

Workers' Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

CZECHO-SLOVAKS LEAVE SIBERIA.

Interview with Soldiers at Trieste.

The first Czecho-Slovak regiment has come home from Siberia. The soldiers who seized the Siberian railway and the Ukrainian wheat-lands, and cut off food from Bolshevik Russia when the people were in their last agony of starvation, the men who fought the Bolsheviks on a line four thousand miles

of the wounded. They stripped the poor wretches first, for the clothes were the booty of the Cossack executioners, and clothes are worth a great deal of money in Siberia. Then, sometimes, the Cossacks would shoot. But, more probably, they would simply attack the naked men with their sabres. They

victims by throwing them into a river, expecting that the current would carry them away. But they did not know that it was only a stagnant branch of the river. When the spring came, the water was dried up, and there hundreds of corpses were found.

The soldiers said that Koltchak's armies were usually recruited from the worst criminals in the jails. They considered Koltchak's soldiers wholly disreputable and bad. His civil government was even worse. It was generally formed of men who were at once incapable, corrupt and vicious. From the first weeks of the Koltchak régime the population hated it bitterly.

The Czech soldiers knew these things, and quickly made known their refusal to fight for Koltchak. The Entente observers must have known them too. But the Entente chose Koltchak to be the ruler of all Russia. They gave him money and arms and practical diplomatic recognition, and proclaimed him to the world as a "democrat." Knowing, as they did, how he tortured, robbed and massacred the population of Siberia, they sought to enable him to do the same thing to that of European Russia.

The Czech soldiers laughed when I asked them if the Soviet régime would last in Siberia. "Of course," is what they invariably said. Some explained that the Bolsheviks would probably take the other revolutionary parties into the Government. But they all agreed that the majority of the population was Bolshevik, and that nothing but a Soviet form of government is possible. They did not believe the Japanese would be able to offer any effective resistance. General Semyenoff's Cossacks, they believe, are already out of existence.

Finally, they made it clear to me that they will not permit Czecho-Slovakia to make war against Soviet Russia. If France wants to keep Czecho-Slovakia as a "barbed wire obstacle against Bolshevism," she will have to muzzle the Czech soldiers who have been fighting the Bolsheviks.

Rank & File Convention

Called by the

National Administrative Council

of

Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees,
Scottish Workers' Committees,
Central London Council of Shop Stewards'
and Workers' Committees and South
Wales Unofficial Reform Committee.

To be held the day before

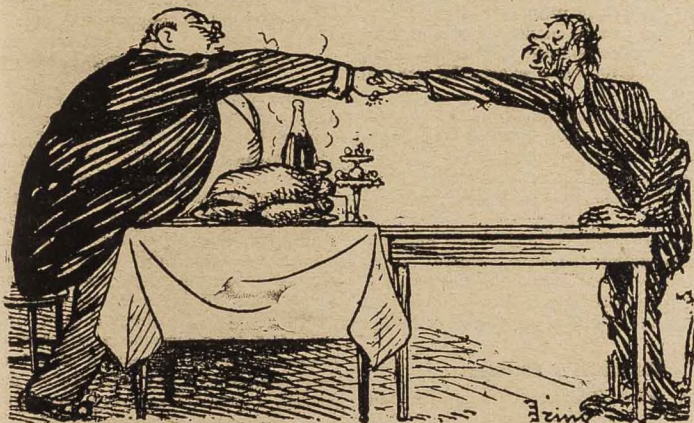
THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

and the evenings during its sittings.

All Workers' Committees, Trades Unions, Trades Union Branches, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies and their Branches are invited to send delegates.

Object: To declare the "Rank and File" policy in regard to Russia and the class-war.

If your society has not yet received an Agenda and invitation to the Convention, write to the Secretary, M. F. HEBBES, 10, Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.



From the "Avanti!" Milan.

"WHEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL JOIN HANDS."

long, have come home. These men were attacked by the Bolsheviks under conditions that appeared to them treachery, for they did not know, as the Bolsheviks did, how they were being used by international Capitalism to strangle the world's first experiment in Socialism. They only knew they were attacked without warning, and their comrades killed by the hundreds, when they had been promised safe passage out of Siberia. But do they hate the Bolsheviks? They do not. I talked with these men, and tried to make them say they hated the Bolsheviks. They wanted to oblige me, but they would not say they hated the Bolsheviks. It is Koltchak they hate. They hate him with a bitter, poisonous hatred. They never tired of telling stories of Koltchak's cruelty.

"I was a teacher in the town of Kansk, on the Siberian railway, technically a prisoner, but on leave," said one of them. "For months I taught there, and the Bolsheviks treated me better than I have ever been treated before in my life. Kansk is a town of sixteen thousand inhabitants. While the Bolsheviks were in power, there was not a single execution in the whole town. Then the Koltchak troops came, and, within a few days, I saw with my own eyes eleven hundred men who had been shot or sabred.

"They used the utmost cruelty, and they did it by the express order of Koltchak, who wanted to rule by terror. They would lead a squad of prisoners through the centre of the prison camp, to a spot a few hundred feet beyond, where the terrified prisoners could see the massacre and hear the cries

preferred to use their sabres. They would leave many of their victims with arms or legs cut off, to die in the snow. Then they would march home through the prison camp, bearing the clothes in their arms.

"After one such killing-party, after the Cossacks had left, I saw one of the victims, only half dead, crawl painfully back to the prison camp. But there the sentry stopped him at the point of the rifle. He would not shoot him; he would not let him pass. He simply watched the naked man for hours, while he froze to death.

"When Koltchak captured a town, he would execute everyone who had had any part in the Bolshevik Government, even petty clerks. Hundreds were killed merely to satisfy some lust for personal revenge on the part of the corrupt Koltchak officials. One of my friends, a conservative, who took no part in politics, but whose son was fighting the Koltchak army, refused to shake hands with a Koltchak judge, a man notoriously corrupt and degenerate. A few days later, the Cossacks came to his house, took him out, stripped him and beat him till he was half dead. The man went home, very sick. I was on my way to call on him a few days later, when I met one of his acquaintances.

"'You can't see him,' he said to me.

"'Why not?'

"'Because he was executed this morning.'

The soldiers told me that when the snow melted last spring, corpses were found by the dozen, along the whole length of the Trans-Siberian railway. In one place the Cossacks tried to conceal the corpses of their

RESULT OF ITALIAN RAILWAY STRIKE.

By our Italian Correspondent.

Rome, Jan. 25th.

The result of the Italian railway strike, in its immediate economic aspects, is already known to our readers. The deeper results, however—those which affect the Italian revolutionary movement—will not appear for some weeks. These latter are the only results of much importance. Upon them, probably, depends the course of the revolutionary movement in Italy for some months to come. The strike does not appear to have been wholly economic in character. It was called, not as a result of any notorious provocation on the part of the Government, nor for the settlement of demands fundamental to the life and happiness of the railroad workers; but to adjust relatively minor wage disputes. Moreover, it was called in a peremptory manner, when the negotiations with the Government seemed to be on the way to a reasonable settlement.

This is not to deny that the railroad workers of Italy have serious grievances. Nor is it to deny the right of the organised workers to strike whenever it may seem to be in their interest. It is merely to indicate the presence of something deeper in the intentions of the leaders.

It is altogether probable that the strike was called for a political object. What was this object?

A Non-Socialist Strike.

It is no secret that the Italian railroad workers are not like those of America, petty bourgeois; nor like those of Germany, staunch trade unionists and Socialists. They are syndicalists. They aim at the ownership and control of the railways by the railroad workers themselves. Hence they have generally remained aloof from the Socialist Party and from the Socialist Federation of Labour. In certain sections, such as that of Bologna, the Socialist influence is strong. But, in general, their ideals are those of Sorel and Malatesta, rather than those of Marx and Lenin. A week before the railroad strike, the Government employees of the post and telegraph went on strike. These are only partially organised in the Confederation. The Socialist Party has endeavoured, for years, and unsuccessfully, to gain the leadership of these state employees.

A third fact. At the outbreak of the railroad strike, while the post and telegraph strike was still going, the Italian Sailors' Union, through their secretary, Captain Giulietti, announced its solidarity with the strikers, and offered to strike with them if it should be necessary. And who and what are the sailors? Like the railroad workers, they are syndicalists. They aspire to own co-operatively all the merchant marine of Italy. Last autumn they severed their connection with the Confederation. Captain Giulietti, their leader and dictator, is a nationalist, a friend of d'Annunzio, and a man who played a rôle similar to that of Havelock Wilson during the War. Temperamentally, he is like the leaders of the French Confederation Generale du Travail, who, professing themselves too revolutionary for the Socialist Party, yet became patriots and nationalists when the war broke out.

The reader will further recall that, during the general strike of last July, called by the Socialist Party and the Confederation, to stop the war against Bolshevik Russia, the railroad men stayed on the job, and the number of strikers among the post and telegraph workers was slight. The sailors, indeed, did strike, but for special reasons, as will presently appear. The failure of the Italian general strike to achieve definite results was due to the de-

fection of the post, telegraph and railroad workers.

An Italian Triple Alliance.

Now examine, for a moment, these facts, in the light of the general revolutionary situation in Italy. Here, the revolutionary Socialist movement is, perhaps, more strongly grounded than in any other bourgeois country in the world. The Party is tremendously strong, ably led, and amazingly well disciplined. The great mass of the industrial workers, and many of the farm workers, are organised on industrial lines, in a labour confederation which is Socialist to the core, and has a close working agreement with the Party, whereby each helps the other in all important matters.

So far, the situation is excellent; the most optimistic revolutionist could scarcely ask for anything better. But there is one gap in the line—the most serious one possible. All the workers in the communication industries—railroad, shipping, post and telegraph, are outside the Confederation and outside the influence of the Party. No revolution can be made unless and until these workers co-operate. Without them, there cannot even be a successful general strike.

These three unions correspond, in their strategic position, with the Triple Alliance in England. If they unite, they can dictate terms, not only to the Italian Government, but also to the Italian Socialist movement.

And the attempt is now being made to unite them under the leadership of Giulietti. The combination would be an anti-Socialist, revolutionary, industrial block, as strong as anything else of the kind in the world.

Giulietti's Career.

At this point it is well to inquire who this Giulietti is. An old sailor, he organised the Marine Workers' Union, fought the yellow unions and the Catholic unions out of existence, consolidated practically all the merchant marine sailors of Italy under his direction, enriched the union treasury, gained dictatorial power over his men, and named working conditions, down to the smallest detail, which no ship-owner in Italy to-day dares to defy. No ship leaves an Italian port if Giulietti says "No." He has done more; he has established a co-operative shipping company, allied to the union, which is prosperous and growing.

Giulietti is a man of tremendous capacities, and also, probably, of tremendous ambition. His conduct, since the outbreak of the War, has been singular. He kept his men loyal to the Government, and himself enlisted in the navy, attaining the rank of captain. He identified himself with those rampant nationalists, of whom d'Annunzio is the spokesman. Yet—and this is a point which the foreign reader must clearly understand—he is no Havelock Wilson, and he is no Gompers. He is not propping up the bourgeois state; the bourgeoisie of Italy hates him.

Neither is he (in the loose sense of the term) an anti-Bolshevik. He joined with the Socialists in calling the July general strike in support of Bolshevik Russia. Further, he has prevented the delivery of munitions for the anti-Bolshevik armies. It was last autumn. There were three ships filled with munitions. The sailors believed them bound for Russia. The Government denied it, but gave no satisfactory assurance of their real destination. One ship (if memory serves), never left Genoa, and had to be unloaded. Another left the harbor, but was taken, by the sailors, to Gibraltar. The third was bound eastward; the Government said to "China." Giulietti let

it sail, and then—

Exactly what happened is not known. But the ship arrived at Fiume, and its cargo, including enormous quantities of munitions, and a cold 100,000 of lire in money, was turned over to d'Annunzio.

The reader may make out of this story what he pleases. Giulietti explains to his men that he sent the munitions to Fiume in order to prevent their getting to Russia. The Socialists assert that he supported the whole pro-Bolshevik movement among his sailors in order to divert munitions to d'Annunzio. Whichever way it is, both the bourgeoisie and the Socialists are trembling with fear of what Giulietti will do next. In September, Giulietti organised the *Partito del Lavoro*, or Party of Labour, and named candidates for Parliament in the Genoa district. The Party had a programme which was revolutionary, at least in sound, but bitterly opposed to the Socialists. Of all the candidates, Giulietti was the only one to be elected. But it was enough. He is now in Parliament.

We have come a long way from the railroad strike with which this article commenced. But nothing less than this extensive background will give the reader a true idea of what is happening.

The Socialist Party Waits.

Now, what attitude is the Socialist Party taking toward all this intrigue? It announced, from the first, its solidarity with the railroad workers, in so far as their strike is an economic one. If it should appear that the strike has a political purpose, the Party reserves its decision. The Confederation, of course, takes the same view. Leaders, both of the Party and of the Confederation, have sought to use their good offices with the Government on behalf of the strikers, without any apparent success, and have vigorously attacked the Government for its occasional arrest of strike leaders. The Party can do no more. It might, humanly speaking, be expected to do less, in view of the treachery of the railroad workers last July. These latter enthusiastically agreed to the proposal for a general strike on behalf of Russia. They insisted that it be for two days instead of one. At the last minute, the Executive Committee, or a part of it, cancelled the strike order. The psychological effect of this announcement was serious. It discouraged the other workers, left the loyal Socialist railroad men helpless, and created a disastrous confusion in the minds of the workers generally. It was heralded abroad as the complete cancellation of the Italian strike, and this may have had some influence on the action of the C.G.T. leaders who "postponed" the strike in France. Moreover, the aim of the Italian railroad union is syndicalistic—that is, independent of any regard for the working-class revolution as a whole.

Nevertheless, a revolutionary Socialist Party cannot be neutral in any class struggle. And it has supported the railroad men loyally. It has done wisely. The industrial phase of the Italian revolution must evolve further before the proletarian army becomes compact. If the railroad men win—that is, if they gain group control over the national railroads—they will find themselves in constant collision with the bourgeois Parliament, which must agree to any large increase in the railroad budget. For this, they will need Parliamentary representation, such as the Socialists can give them, so long as they refuse to co-operate in making a revolution. And, when they get tired of playing with Parliament, they will see the necessity of revolutionary co-operation. On the other hand, if they fail, the policy of the leaders will be condemned in the eyes of the rank and file, who will look more kindly upon the Socialist co-operation which they refused in

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

GRAFT AND CRAFT.

The English sovereign is getting severely biffed. No! I do not mean Mr. George Windsor of that ilk; I am referring to the merry Jimmy O'Gobin (about as much Irish as Mr. George Windsor afore-said). And the biffing it is getting is decidedly so severe that the London *Star* holds its breath in the middle of a paragraph to give vent to the following:—

THE SIMPLE REMEDY.

After the momentous conference of Chancellor, bankers, etc., at the Treasury, it was announced officially that the following conclusion had been reached. There is no panacea for existing financial and economic disorders. Recovery must be a slow process, and cannot be achieved except by: (a) hard work; (b) increased production; (c) retrenchment.

In other words, the kind-hearted Capitalists and the brainy bankers, having got themselves in a money mess, which threatens to cut off their cigars and champagne, it is up to the working-classes to save them. Craft is to be pulled out of the mess by graft.

We are told that if the workers tried to run this country, it would simply roll over and say "Painits!" And this is said by the super-business men who have, admittedly, brought this country—in the capitalist sense—to the verge of bankruptcy. The pound is down to a mere 13s. 3d. The brainy busybodies have bungled; and the sentence of the court is hard labour—for the workers. And not only hard labour, but increased production. This would not only save the Chancellor, bankers, etc., "but an overwhelming production of goods would lower prices. By producing more

Result of Italian Railway Strike (continued).

July. Eventually, they will be driven to solidarity with the rest of the Italian proletariat.

Yet, in all probability, there must first be a period of political intrigue within the revolutionary movement, with Giulietti manoeuvring for the leadership of the growing Triple Alliance. The Party, in the meantime, can only wait for events to demonstrate to these workers the necessity of solidarity, in the meantime preserving an uncompromising revolutionary attitude against the day of action.

A Well-Mannered Strike.

There is little to record concerning the strike itself. It has been fairly compact amongst the skilled categories, except in some parts of southern Italy. The Government dared not mobilise the railroad workers into the army, as Briand did in France. But it had a certain number of blacklegs under its control. With these it has maintained a "minimum schedule" of trains, a quarter or a fifth of the normal. There was, for example, just one train connecting north and south Italy. But there were enough local trains to secure the food supply to the cities. The army was out in force to guard the trains and the railroad stations. On the whole, the Government has acted very cautiously against the strikers. In some localities, the strike leaders have been arrested by the local authorities, but these have been, usually, released the same day. In Salerno and in Apulia these arrests have led to general strikes.

There has been but little violence. A bomb or two has been found on the tracks, and a train from Ancona to Bologna was one night met with rifle fire. Yet, on the whole, the strike was a test of the workers' solidarity only. And, on this score, they may come to wish they had the support of their Socialist comrades.

wool at 3,200 per cent. profit, the country—and the Capitalists—would be saved. There would be such an amount of goods that everybody would have more than enough, except those of the working-class, who would have so flooded the market that the kind-hearted Capitalists would no longer need their services. At least, not till there was a shortage again, and wages had time to "find their proper level."

And the workers will be so grateful they would get up processions, with banners bearing the inscription: "It's work we want, not charity." And the popular song would be:—

We've got no work to do; we've got no work to do; Just because we've been working a dam sight too hard.

We've got no work to do.

The *Manchester Guardian* says:—

Yesterday's quotation in American dollars for the pound sterling has put a very definite stop to the importation of cotton.

And the *Star*, commenting on this, says:—

There is sufficient cotton in the country to keep the Lancashire mills busy for nine or ten weeks, and there is, also, a quantity at sea, but, if the present conditions continue, the outlook for the operatives is obviously a serious one.

Observe, Henry, there is a shortage of cotton. Lancashire mills are badly in need of it; and what does the kind-hearted Capitalist, yearning for hard work (for others) and increased production (for himself) do? He ships cotton back to America!

The *Star* says:—

Matters have gone so far, indeed, that experiments in shipping cotton back to the United States are being made. The process is expensive, of course, but those who adopt it will be paid in dollars, and they will get the benefit of the exchange.

Where the Lancashire factory worker comes in, the *Star* omits to say. But,

The Funeral of General Nikolayev in Petrograd.

The Red General, formerly a ~~tsarist~~ General, was Hanged by the Whites in Yamburg.

General Nikolayev, who, during the capture of Yamburg, was hanged by the Whites, was solemnly buried on October 5th by Red Petrograd. He, formerly a general in the army of the Czar, was, according to the papers in Petrograd, one of the first to enter the command of the Red Army, and took over command of the Xth division. The hangmen of the White Army could not forgive him for that, and he fell as the first victim of the White Terror in Yamburg. Eye-witnesses report that after Yamburg was taken, General Nikolayev was the first one to be hanged. "They are murdering me, but the idea of the Communists cannot be murdered," were his last words.

The whole of Red Petrograd participated in the funeral, on October 5th. All troop detachments and all organisations of the city assembled with standards and bands at the War Commissariat, where the coffin stood, covered with beautiful wreaths, in the decorated room. The coffin was carried out amid the firing of salutes and the singing of revolutionary songs. Zinoviev made a short farewell speech. "To-day," he said, "we bury the fallen hero, Nikolayev. In this, for us, so heavy and dangerous time, he gave his knowledge, his power, and finally his life, in defense of the cause of labour. He was a general from the old time, but this did not prevent him from entering the Red Army as a leader and defender of the Socialist Republic. His enemies hated him for this. It even seemed that the bullet was too good for him, and

anyway, it is a jolly good thing for the shippers and the dealers in cotton. They will be able to afford the extra tuppence put on cigar prices last week.

Now, the "Simple Remedy," as proclaimed by the "Chancellor, bankers, etc." (I like that "etc."), consists in hard work, increased production, and retrenchment. The first two, we understand, but retrenchment is one of those jolly good words which help to fill up dictionaries. In plain English, it means saving; that is to say, eat less, wear less, live on air; and, if the police regulations permit it, go about in a bathing suit. That will leave more food and clothes for the captains of industry to sell abroad—to the Bolsheviks perhaps, at 3,200 per cent. profit.

If it is hard work they want, there is a big scab army known as the Middle Classes' Union. Perhaps they will off with their frock coats, up with their starched cuffs, and make two shoddy suits grow where only one grew before. And what about the "Chancellor, bankers, etc."? Especially the "etc." They might feel rather uneasy in the region of their gold chains, but they can cut down their cigar bills and smoke half-Coronas instead of full-blown ones. They might discard spats, and so relieve the spat shortage you and I are feeling, Henry.

And, I am sure, it would do them so much good that they would hire a special jazz band, paid at the rate of three dollars and a quarter to the pound, to accompany them to the following:—

"Work for the night is coming.
Work in the morning hours;
Work for the night is coming.
Work 'mid the springing flowers;
Work while the dew is sparkling.
Work in the noontide sun.
Work for the night is coming.
When man's work is done.

But perhaps by then the night of hard work, increased production and retrenchment, will have given way to the Red Dawn.

they killed him, this old fighter, with a rope.

"He died as a hero. He seriously believed in the cause that he defended.

"The landowners and lackeys of the old time besought him to enter the ranks on their side, and promised him great advantages, but he rejected their offers, and preferred this heroic death.

"His act will not be forgotten. His name will shine as a star to coming generations. Our whole army and republic uncovers its head in his memory. His memory will shine for ever. Let us follow in his steps. May every fighter in our army be willing to follow his example, and may there be many men like him amongst us.

"Praised be he, who gave his energy and his life for the cause of the workers and the peasants. Long live our Red Army and our victory."

The Red hero was buried, according to the wishes of his family, in a small, obscure workers' cemetery—that belonging to a china factory—and thousands of Red soldiers and citizens accompanied him to his last resting place.

Thus Soviet Russia honours the officers and generals who serve and fight for the great cause of Socialism and the proletariat.

**Pass the "DREADNOUGHT"
on to your Friends.**

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Lord Haldane and a Labour Government.

THE "DAILY HERALD" AND THE COMING BETRAYAL.

When the Liberal Party came into power in 1905, after twenty years of Tory rule, great emphasis was laid on the point that the continuity of Britain's foreign policy would be maintained. British foreign policy was declared to be above mere party divisions. As it turned out, the new Liberal Government ratified and continued all the capitalist intrigues and secret understandings into which the old Tory Governments had entered. British foreign policy remained, dominated by the struggle to secure, at all costs, the greatest possible advantages for British capitalists, and to bolster up the capitalist system as a whole.

The British people, shocked by the lessons of the Boer War from their faith in Toryism, had turned to the Liberal Party as the bringers of a new policy; but capitalist Imperialism had insisted on a declaration that the old policy should be continued and that Sir Edward Grey should be at the Foreign Office as a guarantee that the old conditions should be maintained. Until these points were settled *The Times* and other Tory organs used a tone that seemed almost to threaten the new Government with sabotage.

Now that the British workers, shocked by the catastrophe of an infinitely greater war, have begun to understand that the issue is not between mere Liberalism and Toryism, and that capitalism itself is the enemy to be overthrown; now that the workers are turning away from all capitalist parties to what they mistakenly believe to be the workers' party, capitalist Imperialism, aided by the opportunists who are manipulating the Labour Party, is once more arranging for the continuity of British policy.

Some time ago an exuberant paragraph in the *Daily Herald* announced Lord Fisher as "a Labour First Sea Lord;" evidently from its enthusiastic commentary upon him the *Herald* would be nothing loth to admit Lord Fisher to a share of the nation's political leading by making him the political First Lord of the Admiralty. Fisher stands for an aggressive naval policy for the British Empire; he is undoubtedly a capitalist-Imperialist, let there be no mistake about it.

In his letter to the *Daily Herald* of February 7th he says:—

"Labour policy should be a policy of conciliation and evolution, and not one of intimidation and revolution." He advocates profit-sharing as a cure for industrial unrest and wishes to spend more money on the air force and less on the army. For the rest he has quarrelled with the present Admiralty administration on personal or technical grounds. These are the reasons which bring him to the Labour Party!

Still more sinister and serious is the *Herald's* latest adoption of Lord Haldane for the Labour Party. It is essential to recognise that *The Herald* is no longer a free-lance paper, as it was when it first started. It is important to understand that it has thrown in its lot with the official Labour Party. Though, in accordance with its policy of "keeping the movement together" and preventing splits, it gives some space in its columns to left wing activities, it is now backing the Labour Party centre, and to all intents and purposes it is the organ of Arthur Henderson, who now dominates George

Lansbury's more vacillating temperament.

The Herald, both in a two column interview on the front page and also in a leading article on February 5th, has now accepted Lord Haldane, not merely as a "friend" of the Labour Party, but as an exponent of its ideals and policy. It is significant that the *Daily Herald* heads the interview with "Lord Haldane on the New Party." Even the *Herald* realises that the compromise Party it is trying to build is a new creation, quite other than the old Labour Party, that trade union party without a programme which began its chequered Parliamentary career with 29 members in 1906.

A year ago, and even six months ago, the *Herald* was trying to draw Lloyd George into a coalition with the Labour Party; a little before that it was intriguing with the Lansdowne group. In the Haldane interview the *Herald* now says:—

"You have Lloyd George and his companions making common cause with an emasculated Toryism, and you have such men as Ponsonby coming out frankly on the side of Labour."
"But beyond all these you have a company of those who, though they were of the Liberal Party, were yet a live party, who have watched the course of events with a certain detachment, a definite, sincere desire to perceive and know the truth, until to-day they grow more and more fully convinced that the future lies with Labour."

As a matter of fact Lord Haldane is one of the most callously hardened of capitalist politicians. He belonged to the Whig Liberals and Imperialists, but he was equally acceptable to the Tory Imperialists.

Karl Liebknecht, in his "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" quotes Haldane's evident appreciation of the pomp of German militarism as a means of gulling the workers when he visited Germany.

Keir Hardie, discussing with the editor of this paper in the early part of 1915, the coming world war of capitalism, which he foresaw steadily approaching, spoke to us of Haldane as one of the most sinister and dangerous figures in the chain of circumstances preparing the war.

Haldane was one of the inner circle of the Governments that made the war; we should have thought that even an honest bourgeois politician would refuse to associate with him, for he is one of the inner gang whose hands are reddest with the blood of millions. Yet here is the *Daily Herald* telling us that Haldane is for the Labour Party and that he is to be in it—not as a cipher, make sure of that; if he is in it he will be one of its rulers!

The Herald says that Haldane has been above Party; certainly in the interests of capitalism, and Haldane has been willing to make himself useful to either capitalist party. Was it for services to Labour that he was made Lord Haldane? Indeed not!

But what did Haldane tell the *Herald*? He said that the Labour Party must take care to make its roof so wide that it would take in "all the best people."

That, of course, would include Haldane! He added:—

"There was a time when the very name of the Labour Party was almost a disadvantage . . . but that time is passing—it has already passed. . . . There have been crudities. . . . But . . . contact . . . with realities is bringing an increasing wisdom."

"The organisation of the Party is such that it gives the best opportunity we possess in this country for bringing the soul of the nation into the legislature."

There have been crudities in the past; yes, crudities like Keir Hardie, crudities like the opposition to the war; like the attempts which last summer and autumn seemed so near success to get a general strike to stop the capitalist attack on Soviet Russia. But Lord Haldane hopes these crudities are now finished with; we shall have no more of such things in the Labour Party if Lord Haldane, and such as he, control the Party!

This interview with Haldane is perhaps a feeler sent out to discover whether and how soon Haldane can be taken into the Labour Party without arousing rebellion amongst the rank and file workers.

Probably there would be an outcry, but even if the outcry were so loud as to stop Henderson and his colleagues on the Labour Party Executive openly associating the Labour Party with Haldane or any other such capitalist

politicians, so long as Henderson and his kind remain in control the policy of the Labour Party will remain opportunist and under the control of capitalist politicians.

COME OUT OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

We urge our Communist comrades to come out of the Labour Party and build up a strong opposition to it in order to secure the emancipation of Labour and the establishment of Communism in our time. Comrades, do not give your precious energies to building up the Labour Party which has already betrayed you, and which will shortly join the capitalists in forming a Government of the Noske type.

You will be urged to remain in the Labour Party on the ground that "it is the organised working class of Britain," which you must bend your efforts to convert.

But this argument is false. The Labour Party is a party, not a class. It is a party in which the official element is more difficult to up-root than in other parties; because many of them are permanent officials and others are elected for long terms. It is a tradition that permanent officials in the unions shall occupy electoral offices in the Labour Party, and these permanent officials dominate the bodies which nominate the candidates for elected office.

The task of dislodging the reactionaries from controlling power in the British Labour Party is therefore greater than that of ousting reaction from any European Socialist Party.

In Germany the Socialist Party at the approach of revolution split in three parts. Had the split come earlier, the revolutionary progress of Germany might have been swifter. In the Italian Socialist Party the social patriots are in the minority and the centre party, which declares for revolution and the soviets, is in control; but it is evident that there will be further changes in the Italian party and that either the social patriots must leave or be ejected from the party.

In the French Socialist Party the centre has climbed into the majority position, the old right majority having become the minority. The Communist Party is so weak and small that for long it was fancied outside France that Longuet and the centre party were actually the left. In France it is certain that as soon as the left grows a little stronger it will leave the Socialist Party and build up an independent Communist Party.

LONGUET AND THE TWO INTERNATIONALS.

Longuet, the leader of the French centrists, belongs to the school of MacDonald in Britain and Kautsky in Germany. He wants to remain in the French Socialist Party and the Second International and at the same time keep in touch with the revolutionary Communists of the Third International, and to help to form a right wing there where the opportunist politics of right Socialist compromise with capitalism has no place.

We want no right wing compromises in the Third International; there must be a clean cut between the Second and the Third Internationalists; no one can be permitted to have a foot in both camps.

No party that is affiliated to the British Labour Party, and which thus belongs to the Second International, is free to join the Third International.

WHAT THE DIFFERENCE REALLY IS.

The difference between the Second and Third Internationalists really is that the Second Internationalists are prepared to go on making the best of the capitalist system, whilst the Third Internationalists wish to hasten its decay in order that Communism may take its place. Now that the war has shaken capitalism to its foundations the Second Internationalists are eager to assist in repairing the ravages and bolstering it up. The Third Internationalists, on the other hand, are seeking to find in the damage which capitalism has suffered opportunities for bringing about the revolution.

A CASE IN POINT.

The *Daily Herald*, of February 5th, in a leading article, discusses the financial position of the Government thus:—

"Dare they take the only course which will re-establish the shaken credit and restore the finances of this country? Dare they impose a levy on big incomes or on big accumulations of capital sufficient

(Continued on page 5, col. 3.)

The Spring Offensive. By Our Berlin Correspondent.

The Allied move to trade with Russia through the Co-operative Societies there, was, we feel sure, intended rather to cause dissension within Soviet Russia, than as a step towards peace with Russia. We believe that it was inspired as a sinister move to drive a wedge between the Soviet Government and the Russian Co-operative Societies, in which Russian reactionaries long held power. The Soviet Government, having nationalised all trading, made the Co-operative Societies part of the Soviet system, thus making it impossible for them to undertake private trading on a capitalist basis.

Co-operative trading, as seen in England, is on the old basis, and is, therefore, capitalist, though it is trading by many small shareholders, and not by a few large capitalists. The Allied Governments are in full possession of these facts, but hope, by putting forward proposals impossible for the Soviet Government to accept unless they renounced Communism, to estrange from Soviet Russia the sympathies of the more backward non-Socialist Co-operative and Labour organisations in allied countries. Such a cunning scheme, displaying such insight into the weakness of the Labour movement, makes one wonder whether it was not suggested by one of our renegade Labour leaders.

On the other hand, we were convinced from the first that the pretence of raising the blockade of Russia was, in reality, a blind, behind which the Allied Governments, led by the British, are preparing a great spring offensive against the Soviet Republic.

Every day brings news and rumours in support of this view. Did we not hear that the British Mediterranean fleet had gone to the Black Sea; and, later, that British warships had proceeded to Vladivostok; also that French hospital ships had set out for the Black Sea, and that warships were ready to follow? Then, through the medium of the foreign press, we learn that Admiral Jellicoe is preparing for the offensive against Soviet Russia.

If these reports prove true, the situation is extremely grave. We must realise that, should the British governing classes and big aristocratic factions, grouped round the Navy, the pride of aggressive Britain, consider its prestige engaged, they will make tremendous efforts and sacrifices on its behalf. The Government is equally zealous to maintain the reputation of the British Navy as invincible, and would not use the services of the head of the Navy unless it intended serious business in this affair.

Coupled with this report, there is the announcement that the British Government has withdrawn from its engagement to provide 15,000 soldiers to supervise the plebiscites of Schleswig and Memel, and is now only sending 3,000 men there. The other available British troops being sent to South Russia for an offensive against the Bolsheviks, and to protect British interests in India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia.

Although the Prime Minister has issued a denial that either the Secretary of State for War, or the General Staff has advocated the despatch of British troops to the Caucasus or any part of Russia, there is no statement denying that they have been or may be sent to Russia. We have learned of how little account Lloyd George's denials are! The *Daily Telegraph* vaguely states that the forces which must be maintained in Ireland and other parts of the world, leave none available for the Caucasus. *Petit Parisien* observes that some British naval detachments will be landed at Baku. All the Polish troops stationed on German frontiers, save one division, are being re-

moved to the Bolshevik front, thus showing that a greater offensive against the Soviets is in preparation. This massing of all the Allied forces shows that Soviet Russia, not Germany, is now the common enemy.

Winston Churchill has more than once indicated that the enemy of the British governing classes is no longer Germany, but Soviet Russia. He has urged that the victorious Allies should make a friendly arrangement with Germany to combat what he terms a greater menace. The pseudo-Socialist Government in Germany is in no way loth to enter an anti-Communist alliance; this is very apparent from its treatment of German Communists, whilst recruiting posters for counter-revolutionary Baltic troops, displayed in the streets, give daily proof of the Noske-Scheidemann state of mind.

The Paris edition of the *New York Herald* recently gave what we regard as an accurate summary of the present position. It said:—

"Britain intends to concentrate all its available forces for defensive action against Bolsheviks along Southern Russian frontier, as well as for protecting her Indian, Egyptian and Mesopotamian interests. In some official circles it is thought possible that troops are already on their way to Azerbaijan" and that Great Britain's man power may shortly be called upon to make sacrifices as great as were demanded in the war against Germany. The studious care with which allied leaders have avoided the subject, save in confidential conferences, strengthens the view that proposals to raise Russian blockade have been advanced merely to cloak actual military operations. Some observers suggest that when the British troops, relieved for anti-Bolshevik operations through new provisions for plebiscite areas, are on Southern borders of Russia, Allied diplomats will probably discount their theories of fighting sovietism by economic means, and that an Allied military advance will commence."

Whilst British authorities protest that British warships are only being sent to the Black Sea to bring away fugitives, who are fleeing from the advancing Bolsheviks, the *Chicago Tribune* declares that the warships going to Batum carry officers, machine guns, aeroplanes and munitions! In spite of the story of wishing to trade with Russian Co-operatives, the British announce that they will give the same sort of material aid to the small republican states of South Russia, fighting against the Soviet Government, as has already been given to Kolchak and Denikin.

But these small republics need no aid against Soviet Russia, which recognises their independence, and is fast concluding peace with them. We must realise that these small states are but the tools of Allied Imperialism, which is fighting to exterminate Communism in Russia. The vast natural resources of Russia are the coveted prey of the Allies, and to gain control they will use any method. In this struggle we see the life and death fight between the old forces of Capitalism and the rising power of Labour.

Last December, the British Trade Union Congress met in special session to discuss this vast world-problem. It postponed its session until February, when the question is again to be brought up, and a decision taken regarding action by the organised workers of Britain, whose Government is at the head of the anti-Soviet War, to stay the attack on the workers' republic. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress is slow and negligent in matters appertaining to the class struggle. This is seen by the delay in sending out

"Azerbaijan, the republic erected in 1919 under Allied auspices to "protect" their interests in Persia, etc. The violation of this territory will make it possible for the League of Nations to make war on the offender. One should note that this "buffer" republic is an *old* stronghold.

agendas for the Congress on the *20th instant, which delay will result in delegates of important unions being given no instructions, and having no mandate to take to Congress.

Such procedure makes it difficult for the views of the rank and file to be definitely ascertained, and brought before Congress. But the rank and file must not allow itself to be bluffed thus into impotence by a handful of reactionary officials. It must take action through the Rank and File Convention, to take place simultaneously with the Congress. All trade union branches, workers' committees, Labour and Socialist organisations, should be represented at this Convention.

Capitalists of the world are waiting for the great spring offensive against the workers' Communist Republic. They will lavish money and munitions upon this object; they will make every effort to muster a great army of soldiers from Great Britain and the Dominions, from all the Allied countries, from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other small states which the Allied Powers have created to serve their own interests. The British Navy will be used, and all military and naval experts of capitalist governments will be called into consultation; the entire world will be searched for man-power to fight the growing forces of the workers.

What will Labour do before the spring offensive of the Capitalists begins? British comrades must face the fact that British Kerenskys and Noskes control the Labour executive, and that these men cannot be depended upon to defend the Soviet Republic.

*Since our correspondent wrote this article, we hear that the Trade Union Congress date is not yet certain. [Ed. W.D.]

(Continued from page 4.)

not only to balance their Budget, but to reduce their indebtedness, and to check measurably the riot in extravagance in which the wealthy classes are indulging?"

The Herald (and the *Herald* is at present the Labour Party organ), is here playing the part of the good physician to capitalism; that is the part of the Second Internationalists. All the reforms put forward by the Labour Party are conceived in this spirit.

Comrades must make up their minds which side they are on

Capitalism—Lord Haldane and the Labour Party

or Communism—the Soviets and the Revolution

What does that bold member of the Labour Party Executive, Robert Williams, say to all this?

The Second Internationalists who at present find it good election tactics to speak against the intervention in Russia do so on the ground that if trade with Russia were re-established the capitalist system in other countries would be saved. Such lovers of Soviet Russia will endeavour to steal the rose and to leave behind only the thorn when the peace is made!

Publicity Campaign.

To counteract the threatened Capitalist Spring Offensive on the Workers, help to increase the circulation of the "DREADNOUGHT."

We are now commencing a Publicity Campaign, and if you have any spare time, even an odd half-hour, write in to "Dreadnought" Publicity Department, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. Then full particulars will be sent you.

We want your help. Please write to-day.

COAL AND IRON. By SHAPURJI SAKLATVALA.

In East-Central India, in the Province of Orissa, there still dwells the ancient race of Gonds. They have their mythology of the fall of Adam, the Apple of Knowledge, the First Sin of Man. But, curiously enough, their tale hangs the blame on iron smelting, instead of an apple. All was peaceful and sweet in creation, when the first man broke out in revolt against the great Archangel, and started sin by constructing a red-hot furnace and smelting iron ore in it. I cannot lay my hands on the exact reference, but such is the narration that I read in an English officer's book on Orissa a few years back.

What did we see with our eyes but yesterday? The Great War! Slaughter of men, by men, by millions! Destruction of towns by the score! Starving of innocent women, children, and infants in arms by nations in arms made of steel! What a spectacle! In all creation the wild beasts of the forests and monsters of the sea never tore each other up so wildly, so extensively, so ruthlessly, as did civilised, educated, Christianised man of the advanced West!

And why? Protection of Serbia by Russia was a mere excuse. Fraternal help to Russia by France was a transparent pretence. Freedom of Belgium by Britain was only political plausibility. It was, perhaps, Bagdad there, and Alsace Lorraine and Rhennish Westphalia here. That was the real burden of the war chant.

And these were echoes of another grim past. Alsace Lorraine and Rhineland took us back to the bloody fratricides of the Franco-Prussian War, and Bagdad pointed to many a moral and tale from the history of the East, and the never-ending scamper in the Balkans.

And what was the Franco-Prussian War itself. The newly-awakened German wanted the iron ores of Lorraine, the coal-fields of the Saar, the fuel and metaliferous regions of the Rhine. The original sin of man was to be committed over again. This was done. The soul of the Frenchman thirsted for the blood of the Hun, not from cannibalistic fancies, but to get back coal and iron fields.

Bagdad was only the half-way house to the East. Britain had been there, and Germany desired to be there on another parallel route. Why? Britain had fully developed a coal and iron civilisation, and that needed an expansion of markets. Germany was only following suit.

Britain dug out more coal than she wanted, smelted more iron than her people needed, built more ships and machinery than her local requirements warranted, these manufactured more goods than she could consume: these led to securing other people's markets in other people's lands. Germany flattered Britain in the best form of flattery, which was imitation; she took coal fields and iron fields, and began to sin more and more: she produced more steel than was good for her, made more machinery, manufactured more articles and built more ships than she could do with, and wanted to secure customers to take the fruits of her sins; she started, therefore, on the tramp to Bagdad.

Does not the above picture read like writing on the wall? Coal and iron are dangerous mischief makers. They are the first work of Satan to break peace on earth, and destroy goodwill among men, as my simple Gond villager said years ago. They lead to strife, to wars, to bloodshed, to starvation. These are delicate items to handle. Any elements of rivalries, jealousies, unjust competition in, around, or about coal and iron appear like an open light near explosives.

The present economic cycle seems to render this an economic necessity. Take any non-metal industry in England, cotton, or jute, or oil, or leather industry. Take any; and you will see it rests mainly on your success in coal and iron. Failure in coal and iron weakens your position in these, and a destruction or deterioration in any one of these industries hits back in your coal and iron life with multitudinous effect. Say, for instance, the whole of the jute industry is destroyed in Dundee. Coal required for the factories, and iron and steel required for machinery are affected. There is so much less transport work, as no raw jute or finished jute goods are to be brought to and fro. This will hit back on coal and iron. So much post office work is curtailed, which again reflects on coal and iron, and so you can go on to the minor details of all industries. If the principal industries of Britain are shut down or diminished, the coal and iron activity will be reduced to insignificance. Similarly, starvation of coal and iron will render your position in other manufactures very weak. A surfeit of it lends you strength in the manufacturing world. Look at the German War again; look at the Anglo-French Entente; look at the manner of punishment inflicted on Germany, and you see coal and iron.

Before 1870, Britain was the boss of coal and iron activity. France was broken and shattered, and her resources lay dormant. Germany captured French resources. Her position *vis à vis* altered not not only France, but Great Britain also. When the United Kingdom boasted of 200 million thousand tons of coal, Germany, after 1870, became possessed of 450 million thousand tons of coal. With the rich fields of Lorraine added, Germany's iron resources became several times larger than British, and if Britain counted on putting forth 500 million tons of iron, Germany could count on 1,200 million tons. The Anglo-French entente became inevitable, on a coal and iron basis. The War is made to end in making Germany coal-and-iron-less. Her Silesian coal and iron fields are kept under the shadow of a dominant Poland; her Rhennish fields are placed in pawn to the Allies; her Alsace Lorraine stores (including Saar valley) are handed over to France; and her insignificant stores of Ilse, Bavaria and Wurtemberg, scattered and scanty, are left to her. Other tremendous activities of Germany are thus annihilated, and she shall seek Bagdad no more.

But, while this one-sided settlement is taking place in Europe by force of arms, new seeds of coal and iron wars are springing forth in Asia and Africa. For the time being, the sinner of Britain is gone out East to cultivate his sin in the East, but, as his hold gets weakened, there is going to be another coal-and-iron nightmare for Britain in the East.

The Indian coal output reaches 20 million tons, the Indian iron and steel will soon be talked of in terms of millions per year output. Machinery and ships will follow in due course, and these, in their turn, will be followed by manufacturing industries, in which the locally produced machinery will play a great part. The Tolaredo swords will be revived, local temptation of locally produced arms will lead to Central Asiatic adventures. The centre of great wars will be shifted from devastated Europe to other flourishing continents. Shall we superstitiously submit to fate and look at coal and iron everywhere as originators of sin, that must grow and lead us to disasters? What is really the seed of sin? It is neither coal nor iron, but the financial system that enables individ-

uals, corporations, and nations to monopolise all the wealth and good of the earth, by utilising coal and iron. The workers of the world can, as ultimately one day they will, destroy this sin, and this great originator of strife. If only the workers take charge of coal and iron, apply their labour to it to advance human comfort and material progress, without increasing anybody's bank accounts, or unearned dividends, these very minerals will cease to be sources of war, and be of pure service to mankind. The strife is created by profiteers, but the victims are always the workers. In 1870, when the Germans captured coal and iron fields, it was the German financiers who benefited, and it was the French worker who lost. Now, once again, after the slaughter of 10 millions of working class men, the situation is reversing: the sweets came to the French Stock Exchange, and starvation to German workers. The new competition in Africa, India and China, is for the benefit of concession holders, and to the misery and agony of Asiatic workers, who are compelled to toil hard on six to fourteen pence a day. To-day they suffer, and to-morrow, from competition, the British worker will suffer. Then they will be made to fly at each others throats, and war profiteers will collect wealth, even from this strife.

Has not the day come when the worker will become master of the situation, consult one another's good, and work for one another's comfort and happiness, instead of for the profit-thirsting share-holder, who will one day set both groups of workers killing each other?

THE DUKHOBORS.

About 20 years ago, a Russian sect, the Dukhobors emigrated to Canada to avoid military service, which was forbidden by the tenets of their religious belief. Their exodus was made possible by the assistance they received from their English and American friends, and from Leo Tolstoi, who gave them the whole of the proceeds from the publication of his masterpiece, "Resurrection."

They were well received by the Canadians, who, well aware of their pacifist and Communist beliefs, promised them safety and total exemption from military service.

Their first settlements were in Saskatchewan and extended later to the western regions of British Columbia. 160,000 hectares of partly wooded and partly uncultivated soil were allotted to them, which they have used to the greatest advantage. They have prospered, and their number has increased from 8,000 to 14,000; thus we see that nearly half of them were born in Canada, and know about Russia only from hearsay.

When war broke out and military service was introduced, they naturally refused to enlist, and offered to make jam for the Army.

To-day it is proposed to expel them from their farms in British Columbia, which are to be handed over to the returned soldiers.

As their religious belief forbids them, not only to fight, but also to go to law, they have no means to prevent this threatened victimisation. Their only weapon is passive resistance and an appeal to compassion. They have decided, therefore, to demonstrate *en masse*, and men, women and children are to parade the streets naked until their homes are given back to them; else they perish of cold and hunger.

The Canadians are hoping that the Dukhobors will not be driven to such extremes, and protest energetically against this act of the Government, which would rob the Dukhobors of the land on which they have worked for so many years.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

Who Said Peace?

The "Peace" Conference is to meet in London; the work of destruction begun in the once gayest city in the world is to be continued in grey, dull London. Will British workers be able to bring their influence to bear on their "representatives" now that the Channel will no longer separate them?

French Attitude to Russia.

The new French Premier, M. Millerand, secured a vote of confidence in the Chamber by 513 votes to 68. In discussing the Russian question, he showed that the policy of M. Clemenceau was still to be maintained. Whilst admitting the reverses of the anti-Bolshevik armies, he said that he saw no indication why these should be irreparable!

If Poland should be attacked by the Bolsheviks, M. Millerand declared that the Allies had decided to give her (Poland) the utmost support. In other words, the world Capitalists are pinning their faith to Poland as the most likely excuse for the spring offensive!

At the same time, we read of M. Cachin making a long speech in the Chamber, demanding "that our Government shall conclude as rapidly as possible, a clean peace with the Government of the Russian Republic."

Which side will win?

How Bolsheviks Make Peace.

In perusing the terms of the Peace Treaty between Russia and Estonia, which was ratified at Moscow on February 2nd, we see that the Bolsheviks have adhered to their ideas of a real peace. This Peace Treaty is an example of "no annexations, no indemnities," and self-determination in its widest meaning. Soviet Russia is anxiously trying to make peace on a similar basis with the other small states, including Poland, which is being goaded on by the Allies to exasperate Soviet Russia into an attack on Poland; or what will in reality be the "prevention of the Polish advance into Russia."

WELSH NOTES. By R. P.

"The discussion at Cardiff City Council upon the question of unemployment ought to compel many people to put on their thinking caps. If they do so, they will begin to appreciate how anomalous are existing industrial conditions in Great Britain. On one side we have people calling for increased production, on the other side we find people who say, 'We want work to enable us to produce these commodities and we cannot find it.'"

People are clamouring for houses, and at the same time men in the building trade are searching for work! The same sorry state of affairs is observable in practically every department of existence."

Let me now hasten to explain that the foregoing is not an extract from any socialist treatise on the collapse of capitalism, but an extract from the leading article in that South Wales rag, *The Evening Express* of the issue of the 31st ultimo. What a pity it seems that the writer of such a clear-sighted article must have missed the pleasure of hearing Professor Goode when he lectured on Bolshevism at Cardiff recently.

Had he not, he might possibly point out to his readers now that this "sorry failure and lack of organisation," he has noticed are inherent in the capitalist system and can only be remedied by the Workers' Revolution.

Yet another friend of the workers has added his voice to the eternal and unflagging cry for increased production. "Never mind where the profits go for the moment, that does not matter so much as the necessity for delivering the goods. We can fight that better later on," etc. This from our friend Major Watts Morgan, M.P.

The workers, however, being the people who labour to make those profits are interested to know where those profits are going and more, unless the psychology of the workers has undergone a very rapid change, the men who recently elected Mr. A. J. Cook to be their agent will not take the "advice" of Mr. Morgan, who happens still to retain the position of advisory agent, in a very good spirit.

Nero is reputed to have fiddled whilst Rome burned, and one is forced to think of this when one reads of the dispute between the Mayors of Newport and Cardiff over

Odessa Bombarded.

Simultaneously with the announcement that the Soviet forces have captured Odessa, the news is circulated that "British guns protected the embarkation of refugees from Odessa"! Thus we have the spectacle of negotiations in Paris to trade with Russia, and British warships in the Black Sea proving the truth of our Berlin correspondent's statement that the Allies mean war.

Lansbury on Russia.

George Lansbury, now in Moscow, reports that "There is nothing here worse than in other capitals; there is much, very much, that is better."

Sweated Dockers.

The dockers have taken a leaf out of the miners' book, and at the Inquiry held last week, Mr. Bevin proved that the dockers are sweated, whilst the ship-owners are making enormous profits. His modest demands for 16/- per day minimum, and a 44 hour week may be whittled down in the usual capitalist manner. We wish his demands had been more ambitious.

Robbery by Wool Dealers.

The long-expected report on wool spinners' profits was issued during the week by the Board of Trade. It is the work of the Central Committee on the Investigation of Prices under the Profiteering Act. The highest instance of excess percentage on profits officially allowed works out at 3,900. In no case, even on figures supplied by the spinners themselves, is the excess profit over that allowed in the War Office scheme less than 250 per cent.

Under the War Office scheme the spinners were allowed a profit of from 1d. to 3d. a lb. On the basis of calculation adopted by the Committee it was found they actually made a profit of from 13d. to 43d. per lb. On the figures supplied by the spinners themselves the rates of profit ranged from 8d. to 34d. per lb.

How long are the people going to stand idly by whilst millions are thus amassed at their expense?

Why Roberts and Barnes Resigned.

Rats leave a sinking ship.

The reputed lack of prominence of the seat allotted to the Mayor of Newport upon the occasion of a visit of one of the Royal Family to Cardiff. One cannot help wondering if the next dispute between these worthy gentlemen may not be as to which street they shall respectively sweep.

The Police and Prison Officials Union have two members of their executive stumping South Wales, and although the Miners' Lodges invariably vote grants to assist them, by now it must have been demonstrated clearly to our policemen friends that the miners are inclined to be suspicious of anything that savours of "Lor an' order," and in some cases have with amazing frankness given them to understand that they regard policemen as parasites.

The adjourned conference of the Rhondda Miners' Districts 1 and 2, and all the Co-operative and Socialist organisations in the area, to consider the floating of a weekly labour paper, will be held on the 13th inst. at Porth.

Two schemes have been drawn up by the select committee appointed to go into the scheme. The first which will most likely meet with the approval of the conference provides for the buying of plant, etc. £10,000 is computed as being necessary, and this money is to be underwritten by the Miners' Lodges.

The alternative scheme provides for the floating of a paper with the printing being done by a private firm.

As "The Morning Post" Sees It.

As an instance of the reliability of the information circulated in the *Morning Post*, we quote its remarks on Mr. George Lansbury, who is now in Russia. It writes:—

"Ever since Lenin and Trotsky usurped power in Russia Mr. Lansbury has been their indefatigable apologist, and no accredited agent could have worked for them with more zeal and less scruple."

That Subsidy.

Food prices are to go up still higher, though to-day they are higher than at any period since 1914. The most serious question is the price of bread. At present it is subsidised by the Government, and, owing to the fall in the value of the sovereign, this subsidy must be increased, we are told, if the price of the loaf is not to be raised.

But we should like to ask who pays the subsidy! Is it not the people; and, if so, what difference is there to the worker between paying the higher price for the loaf and the present method? We see nothing but gain from the cessation of the subsidy; then the workers will *know* that they are paying 1/3½ for their loaf, and not 9½d., as it at present appears.

Such a price will cause even the dullest to think; the present camouflaged price is but a swindle.

Anti-Bolshevik Campaign.

DEAR EDITOR: The "Shylock" attitude of the Supreme Council towards the peoples of the former Central Empires proves two things: (1) The Allies (or rather France's and England's) determination to destroy the economic life of their former enemies, and (2), this being so, to make Russia pay for the War. In order to make this possible, it is necessary to arouse the fears of the British people and to work them up for a new campaign in the spring. The new war-cries are "Bolshevik menace to India" and "Bolshevik menace to the Christian Church."

There is a tendency in the Labour Press to underestimate the efficacy of the methods adopted by the reactionaries, whose aim is to crush Communism in the bud, and I therefore draw the attention of your readers to the "religious" anti-Bolshevik campaign which was inaugurated by the World's Evangelical Alliance at the Queen's Hall, on Tuesday, February 3rd. In order to show that this campaign should not be ignored or treated lightly by socialists or labourites I want to emphasise the following points:

- (1) The large Queen's Hall was practically full.
- (2) The chair was taken by Sir Alfred Yeo, M.P. (whose personality and position carry weight).
- (3) Among those who took part in the proceedings was the Rev. F. B. Meyer (who has a large following).
- (4) Letters of sympathy and encouragement from the objects of the meeting were read from Lords Salisbury and Sydenham and from the Bishop of London.
- (5) A direct attack was made on the socialist movement in this country, and the Socialist Sunday Schools were denounced for propagating the "anarchist" teachings of Marx.
- (6) Pictures of atrocities, which Mr. Gooch, the lecturer, attributed to the Bolsheviks, were thrown on the screen; also extracts from the Rev. Courrier-Forster's effusions in the *Times*. Lenin was introduced to the audience as "this criminal, this assassin, this precursor of Antichrist." Hatred towards Germany was fanned into a flame by the assertion that Bolshevism was let loose on the world by Germany, with Lenin as her agent.
- (7) The whole was interlarded with singing of hymns, prayers, silent and vocal, for starving and agonising Russia (all due to Bolshevism), and for the re-establishment of the Greek Church.

The programmes, which were freely distributed, bore the legend "Russia's Agony and England's Peril," and at the same time we were assured that the meeting was not a political one.

A CONSTANT READER.

Sorel on Lenin.

"I have no reason to assume that Lenin has borrowed some of his ideas from my books; but, even should he have done so, I should be only too proud to have contributed towards the intellectual development of a man who, in my opinion, is the greatest theorist Socialism has produced since Marx, and, at the same time, a statesman whose genius is equal to that of Peter the Great. . . . Accused by the plutocratic democracies which are starving Russia. I am but an old man, whose days are numbered; but I hope, before I leave the world, to see the proud bourgeois democracies, cynically triumphant to-day, humbled to the ground."

(Georges Sorel, author of *Reflexions sur la Violence*, to the fourth edition of which he has written an appreciation of Lenin as an appendix.)

An International Money Crisis?

The spectacle of an accredited representative of Labour telling a legally-protected association of thieves that the toilers of the world must work harder and harder for the perpetuation of the society of international robbers, would be comic were it not so pitiful. We can imagine the big crooks chuckling over such irresponsible nonsense-talk. We do wonder if the rebels in the ranks of organised labour cannot use some strategy to force the official ranters to deal with the real business of the movement instead.

In spite of the ingenious talk about increased production, currency inflation, international exchange, high wages and dear food, the War has taught the plain workers a few facts that they cannot easily forget. With millions of men engaged in the game of international murder, and millions more employed to look after the welfare of the combatants, a few millions, toiling hard by night and by day, toiling overtime, were able to carry out the stupendous task of necessary production and distribution; and they, also, produced enough to make their own, and the fighters', welfare, materially better than ever it had hitherto been, and even enrich private profiteers beyond their wildest dreams. If the plump profiteers would disgorge the immense profits of the War, and absorb the returned men and women in industry, and if blockades and all other artificial barriers were removed and all countries allowed to trade freely, international society would soon right itself, and the world's workers would not be bowed beneath the burden of a great war debt. Even in America, where the greatest profits of the War were made, even there the toilers are systematically cheated of their earnings by the taxes placed upon

their incomes and on the essential necessities of life. Perhaps, the workers of the world will at last wake up to understand that, in times of peace, their governments are bankrupt of sound ideas, and hopeless as regards constructive administration. The simple fact is that those who "have" are determined to keep all they have robbed, and gain still more from those who "have not."

We should be happy if the conflicting interests and greed of the international vultures would bring about a financial panic, which might force the workers of the western world to take direct action. But we are afraid that European bankers, who are more familiar with the system of Soviet Russia than many Socialists, and who fear it more than the Atlantic-sheltered United States, which are determined to deport Socialism, would use all their powers to avert such a disaster. With her control of three-fifths of the world's gold, England will make a great sacrifice of this metal rather than consent to the passing of the standard. While we are willing to work for, and be dazzled by, the glitter of gold—the money system—which lies at the root of all our social evils, will remain. The grave, pompous bankers will not simplify the medium of commodity and exchange so that even the uninitiated might understand how simple the business was, which at first seemed so complex.

But those who are familiar with the ways of American dollar diplomacy (despised by Europeans), the ruthlessness of the big trusts in dealing with the little trusts and capitalists, and in making use of the entire social and political machinery to break and destroy their victims when they are stubborn, rather think that Ameri-

can plutocracy will stop at nothing to gain control of the world of finance. London or New York? Which shall be the first gambling den of the world? All the wild talk about greater production, inflation, national bankruptcy and Labour's unfair demands, hangs on this issue.

So, whilst we are working and waiting for our revolution, we will, sometimes, amuse ourselves by watching the grim struggle between English Capitalism and American Plutocracy—the latter now mainly represented by the Rockefellers' combined mineral, manufacturing and banking interests, that are slowly swallowing the house of Morgan, which was Britain's go-between for the period of the War.

If only the contests might so absorb their strength as to leave them unfit to cope with the gaunt figure of the Russian bear, whose mighty shadow looms in the distance!

CLAUDE MCKAY.

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, February 13th, The Square, Woolwich, 12 (noon).
Henry Sara.
Saturday, February 14th, Lewisham Market Place, 3 p.m.
Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, Henry Sara.
Grove Lane, Camberwell, 7 p.m. Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.
Sunday, February 15th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker.
Tuesday, February 17th, Stockwell Street, Camberwell, 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker.
Saturday, February 21st. Meetings in Greenwich.

INDOOR.

Sunday, February 15th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 p.m.
W. McCartney. Chair: Mrs. Thring (see advertisement).
Monday, February 16th, 20, Railway Street, 7.30 p.m.
Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m., Reading Circle.
Wednesday, February 18th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m.
General Members' Meeting (London Section).
Thursday, February 19th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Mark Starr. Second Lecture on Elementary Economics: "Commodities. Use Value and Exchange Value. Relation of Value and Price and the Determinants of Both."
Friday, February 20th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m.
Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
Sunday, February 15th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.
Tuesday, February 17th, Queens Road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m. Walter Ponder and others.
Thursday, February 19th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Tuesday, February 17th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Jim Cant.

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Colonel Malone in Poplar.

Poplar Town Hall was well filled on Friday, 6th, when Colonel Malone spoke on what he had seen in Soviet Russia. Melvina Walker was in the chair, and Harry Pollitt, in the unavoidable absence of Sylvia Pankhurst, made a fine revolutionary speech. These crowded meetings on Russia in East London show that there, at least, the workers are anxious for Peace with Soviet Russia.

Cedar Paul's fine rendering of the "International" in Russian roused the audience to great enthusiasm, and she also led the singing of the "Red Flag" before the meeting was declared closed (at 10.50 p.m.). The playing of the East London Labour Orchestra contributed to the success of the meeting. The collection amounted to £5, and literature sold well.

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