

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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FLAGRANT SUPPRESSION OF FACTS.

HOW LLOYD GEORGE MISLED THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

lapse; that it was of the utmost importance. Mr. Lloyd George, however, said that he did not know what he could do with British public opinion. He had a copy of the 'Daily Mail' in his hand, and he said, 'As long as the British Press is doing this kind of thing how can you expect me to be sensible about Russia?' The 'Daily Mail' was roaring and screaming about the whole Russian situation. Then Mr. Lloyd George said, 'Of course all the reports we get from people we send in there are in this same

Mr. Clynes. Before the right honourable gentleman comes to the next subject, can he make any statement on the approaches or representations alleged to have been made to his Government by persons acting on behalf of such Government as there is in Central Russia?

Mr. Lloyd George. We have had no approaches at all except what have appeared in the papers.

Mr. Clynes. I ask the question because it has been repeatedly alleged.

Mr. Lloyd George. We have had no approaches at all. Constantly there are men coming from and going to Russia of all nationalities, and they always come back with their tales of Russia. But we have had no approaches of any sort or kind.

I have only heard reports of others having proposals which they assume have come from authentic quarters, but these have never been put before the Peace Conference by any member, and therefore we have not considered them.

I think I know what my right honourable friend refers to. There was some suggestion that a young American had come back from Russia with a communication. It is not for me to judge the value of this communication, but if the President of the United States had attached any value to it he would have brought it before the Conference, and he certainly did not do so.

In the House of Commons—April 16th, 1919.

general direction, but we have got to send in somebody who is known to the whole world as a complete conservative, in order to have the whole world believe that the report he brings out is not simply the utterance of a radical.

He then said, 'I wonder if we could get Lansing down to go?' Then he immediately corrected himself and said, 'No; it would probably kill him.' Then he said, 'I wish I could send Bob Cecil, but we have got to keep him for the League of Nations.' And he said to Smuts, 'It would be splendid if you could go, but, of course, you have got the other job,' which was going down to Hungary. Afterwards he said he thought the most desirable man to send was the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Robert Cecil's brother; that he would be respectable enough and well known enough so that when he came back and made the same report it would go down with British public opinion. Mr. Lloyd George then urged me to make public my report. He said it was absolutely necessary to have publicity given to the actual conditions in Russia, which he recognised were as presented."

About a week later Mr. Lloyd George denied in the British House of Commons that he had seen any peace proposals from Russia. Trade

unionists who are so confident that the Premier's promises and statements are a bed-rock to be relied on should study Mr. Bullitt's report of the prevarications of great statesmen, and of Mr. Lloyd George in particular.

This denial of fact on the part of the Prime Minister was so flagrant that the British Mission in Paris came to Mr. Bullitt and apologised for Mr. Lloyd George's action. Mr. Bullitt asked President Wilson to state whether what Lloyd George had said was true; but the President did not answer, because he would have had to admit that the British Prime Minister had lied.

The peace proposals sent through Mr. Bullitt from the Bolsheviks to the Peace Conference are as follows:—

TEXT OF PROPOSED PEACE PROPOSAL BY THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED GOVERNMENTS.

The Allied and associated Governments to propose that hostilities shall cease on all fronts in the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland on and that no new hostilities shall begin after this date, pending a conference to be held at once.

The duration of the armistice to be for two weeks, unless extended by mutual consent, and all parties to the armistice to undertake not to employ the period of the armistice to transfer troops and war material to the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The conference to discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, which shall not be subject to revision by the conference.

1. All existing *de facto* governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland to remain in full control of the territories which they occupy at the moment when the armistice becomes effective, except in so far as the conference may agree upon the transfer of territories; until the peoples inhabiting the territories controlled by these *de facto* governments shall themselves determine to change their governments. The Russian Soviet Government, the other Soviet Governments and all others Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, the Allied and associated Governments, and the other Governments which are operating against the Soviet Governments, including Finland, Poland, Galicia, Roumania, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, and Afghanistan, to agree not to attempt to upset by force the existing *de facto* Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and the other Governments signatory to this agreement.

2. The economic blockade to be raised and trade relations between Soviet Russia and the Allied and associated countries to be re-established under conditions which will ensure that supplies from the Allied and associated countries are made available on equal terms to all classes of the Russian people.

3. The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right of unhindered transit on all railways and the use of all ports which belonged to the former Russian Empire and to Finland and are necessary for the disembarkation and transportation of

* The date of the armistice to be set at least a week after the date when the Allied and associated Governments make this proposal.

† The Soviet Government greatly prefers that the conference should be held in a neutral country and also that either a radio or a direct telegraph wire to Moscow should be put at its disposal.

‡ The conference to begin not later than a week after the armistice takes effect and the Soviet Government greatly prefers that the period between the date of the armistice and the first meeting of the conference should be only three days, if possible.

§ The Allied and associated Governments to undertake to see to it that the *de facto* Governments of Germany do not attempt to upset by force the *de facto* Governments of Russia. The *de facto* Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire to undertake not to attempt to upset by force the *de facto* Governments of Germany.

Continued on next page.

Early in January the situation in Russia was discussed at the Quai D'Orsay in Paris, the principal representatives who were present at the Peace Conference taking part in the conversations. The result of these discussions was as is already widely known—the Prinkipo proposal.

From the full text of the "Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate," held recently at Washington, the whole story of the proceedings may now be studied. The Prinkipo suggestion was held in abeyance owing to the revolver attack on M. Clemenceau. It was then that Mr. William Bullitt, who was an American representative at the Peace Conference, was commissioned to go to Russia to attempt to obtain from the Russian Soviet Government an exact statement of the terms on which they were ready to stop fighting. Colonel House gave Mr. Bullitt instructions to proceed to Russia so that he might possibly get a statement from the Soviet Government and have it back in Paris before President Wilson returned to Paris from America. Mr. Bullitt proceeded to Russia where he conferred with Lenin, and received the Peace Terms which we re-print in full from Tchitcherin and Litvinov. The chief points of these terms appeared in the DREADNOUGHT some months ago. After a week in Russia Mr. Bullitt returned to Paris with the Bolshevik peace proposals, and a complete statement as to the conditions in Russia as he saw them.

When he arrived in Paris the American representatives there were the first to receive Mr. Bullitt's messages. At his recent interpolation in Washington on the occasion of the discussion of the Peace Treaty Mr. Bullitt gave a detailed account of all that then took place. The part of this report most interesting to this country is that which deals with Mr. Lloyd George's reception of Mr. Bullitt and the news he brought. Mr. Bullitt said:—

"Immediately on my return I was first asked to appear before the American Commission. First, the night I got back I had a couple of hours with Col. House, in which I went over the whole matter. Col. House was entirely and quite decidedly in favour of making peace, if possible, on the basis of this proposal.

The next morning I was called before the other Commissioners, and I talked with Mr. Lansing, Gen. Bliss, and Mr. Henry White all the morning and most of the afternoon. We had a long discussion, at the end of which it was the sense of the Commissioners' meeting that it was highly desirable to attempt to bring about peace on this basis.

The next morning I had breakfast with Mr. Lloyd George at his apartment, Gen. Smuts and Sir Maurice Hankey and Mr. Philip Kerr were also present, and we discussed the matter at considerable length. I brought Mr. Lloyd George the official text of the proposal, the same official one, in that same envelope, which I have just shown to you. He had previously read it, it having been telegraphed from Helmsing. As he had previously read it, he merely glanced over it and said, 'That is the same one I have already read,' and he handed it to Gen. Smuts, who was across the table, and said, 'General, this is of the utmost importance and interest, and you ought to read it right away.' Gen. Smuts read it immediately, and said he thought it should not be allowed to

HUNGARY IN AGONY.

THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY.
FIRST HAND NEWS.

A comrade who comes with first-hand news of Hungary tells us that the fate of his country depends entirely upon the international situation, and largely upon the British working-class. The Roumanian troops prevent any effective action by the Hungarian workers themselves; the White Terror which is being carried on in Hungary today, he says, is more horrible than anything yet seen in the world. Everyone who took part in the Soviet Government is persecuted; of the Soviet Propaganda Bureau, for instance, the Commissary has disappeared, all his eight assistants were imprisoned, and two have already been shot.

The workers of Hungary cry bitterly for the return of their Soviets, and would enthusiastically restore them were they not prevented by the foreign occupation. When the Soviets were established the workers were all for Communism and the Soviets, but the workers were gradually starved from their adherence. For five or six weeks before the Soviets fell famine was acute, not an ounce of meat or rice was obtainable, only bread, and little of that. The workers were told meanwhile that if the Soviets were abandoned, the Entente would provide plenty of food. It was falsely declared that Vienna was allowed plenty of food because it had no Soviets; yet in Vienna, though the very rich had plenty, the poor were dying of hunger.

At the present time, though the Soviets have fallen, the poor of Budapest are starving. The city has food enough for 20,000 people; it has a population of 2,000,000. The 20,000 bourgeoisie have the food; the poor are left to die. What food there was in the time of the Soviets was, at least, equally divided.

Owing to the swift growth of the Budapest population, which doubled during the war, there was a great scarcity of housing. The Soviets, therefore, decreed that no family might have more than three rooms till all were housed. When the Soviets fell the poor were thrown out of the houses in which the Soviet régime had placed them. That is typical of all that has happened.

The *Folkets Dagblad* quotes a telegram to *Verwärts* stating that thousands of Social Democrats have been arrested in Hungary and left to die of starvation in small, overcrowded cells. Italian soldiers have lodged a strong protest against these deeds. According to *Arbeiter Zeitung* it is untrue that Szama has committed suicide as was officially stated. He was tortured and hanged by the police without any trial whatever. Seven other so-called suicides in the prison in Budapest have suffered a similar fate. Terrible cruelties are reported against the Jews, even if neither Socialists nor Communists. *Arbeiter Zeitung* reports many Socialist leaders belonging to the "right" wing who have been murdered or who are being tortured in prison. In Budapest alone there are over 3,500 political prisoners. In Odenburg 20 workmen were arrested on mere suspicion. The Social Democrats in West

Hungary have sent a deputation to Vienna urging that Austrian troops be sent to occupy that part of Hungary which is to be Austrian as the condition is unendurable under the White Terror.

THE WHITE TERROR UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE ENTENTE.

Volkenberg, the police agent in Budapest, openly declared that Hungary can only be reconstructed by means of pogroms. The head of the Government, Friedrich, in proclaiming Hungary a "Christian state," added fuel to the anti-semitic troubles, and now armed bands scour the cities on a "sacred mission" of "exterminating by the roots" the sons of Israel. During the massacres, the Jews and the Communists suffer the same fate. At Marziani the massacres lasted eight days and nights. At one place all the trains were held up, and the Jews found on them were immediately murdered. In many places several others besides Jews suffered at the hands of anti-semitic murderers. When a correspondent of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* spoke to Friedrich about these terrible events, the Minister replied, "I regret to have to admit that these things have actually happened." The "I regret" of Friedrich was hypocritical, because he and his Government had issued orders for the brutal persecution of the working-class population. A Budapest War Office report, compiled on August 21st, 1919, gives the following account:

"The Roumanian troops of occupation limit their activities to the maintenance of order and to the arrest of hidden Communists; but in the villages which were not occupied the White Guard requisitioned many things and applied capital punishment without meeting with opposition." In the same report is the following passage dealing with troops near Polgardi: "The soldiers of the White Guards rule the districts and neighbourhood by means of terror. They requisition on their own account. For instance, a Jewish merchant was fined 20,000 crowns instead of being hanged. The behaviour of the troops has caused a most serious state of uneasiness among the population." The local Government and the Allied Mission have many similar documents in their hands.

The walls of the capital are covered with posters inciting the people to race hatred and to acts of violence. Food now costs much more than during the Soviet reign, in some cases ten times as much. Many Jews who had become converted to the Christian faith would show their certificate of baptism to escape the fate of the other Jews, but without success; for in the corners of the certificate were the letters, "i. d. p.," meaning "invalid during pogrom." Even the Church had taken the precaution of letting no victims escape, although it welcomed them into its fold.

But the Jewish bankers at last protested and now all rich Jews, baptised or not, are safe. It is always the proletarians who suffer, for they have not yet learned what the capitalists have learned so well—international solidarity.

Vienna, September.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE JOKE OF THE WEEK.

The Peace Treaty has been signed by King George, also President Poincaré and the King of the Belgians! The only noticeable result has been the new war in the Baltic—the Russian war continues!

THE NEW WAR.

This week has witnessed the German invasion of the Baltic Provinces and as is usual the British Press, forgetful of the continued Allied intervention is indignant. The Entente renews the blockade of Germany in the Baltic in order to put a stop to this dastardly invasion. One may have thought that this was a move to try to stop war and that the Allies wanted peace; but the "Times" thinks otherwise. In the issue of Oct. 14th it says of the German coup in the Baltic:—"This... is a more formidable danger to the future of this country than even an attack on the liberties of Belgium. If we win in the West only to lose in the East, the late war has, sooner or later, to be fought over again and in circumstances which may be less favourable to our success." It is a case of "La guerre est morte. Vive la guerre!"

TOM MANN.

The announcement that Tom Mann has been elected A.S.E. Secretary brings with it a note of hope. Tom Mann has openly avowed that he is a revolutionary. Will he begin by revolutionising the A.S.E.?

RIGA AND THE CONSEQUENCES.

The Baltic provinces are not to be allowed to make peace with Russia. The German invasion of Riga is not merely a chance attempt to annex new territory; it is far more likely that the capitalist and military circles in Germany are about to join issue with Entente capitalists to overthrow Bolshevism. It proves that the German Imperialists realise that the Bolsheviks are now so powerful in Russia that the effect of the conclusion of peace with the Baltic States will force Europe to recognise the supremacy of the Bolsheviks.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

Russia is the country most written about, and needless to say most slandered. The recent tales in the Capitalist Press show a slight change of tone. Great efforts are made to discredit revelations like Mr. Bullitt's. The *Times* is now issuing a series of articles by Mr. Dukes (who recently returned from Russia) with that intent.

PRINCE KROPOTKIN SPEAKS OUT.

"It may be imagined that in serving Koltchak and Denikin you are supporting a Liberal and Republican Party, but that is a mistake. However worthy the personal intentions of these two military leaders, the majority of their supporters have other views. It is inevitable that they should bring back the monarchy, and with it the reaction and rivers of blood."

UNDER CAPITALISM.

Maximum service pensions:—

For privates, £1 6s. a week.

For Generals, £3 5s. a day.

UNDER COMMUNISM.

Equal pay for all ranks.

PEACE TERMS.

Continued from front page.

passengers and goods between their territories and the sea; detailed arrangements for the carrying out of this provision to be agreed upon at the conference.

4. The citizens of the Soviet Republics of Russia to have the right of free entry into the Allied and associated countries as well as into all countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland; also the right of sojourn and of circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of those countries.

Nationals of the Allied and associated countries and of the other countries above named to have the right of free entry into the Soviet Republics of Russia; also the right of sojourn and of circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of the Soviet Republics.

The Allied and associated Governments and other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the various Russian Soviet Republics. The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into all the Allied and associated countries and into the non-Soviet countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland.

5. The Soviet Governments, the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland, to give a general amnesty to all political opponents, offenders and prisoners. The Allied and associated Governments to give a general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, offenders and prisoners, and to their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia. All Russians who have fought in, or otherwise aided the armies opposed to the Soviet Governments, and those opposed to the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland to be included in this amnesty.

All prisoners of war of non-Russian powers detained in Russia, likewise all nationals of those powers now in Russia to be given full facilities for repatriation. The Russian prisoners of war in whatever foreign country they may be, likewise all Russian nationals, including the Russian soldiers and officers abroad and those serving in all foreign armies, to be given full facilities for repatriation.

6. Immediately after the signing of this agreement all troops of the Allied and associated Governments and other non-Russian Governments to be withdrawn from Russia and military assistance to cease to be given to anti-Soviet Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Soviet Governments and the anti-Soviet Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland to begin to reduce their armies simultaneously, and at the same rate, to a peace footing immediately after the signing of this agreement. The conference to determine the most effective and just method of inspecting and controlling this simultaneous demobilisation and also the withdrawal of the troops and the cessation of military assistance to the anti-Soviet Governments.

7. The Allied and associated Governments, taking cognisance of the statement of the Soviet Government of Russia, in its note of February 4th, in regard to its foreign debts, propose as an integral part of this agreement that the Soviet Government and the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland shall recognise their responsibility for the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire, to foreign States parties to this agreement and to the nationals of such States. Detailed arrangements for the payment of these debts to be agreed upon at the conference, regard being had to the present financial position of Russia. The Russian gold seized by the Czechs and Slovaks in Kazan or taken from Germany by the Allies to be regarded as partial payment of the portion of the debt due from the Soviet Republic of Russia.

The Soviet Government of Russia undertakes to accept the foregoing proposal provided it is made not later than April 10th, 1919.

It is considered essential by the Soviet Government that the Allied and associated Governments should see to it that Poland and all neutral countries extend the same rights as the Allied and associated countries.

Further startling disclosures in our next issue.

Annual Subscription to DREADNOUGHT,

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BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

WHO WANTS CIVIL WAR?

The milk trains are running again; our babies—war and otherwise—are saved. Peace is declared, and the railway men, obeying the broad commonsense and wise statesmanship of their leaders, are on the footplate making dividends for the railway shareholders. Titled toilers and other gentry, who said that those Anarchist conspirators of railwaymen were thoroughly untrustworthy, are lolling back on their cushions; and an Anarchist conspirator, or rather a couple of them, are on the engine with the lives of two to three hundred passengers on their hands.

That is how these Anarchists are trusted. During the strike, when dual drivers and porter peers were trying their hands at work, the public felt a sinking feeling in their waistcoats when they were invited to try a little run on the Underground.

Nevertheless the Government doesn't trust the workers farther than it can see them. The "formation" of the civil guard is proceeding. And the "Times" innocently suggests that no Trade Unionist can object to the formation of such a guard.

Of course, Henry, you understand that this guard is intended to protect your life and property. As soon as another conspiracy breaks out you will find a few sentries of the new brigade on duty at "Uncle's" guarding that bundle you left there on Monday in order to borrow a trifle to pay the rent. You will find them at the fish and chip shop, seeing to it that you get your tuppence worth. You will find them at the Pig and Thistle, lending a hand maybe to the chucker-up at closing hours.

But as for breaking a strike and sending your wages down, they wouldn't dream of it. They are there for the good of the community.

If you can afford to blue tuppence on the "Sunday Times" you will find some comic items in it, even if you miss a couple of hundred divorce cases. My copy of October 5th, had this paragraph—

"The Middle Classes Do Not Strike. But they can protect their own interests by uniting and supporting their own Union—The Middle Classes Union."

You will observe that they do not pretend to protect anything but their own class and their own interest. Therefore, when you read further down, you will appreciate how unselfish they are. The paragraph proceeds—

"If you can do anything to maintain essential public services—motor-driving, engine-driving (steam or electric), portering, horse-tending—or any other service connected with transport; if you can serve as a special constable; if you have a car or van to lend; if you can do ANYTHING, you can save time in getting to work if you GET IN TOUCH."

The middle-class is out to smash a transport strike of any kind. They are not out for the fun of the thing or the good of their health. Business meant, not swank.

It is such unions as this of which Lloyd George was speaking recently (7.10.19) when he said—

"I will tell you a secret about this organisation. In February I came to the conclusion that there were signs that this was coming, and I felt it my duty to leave the Peace Conference because I felt that matters at home might require attention."

"Well, what about it?" you will ask. You will remember, Henry, that in February last there was a strike of buses and tubes. The electricians threatened to cut off the whole electrical supply of London.

Lloyd George hurried home from the dividing up of the swag at Paris. An "episode on the home front" (Lloydie's own words) was of more importance. The Government issued a new section of Dora threatening the electricians with fines and imprisonment if they left their posts.

At the same time the Middle Classes Union, the Automobile Association, the "Globe," the "Standard," and other papers began to appeal for volunteers to carry on public services (as they so

nicey termed the strike-breaking). The press ran riot with the "atrocities" and "outrage" stuff that had been used against the Germans.

Several members of the Electrical Trades Union were summoned to the Ministry of Labour. They were informed that the activities of that Union were being closely watched. And then they were told that if they persisted in the liberty of Trade Union action, THE QUESTION OF SEIZING THE FUNDS OF THE UNION WOULD BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED.

The Government always makes the pretence, Henry, that they are very much worried over your fish and chips and beer. (This is of course the staple food of the working class, as any member of the Middle Class Union will tell you.) Let us see what an ex-officer says.

The following is from the "Labour Leader" (12.12.18):—

In the spring of this year, the 52nd Training Reserve Battalion, Durham Light Infantry, was billeted at Stockton-on-Tees. The Battalion was composed of boys of 17 and 18 years of age, conscripted from the neighbouring district. At that time "queene-ing" was a working woman's chief duty. The queues at Stockton were hundreds of yards long. There was so little food locally that the authorities began to expect trouble. I was then an officer of the West Yorkshire Regiment attached for duty to the 52nd Durhams. How did the authorities prepare? The Regiment received instructions to "Stand to," and the guards stationed at various important thoroughfares in the town were served out with ball cartridge. Boys of 17 and 18—some of them afterwards killed in France before they reached the age under which Lloyd George had distinctly promised they should not be sent out of the country—were given instructions how they should fire on their own civilian relatives if the people created any disorder through hunger.

That's how the Government loves the people when they're hungry, Henry!

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF LENIN.

By SIGEFRIED BLOCH (OF ZURICH).

When the Central Office for Socialist Literature in Switzerland still had a modest home in Zurich, on Seilergraben, No. 31 (the library since April 1st, at this year has been located at Predigerplatz, No. 35, Zurich 1), it was often visited during the years 1910-17 by men who played an important rôle in the Socialist International. One of these was Lenin. The leader of the Left Wing of the Russian Social Democracy, Comrade Lenin, who is now the talk of the world, spent a considerable time in Switzerland. He was one of the most distinguished and educated of the emigrés. His personal manner was modest; he was importunate with no one. His life belonged to the Party and to it he sacrificed all his powers. When he approached any Socialist question, he attempted always to examine it from all sides before expressing himself on it. He does not like compromises. He demands the whole loaf for the working-class. He maintained always that the greatest suspicion was in place with regard to the paid agents of financial and industrial capital. Lenin dates the bourgeoisie as much as he loves his Socialist ideal. He hated particularly the so-called social-patriots who proclaimed a Burgfrieden when the war broke out. According to Lenin, the working-class must not only organize well and march to the left, but the armed power of the proletariat must always be ready to oppose the police and the military forces of the bourgeoisie. The growing power of the proletariat must be resolutely and ruthlessly directed against the bourgeois policy of violence, and exploitation which, according to Lenin, does not hesitate to shed proletarian blood for its own private interests, as well as for the interests of foreign bourgeoisies. It will not be possible to avoid actions on a large scale if the proletariat is finally to free itself from its tortures, and is to postpone forever the realization of their aims. Purposeful, clearly-judged mass actions will strengthen the power of the proletariat will and action and weaken the capitalist order of society.

As a companion, Lenin is extremely amiable. He writes smoothly; he speaks several languages. His favourite is the literature of the "Internationale," in which he is versed as very few others are. The Swiss Party Congress held about that time, was more or less of a nuisance to Lenin who followed it closely, because the Congress did not consciously move to the Left. Opportunistic resolutions are an abomination to Lenin. They prevent, retard, and obscure the painful rise of the proletariat on a basis of conscious principle. Lenin wanted Left radical wings to be formed within the unions and parties, in order to resist the bureaucratic character of these organizations. Read for example, Lenin's essay, which appeared about that time, entitled "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International" (printed in *Der Vorwärts*, No. 1, Unions-druckerei, Bern, 1916), if you would understand how seriously Lenin took the necessity of proceeding along straight lines.

Lenin spent four hours daily in the reading room of the Central Office for Socialist Literature, two in the morning and two in the afternoon. He studied the international literature with interest and took great pains to become initiated in the mental products of the Swiss Socialist movement also. But the only object of these studies was to arrive at a definite attitude with regard to economic or political questions.

At Zurich, Lenin lived under the name of Vladimir Ulyanov in Spiegelgasse, No. 14, one flight up, a house with extremely primitive furnishings. Once, when he was about to deliver a lecture, he gave me the manuscript to look through. It was weakly constructed and written in good German. The subject was the historical development of the Russian revolution of 1905 and its teachings. Lenin was on intimate terms with only a few of the members of the Party, but I obtained the impression that his views, which were entirely directed toward the Left, were shared by no one else, at least, as far as the Zurich emigrés were concerned. Ryazanov and Bronski for instance, seemed conservative Marxists as compared with

Lenin who laughed at all illusionists. He considered it ridiculous to suppose that the liberation of the working class could be put through without revolution, since the bourgeoisie would not capitulate voluntarily. He considered it contrary to all historical experience to believe that an ancient class would be inclined to yield its privileges without compulsion, and it was one of the chief tasks of the workers' party to communicate this knowledge to the proletariat, which would have to assume leadership in the social revolution. With few exceptions, the Swiss Socialist leaders paid little attention to Lenin, since he was not close to them, and little known to them. Most of the leaders of the Swiss workers' movement did not recognize the importance of this man when he lived in Zurich, and being entirely preoccupied with the cares of their own little country, paid very little attention to him. The greater number of trade organizations ignored Lenin's very existence. They might have learned much from him, without necessarily sharing his views in all respects.

—From Soviet Russia.

TO END MILITARISM!

Military Science is to be resumed in the London University; it is to be a subject of curricula for degrees! So much for "the war to end wars."

TWO STRIKES.

Great would have been the profit to the workers from the £3,000,000 deal between China and British engineering firms which the "Times" tells us has been lost. Why? Because America undercut. In another instance Germany got a contract that "we" might have got but for the Labour troubles at home!

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ITALY and the REVOLUTION.

"Italy is already in a state of Revolution," said a Hungarian comrade who took an active part in the revolutionary agitation which preceded the creation of the Hungarian Soviets.

"Italy is to-day what Hungary was last year. The same revolutionary types are emerging. There is the same high cost of living, the same scarcity of necessities, the same unemployment, the same disorganisation in every department, both civil and military."

The struggle for Fiume, he declared, will hasten the military disorganisation; soldiers who wish to desert will go to Fiume or, more often, allow it to be thought that they have gone there. The excuse will be acceptable to the officers, who approve the annexation. D'Annunzio has set with impunity an example of insubordination which others will follow. The Army and the Government have taken opposite sides upon the Fiume question; therefore a wedge has been driven between the Government and its military forces, which may lead to a wide gulf. The nationalist spirit of Italy has been aroused, and that spirit will eventually break loose from restraints and dash onward to the formation of a nationalist Republic. Thus will come the bourgeois revolution. After that Italy, suffering under the blockade which the other Allied nations will apply by way of punishment, will pass on to the rising of the masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviets, and Communism.

Fiume is coveted by Italian capitalists, because the possession of this port would facilitate Italian trade with Central Europe and the provision for Italy of coal, oil and other needed raw material. Italian Imperialism probably thinks also that an Italian Fiume may be the jumping-off place for future conquests. Italians believe that British Imperialists are opposed to the Italian possession of Fiume, because Britain could secure more control over the port and the territory behind it if it were held by a weak newly-created Slav nation than by Italy.

Therefore Italian nationalism, stimulated by the press, flares up on the Fiume question. Even some of the Italian private soldiers are asking: "Of what use is the League of Nations when it allows Britain and France to make great gains by the war and refuses this to Italy?"

On the other hand, Socialist comrades speak also of other tendencies. Italy was but recently a nation; there is a movement in her component parts to break away under the debts and scarcity which are the harvest of the war. Should any part of the old kingdom break away, it would repudiate its share of the war debts of United Italy; that is an inducement to disunity. Should one of the old kingdoms break away, it would call itself a republic and make a pretence of setting up a democracy; that is a necessary pretence of the present day. But there is no half-way house to democracy in times of scarcity; it is either share and share alike, or the rich seize the major portion whilst the poor die of want.

In face of famine and danger there are only two alternatives—the Soviets or the dictatorship of the rich.

Whilst in Italy the capitalist State is struggling with the overpowering difficulties created by the war, the movement of the proletariat is growing apace in numbers, in strength, in coherence, and in strength and definition of purpose.

THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN TURIN. THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

In the city of Turin the Socialist Party has 1,000 members, of whom about 50 only are women. The members' subscription varies according to the occupation of the member; students and manual workers pay 70 centesimi* per month, professional men pay 5 lire a month. Every member must belong also to the national Socialist Party, for which the subscription is 2 lire a year. Those who desire to join the party must sign its programme, and no one is received as a member who has belonged to any capitalist political party within a year at least. Members of the Socialist Party must belong to a Trade Union if there is one which they are eligible to join.

SOCIALIST CLUBS.

In addition to the Socialist Party of Turin, there are 25 Socialist Clubs which together have a membership of 5,000. Every member of the Party must belong to a Socialist Club, but members of the Clubs need not join the Party. The Clubs are in fact recruiting and training centres for the Party. Each Club has its own premises and comprises 3 divisions:—

1. Adult men.
2. Youths between 14 and 25 years.
3. Women and girls over 14 years.

At present the position of the girls is being debated; it is pointed out that no special attractions are provided for the girls, and the question as to whether they should join the youths, or have special circles of their own, is under discussion.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS.

The 25 Socialist Clubs of Turin are linked together in a city federation, and the youths' sections of these clubs are also linked with the national Young Socialist organisation. The branches of the Young Socialist movement in the towns and villages are grouped in provincial federations, which, in turn, are joined together nationally. The Young Socialist organisation has a membership of 27,000, and a weekly organ with a circulation of 1,700 called the "Vanguardia." A children's newspaper called "Germoglio" was published before the war and is about to be resurrected after a period of suspension. In some backward agricultural districts, where no adult Socialist movement exists, there are already strong branches of the Young Socialist movement, and amongst the youths are to be found some of Italy's keenest Socialists.

The Young Socialists of Turin hold meetings and social gatherings, sell papers and organise excursions into the country. Their Red Cyclists' brigades, in groups of a hundred or so, ride into the villages and hold meetings, distribute literature and seek to form Socialist clubs and branches there.

The Socialist Clubs as a whole perform a most important work for the movement, meeting constantly they carry on much of the daily propaganda work. It is sometimes said that their members devote too much energy to dancing and amusement, and indeed the Young Socialist section of the club at San Paolo, one of the working-class districts of Turin, withdrew from the club for a time, because the youths thought that, under the influence of the adults, too much time was devoted to recreation, and too little to study and propaganda.

*There are 100 centesimi in a lira.

It is however pointed out that if recreation were too rigidly circumscribed, recruiting from amongst the less educated members of the proletariat would be retarded.

SOCIALIST ORGANISATION FOR DISCHARGED SOLDIERS.

Upwards of 300,000 discharged soldiers have been organised into a Socialist organisation for disabled soldiers. This work has been largely done by the Young Socialists. It was found that there was a natural tendency for the discharged soldiers in the villages to meet together to discuss their war experiences, and since they belonged to all sorts of varied occupations—cobblers, blacksmiths, and so on—and as many were unable to work at all, it was found easiest to link them together in a discharged soldiers' organisation for Socialism. There is also a bourgeois organisation for discharged soldiers.

TRADE UNIONS.

There are 80,000 organised workers in Milan, some of whom are organised on an industrial, others on a craft basis; in the printing and allied trades both principles are combined.

As in England, there are shop stewards in the metal industry, but their organisation has hitherto been upon a curious and unsatisfactory basis. The engineers had an arrangement with the employers, by which shop stewards were elected by the workers in the shops from a list put forward by the engineers' Executive. The unskilled workers and the members of allied trades had no voice in the nomination of the shop stewards. There is now a movement on foot to enable the shop stewards to be elected from amongst all the workers in the shop during working hours, and this plan is being adopted in all factories.

The Trade and industrial Unions have no friendly benefits. They are purely fighting organisations. That is a very important point.

THE CAMERA DEL LAVORO.

All the Trade and Industrial Unions are affiliated to the Camera del Lavoro, which was formed twenty or twenty-three years ago. The Lega Mista (mixed League), which comprises those who can join no other Union, is also affiliated to the Camera.

Though the Trade Unions provide no friendly benefits, there exists a benefit Society called the Mutua, which even workers may join individually and which is also affiliated to the Camera del Lavoro. Members of the Mutua are entitled to sickness and accident benefit, free medical attendance and midwifery and free legal assistance.

The Co-operative Society is also affiliated to the Camera, and the Mutua and Co-operative Society have between them formed an alliance—the Alleanza Co-operativa Torinese. The Alliance has now a capital of 45,000,000 lire. The Mutua has 20,000 members, the Co-operative Society only about 1,000, as only the original shareholders are members. The Executive of the Alliance is elected each year by the members of the two organisations from a list of nominees put forward by the Socialist Party. This is neither obligatory nor official; other nominations may be made, but as a fact it is always from the list put forward by the Socialist Party that the successful candidates are chosen.

The Socialist Party consistently opposed the war, and after the Turin rising against the war some pro-war members of the Co-operative Society and Mutua, most of whom were railway workers, endeavoured to capture the Executive. In order to do so, they made two very alluring offers. The original shares of the Co-operative Society cost 50 lire, and a dividend amounting to 1.50 per share is paid on that amount; the shares are now worth, however, 600 lire each. The Jingles promised that if their nominees were elected, interest would be paid for each share, not on

Continued on page 1506.

THE NATIONALISATION OF THE MINES.

The story of the Coal Commission and its findings has been repeatedly dealt with in our columns. Readers will remember that the majority report of Justice Sankey, the impartial Chairman chosen by the Government, made proposals which may be briefly summarised as follows:—

1. Local Mining Councils, consisting of the manager, under-manager, and commercial manager, four members elected by ballot vote of the workers, three members appointed by the District Mining Council. The members are to hold office for two years. These Councils are to be advisory. It is provided that if the manager refuses to take the Councils' advice on questions of health and safety these questions shall be referred to the District Mining Council. We conclude, therefore, that the Local Mining Councils are only intended to advise on questions of health and safety.

2. District Mining Councils, with chairman and vice-chairman appointed by the Minister of Mines (each official is never drawn from the workshop), and 12 other persons, 4 of the 12 to be elected by ballot of the workers, 8 to be appointed by the National Mining Council.

3. Of the 8, two shall represent consumers; in iron and steel districts 2 at least shall represent those industries; in shipping districts at least 2 shall represent coal exporters; 2 shall present the technical side of the industry, mining, engineering, &c.; 2 the

commercial side, purchase of material, sale of output. All members to hold office for three years and be paid a salary. District Council to meet at least monthly.

3. National Mining Council, elected by District Mining Councils, on a basis of 1 representative to every 5,000,000 tons of output, with a minimum of 1 member for each district. Members elected for three years, to meet at least yearly.

4. Standing Committee of 18 elected from members of National Mining Council, 6 to retire annually and not be eligible for re-election next year. Six shall represent the workers, 6 the consumers, 6 the technical and commercial side of the industry.

5. A Minister of Mines, appointed by Government, must be a Member of Parliament, and said to be responsible to Parliament as other Ministers are supposed to be, shall superintend the District Mining Councils and be chairman of the National Council. He shall be entitled, after consulting the Standing Committee, to veto any resolutions from Local or District Mining Councils. Therefore he has the power to crush the will of democracy should it manage to carry any resolutions on these Councils.

The workers on every Mining Council are placed by the scheme in a hopeless minority. On the Local Councils they are 4 to 6; on the District Councils they are 4 to 10; on the National Mining Council they can only be if elected by other representatives: on the Standing Committee they are 6 to 12.

MORAL OF THE RAIL STRIKE.

The railway strike, which arose on account of the low wages of the poor railway workers, has but one explanation—the Government desired it.

As was seen, the British Government seized upon this strike as the first opportunity to put into practice its part of the Labour policy agreed on by Allied Capitalism. This policy is to force down the working-class standard of life: to compel the workers to consume less whilst producing more, in order that the working class alone may bear the cost of the war, its destruction and its losses, whilst the employing class reaps only gains from the war and grows ever richer as the result.

The British Government's attempt to standardise downward; to reduce the wages of the lower paid grades of railway workers is but one step in a general movement that is instigated by British, and indeed by international capitalism. The intention is common to all the capitalist parties; the Liberals are at one in this with the Tories. When the war broke out and prices rose, McKenna, the Liberal President of the Board of Trade, was asked to use the power of the Government to stop the upward movement. He replied that when food is scarce, the best method of making it go further is not to ration it equally, but to increase the prices, for people eat only what they can afford to buy. Under this brutal method the rich may live in plenty whilst the poor die of hunger. It is well to remember that was the method adopted to cope with war scarcity by a Liberal Government. The present Coalition, in which the Tory Party predominates, adopts the same method of squaring accounts now the war is over; to reduce the excess of imports over exports, and the excess of consumption over production, to cope with scarcity and destruction caused by the war, the Government's plan is to let prices rise and to reduce wages—in short, to reduce the purchasing power of the working class. This is the policy of Lloyd George and President Wilson, as it was of McKenna.

The second reason why the British Government desired the railway strike is, we believe, that it regards this strike as a dress rehearsal for the Workers' Revolution in Britain, which the Government foresees plainly

though the mass of the workers is as yet deaf and blind to the signs of its coming.

The Government, in this dress rehearsal, which it arranged, has had opportunities of trying what it can do with blacklegs and bourgeois volunteers, with police and soldiers, with motor and air transport. If the situation should develop so as to provide a suitable opening the Government will not scruple to experiment with a sanguinary attack upon the workers. The Government has been preparing for this dress rehearsal and for the Revolution itself for some time past.

The workers on the other hand have not prepared as they ought for the struggle. Their leaders have contented themselves with declaring that they desire no struggle.

The dress rehearsal will undoubtedly prove to be the beginning of the great revolutionary struggle which may, however, be long and intermittent. Now that the issue is joined, the Labour leaders have begun by a criminal refusal to make use of the defensive and offensive machinery built up by the workers.

Why was not the Triple Alliance immediately called out in solidarity with the railway workers, who are a constituent part of its organisation? Is it not for such action that the Triple Alliance exists?

Why was not the entire industrial machinery of the workers rallied to the support of the railway strikers? Why did not the Officials and the Executives of the great Unions sound the call to solidarity?

Members of the Government doubtless hoped (perhaps some of the Labour politicians cherished also the same desire) that this great strike would lead the workers to the conclusion, that, whichever way it went, a strike when the Government is lined up against them, is too costly and dangerous an enterprise for the workers to undertake. The hope is vain. Whatever the Government may have gained by this strike, the workers will have gained far more—this struggle is bringing home to the workers the reality of the class-war. Once they have fully realised the meaning of the capitalistic exploitation of the workers, they will no longer contend for sectional objects: they will go straight forward to the Soviets and to Communism.

E. S. P.

The realisation of these proposals, although the miners may value it as something gained, can only tie the miners even more than at present; for in addition to these defects pointed out, the right to strike is as good as denied.

Yet apart from this point of view, nothing can condone the attitude taken up by Mr. Lloyd George and his confederates when the deputation of the Parliamentary Committee waited on them on October 9th. The Prime Minister simply refused to accept the Majority Report of the Coal Commission; stating that: "There never was a more unfortunate time for pressing a claim for nationalisation than now," and that he was prepared to take public opinion on the matter! Is it possible for the public to be so blind as to continue to allow this juggling with Commissions and Committees? Those of us who felt that the establishment of the Coal Commission was merely a move to stave off the evil day, are naturally not now surprised. But that is not the point at issue. One must ask—are time and money to be thus wasted to preserve a semblance of industrial or political peace?

The miners are not dumb-driven cattle, they will not allow themselves to be played with for long. All through the Spring and Summer the Coal Strike was staved off, the miners waiting for the Coal Commission Report. A winter Coal Strike will bring appalling hardship, but it will not be the miners who are to blame!

A CURE FOR STRIKES!

A memorandum of the People's League has been issued which suggests that no strike should be legal unless preceded by a secret ballot; that the Minister of Labour be given notice of the matter, and that for a full fourteen days the causes of the dispute be published in the Press. With the intention of watering down the votes in favour of direct action, the naive proposal is made that the women too should participate in the ballot.

IRELAND.

As another journey on the road to understand Ireland better than the Irish themselves, a Cabinet Committee has been appointed to make recommendations for the future Government of Ireland. The members of that Committee include Mr. Walter Long, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Shortt, Mr. Fisher, Sir L. Werthington Evans, Sir Auckland Geddes, Sir Robert Horne, Mr. Kellaway, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Irish Chief Secretary. Not one real representative of Irish opinion is to be found in this collection.

Sinn Féin naturally ignores the whole arrangement, and will in all probability ignore their "settlement" should they be lucky enough to arrive at one.

In order to try and prepare the ground and prove that Ireland is a fearfully lawless place, a report of the crimes committed in Ireland, and attributed to Sinn Féin, since April, 1916 to the end of September, 1919, has now been issued. They amount to a total of 1,293, of which sixteen are murders. During 1917 alone in England and Wales the number of crimes in the Police Returns amounted to 88,864 of which 127 were murders. If the authorities want to blacken the Irish in the eyes of the world, they are choosing a foolish method.

Compare these figures and remember that Ireland is under military rule, and also that there are may "agents provocateurs" there who are not idle! Who murders the police and escapes? Does anyone think a rebel Irishman could manage to do so?

ITALY AND THE REVOLUTION.

Continued from page 1504.

50 lire, but on 600. They also promised that the Co-operative Society should sell its goods only to members, a very important question, for as the shortage of food was then great, the exclusion of outsiders would have meant that the actual members could buy more food. But in spite of these promises, the Socialist Party's nominees were elected by an overwhelming majority of more than 3 to 1.

The Alliance has also an Alpine and a seaside colony, where the children of its members may go free of charge. As all the children cannot be accommodated, they are chosen according to medical need.

The Camera del Lavoro has a great headquarters, in which the central offices of all these activities are housed. There is a large hall, there are several smaller halls for public meetings, a café and theatre holding 1,200 people and run by the Co-operative Alliance, and a circulating library, also run by the Alliance. There are offices for the Socialist Party, the Young Socialists, the Trade Unions, the Mutua and the Co-operative Society, the doctor and oculist of the Mutua, the midwives who are in attendance and may be called upon both night and day. It is a very imposing building; Labour has nothing like it in this country. Each evening the place is thronged with workers, the café, where tea, coffee, beer, wine, ices, and so on may be bought, is crowded. One feels that this is no house of cranks and unusual people, but a home for the mass of the Turin working people: a part of their life and a factor in their evolution.

The 25 Socialist Clubs of Turin are each running a local centre for the working class movement on a smaller scale than the central Camera del Lavoro. At San Paolo we saw one of these Club-houses. In the largest room a dance was in progress and there was card playing in a room adjoining. In another room some of the members were choosing books from a circulating library; there was a large flat roof which served as a tea-garden. In the office were photographs of members of the Club killed in the Turin rising. San Paolo is one of the most revolutionary centres of Turin, and was nick-named the Republic of San Paolo.

In Turin the Majority Socialist movement stands for the Soviets, and believes in the necessity of insurrection. In the Camera del Lavoro, a meeting was being held the night we were there, to discuss the military organisation of the workers.

There are three main currents in the Italian Socialist movement:

1. Those who believe that Socialism can be won through Parliament, and desire to obtain a Parliamentary majority for the Socialist Party.

2. Those who wish to establish the Soviets, and desire to use Parliamentary action for propaganda purposes only, who believe that Socialists should not aim at securing a majority; they consider that eventually an insurrection will be necessary.

3. Those who believe in abstaining from Parliamentary action altogether and in bending all energies now towards preparing for the Soviets and the insurrection.

In Turin the last two factions predominate, but it is important to notice that all three sections belong to the one Socialist Party.

Pietro Rabuzzana, the Secretary of the Turin Socialist Party, and Gramsci, the Editor of "L'Ordine Nuovo," a new pro-Soviet weekly, both advocate Parliamentary action for propaganda purposes.

Rabuzzana and others are agitating that it shall be a rule of the Party that all Socialist Members of Parliament, as a condition of their candidature, shall place in the hands of the Party Executive a signed letter of resignation from Parliament, which the Executive may at any moment send to the Government, and thus secure the withdrawal of the M.P. if the Party thinks that he has deviated unduly from the policy of the Party. This plan, it is contended, would preserve Party discipline amongst Socialist Members of Parliament and would insure their adherence to the principles of the Socialist Party.

Gramsci, on the other hand, though not a single Italian Socialist Member of Parliament is satisfactory from his standpoint, thinks little of this proposal. He rightly says that should a Member of Parliament betray the Socialist Party, and the Party then cause resignation, the forces of reaction would combine to support him, and he would probably be returned. Gramsci bases his advocacy of Parliamentary action, rather on the argument that if the Socialists abstain from such action, the workers who are not yet advanced enough to look beyond Parliament will drift away from the Socialist Party and come under capitalist influences. He urges also the propaganda value of election work, saying that the censorship has checked propaganda, but that election propagandists need not fear the censorship.

The time of the election contest is the time, he declares, in which the workers are most revolutionary. The instances of coercive manipulation of the elections cited to us made this easy to understand.

At Iglesias, in Sardinia, we were told, the miners supported a Socialist candidate. The police went to one of the miners' meetings, and slipped knives into the pockets of Socialist enthusiasts, marking the coats of these same men with chalk. The men whose coats were marked with chalk were presently arrested, and as they were of course found to be in possession of illegal weapons, they were imprisoned until after the election day. At Gioia del Colle between 500 and 600 Socialist electors were imprisoned over the day of the election. In another district a table was placed across the entrance to the ballot box. Supporters of the Government were allowed to enter by crawling under the table, opponents of the Government were beaten back with sticks and prevented from voting.

Gramsci thinks that the Italian revolution may break out during an election, but we put it to Gramsci that such cases as these are splendid arguments, to be used precisely during elections, to rouse the workers to direct action against the entire bourgeois Parliamentary system and for the Soviets.

The Italian General Election has been called by the Prime Minister, Nitti, because he cannot solve the Fiume question to the satisfaction both of the Italian bourgeois opinion and of the Big Four.

Gramsci and others believe that the result of the present election will be the return of a larger band of Socialists, the elimination of the Liberals, an increase in strength for the parties of reaction, including the Christian Socialists, whom they allege to be more reactionary than the Liberals, and who they believe will secure a large number of seats by promises which they will be unable to fulfil. A strongly militarist Government is anticipated and it is believed that this may goad the Italian workers to insurrection.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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INJUSTICE TO NON-COMBATANTS.

The following sad story of injustice was sent us by a member of the N.C.O. in France:—
"The men of the Non-Combatant Corps, of which there are 400 still in France eleven months after the war, wish respectfully to bring to the notice of Members of the House of Commons what is nothing less than a scandal. We quite understand that there are many pressing problems before you at a time like this, and in consequence we feel forgotten. It strikes us more forcibly there being considerable talk of Bolshevism, and one wonders whether there are not Bolsheviks made daily. You who sit in the House have a responsibility. You and the late Government, agreed to laws and estimates which in our case, consign men to exile for years at a shilling a day.

"Think of it! A 1/- a day at times like these. It is slavery. Doing the same work, and more conscientiously, than others receiving 4/-, 5/-, 6/- and 7/-, and more a day. Officers and men we come in contact with are astonished, and would after such a state of affairs if it was within their authority. It is a fact that some of us are employed on Staff jobs—work of a technical nature—while others are doing useless work; but in any case for past services and continued retention the State is indebted to us.

"Whatever your opinion of men who object to Military Service, we were recognised by Law and of the three sections of C.O.s: Absolutists, House Office Men, and N.C.C.s, were approved by Tribunals, and who have rendered most service are neither eligible for release, nor properly compensated for our services abroad. It will be remembered that we were accounted to be by Mr. Lloyd George and other people 'genuine C.O.s.' having taken up the capacity of Non-Combatants.

"We contend that it was not meant at the time of the first Military Service Act to keep us three years and four months at the daily rate of 1/-, no bonus and no gratuity. Decent law-abiding men worse off than Chinese Labour Companies. In fact, we feel but a little better off than prisoners of war.

"The object of this letter is to inform you of a great injustice, so that when questions are asked and the matter brought before the notice of the House, you will have had some information, and give your support or otherwise.

"Either we are soldiers in the eyes of the Army Council, as Mr. Churchill stated, and be paid accordingly, or Conscientious Objectors as prescribed by Law. If the latter, then our release is overdue."

STRIKE GEMS.

The strike terminated in a way which gained the contempt of every thoughtful Englishman, because nothing was at the bottom but the base and selfish interests of the railwaymen—General Sir Edward Hutton, vide the "Daily Sketch," October 10.

A most lamentable feature of last week's dispute was that 500,000 men were brought out on strike without a single one of them having had a voice in the matter at all.—Mr. George N. Barnes, M.P., the ex-General Secretary of the A.S.E.

THE AUSTRALIAN SHIPPING STRIKE.

The smouldering discontent in the ranks of the seamen broke out during the influenza epidemic. That terrible disease came to Australia from Europe and New Zealand from ships, and it raged amongst the crews with particular virulence because of the bad state of the vessels.

Owing to the fact that the Governor-General has not been instructed by the Federal Government to proclaim the Navigation Bill that was passed in 1912, the condition of Australian ships is the worst in the world. Only 140 cubic feet of space is allowed to the men in the fore-castle, and the bunks are fitted so close together that there is in most cases only floor space for one man at a time. The fore-castle is the only place the men have. It is dining-room, drawing-room and bedroom all combined. In most of the ships there is no bath and no adequate sanitary convenience. Very often the supply of water carried is quite inadequate for drinking, washing and cleaning purposes.

The companies do not provide either eating utensils or bedding for the men, 3/- per month being allowed for the latter purpose. There are no tables in the fore-castle, men having to eat their food off their knees or on the floor. Men coming down from their watches in bad weather shake their dripping oilskins on the floor and have to hang them to dry on their bunks.

The ships carry no doctor and there is no accommodation for the sick except in the reeking dark fore-castles with, too often, cattle, horses and pigs penned up outside the door. Men died of influenza at sea before the nature of their disease was suspected, and once it got a hold it raged in the fore-castles until the men took fright and refused to put to sea until the companies insured them against death to the extent of £500.

At the same time they put in a claim for better accommodation and for an increase of wages and a six-hour day in their home port. The Union Steamship Company granted these conditions and got their ships away to New Zealand, but the other Companies, backed up by the Shipping Controller, Admiral Clarkeson, refused the demands, and the Admiral referred the men to the Arbitration Court. Further negotiations went on, the Controller consented to meet the men's representatives, to hear their case and put it to the shipowners, and on this understanding the ships were manned. The negotiations which followed were protracted and they ended in a curt refusal by the Shipping Controller to listen to the men's demands.

As a result of this refusal, a strike was declared. The men gave 24 hours' notice and left the ships. The Government then called a Compulsory Conference between the shipowners and the men. Justice Higgins presided and advised the SHIPOWNERS NOT TO CONCEDE ANYTHING. He said the Seamen's Union was being controlled by men who had imbibed foreign notions, and that if the owners conceded anything they would ruin the day, for presently new demands would be made and enforced by threats to strike or by a strike. He advised the men to go into the Arbitration Court and promised to hear their case.

Mr. Walsh, the General Secretary of the Seamen's Union, told the Judge that he would not advise the men to go into the Court. He pointed out that the Seamen's Union had gone into the Court in 1911, in 1916, and again in December 1918; that his Honour

had ignored the demands for better accommodation and refused both to decrease the hours and increase wages, and that as long as the award given in 1918 had not expired, the Court could not amend it. The Judge ordered that a ballot be taken of the members on the question of Arbitration and the Conference was adjourned.

In the meantime, Mr. Charles Barrett had prepared a film showing the condition of the ships fore-castles, and a vigorous propaganda was undertaken throughout the country. The public, who had been impressed with the importance of the mercantile marine to the country by every newspaper and every speaker, were horrified to learn of the conditions under which the ships were worked. While the press shrieked against the seamen and particularly against their secretary, the greed of the Shipowners and the meanness of their policy brought great sympathy to the strikers.

Coal was very scarce in Victoria, and it seemed that Melbourne would be soon plunged in darkness. Coal restrictions were stopping the factories and thousands thrown out of work.

Amid a howl of imprecation, Mr. Walsh stood firm, pointing out that if Melbourne was plunged in darkness, it would force the Government to concede the men's terms.

A riot on Peace Night seemed to bring matters to a head. The riot had nothing to do with the strike, but was due to friction between the police and the returned soldiers. The soldiers invaded the barracks and next day sacked the Treasury wounding the State Premier, Mr. Lawson. This seemed to scare the Government into action.

They launched a prosecution against Mr. Walsh who was fined £100 and warned not to repeat his advice to the men. That very night addressing a large gathering in the Socialist Hall, he repeated his former advice and a few days later was arrested. At the Court he pleaded guilty and stated that he would, as long as at liberty, advise the men to stay out on strike. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment. If the Government, then, expected the strike to collapse, they were mistaken, for it filled the men with infinitely greater determination, and towards the end of the week the Government made an offer to the men.

Namely, that a Conference between the men and the owners should take place and attempt to settle the dispute and that all points not there settled should be submitted to the Arbitration Court.

Mr. Walsh's release was not promised but some sort of assurance that it might be granted was privately given. The ships were to be immediately manned.

The Executive of the Seamen's Union and the Trades Council Disputes Committee recommended the men to accept the terms but they were unanimously rejected by every branch until Mr. Walsh was released. Mr. Walsh, however, sent a message that his imprisonment must not be made a bar to negotiations, but that the terms must be considered on their merits.

The men then considered the terms and decided again on rejection until the main points in their claims were conceded or until the Conference had met and made its decisions known.

That is the position at present; the strike still continues.

[Mr. Walsh has since been released, according to the "Times" of Sept. 29th.—Ed. W.D.]

Foreign News.

SOVIET STATISTICS.

According to Soviet Russia, the recently published Soviet Budget for January to June, 1919, shows that despite the chaos inherited from its capitalist predecessors, despite the ruin of war and the structures of blockade, the Soviet Administration proceeds with its multifarious activities in the construction of the workers' republic. There is a huge deficit, but that is a condition which Soviet Russia shares with its capitalistic neighbours; and a deficit in a peoples' state, in full possession of all its vast natural resources, is a wholly different case from a deficit in states where income must be painfully exacted from workers' toiling in privately exploited industries.

The Soviet authorities have appropriated for the Commissariat of Public Instruction for the first six months of 1919, 3,887,000,000 roubles; for Public Health 1,227,000,000 roubles; and for Social Welfare 1,619,000,000. The dark side of this picture is revealed in the appropriation for the Commissariat of War of twelve billion roubles. The Russian people had to pay this price to defend themselves against foreign invaders in those six months. In striking contrast to this huge expenditure for war is the relatively small appropriation to the Commission for Combating the Counter-Revolution. It is deeply significant that in the same period the amount required to combat the internal enemies of the Government was less than three per cent. of the sum needed for defence against foreign assaults. This is a fair proof of the extent to which order and tranquility prevail within Soviet Russia today. It shows that the cessation of internal intrigue and counter-revolutionary uprising has left the Government free to devote all its energies to the defence of the country against foreign attacks. The shocking thing is that foreign intervention makes it necessary to waste in useless slaughter energy and money which should be applied to constructive and peaceful productivity.

RUSSIAN ENTHUSIASM FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

According to the Bolshevik paper, *Krasnaya Gazeta*, it has become quite common in Russia for the workers to work overtime on Saturday afternoons, the wages being given intact to the State to be put at the disposal of the Committee for the Third International to be used chiefly for foreign propaganda. It is calculated that in Petersburg alone some 10,000 workers give four hours each, giving a total of about 40,000 hours of work.

Folkets Dagblad Stockholm, September 20th.

SOCIALISM IN BELGIUM.

The Belgian Government is experiencing similar problems to those of England. In addition, there is, we learn from *Le Soir*, the demand of the soldiers that each soldier should get an indemnity of 2,000 francs for every year on active service. This very necessary request is not viewed favourably by the Government.

At the coming elections the Socialists expect a great victory. They demand immediate radical reforms. They mean to use the present discontent to hasten their victory.

The Brussels Federation of Labour demands the revision of the existing Constitution; the immediate settlement of the housing question; action against profiteering; the introduction of labour reforms, including the eight-hour day and a general minimum wage; nationalisation, municipalisation of gas, electricity, mines, banks, etc., to be under the control of, and run for, the benefit of all. No increase in prices. Money must be found to abolish distress by the cancellation of war profits, a graduated income-tax and death duties, and such methods.

SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN THE FAR EAST.

According to *La Feuille*, the Japanese Socialists are debating the problem of a Socialist Congress in the Far East, which is to be held at the end of October, or the beginning of November. Invitations will be sent to Socialists of Siberia, South China, India, Korea, and the Philippine Islands. The Japanese Government has made it known that it would consider the Congress undesirable at Tokio, so Shanghai is suggested as the meeting place.

HUNGARY.

A refugee from Budapest gives his experience of the fall of the Soviet Republic in the *Folkets Dagblad* of September 17th.

Roumanian patrols overran the town, led by the White Guard, and a regular hunt began for all who had had anything to do with the Soviet. Every suspected house was searched from cellar to garret, bloodhounds being used. A big yard was closely packed with Redguardsmen who were to be sent to Roumania to be used for forced labour. Most were without coats and hardly any had shoes. It is proved that no Bulgarian soldiers took part in the cruelties against the prisoners. These were all committed by the White Guard. Every arrested suspect was ill-treated with sticks and knouts. In Sembruck 20 persons were killed without trial. From August 16th no man between 16 and 46 was allowed to leave the town and there was a special organisation to round up anyone who had served the Soviet Republic in any capacity whatever.

AN APPEAL TO TRADE UNIONISTS.

LET US HELP SOVIET RUSSIA!

The *Avanti!* of September 28th publishes the following call from the Danish Trade Unionists to the workers of the Entente countries:—

The capitalist assault against the Russian Soviet Republic continues with unabated violence, and the European workers have done nothing effective to put a stop to the war against their working class brothers in Russia. Neither have they the serious desire to help their brothers in their struggle. An immense quantity of munitions, arms, war material and troops are sent to Russia from England, France and America to help the Russian counter-revolutionaries. But you are told they are sent to save the Allied troops out there and to bring them back. Don't believe it! It is a lie. These are sent to back up the counter-revolutionaries and to strangle at all costs the Workers' Republic of Russia. We Danes are in a position to judge what goes on, and every day we see the enormous quantity of transport—on its piratical journey—which crosses our waters through the Baltic. We ask if it be possible and if it be consistent with the duty of the English and French working-class sailors to allow themselves to be deceived in this way? Perhaps you answer that you fight the Bolshevik dictatorship in favour of democracy, and that under this name the people think of the equal rights of all. But it is in the countries where we boast of our democracy that we are in reality crushed under a capitalist dictatorship which rules over the land, the factories and the mines. It is this glorified democracy which has created a privileged class against a productive class. Now the capitalist oppression will crush us all unless we overthrow it with violence; because capitalism will not surrender of its own accord.

Now the privileged classes of all countries have joined in the counter-revolutionary fight

to put new chains on the Russian working-class. Class-conscious brothers, it is time to put an end to these crimes of capitalism and the shame with which they cover us. We, representatives of the Danish Syndicalist Movement, take upon ourselves to reprove the workers of the Allied countries for the passive way in which they have submitted to the machinations of their Governments, and we reprove them because we are convinced that it is their trade union movement which can help our Russian comrades. As for us, we declare openly that it is a crime for the workers to have lent themselves to this work of transporting munitions of war for the use of the counter-revolutionary, and we appeal to them to make every effort to prevent the organised workers from helping to carry war material against Soviet Russia.

We appeal particularly to our organised friends of the Allied countries where organised labour is the strongest, to carry on an active agitation of an economic nature, to make it impossible to send further munitions to Russia. The time has come for action, if we want the Russian Soviet Republic to continue, and it is a momentous question, for it concerns the world revolution. It is only by strong solidarity that the working-class oppose the capitalist Coalition. It is by the unity, both economic and industrial, of the workers of all countries that we can build up a new society on Socialist principles. The Russian working-class population awaits our practical help, and looks to our comrades in all countries to make their capitalist and imperialist Governments stop the war of brigandage against Russia.

Comrades, by our immediate intervention we will fulfil our duty to our brothers of Russia. Stop the transport of munitions to the counter-revolutionaries.

—The Secretary of the Danish Revolutionary Syndicalists, Copenhagen.

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.

- Friday, 17th Oct. 12 noon and 7 p.m.—The Square, Woolwich. C. B. Roberts, Melvina Walker.
7.30 p.m.—Salmon and Ball. Henry Sara.
Saturday, 18th Oct. 3 p.m.—The Grove, Hammersmith. C. B. Roberts, Minnie Birch.
7 p.m.—Acton Market. C. B. Roberts, David Ramsay.
Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in Walthamstow. 3 p.m., Pretoria Avenue. 7 p.m., Hoe St., Station. Speakers: Melvina Walker, Henry Sara, and others.
Sunday, 19th Oct. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, Whitechapel. J. Tochatti. Chair: Melvina Walker.
7.30 p.m.—Dock Gates, Poplar. David Ramsay. Chair—Melvina Walker.
Tuesday, 21st Oct. 12 noon—Tower Hill. Melvina Walker, C. B. Roberts. 7.30 p.m.—Queen's Rd., Hackney. C. B. Roberts. Chair: W. Ponder.
Wednesday, 22nd Oct. 11.30 a.m.—Roman Road, and 7 p.m.—Salmon and Ball. C. B. Roberts.
Friday, 24th Oct. 12 noon—Beckton Rd., Canning Town, and 6 p.m., Hyde Park, (Marble Arch, on the gravel). Melvina Walker, C. B. Roberts.
Saturday, 25th Oct. Great Push in Ealing. 3 p.m., Hanwell Broadway, and 7 p.m., Ealing Common. C. B. Roberts.
Sunday, 26th Oct. 12 noon—Victoria Park. C. B. Roberts.

INDOOR.

- Sunday, 19th Oct. 7 p.m.—Odd Fellows Hall, 3, Queen's Road, Peckham. C. B. Roberts.
Monday, 20th Oct. 8.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Poplar. C. B. Roberts, Melvina Walker.
Friday, 24th Oct. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, E.3. Dancing.
Sunday, 26th Oct. 7 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, E.3. C. B. Roberts, P. Edmunds.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

- EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
Sunday, 19th Oct. 12 noon—Victoria Park. Walter Ponder and others.
Thursday, 23rd Oct. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd., E.3. Business Meeting.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Tuesday, 21st Oct. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Clara Cole.
EAST HAM LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Tuesday, 21st Oct. 8 p.m.—The Old Public Offices, Wakenfield Road. Edward Fuller, "An Awkward Question," a talk to parents on Sex.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUNDS.—Mr. A. Marriott, 10s.; Rev. and Mrs. Moxon, 10s.; Mr. Harold P. Burgess, 2s. 6d.; per Miss Stephenson, Albert Hall, 2s. 6d.; Australian Soldier, 2s.; Collections: Mrs. Walker, £7 8s. 5d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Poplar Garden Fête, £5; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £2 10s.; Mrs. Boswell (monthly), £2; Misses Gulland (monthly), £1 15s.; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), £1 8s. 6d.; Mrs. Gras, 10s.; Mr. J. E. Phillips, 10s.; Mrs. Unthank, 10s.; Miss Limouzin, 3s. 1d.; Mr. L. G. Vicary, 2s. 6d.; Miss Lazarnick, 2s. 6d.; Collections: L.S.A. Toolroom, £1 6s. 11d.; Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 7s. 0d.; per Nurse Hebbes, 6s. 8d.

Educational Lectures.

MARK STARR will deliver a series of weekly educational lectures at 20, Railway Street, beginning on Thursday, November 6th, 8 p.m. Members and friends are urged to attend. Full particulars re terms from Poplar W.S.F. Hon. Sec. (above address). Syllabus will be published next week.

TOCHITCHERIN'S APPEAL TO BRITISH AND FRENCH WORKERS.

"The Soviet Government victoriously repulsed the White Guard and troops of other Governments, whom the Entente had ranged against Petrograd; it now asks the Finnish and Lettish Government to enter into pourparlers to re-establish friendly relations. The Government of Russian workers and peasants has always recognised the right of all countries to independence. It does not attempt to impose its sovereignty on anyone, and condemns all policies of conquest. The Russian Soviet Government wishes to examine carefully all treaties which would satisfy the parties now at war with it. It feels certain that an understanding is possible, and expresses the hope that the Entente will not put obstacles in its way. The Russian counter-revolution has forced the Polish Government to participate in the counter-revolutionary crusade and to support the interests of the Imperialistic Powers of the Entente.

"Workers of Great Britain and France, we appeal to you to prevent an intervention which would hinder the conclusion of peace in the Baltic countries. Your Governments have found it necessary to recall some of their troops from the North and South of Russia. You possess a weapon powerful enough to put an end to the imperialistic policy of your governors in connection with the Baltic countries. Demand with an authoritative voice that your Governments cease to oppose the conclusion of peace. Success will depend on the degree of pressure you bring to bear. The Russian Soviet Government is ready at any moment to enter into negotiations with the Governments of the Entente. By your intervention help the Russian masses, who also want to live in peace, as well as the Baltic victims of your imperialistic Governments."

—Russian Wireless, September 29th.

The Agency "Information" received the following telegram from Copenhagen on October 3rd:—

"In the course of an interview, Tchitcherine said: 'As far as peace is concerned my intentions are the same as at the time of the Bullitt mission. We are willing to make peace at any moment, provided that there is an immediate cessation of military operations on the territory which constituted the former Russian Empire, and that the Allied blockade is raised. These general principles have remained unchanged. We have not imposed, nor do we wish to impose, Communism on anyone. The blockade has done us great harm.'

The People's Russian Information Bureau.

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.

UNDERWOOD No. 5 Typewriter, latest two-colour tabulator and backspacer, in absolutely new condition. Also latest Remington No. 10. Sacrifice £25 each.—White, Arcade, Northampton.

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

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

READ

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WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION (Communist Party)

PUBLIC MEETING
400, Old Ford Road, E. 3.
Sunday, October 26th, at 7 p.m.
CHARLES B. ROBERTS.
Chair: PH. EDMUNDS.
Admission by Silver Collection.

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