quiescent; the elements are disunited. The strikes are for small sectional things that can make no real difference; they break out sporadically, and as one group comes out another goes back.

The miners' demand for the nationalisation and workers' control of industry might be the rallying point for the whole country and might prepare the workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the soviets, which they must accomplish before the socialisation of industry can be achieved. But at present only a minority of the miners has yet adopted the rank and file scheme for socialising the industry; the others have swallowed the Sankey proposals which in practice will prove almost worthless, whilst in the other industries the socialisation demand has not yet been seriously put forward.

Even the miners have not yet proved that they will strike for nationalisation. They have threatened, but there has been so much bluff in regard to political strikes that no one now believes that they will take place according to time table. Certainly the trade union and Parliamentary Labour officials are working their hardest to stave off conflict, and the miners' charter will be postponed indefinitely unless the revolutionary sections of the rank and file are prepared to act.

### THE RUSSIAN MUTINIES.

Of all the hypocrisies of the unscrupulous men who are running the Government and Press of this country, none is more despicable than the outcry that the Russian prisoners whom General Ironside had forced to fight in his army have defied the rules of honour and "fair play." What would have been said of the Germans if they had forced Allied prisoners to fight in their ranks? To force prisoners to fight against their own comrades is the basest outrage; an outrage which, even if it has been committed, and of course it has been done by Europeans in fighting Indians, Africans and other non-European peoples, has never, we think, been boasted of before! But we forgot; of course it is done;

the workers are constantly ordered to fight against the workers of their own race. General Ironside was of opinion that what may be done in Featherstone, Glasgow, Dublin or Tonypandy may be done also in Russia.

We suppose that the death of the five British officers will be used to arouse, as far as possible, the spirit of the vendetta in the British Army, but the great slaughter of the European War will render the effort unfruitful. We regret the death of these officers, especially if, as we suppose, they were mere tools in the wicked business, but if a man chooses war for his trade we must not be surprised when he comes to die.

Altogether the Counter Revolutionary Armies are doing badly in Russia. The *Times* Archangel Correspondent says that what the capitalists call the "loyal" Russian Army will go over to the Bolsheviks the moment the British Army withdraws.

All sorts of elaborate excuses are being invented to explain "Why these peasants whom we are seeking to save from Bolshevik attack should betray us to the enemy." "Really it is not difficult to understand," says the *Times* correspondent: "from the very beginning the Russians have not wholly believed in our sincerity." Quite so, we would observe, but the *Times* does not mean what those words would obviously imply. He goes on to say that the Russians did not think we really meant to stay till Bolshevism should be crushed.

The *Times* correspondent indicates that the new and virile British troops in Russia have not proved very good fighters. His explanation is that the men were told they were only sent out to help the original force to get out of Russia; "that they were out for a holiday at the Government's expense. That they were to arrive in the morning and return in the evening, as it were." This is encouraging news; it means that the British soldiers in Russia do not want to fight.

Winston Churchill is doing all he can to popularise the Russian adventure, and is arranging for Major-General Briggs, who has been with General Denikin, to address the Members of the House of Commons. To show that Denikin is not a reactionary, his objects in fighting against the soviets have been widely published. Amongst other things he is supposed to aim at is:—

"Immediate labour legislation, securing the working classes from exploitation by the Government or Capital."

The workers who have abolished the capitalists and themselves governing their industries will hardly thank General Denikin for this.

### RUSSIA AND ROUMANIA.

The report that the Roumanians are negotiating peace terms with the Soviet Government indicates that presently the Big Allied Powers may find themselves deserted by all the little nations they have been counting on to form a cordon of warfare round the Soviet Republics. The Soviets desire nothing but peace from their neighbours: they are not out for territorial or trade advantages, and the little States will presently find it safer and pleasanter to deal with them than with the big capitalist Powers.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

The W.S.F. held a series of meetings on July 21st in Hyde Park from 3 p.m. to 8.30 p.m. Large crowds attended, and the speakers met with no opposition until some soldiers and sailors rushed the platform after speeches had continued for five-and-a-half hours. We wish to thank the speakers for helping to make the demonstration such a success.

**WORKERS OF DERBY!**  
You can get your DREADNOUGHT regularly from—  
**THE WORKERS' NEWSAGENCY,**  
Clarion Club, Wardwick, Derby.

## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

### BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER

#### PEACE SOUP.

The other day was Peace Day, and there was a good business done in the rag and bone line. You could see all the rags, newly dyed, hanging round like cobwebs. The bones—well, you must have heard them rattle, Henry my boy.

And let now the poet speak—  
"Bands played and flags were flying,  
And crowds of yellow pressmen filled the street  
To cheer the soldiers who'd refrained from dying

And hear the music of returning feet."  
And the profiteer bobbed up his head again and let out spy-holes at fifteen quid the hole. And if you grunted it out of your high munitioneer wages, Henry, he replied in that classic phrase: "If you knows of a better 'ole 'em."

And now we are all sober again. It is Monday morning the week after, and we are back again at the Eternal Grind. You know that Monday morning feeling, Henry, and I know that the least hint of politics sets your teeth on edge. And maybe you will go back to the newsagent and demand your tuppence back.

But I have got hold of you by the left eyebrow, and I am about to whisper words of wisdom into your shell-like ear. What I want to know is why. And having asked that, I want to know wherefore, and without waiting for the answer, I go on to ask what for.

Now you must have often wondered like this. Here's a paper what calls itself the "Workers' Dreadnought," and it stands for International Socialism, and you will agree, maybe, that there must be something in it, and that the idea of "What's your's is mine, and what's mine is mine, too!" is all very well for a joke, but it don't give you a proper answer.

And in order to find out the answer it is only necessary to start asking why. Or, as I have put it before, the whencity of this thushness.

Here we are, as I remarked a few lines further back, on Monday morning at the bench, and a feeling as if I could tell the foreman in for a dead cert that was more dead than cert; or chuck a spanner at somebody if they would only rub me the wrong way down with the brick that broke the camel's back.

But to proceed! Being back here on Monday morning, the question arises, "Why am I back here?" Why am I not at home, or outside somewhere where it smells a bit of all right and not so lime-washy? Why? Simply and naturally 'cos there's money to be found for the landlord and the grocer and the shoemaker and the club man and the little shop round the corner which let's one have things "on tick" and who never seems to be paid right up but what there is a little bit owing.

Naturally and consequently we are back at it, worse luck, and old Creeps in a pretty temper if you ask me. What he had for breakfast must have been burnt or else dropped in the cinders and picked out again.

But what I want to know is this here. After having slaved all the week for pay-envelope, it soon gets empty and so back again the next

Monday. And so on, and so on. And I've had ten years of it no less.

You will agree to all that, but you will say that you don't see a way out of it. It's all very well to talk Socialism, but it won't come true, and anyway how are you going to do it? Have a revolution and shoot the boss? And what then? All you have is a dead boss and things same as what they were.

But that is hardly the way to talk. It must not be supposed that there will come a body of brave and noble men and women who will just say "Sho!" and it's all done. It merely amounts to having a job to do and doing it in the most workmanlike way possible. The Socialists won't bring about Socialism for you, all on a silver plate, but it will have to be worked out by the workers.

You will agree with me that if there is anybody who knows what a worker wants, it's the workers themselves. The Boorjows, the Profiteers and the other Messrs. Fat may merely think you want a tuppenny cigar and a look at a Peace procession and some free beer. Now what does the job amount to? It amounts to something like this. As I have said in my leaflet, "Communism in Plain English":—

"The programme is this: good jobs, good food, good clothes, good houses, good everything for about fifty millions of British people."

What is to be done is to arrange things so that clothes will be made for everybody to wear, not merely to shove in plate glass windows with fancy prices stuck on, take it or leave it. And no plaster or chalk in the bread, no cart grease for butter, no pump wine in the milk, no carrots in the "strawberry" jam.

At present business is run on a basis of put your money in what brings in the biggest profit; if the people want boots, and if there is more money to be made out of cart-grease, give 'em cart-grease.

Whereas any sensible community would say that if the people want boots they ought to have boots.

But if you try and fix that on Mr. Fat he will talk about the brains needed to run the business of the Empire, and the worker should not meddle in what don't concern him. And as for Socialism, pish! the Socialist could not run a fried-fish shop.

Well, we have had Mr. Fat running our business for us for Mike knows how long, and if he can't do better than this year with two millions out of work and the rest of us paying fancy prices for imitations of substitutes, then it's about time the worker tried his hand.

Come to think of it, most businesses are managed by overseers and managing directors who merely do all the brainy work and the ordering about for the capitalist, who gives his ear to his telephone and pretends to look busy. Can't see you to-day, call again Thursday.

Well, a beginning is already being made with Workers' Committees, which will give the workers a chance to see how a business can be run for the benefit of the fifty millions I mentioned just now. And they are worth more attention than old Fat's Peace Soup tickets.

### PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

JULY 21st.—The Foreign Office seems to doubt the fact that Pogroms took place in Poland! Mr. Harmsworth said a representative had been sent to Warsaw to ascertain whether the "reports of these anti-Jewish excesses prove to be true." This is a very laudable procedure; though not followed in every instance. Why should the Polish Government be given the benefit of the doubt when the Russian and Hungarian Governments are condemned without a hearing?

#### MURMANSK SECRET.

In reply to Mr. Higham (C. U.) Mr. Churchill admitted that the Murmansk Force that had served through the winter would be released in August. "It would not be in the public interest," however, Mr. Churchill said, to disclose the number of troops remaining when these are released. But that is just what people do want to know.

#### PEACE TREATY.

Mild opinions of discontent with the Peace Treaty vanish when one realises that the Leader of the Liberal Party, Sir Donald Maclean, and Mr. Clynes, on behalf of the Labour Party, united in expressing their praise of the efforts of those who laboured to complete the Peace Treaty. It is no wonder that Mr. Lloyd George was "gratified" at the discussion of the Peace Treaty Bill. Of what avail are the rumblings of discontent with the Treaty which one hears from constitutional quarters, when the House of Commons allows the Bill ratifying this Treaty to be passed in one sitting with only seven dissensions!

#### ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY.

At ten minutes to three in the morning the House was asked to discuss and pass the Anglo-French

### SOUTH WALES NOTES.

#### THE PRESS AND THE "EXTREMISTS."

The South Wales Press, which fights in the interests of the coalowners, is now making a special attempt to turn the rank and file of the miners against the so-called "extremists" by inciting them to attend their Trade Union meeting, and thus retard the progress towards Revolution. The time has gone when this kind of precept will be effective, for, generally speaking, the rank and file have great confidence in the ability and enthusiasm of their accredited representatives to carry out their local wishes. Far from appeasing the efforts of the Press in imploring all Trade Unionists to attend their branch meetings, we rejoice in the new departure, and hope the rank and file will follow the advice. It is a commonplace that a mass meeting of miners is generally more revolutionary than a meeting attended by only a few. Numbers lend weight to resolutions adopted. The coalowners' Press is not conscious of its own interests in this matter, for if the policy is adopted of every miner taking active interest in his Trade Union, then the advantages can only accrue to the forces making for revolution. The disadvantages of such a policy will be the inevitable lot of the coalowners.

Almost every meeting addressed by an "extremist" has ended with a spirited appeal to the miners to attend their Trade Union lodges and become active workers for a better system of society. If this appeal is listened to, the Capitalist class should tremble, for the "extremist" element will be made stronger than ever by increased numbers of class-conscious workers, who inspire hope and enthusiasm. However different workers may be in political outlook—which is seldom a true reflex of their industrial outlook—still in the Trade Union meeting all are crushed by the same enemy and in somewhat the same manner. As a result, a solution to the problem for only one is generally the solution for all, whether Socialist, Liberal or Conservative. In the lodge meeting all are workers and no Political party constitution regulates their conduct. When a strike is in progress, political differences are thrown to the winds, and all see themselves as workers having a mutual interest in victory.

The Capitalist Press is ignorant of the conditions under which the miners work if it thinks that the political differences of the rank and file will be taken into the trade union room. It is because it believes this possible that the Press recommends the miners to take a more active interest in their Trade Union. We believe this is impossible, because we believe the miners in their Trade Union will look on all questions as workers and not as adherents to any political body; because we believe the workers to be inevitably divided upon the political field but more united on the industrial field; these are some of the reasons why we welcome the appeal made by the coalowners' Press, to the rank and file of the miners to attend their Trade Union lodges. We reiterate that appeal. Miners, regularly attend your lodge meetings, and share the responsibility now taken on by relatively a few. Strengthen the organisation by your presence and active support. Don't leave to others what you can do for yourselves. The numerous and fruitful victories of the organisation will repay you for your trouble.

#### F. P.

Treaty Bill. The reason Mr. Lloyd George gave for rushing it through was the French might think the British Parliament was hesitating! The Treaty is an undertaking that Great Britain will come to the aid of France if she is attacked. In short, although the five years war was alleged to be a "war to end war," we find the "Peace-makers" hastening to prepare for the next war before the ink of the Peace Treaty is even dry. The Bill was read a third time and passed in all probability in an empty House. But still the maintenance of the House of Commons keeps up the sham, that this is a Democratic country!

#### MINERS' STRIKE.

JULY 22ND.—Mr. Bonar Law, when questioned as to the causes of the miners' strikes admitted that there was no evidence of any "particular individual" being behind them. In short, he at last credits the rank and file with power to arrange their own affairs.

The Land Settlement Bill was read a third time and passed. "Bolshevik Militarism."

JULY 23RD.—The First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Long, stated that British ships were kept in the Baltic, amongst other things, so as "to prevent the spreading of Bolshevik militarism." German militarism used to be the war-cry; naturally all such expeditions must be provided with an excuse.

KOLTCHAK'S REPRESENTATIVE. Mr. Harmsworth admitted that Admiral Koltchak is represented in London by Monsieur Nabokoff. Readers may remember that he was also a representative of the Czar!

The Finance Bill was read a third time and passed without any vital amendment.

#### PRE-WAR PRACTICES.

JULY 25TH.—The Bill to restore pre-war practices was read a third time and passed without protest. M. O'C.



## DRINK.—A FABLE.

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

TRANSLATED BY SIDNEY ARNOLD.

Without having had any breakfast the poor peasant drove out to till his fields, taking with him a slice of black bread.

Arrived at the field, he took off his Kaftan (coat) and, placing it near a tree, carefully concealed his slice of bread beneath it.

A few hours later, feeling hungry, he walked to the tree where his coat was lying, but to his dismay the bread had disappeared. He searched and searched, swinging his Kaftan on all sides, but without success. His bread was stolen.

The peasant was surprised. No one had seen him putting it away, nor had he seen anyone near the tree. Where had it gone?

But in reality, it was the devil who stole the poor peasant's bread. He did so in order to make the innocent man curse and swear and make mention of his (the devil's) name.

The good-hearted peasant was disappointed, but not angry. Shrugging his shoulders, he thought, "I'm not starving, whereas he who stole my bread may be. He is in need of it, so I do not grudge it to him."

He went to the well, took a long drink and then resumed his ploughing.

The devil was furious that he had failed to make the peasant commit a sin. He returned to hell and sorrowfully related to his chief Satan how he had stolen the poor man's bread, but without being able to make him utter one profane word.

The chief raged: "When the peasant is wiser than you, you are at fault! What will become of us when all men and women follow the example of that peasant? If you cannot induce

him to commit a sin within three years, I will scold you with the Holy Water."

The devil feared the Holy Water.

Coming back to earth again, he looked around for an opportunity to tempt the peasant.

He disguised himself as a farm-hand and sought work from the peasant.

In course of time they became friendly.

Following the advice of the devil, he sowed his corn in a damp, swampy place. The great heat which burned up his neighbour's crop only caused his to grow close and high; their corn was poor, while his gave him an enormous yield.

The next year the farm-hand taught him to plough the hills. It rained all summer, thus while the crops of the other peasants rotted, his grew abundantly.

Finally the disguised devil taught him to brew beer and all sorts of alcohol. The peasant learned readily; he drank himself and treated all his neighbours to it as well.

Proudly the devil returned to his chief with the good news of his success. But the chief, wishing to be convinced, went himself to the peasant's house. There he saw the peasant, who had invited the rich people of the district, treating them all freely to beer and brandy.

While his wife was busy filling goblets for their guests, she accidentally broke one which was full of brandy. The peasant cursed and swore at her—a thing he had never done before.

"You fool!" he shouted. "Why did you drop that glass? Brandy is such a good thing!"

"Ha," laughed the devil, "he is not as polite now as when I stole his piece of bread."

The house became a regular Korchma (public-house). They all drank excessively, quarrelled and fought openly with each other.

The chief was delighted with his pupil's masterpiece.

"Wait a while," said the devil, "and you will see something nicer. Let them get well heated, and they will speak nothing but lies. Now they are like foxes wagging their tails at each other, soon they will become as wild wolves."

They drank more and more, the excitement got stronger and stronger, and challenges to fight were freely exchanged.

The heart of Satan rejoiced over those scenes.

"Good, very good," he murmured. "Have patience," said his subordinate, "there's even better to come yet. Let them drink still more, now they are as wild wolves, soon they will be like dirty swine."

They drank until they could no longer stand or speak to each other. They reeled over and lay bleeding like swine in the street.

The chief's delight knew no bounds. "Bravo," he said to the devil, "you have surpassed yourself. Now you are my favourite. But tell me how you made this wonderful drink?"

"I simply took the blood of a fox, to make the peasant cute as the fox. I added a few drops of wolves' blood to make him wolfish, and lastly I mixed in the blood of a swine so that he becomes like a swine."

The devil paused, smiling grimly. "I did not go through that ceremony at all, it was not necessary. I simply gave him too much grain, wheat and corn, and too much money. As long as he was poor, hardworking and industrious he had no temptations, he did not grudge his scanty breakfast to one poorer than himself. It was the abundance which caused the scenes you have just witnessed. I taught him to make brandy, and as soon as he learned this art, the fox, the wolf and the swine rose up in him. Whenever he drinks he will be a beast."

## BELA KUN AND THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES.

*Avanti* of July 2nd states: "Capt. Haggard, commanding the Allied fleet on the Danube, sent a telegram to Bela Kun, expressing his conviction that the families of the sailors and officers who took part in the counter-revolutionary movement at Budapest on June 26th would be treated according to civilised and humanitarian principles."

"Bela Kun replied as follows: In reply to your telegram, allow me to set your mind at rest with respect to the families of those sailors and officers who mutinied against the Soviet Republic. They will, of course, be treated in accordance with all humanitarian laws; all the more so that our moral conceptions forbid us to follow the example of the bandits who fired with cannon and machine-guns."

*La Feuille* of Geneva, June 11th, 1919, quoting the French paper *Le Progrès*, gives the number of desertions in the French Army during the five years of war as follows:—

1914 (from 1st August) ...	509
1915 ...	2,433
1916 ...	8,924
1917 ...	21,174
1918 ...	13,032

Total ... 46,072

The figures of men condemned to death and shot during the same period are:—

1914 ...	206
1915 ...	442
1916 ...	315
1917 ...	528
1918 ...	136

1,627

*La Vie Ouvrière*, July 9th, gives "a few lines taken from a letter written by a Russian soldier from Saint Onen on June 25th: On June 20th, an event recalling that of January 9th at Petrograd. We asked for something to eat. They gave us bullets. Result: Six killed and 19 wounded. All that I saw in my youth is nothing in comparison with what I am enduring here, under the protection of the Allies. But it will never make me yield. As long as I live I will keep firm and trust in the right. Tell me, though, why they look upon us all here, not as men, but as beasts having no further right to existence?"

"These short lines tell only too well of the physical and mental sufferings of the Russian soldiers still left in France."

"What is the League for the Rights of Man doing? Where is the human conscience?"

## ERNST TOLLER.

Ernst Toller, President of the late Bavarian Soviet, has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the German Coalition Government.

At Oswestry German officer prisoners threw food parcels to German prisoners from the ranks. The authorities ordered the German soldiers not to pick up the food parcels. Some German soldiers disobeyed the order and one of them was shot!

GERMANS ABOLISH THE ILLIGITIMATE CHILD.

Russia led the way in enacting that children born out of wedlock shall have the same claim on both parents as other children and that no legal or other disabilities shall attach to them. Germany has now followed suit. The German National Assembly at Weimar passed a Bill giving "the same opportunities of physical, spiritual and social welfare" to illegitimate, as to legal, children.

DO NOT BELIEVE HELSINGFORS NEWS. We wish to warn our readers that no reliance can be placed on Press telegrams purporting to come from Helsingfors.

## FIGHTING SOCIALISM.

Churchill says there are: 41,000 men in the Black Sea Army, 105,000 men in the Middle East Army, 17,000 men in the Russian Detachments.

## CAPITALIST "HONOUR."

President Wilson's excuse for the bad Peace Treaty is that the Allies had already entered into secret treaties in the days "When might and right were confused," and "without thought of what the peoples concerned might wish or profit by." "These could not be honourably brushed aside." "These we ask, can they be honourably kept? What of Wilson's own pledges: is it honourable to break them?"

THE AUSTRALIAN SEAMEN'S UNION. The Australian Government has proceeded against the Seamen's Union and Tom Walsh, its Secretary, on account of the seamen's strike. Walsh has been fined £100; he refuses to pay. A general strike may take place in Australia and an appeal may be issued for an Empire strike of Seamen.

## DIRECT ACTION WINS.

The men on the North Eastern Railways quickly abolished the company's eyesight proposal by direct action.

LORD NEWTON AND THE "DAILY MAIL." In our view, it is a case of six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.

## EXPLOITING AFRICA.

'Africanus' in the "Times" points out that German East Africa there were over 100 Slave Schools for the natives. He says that now Great Britain is the Mandatory there "they can hardly be abandoned" and it will be difficult to release them in the British Protectorates. The excuse for seizing the German Colonies was that the ill-used natives! 'Africanus' wants to see tropical cotton mills, steam saw mills, tanneries, basket factories, smithies and cement works to be done by Africans under white supervision. So tropical Africa is to become a capitalist hell, where, in the great heat, ill-paid workers will sweat their lives away, competing with and menacing the wage standards of European workers. For this we fought the war for freedom. Communism is the only hope.

## PRESIDENT WILSON'S CURIOUS STATEMENT.

According to the "Times" President Wilson has made a curious statement to the effect that the military Treaty America has just concluded with France was needed, because the League of Nations would never propose war until a commercial boycott had been tried, and the French Treaty is needed until the League is really ready for action. Does that mean that, though the League of Nations is supposed to prevent nations making war—at least until arbitration through the League has been tried—some nations may make arrangements to take military measures without waiting for the League?

The Australian Federal Government is prosecuting the American Seamen's Union and Tom Walsh its secretary because the men are on strike.

## THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

Continued from page 1413

## THE BUILDING TRADES DISPUTE.

In the building trades also a Council had been formed by all the various workers employed in building construction, including carpenters, bricklayers, and others; some fourteen unions joined. The Building Trades Council presented to the employers' organisation, called the Builders' Exchange, a demand for a wages increase of 32 per cent. The cost of living, according to Government figures, had risen by 80 per cent. since 1914, and the wages had risen only by 18 per cent. If the 32 per cent. rise were conceded, the workers would only have a net increase of 50 per cent. in wages to meet a rise of 80 per cent. in the cost of living.

The employers agreed that the workers' demand was reasonable, but stated that they could only concede half what was asked, because the financial interests refused to lend money for building purposes if the cost of building were further increased. Evidently the Committee of 1,000 was already at work! when the men refused to accept the half loaf that was offered, the employers replied that they would refuse to recognise the Building Trades Council, and said, like the metal employers, that, as there was "little doing" in the building industry, they could shut down for an indefinite time. The Trades Council in this case also failed to mediate, but in vain.

On May 1st the workers in the metal and building trades struck work. The Winnipeg Trades Council then took a vote of the unions affiliated to it on the question of a general sympathetic strike to support the metal and building workers. The result was an overwhelming majority for the strike, which was held for May 15th.

The Mayor initiated various negotiations with the purpose of averting the strike, and in telegraphing to the Canadian Government at Ottawa he said:—

"Negotiations conducted by myself for three days, during last Thursday night [May 7th], led to employers agreeing to meet strikers. Delegates of building and metal trades respectively met, with myself and Premier Norris, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of this week."

"Building trades, workers and employers virtually agreed on acceptability of proposed settlement, but strikers will not execute until metal trade workers are satisfied by their employers. Employers absolutely refuse to concede principle demanded by metal trade workers. Workers absolutely refuse to sacrifice their principles either. General strike accordingly called for 11 a.m. to-morrow. Fully 27,000 workers involved in strike. Full-scale co-operation of Government required towards effecting a settlement. The strike took place next morning; within a week 30,000 workers were on strike. The number now grew to 37,000, but the population of Winnipeg is 100,000. Workers dealing with milk and bread were not withdrawn, and the general food supply seems to have been in the main continued; a restricted service of water and light was continued; arrangements were made to keep open certain restaurants and a strike café was opened, at which women strikers, many of whom had no strike pay to depend on, were served free, and men, on giving what donation they could afford. The firemen struck, but an emergency squad of firemen was in readiness to attend all fires for the purpose of saving life."

"The police, who were organised in a union of their own, affiliated to the Trades Council, voted to join the general strike should their comrades in industry desire it, but they were instructed by the Strike Committee to remain at work, in order that there should be no excuse for calling out the military. Theatres and places of amusement were allowed to remain running, in order that the people might not congregate in the streets. Absolute order was maintained: there was not a single case of disorderly conduct or damage to property by strikers, and the number of persons charged before the courts for all offences was below the normal."

"The soldiers returned from the war, a large number of whom were unemployed, enthusiastically supported the strike through their organisation—the Great War Veterans' Association—which had three members upon the Strike Committee."

"The general strike now began to spread from city to city, and the telephone operators of all the Dominion began to be affected. The Minister of Labour, the Hon. G. D. Robertson, and the Post Master General, the Hon. Arthur Neighen, arrived in Winnipeg to see what could be done."

"The Committee of 1,000, which was, in reality, a committee of the Winnipeg Board of Trade and Manufacturers' Association, was getting actively to

work enrolling volunteer policemen and other scabs. Some of its members boasted that they were learning to drill and shoot at Minto barracks."

The Committee of 1,000 got out its own "Peace Terms" to the workers:—

Call off the sympathetic strike. Workers on public utilities shall have no affiliation with other unions.

Unions of policemen, firemen, postal and other employees on public utilities to be declared illegal.

The Committee also passed this resolution, sent it to the Strike Committee, and published it broadcast:—

"1. Resolved that this Committee is opposed to the principle of sympathetic strikes by employees in public utilities, Departments of Public Service, and those which affect the distribution of milk and food."

"2. That no employees who are members of Unions having affiliation with any outside organisations which purport to exercise authority over the employees in relation to their actions towards their employers should be employed or retained in the City Police Department, Fire Department, Water Works Department, City Light and Power Department, Government Telephones or Postal Service."

"3. That this committee, however, recognises the right of any of such employees, as so desire to form unions or Associations among themselves and to bargain with their employers as to wages and working conditions through their committee without any interference whatever by any outside body which may affect their allegiance to their employers and the position of trust that they occupy toward the public, and also the right in the case of disagreement to appeal to a duly constituted Board of authority."

At a meeting of the City Council on May 22nd the Mayor announced that Messrs. Barrett, Lyall and Warren, represented by the metal trades employers, had met him the previous day. He had shown them a letter from the Strike Committee; whereupon they had repined that the Committee of 1,000 had requested them not to open negotiations and they were acceding to the request.

The men in the railway workshops had joined the strike, but the members of the mining trades, though anxious to show their solidarity, were induced to remain at work by their officials, who promised to secure a victory for the workers by acting as mediators. A representative of the mining trades appeared before the City Council to plead for a settlement, whereupon a representative of the Committee of 1,000 was also introduced. The Committee of 1,000 threatened the strikers that it would line up against them, the City Council, and the Provincial and Dominion Governments. That threat was put into effect; indeed the task was not difficult, since all these bodies were manned by capitalist politicians. The mining trades representatives, in their self-appointed work of negotiation, appeared before the Cabinet of the Provincial Government on May 21st.

Norris, the Prime Minister of Manitoba, whose attitude towards the strikers was from first to last exceedingly hostile, complained that in the previous session an "Industrial Conditions Act" had been passed, which was intended to prevent such situations as this, but Labour had opposed its passage, and refused to recognise it.

On May 24th the secretary of the Provincial Bureau of Labour and two other persons, brought what they represented to be an offer from the Provincial Government that, if the Trades and Labour Council would appoint two representatives to the Board constituted by the Industrial Conditions Act, the Provincial Government would guarantee the right of collective bargaining and would introduce legislation by Order in Council as soon as its form had been agreed to by the Board. This having been disposed of, the question of reinstating the strikers would be settled before the end of the present strike. The Trades and Labour Council had consistently refused to appoint delegates under the Industrial Conditions Act, and it was felt that the Government was now taking advantage of an acute situation to induce the workers to agree to a course which would be prejudicial to them in the future, but finally

the proposal was agreed to, and the representatives were appointed. The decision was conveyed to the Government, but a few hours later the Government replied that it had made no such offer, and was not prepared to make any offer. The Strike Committee decided that its only course was to call on the workers of all Canada to come to its support.

The organised workers of Calgary, having decided to strike in sympathy with Winnipeg, the Calgary City Council passed a resolution urging the Mayor of Winnipeg and the Dominion Government to settle the Winnipeg strike, on the basis of the recognition by the employers of the workers' unions, particularly of the Building and Metal Trades Councils, and the reinstatement of all the strikers.

On May 26th the Winnipeg City Council passed resolutions that no nemesis union should exist which was in any way connected with any other labour organisation, that the fire brigade should at all times obey the orders of the City Council, that every fireman must sign an undertaking not to join, "favour or support" a sympathetic strike, and not to strike at all without 30 days notice and until the dispute had been arbitrated. The Council further decided that all its employees who had joined the strike should be dismissed, and that those engaged to fill their places must sign a pledge "to be loyal to the city" and under no circumstances to participate in a sympathetic strike.

These resolutions were passed in response to a letter from the Committee of 1,000 asking the Council to take such action.

It was reported to the Council that the Committee of 1,000 had put a squad of its own police on the streets to regulate the traffic; no action was taken. But thinking, perhaps, that it had gone a little far in its resolutions, the Council decided to ask the Provincial Government for legislation establishing the right of collective bargaining.

The Provincial Government absolutely ignored this request, which doubtless was only agreed to in the conviction that it would be ignored.

(To be Continued.)

## THE WISTFUL WAGE-SLAVE'S WOEFUL WAIL.

## WAIL.

I'd like to be out in the fields

Watching the ploughman plough,

Or the milkmaid coaxing milk

From a pensive, sad-eyed cow.

I'd like to lie out in the sun

Beneath the summer sky,

Listening to the insects' hum

And the lark's song soaring high.

But all the kind of hum I hear

Is that of the machine,

As in the close workshop I sweat

From early morn to e'en.

Instead of watching the ploughman plough,

The boss is watching me,

And I'm the cow the same boss milks

At last I've come to see.

Some day I'll realise my wish

And quit my woeful wail;

That won't be till I've kicked clean o'er

The milker and his pail.

And then I'll beat it to the fields

And leave this smoky hell

For other mugs to fill milk jugs

If here they wish to dwell.

F. N. TANNER.



## KARL LIEBKNECHT.

TO THE WORKERS AND SOLDIERS  
OF THE ENTENTE.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers!

In the midst of the earthquake of the world war, of the chaotic collapse of the Czarist imperialist society, the Russian proletariat, in spite of misunderstanding, hatred and slander, has established its rule—the Socialist Republic of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. It is the titanic beginning of the Socialist construction of the world, the work which constitutes now the historic task of the international proletariat. The Russian Revolution has tremendously stimulated the revolutionising process of the world's proletariat. Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are already drawn into the struggle. The German Revolution, too, is awakening, though tremendous difficulties are arising on the way to the victory of the German proletariat. The bulk of the people of Germany is with us. The power of the most bitter enemies of the working class is breaking down. Still they are striving by means of lies and deception to chain the masses to their chariot and to put off the hour of the emancipation of the German people.

And just as the imperialism of the Entente powers was strengthened by the robberies and murders perpetrated by German imperialism in Russia, so have the German rulers made use of the assault of the Entente powers upon Socialist Russia for the maintenance of their power in Germany.

Have you not seen how a few weeks ago Kaiser Wilhelm II, who after the overthrow of Czarism is the representative of the most in-

famous reaction, made use of the intervention of the Entente powers against proletarian Russia to arouse anew the war spirit of the masses of workers?

We cannot allow that such welcome opportunities for demagoguery be placed into the hands of our contemptible enemies—the most abominable enemy of the world proletariat. It cannot be that the proletariat of the Entente powers should allow such a thing to happen. Of course we know that you have already raised your voice against the machinations of your governments; but the danger is constantly growing. The united front of the world imperialism against the proletariat is becoming a reality in the case of the campaign against the Russian Soviet Republic.

It is to fight to prevent this that I am appealing to you!

The world proletariat cannot allow the fire of the Socialist Revolution to be put out if it does not want to see its own hopes and power vanish. The downfall of the Russian Soviet Republic would mean the defeat of the world proletariat.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! Rise against your masters!

Long live Russia of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

Long live the revolution of the French, British, Italian and American proletariat!

Long live the emancipation of workingmen of all countries from the hell of war, exploitation and slavery!

Berlin, October 31st, 1918.

## THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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

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

## LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

These are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia.

SATURDAY, AUG. 2nd

Great Push against Conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace in Canning Town. Meet at 2.45 p.m. at "Whitehouse," Rathbone Street, and at 7.30 p.m. at Beckton Road.

Speakers: Clara Cole, Ph. Edmunds, S. Hanson, R. M. Fox and others.

SUNDAY, AUG. 3rd.

Osborn St., Whitechapel—11.45 a.m. J. H. Moore, Sidney Warr.

Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., S. Hanson.

Chair: V. E. Grimes.

SATURDAY, AUG. 9th.

Great Push in Poplar and Bow.

## INDOOR.

FRIDAY, AUG. 1st. and 8th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.10 p.m. Dancing.

MONDAY, AUG. 4th.

20, Railway Street—7.30 p.m. W.S.F. business meeting. 8.30 p.m. Reading Circle.

## OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, AUG. 5th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall—3 p.m. Miss Stephenson.

THURSDAY, AUG. 7th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.30 p.m. East London Workers' Committee.

## GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly) £27, "A Communist Friend" 4s., Ed. Healy 2s 6d, Mrs. Hardy 1s., Mr. J. Leakey £2, Miss Limouzin 10s 6d., per Miss Burgis 2s., Mr. Ed. Healy 1s 3d.

Collections.—Mrs. Walker £6 8s 6d., Publi Hall Canning Town £2 14s 10½d, Chandos Hall Meeting £25s 6d., Osborn Street 10s 2½d.

Social Work.—Mrs. Alice Singer £2 5s, Miss Elsie J. Whyte £2, Miss M. D. Fox £1 16s 11½d, Misses Gulland (monthly) £1 15s, 'In memory of Elsie Grant-Michaelson' per Mr. A. Michaelson £1, per Miss J.E. Weir £1, Mrs. Richmond (monthly) £1, Miss Burgis (Sale of clothes) £1, Nurse Hebbes (weekly) 10s, Mollie Newman 3s 6d, Mrs. Bodley 2s 6d., Miss M. Gliksten £2 2s., Misses Gulland (monthly) £1 15s., Mr. Norman Gliksten £1 1s, Mrs. M. B.H. Ellis £1, Miss Burgis (sale of clothes) 15s 6d, Mrs. Henderson 10s, Mrs. Despard 10s, Nurse Hebbes (weekly) 10s, Mrs. Ellis 5s, Miss C. Symonds 2s 6d, Miss Limouzin 11d.

Collections.—Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard) 19s 3d., and 16s 11d.

Children's Party.—Mrs. Green, £1, Mrs. Hubbard Ellis £1, Mrs. Despard 10s., Mrs. Wood 10s., Mrs. Henderson 10s., Mrs. White 5s., Mrs. Ellis 5s., Miss Limouzin 3s., Dr. Johnson 2s 6d, Miss Durrant 2s 6d.

Flowers, etc.—Mrs. Beesley, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Crosland Taylor, Mrs. Clark.

## W.S.F. NOTES

About 300 children attended a party organised by Miss Burgis at 400 Old Ford Road on Saturday, 26th July, and thoroughly enjoyed themselves. They had tea, chocolates (kindly provided by Messrs. Nestlé's) and an entertainment consisting of a Punch and Judy show, a gramophone (kindly lent by a friend,) songs and dances. We wish to convey our best thanks to the many friends who worked so hard to make it a success.

HOW THE CAPITALISTS ARE  
WORKING IT.

Sir Arthur Steele-Maitland, who has recently resigned his position as head of the Government of overseas trade, has a keen eye to capitalist interests. He urged at a meeting of Chambers of Commerce that British trade should be developed in South East Russia. Major-General Briggs, lately British Representative at Denikin's Headquarters, said that Denikin's last words to him were: "Tell everyone in England that if I have tanks to go first, and corn following behind, and behind that boots and shoes, I can conquer the whole of Russia." But Denikin's progress has come to an end; the Red Army has checked it.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* (June 15th) publishes a letter from a Stockholm correspondent, who emphasises the fact that great sensation was aroused some months ago by a note issued by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Soviet Republic, in which it was stated that Russia was prepared to recognize her State debts in foreign countries and to confer great advantages on foreign capitalists by granting concessions. At first this was regarded as a mere manoeuvre on the part of the Bolsheviks, etc., etc.

In this connection the personality of Lenin is of supreme importance. According to Stang and Puntervold, and their view is supported by many who knew Lenin, the most important leader in the Russia of to-day is a commanding and highly-gifted personality. Puntervold, a Socialist of the Right, claims that Lenin is a well-read, political economist and lawyer and a thoroughly Russian, patriotically-minded, practical politician, who knows his people. An old friend of Lenin's describes him as a man of the greatest energy and the purest motives, who is deeply affected by the bitter distress of the Russian people. He is, at heart, no destroyer, but a builder, who, now that the old régime has been completely abolished, is striving with all his might to lead the fortunes of Russia into happier paths.

If you want QUANTITY don't buy  
THE PLEBS A Monthly Review for  
Working Class Students  
BUT... well, we are modest, so leave you  
to fill in the rest. TWOPENCE from all Labour  
bookstalls. Or (2½d postpaid) from  
127, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park,  
London, W.6.

## FOR 2/6 POST FREE

Three Marvellous Publications  
ON BIRTH-CONTROL.

Thoughtful workingclass people are following the lead of the upper classes and getting wise on limitation of family.

From J. W. GOTT, Sec., LIBERATOR LEAGUE,  
61, DORSET ST., BRADFORD.

## MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

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

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

THE MOTHERS' ARMS, 438, Old Ford Rd. Donations in cash or kind urgently required.

WALTER PONDER, East London Workers' Committee, is willing to speak at week-ends. Terms: out-of-pocket expenses. Address: 10, Kempston Mews, Mintern Street, New North Road, London, N.1.

"FIFTY POINTS on Industrial Unionism." Post free 1½d. from Industrial Workers of the World No. 9 Local, 3, Gt. Garden St., Whitechapel, E.1.

## LEANEY'S LTD.

## WHOLESALE NEWSAGENT.

City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought  
9 & 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4  
Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.)

Printed by The Cosmo Printing Co., 14, Little Howland Street, W. for the responsible Editor, and published by the W.S.F. at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.