

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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Price Twopence.



By Hilda Jefferies.

MAKE PEACE!

## BURIED LIGHTS.

By EVA GORE BOOTH.

I.

Year of the great wind  
Of Pity and Terror that swept  
Through every gentle mind,  
Whilst the world's soul wept,  
Folded her wings from flight  
And slowly fell,  
Lay like a broken lily white  
In the blackest fumes of hell.

Silver shining stars of thought,  
Eternal beauty, gracious will,  
Golden joy that comes unsought  
When the sunset crowns the hill -  
Thrust into the darkness these,  
Buried, trampled underground,  
When fierce banners stain the breeze,  
And loud drums break the heart of sound.

All the blue sunny skies  
Are dark for your sake;  
Soul of the world arise,  
Spirit of life awake;  
Life, if thou art divine  
As I know thou art,  
Scare, with that truth of thine,  
Hate from the world's heart.

Tired is every one -  
Tired to death—  
Weary of bomb and gun,  
And broken limb and fading breath,  
Weary of forming fours,  
And swearing your will away,  
Iron bars and prison doors—  
To-day and yesterday.

II.

Lo! to the Council Board  
Great men have come;  
They hold you by the sword,  
They think you blind and dumb,  
All our lives to ruin hurled,  
Just to give them joy;  
They dream it is their world  
To make or to destroy.

Great men and grave are they,  
Men of Honour and Affairs  
Solemnly they rob and slay,  
For the world is theirs—  
All our lives and toils and dreams  
Lo! our blood has drenched their sod,  
Theirs are hills and fields and streams,  
Given them by God.

They will tell you, you are free—  
Down with tyrant kings  
O'er the world Democracy  
Broods with Angel's wings,  
A new ordinance benign  
For the race of man,  
Is the golden rule divine  
Capitalist-Republican!

Spirit of life arise!  
Soul of the world awake!  
All the blue, sunny skies  
Are dark for your sake  
Rise and conquer friend and foe,  
Make our hate of no avail,  
Where the winds of twilight blow  
Great guns falter, trumpets fail.

III.

Soul of the great wind  
Of Pity and Sorrow that swept  
Through every gentle mind  
Whilst the world's soul wept,  
Lost in hell's dark deeps divine  
O'er a garden not a grave  
All our buried stars still shine  
And new, mysterious flowers wave.

## FROM A SOLDIER'S WIDOW.

A soldier's widow writes:—"We are told that we are to be allowed double meat rations at Christmas, but how are we to afford it on the pension? I only get 6s. 8d. for a child nearly 12 years old, so you can imagine how difficult it is to cope with ordinary needs, let alone Christmas extras! It will be a very sad Christmas for us war widows. When my child mentions Christmas, it brings a lump in my throat. One can't buy enough food on a pound and fivepence, with 6s. a week to pay for rent, and with such a price clothes are quite out of the question."

The Workers' Dreadnought for  
December 28th (Christmas Week)

will be a  
**Special Russian Number.**

We want you to help us to print  
a record issue—and to distribute  
it "specially" amongst the mem-  
bers of your Trade Union Branch;  
also in your workshop.

## COUNT CZERNIN'S REVELATIONS.

Count Czernin's revelations are interesting, but must not be taken too literally as he is still playing a hand in the game of European politics. Regarding the origin of the war he says: "My impression is that neither the Emperor Francis Joseph, Count Berchtold, nor the German Emperor wanted it. The explanation of how the war started may be found in the fact that in the beginning there was too much diplomatic bluffing, with everyone looking for the other fellow to recede from his position."

This is probably a fairly correct estimate of the facts. Having got into the war, Czernin says that Austria made many attempts to get out of it. There were two possible methods only—one by making a separate peace with the Allies; the other by inducing Germany to join in bringing about a general peace. The first course would have meant that Germany would have made war on Austria, for says Czernin: "It would have been impossible for Germany with her armies and interests in Turkey and Bulgaria to allow us to pull out of the war." Austria dared not face this. Germany was stronger than Austria, the ten million of German people in Austria might have made civil war and the pro-German Count Tisza might have led Hungary to attack Austria. Moreover, the Allies at the Conference of London in 1916 had promised freedom to the various peoples within the Austrian Empire. The only possible course was therefore to induce Germany to make peace, and at Czernin's suggestion the Emperor Charles agreed to offer Germany the whole of Austrian Galicia and Russian Poland, if Germany would cede Alsace-Lorraine to France. Germany refused to agree, "because," Czernin says, "Germany was obliged to obey the military party." Czernin says that he then sent the Austrian Socialist M.P. Wassilko to Berlin to see Erzberger (Clerical) and Sudenkum (Socialist). Wassilko "told them why the war must be brought to an end." Czernin in his statement previously explained the reason to be that the Central Powers could never win; that Revolution was coming; and that the Emperors of Austria and Germany would both lose their thrones. "Both understood and took action in the Reichstag." That action took the form of the famous Peace Resolution, but "the German victories began again and England appeared to have the intention of crushing Germany."

Czernin says that Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Ludendorff "always maintained the same attitude."

Regarding the Brest-Litovsk Treaty Czernin says that Austria took nothing by it and that he and Kuhlmann tried to make peace without entering Russia and to apply "the Wilson plan of occupation of territories by nationalities," but that Ludendorff successfully opposed them.

## GERMAN PEOPLE AGAINST MILITARISM.

Mr. H. W. Nevins writing from Cologne says: "The ex-Kaiser appears to have no party and few adherents. All agree that even if he had been victorious the fall of militarism could not have been long delayed, so strong was the growing opposition to it throughout the whole country."—*Daily News*, December 14th.

Many German people are asking themselves now: What was it all about? Why did we bring this ruin upon ourselves? They were made to believe—I think they believed quite honestly—that they were fighting in a war of self-defence, just as the British and French believed that they were, and they were duped into the belief that by a few more months of sacrifice they were bound to win a fairly good peace. Now they have awakened from this nightmare to the cold, horrible reality of defeat, and they ask who were chiefly to blame, and answer it, not in the name of the Kaiser, but of the capitalists. — Philip Gibbs, *Daily Telegraph*, December 14th.



## MODERN WAR. By Arthur Finch.

To-day we are on the verge of the Peace Conference. Unless the thinking people of this country are alive to the fact that horrors are a necessary accompaniment of warfare, and are perpetrated by every army, they cannot form a judgment that will aid in the real reparation of wrongs committed in the present war by the various belligerents. It is to this end that the writer sets forth the undermentioned facts, collated and collected from Blue Books, the writings of responsible generals and commanders, and war correspondents.

### RETREATING FROM THE ENEMY.

It has been my lot during the past few weeks to be bored by the writings of well-meaning people, both war-mongers and pacifists, on the subject of the German destruction of villages, and the burning of homesteads. Yet in the British retreat in March last some of these self-same writers applauded the "heroic defence" of the villages on the line of retreat. To lovers of beauty, the knowledge that the unsurpassed mountains of the Balkans and the plains of Northern Italy and France have become the charnel houses of retreating armies; that the exquisite examples of Gothic and Renaissance architecture in Belgium and France, the heirlooms of the world's peoples, have been irretrievably destroyed by the guns of the contending armies, saddens the heart. But, alas! field officers have no qualms of conscience in these matters, particularly when they have lost a battle and are in retreat.

In the year 1869 the late Viscount Wolseley issued a book, since revised, for the instruction of soldiers "when in presence of an enemy." For years it has been the guide of all ranks. It is known to military fame as 'The Soldier's Pocket Book.' Part iii., on p. 353, under the sub-heading of 'Retreats,' deals specifically with the action of a beaten army closely pursued. It advises that:—

"Villages through which he (the enemy) must pass should be set on fire, bridges destroyed, &c. A tree felled across a roadway may check an advance for 5 minutes, and 5 minutes under such circumstances may be worth millions of pounds to the nation concerned."

"In the defence of villages forming part of a position, on the line of retreat or otherwise, the great development of modern shell fire has altered the conditions under which their defence.... can be effected. To place a strong garrison within a village that can be well battered by the enemy's guns, would be to deliver the men over to demoralisation, if not to destruction."

The fate of the village is not mentioned; but easy to surmise. Viscount Wolseley presupposed that the Officer Commanding will have taken the necessary precautions, and have seen that "walls and houses have been carefully loop-holed." In France and Belgium the character of the narrow Gothic stained-glass windows, with their natural loopholes formed by the lovely traceries of the mason's chisel, has been of inestimable value to both sides. After the enemy's artillery has pounded the defences, and street fighting begins, it is mere child's play to destroy anything, "with hatchets, crowbars, and powder bags"; for, we learn, on p. 411, a "very strong door can be blown open by 10 lbs. of powder, even if barred and bolted."

### INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE HAGUE CONVENTIONS.

In the regulations respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, forming Convention II. and Convention IV., signed at the Hague in 1899 and 1907 respectively, no agreement was arrived at, or discussion entertained, regarding the methods to be adopted in the case of a retreating army. In Article 27 of the Annex to the Convention, however, appears the following, agreed to by the leading belligerents in the present war:—

"In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, *provided they are not being used at the time for military purposes.* (My italics.)"

"It is the duty of the besieged to indicate the presence of such buildings or places by distinctive and visible signs, which shall be notified to the enemy beforehand."

The preceding article 25 prohibits bombardment of undefended towns, &c., by "whatever means." But article 26 states that

"The officer in command of an attacking force must, before commencing a bombardment, except in cases of assault, do all in his power to warn the authorities."

The loopholes available for belligerents are so gross that the average reader cannot see them for himself!

### HOW BLACK AND WHITE MEN FIGHT.

One does not need to go very far back into history in order to discover how the Great Powers deal with coloured, or even other white, though less powerful, peoples. Let me recall what took place in the lawless war of Afghanistan in 1879, when the country was wantonly invaded by Great Britain. In *The Daily News* of February 3rd, 1880, appeared a letter from Sherpur Cabul, with a memorial, protesting against a series of public executions of Afghans, by the orders of British officers, with no military object, but as a "measure of political vengeance." The following extracts are taken from this letter:—

"Captain Vonsden charged them (the Afghans) at the head of a troop of Sowars. He killed thirty, and twenty-eight others captured soon after were shot. The past two months was a period of such quiet about Cabul that the ordinary precaution of clearing the ground for 2,000 or 3,000 yards outside the walls was neglected. We are destroying the villages about, and, grown wise by experience, we shall thoroughly raze to the ground the Bala Missar by means of the large supplies of powder left by the enemy."

In those days there was no Hague Convention enjoining the humane treatment of prisoners of war! Nevertheless, a British general, Colin Mackenzie, to his honour, protested against the crime of Cabul.

There is not space to recount the acts of France against the Kroumirs of Tunis and the Moroccan tribes, but students should secure from the British Museum reading room the Second Portfolio, by David Urquhart, containing the paper 'The French in Africa'; also the late Lord Stanley of Alderley's 'The East and the West,' where firsthand facts are to be found.

We now come to the treatment of the Zulus. The full story was told to the world in 'Vanity Fair,' by Lady Florence Dixie, who compiled it from the Blue Books. The Zulu territory was first encroached upon by the Boers, then seized; their king was captured and subjected to imprisonment; the spoils were divided between Zilebu, Cetewayo's enemy, who had the North-East, and England the South-West part of the country; kraals were wantonly burned; prisoners were flogged (it was called, in diplomatic language, "a persuasive measure") because they would not divulge the whereabouts of the Cetewayo, who, according to the Government of the day, was hated and feared by his people. These acts, as one reads of them, cause in the soul a flame of righteous indignation. Alas! soon afterwards the suppression of the revolt of Arabi Pasha against the spoliators of Egypt showed that unbending violence is not confined to any one Power. The details sicken the heart, but the inquiring reader may be referred to the Parliamentary Debates of the period and to Soawen Blunt's 'Secret History of the Egyptian Occupation.'

### THE STORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

One hurries on, recalling the nemesis that fell on the Boers, when their farmhouses throughout South Africa were burned to the ground.\* I will merely quote (1) from the report sent by Mr. Maxwell, *The Standard* correspondent in Pretoria, which was passed by the Censor, and published on August 10th, 1900:—

"The Boers sniped a train at Bronkhurst, on the line from Pretoria to Middleburg. Two of its occupants were wounded. In accordance with Lord Roberts's warning, all farms were fired within a radius of ten miles."

*The Standard* had had occasion before to touch upon Lord Roberts's activities in Afghanistan, when he was a mere lieutenant. *Experimentia docet!* One cannot refrain from quoting (2) Mr. E. W. Smith, *The Morning Leader* correspondent, who, after referring to the Draconian orders issued by the High Command, relates a heart-rending case of a woman who threw her arms round an officer's neck, begging him to spare the homestead. "It had to go," the correspondent relates:—

"When the flames burst from the doomed place the poor woman threw herself on her knees, tore open her bodice, and bared her breasts, screaming: 'Shoot me, shoot me. I've nothing more to live for now that my husband is gone, and our farm is burnt, and our cattle taken!'"

An officer told the same correspondent of a similar case:—

"I am a hard hearted fellow, but I couldn't stand the women crying, and in one instance I did leave a farm standing that I *ought* to have destroyed." (Italics mine.)

### THE WARS IN TRIPOLI AND THE BALKANS.

On November 20th, 1911, the writer attended the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, to hear Francis McCullagh, the correspondent of *The New York World*, describe the massacres he witnessed in Tripoli. He explained:—

"The Italians say that the Arabs fired upon them from the rear. If a man meddles with a bee-hive, and, being stung by the insects, calls them treacherous scoundrels, I only laugh at him."

Commenting on the statement of the Italians that the Arabs swore allegiance, he remarked:—

"Since the world began it has always been the same story. When a strong nation crushes a weaker, there is always somebody in that weaker nation ready to swear allegiance in the name of all his fellows. As a rule he is some discredited and discreet politician."

Now to the account of the massacres:—

"While some Italian reinforcements were passing this village.... on the way to the front, on October 28th, several shots were fired. I do not know who fired them. It is said that one Italian soldier was wounded in the leg. I never could find that soldier. For those shots over four thousand people lost their lives. The massacre began in that village. It lasted for three days, and extended through the oasis.... When the village was surrounded and burned down the soldiers were allowed to wander about without supervision and to shoot anybody they saw. I saw them do it myself. In the village I found two old, bed-ridden women. They had never in all probability seen a rifle in their lives. It was murder to kill them. I saw a little boy lying on the ground, ill. He had evidently been taken from the house in which he lay. I also saw three other women. Assistance had been refused to them. They were left to die on the bare ground like dogs. And they did die. Gentlemen, I do not call that war."

Referring to the accusation made by the notorious General Caneva that Italian soldiers

\* I refer the reader to the late William T. Stead's "The Candidates of Cain," where in Chapter V. under the graphic title, "Hell let Loose: By Order," he quotes the correspondents of the British Press as to the wholesale destruction of the invaded country.



## DESTRUCTION OR RECONSTRUCTION?

By Jack Tanner.

Four years of war have enabled us to appreciate fully to what extent destruction can be carried out. The master class has shown that without a doubt it is really "master" in this sphere.

Not only on the fields of battle has it proved the power of its reinforced Car of State; at home also the machine has been at work crushing the working class.

Liberty has been attacked and sadly mutilated. The workers have been chained to the job; the press has been muzzled; expressions of opinion, contrary to those of the powers that be, were and still are, crimes.

Labour has allowed all this, submitted with docility; following its "duly accredited leaders" with bowed head and closed eyes into the Land of Bondage.

Now that the slaughter on the battlefields has ceased, the capitalists propose to reconstruct their form of society. The foundation is not to be altered at all. This will mean that the slaughter on the industrial field will continue—and increase—if we allow "greater production" to be carried on by capitalist methods.

Will Labour allow itself to be led into "reconstruction" as easily as it was led into destroying the workers of other lands?

There is a copy book quotation, to the effect that "Peace has its victories as renowned as those of war." Peace also has its horrors as terrible as war. Are the workers going to submit tamely to the conditions they suffered

under before this war for democracy?

Very shortly the horrors of peace will be felt by the working class. Already thousands are being discharged, and competing in the labour market for jobs. How are we to deal with this situation? Large numbers cherish the hope that with a strong Labour Party in the House of Commons, something can be done to alleviate their position. But the Labour Party is only out for Social Reform, according to Adamson, and for "positive Reconstruction," in the words of the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson. This means, at best, merely palliatives and alleviation.

This is the best we can get from official Labour politicians at a time like the present, when the revolution has been accomplished in Russia, is now taking place in the Central Powers, and is manifesting itself in this country.

Now that voting for the General Election is over, we are able to view our position in a clearer light.

There is little doubt as to the result. Lloyd George will go back to power in the interests of Capital, to set about the work of reconstruction, and the strengthening of the edifice of mammon. With increased State bureaucracy and some sort of nationalisation he is likely, as in the past, to get a good deal of support from the Labour Party.

But what of the workers themselves? Are we going to be satisfied with more of that rotten and disgusting fruit, the product of Lloyd

George's fertile—imagination? Are we going to help in the reconstruction of the capitalist system, or are we going to adopt methods to destroy it? This is a question the rank and file of Labour must answer. Now is the time for us to take a hand in determining the conditions under which men and women shall live and labour.

The first and most pressing need is a drastic reduction in the hours of toil; they must be shortened so that employment will be found for all. From the point of view of our own safety, we must eliminate as far as possible, competition for jobs. That would mean a lowering of the standard of living. "Reduced hours, so as to absorb all unemployed without reduction in pay," must be our slogan for the immediate future. The power is in the hands of the workers themselves to enforce this. Through the rank and file movement, on their Workshop Committees, both locally and nationally, they must unceasingly press this matter.

The employers will resist—and fight; we shall then be getting to grips on the main issue—the Control of Industry.

Let us now make a bid for what we have talked about for so long; let us test ourselves. The next few months should prove whether Labour is going to follow ideals or clay-footed idols.

Before Labour takes any part in reconstruction it must first destroy this system. Let us make a start!

## MODERN WAR

(Continued from page 1158)

were mutilated by the Arabs, McCullagh commented:—

"Well, every second officer in the Italian army has a camera, and generally spends most of the time in photographing the murder of little boys. I have seen one refuse to help a boy who was dying at my feet. I have seen one photograph a boy of fourteen placed against a wall to be shot.... I could never find any photographs of such mutilation. I think the Italians would have been very glad to have shown them to me."

The famous war correspondent, E. Ashmead Bartlett, who represented 'Reuter' in Tripoli, supported the lecturer. The photographs taken on the spot, showing groups of Arabs being shot, and the gruesome picture of executed Arabs lying against a rampart in a heap, were tell-tale evidence.

## THE BALKAN WARS, 1912-13.

How "Christians" fight one another is told in the invaluable 'Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, 1912-13, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. These wars were fought mainly by Bulgarians, Greeks, and Servians. To read the letters forming the appendix to chap. ii. on 'The War and the Non-Combatant Population' is to wallow in bloody massacres, wanton burnings of houses and villages, and mutilated human beings. I quote from one or two of these letters, accounted genuine by the members of the Commission (Mr. F. W. Hirst and Mr. H. N. Brailsford represented England). Sergeant Cletanis of the 19th Regiment of the Greek 7th Division, of which the mailbags were captured by the Bulgarian army, says:—

"Dear Brother Joani,—Here is where the archicomitadjis live. We have massacred them all. And the places we have passed will remain in my memory for ever."

Another soldier, signing himself "S. Nakis," writes:—

"Nestos, 13th July, 1913, Village Bansta.—If you want to know about the parts where we are marching, all are Bulgarian villages, and everyone has fled. Those who remain are 'eaten' by the Mannlicher rifle, and we have also burnt a few villages. The Bulgarians suffered the same fate at the hands of the Servians."

In letter 14 the tragedy of the war is revealed by a Greek soldier:—

## SOCIALISM IN FRANCE. By W. Runan.

## MANIFESTO OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM—FOR THE INTERNATIONAL—THE FRENCH FEDERATION OF LABOUR.

Soon after the International Socialists had become the majority in the French Socialist Party, the Bourgeois Socialists now the Minority, formed a well-organised group under Albert Thomas. The new group intends, as cleverly as possible, to boycott the Socialist Party which the Internationals have captured. Instead of renouncing internal fighting, and forgetting that during the war they have reproached the old Minority with not having done so, Thomas and his friends have resolved to carry on the struggle. They pride themselves on having helped to end the war, though it is clear that they have done their best to prolong it. They would have kept the war going had revolution not broken out in Russia, in Bulgaria, in Austria, and finally in Germany. To-day they are doing their best to prevent the re-union of the International.

The Committee for the Defence of International Socialism, with which Longuet is connected, has issued a manifesto informing the French comrades of the game of the Bourgeois Socialists, and declaring that their action is antagonistic to the old and glorious Socialism to which the class struggle and Social Revolution

"What a cruel war is taking place with the Bulgarians. We have burnt everything belonging to them, both villages and men. That is to say, we massacre the Bulgarians. How cruel! The country is inundated with Bulgarians. If you ask how many young Greeks have perished, the number exceeds 10,000 men.—Your son, Tsantilas Nicolaos.

"P.S.—Write me about the enrolments that are taking place. They are surely on the point of enlisting old men. Curses on Venizelos."

Enough! To tell the whole story of the destruction of Serres, the violation of young women and children, would bring the most hardened criminal to tears, and would make decent, kindly human beings despair of the future of humanity, stained by the crimes committed in its name by the engine let loose by Mars. But those of us who hold with Tennyson

That men may rise on stepping-stones  
Of their dead selves to nobler things,  
have no need to despair. Just as Czarism was destroyed by its own rottenness, so, if we but bestir ourselves, a new generation will arise to bring about the Nemesis of Mars.

are essential. "No revolutionary methods" is the watchword of Thomas and his coadjutors. The Internationals urge our French comrades to watch those so-called Socialist Members of Parliament whose actions are in contradiction to the resolution moved and adopted at the recent National Congress. Internationals and Revolutionaries must remain in touch otherwise future action may be hindered.

The French Federation of Labour organised a meeting at the Cirque d'Hiver, where ten thousand workers assembled to hear the after-war programme of French Labour. Jouhaux, General Secretary of the Federation, read the programme—No annexations, the right of the People to control their own destiny and the reorganisation of Labour; freedom of organisation for trade-unionism, and the same rights for the workers of other nations as for the French workers. Hubert asked for the release of all political prisoners and appealed to Trade Unions to prepare, by direct action, for the triumph of the social revolution. Bidegarray wanted the State to take over the entire system of transport. Merrheim asked the French Proletariat to answer the appeal of the German workers by organising to help the German Revolution. He said: "If the workers of the world are divided, the German and Russian Revolutions are doomed. It must not be so. The German Revolution must be saved at all costs." Pericat, just released from gaol, spoke strongly against the Government which keeps in prison thousands of men and women whose crimes is simply that of saying what they believe to be right.

The capitalists of the world are resuming their International. But the International of the workers will, in the end, prove the stronger, and we shall soon see the triumph of the Social Revolution.

## THE WAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN.

A correspondent writes: "The difference between the married man and the single man is that the married man has an unpaid and unsecured wife to do his housekeeping and get his meals for him, while a single man pays his landlady for his housekeeping, washing and meals. But the working woman, on her sweated wage, has to do her own housework and washing after earning her living, and must live on buns and tea because she is too sweated to be able to afford more." Why is this? It is mainly because capitalism always tends to force the wage down to the average bare subsistence level. Because the average man has a family to support, he kicks when the wage falls below the family care and existence level. The average woman lets her wage drop lower before she kicks.



## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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The mouths of the Socialists stitched by  
Wilson's Fourteen Points.  
[With acknowledgments to the Avant.]

### THE WILSON "STUNT"

#### AND THE ALLIED WAR ON SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA AND GERMANY.

We weary of the odious cant that surrounds what may now be fitly termed the Wilson stunt; the callous hoodwinking of the people; the cruel hypocrisy!

Capitalists of the most anti-democratic, anti-Socialist variety acclaim Wilson as the great leader of democracy, the paramount upholder of freedom and justice. Leaders of Labour and Socialism follow suit, echoing exactly the plaudits of the capitalist press. Wilson, as the Press telegrams have reported—reports which have never been denied—himself threatened the German people in Revolution that the war will be restarted, if they receive an ambassador from Socialist Russia—Socialist Russia, which is offering food to Socialist Germany, whilst the Allied blockade, in spite of the Armistice, is still maintained, and the children of Germany are starving. Wilson added that the war will be restarted, unless "order," by which (in view of the intervention in Russia), we have no doubt he means the Capitalist Order of society, is maintained in Germany.

Max Eastman in *The Liberator* of New York, says:—

"There is a more unscrupulous reign of terror in this country at this moment than there is in Russia. Withdraw the invading armies and leave the Russian people free to develop their own destiny as they must, and not one-millionth part of the blood will be shed by them in the cause of liberty that these armies are shedding now in the cause of Capitalism.

"I understand that they maintain in the District Attorney's Office and the Courts that it is unlawful to denounce the invasion of Russia.... I maintain that it is unlawful.... to invade Russia! Just before I came here I was regaling myself with that delightful old romance, the Constitution of the United States. And I notice that the constitution locates the power to declare war in the representatives of the people. And it now delegates to the executive branch of the Government the right to ship citizens out of the country, and half way round the earth, to wage war on a foreign power without a declaration of war by the representatives of the people.... There is one thing that this war has done in this country—it has killed the Constitution."

There has been no formal declaration of war on invaded Russia, by any of the Allied invaders; in none of the countries concerned, would the mass of the people assent to this new war; not now, not yet, at least. Perhaps the capitalist representatives in the American Congress might assent to it; but the people who put them there would refuse their assent; and so, no doubt, it is thought wisest not to

put the matter to the test by a vote in Congress; not to allow the people to see their representatives voting for or against the Russian intervention; not to bring before the minds of the people of any nation that they have either power, or right to decide this question, which is so pregnantly momentous for the world.

The Russian and German questions hang together; how strange it is that the average mind still fails to realise that the old Germany has gone, and that the new Germany will never engage in a war of capitalist imperialism, for Socialism is in the ascendant there, and the only question is how soon the Socialists will have secured complete control. The Allies are fighting Socialism in Russia. The Capitalist and Pro-Ally paper, the *Journal de Genève*, says that wherever the French have arrived in Germany: "The first thing they have done, by order of General Foch, is to disperse the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils"; the Councils formed from the popular forces which deposed the Kaiser and brought the long, hideous war to a sudden end. Without those popular forces the war would be going on still. The British soldiers, adds the *Journal de Genève*, are taking similar steps against the German Workers' and Soldiers' Council and the Anglo-American delegates to the Armistice Commission have also declared against the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

This news is confirmed by Reuter:—

"Copenhagen, December 11th.—A Berlin telegram says:—

The Entente intend to send the German Government a Note demanding the dissolution of all the present Soldiers' Councils. The Note will have the character of an ultimatum, because the Entente refuse to send foodstuffs to Germany until these demands have been complied with, and they reserve the right to march into the country."

Already, last week we reported that Admiral Browning, on behalf of the Allies, had refused to negotiate with the German Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

And now the *Tageblatt* states that the Allies even refuse to negotiate with the Ebert Government. Ebert, it will be remembered, was made Prime Minister by Prince Max of Baden, who appointed him as a safe man, sure to strike a careful middle course. But the Allies refuse to negotiate with the Ebert Government; the *Tageblatt* says they declare that it does not represent the German people. The Allies have said just that same thing of the Russian Soviets; and whilst the Allies are fighting the Russian Soviets, which command the ardent adherence of 90 per cent of the Russian people, they are supporting a counter-revolutionary Government, which admittedly can only maintain a footing in Russia by the aid of foreign bayonets. Now in Germany, according to the *Tageblatt*, the Allies will only negotiate with the Reichstag, the bourgeois Parliament elected, before the Socialist awakening, on an undemocratic three-class franchise; the Reichstag which the German people have put away, and which, throughout the war, the Allied Governments and their Press were never weary of denouncing; the Reichstag which supported the Kaiser and this war! The *Tageblatt* stated that the Reichstag would be summoned, and when the statement was denied, renewed rumours broke out that the Allies would occupy Berlin. Have the Allies demanded the recall of the Reichstag? Why do they refuse to negotiate with the Workers' and Soldiers' Council? There can be, it seems to us, but one explanation of this refusal—it is that the Allied Governments, which represent the interests of Allied capitalism, refuse to negotiate with any but capitalist Governments.

Meanwhile the blockade of Germany continues and the Armistice terms are made harsher. The Allies announce that they may occupy the neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine north of the Cologne Bridgehead, and as far as the Dutch frontier. The Germans protest, but their powerless protests avail them nothing. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (the official organ of the German Republic) reports that it has received a wireless message from

Washington announcing that the Allies intend to occupy Berlin. *Vorwaerts*, the old Socialist majority paper and supporter of Ebert, confirms this, expressing the belief that the Allies desire to occupy the whole of Germany. To what end? We think to attack German Socialism.

And Wilson in Paris is talking of "this war of redemption"; of "something more than the mere winning of this war.... the establishment of eternal principles of right and justice"; of making "men everywhere aware" that "acts of terror and spoliation cannot be ventured upon without the certainty of just punishment."

In France Socialists, even Jean Longuet, even in face of a snubbing from Clemenceau, have flocked to welcome Wilson. The French Socialist Party is the Party whose rank and file ousted the war-mongers and capitalist hangers-on from official leadership, and replaced them by men who were pledged to International Socialism of the immediate, militant sort. It has joined with the French Trade Union Party, the Confederation Générale du Travail, in a manifesto announcing to the workers and peasants of France the advent of Wilson! What do these French Socialist and Labour men say of the American capitalist leader? They call him "the highest and noblest representative of the great American nation." (Comrade Debs, serving his sentence of ten years' imprisonment in a cold prison cell, is forgotten, it seems.) "President Wilson," says the manifesto, "is the audacious statesman who knew how to place rights above interests; who wished to point out to humanity the road to a less sorrowful and less bloody future." The manifesto appeals to the workers of Paris to cry to President Wilson, "for the League of Nations which will make all peoples equal in rights and duties and secure a lasting peace." No possible League of Capitalist Nations can do that. Socialism alone can do it. And what is the League of Allied Capitalist Nations doing now? It is engaged in a fight to the death with Socialism in Russia and Germany!

The one-time majority leaders of French Socialism who have replaced the old majority, have acted, at this critical time, just as Albert Thomas, Renaudel, and the other old leaders would have done had they remained in power. Cachin, who superseded Renaudel in the editorship of *L'Humanité*, the official organ of the French Socialist Party, devotes himself to a hair-splitting attempt to prove that Wilson's speech at the Elysée luncheon was greatly superior, from the Socialist standpoint, to that of Clemenceau. Deeds not words is a motto which Cachin should take to heart. Wilson's words may be fair enough, but in what do his actions differ from those of Clemenceau, Lloyd George and the other Allied Ministers? In what do Wilson's actions differ from those other capitalist Ministers in the important questions of the growth of Socialism in Russia and Germany and the Allied attempt to crush it? Cachin pledged himself to aid Wilson in securing a permanent peace. Will he aid in crushing the Soviets of Russia and the Workers' and Soldiers' Council of Germany? No, surely not! We hope that he would indignantly repudiate the suggestion. But how is it that he does not see that this is the most vital issue of the hour? (Was it for this, French Socialists of the rank and file, that you turned out the old majoritaires and took a new editor for *L'Humanité*?)

Wilson appears, from the Press reports, to have received somewhat coldly the Socialists who rushed to interview him with so much enthusiasm. No doubt he remembers, more vividly than they do, their American comrades! He told them that this had been "indeed a people's war;" but he assured them that he was looking forward, with "peculiar pleasure," to co-operating with "those who lead the French nation"—he meant, of course, the Premier, Clemenceau and his colleagues, who are decidedly not on good terms with French Socialism!

In Britain, too, Mr. Bowerman, on behalf of



the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and Mr. Henderson of the Labour Party Executive, have sent a message of eulogy to Wilson, hailing him as "the illustrious leader of world-democracy."

"The British Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, representing nearly five million workers, desire enthusiastically to associate themselves with their French comrades in extending a warm welcome to you, the illustrious leader of world democracy, on your arrival in France. Your outstanding democratic statesmanship during the stressful period of war has commanded the unbounded admiration and approval of the British Labour and Trades Union forces. Your conception of a just and enduring peace, including the immediate establishment of a League of Free Nations, drastic reduction of armaments, open diplomacy, and no secret treaties, appeals strongly to them as being in strict harmony with the decisions of the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conferences. We wish to assure you of the earnest and united support of British Labour in your coming efforts to realise the lofty ideals for which the associated peoples have made such great and unstinted sacrifices."

How have the International Socialists on the joint Executives accepted this? They were put there by the awakened rank and file to fight for Socialism and the Workers' International. Why have they raised no protest? Why have they brought in no minority report?

This is no time for faltering in faith and action; for blowing hot and cold and adopting an attitude of irresponsible neutrality towards the workers' struggle for freedom. All the forces of capitalism are allied against Socialism; ready to take every means to crush it. In this awful, and yet inspiring moment, when the long-oppressed, long-headless workers are coming at last into their own; when the world is labouring in the birth of a new civilisation, which strives as yet between life and death, those who have claimed the leadership of the British Labour movement look coldly on; joining the hostile ranks of capitalism or at best maintaining an attitude of critical suspended judgment. Henderson's repudiation of the Prime Minister's charge that Bolsheviks control the Labour Party is not surprising; his disclaimer is but too miserably well founded! Moreover, it is the sort of thing we are accustomed to from Henderson. But it is remarkable that even he should thus commend the Labour Party to public favour:—

"I could produce ample evidence, some of it supplied by Mr. Lloyd George himself, that the Labour Party has sought as earnestly as he for the triumph of democratic principles."

If the Labour Party can do no more than profess a love for democratic principles equal to that of a capitalist premier, what reason has it to exist? He boasted that, so far from associating with Lenin and Trotsky, he had never to his knowledge seen either of them, saying that he was one of the first to condemn the Bolshevik policy. Yes, we are used to these anti-Socialist declarations from Henderson, but surely the movement has a right to expect no less vigorous pro-Socialist declarations and protests from the men and women who have been elected to office as internationalist Socialists. The question of the armed attack on Socialism by the allied armies is no academic question, no side issue; it strikes at the very fundamentals of the Labour movement; how is it that Henderson's words are allowed to pass unchallenged?

*The Herald* soon to be *The Daily Herald*, and it is said, the official or unofficial organ of the Labour Party, has adopted from the outset a most unsatisfactory attitude towards the Workers' Socialist Revolution first consummated in Russia. Week by week *The Herald's* main articles on Russia have been contributed by the anti-Socialist (for such we must term the anti-Bolshevik) writers Farbrman and Brailsford. Brailsford, at first bitterly anti-Bolshevik, has slightly warmed towards our Russian Socialist comrades, but even last week we find him saying:—

"I am myself very far from approving either the violence of Lenin's Government, the haste of

its catastrophic tactics, or its exclusion of the middle class from political rights."

This tone of neutrality is not what one should find in a professedly working-class Socialist newspaper. But on what does Brailsford base his accusation of violence? Simply on the evidence of the anti-Socialist officially censored Press.

Albert Rhys Williams, the American war correspondent, like all the impartial observers who have actually been in Russia with whom we can get in touch, gives a very different report of the Bolsheviks. This is what he says of the Red Terror:—

"Question: Were the Social Revolutionaries [opposed to the Bolsheviks] responsible for the killing of the German ambassador?"

"Answer: Yes... the [Bolshevik] Committee for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution... the Secretary of it wrote a letter—or helped in the preparation of a letter to Mirbach and signed the name of the Bolshevik president, and those fellows took the letter to Mirbach and sat down. What the letter said was: 'Count Mirbach a plot for assassinating you has been made by certain persons,' and while he was reading it they shot him right there... It looked like a Bolshevik Governmental killing of the ambassador. This was recognised by the Bolsheviks and so they just went out and found that secretary... and brought him up for trial, and I think he was the one who fired the shot. They shot twenty-three Social Revolutionaries. That is the Red Terror so much talked about... The 'bad man' Peters, whom I know... he said to me at one time: 'The only time they will ever introduce the death penalty into Russia will be for Bolsheviks who have been untrue to Bolshevism.'... Of course he has now been driven to apply it to others. I think he signed those death warrants, but I know he has never signed one without deeply feeling it, because he is a man of wonderfully sensitive spirit."

Brailsford's objection to Bolshevik haste is not surprising, coming, as it does, from one who is essentially not a man of action; but he shows a serious lack of insight, in not recognising the wonderful constructive work which, in that haste, to which he objects, the Bolsheviks have achieved. Is it not possible, Mr. Brailsford, that if they had not acted as they did these invaluable achievements might have been impossible? As for the exclusion of the middle class from political rights, it should be noted that everyone can qualify for such rights by becoming a worker. In the days not yet altogether past here, the possession of property was a qualification for the franchise; work for the community is, we think, a good and wise condition to attach to the exercise of political rights. In any case the counter-revolution and the setting up of a new social mechanism have naturally called forth some emergency measures which later will disappear, for instance, the press censorship—a milder one than ours.

The editorship of *The Labour Leader* has maintained, as it should, a steadfast, comradely attitude to the Bolsheviks, but some of the I.L.P. leaders, both in speech and writing, and still more by silence in important crises, have failed to maintain this standard.

Failure to educate the workers of this country in Socialism in the light of the great practical creation of Socialism, which has been going on in Russia for more than a year, and which has now spread to Germany, has made easier the present armed attack of the capitalists on Russia and Germany. The all-but-universal failure to protest, the complete failure to declare solidarity with the Socialists of Russia and Germany, and the side-tracking of the real issues by eulogies of Wilson and his League of Nations, are leaving the way clear for capitalist Imperialism to do its worst.

It is evident that capitalist Imperialism is now putting forth renewed and increased effort to crush Socialism in Russia. Doubtless, it is hoped to do this before the new British Parliament assembles and before an industrial reaction appears in this country.

"The Helsingfors newspaper *Sanomat* learns from a diplomat that in the Entente campaign against Soviet Russia the centre of the movement lies in the south-west, where at least 700,000

English, Italian, French, and Serbian troops of the Salonika army are pressing forward in a north easterly direction. The main forces are marching through Rumania, with Moscow as their goal. The advance guards are already in Bessarabia, and some detachments have arrived in Odessa. Other detachments are moving by forced marches against Kieff. The French General Berthelot has arrived in Rumania to organise the Entente forces there. Japanese troops are to threaten Soviet Russia from the Urals, the White Guards from the west with Pskoff as their centre, whilst English troops are waiting in the Murman provinces."

We learn that the Allied Governments are filled with anxiety by the growth of Bolshevism in Poland. A *Times* Cracow correspondent tells stories of pillage and murder trial, but, between the lines, we read that the populace are demanding the land for the land workers of Poland and that "owners of property" are "raising troops" of their own to protect that property.

An allied squadron in the Gulf of Finland has bombarded Russia, and Socialist Russia is being attacked by the Allies and counter-revolutionary Russians in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, the Crimea, and the Caucasus. The Socialists are also being attacked in the Ukraine. Pretty work this for the apostles of "Order" to undertake!

How we have failed, British workers, in Socialist knowledge and solidarity, since we still possess a Government which is the head and front of this offending!

In Germany the Ebert Government, like the British Labour Party, holds aloof from the Russian Soviets; but Liebknecht, a giant of Socialist fervour, works strenuously to establish Socialism, and the power of his party is growing. Counter-revolutionaries placard the walls of Berlin with posters inscribed with enormous letters: "Kill Liebknecht," but he works on, nothing daunted; proclaiming strikes, distributing leaflets, urging refusal to negotiate with the capitalist Governments of the Allies; preparing for the hour when the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils shall establish Socialism.

Socialism, but not, as yet, the Liebknecht-Spartacus programme to get it, has already won the support of the majority of the German workers and soldiers: in the election of the Council of Workers' Delegates 349 votes were cast for majority Socialists, 281 for the Independent Socialists and 79 for other parties, 7 majority Socialists, 5 Independents, and 1 other delegate being returned. The Soldiers' Council gave 240 votes for the Majority Socialists, and 121 for the Independents; 4 majority, and 2 Independent Socialists were elected. Thus the reformist party is still in control; but in Germany, as in Russia, Bolshevik ideals must control. We hope that Russian and German Socialism may shortly unite and together prove unconquerable. But aid from this country is needed. We must work, work, and act for Socialism. The time is of urgent critical importance!

Huymans announces that the acting committee of the International Socialist Bureau has decided to call an international conference at Geneva or Lausanne, at the end of February, when the work of the official Peace Conference will have begun, but will not yet be ended. A Trade Union International Conference will also be held. Will the passport farce be then played out again? And this time will the Executives ask the workers to resort to industrial action to compel the Government to agree? If such an appeal is made to the workers we believe that they will respond; but from the Conference of the present British, French and German Socialist Executives we hope little. The present leaders must give place to others before Socialist action will result from any Conference of leaders.

And whilst we wait, that splendid creation, Soviet Russia battles, alone against the international forces of armed capital. We cannot, we will not believe that Capital will triumph. Yet grief and fear torment us. Great indeed will be the loss to all peoples if Soviet Russia fall!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.



## THE FOOD PROBLEM. By Eva Gore-Booth.

The house that held the International Kitchen was perhaps not quite fairly divided, but that, of course, was only because it was an old-fashioned, awkwardly built mansion. The spacious sunny drawing-rooms on the first floor were occupied by John and his uncle. They were beautifully furnished with gilded chairs and crimson curtains. Their only disadvantage was that they were not provided with a very good cooking apparatus. However, to make up for this John had annexed a row of small houses just outside, and forced the former owners to work for him. This was called colonising. It was no infringement of the rights of the real owners, because John was the great champion of liberty and Democracy, and above criticism. He was an expert too, and earned a great deal of money lecturing on cookery, though his own stove was not at all satisfactory. In one of the annexes Kathleen, John's kitchen-maid, was cooking a stew for her children. Beside her stood Tommy, John's footman, to prevent them eating it. "But," she said, remonstrating, "I grew the potatoes in what John has left me of my own little garden. I must have food for my children." "How disloyal you are," said the footman, "do you not know that the whole place and everything on it, and you and your children too, belong to my master? If it weren't for his generosity your children would starve."

From inside the great house angry voices could be heard. John, Jacques, Fritz, and Ivan were having a row royal, and throwing the furniture about in their fury. Fritz inhabited a large room looking north. His complaint was that John had annexed every sunny room in the house, besides all the outhouses, and that was not fair. "But that, of course," explained Tommy to Kathleen, "is nonsense, because everything that John does is always fair."

Then Jacques complained that Fritz had seized the corridor between their rooms, which by every law of right and justice ought to belong to Jacques.

And Albert abused Fritz for rushing through his room, wrecking the furniture, in his eagerness to attack Jacques. Jacques, Albert and John were supported by Ivan, who lived in a huge room looking east; and it was very easy to see that, between them, Fritz would soon be kicked into the street, especially as most of the other occupiers took sides against him. Ivan threatened to smash everybody with the garden roller.

However, the garden roller wanted oiling and would not work properly, which discouraged Ivan. Then, in the middle of the fighting, he heard the kettle suddenly boiling in his own room, and rushed back to cook his dinner, regardless of a broken head and torn garments. This was very upsetting to John, who sent some of his numerous servants to bring him back, and mend the roller, or, at all events, if that were impossible, to upset the soup, and pick the

plums out of the pudding, while Ivan was cleaning up the mess. (All John's servants were called Tommies, because they were all alike.)

Then John, Jacques, and Fritz went for one another in good earnest. John's Uncle intervened on his behalf, and terrible was the fight. Fritz was getting the worst of it, he had indeed almost got his back against the wall, alone, surrounded by enemies, when, suddenly, his ear caught the sound of the saucepan boiling over in the north room. True to his early training as a waiter, he turned and ran for his life, rushing back to get the dinner cooked for his wife and children.

John had won a glorious victory. He danced up and down the house, and sent up fireworks, and rockets, and spent pounds on flags for the drawing-room windows. Acting on his own often repeated and cherished principle, that everyone has a right to make the arrangements he prefers in his own kitchen, he sent Tommies to poison the Pie à la Socialist Republic, that was the triumph of Fritz's patient skill and to steal the plums out of the Soviet pudding that Ivan was presenting to his family.

As to poor Kathleen, isolated in her outhouse, the Irish Republic stew she had made was, of course, entirely John's domestic affair, and Tommy was commissioned to see that no one in the house ever heard of its existence. Ivan, Fritz, and Kathleen, standing guard over their respective pies, wondered what was the reason of John's destructive energy? Was it because his own fire had gone out?

"Why," they ask, "should not the Tommies sent out to destroy other peoples' dinners, turn into sensible people and go home and help John to boil his own kettle?"

On Christmas Day, Uncle Sam dined with John and there were great festivities. But Sam was puzzled at hearing no sound from upstairs. After dinner he went up, and finding Fritz's door barred and barricaded, he knocked and kicked it, and shouted to Fritz. As there was no answer, he went outside and got a ladder. Then he climbed up to the high window, forced it open, and shouted again to Fritz. Again there was no answer. When he had squeezed himself through the narrow window, he found that this was because Fritz was lying on the floor, dying of starvation. At the inquest the other occupants of the house witnessed that John had barred him into his room, and cut off his food supply, by the simple expedient of saying it was his house, and not allowing any tradesmen upstairs. But the jury of twelve substantial citizens, all of whom had served on military tribunals, said that this was a case in which evidence would only obscure the issue. They expressed their deep sympathy with John, and brought in as their verdict on Fritz, "Suicide during temporary insanity," a finding with which no plain, right-minded Englishman will disagree.

## BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

This, Henry, is to wish you a happy Christmas, and Henrietta, and all the little Dubbs. After three hundred and sixty-four days of dining off what the landlord leaves you after you have paid the rent, this is where you let yourself go, and as Shakespeare has it, do a bust. I do not know exactly what sort of a Christmas you will have, Henry, but I read the newspapers carefully and I can make a guess.

As you will have been earning enormous wages on munitions, you will no doubt have a nice little flat next door to the Savoy (Good pull up for Carmen), and consequently you will be lucky. *The Star* (December 10th, 1918) tells me that "truckloads of currants are going to West End hotels," happy Henry. Whilst the idle rich in Ilford will probably only get two currants a head, you will be able to invite your bosom chums Casey Jones and John Smith of Oldham to a gorgeous spread in which currants form the principal menu. And when you are tired of currants, you can have a go at lard. You can

have as much lard as you like. And no coupons for it neither.

There will also be an extra ration of sugar. Do not overdo it, Henry. It might turn out to be cocaine, which makes you do things you would never dream of doing in your waking senses. Asking your boss, for instance, how much profit he made out of your labour, Henry.

Then there is your iced cake. As you gaze on its snowy whiteness, it will make you think of your son out there in Russia, with frozen feet. You will be wondering what he is doing over there. But that is absurdly easy to answer if you have been a subscriber to *THE DREADNOUGHT*. I take it, however, you are not one, and the only way to be "in the know" is to send your subscription at once; the Manager is a friend of mine, and I know he will not spend it in drink, as he is a vegetarian.

Still you have paid your twopence to get to know. I have here what is called a tram ticket, and it only differs from other tram tickets in

that it seems to have been printed backwards. If you know anything of foreign languages, you will know it is not Irish, anyway. It is in fact from Archangel, which is somewhere in Russia, where your boy is taking pot shots at blood-red Bolsheviks. What for? Simply to get an order for tram tickets and so keep me\* from drawing twenty-nine bob unemployment benefit, worth sixteen shillings at pre-war rates. Your boy, in a way, is an unofficial commercial traveller for my firm; the new way of doing the business being to wave a trusty rifle under the customer's nose, and he forks over his order before you can say "Bolshevik." You will, I am sure, join me in wishing him a merry Christmas.

There, over the Rhine, is your brother-in-law, Joe, in the army of occupation. He will be there a long time, I am afraid, for Sir Eric Geddes (*Daily Mirror*, December 11th, 1918) has told us that he is out to make the Huns pay, even if they have to sell their libraries and the pictures off the walls. He does not say precisely to whom the Huns will be able to sell them if there is to be a world boycott of things German. Perhaps the natives of the Scilly Islands will oblige.

Anyway, Joe will have a pretty handful, so here's his health. My Lord Boomcliffe's *Evening News* of the 10th inst. mentions the arrest of certain big steel magnates in Germany, who were suspected of having been at a meeting where they were prepared to ask the French to take over the Industrial Rhineland as a "protectorate." Why this thushness? These kind gentlemen are interested in the big mines on the wrong side of the Rhine, and as a possible Bolshevik Government in Berlin would claim the mines for the people, Messrs. Steel and Steel wanted to make sure of their "ownership." Otherwise they would have no steel to make profits from, and they would be faced with the terrible alternatives of the workhouse—or work.

I do not blame them, Henry; for the slowest way to make your fortune is—work for it.

Let us drink Joe's health, then, and look at the bottom of our teacups. For I perceive from *The Daily Express* (which is not a Socialist paper and likely to give double overweight) that the Government Laboratory had to turn down 101,573 lbs. of tea on the ground of complaint that it contained sand or other foreign matter. There is certainly no end to Hun wiles.

Our greetings, too, to Bill out in Mesopotamia, where we are told there is wealth which would more than pay for the war. It is not exactly clear how Mesopotamia is to pay for the war when we are told that the Huns will find the needful. Still if there are mines and oil wells and possible date orchards, or whatever the local fruit is, we will just put the Mesops to work and rake in the shekels. The said natives were reported to have rejoiced when we chased Abdullah out and declared in official language that there was to be "no more um Kaiser." We must decidedly give them room for rejoicing. We will find work for them.

We do not know exactly what Percy is doing at Vladivostok, but we hope his ballot paper will reach him in time to vote for Blaggs and the cause of temperance. Drink is a deadlier enemy than the Hun; it also causes revolutions, and makes the workman "saucy" to his employer. It is a well-known fact that Bolsheviks quaff a couple of dozen flowing bowls before they proceed to their daily work of bayonetting somebody's grand-aunt. *The National News* (December 8th, 1918) says: "Mr. L. George will of course not find much 'Trade' opposition.... if he continues to permit the extraordinary profiteering in drink which has brought prosperity to the most bankrupt brewing and distilling firms." But we know better, don't we, Henry?

Well, here's a merry Christmas and squeeze the Huns as dry as a lemon and a bit over. And if we don't get any of the money and don't know whom it goes to, who cares? Let us make merry on our two currants, for there's plenty and plenty of lard.

And, don't forget—no coupons.

\* This is no joke; the writer is actually printing tram tickets for use in Russia.



## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

### WAS BRITAIN UNPREPARED?

Lord Haldane's defence of his work at the War Office before the war proves that, so far from being unprepared for war, the British Government considered war probable and took the steps it thought best to cope with it.

### HOW AMERICA HAS GAINED BY THE WAR.

Mr. Thomas Lamont, a New York banker, has explained that before the war America's indebtedness abroad was approximately £800,000,000. Since the war began she has re-purchased three-fourths of this total and now she owes foreign investors about £200,000,000, or, in interest, about £10,000,000 a year. During the war private investors in America has lent to foreign Governments approximately £400,000,000, and to foreign corporations about £100,000,000, while the United States Government have lent a total which will probably soon reach £1,700,000,000. This means an indebtedness of £2,200,000,000 to the Government and people of the United States, the annual interest on which, after subtracting the amount owed by America to foreign investors, will be £80,000,000 a year. With the tremendous food supplies and the great mass of materials for reconstruction that Europe will require from America, the future trade balance in favour of the United States will amount to at least £200,000,000 annually.

The bulk of the money lent abroad by the U.S.A. Government has been lent by private citizens of U.S.A., who are receiving record interest without risk—unless there is an American revolution, of course.

### LANCASHIRE AND EMPIRE.

Lancashire cotton operatives, striking for increased wages, have been met by the retort that the competition of India makes it difficult to satisfy them. British machinery is taken to India, British capitalists with the aid of the British Government are endeavouring to promote the industrial development of India. The Indian people work long hours for starvation wages. What does it profit the workers within the Empire that the Empire is large and its industrial expansion is great?

## AN EYE-WITNESS ON THE ATROCITIES.

*The Peoples' Russian Information Bureau sends the following:—*

The one-sided and prejudiced information about Russia, which alone is permitted to reach this country, invariably speaks of the "atrocities" which the Bolsheviks commit upon members of the capitalist class. It studiously avoids even the mention of the barbarities which are perpetrated upon the masses of workers and peasants by the bourgeoisie whenever, as in the case of Samara, Simbirsk, Kazan, Ufa, and the Siberian towns, it succeeds for a time in capturing, with the aid of Czecho-Slovak hirelings, the local government machinery. Numerous instances could be quoted to illustrate the methods of "restoring law and order" practised by the White Guards in such cases; but it will be sufficient to quote the latest which have come to hand. At one time the important Volga town Kazan was in the hands of the reactionaries, who had succeeded in wresting it from the local Soviet; however, they again lost it a short time afterwards. In the *Izvestiya* of October 2nd an eye-witness describes the rule of the Kazan bourgeoisie during the brief period of its power as follows:—

"One simply shivers at the recollection of the first days of the rule of the members of the so-called Constituent Assembly.... Ward and house committees became agents of the *okhrana* (secret police), and terrible was the fate of the class-conscious workers! The committees would denounce these men to the young White Guardsmen, who then went about the factories and the working-class quarters...."

The report goes on to describe the shameful part played throughout by the Mensheviks (Moderate Social Democrats) and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the latter led by the notorious Boris Savinkoff, an ex-terrorist, a Minister of War under Kerensky, and an accomplice of General Korniloff. This renegade was now proclaiming publicly that "the salvation of the country lay not in the twaddle of the Mensheviks and even Socialist-Revolutionaries, but in the reinstatement of the officers in their rights."

### THE S.L.P.

The S.L.P. is certainly to be congratulated on its vigorous educational propaganda work. At all times it aims at creating an informed proletariat. In Halifax, where Arthur MacManus was the S.L.P. candidate, a daily newspaper of 6,000 copies was printed and distributed free every day; 47,000 manifestoes were delivered to the electors; 47,000 leaflets contrasting Leagues of Peoples and Leagues of Governments; 25,000 war maps showing the effect of the Secret Treaties; 25,000 election addresses; 5,000 manifestoes to engineers; 20,000 leaflets opposing the Coalition and 23,000 photographs of the candidate. All this was free and an enormous amount of literature was also sold. On the eve of the poll a meeting of over 4,000 people was held in the largest hall in Halifax. MacManus stood as a Socialist without any sail-trimming.

### RAILWAY NATIONALISATION.

*The Manchester Guardian* Stock Exchange correspondent says there is active buying in railway shares as it is believed that "nationalisation will not be disadvantageous to stockholders." Stockholders know that a capitalist Government can be trusted to look after them!

C. E. Davey at the London Trades Council on December 12th moved a resolution that the withdrawal of the Rents Restriction Act would lead to a rent strike.

## HAVE YOU ORDERED OUR SPECIAL ALL RUSSIAN NUMBER?

### CHAOTIC?

For some weeks several hundred clerks at the Ministry of Food are reported by the Committee of Inquiry to have been mainly engaged on knitting and novel reading. If it had happened in Russia!

### W.A.A.C. DESERTERS.

The war is supposed to be over. Edith and Constance Jackson were charged at Goole on December 6th with being deserters from the W.A.A.C. They said they had escaped at midnight in order to call attention to their treatment. A month ago they were placed in a most filthy house that had been unlet for nine years. After that they were sent to Gateshead Workhouse with eleven others. They were given dirty beds, in which they understood girls suffering from scabies had slept.

A wealthy Government Department can have no excuse for treating its employees in such a way. The fact that the father of these girls is an ex-Chairman of the Goole Council has protected these girls from victimisation. But why are not the W.A.A.C.s demobilised? Are they to be sent to Russia?

### UNEMPLOYED WOMEN.

#### THE USUAL EXPEDIENT!

The Government's Advisory Committee on Women's Employment has been considering what to do with our women workers. As the members of the Committee all belong to the domestic-servant employing classes, and as there is a scarcity of women willing to be domestics, the thoughts of the Committee have naturally gravitated towards that most unpopular luxury trade. It has discussed the training and distribution of servants for the well-to-do. It has even discussed the training of "home helps," whom it describes as women employed as helps in the homes of working women not employing a regular servant. At the outbreak of war the Queen Mary Committees trained some "home helps," but, as working women could not afford to employ them, they gravitated to other work. The servants are as scarce as ever! It really is an abuse of the public purse to spend money in training women for trades they either do not desire to enter or which cannot support them.

### WOMEN AS JUDGES.

*The Times* reports that a Bill has been introduced in the New South Wales Parliament empowering women to enter Parliament and municipal councils, to practise law, and to sit as magistrates in Children's Courts. The Government has accepted an amendment qualifying women to sit as judges and magistrates in all Courts.

Women's unemployment pay is to be raised from £1 to 25s. Keep on demonstrating!

THIS LETTER WAS REGISTERED AND SENT TO PRESIDENT WILSON BY JOHN MACLEAN ON DECEMBER 12th, 1918.

SIR,—You are here in Europe to negotiate a "Democratic Peace," as a Democrat. If so, I wish you to prove your sincerity by releasing Tom Mooney, Billings, Debs, Haywood, and all others at present in prison as a consequence of their fight for "Working Class Democracy" since the United States participated in the war.

The Working Class Democracy of Britain forced the Cabinet to release me from Peterhead Prison, where I was undergoing a five years' sentence under D.O.R.A.

I therefore write you, as an ease to my conscience and a repayment to the "World's Working Class Democracy," to release my above-mentioned friends and comrades.

The Clyde workers will send me as one of their delegates to the coming Peace Conference, and there, inside or outside the Conference Hall, I shall challenge your U.S.A. delegates if my friends are not released.

After that I shall tour America until you do justice to the real American champions of Democracy.

Yours in deadly earnest,  
(signed) JOHN MACLEAN.

We understand that the Albert Hall will soon again be the scene of a monster demonstration of the workers, this time the object being to pass resolutions to be sent to President Wilson asking justice for the thousands of imprisoned workers in America—the victims of the demons of war. The immediate re-trial or release of Tom Mooney will be demanded. John MacLean has promised to speak. It is also expected that details of an alleged grave scandal concerning an American woman resident in England and her treatment by certain officials during the course of the war will be the subject of a request to the President to look into the matter. Further particulars will be announced later.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.



## WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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

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

### LONDON MEETINGS.

#### OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20th.  
Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M.,  
Miss Price.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21st.  
Hammersmith—Meet at 3 P.M. and 6.30 P.M.  
at the Grove (near both railway stations).  
Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss Price, and Mrs.  
Walter.

#### INDOOR.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20th.  
400 Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting,  
London Section.

We shall be pleased to insert notices of meetings  
in this column, giving one line free and a penny for  
each additional word.

### Christmas Sale and Social,

SATURDAY, 21st, 3-10 p.m.,

400, OLD FORD ROAD, E.

Christmas Presents, Clothes, Books, &c.

Refreshments at Popular Prices.

Concert. Dancing. Admission 3d.

### W. S. F. NOTES.

Mr. A. McConnell, 76 Doneraile Street, Fulham, S.W.6, will be glad to hear from all comrades and members willing to join a branch of the W.S.F. in that district.

Every member of the W.S.F. should sell a record number both of this week's issue and of the special Russian number of THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT. Send the paper to your friends. It is better than any Christmas card and a year's, half year's, or quarter's subscription makes the best Christmas present. 1918 is drawing to an end. Do not let it end without your having done something to bring the Social Revolution nearer. THE DREADNOUGHT stands for Socialism in our time. It spreads news of the Socialist Revolution in other countries and

thus heartens the workers to strive for Socialism here. The W.S.F. Committee has often a very serious struggle to keep the paper and propaganda going. Do what you can to help in every way. Help us to raise funds and, above all, help to spread the good news—sell the paper, sell the pamphlets, get new members and subscribers, talk to every one you meet, talk in the workshop, in the shops, in the trains and trams; educate, agitate, organise! There is no time to be lost! Let us all be up and doing with renewed vigour.

'DREADNOUGHT' FUND (October and November, 1918).—Lady Warwick, £25; Mr. and Mrs. Ensom, £5; Miss Scott Troy, £5; Mr. and Mrs. Roden Buxton, £5; Dr. Scarlett Synge, £5; DREADNOUGHT Social Profit, £1 17s.; Mrs. and Miss Casey, £1 10s.; West Ham W.S.F. Council, £1 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Schutze (10s. monthly), £1 10s.; Mrs. Brimley (2s. 6d. weekly), £1 5s.; Mr. Papadimitriou, £1; per Mrs. Lauritzen, £1; Mr. and Mrs. Durant (10s. monthly), £1; Mrs. Chandler, 10s. 6d.; Bermondsey N.U.R., 10s.; Mr. Johnson (per Miss Nagley), 10s.; Mrs. McCarthy, 10s.; Mrs. Dersah, 10s.; Mr. Morton (5s. monthly), 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (2s. fortnightly), 8s.; Peckham and Dulwich Women's Co-operative Guild, 5s. 2d.; Mr. J. Reed, 5s.; Miss G. D. Easterbrook, 5s.; Miss Brett, 5s.; Mr. A. Knight, 5s.; Mrs. Barfield, 5s.; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (2s. 6d. monthly), 5s.; Mr. Toop (2s. 6d. monthly), 5s.; Miss Woodruff, 4s.; Mr. J. Robertson, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Bailey, 2s.; Mrs. Console (1s. monthly), 2s.; Mr. L. Frenssen, 2s.; Miss Newcome (1s. monthly), 2s.; Anonymous, 1s.

COLLECTED FOR MISS PANKHURST'S FINE by Dreadnought Staff: £42 6s. 10½d.

### WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

#### CHANDOS HALL,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 10th, 7.30 p.m.,

#### EDWARD SOERMUS,

THE GREAT RUSSIAN VIOLINIST.

Chair, MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Tickets, 3s. 3d., 1s. and 6d., including tax. Application for tickets should be sent to Miss Buxton, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

## WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

### THE EAST LONDON MOVEMENT.

Things do not seem to be running very smoothly in the East End and the "fly in the ointment" appears to be a little group of A.S.E. shop stewards which is using its influence to prevent the stewards going over en bloc to the Ship-building and Ship-repairing S.S. Committee. The shop stewards of all other Unions have linked up with this committee, the A.S.E. being the only Union outside. With a view to putting this right the more advanced A.S.E. men caused a mass meeting of A.S.E.S. Stewards to be held where it was unanimously decided to link up en bloc with the unofficial committee. Now the secretary is a chap named Charlie Ball with an eye to the main chance; in any case he is up against anything which does not bear the mark of official sanction, so he explained that another meeting was necessary to give effect to the resolution. I am told that when it came to selecting speakers for this second meeting the name of Harry Pollitt, who is well known in Manchester and London as a revolutionary member of the Boilermakers, was suggested but rejected because he was not a member of the A.S.E.! Then someone said Brother Watson, and Comrade Ball replied "I will not put his name down." This was more than the Shop Stewards could stand, so they shouted "Ball! You'll have to put his name down," and down it went.

Finally Bradley, Spencer, Swales, Watson and Mills were selected, and, according to Ball, written to. When questioned Ball said he had received replies from Bradley and Spencer. I must say right here that I have received no communication of any sort from Ball and I did not hear of the meeting (which was to be held on December 15th at the Grand Picture Palace, Blackwall Tunnel) until Saturday afternoon,

and then got the information indirectly. Nevertheless, I went along, and upon arriving at the Grand Picture Palace was informed by a group of Rebels standing outside that the hall had not been booked up.

Evidently some dirty work is going on in the Dock Area and it is up to the A.S.E. shop stewards to institute a thorough investigation, and if Ball is not acting on the square he must be rolled right out of the movement. He must be made to realise that the day of sectionalism in the S.S. movement is passed. By the way, why not an E. LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE?

### A.S.E. BALLOT RESULTS.

#### CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1918.

Brownlie, J. T., Woolwich 3rd .. .. 24,522\*  
Lawrence, J. D., Woolwich 2nd .. .. 13,294

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCILMAN, 1918 (DIVISION No. 5).

Iredale, G., Leeds 7th .. .. 1,981  
Wilson, J., Sheffield 4th .. .. 3,681\*

#### ORGANISING DISTRICT DELEGATE, 1918.

##### No. 2 DIVISION.

Hills, W. D., Leith .. .. 909\*  
Proctor, H., Dundee .. .. 904

##### No. 7 DIVISION.

Gorman, J., Salford 4th .. .. 2,743\*  
Peet, G., Gorton 4th .. .. 1,249

#### ELECTION OF TWO ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARIES, 1918, TO BE UNDER CONTROL OF E.C.

Beechey, A., Woolwich 7th .. .. 14,545  
Butts, J., Bradford 3rd .. .. 14,849\*  
Cunliffe, J., Manchester East .. .. 15,650\*  
Rose, H. A., Greenwich East .. .. 12,563

J. Butts is one of the members of the late E.C. who were thrown down stairs on January 1st, 1913. We remember Jimmy breaking his glasses, losing a tooth, and searching in vain for a "bobby." We wish him luck in his new job.

### MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

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

FURS £10 10s. Very fashionable black Set; whole skins. Tango Stole and fashionable round Muff. New two months ago. Approval willingly. Accept £3 13s. 6d. Belmont, 3, Aubert Park, Highbury, London.

SOCIALISTS OF CROYDON, Your First New Year's Resolution for 1919 should be to send 2/- (½d. stamps) for 24 weeks prepaid subscription to Croydon's Own Socialist Weekly, THE EPISTLE. Offices, 112 Woodville Road, Thornton Heath.

### FOR SCRAMBLED EGGS, ETC., USE

#### Greer's

Agreeable Whole Dried Eggs,  
2 whole eggs 2½d.

D. W. GREER & Co., Camberwell, London, S.E.5.

### THE ORPHEUM

#### CINEMATOGRAPH THEATRE

#### CROYDON.

Good Films. Good Music. Comfortably Heated.  
Clean. Well Ventilated.

LILLIAN SCOTT TROY, Managing Director.  
(Hon. Member D.W.B. & G.L. Union).  
Tel. Croydon 1827.

VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT.—15s. a week to every child in our midst as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, and £1 a week for everyone at 60.  
MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

### NOW READY.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

By ARTHUR RANSOME.  
Price 3d.

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation,  
400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

Will SOCIALISTS from Greece and Turkey COMMUNICATE with C. Christophoridis, 43, Frith Street, London, W.1.?

In thanking the members for re-election, J. T. Brownlie says: "I interpret the result of this election as an expression of opinion on the part of our members in favour of constitutional procedure which has been my chief aim to observe in regard to the conduct of the society's affairs." He quite forgets to mention that a number of Branches refused to participate in the ballot because of the arbitrary way in which David Kirkwood was disqualified. Anyway, we should like to know the particular system of logic applied which interprets 24,522 votes cast in his favour out of a total membership of over 295,000 "as an expression of opinion on the part of our members in favour of constitutional procedure."

There is to be a mass meeting of Engineering Workers in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, December 22nd, 3 P.M., to push forward the 44 hour week and the abolition of all payment by results systems. Roll up in your thousands!

### ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN, LONDON DISTRICT COMMITTEE.

The result of voting for the above position is as follows:—

Bro. G. Spencer .. .. 991  
Bro. J. Tanner .. .. 666  
Bro. W. F. Watson .. .. 1,064  
Bro. Worsnop .. .. 236  
Therefore Bros. Spencer and Watson take the final ballot.

W. Ibbotson of Sheffield writes: "Sheffield will be one of the worst sufferers on account of the inability to transfer from war work to commercial work quickly. At one of the large firms they are trying to coerce men to leave, also women. At the National Projectile Factory they are discharging women at the rate of 6,000 per week (official). They employed about 15,000 women when fully employed. This factory is in the Rotherham area and the majority of the women were domestic servants (or skivvies—that's what they term themselves). They say they will not go back to that kind of employment, so somebody looks like copping out for it when they get on the warpath."