

# Workers' Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

VOL. VI.—No. 46.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7th, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## LABOUR MANIFESTO ON RUSSIA.

### PEACE WITH RUSSIA.

A most interesting manifesto from the "moderate section of the Labour movement" was published, during the week, in the press; the signatories are:—

T. Ashton, C. W. Bowerman, W. Brace, J. T. Brownlie, J. R. Clynes, F. W. Goldstone, F. Hall, W. Hudson, W. H. Hutchinson, J. W. Ogden, W. F. Purdy, T. Shaw, A. G. Walkden, R. Young, C. Duncan, H. Skinner, J. H. Thomas, Jas. Wignall.

Their demand is of the utmost importance, for it is nothing less than "immediate peace with Russia" on the grounds that "the course of least risk all round is complete peace." Such a reason suffices to prove that they have not left the anti-Bolshevik camp; but, should there be any doubt, these Labour men stress the fact that they "do not subscribe to the political and social theories on which the Soviet Government is based." We are inclined to question the knowledge of these men regarding the "basic theories" of the Socialist Republic of Russia. Turning to the constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic, we see that it "aims at suppressing all exploitation of man by man, abolishing for ever the division of society into classes, and, that it may accomplish this, it has nationalised the land, inclusive of forests, farms, mines and estates, and transferred to the authority of the Soviets, all banks, factories, workshops, railway and other means of production and transport. Finally, it has abolished human parasitism by decreeing that all adults shall do useful work." The Russian Government is, therefore, directly responsible to all the Russian workers organised into Soviets, and it carries on its work of social order, exchange, direction of the war and of foreign affairs, only by the express will of the said workers.

From the programme of the annual report of the British Labour Party, dated November 14th, 1918, we take the following:—

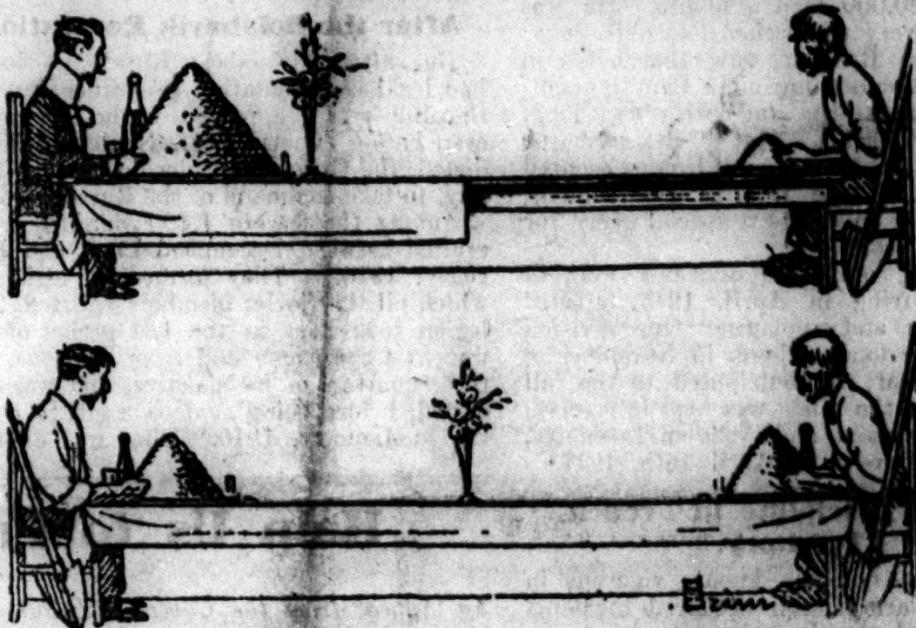
- (1) State retention of railways and canals and the expropriation of shareholders.
- (2) A national system of transport, and state retention of coal and iron mines and the expropriation of the owners.
- (3) A national system of education from nursery school to university, free to all without distinction of class.
- (4) Nationalisation of life assurance, and a national banking system to absorb the private banks.
- (5) A vital necessity: land nationalisation.

And from the constitution adopted in conference in the month of June, 1919, we give this excerpt:—

**PARTY OBJECTS:** (d) To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service. (e) Generally to promote the political, social and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly those who depend entirely upon their own exertions, by hand or brain, for the means of life.

Now, if we are capable of cutting through plain or decorated words to the heart of their meaning, of seeing the similarity underlying two different declarations bearing on a common subject, we will say that the

men do not tell us how it is to be obtained, or what they will do to bring it about. They are content to say that the Labour Party will not consider itself bound by military and diplomatic



(From the "Avanti!" Milan.)

### THE "HORRORS" OF BOLSHEVISM.

quoted section of the annual report, and the (d) and (e) items of the constitution of the Labour Party have a similarity to the "basic theories" which the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has put into practice. We fail to see in what way the Labour Party will ever put into effect its printed and adopted programme if it does not subscribe, somehow, "to the practical and social theories upon which the Soviet Government is based." The Labour Party may have adopted these resolutions in a frenzy of enthusiasm, or, it may have only been trying to throw dust into the eyes of the class-conscious workers to secure their support at the polls.

But the signs of the times point to the Labour Party getting into the government saddle, and what will then be its attitude towards the wishes of the workers of the rank and file? Will it stand by its platform or repudiate it? The lines will be closely drawn and the issues clearly defined. The revolutionary workers will then definitely know their friends from their enemies within the ranks, those who are for, and those who are against, their complete social, political and industrial independence.

Yet the object of the manifesto: "immediate peace with Russia," is the main issue; but these "moderate"

commitments of the present régime in this country: that they will do their best to oppose "Britain's entrance into any war that this may give rise to." (meaning the Polish attitude to Russia).

But how will they oppose it?

These men belong to the trade union world: men who were ordered by the Glasgow Congress last autumn, to see to it that war with Russia was not continued. They did nothing; but now another Trade Union Congress is coming off; the delegates will be mostly the same men who made that demand at Glasgow. Will the writing of this manifesto suffice to placate them? We hope not; the rank and file must see to it that their leaders do their bidding or go!

### Hands Off Russia.

A Mass Meeting will be held at Trafalgar Square to-day, Saturday, at 3 p.m. All "W.D." readers are specially requested to help to make this meeting a success, and thus show the determination of the rank and file to see that peace with Russia be declared now.

Handbills are obtainable from the secretary of the "Hands Off Russia" Committee, 21a, Maiden Lane, W.C., or from Miss Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

Come in your thousands, and bring your friends!

## Martyrdom of Russian Soldiers in France.

A recent article has helped to make known the miserable existence of 40,000 Russians, first, prisoners in Germany, then, since the armistice, captives in France; one more category of victims for whom four years life has been a succession of miseries. They are the survivors of the Russian Expeditionary Corps in France and Macedonia. The press of distortion, lies and stupidities has never published a word of pity for these expiatory victims of nationalist rancour, who were, in Stuermer's and Protopopoff's time, our "heroic allies," and whom our Government has made slaves to all that is demoralising and brutal in our military discipline.

In December, 1915, disturbed by the gaps made by seventeen months of "nibbling," the French Government made up its mind to draw Russians into the reservoir, an act made necessary by the violence of our military effort. Doumer, sent with that aim to Petrograd, could not obtain the required 15,000 to 20,000 men a month. He was up against very comprehensible objections; also, as the Russians saw themselves in this proposition nothing more than the common Soudanese, the enterprise was long, costly and difficult. But "who pays the piper calls the tune," and France secured the support of the Russian Government, and was able to create a special army for the French front.

In reality, only two divisions went to France, arriving in April, 1916, greeted with flowers and applause. One division went to Macedonia, where, in November of the same year, it contributed to the fall of Monastir; the other was kept in reserve, between Dormans and Ville-en-Tardenois, until the offensive of April 16th, 1917.

### Tsarist Discipline in French Territory.

The régime of the knout, vigorous in the Tsarist army, soon produced incidents which caused the French authorities embarrassment, rather than indignation.

While officers were free to drink and slack, the men were severely confined to camp. It was strictly forbidden to give or to sell a drop of wine to a private soldier, while officers, to the amazement of the people, drank champagne, rum and brandy in plenty. In spite of precautions, certain incidents were noised abroad. It was known that a Colonel Juri-Pizowetz had put out a soldier's eye with a blow of his fist. Then it was the "Marseilles affair" that served as a pretext for the expulsion of Trotzky. Irritated at being kept in close quarters while Sengalese, Hindus and Annamites went about freely, the Russians at Marseilles manifested their discontent. In the midst of a tumultuous assembly, Colonel Krausé struck a soldier, and was himself trampled to death. Eight soldiers taken at random were executed, and the journal *Nache Slovo* was suppressed at Briand's order. Irony of the times! The Russian authorities feared the contact of their soldiers with republicanism: with touching stupidity, they tried to preserve them from its contagion. It had to be explained that the initials "R.F." on the trench-helmets meant "Russia-France"! There were no doctors, and the sick died without having even had the chance of explaining their complaints, while, in the French Army, there were no less than 400 voluntary Russian doctors. But they were Jews, or political refugees, and forbidden to come into contact with the Russian troops!

### March to December 1917.

After the 1917 Revolution, the Councils of Soldiers were vigorously instituted in the expeditionary corps, in the form of company, regimental and divisional Soviets. A

first election had already taken place when the Russian troops were massacred before Brimont Fort in the attack on April 16th. The German guns easily mowed down the five waves of assault, and seven-tenths of the attacking force was lost. The survivors, demoralised and worn out, demanded repatriation, which was refused by the Russian command. They were sent to the camp of La Courtine in July, to be reformed, but they refused to return to the front. Then the Third Brigade, and all the officers, abandoned the camp, and left there alone the First Brigade, without officers or pay, ill-nourished, but keeping their arms. Under the command of a non-commissioned officer named Globa, a Petrograd workman, and of Boltais, perfect order reigned, while General Zankiévitich, representing the Provisional Government, made vain attempts at reconciliation, and awaited Kerensky's orders. The latter hesitated, telegraphed a repatriation order, and sent the brigade to Salonika.

### After the Bolshevik Revolution.

But after November, Russia no longer had legal representation in France; and, as the Bolsheviks appeared to be having an even harder time than M. Noulens had predicted, the Government decided, quite illegally, to take command of the Russian troops.

Among them were 1,400 volunteers, recruited between December, 1917, and February, 1918. They formed a legion in which all the Soviet members enlisted. This legion took part in the last period of the war in Champagne and near Soissons, lost three-quarters of its effective, and was decorated, before being sent as a gift to Denikin in January, 1919. That was all that

France could offer to the survivors of the Russian legion, in return for their sacrifices, suffering, and their blood poured out freely in terrible combats. On arriving in Russia, these soldiers refused to fight for Tsarist restoration, and mutinied. Denikin, thinking, no doubt, that these returned men would cause dangerous ferment, removed them by totally exterminating them. The report of this event mentions no survivors.

A certain number would not fight, but agreed to form workmen's companies placed under the command of French officers, and were located principally in the Jura.

However, the majority refused definitely either to enlist or to work. Numbering 6,000 at La Courtine, and 2,000 at Cournan, without officers or doctors, they were sent as forced labour to Africa—where they now are. They were joined by the soldiers from Macedonia.

France has implored the world's pity for her prisoners in Germany.

For what stupid policy does she commit the useless infamy of submitting to a régime of beasts of burden, men whose only crime is to have supported a government which troubles the digestion of all political rascals and time servers.

Of what use to keep forcibly 70,000 despairing men, who are dying of nostalgia, fatigue and hunger?

In determining in this unbelievable manner to prolong a merciless exile, does the Government hope to inculcate in these unhappy men the desire to go and swell the ranks of the counter-revolutionary army?

*La Vie Ouvrière.*

O. KER.

## Help Us to Prevent This Crime!

*An Appeal from the Communist Party of Mexico to the Communists and Left-Wing Socialists of the World.*

The worst bandits in the world—the bandits of International Capitalism—have been trying for many months to start war between the United States and Mexico.

These bandits, these brigands, these criminals, are outlaws undeserving of any human consideration. They have armies and navies, cannons, automobiles, trains, horses, gold unlimited. They own and control governments, kings, presidents, congresses, churches, colleges. They would have thousands or tens of thousands slaughtered so that they can own Mexico and her riches, crush the tendencies toward Bolshevism here, wipe out the taxes on their oil and their mines, and punish the Mexican people for refusing to participate in the late War. The scattered and occasional bandit tribes in the isolated mountain and desert parts of Mexico, now and then rob somebody; in rare instances, commit a murder; but their crimes—much as we deplore them—do not cause one-millionth part of the suffering that another war would cause.

It has been proved that most of these bandits are either supported by foreign financial interests, who want "banditry" as an excuse for intervention in Mexico, or else buy their guns from other foreign interests that are willing to coin profits out of the atrocities of thugs and thieves!

The Mexican proletariat has no problems that the Mexican proletariat cannot solve. Alone and unaided it overthrew the modern Nero, Porfirio Diaz, and wrote a Liberal constitution. Alone and unmolested by alien armies, it can rise above the impediments left by 300 years of bondage, into the full enjoyment of economic liberty.

We appeal to you, our comrades in other lands, to help prevent this crime that the Imperialistic Caligulas and Herods of the world seek to commit!

Prevent a Declaration of War if you can. If you cannot prevent the Declaration, prevent the consummation. Refuse to fight; get others to do the same. Without workers to do the masters' vile bidding, without soldiers to obey the brutal orders, there can be no war!

Act now. Agitate, write, speak, publish and STRIKE!

Communicate with us as to ways and means: Communist Party of Mexico, P.O. Box 985, Mexico City, D.F., Mexico.

### English Workers and Soviet Russia.

An interesting story is told in the Berlin Communist paper, *Die Rote Fahne*, about the reasons which caused Yudenitch to be defeated. According to an interview with a colonel in Yudenitch's army, one of the chief reasons of defeat was: "England sent us arms, the most important parts of which were missing—guns, which would not shoot; machine guns which would not move. The British Government, however, was not to blame; but the English workers, who spoiled the arms deliberately before shipping them." The colonel also asserted that, during the siege of Kronstadt, English proletarians helped their Russian comrades, and he maintained that "had the siege lasted another five minutes, the British Navy would have mutinied."

We rejoice to learn of this feeling of international comradeship, and would like further verification of these statements.

## Present Situation in Spain.

By Our Special Correspondent.

The bombs and attempted assassinations in Catalonia, stories of which have filled the newspapers, indicate the desperate emotions which characterise the class struggle now going on in Spain. But they have little to do with the real struggle. Newspaper readers may easily overestimate the significance of bombs, especially in Latin countries. Individual violence has little or no place in a revolutionary struggle, which must be a disciplined action of the masses. But two facts, which have received less notice in the foreign press, show that the character of the present struggle in Spain is truly revolutionary. A revolutionary uprising is indicated by two phenomena; the revolt of the Army, which initiates the political revolution; and the establishment of control by the workers' committees in the factories, which initiates the social revolution. Both these phenomena have accompanied the recent Spanish troubles.

The revolt of January 9th in the barracks of the Ninth Artillery Regiment at Saragossa was only suppressed after fighting of the most desperate character. It is significant of the state of the mind of the Spanish common soldier, that the syndicalist Checa was able to win over the whole company to revolt. The soldiers expelled the officers who refused to join them, and made themselves masters of the barracks. When the barracks were later taken by storm by the loyal soldiers, Checa fell in the battle, and six other leaders (probably Communists), were executed on the spot. The Socialist deputy, Besteiro, stated the next day, in Parliament, that Spain had been living in a state of military insurrection since 1917, and that the revolt of Saragossa was, beyond a doubt, only the prelude of still graver incidents.

The second phenomenon which indicates the revolutionary character of events, is the workers' struggle to establish control over

production in the factories. Reports reaching here from Socialist sources show that the struggle in Barcelona and other centres is not the old-fashioned struggle for wages, but very sharply and clearly a fight for workers' control. It is a fight for the establishment and defence of pre-revolutionary Soviets. And the struggle has—in Catalonia, at least—altered the whole system and character of Spanish trade unionism.

Shop committees seem to have been established some time ago in various Barcelona factories, with the functions they have in certain centres in England and America—chiefly, to carry the individual workman's complaints to the boss, and to standardise such disputes as fines and dismissals. But these committees, which are obviously just by every standard of ordinary democracy, were hated by the Spanish employers. *Avanti* tells of a case in which an employer ordered the discharge of a man for alleged theft in the factory. The shop committee demanded that the theft be proved before an ordinary court of law, but the employer refused. The principle that the laws of the land shall hold good inside the factory, as well as out, was too advanced for him. At last, after fighting the shop committees and the unions in detail, the employers opened a united fight for their complete destruction. They declared a lock-out, and offered to take their employees back only on an individual contract system which makes trade unions, as well as shop committees, virtually illegal. Thus the guerilla warfare of trade unionism was changed into a clean-cut class war for control of industry.

But now a new factor appeared. Anticipating a state of martial law, in which the trade unions would be declared outside the law, and their functions suppressed and their funds seized, the workers gave large

powers to the shop committees. These virtually took over the direction of the strike. Where shop committees had not existed, they were organised for each factory after the lock-out had commenced; this time, however, not as the adjudicators of party disputes, but as instruments of class warfare. The whole of the working-class of Barcelona was organised in a network of committees, culminating in a central committee; this network within the trade union system, but potentially independent of it. The organisation, unlike a trade union, can go "underground" whenever danger threatens. In fact, most of its work has been done underground since the lock-out became general. Though its members have been jailed wholesale, it has continued to function, getting its orders to its members by word of mouth, and disbursing immense funds in strike benefits.

Whatever is the outcome of the present struggle, it is certain that the Soviet idea has come to Barcelona to stay. If the workers win, their shop committees will remain, with a new conception of their purpose, and conscious of the solid and jealous support of the working-class. If the workers fail, they will soon renew the struggle to establish factory Soviets on a revolutionary basis, having learned the limitations of old-fashioned trade unionism.

The Liberal Government of Spain is still worried and uncertain what to do. If it takes the strong military measures which are urged by the Conservatives and the Industrials, it will spread revolt far beyond the limits of Catalonia. If it does not, it would appear that the employers' association will be definitely defeated by the workers. The closing of the trade union offices by the Government has only thrown the power and prestige of the revolutionary movement into the hands of the Soviets.

## BERNARD SHAW APPLAUDS LENIN.

In a most entertaining and witty speech, G. Bernard Shaw sketched the origin and growth of society as it is to-day. The lecture, which took place at the Kingsway Hall, on January 29th, under the auspices of the National Guilds League, was entitled: "Socialism and the Labour Party." Although Mr. Shaw explained that he had been preaching Socialism all his life, he does not seem to have any great illusions as to the result of his propaganda; in fact, he confesses to favouring action, as we have all talked long enough.

The idea of action, naturally brought him to speak of Russia, and the development of Bolshevism. As a token of his views, he exclaimed: "I take off my hat to Nicholas Lenin—he is the only real diplomatist of interest in Europe to-day!" Shaw proceeded to show that the great "Bolshevik atrocity" of compulsory labour was but a leaf out of the Capitalists' book, with the difference that in Russia all were obliged to work in order to eat; whereas in this and other capitalist countries, the proletariat only was obliged to work to exist. Mr. Shaw omitted to point out that the wage-slave under Capitalism has also to ask to be allowed to work, and very often in vain, as the great army of unemployed shows only too clearly.

Having avowed himself openly an admirer of Bolshevism, if not an actual supporter, Mr. Shaw told the audience that he saw no party in this country that was likely to bring about Socialism. Of course, there was the Labour Party, which now

gathered those into its ranks who would hitherto have voted Liberal, and who might again do so when the present discontent was over. As the Labour Party is now constituted, Shaw declared that he does not see in it "the party that will act solidly and coherently, like the party represented by Winston Churchill, and like the Bolsheviks . . ." Shaw does not look with favour on a mixture of Methodists, jingoes, C.O.s, etc., which he finds in the Labour Party; that is to say, he does not see Socialism coming by means of that mixture. To wait for the majority votes would mean waiting for ever, Mr. Shaw argued, and

Socialists, when they get a little well off, are quite agreeable to such a course, he admitted, quite honestly.

These sentiments are as near as Mr. Shaw got to telling the audience to act independently of Westminster and constitutional methods.

Quite a considerable part of the lecture dealt with the unproductive or parasitic proletariat, which Mr. Shaw so ably proved to be as great an enemy of the productive proletariat as the Capitalists themselves. These should be won over, for in a crisis they will side with the governing class. M.O.C.

## TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE!

### Workers! A Monster Demonstration in Trafalgar Square

TO-DAY

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7th, at 3 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

Lt-Col. MALONE, M.P., Principal GOODE, Comdr. KENWORTHY, M.P.,  
GEO. SANDERS, GEO. EBURY, JACK SHEPPARD,  
H. HAYES, MINNIE BIRCH, MELVINA WALKER, HENRY SARA, etc.

Parliament is about to re-assemble. Down with War! Stop Further Bloodshed!  
Make Your Protest NOW for

## HANDS OFF RUSSIA.

## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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### IRELAND.

#### What It Calls Self-Determination.

The recent Council elections in Ireland are having their aftermath in the fact that where Sinn Fein is in the ascendancy. Sinn Fein mayors have been elected. But that is not all, these mayors are having "insulting flags" removed from the Council chambers, and are sporting the Republican tricolour; further, they refuse to nominate sheriffs, as that necessitates an oath of allegiance to the King.

The hand of the law has intervened to put a stop to these perfectly obvious Sinn Fein tactics. Last week-end 65 arrests were announced. There was what is termed a "round up" of Sinn Feiners! Some of these men were taken out of their beds in the early morning hours by the military. It looks as though the Government meant business; but to what end?

Whilst similar happenings and the municipal elections were in progress, representatives of the Labour Party were in Ireland to study the Irish situation. It seems as though they went over there to see how much support a Labour Government might count on in the event of a general election. That the deputation really got to the root cause of all these happenings does not seem to be the case, if we are to judge by Mr. Henderson's statements.

What does Mr. Henderson say at Bishop Auckland? He urges that the state of Ireland is serious, and immediate steps must be taken if she is not to "be lost to the British Empire." Yet he romances about putting the principle of self-determination into practice. If any member of that Labour deputation doubts, after what he saw and heard in Ireland, that self-determination for Ireland means, first, independence of the said British Empire, and self-government without the Empire, then he is beyond hope.

Do these men see a Socialist Empire looming in the immediate future? Or do they want to carry on the old game of Imperialism as hitherto, with a few paltry reforms thrown in. That programme may satisfy the British public, but the Irish people, having "lost faith in all British parties," can see no reason to change its attitude in favour of an Imperialist Labour Party. M.O.C.

The following are the acts of aggression committed in Ireland by the military and police of the usurping English Government, as reported in the Irish Daily Press for the week ending January 24th, 1920:

SUMMARY.						
	January 19th.	20th.	21st.	22nd.	23rd.	24th. Total.
Raids	1	100	151	26	2	1 281
Arrests	4	7	7	16	-	1 35
Sentences	1	2	-	11	-	1 15
Suppressions	1	1	1	1	1	5
Armed Assaults	1	-	1	1	1	4
Courts-martial	-	-	-	-	1	1
Deportations	-	-	-	-	1	1
Daily Totals	8	110	160	55	6	3 342

## India and Bolshevism. By Our Correspondent.

In the language of Churchill and his supporters, once again "we are in danger"; "our country is ruined"; "our trade is gone"; "our workers will starve"; the Bolsheviks are marching from the Caucasus to Colombo, making converts of all men and women on their long trail of some 8,000 miles. Were it true, we should envy the good luck of these 450 millions of down-trodden humanity, and anxiously await their deliverance from the ravaging grip of Western capitalist free-booters, and from the annual atrocities committed by British armed raiders, in the name of the free and freedom-loving British people.

But, unfortunately, it is not true; we know it, Churchill knows it, Northcliffe knows, and Lloyd George knows that there is neither truth nor sense in this newly-invented scare. Our War Secretary must make war in order to leave a glorious name behind on the page of history, instead of being known as a hum-drum War Lord, who always retreated in the battle-field, and ignominiously resigned office. This tale is a myth, pure and simple, the audacity of publishing it rests entirely on the crass gullibility of the British tax-payer, elector and soldier. An Afghan who shoots a ruling prince, and places his crown upon his own head and becomes a militarist Amir, is anything but a true Bolshevik, and is much further away from the spirit of Russian Socialism than is Churchill himself.

The Islamic peoples of Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Turkestan, must, in the end, admire and feel grateful to Russian Sovietism, for removing all claims to sovereignty in Constantinople, Persia, Georgia and Armenia. It is inevitable that these Islamic peoples should see and contrast the magnanimity of Socialism and the unscrupulous greed of the capitalistic European Powers; that is a mental phenomenon that no British battalions can crush or suppress. It is already there. But it does not mean that these people have therefore overthrown their religious egotism, their patriarchal communism, their tribal chieftainship, their system of hereditary office, and so forth. In daily life there is not yet much in Persia, Mesopotamia, Bokhara, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Tibet to draw the masses to a Bolshevik state. There are no factories, banks, merchantile houses, boards of directors, dividend reports, or anything of the kind at all. In this respect the peoples of these regions are already ultra-Bolshevik, till Churchill goes with his guns to spread British culture.

No one doubts that in Moscow there would be a dozen Oriental agitators, some religiously persuaded to take the present opportunity to drive the infidel Feringhi out of the lands of the Islam, and some bitterly anti-English desiring to see England leave India alone. We do not count upon such persons to carry the torch of world-socialism to their motherlands. This, in our view, is indeed unfortunate.

But what about India and Bolshevism? Of all the countries in Asia, the most intelligently appreciative of, and, economically, most prepared for Socialism, would be India. It has a cultured people. It has an oppressed, but settled-down peasantry. It has a people self-denying in their nature, with kindness to fellow-creatures as a religion. It has a "Czarist system of Government." It has foreign culture thrust upon it, with mines, factories, banks and industries spread all over the land, giving enormous dividends to a few shareholders, and starving a population of nearly 40 millions on ridiculous wages of six to eight pence a day. It has a cultured people with firm instincts, but kept illiterate to the extent of 96 per cent., as in Czarist Russia. We do not see much difference between the Russia of 1905 to 1915, and

India of to-day. The people's historic traditions train them for a village rule of the Panchayet, which is more akin to Sovietism than any other known institution in human society.

It is the soldiers and aeroplanes of the white King that can stand between these conditions and their natural consequences. But how long can that be? It is a most foolish observation to make that Bolshevism is to march from land to land in the shape of victorious armies, and that a break can be created by intercepting a wall of soldiers or armies in the way of the march. The spread of Socialism is through the etherial medium, it works through thought, it takes its birth independently, where congenial soil exists, without waiting to be imported. Not only do we know it to be so, but the Hindu intelligence already knows it to be so, in spite of a savage system of censorship. Only a few weeks ago we read in a September number of the *Bombay Social Reformer*, a speech of a Hindu gentleman, on caste system. He clearly explained to his audience that Bolshevism does not require to be imported by secret or open agents; it grows as the inevitable product of the Western system of huge inequalities between incomes and life conditions of individuals within one and the same state.

Our readers will at once see that Bolshevism will be quickly brought into India, not by Central Asiatic armies of invasion, but by British exploiters, who are busy creating vast modern industries in India, earning 100 per cent. to 800 per cent. dividends, and paying 6d. to 1s. per. day wages, and by the militarist imperialist British jingo, who is playing the veritable White Czar all over again.

It is useless to blame the poor Afghan Amir, or Persian Shah, or Bokhara Khan for it. It does not require Lenin's agents to bring about Bolshevism. The great financiers are doing it. To tell us that the Afghans, the Mahsuds, the Afridis, and the Chitralis are coming down to conquer India, is as ridiculous as to say that the people of the North Pole, of Spitzbergen, of Greenland, and of Iceland are contemplating an invasion of Europe. But if Churchillian policy is persevered in, and if the people of India are ruled by General Dyers and Lords Chelmsford, and if the country is impoverished by Western exploiters, day without end, and overtaxed for the pleasure of Churchillian sports, Bolshevism is the only inevitable end, and for that reason we wish success to Winston.

### Third International.

The *Journal du Peuple* reports that a group of Parisian Socialist students who attended the Socialist Students' Congress at Geneva, has refused to ratify the decision of that congress. It has severed its connection with the Geneva Congress, and decided to start a group of socialist-communist students; with this object, an appeal will be made to the Provincial Students' Groups to join this International Federation of Communist Students: an organisation based on the Third International.

### White Terror in Hungary.

In spite of the "supposed" intervention of the Supreme Council, the White Terror is taking its course in Hungary. A Zurich telegram announces that three communists, one of whom is Szamuely, have been condemned to death.

## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

### The New Army.

It is interesting to watch how the special articles appearing in *The Times* have a bearing on political life. As before-mentioned, a *Times*' war correspondent recently advocated a territorial army for service overseas, and now we have Winston Churchill putting the Territorials on a new basis, and declaring that there is no danger of invasion, and therefore an Act of Parliament would make it possible to call on these Territorials for active foreign service. He said: "The Englishman's home is safe; but our frontiers have moved further afield."

And then he talks of a possible attack on India by Russia, proving only too clearly that the frontiers he mentions are the frontiers of capitalist interests; that the enemy he has in mind is Soviet Russia.

The strength of the Territorials is to be 345,000 men, to be enlisted for three or four years. They will be the next in demand after the regular forces have been called up for service. But why all this clamour for war, why this madness when statesmen should be quietly planning how to restore the world after the recent terrible experiences? Is it, as most papers will have it, because Churchill is *War Minister*? No! What is happening is the mustering of the forces of Capitalism for the coming struggle with Socialism. Churchill, as a Capitalist *par excellence*, thinks it worth making a fight for the last ditch. But will the workers let him?

Such an army will mean still further outlay by a country verging on bankruptcy. But the capitalist press cries out that this will be money well spent. Will the officers, and rank and file, dragging out a miserable existence after the present war, be likely to encourage another war? We think not.

### Trade with Soviet Russia.

Trade between the Russian Co-operative Societies and the Allied countries has now been established; the Soviet Government has acquiesced in this proposal of the Allies. All Europe must benefit by such an arrangement, especially Central Europe, should, as we hope, no embargo prevent these unfortunate countries from trading with Russia.

The Soviet Government has plainly pointed out that the Co-operative Societies are the trading bodies of Soviet Russia, but refrains from pushing this point at the moment. The Allies strangely overlook this Soviet explanation, so that we must ask what do the Allies hope to gain, and why do they open up trade with Russia?

There is only one apparent answer to these questions, and that is that the Allied countries are threatened with bankruptcy, and must have the raw materials Russia can offer to stave off ruin. Further, America is telling Europe to stop begging from her, and get to work. Everything shows that Russia has the rest of Europe at her mercy; knowing this, the Soviet Government acts with magnanimity when she does not say: "No raw materials without peace." The Soviet now holds sway from one end of Russia to the other; soon the forces of reaction will find absolutely no support. The fall of Yudenitch, Koltchak and Denikin prove only too clearly that even the White Army has no use for the régime offered by these reactionaries; and it will not be long before they, too, throw in their lot with the Bolsheviks.

What then will be the attitude of the Allies? What then can their excuse be for fighting Russia?

Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks are concluding peace with the small states adjoining. Estonia has concluded a treaty with Russia, Letts and Poles refuse to continue to make war on Russia and further treaties may be signed: who knows who to-morrow will prove to have returned to sanity? But all the time the imperialist hawks are on the look-out, and using every means to make it possible to pounce on their prey. Not if they can help it will Russia remain a Socialist republic! If only the workers maintain a united front now, the spring offensive, which is being planned against Russia, will be still-born. Our watchword must be: Keep on agitating for immediate peace, and see that we get it.

### The Old Story.

Passports have again been refused to Labour men to go to Russia. Mr. Lloyd George consulted the Italian and French Premiers before replying in the negative! Since when are the home affairs of this country controlled by France and Italy? Up to the moment of going to press, we hear of no drastic action being taken by official Labour to show the Government that it will not sit down under this fresh insult. Perhaps another pious resolution will be circulated, with a threat about "if it should ever happen again."

## White Book of Black Deeds.

The Government issues a White Paper on a report of October, 1919, by the Punjab Government of events that took place in the Punjab in April, 1919, which included the shooting of several hundred people, and flogging and whipping of several others.

It speaks well for human conscience, even among imperial satraps and military heroes to be so hesitating in thinking a second time about such events.

The first two pages describe the crimes of the people that deserved to be shot down like rabbits. The people had dared to be dissatisfied with profiteering in piece-goods, with the inconvenience to the public by the railways being largely used for military purposes, and with unscrupulous speculative dealings in grain. The Marwaris, usually busy earning money, had started to "show sympathy with political agitation." The congress politicians were opening their doors to the peasants, and passed a regulation not to charge delegates' fees to the poor, starving, wretched peasants, if they wanted to send delegates. There started open fraternisation between Hindus and Moslems, who attended each others religious festivals, substituted old mythological cries by shouts of "Long live Hindu-Moslem unity." "At the same time," the report says, "there was no hostility or even discourtesy exhibited to Europeans, who moved freely among the crowd."

But all this was opposed to the spirit of "Pax Britannica," and very dangerous to "Imperial prestige," and if Hindus and Mahomedans openly fraternised, it would knock nine points out of the ten for the British officer, who argues that he must be in India, and the Christian missionary, who appeals for funds in England—well, coercive measures, preventive steps, deportations, exercise of D.O.R.A. and similar instruments of British civilisation, are put into operation.

This evokes resentment in some stupid

### WAR CRIMINALS.

Surely the heart of the would-be just judge throbs with pleasure now that he can read the names of the "war criminals," whom the Allies have decided to bring to trial. They are all Germans! One is accused of commanding "no prisoners to be taken," another of burning a village; another of shooting defenceless civilians and deporting natives, etc. Did no other nation do these things during the War? It seems that it is merely revenge on the conquered race, or, as Bernard Shaw so aptly put it the other night: "the old spirit of barbarism taking revenge." These men may be brought to trial, but no one need delude himself that the trial will mean anything; it would be more honest to shoot them now, and spare them the farce.

### Waiters On Strike.

So long as waiters accept the tipping principle, so long will their existence be precarious. The strike at present in being should not let this most important point remain unsettled. Why should a man who serves food be dependent on a gratuity, when a man who serves your money over a bank counter, or any shop assistant is not thus exposed to public affront?

Soviet Russia posted up on the hotel walls, "Do not insult your brothers by giving him a tip because he is a waiter." Let the waiters on strike decide that tipping is an insult, then half the fight is won.

people, and some "mischievous agitators" actually ask people to protest. Some turmoil occurs. Then the officials plan a cold-blooded coup to impress Imperial authority upon the people. A crowd of several thousand attends a peaceful open-air meeting, where not even any heckling is reported. The Civil Commissioner does not declare martial law; makes no effort to ask the people to abandon a meeting, even for the simple reason that he does not like it, but tells a British general to do what he thinks fit.

The general places armed soldiers at the two exit areas of the meeting ground, keeps a few armoured cars and guns ready in the back streets, and, says the White Paper, "He did not order the crowd to disperse, but proceeded to take action to disperse it at once by fire." Of course, the bloody result can be imagined, and we need not harrow our readers by a description in detail. It was the massacre of Amritsar!

Commissions will sit, reports will be issued, ministerial speeches will be delivered in Parliament, and we all know what all this trumpery always means—we never shake hands with murder; when we do it, a committee or a Government paper can always explain how angelic our work was. The Government knows that all the 690 men whom the Allies condemn for atrocities are capable of writing out 690 white papers, and each one of them will be, indeed, a shade whiter than the Amritsar paper, but that is a mere detail.

Now, men and women of Britain, will you rise to the occasion, and give up defending the atrocity of your race. There is one noble course open to you. Raise a fund of penitence, and, as we have raised a Cawnpur Memorial for the innocent slaughtered, let us raise a monument of British penitence, and a memorial to the innocent slaughtered in the centre of that fatal meeting place at Amritsar.

## The Capitalist Way.

### LETTOW-VORBECK.

Lettow-Vorbeck, who commanded the German forces in East Africa during the late War, has written a story of the campaign. For the English rights of publication he is paid a tidy sum by British interests. Journalism has become a favourite pastime for the German junkers who have lost their jobs for the moment, and, let us hope, permanently. Ludendorf and Tiritz have earned good money in America by their pens, and we may expect a flood of apologies and memoirs from the discredited Imperialists of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

For the English version of this useless mass of printed stuff, the American and British Empire workers pay directly. But, perhaps, the masses like to read what these notorious murderers have got to tell of their orgies of blood-spilling.

We must pay a tribute to the far-seeing policy of International Capitalism in noting how its press buys these books, reviews them favourably, and thus gives the writers a chance to live comfortably until their dark days are over. The capitalists soon forgive each other their mistakes. It is we workers who keep on hating each other on account of race differences, nationality and colour! We workers! we do not forgive so easily. And it is to the interests of our masters that we should not!

But back to Lettow-Vorbeck and his East African campaign. In his story, he tells of the exploits of his black troops, how faithful they were, how courageous and skilful under fire. England also used her black troops, and the whole nasty business shows to what depths Capitalism will descend to maintain its supremacy. Ignorant black men were pitted against their brothers to fight for a cause that was alien to them.

May-be, the exploiting classes have not considered the fact that if the blacks have fought so well for an inglorious purpose, they might fight yet better, when properly led and thoroughly aroused, for the economic and social rights, of which they are deprived in their native land.

In the Capitalist league, Smuts has inserted a clause to prevent the natives being trained to the use of firearms. Time will show whether the secret arming of the Negroes can be prohibited. The eyes of Negroes all over the world are turned to South Africa, where the blacks are living under conditions that are more intolerable than those existing in the Southern states of America. South Africa, to-day, is a potential powder plant, which, at any moment, may be blown up by the least spark of fire. The Negro delegates will go home from England to tell their people that the British Government can do nothing to remove the unjust restrictions that retard their social and economic progress. This news will only help to intensify the deep hatred existing between the white and black workers, not to mention the spirit of rebellion that is now being fostered by all Negroes subject to British Imperial rule. The *Negro World*, published in New York City, informs its numerous readers in Africa, the West Indies and the Americas of everything of interest that goes on amongst coloured people in every part of

the globe. Happily, the policy of the Anglo-Saxon abroad, unlike English diplomacy at home, is driving coloured peoples of all classes and all shades into One Big Union of Revolt.

From the Johannesburg *International*, we glean the fact that Capitalism, through one of its organs, is demanding the removal of the colour bar. And it will be abolished if it is inimical to the selfish interests of the exploiters! Such an event would, doubtless, make the natives grateful to their real oppressors, while the cleavage between them and the white workers would become greater. It is the duty of South African Socialism, if it be genuine, to forestal any such action, or, if it is helpless in the matter, to prove to the natives, by propaganda, that the revolutionary white workers, who are making the fight for freedom, are with them in their struggle for justice.

In the January *Liberator*, Mary White Ovington, a woman of the Southern aristocracy, we think, declares that the brutalities practised upon coloured people would be stopped at any time that the Southern oligarchy willed it. This clear fact has been long apparent to all close observers of the strife between the races.

The exploiting classes will set black against black, white against black, and face right about, if necessary, to keep their power. If for nothing more than sheer self-preservation, it is of great moment, now, that the white and coloured workers should get together, to find a real basis of mutual agreement and co-operation in the industrial world.

Socialism should step in to bridge the gulf that has been created between the white and coloured workers by Capitalism and its servant, Christianity. There is plenty of work to be done, and no time should be lost, for who knows when the storm will break?—when rivers of blood will flow, bearing the souls of white and black workers into eternity? Then, perhaps, the Anglo-Saxon world will wake up to find, all at once, a thousand Amritsars on its hands!

CLAUDE MCKAY.

### Women in Parliament.

A meeting on the need for women in Parliament to be held at Queen's Hall announces Mr. Lloyd George, Viscountess Astor, Sir Donald Maclean and Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson as speakers. Thus we see Mr. Henderson moving in circles quite out of sympathy with Socialist principles, circles which veer towards that long threatened coalition of Labour and Liberalism.

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## INTERNATIONAL NEWS.

### SPANISH ANTI-TRADE-UNION BILL.

In the Upper House of Parliament in Spain a measure has been passed, and is to be discussed by the Lower House, with the object of breaking up the power of trade unionism. *El Socialista* says that the Bill shows that its founders faithfully represent the plutocracy of Catalonia. In article 18 of the measure it is enacted that only workers of the same occupation may federate, and even they may not form a federation extending beyond a stated area in each province. This is meant as a death-blow to all national labour organisations and federations, including the old-fashioned, and not at all revolutionary, "Union General de Trabajadores," and even such societies as the "Federacion Grafica," which included both literary men and humble newsagents.

"As to the right of striking," says *El Socialista*, "which is merely the liberty which the workers have to dispose freely of their productive activity, this is limited and restricted in such a way in article 12, that in reality it is actually suppressed." That is to say, the workers may never declare a strike except after obtaining the vote by ballot of an absolute majority of two-thirds of the workers in each firm, and even then, only after the intervention of an arbitration court which must be allowed three days to try to bring about a settlement. The law recognises the existence of the so-called "Catholic unions" which are really nothing else than strike-breaking societies. *El Socialista* is confident that if the Bill should pass the Lower House, it will be ignored by the workers.

### SLAVERY IN TUNIS.

In Tunis, M. Beriel proposes to re-introduce slavery amongst the natives, and has issued a statement: "You have no right to resist what we judge useful for the exploitation of the country, and if you resist it, machine-guns will easily bring to an end your resistance. You should also recognise that it is not possible to deplete the budget further by permitting your children to be educated. Rather put your confidence in the Government which proposes to ameliorate your condition gradually. Above all, do not count on the Socialist Party." The slaves are apparently to be at the disposal of the French feudal lords for a period of two years.

### ITALIAN RAILWAY WORKERS' TRUCE.

In spite of the fact that the strike of the Italian railwaymen was not well supported by the public; that the Government was able to carry on many of the services, and that it was bound to fail in its broader aims owing to the fact that the railwaymen did not declare the strike at the opportune moment, namely, during the strike of the other Government workers, the men seem to have gained some points, including the eight-hours day. *Avanti!* of January 27th stated, "The time limit fixed by the Government for the return to work under the penalty of dismissal, has passed without a single striker returning to work."

### SWEDISH SOCIALISTS AND NOSKE.

A manifesto has been issued by the Swedish Socialist Party "Drawing the attention of the workers of Western Europe to the events in Germany and exhorting them to create a world-wide opinion in order to put an end to the new Prussian re-action which is wallowing in blood and keeps itself in power by force, stifling the voice of the working class and strangling the Press. The Germany of Noske, Ebert and Bauer is a worthy counterpart of reactionary Hungary, for the White Terror and unrestrained oppression of the working class."

### FRENCH RAILWAYMEN.

On March 6th and 7th there will be held in Paris, the Third Congress of the Railway Workers of the secondary lines. They are demanding the nationalisation of these lines, a minimum wage and pensions equal to those of the large lines and general improvements in wages.

### JUGO-SLAVS AND FIUME.

A joint manifesto has been issued in Paris by the Italian Socialist Group of Paris and the "Communist Federation of Jugo-Slav Students and Workers of France," demanding that the question of Fiume, like all other questions of nationality, should be submitted to a free plebiscite of the people concerned. The manifesto ends "Long Live the Universal Republic of the Soviets."

### ALSACIAN SOCIALISTS AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

In the *Republikaner* of Mulhouse, is a statement that the Alsatian Socialists do not consider it possible to know exactly the state of things in Soviet Russia. "At the same time the principles of the International of Moscow are not essentially in contradiction with the principles of socialism," they declare. The War has destroyed the Second International therefore, "It is necessary to enter into contact with the Third International." L.J.S.

## Labour in Norway. By NATHAN CHABROW.

An interview with a Norwegian Communist on the Labour Party of Norway, which has affiliated to the Third International.

The struggle in Norway between the Left Socialists and the Right Socialists began in 1906, after the separation from Sweden, at the time when Tramael, who was a member of the I.W.W. in the United States, returned from that country to his native land. Gradually he took a prominent part in the leadership of the Radical wing of the Labour Party, which is the Socialist Party, of Norway.

When the workers of Norway organised their strength politically they organised industrially at the same time; it was generally the Socialists who organised the workers in their trades unions and established Socialist branches throughout the country. They formed active Radical groups with a syndicalist tendency within the unions. In Norway the trades unionists are Socialists, so that the Socialist branches and trades unions blend into each other in such a manner that there is no strong line of demarcation between the industrial and the political organisations.

At first the trades unions were organised according to their crafts; to-day the movement to organise the workers in industrial unions is in actual practice in many of the industrial organisations where the craft structures do not exist. There are, for example, the industrial union of unskilled labour, the iron metal workers, the painters, the electrical workers, the lumbermen and lumber-jacks, and the seamen. They are all organised along industrial lines. At the present moment the Labour Party is working upon a plan which will group all the workers of Norway into One Big Industrial Union.

This change has taken place during the last year and a-half, which only goes to show what an influence the Left Wing of the Labour Party has upon the working men of Norway. Before that time the Left Wing had no influence upon the labour unions. What is true of the city proletariat is likewise true of the agricultural proletariat.

The Left Wing became a definite group in 1912, when the congress of that year met; the League of Young Socialists turned Left in the same year. In 1914 the war was declared.

The trade unions during that year organised their opposition, or Left Wing groups, but they were careful not to split away from the organisation itself. This opposition adopted syndicalist trade union principles. It is to be noted that at this time the National Executive Committee, which consisted of 20 members, included nine Left Wingers; and the Central Executive Committee, which consists of nine members, had one Left Winger.

The war was raging and the cost of living was growing higher and higher; this was because Norway is a small and dependent nation, dependent chiefly upon England, who at this time was at war with Germany. This made the Labour Party very revolutionary, even before the Russian Revolution. Of course the Russian Revolution greatly strengthened the revolutionary movement within the Labour Party. Then came the time of the proposed Stockholm Peace Conference, which Branting was endeavouring to bring about, but which the Allies sabotaged. Widnes, who at the time was editor of *Social Demokraten*, the national organ of the Labour Party of Norway, fell under the influence of Branting; so that the policy of the Labour Party in Norway was dictated by Branting, of Sweden.

The Bolshevik Revolution roused the world and chased away the Constituent Assembly, and *Social Demokraten* denounced Bolshevism as a principle. Hard times grew harder. Committees were formed throughout Norway which had for their purpose the lowering of the cost of living. The Government being cognisant of this fact, immediately took steps to alleviate the pressure of the hard times, and the committees were dissolved. Dissolved, yes, but the idea remained; the Soviet idea. For these committees, or councils, as they were called, had very much in common with the Soviets which had suddenly sprung up in Russia, and which were making such a stir all over the world. It was easy, therefore, for Norway to catch this new radical idea, and the Labour Party, as in many another country, was completely revolutionised. In the spring of 1918 the Left Wing got control of the Labour Party, and adopted a programme in which the Labour Party is reported to have said that it considers Parliamentary action as

of secondary importance. Telegrams conveyed greetings to the Russian Bolsheviks; Balabanoff was officially invited to attend the coming Norwegian Congress; the Convention affiliated to the Zimmerwald International, but did not break off relations with the Second International; a Central Executive Committee was elected, consisting solely of Left Wingers, which captured *Social Demokraten* for the Left Wing. In Norway there are 40 publications, half of which are dailies; all these were captured for revolutionary Socialism.

An extraordinary Congress was held last spring; the Party then declared for the Soviet system; broke with the Second International and united with the Communist International. The Left Wing had 220 votes against 70 of the Right Wing. On November 24th the Right Wing held a Conference. All talk of publishing a daily paper was fruitless, for the Right Wing has no money. The future is therefore very bright for Norway. If it were not for England, who controls the political policy of Norway, things would be otherwise in the country to-day.

The organisation of the Labour Party of Norway is indeed interesting for the student of Socialism, or, as we call the doctrine to-day, Communism; the Party is built up of unions; Socialist branches take in mostly non-labouring comrades, women's organisations, which comprise women who are married and cannot thus belong to the labour unions, and finally the Young People. The Young Socialists have their own papers and administration; but each member of the League or "förbundet" must also be a member of the Party and of his union. The women are affiliated to the Party through their trades unions, except those who are house-wives and are organised in separate branches. Christiania, as a branch of the Party, consists of about 100 trades unions; 5 Young People's clubs; 12 women's clubs; 4 or 5 prohibition clubs (in Scandinavia the Communists are also the prohibitionists); 1 students' club; a shop-keepers' club (small shopkeepers who are good Bolsheviks, but cannot, by virtue of the mode whereby they earn their livelihood, belong to the unions). The political organisation and the industrial organisation work hand in hand, exactly like the right and left arms of the human body.

## WELSH NOTES. By R. P.

An interesting position has been reached in the South Wales coalfield. During the last few years very many revolutionary proposals have been passed at conferences of the S.W.M.F. These proposals, it appears, the Executive have shelved indefinitely and finally forgotten. Unfortunately, however, for the Executive, the rank and file have not, and in a great many cases have at the expiration of a given time limit acted in accordance with these resolutions. A typical example of this is the recent refusal of the Ferndale and Mardy mines to "race" their trams until such times as the management instal dust-proof trams. Now although these men were acting in accordance with the decision of conference, their action has been repudiated by the Executive.

A Special Conference of the South Wales miners will be called in the course of a couple of weeks, and although the official reason for calling same may be given as something entirely different, undoubtedly decisions affecting cases of this sort will be arrived at.

Miners will be well advised to see that their delegates have definite mandates upon this point to ensure that the Executive carry out the desires of the rank and file.

Mardy appears to be gaining some notoriety as the breeding place of revolutionaries, which it appears is resented by the colliery management there. Seeing in Arthur Horner a man who bid fair to maintain the high reputation of Mardy checkweighers, established by Noah Ablett and Ted Williams, they decided to rid themselves of him. Action in the Law Courts has therefore been pending against comrade Horner for some months, his crime being that he caused a few men to strike "by replying to these men" when questioned as to the purport of a resolution passed in the lodge. Unless settled previously, this case and the case of comrade Pritchard (full details of which were given in our last issue) will come up for discussion at the Special Conference to be convened shortly.

Mr. Cleaves, the newly appointed chairman of the Swansea Chamber of Commerce, is evidently one of those discerning individuals who believe in calling

a spade a spade. Dealing with the congestion at the Swansea Docks he said he attributed it entirely to the shorter working day of the dockers and the "so-called" eight hour shift. Possibly our friend has tapped a message from Mars and found out that eight hours is not eight hours!

Miss Mary O'Neill has just concluded a tour of South Wales. Large numbers of miners have learnt for the first time the true position of the Irish and their aspirations. How it is possible to be a Sinn Fein Bolshevik was explained by Miss O'Neill to hundreds of comrades who had hitherto been bitterly hostile to the Sinn Fein movement.

The remarkable growth of the ca-canny doctrine in South Wales is clearly shown by the continued agitation for dispensing with checkweighers. This virtually means the rejection of piece-work, or payment by results. Minimum wage is being claimed to-day in places where a few years back colliers would have been earning good money, and, by the way, ruining their constitutions.

The Park Pit colliers, by a majority of two to one, decided this week to dispense with the services of their three checkweighers.

Friends who are in the know are wondering if a certain miners' leader, who claims to be fearless, will make public his discoveries concerning the injustice of the Justices. If these revelations are made, great things may happen in South Wales as a consequence.

Quite a feature of the counter propaganda meetings in Wales is the introduction of music, singing, etc., in the programme. Seventy-five per cent. of the capable artists in Wales being Socialists, however, matters soon righted themselves. Socialist philosophy is now expounded with liberal doses of music. More care, however, should be taken in the selection of songs and every propaganda meeting should have a copy or copies of the Communist Song Book (4d., from 400, Old Ford-road, E) at their disposal.

## Misleading Youth.

In case all classes, young and old, should fail to know what "Bolshevism" means, the *Children's Newspaper*, published, in its issue of January 31st, an article on "Russia: The Bad Apple in Europe's Basket." Horrors of the blockade, as portrayed by Arthur Ransome, are related in this article as crimes of "Bolshevism."

Yet the greatest Bolshevik atrocity lies in wishing to "overturn the present way of living in all the civilised world," according to this brainy paper. Does *anyone* want our present system to continue?

Most important for us is the fact that the anti-Bolshevik camp is using every means to poison the minds of the children. Already we have reported the efforts in schools, and now this new line of using the columns of a so-called children's paper to mislead the young. Was there ever such an unscrupulous act?

## Nigeria.

Sir F. D. Lugard, in his report on Nigeria, the largest British protectorate, points out that "the sudden abolition of the institution of domestic slavery would have produced social chaos, and the wholesale assertion of their freedom by slaves was therefore discouraged." Thus does slavery exist with British protection. What about that "liberty-loving" race out for fair play?

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

### A "RED" WEEK IN ENGLAND.

It is fashionable now for Labour leaders to go round and carry out an Inquiry. At present they are "doing" Ireland; and they have also expressed the desire to do Russia. As possible members of a probable Labour Government, they mean to be able to apply successfully their wise statesmanship to problems they have studied on the spot.

Apparently there does not seem to be any need for an Inquiry this side of the Irish Sea, but Labour leaders in search of excitement can find plenty in the happenings of the last week or so.

On January 14th, at Chepstow, a woman was stabbed after being a bride for only one day. On the same date, a silk robbery took place near Merton Abbey. Three men were attacked with beer bottles in Kennington, and Lady Loughborough's flat was robbed of about £10,000 worth of jewels. On the 15th, a £750 wallet was stolen, and a judge passed the death sentence on a man for burying his child under Peckham Arches. The next day, £17,000 in Greek notes was stolen at the Docks, and a young man assaulted a girl of seven near Roxteth. The 17th saw a military safe "lifted" from Aldershot Camp, and a man walked off with £350 in an attaché case in West London. The day after (the 18th), the landlady of the Cross Keys Inn at Chelsea was found murdered in her cellar, and an Italian was stabbed at Brixton. On the 19th, there was a burglary at Redhill, and a wealthy recluse was murdered at Little Lever, near Bolton. The 26th celebrated a highway robbery on a woman near Barnet,

a Post Office hold-up at Bermondsey, where £900 was cleared; another at Liverpool, netting £150; and the next day another Post Office was cleared of a goodly sum at Middlesbrough. The wave of crime next passed Beckenham, where a "haul of thousands" was made by burglars; a woman was stabbed and left for dead at Nottingham, and an epidemic of villa burglaries broke out at Ealing; the same day several men made an attack on an ex-soldier and his wife with knives and iron railings at Bow.

This is cheerful reading, and will no doubt be reproduced in the Moscow Press. Further, there are still two murders on hand which Labour leaders may profitably investigate. One is the murder of Nurse Shore in a railway carriage, and the death of the lady on the sandhills.

What does this so-called wave of crime amount to, Henry? It amounts to a severe knock-out blow to the present system, and quests by Labour leaders are merely a search for the obvious. Crimes of robbery are easily accounted for by the fact that wealth is not equitably distributed. This sounds like our old friend the "share out alike" principle, but it depends on what one means by wealth. The law sends a man to six months' hard for stealing for his consumptive wife, and the same law says nothing of 3,200 per cent. profits by wool-gatherers.

According to a recent case, a woman is still regarded as the property of the man who marries her, or as the judge so humorously put it, "a semi-chattel." Hence we have the crimes of passion. Jealousy

arises mainly from the mixed idea that a man can do as he likes with his own; and even many women are apt to regard their husband as their peculiar property, although the counsel in the above case said he was not aware of a case where a woman could successfully sue another woman for the "seduction of her husband."

But marriage is not only based on the supposed property of the person; it is also based on the mere idea of private property in goods, as in the case of the actress who claimed a share of the wealth of a millionaire for her son, although, so far as I can gather, in the eyes of the law she was not legitimately his wife. The present circumstances make a woman dependent on a man for her livelihood, and even in Bolshevik Russia there have been found women who resent the easy divorce system, as they had not been accustomed to the idea of being economically free of a man.

It must be admitted, however, that in England and other countries, where women are used to depending on themselves, they earn so little that they either decline to marry, or have to depend on the man to a great extent when mated.

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

### A "RED" WEEK IN ENGLAND.

It is fashionable now for Labour leaders to go round and carry out an Inquiry. At present they are "doing" Ireland; and they have also expressed the desire to "do" Russia. As possible members of a probable Labour Government, they mean to be able to apply successfully their wise statesmanship to problems they have studied on the spot.

Apparently there does not seem to be any need for an Inquiry this side of the Irish Sea, but Labour leaders in search of excitement can find plenty in the happenings of the last week or so.

On January 14th, at Chapstow, a woman was stabbed after being a bride for only one day. On the same date, a silk robbery took place near Merton Abbey. Three men were attacked with beer bottles in Kennington, and Lady Loughborough's flat was robbed of about £10,000 worth of jewels. On the 15th, a £750 wallet was stolen, and a judge passed the death sentence on a man for burying his child under Peckham Arches. The next day, £17,000 in Greek notes was stolen at the Docks, and a young man assaulted a girl of seven near Rorteth. The 17th saw a military safe "lifted" from Aldershot Camp, and a man walked off with £850 in an attaché case in West London. The day after (the 18th), the landlady of the Cross Keys Inn at Chelsea was found murdered in her cellar, and an Italian was stabbed at Brixton. On the 19th, there was a burglary at Redhill, and a wealthy recluse was murdered at Little Lever, near Bolton. The 26th celebrated a highway robbery on a woman near Barnet,

a Post Office hold-up at Bermondsey, where £900 was cleared; another at Liverpool, netting £150; and the next day another Post Office was cleared of a goodly sum at Middlesbro'. The wave of crime next passed Beckenham, where a "haul of thousands" was made by burglars; a woman was stabbed and left for dead at Nottingham, and an epidemic of villa burglaries broke out at Ealing; the same day several men made an attack on an ex-soldier and his wife with knives and iron railings at Bow.

This is cheerful reading, and will no doubt be reproduced in the Moscow Press. Further, there are still two murders on hand which Labour leaders may profitably investigate. One is the murder of Nurse Shore in a railway carriage, and the death of the lady on the sandhills.

What does this so-called wave of crime amount to, Henry? It amounts to a severe knock-out blow to the present system, and quests by Labour leaders are merely a search for the obvious. Crimes of robbery are easily accounted for by the fact that wealth is not equitably distributed. This sounds like our old friend the "share out alike" principle, but it depends on what one means by wealth. The law sends a man to six months' hard for stealing for his consumptive wife, and the same law says nothing of 3,200 per cent. profits by wool-gatherers.

According to a recent case, a woman is still regarded as the property of the man who marries her, or as the judge so humorously put it, "a semi-chattel." Hence we have the crimes of passion. Jealousy

arises mainly from the mixed idea that a man can do as he likes with his own; and even many women are apt to regard their husband as their peculiar property, although the counsel in the above case said he was not aware of a case where a woman could successfully sue another woman for the "seduction of her husband."

But marriage is not only based on the supposed property of the person; it is also based on the mere idea of private property in goods, as in the case of the actress who claimed a share of the wealth of a millionaire for her son, although, so far as I can gather, in the eyes of the law she was not legitimately his wife. The present circumstances make a woman dependent on a man for her livelihood, and even in Bolshevik Russia there have been found women who resent the easy divorce system, as they had not been accustomed to the idea of being economically free of a man.

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When the Hungarian Soviet Republic was formed there was a growth of revolutionary thought amongst the workers of Vienna, and the development was still more marked when the Soviet Republic appeared in Munich. If a serious and widespread revolutionary movement in Austria had been possible, a bridge between Soviet Hungary and Soviet Munich might have been created, but the Austrian movement was too weak to act.

The Communist Party gave forth the battle cry: "All power to the Workers' Councils," but the utterance had no effect, as the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils formed in the general strike of 1918 had now almost all disappeared.

Victor Adler had formally declared against the principle of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in 1917, and the Social Democratic Party had adhered to the tradition set by him. Therefore it was against the will of the S.D.P. that the councils had been founded at all.

The Hungarian comrades meanwhile sent urgent appeals for a revolutionary movement in Austria to support the Hungarian Soviet. When Munich fell their appeals became still more urgent. At length an impossible plan was devised to set up a Soviet in Vienna on June 15th, 1919.

Hungary was unable to send food to Austria, Austria lacked food and raw materials, The Workers' Council of Vienna, in view of this, declared against a revolutionary outbreak at that moment; but the many Communist leaders were imprisoned and workers were killed and wounded in the streets.

The development now taking place in Austria is reactionary in the Government, and revolutionary amongst the workers. The watchword of the first Government, after the fall of the Empire, was: "Union with Germany." It received little support, and the Government had to retire, being replaced by a Government of right wing Social Democrats.

#### Austria and the Peace.

Austria cannot fulfil the Peace conditions imposed upon her by the Allied conquerors; her economic position makes it impossible; but the Peace has been accepted, because for the time being it ends the danger of military invasion. Austria is now absolutely dependent for her economic life upon the Allied Powers. The War debt is fifty milliard kronen; the Austrian State requires ten milliard a year. The population is only 6,000,000. The Allied capitalist Powers hypocritically pretend that they will "save" Austria; but in reality, their sole intention is to exploit her. The Social Democrats in office do not expose the true position. They pretend that it is most valuable to have come to an agreement with the Allies, and that the economic life of the nation has already begun to revive.

The food prices are so high, and the worth of money so low, that the Austrian worker, having worked for a month and gained 2,000 or 3,000 kronen in Austrian money, has not gained the power to buy so much, in essential necessaries, as the United States worker of the same class gains in three or four days.

Austrian money in December, 1919, had only one-thirtieth of its pre-war exchange value. Prices had risen twenty-fold, wages only ten-fold.

Political freedom under such conditions has little value; Universal Suffrage and the eight-hour day will not preserve the Austrian worker from dying of starvation.

The Allied Committee for Reparation has the power to prevent all social reforms and to increase all economic burdens.

The Austrian masses do not yet clearly realise the situation. Therefore they have

made the Social Democratic Party the largest political party in the country, and, until recently, scarcely eight or ten workers out of a hundred had joined the Communist Party. In the elections for the Vienna Workers' and Soldiers' Council last spring, less than a dozen Communists were elected. But the Party is growing steadily: in upper Austria the proportion of Communists has now grown to about 14 per cent. of the organised workers, and in some districts, the Communists are now even in a majority.

The Workers' Committees have made great headway since, at Easter, 1918, the Communist Party decided to make a special campaign to secure their establishment.

The Social Democratic Party was then officially opposed to the formation of the Councils, but it has now made them a point in its programme. The right wing of the Party, under Renner, desires to anchor the Councils by legislation to the spot where it wishes them to remain. The Social Democrats even begin to speak now of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but they are careful to add that the time for that is not yet ripe.

In Austria, 76 per cent. of the land holders are small holders, but they own altogether only 10 per cent. of the land; nine-tenths of the land being held by the great landlords. Communist propaganda amongst the small peasants ought, therefore, to be readily received.

Between 30,000 and 40,000 of the agricultural labourers are organised.

The Communist Party numbers about 10,000 members. It has a daily paper in Vienna, and a weekly paper in Upper Austria. It has succeeded in creating Communist Parties in the countries covered by German Austria. In the Alpine countries, the Communist organisations are already independent of the centre in Vienna. The Party is anxious to get into touch with the Communist Parties of other countries.

To achieve a successful revolution, it is necessary that Austria should be able to procure food from abroad, and be strengthened by the progress of revolution in Germany and the East of Europe.

#### ROUMANIA

Before the War the Socialist Party of Old Roumania numbered 2,000 people, and from 6,000 to 8,000 workers were organised industrially. There are now 45,000 trade unionists and the Socialist Party numbers 30,000 members; 29,000 of whom accept the principles of the Third International and the Communist Party.

In New Roumania the Socialist Party is much larger than in Old Roumania; it numbers 130,000, but it is Opportunist and Social Patriotic. It has two members in the Roumanian Bourgeois Government. The Socialist Party of Old Roumania, on the other hand, is unrepresented in the Parliament, because it refused to take part in the last election, as a protest against the continuance of martial law, though the war was over; and the censorship, which forbade the publication of any criticism of the Government. Both the Old Roumanian Socialist Party and the People's League (the party of the peasants), called on the voters to annul their ballot papers by way of protest, and in Bucharest alone 50,000 voters responded to the call.

In spite of the wide divergence in the views of the parties of Old and New Roumania, they have united; but a split is certain to occur presently on the line of principle. The split will not be provoked by the left wing, but by the right, which will profit by its majority to expel the advance guard.

The great need of the revolutionary movement is secret newspapers and literature, in order to give the people a clear knowledge of the situation, which cannot be im-

parted under the eye of the censor. It is also urgently necessary to carry on a revolutionary propaganda amongst the soldiers. In Bessarabia alone 120,000 soldiers are now stationed.

One of the great difficulties the movement has had to overcome is that the most experienced and learned comrades have had to fly into exile to escape the White Terror.

Before the War, 150,000 Roumanian peasant families were without land, and as soon as the War ended, the demand arose that the land should be given to the peasants. A law was thereafter passed to expropriate the great landowners of Roumania, and to let their lands to the peasants for 10 years, no proprietor being allowed more than 800 hectares of land.

After 10 years, the peasants who have proved capable in cultivating their land, may remain on as tenants, the remainder are to be deprived of it and to be given as labourers to the larger landowners or to the small tenants. The promise of land is already being used as a bribe to induce counter-revolutionary sentiments; by priests, liberal politicians, mayors, and officials connected with the bourgeois administration.

The struggle for existence is now very harsh in Roumania. The cost of living is greater than in Germany. An extensive industry before the War was the making up of metal imported from Britain and Germany; now that work is stopped because the metal is not to be had. Roumania's richest asset is petroleum. The capitalists of Britain and France both wish to develop it; the Roumanian capitalists, whose wealth has greatly increased during the War, are eager to exploit it themselves.

The contest between the workers and the capitalists is growing in bitterness. On the day of the Peace celebrations, the workers organised a general strike by way of challenge, and on November 1st, 1919, the Bourgeois Government shot down 550 workers and imprisoned many more, on account of a sympathetic strike in support of the printers.

A Government action against the secretary of the Socialist Party was dismissed by the court; the speech of the judge was censored by the Government.

In Transylvania, to hoodwink the workers and mislead them politically, the Government issued a bogus Socialist paper which in general appearance was like that of the Socialist organ; it described itself as a "Moderate Socialist" paper.

The Roumanian Socialists complain that the Hungarian Soviet Government acted in such a way as to make it impossible for the Socialists in Old Roumania to help them. Instead of sending agitators into Old Roumania, where the peasants were in most cases very poor and inclined to be revolutionary, the Hungarian Soviet sent them, it was alleged, into the new Roumanian territories of the Banat and Transylvania, where the peasants are comparatively wealthy and very reactionary. The attempt to stir up the newly-regained territories against the old Roumanian Government was bad tactics in the view of the Old Roumanian Socialists. Moreover, according to the Old Roumanian Socialists, the Hungarian Soviet Government carelessly admitted to its ranks in Budapest, Roumanians who were well known to the Roumanian Socialists as Government spies. In the aeroplanes hovering over Budapest were officials of the Roumanian Government. The Roumanian Socialists say that they warned the Hungarian Soviet Government that these men were spies from Bucharest, but that, nevertheless, the Soviet Government gave them full confidence.

[I express no opinion on these statements, merely giving them as reported.]

Revolution in Roumania is inevitable; but at present Roumania is being used as a centre of the counter-revolutionary

struggle, and having been used in crushing Soviet Hungary, it is still used against Soviet Russia.

### HOLLAND

The Communist Party of Holland was founded ten years ago. It claims to be the oldest of the Communist parties. Though the influence of the Russian Revolution has lately brought an influx of the advanced youth into the Party, its principles remain unchanged.

Twelve years ago Wynkoop, Ceton, Gorter, Van Ravesdeyn and Pannekoek, who were then members of the old Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party (the S.D.A.P.), started an extreme Socialist organ, *The Tribune*, and formed a radical group within the S.D.A.P.

Two years later the difference between the *Tribune* policy and the official policy of the S.D.A.P. became so marked that Wynkoop, Van Ravesdeyn, and Ceton, who were co-editors of *The Tribune*, were expelled from the Party.

In that year a group of revolutionary Socialists, led by Henriette Roland Holst, broke away from the old S.D.A.P. and joined the S.D.P.

The pressure of the war hardships which befel neutral Holland, gave the S.D.P. a considerable influence with the Dutch working class, and its membership increased to between 2,000 and 3,000. At its Congress, held at the close of 1918, the S.D.P. changed its name to the Communist Party.

The Party has two representatives in the Dutch Parliament, and about 40 representatives on local bodies. It uses Parliament for propaganda only, and as a means for attacking the Parliamentary institution and the Capitalist State.

The Party is fortunate in possessing first-class theoreticians.

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## GERMANY AND RUSSIA. A Comparison by CLARA ZETKIN.

You ask me to give you my views on the situation and the duties of Communists, the advanced Socialists. I will try, though it is difficult to write in the midst of hot battles, and the occupations and pre-occupations of the manifold tasks and duties of the day.

The world-war, being the natural, legitimate child, and the crime of International Capitalism—whilst the moment and the circumstances of its outburst are, without doubt, the particular crime of capitalist German Imperialism—it must be followed by the Last Judgment, the world-judgment upon it, by the world revolution, the triumph of International Socialism.

The world began with the victory of International Capitalism and Imperialism over International Socialism. The first victim expiring on the blood-steeped battlefields, was the Second Socialist and Labour International. The workers of the two imperialist alliances, struggling for world-dominion and world-exploitation, murdered each other for the benefit of the master-class in the various countries, instead of uniting for the common international class-war against the exploiting Capitalists. The Second International had done its work. It had made the Marxian scientific Socialist doctrine the leading theory of the Labour and Socialist movement throughout the world; it had developed National Socialist, and Labour Parties, which fought in the name and for the principles of Socialism, following, more or less, the example set by the German Social Democracy, the model party, which predominated in the International.

It is impossible, without going into great detail, to deal with all the facts and circumstances concerning the complete bankruptcy of the Second International, which failed to prevent the world-war.

The irreducible, historic fact is, that the Second International suffered from the same disease as its much admired model party—German Social Democracy—the contradiction between socialist revolutionary theories and reformist practice. It had turned out a factory for rather scientifically correct, and beautiful formulas, and resolutions, and for brilliant demonstrations, but it had abstained from being a strong union for socialist action.

When the Labour and Socialist Parties in most of the belligerent countries, with the patriotic, nay, jingo, misrepresentation of "national defence," attracted the workers to the mud and blood-soaked battlefield of Imperialism, instead of calling them to the class struggle against Capitalism, the capitalist classes of the whole world were jubilant; international Socialism was dead, quite dead. There was no longer any danger of international class-war. Class union, unity of exploiters and exploited in all countries, now took its place. The world-war had saved international Capitalism, and placed it in that heaven of bourgeois harmony where the proletarian lamb walked side by side with the capitalist lion, until it was devoured by the "king of beasts."

The Second International was dead, but international Socialism was not dead. The sources of its life are not congress resolutions. It thrives poorly in the shadow of studio lamps. It gets its life from the economic and social evolution of society, from the development of Capitalism and bourgeois social order—the reflex of historic evolution, the production and distribution of life's necessities—the feeling, the thought, the will and institutions of men. It wields power and force in the large, world-wide atmosphere of capitalist reality. Certainly, International Socialism must reappear, even as the sun, which rises again

after having been swallowed up by the night.

The International re-appeared, in spite of the shameful, horrible fact that the National Anthems of the belligerent nations drowned the International hymn of Socialism, and that hundreds of workers died with the patriotic songs of drunken slaves upon their pale lips. International Socialism suddenly faced International Capitalism, standing upright, proud, inspired by the will to revolutionise the world. In a country where the Capitalist development is younger and weaker than in the European states of so-called ancient "culture," and where, therefore, the carrying on of socialist work was peculiarly difficult—in Russia, an almost wholly agricultural country, not having a numerous and strong bourgeoisie accustomed to rule, possessing, on the other hand, an embryo industrial proletariat steeped in revolutionary principles, and trained by Socialists of deep theoretical knowledge of the historic processes of social life—men of iron will and of a high spirit of devotion; besides millions and millions of peasants who had conserved the traditions of solidarity and communal life, shaped by the propaganda of the social revolutionaries, and the doctrines of Leo Tolstoy and his disciples.

In Russia, the industrial working class united with the peasants, and seized the political power, following the watchword of the onward-sweeping Bolsheviki, and the revolutionary Left Wing of the Social Democrats: "All power to the Soviets." This proletarian revolution was, in reality, a Socialist revolution, for the political power of the working-people was, from the very first day of their victory, engaged in overthrowing Capitalism, in order to usher in Socialism or Communism. The Russian Revolution of November, 1917, followed the military defeat and bankruptcy of combined Capitalism and Czarism upon the imperialist battlefields. And it had its predecessors, as we all know; the tame and respectable revolution of March, which carried the Liberals and Democrats into power, whilst the Social Democrats controlled the situation from without, refusing to join the Government; then the July revolution, the Democratic revolution, which gave the power to the bourgeois democracy—the Social-Democrats, in the Menshevik and social revolutionaries of the Right Wing, all joined together to form the "one democracy pure and simple." This coalition Government was like the marriage of the carp and the hare, which remained unfertile, the Socialist and social revolutionaries in it being the slaves of the "one democracy." The much-praised Kerenski period was a period of paper formalism and illusions, which accomplished not one definite social reform—nay, not even the constitutional settlement of political liberties and rights, or their free, assured practice.

Instead of fettering and crushing capitalist Imperialism, the Kerenski Government helped to keep this foe of all workers alive, by continuing the War, and even renewing the offensive. In spite of, indeed, because of, all these striking features, the July revolution was, and is, for all bourgeois democrats and opportunist moderate Socialists, for all sentimental political maidens of both sexes, and for all masters of social confusion, the "beautiful revolution," the revolution of harmony, the pet and idol of all who dream of a democracy. In their minds, the political power is held by the bourgeoisie in that democracy, whilst the proletariat is fed upon the husks of equal political rights and upon meagre reform; the pet and idol, in fact, of all who desire Socialism, but, believing in the system of

the ballot and Parliamentarism, are against revolution. Yet, during the six months of two revolutions, which restricted their aims to a new political order of state-democracy, the Russian industrial workers, "uncultivated" and illiterate as they were, had learned the great, decisive lesson which their "cultivated" brothers in Western Europe have not grasped in 150 years—namely, that "one democracy, pure and simple," means nothing more than bourgeois democracy—political powers for the possessing classes—in fact, the rule and reign of the bourgeoisie. Consequently, there is great antagonism between bourgeois-democracy and proletarian-democracy—the first being of a formal and political nature, the second grounded on economic equality and liberty. A union of bourgeois and proletarian democracy must be a social impossibility, it will always move around in a circle, for it cannot go forward, and, finally, the power of the bourgeoisie is upheld and strengthened. The working-class, therefore, cannot be satisfied with a part, or half of the political power. For half the political power means practically no power at all, except to be employed and expropriated by the exploiters—practically giving all power to the bourgeoisie for the purpose of maintaining Capitalism.

The aim of the workers should be: all power to the working-class, represented by councils of industrial workers (all employees), and agricultural workers; Sovietism in place of Parliamentarism. This lesson was soon learned by the Russian workers, who quickly lost all confidence in so-called democracy, and in the theory and practice of Democrats and Moderate Socialists. They adopted the views and the battle-cry of the Bolsheviks, who were in the majority in the Petrograd and Moscow Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. The "ugly revolution of November" was inevitable; for it was the revolution of the workers for their own emancipation. It was led by the Bolsheviks, who showed themselves as quick in weighing up the events and facts of historic evolution, as they were keen and full of devotion in practical action. The industrial workers seized the power, and they were soon joined by masses of the peasants; thus was the Socialist Soviet Republic founded. It began its gigantic task of building up a new social order, not merely a political order, but a new world of Socialism and Communism. The revolutionary Socialists created this world, surrounded by bitter, irreconcilable enemies, who stood out against Socialism in Russia itself and on the frontiers. They could not, at first, secure life and existence for the social revolution. In order to get to the classless society, and to bunk the power and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, they had, during the transitory phase of the revolution, to introduce the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet system replaced bourgeois Parliamentarism. The Socialist leaders knew that the gigantic task before them called for gigantic forces. All the strength and capacity of the masses working with brain or hand must be devoted to erecting and defending the Socialist order, therefore the dissipation of the people's treasure and blood, by war, must be stopped. The revolution called for peace. The Soviet Government recalled the troops from the front and demobilised them, offering peace to all belligerent states, and urging the people of all countries to make peace with each other over the heads of their Capitalist and Imperialist Governments, and to stand for Socialism against Capitalism.

The revolutionary Socialists and workers of Russia believed in the might of International Socialist ideas—they believed in the power of the international solidarity of the workers. They felt that the people's will would force their governments to make peace. But they were cruelly deceived. The workers of the Allied countries and

of the Central Powers betrayed International Socialism for the second time. They continued to murder and to be murdered for the gain of their master classes.

The most shameless betrayal of all, however, was that of the German socialist workers, who, at the command of William's generals, invaded Russia when it was demobilising and peace-asking. And they did worse. In Finland, in the Baltic Provinces and the Ukraine, they turned their machine guns upon the revolutionary workers who were striving for the Soviet commonwealth; they helped to keep the great landowners, bankers, profiteers and international Capitalists in power. They drowned the revolution in a sea of blood. They allowed General Hoffmann, at Brest-Litovsk, to dictate, at the point of the sword, a most cruel peace, a peace which would strangle the Soviet Republic and separate it from its most needful economic sources of life—cutting it off from the great centres of agriculture, coal, naphtha, etc.

The efforts of the Spartacists in Germany to prevent, by a general strike, a peace of violence and suppression, and to procure a peace in accordance with socialistic principles, were supported by the Independent Socialist Party, but their support was half-hearted, and they were bitterly opposed by the Social Patriots, under the leadership of Scheidemann. They were unsuccessful, and Soviet Russia had to bow and pass under the Caudine yoke of the Brest-Litovsk Peace. She was cruelly disappointed, but did not despair. She stood, proud and firm, for social revolution. She used the sword and the ploughshare; she fought counter-revolution without and within; she changed the old regime into a Communist order. She was the hope and glory of those who believed in International Socialism in all countries. In spite of the second defeat of Socialism by imperialist Russia, she proved that International Socialism was alive, and that the revolution was marching on. And revolution marched on because of the logical laws of history.

The military victory of the Central Powers in the East, and the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, which was to crush revolutionary Russia, preceded and prepared the military defeat of the same powers on the battlefields of the West, where the reactionary Germany of William II. was crushed. It must be stated that the military defeat of German Imperialism was but the result of the political incapacity of the German bourgeoisie in their historic fight with absolutism and the Prussian "junkers." The military breaking-down of the Central Powers was followed by revolution in the ancient dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. It must be noted, however, that it was only a political revolution, transforming the various national parties of the Hapsburg Empire into independent national states, which became vassal states of the Entente Powers. Yet revolution not only brought the progress of political liberty and democracy, it shook and awakened the different classes of the population and made them become conscious of their class interests. These newly-created, independent, national states are pregnant with social revolution. Already the ancient national conflicts and struggles begin to change into social struggles—the class war. The concurrence and collaboration of various circumstances accelerated this inevitable process in Hungary, where it led to the formation of the Socialist Soviet Republic, supported by the united Communists and Moderate Social-Democrats. But, apparently, it was born too early.

The military defeat of the Central Powers opened wide the door for revolution in Germany. Revolution did what the bourgeoisie had refused to do. It destroyed the Hohenzollern dynasty, and flung all the toy thrones of the little rulers into the "old curiosity shop" of history. It

seemed to have smashed militarism to pieces. It was the supreme act of the rebellious workers and soldiers, not of Parliament. The working-class, represented by Councils of Workers and Soldiers, rapidly formed, seized the political power. The bourgeoisie showed little resistance. They were astonished, but powerless, and quietly accepted the rule of the proletariat.

There were various reasons for the apparent acquiescence of the bourgeoisie. The possessing classes were suddenly surprised by the revolutionary attitude of the workers, who, for four years, had shown themselves so humble and docile, obeying all the orders of William's generals, in the interests of Capitalist Imperialism. They had been so enthusiastic in defending what the Social-Patriots called "our country," that the possessing class could not believe its eyes, could not grasp the fact that these good slaves had changed overnight into serious and dangerous rebels. It could believe it the less because the quiescent masses continued to follow the lead of the Social-Democrats, alias the Social-Patriots.

The manufacturers, big bankers and influential profiteers believed that the German workers would be "reasonable," as they had hitherto been, that they would have only a good, comfortable revolution, inspired by moderation and ruled by opportunism, which could be supported and exploited by them, not one which touched Capitalism and realised Socialism. The bourgeoisie would agree to the modernising of the political machine of the State, for the semi-constitutionalism, the rather undisguised autocracy and self-government of William was too old-fashioned; and often it was in direct conflict with the profitable carrying on of their business at home and abroad. They felt the same with regard to the Prussian military system. Besides, history had taught them that the blue bourgeois republic is the most perfect and convenient form of capitalist class dominion, which conserves the power of exploiting and ruling to the possessing class, and deceives the exploited and ruled classes by formal political paper-rights, and, perhaps, by some cheap social reforms.

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