

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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IS PEACE AT HAND?

The most significant factor in the war situation is Mr. Bonar Law's acknowledgement that the Allies have not discussed President Wilson's terms and are not bound by them. Until the Allies have decided what peace they want we shall not have peace. Mr. Law's refusal to make any statement to Parliament, either concerning the conditions to be demanded of Germany by this country, or the consultations with America, which he says are taking place, shows us that secret diplomacy still holds the field. This is really a very serious insult to the people of this country. When Austria asked for a private discussion of peace proposals by the belligerent Governments, the request was received with a howl against secret diplomacy, yet Austria proposed only preliminary non-binding discussions.

The German reply to President Wilson's latest five points (points decidedly less altruistic in tone than those he made when negotiations for actual peace were apparently distant) is of course an attempt to save Germany as far as possible from the humiliations and hardships which fall to the lot of conquered peoples. Its most outstanding phrase is that which appeals to the President Wilson of the historic fourteen points:—

"It trusts that the President of the United States will approve of no demand which would be irreconcilable with the honour of the German people and with opening a way to a peace of justice."

How will this appeal be responded to?

For the rest, the reply endeavours to secure that the terms of the armistice and evacuation shall be arranged between the military advisers of both sides, not imposed by the Allied Generals. The Germans still adopt a conciliatory tone towards the Allied atrocity, charges and demands for a

democratised Germany. In regard to the former they propose to refer the charges to a neutral commission of investigation, promise that submarines shall in future spare passenger ships, and declaring that German troops will be punished if they destroy private property or fail in care for the population during the retreat. On the constitutional question the Note points out that legislation is before the German Parliament to make the Chancellor responsible to the representatives of the people and to make questions of war and peace dependent on the vote of the Reichstag. Under the legislation actually introduced all treaties which may entail war or peace require consent of the Reichstag and Federal Council. That, of course, is a step further than has been made here! Germany has gone quite as far as our rulers desire towards democratisation. Lord Milner, in an interview with the *Evening Standard*, urged that Germany should not be pressed too far in this direction for, if Bolshevism should gain the upper hand in Germany, the Allies would not be able to obtain from her the "reparation" they desire.

But for the mass of the German people the steps taken towards German democratisation do not go far enough. News of German rioting and mutiny comes almost daily. We believe that a revolutionary struggle is in progress there.

The Austrian situation is of interest to all, but especially to the fighting men. In accordance with President Wilson's fourteen points the Austrian Emperor has decreed that the subject peoples within his Empire shall be granted federal self-government and has assented to the freedom of Poland as an independent state. Having complied

with Wilson's demands the Austrian Government sued for peace; only to be told that the situation is now changed, for since the Czechs-Slovaks have declared themselves an independent people and have entered the War as a separate belligerent people and as another member of the Allied nations, their demands must be met before the War comes to an end.

It should be noted that Hungary, too, has its separatists, who may prolong the War if this principle is to obtain: the Croats there are proclaiming their independence. Mr. Balfour has also recognised Poland as a co-belligerent. So to the peoples of the original Allied nations, in effect, is said: You enlisted or were conscripted to fight till a certain group of national Governments were satisfied, but so long as new Governments, with new demands, are created you must continue fighting. British soldiers who are obliged to fight for Czech independence may also be obliged to fight against Irish or Indian independence! Suppose the American negroes or Indians were to set up a claim like that of the Czechs-Slovaks!

President Wilson's reply to Austria does not seem to us one which he desires to see carried to its logical conclusion, but may be taken by the Austrians as saying: "You will have to surrender without conditions and accept the terms the conquerors choose to impose." And meanwhile it seems to us that the Allied Governments have not agreed amongst themselves as to their terms, and so the war continues. Oh, for Socialism and a people's peace!

Socialism is coming all over the world. Let us work to hasten its arrival.

THE NATIONAL FRENCH SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

SOCIALIST AND INTERNATIONALIST MANIFESTOS. THE GENERAL POLICY OF THE PARTY. THE EDITORSHIP OF THE 'HUMANITÉ.' THE TRIUMPH OF THE MINORITAIRES.

Three Manifestos were issued before the opening of the Congress: one by the Confederation Générale du Travail, one by the Committee of Defense of International Socialism, and the third by the National Socialist Congress.

The C.G.T. Manifesto, which ought to have been the boldest, was, in fact, the most disconcerting of the three. At the beginning of the war, the C.G.T. like most of the labour groups followed the capitalists and was thus unfaithful to its mission as it has often been before; indeed, it has rarely awakened to its duty. The first part of its Manifesto deals with President Wilson's peace proposals and contains all that bourgeois manifestoes would contain. After condemning secret diplomacy and asking for the chastisement of the enemies and of all the evil they have done, it ends without uttering a word in favour of the renewal of the Internationale.

The Manifesto of the Committee of Defense of International Socialism is more in tune with labour aspirations. It says that it remains faithful to its mission: the workers' salvation, and that it expects nothing from the fortune of battles, from defeat or victory, and that its aims are emancipation and justice; its mission is class socialism and social revolution. It begins by asking the revival of the Internationale and blames all the bourgeois measures that have come into force since the beginning of the war. It will not follow the Governments whose aims are not in accordance with Freedom and Justice. It says to the Workers:—

"Imperialism is your enemy. We want democratic peace, peace without annexations or indemnities, and down with Imperialism. A people's peace!"

That is certainly encouraging. If the National Congress had worded its manifesto in the same spirit it would thereby have done more to rehabilitate than anything it has done hitherto. Unfortunately it was not so; it has merely summed up what President Wilson has said, and it leaves us grieved to think that some Socialists should import their principles from an American capitalist Government.

The main issues of the Conference were whether the "Minoritaires" (the Internationalists) could retain confidence of the majority of the party which they received at the last National Congress, and whether the "Majoritaires" (the supporters of the Government and the War) could retain the management of the Party and of its official organ *L'Humanité*. At its opening sitting the Congress discussed matters of no importance. A Committee was elected to draft an address to be sent to President Wilson. One could gather the spirit in which the draft would be worded. On everyone's lips were the words "conciliation," and it was clear that conciliation would guide the Congress, at the beginning towards futile parleys. Two internationalists, Raffin-Dugennes and Faure, wanted more Socialism and less truce of the Party truce, which is detrimental to Socialism. Notwithstanding their arguments and also partly owing to the weakness of men of influence like Longuet and Cachin, the whole text of the manifesto was adopted. The manifesto, as I said

before, means, as it is worded, very little to anyone who seeks the true socialist spirit. Why, oh! brothers, should we make Wilson or any other bourgeois politician the herald of socialist aspirations!

GENERAL POLICY OF THE PARTY.

Tenneveau opened the discussions by blaming the Party for having given up its mission at the beginning of the war and become a jingo party; he criticised the Socialists who joined the Government and the forty socialist M.P.s who abandoned international Socialism to practise National Defence. It is to the lack of international Socialism that the present state of affairs in Russia is due. Raffin-Dugennes, a "Kienthalien," asked that the efforts of the Party be directed to fight the Junkers whoever they may be. He himself would continue to vote against war credits. He wanted the Party to present a united front and hoped that the question of Alsace-Lorraine would not be an obstacle to peace. "Why," he asked, "do we not take for our guide the Manifesto on Alsace-Lorraine of the Reichstag members who merely ask for autonomy for those provinces?" When leaving the platform, he shouted: "All those who want to conquer Alsace-Lorraine should go to the trenches."

Blanc also had never voted war credits and never will. He asked the Party to back him in that refusal. Meric spoke on the same lines and asked for more unity to enable the Party to insist on Peace and to revive the Internationale. He would vote for Longuet's motion which is animated by that spirit.

Blum tried to save the "Majoritaires," but the delegates of the Confederation Générale du Travail came to the rescue of the "Minoritaires." The C.G.T. is the Federation of Trade-Unionists and its leaders are rank and file workers, not Intellectuals; hence the good work done by them during this last year. They are all men of action and of principle. Owing to their intervention at the right moment, and notwithstanding the efforts of Majoritaires like Lebas, who are partisans of governmental co-operation, and who generally make long speeches and advocate President Wilson's proposals on war and peace, the policy adopted four years ago by the "Majoritaires" is doomed.

Longuet gave that policy the death blow when he accused the "Saxons of Socialism" of having been the cause of the refusal of passports to go to Stockholm and of having done their best to prevent the revival of the Internationale. He asked the Party to help the Soviet Government against outside governments' action. He said that the Congress must abandon the past at once and start new works on new lines. Faure urged the same policy.

Thomas tried to clear himself of any complicity in Doumergue's secret treaties made between Russia and her Allies, whilst he was in the Cabinet. He declared that he knew nothing of the letter of the Emperor of Austria save what had appeared in the press. The Congress was of opinion that as a Minister he should have known of these things. According to Thomas the peace proposals of the Emperor Charles stood no chance of success. Longuet and Cachin expressed the opposite opinion. Faure blamed the Allied Governments for their action in Russia, and Froeseard voiced the truth when he said

that the internationalist Minoritaires have nothing in common with the Majoritaires. Whatever might be said the vote which was to be taken would decide the policy of the French Socialist Party:—

THE VOTE.

Longuet's motion (minoritaire)	1528 votes
Renaudel's motion (major.)	1919 votes
Blum's motion	181 votes

By this vote the French Socialist Party changed its policy and moved towards International Socialism.

But the work of the Congress did not end there. It had got to push its action farther. There remained the organ of the Party, *L'Humanité*, now entirely in the hands of the Majority. It must not be so any longer and the Congress decided that the Editorship of the paper should pass into other hands. The Majoritaires maintained the candidature of the actual Editor, Renaudel. Longuet, in the name of the Minoritaires, proposed a man whose policy is of the centre, Marcel Cachin. Cachin was elected by 1500 votes against 1300 for Renaudel. For once, in France, right and justice have triumphed.

To sum up, the Congress has definitely put an end to the existence of jingo-socialism and set the Party free, to work towards its proper aims and the fulfilment of its mission. Let us hope that the Party will not stop there, and that whether the war is over or not, its first step will be to proclaim the determination of the Workers to make their own peace and to revive the Internationale.

If necessary, let us break the truce now existing in the Socialist and Workers' movement. If some people insist upon remaining in alliance with capitalism, let them fight their own battle. There must be only extremists, men either for or against Socialism, and we want men of action, and Socialists, nothing but Socialists.

NORTH MOLLY.

SOVIET WINNING.

In Russia the Soviet strength appears to be growing. *The Times* reports that the Bolsheviks have taken Sumara, rich in corn, and the Eastern Ukraine, another food district. It is said that the German soldiers are going over to the Bolsheviks and that when the Germans leave Ukraine the Bourgeois Government must be replaced by the Soviet. Indeed, so sure is this that the Germans are demanding from the Bolsheviks compensation in exchange for evacuating Ukraine.

"If one questions school children one learns what the Bolsheviks brought the people. Seeing several hundred children come from a building, my interpreter asked how they liked school. They replied 'It's too crowded.' We asked why. They said, 'Well, formerly only the children of the rich could go to school; now all schools are free there is not room enough for all.'—*The Daily Chronicle*.

Women's Congress held over until next issue.

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THE KERENSKY-KORNILOFF PLOT AND MR. BROWNE.

In *The Daily News* of September 15th appeared a letter from Kerensky protesting that though he came to this country to secure Allied intervention, now that he wishes to return to Russia, the British Government, which gave him facilities to come here, refuses to allow him to go. The reason given by the British Government for the refusal is that it does not consider it possible to deviate from its "declared intention not to interfere in the internal politics of Russia." How this declared intention can be reconciled with the intervention and with General Knox's proclamation that the Allies are fighting "until the last agent of despotism, be he German or Bolshevik, is driven from Russian soil," we do not know. But the rest of Mr. Kerensky's letter is even more interesting. He says that a certain Colonel Kourbatoff, "who enjoys exclusive attention among some of the governing circles," has been given freedom to travel to France and now is about to go to America and Russia. This Colonel Kourbatoff, Kerensky asserts, is in reality a financier and jobber named Zavoiko, who was "among the organisers and inspirers of the unfortunate adventures of General Korniloff" but is "hardly known to anybody in Russia and is lacking any connections amongst the serious and authoritative political circles."

All this is very strange, indeed, for at this juncture has been published very striking testimony in support of the charge made by the Soviet that Kerensky was himself a party to the Korniloff conspiracy. This testimony is given in a pamphlet compiled by *The Chicago Daily News* from the able dispatches of its Russian correspondent, Mr. Louis Edgar Browne. Mr. Browne was in Russia from the first days of the Czar's downfall, and the last of the telegrams in the pamphlet is dated April 15th, 1918.

Mr. Browne states quite definitely and in detail that the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, which he says was "almost wholly a political mission," took part in the Kerensky-Korniloff plot, but counselled its abandonment when delay had injured its prospects of success. Korniloff and Kerensky, however, obstinately insisted in going on with it. The object to be attained according to Mr. Browne was that of "downing the Soviet" and to bring Russia back into the War on the side of the Allies and to secure Russian trade for the Allies. Incidentally a "tentative economic agreement" was made securing to America platinum and other metals, beet seed, flax and hides, in exchange for certain foodstuffs.

When the plot failed, the American Red Cross, realising the Soviet power to be the strongest in Russia because it represented the desires of the mass of the people, endeavoured to make friends with the Soviet with the object of toning down or altering it, and in order to achieve the objects of the Kerensky-Korniloff plot by another method. The American Red Cross (Mr. Browne says that the views he professes throughout are those of American diplomatic and military representatives) regarded the Russian dream of Socialism and universal brotherhood as "fatuous," but they thought that the best way to overcome it was to express sympathy with it, to answer its slogan, and at the same time to persuade the people that Germany was the only menace to be feared. Mr. Browne complains that the Allied Governments did not adopt this method. Even the American Government, when asked by this political Red Cross to send three million dollars a month for such propaganda, replied by sending a Commission which spent its money in advertising how many aeroplanes America was building, how many soldiers she was preparing, and in declaring that the Allies would win the War. Later on, however, Mr. Browne tells us that the Allies, at least in part adopted the methods urged by the American Red Cross Mission, and he recounts that American soldiers were on their way to help the Soviet troops to remove munitions from Petrograd lest they should be seized by the Germans. He also tells that Mr. Lockhart, the British representative, made friends with the Soviet ministers and was trusted by them. Strange that this same Mr. Lockhart was in September accused by the Soviet Ministers of conspiring against the Soviet! The *Izvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, stated on September 2nd that Mr. Lockhart was at the head of a conspiracy by which Soviet troops were to be bribed to seize the members of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries and to proclaim a military dictatorship, "in the event of the success of the coup it declares that a forged secret correspondence

between the Russian Government and the German Government was to be published and forged treaties were to be fabricated in order to discredit the Soviet Ministers and to create the right atmosphere for the renewal of the war with Germany." The *Pravda*, the official organ of the Bolshevik party, on September 3rd stated that the conspirators also intended to seize the State Bank, the central telephone exchange, and the telegraphs, and to introduce a military dictatorship accompanied by an order prohibiting, on pain of death, the holding of meetings until the arrival of the British military force. The removal of Soviet ammunition will appear to those suspicious of the Kerensky policy to fit in with such plans.

In any case the Allied invasion of Russia indicates that the policy of making friends with the Soviets, which the American Red Cross Mission advocated, if ever it was adopted by the Allied Governments, was afterwards abandoned. Was it found impossible to "tone down" Russian Socialism? Was it decided to fight the Soviet and its officials because it was found that they could by no means be persuaded to abandon their principles: land for the peasants, industry for the workers, Socialism, and a peoples' peace?

Mr. Browne when he wrote these dispatches was opposed to Allied military intervention. He said that if Japanese troops were sent to Russia the Russian people would turn against the Allies and ally themselves with Germany. Obviously he did not fully comprehend the Bolshevik mentality and therefore underrated the determination of the Soviet to remain independent of all capitalist governments. Mr. Browne categorically denies any menace of German armed prisoners in Russia as a reason for Allied intervention. Indeed, he declares that the allegations that German prisoners were arising to seize the Trans-Siberian railroad, was disproved by a British-American investigation.

Throughout his dispatches Mr. Browne expresses the view, a view which he apparently regards as the general one, that America's object in Russia must be to bring Russia back into the War and to secure Russian raw materials and Russian trade for the Allies. According to his own version, the American military and diplomatic representatives who agree with Mr. Browne differed from the Allied Governments only in the fact that, whilst the Red Cross desire to achieve the same objects by toning down the Soviet, the Allied Governments preferred intervention. The latter policy is at present in the ascendant. Needless to say, both policies are abhorrent to us!

SOVIETS NOT PRO-GERMAN.

Moscow, Russia, April 11.—...The majority of newspaper readers in the Allied countries probably suspect or believe that the Russian Soviet Government sold out to Germany and that the Soviet leaders are paid agents of the Kaiser. These are equally fatuous ideas. False interpretations of facts and rumours that are cabled to the various Allied countries regarding the revolution have confused and misled many students of political movements, whose judgment of the situation has been accepted as final.

"We in Russia who are actually in contact with the Soviet Government... see the Soviet Government a real power with a firm grip on the internal situation. We see the Soviet Government furious because of the shameful peace Germany forced upon it. We see the Soviet's growing resentment against Germany. We feel the sentiment of the Russian people harden against Germany. We see this resentment crystallising in Russia's efforts to create a revolutionary army and the hurried evacuation of munitions to depots beyond the Volga in preparation for the expected resumption of German attacks."

"Save for insignificant exceptions, American diplomatic and military representatives endorse the main ideas expressed in the series of cable dispatches that I am sending to *The Daily News*, of which this is the first."

KERENSKY VERSUS THE SOVIET.

"When the American missions began co-operating with Alexander Kerensky two glaring faults were disclosed in the provisional government."

"First, that Government was built on the foundations of the old régime. This meant that the new Socialistic order was trying to utilise the bars of bureaucracy."

"Second, the Provisional Government was utterly unable to organise the country's food supply. Although American investigation proved that Russia had sufficient food to feed herself, the cumbersome routine of the autocracy proved too inelastic to meet the demands of the Revolution. Wherever Kerensky turned he found hostility; whatever he tried to do met with passive resistance, which was as effective as active opposition."

"The Allies' military and technical units complained of lack of progress. A member of the American railway mission said: 'We cannot help the Russians if they will not help themselves.' Kerensky's Government stirred up the inertia of the old régime but the machinery was slowing down. The inability of the Provisional Government to handle the food situation was largely due to the rottenness of the governmental mechanism and it furnished all of Kerensky's enemies with a common target for attack. Extensive co-operation was necessary, but the corrupt bureaucracy did not respond to Kerensky's efforts."

"Kerensky's position was made more difficult by the war speculators.... Prices of manufactured articles were inflated to ten or a dozen times the normal prices, while the price of food was arbitrarily decreed at thrice its normal value. Result: The peasants refused to exchange foodstuffs for currency because of the distortion of the normal relative values. They preferred to barter grain for absolutely needed manufactured articles, hoarding their surplus grain.... Kerensky was without power. The Soviet had usurped it. Visible at every turn, alternately leading

and frustrating the Provisional Government, was the Soviet. It was virile and active, although as yet openly unobtrusive."

"Whenever Kerensky's duma moved it encountered the solid substance of the Soviet power. A clash invariably resulted and the Soviet invariably won. Then America entered the game. This was in August."

AMERICA ENTERS THE GAME.

"America sent a Red Cross mission to Russia which, under the force of circumstances, erected itself into a political mission. This unofficial effort mitigated the mistake which all the Allies made regarding the new Russia. For purposes of war the various Allied nations selected as their representatives in Russia men who through temperament and training were fitted to work in harmony with the Czar's autocratic régime. The revolution came, and practically none of these representatives was replaced by a man more in tune with the situation. The old representatives of the Allies were as much out of sympathy with the new Socialistic order as were the supporters of the overthrown autocracy."

"The American Red Cross mission—now almost wholly a political mission—realised that when the Czar fell the fundamental bond of Russian life was lost.... The American mission believed that attempts to re-establish the old bond were doomed to failure, because under it only about 6 per cent of the population had a real stake in the nation, while since the revolution 90 per cent had tasted freedom and ownership. There existed a solid mass of 15,000,000 soldiers against the re-establishment. Thus the Korniloff, Kaledin, and Alexieff moves were destined to failure, although this was better realised after a few bitter experiences."

THE KERENSKY-KORNILOFF PLOT.

WHAT AMERICA WAS TO GAIN.

"Russia's need of a new bond suggested to the American mission a definite course of action—namely amalgamation and continued co-operation of the political and military elements of the new Russia as a preliminary essential; then the inauguration of a vast educational campaign seeking to create a new patriotic unity in an ideal of 'a free Russia, land for the peasants, freeholds and firesides.' Nothing could be done without the coalition of the military and political elements, which had been growing more estranged. Consequently the Korniloff plot was hatched. The plan interested the American mission."

The Bolsheviks accused Kerensky of being in league with Korniloff. He denied it, but in spite of his denials his plot with Korniloff precipitated his overthrow by the Bolsheviks.

"Special cable to *The Daily News*."

"Moscow, Russia, April 12.—On Aug. 15, 1917, members of the American Red Cross Mission attended a conference, at which Kerensky, Savinkoff, Nekrassoff and Skobeloff discussed with them the details of a coup d'état to effect an amalgamation of the Korniloff and Kerensky forces. The next day Kerensky, Korniloff, and the American mission met in the Winter Palace and further discussed details of the plan. All urged its speedy execution, as the Soviet's attacks because of the food situation and also the Soviet's peace campaign were rapidly undermining the positions of both Kerensky and the Allies in Russia."

"Kerensky and Korniloff agreed to join forces and co-operate with the United States. They agreed to meet the pressing food difficulty by appointing M. Batolin food dictator. Batolin was the Russian wheat magnate whose wizardlike foresight and almost superhuman powers of organisation enabled him to become probably the largest single human factor in Russia's industrial and commercial life, despite the handicap of his birth in a peasant's hovel."

"The tentative economic agreement between Russia and America proposed that Mr. Hoover and other Allied food specialists should be brought into the conference. America was to export to Russia certain foodstuffs in exchange for platinum and other metals, beet seed, flax, and hides. Kerensky and Korniloff agreed jointly to sign a proclamation to this effect...."

"Despite the urgent need of immediate action, the plan hung fire until the American mission, recognising the Soviet's rapidly rising power, advised Korniloff and Kerensky to abandon the plan entirely. Korniloff and Kerensky obstinately refused. Then came their attempt. As a coup d'état a more miserable fiasco was never seen. Everything went wrong. But the failure was no mystery. It was the Soviet which, learning of the plot, sprang into activity, showing unsuspected depths of organisation."

"Overnight the Soviet's power became a factor of equal consideration with that of the Provisional Government. This was not accidental. It was the culmination of weeks of untiring and skilful leadership. The Kerensky-Korniloff plot and the Soviet counter-part popped simultaneously. Kronstadt sailors hurried to Petrograd under the thin pretext of guarding Kerensky. The sailors surrounded the Winter Palace, virtually held Kerensky a prisoner and forced him to repudiate his pledges to Korniloff. They forced him to sign a decree denouncing Korniloff as a counter-revolutionary. The movement was crushed in twenty-four hours."

"The Soviet's manoeuvre opened a new phase of the situation which disclosed Kerensky's lack of power. They made plain the fact that Kerensky was running a socialistic government with the machinery of an autocracy and was thus building on a false foundation. A wholly socialistic organization was striving to overthrow both Kerensky and Korniloff. On the one hand Kerensky talked the old world politics and diplomacy of the Allies; on the other he shouted the most radical and excited views of the Russian masses. The two things did not mix. The opposition was the Soviet conducting revolutionary, Socialistic anti-war propaganda. Its formula, 'Peace, land and bread,' was sweet music to the Russian ear, being just what it wanted to hear."

DEMANDS OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS AND SOLDIERS.

"CAPTIVATED ARMY OF 15,000,000."

"Kerensky's declaration, 'We will fight until the bitter end,' did not stand a show. Psychologically the arguments of the Soviet agitators captivated the Russian masses. The Russian soldiers fought

Germany because the Czar so ordered. The Czar was gone. Where was there reason for fighting any further? Consequently the Soviet's formula, "Peace for the soldiers," appealed to 15,000,000 soldiers.

"No annexations and no contributions" was a formula so often reiterated that it was finally accepted as a beautiful principle. The soldiers said: "We have our villages on the Volga. There is land enough for all. Why should we take Constantinople? It does not belong to us and we do not want it."

"The formula, 'The land to the peasants,' appealed to the masses. The Soviet told the soldiers: 'The revolution gave you land; go and take it.' Ever present in the soldier's mind was the fear that unless he went home he might be overlooked when the land was divided. The Soviet made the most of this argument.

"As a corollary to 'The land to the peasants' there was 'The industries to the workmen.'... The simple Russian soldier, nothing but an illiterate Russian peasant clad in khaki, applied primitive, not practical, tests. He reasoned: 'Why should we fight our German brother, who is forced to fight by his Kaiser for lord just as the Czar forced us to fight? We have overthrown our oppressor. We will tell them how it was done. They will overthrow their Kaiser and we will live happily side by side—two great peoples enjoying full freedom.'"

AMERICAN MISSION'S PLAN.

"The American mission decided that swift educational work on a larger scale than ever before attempted was necessary to teach the Russian masses the fatuity of this beautiful dream. It was hoped to put an X-ray on Germany and show the Russian masses that if Germany were victorious the new freedom would be displaced by the re-establishment of the old order and also that German victory would restore the newly acquired land to the hands of the nobles. The American mission decided that the old revolutionary group led by Mme. Breshovskaya, "the grandmother of the revolution," with Tehaykovsky and Lazereff was the best medium for conducting an educational campaign.

"The plan contemplated thousands of speakers lecturing in the armies and the villages on the subject of the German menace; millions of pamphlets in simple Russian and intelligible to the smallest village scribes; posters, placards and coloured cartoons scattered broadcast.

"This educational campaign was to answer the Soviet's slogan, 'Peace for the soldier, land to the peasants, factories to the workmen, and bread for all.'

"The American mission asked the American Government for \$1,000,000 immediately and \$3,000,000 a month indefinitely for the purpose of combating the Soviet propaganda. Previously Elihu Root had recommended \$10,000,000 for publicity. Six weeks after the American mission's request Washington sent to Russia a branch of the Committee on Public Information, which proceeded to tell the Russians how many aeroplanes America was building, how great an army America expected to raise, and how America was certain ultimately to win the war. Neither America nor the Allies ever made one serious attempt to combat the Soviet's peace propaganda and to explain to the Russian people why Germany really menaced their newly-won freedom...."

ALLIES DESERT KERENSKY.

SOVIET GAINS CONTROL.

"The Allied political and military missions, except the American Red Cross and political mission, completely misunderstanding the situation, charged Kerensky with ruining the army and misusing the Allies' confidence.

"It will be remembered that on the eve of Kerensky's downfall the Allied ambassadors, excepting the American ambassador, who had received no instructions, presented Kerensky with a stiff note of protest, amounting almost to an ultimatum against conditions in Russia. This note is a part of the secret treaty publications....

"Three days before the Soviet's *coup d'état* was delivered a conference was held. Kerensky met the Allied military representatives in the rooms of the American mission. He declared that he commanded the support of four Petrograd regiments, perhaps enough to defeat the Soviet forces, but Kerensky refused to remain in power unless he was assured by the Allies of full support for the Russian policy, which Kerensky himself dictated....

"Instead of discussing a concrete plan for downing the Soviet the military representatives indulged in a general denunciation of the policy of the Provisional Government and each painful detail of the Tarnopol and Riga retreats. Kerensky admitted all these charges, but he did not see how he could have changed events.

"Every attempt to reach an understanding resulted in mutual recrimination. The meeting lasted two hours, and despite the urgent pressure of the American mission not a single constructive action was taken. The Allied missions favoured supporting Kaledin and Alexieff as against Kerensky. They scouted the possibility that the Soviet might overthrow the Provisional Government. Yet this virile Soviet organisation had swept before it every military unit, village, and community into which it penetrated. It had overcome obstacle after obstacle, defeated Korniloff, gained the support of the majority of the bayonets at the front and assumed control of the Baltic and Kronstadt fleets....

"In five days all was over and Kerensky fled, a hunted fugitive. The Allies then faced a new situation. The Soviet controlled the Government, the rifles, and the masses. The Soviet's programme pledged Russia to the formula of peace. The Soviet had what Kerensky never had—power—the reason being that the Soviet promised the Russian people just what the Russian people wanted, namely, peace, land, and bread. How to utilise this new situation as a factor in winning the world war for the Allies became the burning problem of the day."

ALLIED GOVERNMENTS PLAY INTO THE HAND OF PRO-GERMAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES.

Special cable to *The Daily News*.

"Moscow, Russia, April 13.—When the Soviet power seized the Petrograd Government in November, the ambassadors from the Entente countries were torn between two desires. The stronger was to remain in Russia, wholly ignoring the Soviet Government, and

anxiously awaiting its downfall; the weaker was to quit Russia altogether. Not one realised the necessity of utilising or co-operating with the Soviet for the purposes of the world war.

"The Allied diplomatic and military group even attempted to expedite the Soviet's downfall. The military chief wrote notes to Doukhouin, Alexieff and other leaders of the opposition to the Soviet. The Allied militarists supported Roumania and the Ukraine; both sold out to Germany. They flirted with the Finnish White Guards. France even recognised the White Guard Government—German soldiers are now fighting side by side with these White Guards."

AMERICAN RED CROSS AND LOCKHART GAIN THE TRUST OF SOVIET.

"The little Red Cross group from the United States saw the Soviet as an unpleasant but a necessary evil, and began to co-operate with it. The Red Cross weathered attack after attack. Diplomats and militarists alike condemned the overtures to the Soviet Government.... The Allies appear at this time to be anxious to talk to Lenin and Trotsky. Tentative overtures are made daily. Britain has withdrawn her embassy and substituted as her official representative a young liberal, Lockhart. Though not a diplomat, he recognises the permanency of the Soviet power and the necessity of co-operation with it. Already he has recovered some of the lost ground. He is not entangled with the old régime and consequently the Soviet leaders trust him and co-operate with him.

"But it was the American Red Cross that made possible any resumption of negotiations with the Soviet.... It is about the only Allied institution that since November has not been actively interested in some scheme seeking to accomplish the Soviet's downfall."

SOVIETS AND BOLSHEVIKI REPRESENT THE MASSES.

"Originally there existed differences between the Bolsheviks and the Soviet. To-day these terms are practically synonymous. The Bolsheviks utilised the Soviet organisation until they became one with it....

"The Soviet organisation extends deep into Russian life. Literally the Soviet means the council of common usage; it means a village council. Thus the modern Russian Soviet's origin is the ancient village mir.

"Russia's present official title is 'The Russian Socialist Federated Republic of Soviets.' The present-day Russian Soviet Government is really only the executive committee of a vast number of local village, town and city Soviets in which there exists a real sound democratic idea of majority rule. The village Soviets hold local elections and select members to attend the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. This Congress chooses the government. It was such an organisation that ratified the Russo-German peace.

"The Bolsheviks were extreme Socialists. They perfected the organisation of a central clearing house for these thousands of Soviets. They used this organisation to spread their propaganda and won over to their point of view 95 per cent of the soldiers and 80 per cent of the peasant masses.... The Bolsheviks swept the country completely coming to dominate the national organisation of the village Soviets....

Special cable to *The Daily News*.

"Moscow, Russia, April 14.—How can the Allies use present-day Russia in winning the world war?... The Soviet elements in the Ukraine are conducting an active guerrilla warfare against the Germans and the Rada troops. They retook Odessa. The authority of the Russian Soviet extends from Petrograd to Vladivostok and from Archangel to Baku. Only German or Japanese bayonets will prevent this Soviet power from lasting many months longer....

"The Soviet actually is raising, equipping, training and disciplining a revolutionary army, calling for volunteers and getting them. Nearly 300,000 men are now enrolled and old régime officers who have promised to refrain from engaging in politics are in command of this army. The army itself is gradually submitting to discipline, which after the terrible disorders in Russia itself, is a distinct achievement.

"In the Ukraine 200,000 irregulars, with armed peasants and workmen, are fighting against the Germans. It was this force that recaptured Odessa. Thus Russia can be counted as a positive help, because a certain number of German troops have been recalled from the western front owing to the activities of the Soviet irregular troops in the Ukraine."

PROPOSED JAPANESE INVASION. HOW AMERICA CAN HELP HERSELF IN RUSSIA.

"We find in Russia to-day the beginnings of an extensive democratic culture. The spirit of democracy extends deep in Russian life. It is intensely radical—almost unlovably so—but this democratic culture will automatically adjust itself to conditions as it grows older.... If the Allies strive to do so it may be possible to remodel or tone down this Russian democracy. Russia is the world's largest market.... Russia embraces 180,000,000 people and one-sixth of the earth's populated surface. If Russian resentment against Germany.... turns against the Allies, our present good standing will be lost and Germany will be given such an advantage in the immediate purchase of raw materials as will prevent imports from other countries and the market will be permanently closed to the Allies.

"Every dollar we spend in Russia now will return a hundredfold from foreign trade....

Special cable to *The Daily News*.

"Moscow, Russia, April 15.—... The Allies should make no concerted invasion of Siberia and they should not permit Japan to invade Siberia, for such an invasion would immediately result in the turning of Russian resentment away from Germany and against the Allies. The invasion of Siberia would result in the fall of the Soviet Government, a German controlled government replacing it in Europe and a Japanese controlled government replacing it in Siberia. Neither of these empires wishes a Russian democracy to succeed. Autocracy is lonely. A Japanese invasion of Siberia either with or without the co-operation of the Allies would be the most serious blow that could befall the Allies in Russia.

"If we are able to assure the Soviet Government that such a move will not occur we shall see a wonder-

ful change in the Russian situation in the next six months. The recent Japanese landing at Vladivostok gives an indication of Russian sentiment. Lenin, speaking the other day on this subject, said:—

"We may have to declare war on Japan because the Japanese imperialists wish to annex sections of free democratic Siberia. Serious complications with England and France would be probable and it may result in was should they, as allies of Japan, be unable to restrain her spoliation of Siberia."

"Leon Trotsky says openly that Japan and Germany have reached an agreement, although, in view of Germany's attitude in the Far East, that sounds improbable. Nevertheless, the Soviet leaders declare that they intend to fight Japan should she continue the movement towards Siberia. They insist Japan has searched for numerous pretexts for an invasion of Siberia and the occupation of Vladivostok and the Siberian littoral."

"GERMAN PRISONERS NOT ARMING."

"There were rumours for a time that German war prisoners in Siberia were arming themselves with the object of seizing the Trans-Siberian railroad. This was disproved by a special American and British committee of investigation. During the German drive on the western front the Japanese suggested that an invasion of Siberia might cause a diversion of German troops from that front. Any sane military judgment would disprove this theory, yet the Franco-British general staffs requested Gen. Pershing to use his influence in Washington to bring about the plan suggested....

"This statement is important, for the threebare story of the armed German prisoners against whom the Allies must fight is still made to do service. Again and again Mr. Browne returns to the question of Russian trade. He urges the sending to Russia of American experts in oil, coal, iron, commerce, and military organisation. He adds:—

"Send a finance commission to aid the Soviet in solving the Russian financial muddle, ignoring for the time being the repudiation of debts, which, I believe, will not be permanent. Our legal position regarding the repudiation is secure through the Allied protest concerning it....

"Prevent immediately the available natural resources of Russia from going to Germany through taking them ourselves and sending back to Russia just sufficient manufactured articles to pay for them. Thus Russia's debt to the Allies will not be increased, while Germany will be deprived of large quantities of needed war material."

"Some Allied co-operation has already been started. To-day there are five Allied military missions working that are close in the confidence of Trotsky and other leaders engaged in organising the new revolutionary army. One hundred American railway operators are traversing Manchuria on their way to help the Soviet actually to evacuate munitions from Petrograd to points beyond the Volga and out of reach of the Germans should they again advance. The Soviet is showing extreme willingness to place the munitions beyond the reach of the Germans. This of itself should be evidence of its good faith....

"Ninety-three per cent of the people belong to the proletariat or the peasant masses. The other 7 per cent are monarchists, nobles, capitalists, and landowners. These are the ones who complain of a proletariat dictatorship...."

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

"FIGHTING MEN" IGNORED!

In the drizzling rain, in the cold dusk of evening, a crowd assembled outside the Sheffield Town Hall. The white banner of the Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers and Sailors faced the doorway ready to head the procession that would go marching in with the women and children and discharged men behind it. But the gate was barred. The Lord Mayor had been asked to be in attendance to receive a petition from the Federation, which has a membership of 2,000, asking for increased allowances and pensions and representation for the Federation on all the committees in the town which deal with questions affecting the welfare of its members, including the Labour Advisory Board, Local War Pensions Committee, Public Health, Lunatic and other asylums, Housing and Education and Food Control Committees, and committees for training discharged men and widows. The Lord Mayor did not come: he had sent no answer to the letters pleading for his attendance. Mr. Daniels, the President of the Federation, and Councillor Barton put to those present a resolution of protest which was unanimously agreed to. A soldier in the crowd giving his name and regimental number repeated some verses in honour of the soldiers recited at a war service at which the Mayor had spoken and asked what the Mayor would have to say to God. Women cried out that they would visit the Mayor in the Council Chamber next morning, but their leaders advised them to wait, and go later on when a larger demonstration could be organised.

In the afternoon a meeting of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation, the local W.S.F. and Shop Stewards' Committee supported by a large number of Trade Unions (the nucleus of a Workers' and Soldiers' Council) was held in the Empire Theatre. The speakers were Councillor Barton, J. Daniels, George Ebury, J. T. Murphy, ex-Councillor Murray and Sylvia Pankhurst. In the evening a second meeting was held at the Tivoli Theatre, the speakers being J. T. Murphy and Sylvia Pankhurst, with Mr. Goldstone in the chair.

Our advice to the discharged men and to the wives and widows is to keep on agitating. We hope that a deputation will attend, as has been suggested, at the Council Meeting itself and that it will urge, amongst other things, the calling of a Town's Meeting, in order that the demand of the people of Sheffield for better treatment of the war victims may be sent to the Government in authoritative form. J. T. Murphy urged the discharged soldiers, who are returning to industry, to become active participants in the Workers' Shop Stewards' Committee Movement. The advice is good. The wives and widows have two means to look to; their own power of agitation and the influence of the men at the front on whose fighting power the Government depends.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25th.

Oswald Street, near St. Pancras Goods Station.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26th.

Great Push for Socialism, Peace and Votes for All in the Holloway District.—Meet at 3 P.M. outside Jones Bros. and at 6 P.M. at Giesbach Road, near Archway Tavern. Speakers: Mrs. Cole, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, Mr. Moscovitch, Mr. Mackinlay.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29th.

Belmont's Lane (Food Campaign).—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1st.

Waterloo Road (Food Campaign).—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd.

Great Push in St. Pancras.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 28th.

44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29th.

400, Old Ford Road.—3 P.M., Mrs. Clara Cole, 'The Stand of the C.O.s.'

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31st.

76, Whitechapel Road, Stepney W.S.F.—8 P.M., Miss A. Thomlinson, 'How Education affects the Worker; the Labour Party's Programme.' Chair: Mr. Moscovitch. Discussion invited.

29a, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—7.30 P.M., Miss Eva Gore Booth.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10th

400, Old Ford Road.—4.7 P.M., Irish At Home. Mr. J. Connell, and others; Mrs. Walker in the chair. (Music).

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

BOW.—Hon. Secretary, N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road. Meetings for women will be held at 400, Old Ford Road every Tuesday at 2.30. On October 29th Mrs. Cole will speak on 'The stand of the C.O.s.' Do not forget the Irish At Home at 400, Old Ford Road, Sunday, November 10th, at 4 P.M. A Jumble Sale will be held shortly; gift towards it very acceptable.

All members should come to the John McLean Demonstration in Finsbury Park, Sunday, Nov. 3rd, at 4 P.M. Contributions in money and kind for the Cockney Fair on December 5th, 6th, and 7th, should be sent to Miss Smyth, also offers of help, clerical, sewing, taking and stocking stalls, &c. Remnants and patterns of material are useful. Save up something every week for the grocery stall.

CENTRAL BRANCH.—Hon. Secretary, Miss Eva Casey, 29a, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Dreadnought Social was very enjoyable thanks to the artistes who provided such a good programme. The evening concluded with speeches by Sylvia Pankhurst and W. F. Watson. The Secretary would be glad to have all ticket money paid in.

We are having a special treat at 29a, Lincoln's Inn Fields on Thursday, October 31st, at 7.30 P.M. when Eva Gore Booth will give a reading from her poems.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

October 15th.—In reply to Mr. Trevelyan (L.) the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board stated that the Army Council has agreed that the ballot papers of soldiers in France and Belgium shall not be censored. On their arrival here they will be opened in the presence of the election agents of the candidates.

THE BELFAST SCANDAL.

A Bill has been presented to the House, Mr. Shortt stated, "to constitute a Special Commission to inquire into certain complaints as to the treatment of prisoners in Belfast." Mr. King (L.) was assured that the inquiry would be in public.

ULSTER ARMS.

As we expected the exact figures are not yet available as to the number of rifles and machines handed over by the Ulster Volunteers.

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Bonar Law in reply to Mr. Jowett (Lab.) stated that he would arrange to give an opportunity for the discussion of the question of women in Parliament; it being a matter to be left to the House, not private members.

THE LEINSTER.

Mr. Dillon (I.N.), Mr. Houston (U.), Mr. Byrne (I.N.), Mr. Clancy (I.N.), and others bombarded the Admiralty with questions about the torpedoing of the Leinster. Dr. Macnamara refused an inquiry on the ground that too much time and attention would be required. He explained that high speed vessels, like the mail boat are safer without convoy. Dr. Macnamara was ignorant of the fact that it took one hour and twenty-five minutes, according to Mr. Dillon, before any rescue boat arrived on the scene. It seems that even the tragic loss of this vessel was not sufficient warning to the Admiralty, for Mr. Clancy stated that on October 14th the Admiralty refused for four hours to provide an escort for the Kingstown to Holyhead boat. Mr. Dillon added that the seamen and firemen were forced to strike to obtain one!

MIDWIVES BILL.

A second reading was given to the Midwives Bill which, as Mr. Hayes Fisher put it, is to put an end to England and Wales being "the Cinderella of midwifery legislation." If the Bill is passed there will be reciprocal arrangements between all parts of the United Kingdom and the Dominions.

PENSIONS FOR TEACHERS.

It was decided to bring in a Bill to secure to every teacher (Elementary) in the country a pension at the age of sixty. Mr. King (L.) pointed out that it was necessary to ensure a pension after a certain number of years' service. If a teacher had served thirty years and wished to retire, he or she, under the proposed measure, would be obliged to try to continue teaching until sixty! "After all," he said, "we are not dealing with old age pensions." We congratulate Mr. Fisher on this proposed act of justice to the most ill-paid profession; but hope he will not be satisfied with any half measures.

'THE CHRONICLE.'

Mr. Pringle (L.) drew the attention of the House to the recent purchase of the *Daily Chronicle*. He alleged that this was done because it had referred to the Prime Minister in an uncompromising way, and criticised the Government for its failure on the questions of man-power and Ireland. It was now a "tied paper," an organ of the Government. Sir H. Dalsiel acknowledged the purchase as a business transaction and nothing more! We feel sure it was a "business" transaction, which will serve the purpose of the proprietors, but not that of a Free Press!

FAT CATTLE.

October 16th.—Grave complaints were made by representatives of agricultural districts about the difficulty which farmers experience in disposing of fat cattle. Major Astor tried to explain away this

grievance by stating that freezing apparatus, skilled men, &c., were not to be had in sufficient numbers here, but that fresh meat was being supplied six days a week to the Army to cope with the emergency. Sir J. Spear (U.) and Major Lane Fox (U.) in true unionist style suggested stopping the importation of cattle from Ireland as a means of assuring a market to the British farmer. What the Irish farmer is to do was not even mentioned!

RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION!

October 17th.—Mr. King (L.) drew the attention of the Foreign Secretary to a protest made by him against any attempt of the German Government to enforce conscription on the Estonians without their consent. He termed such an act as one of "usurpation and tyranny." Mr. King naturally queried the position of the British as to obtaining a nation's consent before exacting compulsory service. Lord R. Cecil failed to see the point. Perhaps the Foreign Office imagines that the Irish strike against conscription and the subsequent pledge to resist the imposition of conscription were merely Irish vagaries, an Irish Bull even! Great Britain surely never meant to be guilty of an act of "usurpation and tyranny!"

40 D.

Protests were made from almost all parties in the House against Regulation 40 D. Sir G. Cave said that a committee was considering the matter and would report in due course. Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) asked for the suspension of the Regulation whilst the committee sat, but Sir G. Cave said decidedly "No."

BRITISH AUTOCRACY.

On the subject of Colonial Preference Mr. H. Samuel (L.) asked whether it was within the competence of the British Government to decide what duties shall be imposed without reference to Parliament. On behalf of the Government Mr. Hewins said: "It is perfectly competent for the British Government to decide anything it likes. It has absolute power in the matter." On the strength of this statement we may conclude that our so-called democratic rule is a farce!

The Luxury Duty was declared withdrawn until next year's Budget!

NO REPRIEVE.

Irish political prisoners against whom no charge has been made will not be released. Mr. Bonar Law stated in reply to Mr. King (L.)

PENSIONS.

A new scale of pensions and allowances was printed in the written answers. It shows that a wife will still only get 12s. 6d. unless unable to work, when she is entitled to an extra 6s. 6d. The inadequacy of this provision is best illustrated by the fact that over 5,000 inhabitants of the city of York signed a petition fixing £1 weekly as minimum for wives! There is one step in the right direction in the new scale, large families are not penalised, so that in a family where there is one child under fourteen an additional shilling per week is granted on the present rate; but in the case of three children under fourteen an extra four shillings will be granted.

RUSSIA.

Sir William Bull (U.) expressed a wish to see the Bolshevik domestic legislature, and asked whether it would be published in this country "for the enlightenment of the public as to the scope and character of the Bolshevik system." Lord R. Cecil regretted that His Majesty's Government have not as yet been able to obtain possession of any of the decrees. We must conclude that neither gentlemen read *THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT* nor *The Socialist*, though the authorities have so frequently devoted time and attention to both publications! If the Government is anxious to know all that has been published about the Bolshevik régime in this country, it should in future read not raid these papers.

The Scottish Education Bill was amended and after much debate passed.—M.O. C.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 14d. —Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

In Aid of Poplar Socialist Sunday School Funds. Held at 236 High Street, Poplar.
A WHIST DRIVE ON NOVEMBER 3rd.
Tickets 6d. each. Commence 7 o'clock.

The People's Russian Information Bureau.
FOR UP-TO-DATE RUSSIAN NEWS.
Trade Unions and Socialist Organisations are cordially invited to affiliate.
INDIVIDUALS ELIGIBLE AS ASSOCIATES.
Full particulars from—Mr. T. C. HOLLOWELL, Hon. Secretary, 181 Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.8.
Miss R. SYLVIA PANKHURST, Hon. Treasurer, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.11.

EACH FRIDAY DURING NOVEMBER
The Order of Evangelist Women (Women Freeholders)
WILL CONDUCT A SERVICE IN
The King's Weigh House Church
(Duke Street, Oxford Street, W.)
AT 5 O'CLOCK. ALL ARE INVITED.

Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.

Joint Protest Meeting

against REG. 40 D, D.O.R.A., at

QUEEN'S HALL, WEDNESDAY, Nov. 6, at 7.30

Rev. THE LORD BISHOP OF KENSINGTON
Miss MAUDE ROYDEN Miss MARY MACARTHUR
Mr. M. B. TURNER, F.R.C.S.
Mrs. BRAMWELL BOOTH
MONSIEUR PROVOST BROWN, &c.

Chair—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT.
Admission Free. Reserved Seats, 2s. 6d. and 1s.
From the Secretary of the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, 19, Tot Hill Street, S.W.1.

Will anyone interested in and anxious to do something for the Conscientious Objector attend an Important Meeting at 85 Camberwell Grove, Monday, Oct. 28th, 7 o'clock.

FOR SCRAMBLED EGGS, ETC., USE

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JOHN McLEAN DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

A Grand Demonstration

WILL BE HELD IN

FINSBURY PARK,

Sunday, November 3, at 4 p.m.

To demand from the Government the immediate release of JOHN McLEAN, who is serving 5 years' imprisonment for his Socialist Views.

ASSEMBLE IN YOUR THOUSANDS.
An injury to one is an injury to all.

Speakers—
HENRY ALEXANDER, B.S.P.; JOHN ARNALL, I.L.P.;
W. CARTER, N.U.R.; W. T. A. FOOT, N.U.R.; ALEXANDER GOSSIP, N.A.F.T.A.; ARTHUR McMANUS, Clyde Workers' Committee; SYLVIA PANKHURST, W.S.F.; MELVINA WALKER, W.S.F.; G. SAUNDERS, I.P.U.L.V.; W. F. WATSON, London Workers' Committee, and others.

Look for further List of Speakers next week. Funds urgently needed. Forward donations to G. PANKHURST (Hon. Treasurer), 38 Florence Road, Southall.

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