

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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Price Twopence.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN RUSSIA.



LOVE AND DEATH (New Version.)

Child Welfare.

Krasnaya Gazeta (The Red Gazette), 31st Oct., 1918, reports "That the Commissariat of Social Welfare in Petrograd is very active on behalf of the young. For babies in arms there is 'The Children's Home,' with 500 inmates. There are also homes for children from 3-7 years old. Much attention is devoted by the Commissariat to the establishment of sanatoria for children, whose health needs recuperation. Such sanatoria have been opened at Gatchino, Tsarskoe Selo, Sestroretsk, and at the Grafski Station (all these country places are within a few miles of Petrograd).

Educational Excursions.

The Red Gazette further announces that the Excursion Section of the Commissariat of Education has planned a series of free excursions to various museums, galleries, institutes, palaces, and other historical buildings for the study of natural history, culture, art, and history. These excursions take place every Sunday and on fête days. Only organisations (factories, works, committees, clubs, trade unions, &c.), may apply for admission to these excursions. The names of individuals are entered upon the lists sent in by organisations or by the educational departments of the district Soviets.

20,000,000 Roubles for feeding the Children.

Vooruzhennyi Narod (Armed People), Nov. 1st, 1918, reports that the sum of 1,000,000 roubles has been placed at the disposal of the Commissariat of Supply and Distribution of the Northern Region for the feeding of children from a 20,000,000 fund established for that purpose according to the regulation of the Soviet of Commissaries of Oct. 11th, 1918.

Children's Homes.

The Department of Social Welfare of the delegates of County Soviets proposes to transfer all existing children's homes to the large estates which have been taken over by the Government from Fredericks Vrangeli, and various barons and former court functionaries. There are 40 such estates. They contain well-organized dairies, agricultural farms, and kitchen gardens. The children of the former foundling hospital will shortly be transferred to Pavlovsk, formerly a grand-ducal country seat and a summer resort, famous for its *alfresco* concerts

The Children's Part in the Revolutionary Anniversary.

The same number of the *Armed People* reports that for the festivities in connection with the Moscow celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution, the Committee is organizing processions of school children, youths, and young girls. These processions will elect a delegation from their midst which will lay wreaths on the graves of the fallen heroes of the revolution.

The food rations of the whole civilian population will be increased, and in addition 14,000 free dinners will be served to the children. There will be special children's free matinées in all the theatres.

The Provisioning of Petrograd.

Eighty-five wagon loads of wheat from Rybinsk, 12,000 poods of rye from Saratov, and 15 and 25 wagon loads respectively from other districts, are reported by the *Armed People* as having just reached Petrograd.

From the County of Tambov comes the news that over 300,000 poods of corn have been collected and deposited in the elevator, but complaint is made of delays in transport, only 110 wagon loads having reached Petrograd up to date.

In the county of Orlov, the local representatives of the Petrograd Commissariat of Supply has organized the curing of geese, as the mild weather makes the transport of frozen birds impossible. Ten thousand poods of geese can be cured and will be forwarded to Petrograd.

Children's Matinees.

The Russian paper *Finance and National Economy* of Oct. 31st, 1918, reports that the Alexander Theatre in Petrograd is putting at the

disposal of the Commissariat of Social Welfare two Sunday matinée performances at the Alexander and Michael theatres with special programmes for children.

In the "Amusements" column operative, dramatic, and variety performances are announced in fourteen Petrograd theatres, concerts in the hall of the Conservatoire, and daily performances in the Circus Ciniselli. Shaliapin and Lydia Yavorskaya (well known to London audiences) are among the artistes mentioned.

A Musical Competition.

Vooruzhennyi Narod ("The Armed People") 1st November, 1918, announces the verdict of the special commission appointed by the Commissariat for War to adjudicate in a competition for the setting to music of the march "The Star of the Red Army." After careful examination of the 204 compositions sent in the Commission declared none of them worthy of the prize offered.

Henderson on Bolshevism.

It is reported in the French press that Mr. Henderson declared in Berne that he was in Russia when Bolshevism made its first appearance. "I saw only the destruction and suppression of everything, nothing else.... Bolshevism practises violence and oppression, that is why the Conference must defend the Russian Socialists against it." Mr. Henderson is confusing dates, he was in Russia under the Kerensky régime. He returned in July. Bolshevism came to power in November, 1917. The violence to which Mr. Henderson refers was the result of the Czar's régime coupled with the disastrous effects of the war on the internal affairs of Russia!

MEXICO, AMERICA, AND THE PEACE.

To those who have asked us what the American capitalists intend to get out of the war, we have frequently answered "Keep your eye on Mexico." The world has long been troubled by stories of the unruly state of Mexico, what a tiresome neighbour she is to great America, and how riotous and unsettled is her population. But one must consider all such stories in the light of the fact that Mexico is very rich in petroleum oil and is said to be capable of producing as much as all the other petroleum oil fields in the world put together.

The facts in regard to the ownership of these wonderful Mexican oil fields are well explained by J. P. Chamberlain in a recent issue of the *American Nation*. Mr. Chamberlain is no Socialist, no Bolshevik, no pacifist; he says that the disposal of the Mexican oil fields cannot be settled by the Mexicans alone, and adds "the need during the war of a great supply of gasoline and fuel oil for military and naval purposes has emphasised the importance of keeping up operation, and shipment from American fields."

Foreign Interests control the Mexican Oil Fields.

J. P. Chamberlain proceeds:—"Foreign interests, though frequently in the form of Mexican corporations, control almost the whole of the known Mexican oil fields and transport and refine their output, so that practically any action taken by the Mexican Government will chiefly affect not Mexicans but foreigners."

Vast Stores of Wealth.

The total output has risen from 10,345 barrels in 1901 to 55,292,770 in 1917, with an estimated possible production of 250,000,000 barrels a year, or nearly one-half the total world production in 1917. The oil is nearly all exported, and consumed on foreign ships or engines or in foreign

automobiles. In July, 1918, for example, 3,435,545 barrels were shipped to the United States, and 1,309,290 barrels to other points abroad. In this country the Yellow Press raises the cry of "Britain for the British," complaining that foreigners have too large a share in British trade and industry, but for the Mexicans to say "Mexico for the Mexicans" would be more justified, since practically all these wonderful oil fields with the refineries, the pipe lines, and the tank ships are in the hands of the foreigners:—

"The principal organisations are the Mexican Petroleum (Doheny interests), the Waters-Pierce (Standard Oil), the Pan-Mexican Fuel Oil (Standard Oil), the East Coast Oil (Southern Pacific), the Corona Oil (Dutch Shell), and the Mexican Eagle (Pearson English interests). The amount invested is already very large. A recent estimate puts the British and American capital invested in this business at \$300,000,000, of which \$200,000,000 is American.

Foreign Ownership of Recent Date.

"The legal history of the ownership of oil in Mexico begins with the Spanish period. All grants of land were made by authority of the king, but they did not include minerals underlying the surface, which were granted separately on condition of exploitation and the payment of an annual production tax. The law was based on the principle that the right to develop the natural wealth of the subsoil should be granted only to persons who would utilise it, and on the condition that it be utilised, so that the industry might be developed and the royal treasury enriched by a share of the proceeds. If the concessionaire did not fulfil the conditions of his grant, the property reverted to the crown. In 1783 the mining edicts were combined into a code."

(Continued over.)

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

TIGHT BINDING.

MEXICO, AMERICA AND THE PEACE. (Continued from front page)

How the Mexican People were Robbed.

"On achieving independence, the Mexican nation succeeded to the ownership of minerals as well as to the other rights of the Spanish crown, and the old system of granting mining concessions was followed. In the Constitution of 1857, mining legislation was left to the States, but a constitutional amendment in 1883 transferred that right to the Federal Congress, and in 1884 the President, acting on a general authorisation of the Congress, issued a decree containing a federal mining code. The code changed the policy of the law in regard to certain products of the subsoil, among which were coal and petroleum, by expressly declaring them to be the property of the owner of the surface. . . . There was no declaration of national ownership of the other minerals, but as they could be acquired only through concession from the Government on conditions laid down by the Government, they were practically part of the public domain. This division of minerals was the result of the deliberate action of the executive commission which drafted the decree, contrary to the judgment of many Mexican authorities."

Those who are familiar with American "graft" will suspect the sort of methods used to persuade the members of the Mexican Federal Congress to this abandonment of the rights of the Mexican people in their country's petroleum and coal. This deprivation of the people was confirmed in several succeeding statutes, and the Mexican Government not only permitted, but encouraged, private interests to acquire the oil-bearing lands.

The New Constitution Takes Back the Oil for Mexico.

Then came a change. A new Constitution was adopted, and:—

"Article 27 of the new Constitution profoundly changed the legal situation. Petroleum was expressly included among the mineral resources of the nation which are inalienable, but which may be exploited by individuals under concession on condition of regular development. . . . Concessions can be granted only to Mexican citizens, to Mexican corporations, or to foreigners who agree to be considered as Mexicans in regard to such property and not to invoke the protection of their Governments in respect of it; furthermore, Mexican citizens are to be preferred in grants of concessions. Foreign corporations cannot acquire ownership in concessions, consequently foreign corporations cannot continue in the industry in Mexico. Mexican corporations owning oil lands suffer a further limitation. Article 27 allows them to hold only as much land as 'is absolutely necessary for their purpose,' the amount to be fixed by the Executive; so that a corporation loses not only the oil underlying the land which it owned, but in addition the land itself, unless it obtains a concession to utilise the petroleum, when it may keep the amount of land necessary for its purposes. This provision of Article 27 has not as yet been put into effect. . . .

"Those who believe that the petroleum should remain in private ownership attempt to construe the Constitution to meet their opinion. It is argued that Article 27, so far as it deprives the owners of the soil of their petroleum rights, is nullified by other rules laid down in the same instrument. Article 14 provides that no law shall be given a retroactive effect, and Article 27 itself stipulates that private property shall not be taken except for public purposes and upon indemnification. Article 14 undoubtedly prohibits retroactive legislation by Congress, but it cannot limit the power of the Constitutional Convention."

It is important to notice that whilst foreign corporations can no longer exploit Mexican oil, individual foreigners may do so, provided they agree to do so on the same terms as Mexicans without invoking the aid of their own Governments. In this country certain persons object to allowing foreigners to trade on the same terms as British people; in Mexico, as in other weaker nations, the native populations are mainly concerned to prevent foreigners coming in and obtaining preferential treatment by the aid of the dominant power of their own governments, which threaten, if their demands are not conceded, to annex the entire country. This threat has only too often been carried out. The new Mexican Constitution had thus nationalised petroleum, but those who desired petroleum to remain in private ownership sought to prove either that Article 27 was not intended to apply

to petroleum in privately owned land, or that if this were the intention, it was illegal and nullified by other clauses, but practically all the known oil-bearing lands were privately owned, and Pastor Rouaix, who drafted the article, President Carranza, and the Mexican Government, all insisted that the national ownership was intended by the constitution.

"The former operators were allowed to continue work under the new Constitution. Taxes were laid on their product, but their possession was not threatened until the President, acting under the general power in regard to finance granted by Congress, issued the decree of February 19th, 1918. This decree fixed a royalty of 5 per cent on output, a tax of five pesos (\$2.50) a hectare (2½ acres) on all oil lands, and a steeply-graduated tax on the rent paid under oil leases running up to 50 per cent of the royalty. The intention to maintain the ownership of the nation, resulting from Article 27, was evidenced by a section requiring owners or lessees who desired to operate the land held by them to file a statement within three months, and by providing that at the expiration of that period all lands not so registered would be open to claim. Only leases executed prior to May 1st, 1917, were recognised. This decree gave a privilege to the holders of oil lands or oil leases, an exclusive prior right for three months to file claims on the oil lands previously held, plainly foreshadowing the grant of a concession. It apparently recognises their moral right to consideration, and also the economic advantage to the state and to the labourers in the oil fields of a steady continuation of production."

Foreign Powers Protest.

This decree "caused great commotion" amongst those who had hitherto considered the petroleum their own. They declared that it showed an intention to confiscate their property, though this had been done (though not enforced) by Article 27 of the new constitution. Foreign Governments also protested:—

"The United States, in a note dated April 2nd, 1918, protested against the decree as an interference with the rights of operators who were American citizens. It also objected to the tax imposed 'as indicating a trend' towards confiscation, and criticised other objectionable features in the system of collecting the royalty. England, France, and Holland have also entered protests on behalf of their nationals."

The Mexican Government would not give way, but it sought to temporise with the menacing Powers. It extended the period of registration from February 19th to July 31st, and on July 31st, after a conference with foreign interests, it again extended it to August 15th.

"On August 8th a new decree was issued, requiring the owner or lessee who had registered his property to file a claim for a concession within three months (the lessee within two months) after August 15th, or his prior right would lapse. A foreign corporation could transfer its right to a Mexican corporation, and a foreign individual must relinquish the protection of his Government in respect of the concession. Tracts of land of over four hectares (ten acres), which was declared to be the size of a petroleum claim, could, if they had been registered before August 15th, be patented only if wells were already in operation or were being drilled."

Foreigners Refuse to Register.

"The legal and economic position resulting from these decrees was unsatisfactory to the foreign operators, who refused to register their lands. The Government again did not join issue. A decree of August 12th, only four days before the expiration of the preferential right of the owners and lessees, provided that no surveyed oil property in which capital had been invested should be open to claim, but that the owner or lessee might operate the property until the 'special contracts' were prepared under which he was to be allowed to operate in the future. He must, however, pay the land tax and the 5 per cent royalty on output."

"The Mexican Government, without abandoning its position that the nation is the owner of the oil, which it emphatically defends in a statement dated August 25th, has impliedly admitted that the operators should in justice be given concessions for the operation of the petroleum underlying land owned or leased by them, and which they had begun to develop. The rights arising from the concession, however, would be very different from those of an owner. The concessionaire cannot speculate on his oil for higher prices by holding it unused; he must submit to regulations, and,

until the bases of the 'special contracts' are made public, he will not know the limitations on his privilege or the rapidity with which he must develop the property conceded."

"The Carranza Government, on November 23rd, introduced a bill into Congress dealing with the oil situation. The bill is based on Article 27 of the Constitution. Owners are given consideration in the provisions that lands in which capital was invested before May 1, 1917, for the exploitation of petroleum, shall not be subject to denunciation, and granting to the owner or lessee three months in which to justify his rights. These properties, however, must pay the land taxes and taxes on production. Leases are continued during the term fixed in each lease, subject to the 50 per cent tax on the royalty paid under the lease; then the lessee may secure the oil rights on application within three months. The owner of lands, or lessees on leases made before May 1st, 1917, who have not put capital into their lands, are to have a preference for one year if they justify their right within three months."

"The problem of the taxation of the oil fields is apart from the far more serious question of their ownership."

The support given to General Diaz by foreign capitalists is explained by the following passages:—

"Originally there was no taxation upon oil; indeed, following the policy of the Diaz Government in encouraging development of the natural wealth of the country, petroleum was included with certain other mineral products in an exemption from all Federal, local, and municipal taxes by the law of June 6th, 1887."

"Under the revolution, however, a light tax was laid upon petroleum, which subsequently developed into a tax of 10 per cent *ad valorem*, the value to be fixed every two months by the Mexican finance authorities, not on the basis of the price at Tampico, but on the basis of the price in the United States, whither most of the product was shipped. The tax is in effect an export tax, and is defended as an economic measure by the Mexican Government on the ground that Mexico was being deprived of the advantage of its petroleum deposits, since the developing companies were interested in the large foreign market and paid little attention to the smaller Mexican needs. Consequently, this tax was used as an economic, as well as a fiscal, measure to make it worth while to the oil companies to develop the Mexican market. The tax is fixed every two months and is in addition to the royalty and the land tax provided in the decrees cited. It is also in addition to a land tax on mining claims."

The Foreign Capitalist View

Mr. Chamberlain expresses the standpoint of the foreign capitalists.

"The right of foreign Governments to protest against the confiscation of the property of their citizens is unaffected by the method adopted for the confiscation. The remedy, however, is limited by the legal situation. Since only by a constitutional amendment can the property rights affected be restored, the only remedies open are compensation, or the granting of concessions to oil-land owners or lessees, satisfactory, not necessarily to them, but to their Governments; for if the Governments require their citizens to accept an agreed settlement on condition of a withdrawal of support, the dispute will be over."

Quite so; that is why the capitalists take care to control governments. The governments of America, France, Britain, and Holland, the Powers which are protesting, are completely under capitalist control.

The capitalists are determined not to be bought out of Mexico, just as they are determined, not to let the Bolsheviks buy them out of Russia since a never ending store of wealth is to be obtained by sitting tight and refusing to part with what they have got. Says Mr. Chamberlain:—

"Compensation will be an unsatisfactory remedy. The operators have taken the risk and developed the industry in the expectation of profit from a growing business; they have invested in ships, refineries, and pipe lines; they have established trade connections and agencies which market their products; and no compensation which would be awarded would cover their prospective loss. Furthermore, if the basis of settlement is to be payment for the value of the oil properties, Mexico will face an indemnity which, in its present impoverished condition, it could scarcely meet, especially as the revenue from the oil fields would be temporarily, at least, cut down, if not altogether stopped, should the present owners cease work."

Continued on page 1234.

Papa's War, and Other Satires,* by Edward Garnett, presents a scathing and brilliantly humorous and imaginative exposure of European politics and warfare. From this remarkable volume we have taken the following extract—

A WEEK IN PARIS. PAGES FROM A DIPLOMATIST'S DIARY.

September 6th.

Off to-morrow for a week's holiday. Am curious to see Paris again after so long, and am taking Withers, whose knowledge of French is simply invaluable. Shall refuse to transact any official business, but must leave my card, of course, at the Quai d'Orsay.

Travelling strictly *incognito*.

Later.

Withers has just shown me a paragraph about my trip, signed Scrutator in the Sunday Special. Most annoying.

September 7th.

A calm crossing. No *mal de mer*. Met the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires accidentally on the boat. He told me, informally, Spanish opinion much incensed by French treatment of Spanish claims in Morocco, and vexed by *The Times* leaders. Is apprehensive lest Germany may make the M. Q. pretext for European conflagration. Reassured him.

We agreed that political morality of Great Powers has never been more cynical. But what can we do?

Mem: The idea seems gaining ground among Lesser Powers that Great Britain has secret commitments to France. Do not understand why.

Met Dr. Danef, accidentally, in corridor of the Rapide, and assured him, informally, of my profound belief in his Majesty, King Ferdinand's unswerving resolution to maintain Balkan peace. Dr. Danef sees no cloud on the horizon, but is uneasy about Turkey's secret intrigues. Reassured him as to Great Britain's objects.

S. met me at the Gare du Nord. Very thoughtful of him. He quite understands my visit is purely for recreation, but suggests informal talk with Isvolsky to-morrow.

Drove to my old quarters.

Mem: Hope to rub up my French.

September 8th.

Drive in the Bois with young Ponsonby and his friend, P., of the General Staff. Reassuring account of the French Army, which they think could account for the German, single-handed. Great superiority of the French artillery.

At the Quai d'Orsay informal talk with S. and Isvolsky as to possibility of strengthening our Entente. Isvolsky thinks best means would be a strong policy in Persia to counter German intrigues, and put Persian constitutional régime on sure basis. We agreed as to the wisdom of "Festina lente," and I repeated assurances of our unwavering loyalty to Russia in this and other questions. (Mem: Afraid Schuster must go.) Isvolsky sees no cloud on horizon, but is fearful of effects of Austrian intrigues in the Balkans.

Met in the Rue de Rivoli Herr von Tehirtsky, who has been summoned to Paris by the grave condition of his aunt, Baronne Von Rosen. He walked a little way with me to reassure me about the state of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor Joseph's health. He confided that the Ballplatz was opposed to secret clauses in the Accord of Potsdam which strengthened Asiatic Turkey at our expense. Austria counts on Great Britain's pacific influence in Balkan affairs. He sees no cloud on the horizon, but has persistent fear lest Russian ambitions should precipitate general European conflagration. Reassured him. Parted with expressions of mutual esteem.

Quiet afternoon. Read Gyp, corrected the proofs of New Edition of "Fly Fishing" and drafted Memorandum on "The Freedom of the Seas" for Hague Conference. Went to the Odéon in evening and was introduced to the Liberian Envoy, who broached subject of British loan. Assured him that Great Britain had Liberia's interests much at heart.

Mem.: Where is Liberia?

September 9th.

Received flattering proposal from the Italian Ambassador, who, hearing I was in Paris, called to suggest Italian translation of "Fly-Fishing." His Excellency is much disturbed by the Turkish persecution of Italian subjects in Tripoli. It seems that two respectable Italian citizens, a barber and a fruit hawker, were arrested on a mere pretext, and have been subjected since to shameful indignities in Turkish prisons. He fears that Italy's prestige in Tripoli is at stake if she does not protect her nationals, and that, against her will, she will be forced to assert her rights on N. African littoral. Sympathised with him, but pointed out danger of general European conflagration through any new menace to the equilibrium of the Mediterranean. He agreed with me in principle. He deplored with me the undoubted fact that political morality of the great powers has never been more cynical. But he asked "What can we do?"

Visited M. Barboux's shop in the Rue Diderot. Shall try the *cigale bleue* on the Test, but doubt results.

Isvolsky called after dinner with distressing news of deplorable action by Persian Nationalists, who ambushed a *colonia* of Cossacks peacefully proceeding from Julfa. Naturally, the Cossacks retaliated. But, unfortunately, in restoring order round Tabriz some regrettable shootings and hangings of high Persian ecclesiastics and other prominent patriots seem to have taken place. The

affair is not yet cleared up, but Isvolsky fears our Radical Press may hear of and misconstrue the incident. Re-assured him.

September 10th.

Too tired to rub up my French. Reflected over Persian news. Russian temperament generous, but over-impulsive.

Attended the opening by M. Deschanel of the Exhibition of *L'Art Nouveau*. Very striking designs. Met accidentally in the gallery Enver Pasha, who talked enthusiastically of the new era of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that has dawned for all the races under Turkish rule. I agreed, but made a reference to the Adana Massacre. He referred me to his Government's Report, which shows that it was the Christian population who first began to attack and kill the Moslems. The Vali was forced to hand out weapons to the Moslem peasants, for their self-defence, with the unfortunate result that thirty thousand Armenians eventually lost their lives. Enver Pasha said his Government is much shocked by news of the hanging of the Persian Nationalists in the Tabriz bazaar—the news of which has just reached Constantinople—and he fears this may lead to a great Pan-Islam agitation throughout the East against Great Britain and her ally, which, personally he would deplore. Reassured him. Parted with mutual expressions of esteem.

Bought a curious *objet d'art* which I shall present to the Newcastle Art Gallery.

Went to tea to the Princess Galitzen's. Interesting conversation on Russia's future. Met there the Japanese Ambassador who complained of the persistent misrepresentation in the European Press of Japan's pacific measures in Korea and Manchuria. Japan takes very seriously her role of torchbearer of Western civilization of Eastern races, and expects Europe to applaud her efforts. Agreed with him in principle. But pointed out to him that European Powers look upon themselves as guardians of China's territorial integrity and of the Open Door. He agreed with me in principle.

Spoke very warmly of Mr. Roosevelt's book, "Big Game Shooting," and my "Fly Fishing," which, he says, has a great reputation in Japan.

Quiet game of *écarté* with Ponsonby. Lost 300 francs. Bed.

September 11th.

Met unexpectedly in lift Herr Zimmerman, who was much surprised to see me, as he did not know I was staying in the Hotel which he frequently uses. He wishes to introduce me to Prince von B., who, it seems, has just arrived from Berlin in order to see Karaavina in the Russian Ballet. I said nothing would give me greater pleasure, but I suggested that as guest of France I must inform S. and leave to them both to make the informal arrangements. He quite saw the propriety of this, and we parted with expressions of mutual esteem.

Wired official denial to *The Times* that I am in Paris. Dined with my old friend Harrington at the *Cercle des Sportsmen International*, and met there the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires, who deplored the growing anarchy in his country. Was surprised to learn that the rival Mexican Dictators are subsidised by competing groups of American financiers. M. F. is disgusted with politics generally. I invited him to stay a fortnight at my cottage in the New Forest next spring.

Was not at home to the Brazilian Ambassador.

Rubbed up my French.

September 12th.

Attended informally a quiet function at the Société des Amis des Indigènes Opprimés. Moving address.

Had a few words with the Chinese Minister, who spoke most appreciatively of the Japanese colleague's unswerving efforts to safeguard China's territorial integrity. He fears, however, that the task is beyond Japan's powers, and that she finds it difficult to control Japanese financiers, who are secretly subsidising Chinese Revolutionists. He suggested, tentatively, that the Entente Powers, especially of Great Britain, should exercise moderating influence on the zeal of the Rising Sun.

Mem.: Must look into this, on my return, with Hopkins.

Met S., who has arranged for informal talk with Z., the Prince, and myself, after the Opera.

Had a headache and went early to bed, after reading French translation of "The Light that Failed."

September 13th.

Met Isvolsky at the Quai d'Orsay, who ridicules absurd rumour of secret agreement between his Imperial Majesty the Tsar and the German Emperor. We assured him that it had given us much amusement. Afterwards closeted with S., who confirmed truth of report. Agreed only possible course was not to know that Isvolsky knew that we knew he had drawn up the secret agreement. Felt relieved by this solution, but agreed with S. that political morality of Great Powers has never been more cynical. But what can we do?

September 14th.

In afternoon interview with Servian Ambassador, who fears that great powers do not sufficiently realise that inflammable material in Balkan States may precipitate European conflagration. Agreed with him.

To Opera in evening with S. and friends, who fancied Karaavina *un peu fanée* since last season. Agreed with them. Introduced by Z. to Prince von B., who very flatteringly expressed his belief that I was the nation's main hope of averting general European conflagration. After complimenting me on able handling of grave Morocco situation, he went on to sketch his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor's suggestions of new orientation of both the Entente and Triple Alliance's policy re Balkans and Near East, while safeguarding everybody's interests. Thought the plan brilliant, and only objection to it I could see was complete isolation of Great Britain in European affairs. Thanked the Prince, and replied that I would carefully examine any concrete proposals from Potsdam with S. and Isvolsky. Prince less ingratiating at parting, but left him and Z. with mutual expressions of esteem.

Afterwards discussed Potsdam proposals with S., who said he had that morning rejected proposed secret agreement with Germany re Far East.

September 15th.

Parted from S. and Isvolsky with mutual expressions of esteem.

Painful crossing.

Home.

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

The East London Workers' Committee are holding a meeting at 400, Old Ford Road, Sunday next, Feb. 23rd, at 11 a.m. Shop Stewards specially invited, also affiliated members.

ADMISSION FREE.

KARL LIEBKNECHT'S MESSAGE.

Krasnaya Gazeta (Red Gazette), Nov. 5th, 1918, published in Petrograd by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Red Army Delegates.

Karl Liebknecht—"to the Workers of the World."
(to the Workers and Soldiers of the Allies).

"Friends, comrades, and brothers! In the midst of the world war and the ruin created by the Czarist-imperialist régime, the Russian proletariat has built up the Socialist Republic of workers, peasants, and soldiers. It has achieved this in spite of misunderstandings, animosity, and calumnies. This Workers' Republic will form the basis of the socialist world order. The Russian Revolution has given a wonderful impetus towards the revolution of the proletariat of the whole world. Already Bulgaria and Austro-Hungary are in the grip of the revolution, and in Germany we see it dawn, though there are great obstacles in the path to victory of German revolutionaries.

The violence of the German imperialists in Russia, and the predatory Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest Peace Treaties, have strengthened the imperialists of the Entente Powers, and our German rulers endeavour to profit by the attacks of the Entente Powers on socialist Russia.

We know that you have already raised your voices against the machinations of your governments, but the united front of world imperialism against the proletariat becomes manifest in their present struggle against the Soviet Republic of Russia. The proletariat of the world must not allow the revolutionary fire to be extinguished. The downfall of the Russian Soviet Republic would signify the defeat of the proletariat of the whole world.

Friends, comrades, brothers, rise against your governors! Long live the Russia of workers, soldiers, and peasants! Hail! the liberation of the workers of all the countries from the hellish capitalist war, from exploitation, and slavery!"

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

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EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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THE LEAGUE OF CAPITALISM.

"What will the League of Nations Do?" said the evening newspaper placard worn by the poor sandwich man. Beside him the words on a neighbour's sandwich board seemed to answer, "Machine Guns in Belfast!"

The draft constitution of the Capitalist League of Nations appears at last. It is a League of powerful Governments to control the world as they please. As at its forerunner, "The Peace Conference," Britain, France, Italy, America, and Japan will monopolise all real power in the League.

Soviet Russia and the Central Empires are excluded from the League, till two-thirds of the nations adhering to it agree to admit them. Countries which are not fully self-governing are excluded from the League by those who hold them in subjection!

States outside the League may be "invited" to join it if a dispute arises, in order that the League may settle the matter as it thinks fit. The State which refuses the League's "invitation" may be boycotted or made war upon by the League. The German colonies, and Turkish lands seized by the Allies in the war are to be held by "advanced" nations as mandatories of the League of Nations. The relationship of these States to the mandatories will depend, it is said, on the stage of development of their people, their economic condition, geographical condition, and so on. Rest assured that the Mandatory will endeavour to prevent the natural development of the people towards Socialism, the coming civilization. To a man, the creators of this League of Capitalists are opposed to Bolshevism. Freedom of conscience will be allowed to the natives of the African colonies, we are told, "subject to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, military training of the natives for other than police purposes, and the defence of territory."

Candidly, what does it mean but that whilst they are slaves, they may not own slaves? They may not have arms or learn to fight except in the service of their masters; they may fight for their land but only to preserve it for their masters. When they are trained to fight for their masters—that will be called "police duty."

Article 22 is interesting. "The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaux, already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent." The italics are ours.

Under this clause it would seem that all the old sectional and secret arrangements can continue, if their authors so desire. All the pledges against secret and predatory diplomacy are for the future. As the world's surface has been very largely covered by the agreements already entered into, to leave present agreements untouched, is to lock the stable door after the horse has been stolen.

The League will establish as part of its organisation a Bureau of Labour. We regard this as highly dangerous; already there are indications that it will be used for playing off the more backward sections of workers against the more advanced.

President Wilson, in introducing the draft Covenant at the Peace Conference, said: "Armed force is in the background of this programme.... if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall...."

When British Labour says, not that, but: "If moral force will not suffice passive resistance—down tools—shall," Mr. Lloyd George blusters, "No Prussianism in industry!" and brings out a Defence of the Realm Act regulation to imprison strikers. When Russian Socialist workers say just what Wilson has said, even George Lansbury, who says we must all back up Wilson, is horrified at the doings of the Bolsheviks, and dubs them "undemocratic"—the most terrible epithet to apply to them in these pseudo democratic days!

Wilson further said of the League:

"It is a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it."

Such a tenure of power is in conflict with every principle of democratic government. The elementary essential of democratic government is that power can only be varied by those who confer it.

Mr. Barnes welcomed as an advance in "moral idealism" the fact that: "Nations which have suffered and sacrificed in the acquisition of territory" have agreed to hold it as mandatories of the League. We believe that the control of the League of Nations over the mandatories will be similar to the control over the employer exercised by the Government under the Munitions Act, minus the tax on profits. But Mr. Barnes has here naively admitted the untruth of the story that the Allies were not fighting for territory!

Mr. Barnes belongs to the "turn-your-other-cheek-to-the-capitalist" school, where Labour's affairs are concerned; but in world politics he is a great believer in force. He supported the "war to end war" with all his might, and now is anxious for an international army to smite any possible challenger of the power of the Allied League of Capitalists.

Mr. Lloyd George has informed the British nation that the Peace Treaty and, we suppose, the League of Nations' Covenant must, according to the British Constitution, be laid on the table of the House of Commons; but, he says, the House cannot amend these measures, it must swallow them whole or reject them altogether. In the meantime he deprecates discussion by Parliament of the League of Nations Constitution. If the old-time Members had been so subservient as those of to-day the British Constitution would have contained none of the safeguards which are now being set aside. The Parliamentary machine has run its course; it was built up in the interests of the middle class; it fails now to protect any but the politicians and the profiteers.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S PROTEST.

The German Government rightly protests that the League of Nations Covenant is not in accordance with President Wilson's points. It demands that if Germany's African Colonies are to put under the League of Nations, all other African Colonies must be treated in the same manner, and that Germany also shall have the opportunity to become a Mandatory. The German Government further complains that the Allies appear to intend the destruction of German trade, and the annexation of her mercantile fleet. Germany demands admission to the League of Nations. The Allied Governments and the Jingo Press insist that Germany is being properly punished for the crime of coveting world dominion. At the present time the five great Powers which dominate the League of Nations, have obtained what is virtually world dominion, because if they choose to exercise their strength, they can enforce their will anywhere in the world, save in Russia, which baffles them.

Again the armistice imposed on Germany has been renewed, and as on each occasion, fresh clauses have been added, which have been curiously imposed without negotiation. So works the mailed hand of Capitalist might. The German Government has small right to criticize. How has it treated the Spartacists whom it overcame by force of arms?

CONSCRIPTION TO BE PERMANENT.

Winston Churchill has now definitely announced that on the Government's behalf he is about to introduce a Conscription Bill for after the war purposes. What will the workers do to prevent

this iniquity? From the officials, whether in or out of Parliament, nothing is to be expected. But surely the Socialists, the shop stewards, and the people who will be affected by the measure can arouse themselves and look ahead! It is interesting to learn from *The Daily News* correspondent in Weimar, that the original German Revolution was created by "the extreme Left elements of the workmen, led by their shop stewards." Will the Triple Alliance add the abolition of conscription to its other demands?

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

The King's Speech is full of promises, but the workers are learning by experience the value of such promises. Mr. Lloyd George in his speech at the opening of Parliament plainly showed that "the new world after the War" which he contemplates, is remarkably like the sad old world we all know so well. Even in regard to the disabled soldiers he said: "I must give one word of warning. I hope there will be no undue competition in running up charges on the country, which, whatever happens, will have to bear a very crushing burden certainly for some years."

As for Labour unrest, Mr. Lloyd George said that the Government would welcome an investigation. "Have not the workers and their way of life been investigated and re-investigated for generations past? Has not a Government inquiry become the classical method of leaving things as they are? Even during the war, Commissions on industrial unrest examined the position in various parts of the country. Moreover, unofficial inquirers, ranging from Cadbury and the Webbs, to the *Times* and the *Morning Post*, are always busy with industrial matters."

Mr. Lloyd George held up to the miners, the transport workers, the shipbuilders, and any other workers who may strike, the bogey of foreign competition: a shilling or two on men's wages, he says, might cause their employer to be ousted by a foreigner, and thus throw "hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of men" out of work. Mr. Lloyd George always deals in big figures. He warned the workers that the Government would fight them "with the whole might of the nation" if they attempted "to overthrow the existing order," or to enforce their demands by "brute force." Does Mr. Lloyd George suggest that to strike is to employ "brute force"? And what does he say of the tanks and machine guns in Glasgow and Belfast?

Does the Government deliberately state that it will fight any workpeople who may say: "We refuse any longer to sell our labour to private employers; we will only work for the community"? If that is so we are back in the era of forced labour, and the Lloyd George Government is on a level with the despots of the Middle Ages.

Mr. Bonar Law adopted the same attitude when he spoke two days later, saying that if a strike were directed, not against the employer, but against the community, "the Government must defend the community, and if the Government failed to do so, somebody else must take their place." What does that mean, Mr. Bonar Law? Does it mean reprisals by "the Great Middle Classes" for whom *The Globe* and other newspapers are so urgently advertising? Will they be peaceful reprisals, or steps of a Carsonian type? Bonar Law added:

"The idea that we can fight unemployment by working shorter hours is fatal to the community."

We have observed that, to the supporters of Capitalism, measures which benefit the workers at the expense of the employing classes, are usually said to be "fatal." But if measures for the benefit of the workers prove fatal to the Capitalist system we shall be the more pleased, since Capitalism is an outworn system, and must give place to Socialism.

The miners, in their wise and dignified manifesto, provide a complete answer to all the charges brought against them. They announce that they demand an increase, not, as the Government suggests, merely to bring their wages up to the pre-war level, but to raise the standard of living in the mining communities. Their demand for a shorter working day they claim to be justified on humanitarian grounds alone. In reply to the charge that they are forcing up the coal unduly,

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they point out that the price of coal has been raised several times during the war by order of the Coal Controller to meet, not so much the cost of increased wages, but of materials and transport. They claim that the Government has conceded to the coalowners a higher price than the facts of the case warranted. Indeed they say that the Government has actually encouraged the rise in prices.

They demand:

1. A 30 per cent increase in wages.
 2. A 30-hour week (which in actual practice really averages a 40-hour week from bank to bank).
 3. Civilian miners unemployed through demobilisation to be paid full wages.
 4. Disabled soldiers and sailors to be paid what they would have received had they not been disabled. This, they say, must be applied to all soldiers and sailors.
 5. Nationalisation of the mines, with joint control by the State and the workers.
- It is said that other industries will be handicapped and hardships caused to other workers by

these demands of the miners. But they point out that if the mines were nationalized the cost of private profit, royalties, and way leave charges, the dead weight charge of maintaining those who do not work in the industry, which hamper the development of the industry and put up prices, would be saved. They desire that not they alone, but all workers should obtain the improvements for which they are struggling.

The miners are the most powerful body of workers in the country; the commodity they produce is essential; they are least easily replaced. Yet their demands will be stubbornly resisted. They are only won by solidarity, determination, and staying power.

Will the workers in other industries adopt the miners programme for their own, and by combined effort help to make success assured? And will the miners hasten to support Belfast?

RUSSIA.

Mr. Lloyd George has stated that intervention in Russia cannot be attempted; it would be too costly in men and money. Yet it appears that since the armistice more than six million pounds a

day has been spent on the war. On what has the money been spent?

The Times correspondent in Vladivostok writing on February 4th, says:—"General Horatio spoke with warm appreciation of the help rendered by Great Britain to the new Russian Government." This so-called "new Russian Government" is of course Anti Bolshevik.

The Times Omsk correspondent, telegraphing February 12th, says:—"The observation of a Russian as regards Colonel Ward's mission is interesting: 'You British,' he said, 'do more than you promise.... Your military supplies are pouring into Siberia as fast as the railway can carry them.'"

Such statements show that Britain is still intervening against the Russian Workers Government. Sir Robert Borden, the Conservative Canadian Premier, is protesting against the British intervention in Russia on behalf of Canadian soldiers, and yet we find "Labour Leaders" dancing attendance on this Government and rebuking the workers who are struggling to obtain Socialism.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

RUNCIMAN TELLS.

Prices soared up when Mr. Runciman was at the Board of Trade, before the days, either of the Food Ministry, or of genuine scarcity. Now, Mr. Runciman is telling us the sins of his successors. Tea, he says, should be sold 4d. per lb. below the controlled price; maize should be 30s. to 37s. a quarter instead of 70s.; wheat should be 66s. a ton, it costs 94s. Freight charges on meat are, he says, much too high.

WHO ARE THE HUNS?

G. G. Desmond in *The Daily News* records that in Cologne the week's rations of a family are only enough for a single meal. Children go miles into the country to exchange clothes for potatoes, families exchange all their clothing for food, new born babies are wrapped in paper. Meat is 8s. per lb. At a labour conference in the Gursenich Hall, Cologne, Councillor Haase stated that since the Summer of 1916, the working capacity of the population has been injured through underfeeding.

GERMANY'S STARVING PRISONERS.

A British soldier was imprisoned at Stendal, close to Berlin. On returning to England, he told his friends that the German people came to the camp begging food, "any little bit"; also for soap. They offered even jewellery, gold watches, and rings in exchange for food from the prisoners' parcels. Some of the prisoners whose relatives did not get their parcels from the Red Cross (he thinks their relatives had omitted to send the Red Cross the money) got away from the camp at night and hunted for food. If they could catch a cat they eat it gladly. They also got snails to eat. A German woman who had fruit trees sent the prisoners half the fruit. A boy of 19 declared that he would not eat any more food in order that others might have his share. The elder men fed him for two days. Then the armistice was signed and the prisoners knew that they would soon be at home again.

The prisoners interned in this country were filled with the same hope. But they are still waiting.

OUR GUESTS.

Months ago Russian subjects in this country were given the choice of joining the British Army or returning to Russia. Many chose the latter course, but their families were not allowed to travel with them. In some instances the women left behind have heard not a word from the husband and sons who have been sent to Russia. Some have had occasional letters.

Many families were left destitute. Some are getting very inadequate relief. The Bethnal Green Board of Guardians allows Mrs. A., who has 3 children, £1 a week; Mrs. B., who has 4 children, gets 22s. 6d. a week, and Mrs. C., with 2 children, gets only 17s. 6d. They were recently told that the Board considered them as widows and that the relief would not continue. The Bethnal Green Guardians are notorious for refusing out relief to widows, and offering them the workhouse instead. These women lived in comparative comfort before their husbands were compelled to leave them. The hardships from which they are suffering are doubtless caused by the refusal of the British Government to recognise the Bolshevik Government.

SOERMUS.

On Friday, February 8th, Comrade Soermus was arrested without warning in Merthyr, and taken at once by the police to Brixton Prison. Mrs. Soermus tells us that she was told that if he were deported she should certainly accompany him. On Wednesday she came to London. A permit for her to see her husband was applied for in advance, and when the Home Office was telephoned to on Wednesday, an official replied that a permit had already been posted to her. Mrs. Soermus waited all Thursday for the permit which did not arrive. On Friday morning she went to the Home Office when the permit was given to her, but on reaching Brixton with her baby in her arms, she was told that her husband had been removed from the prison the previous morning. She hurried to Scotland Yard, where she learnt that her husband was even then being put on a ship in Newcastle for Russia. Meanwhile the Merthyr miners had notified their intention to strike if Mrs. Soermus were not allowed to accompany her husband. On February 17th the police informed Mrs. Soermus that she might go to Russia, but it would cost her £50. Soermus, playing for the Socialist Movement at low fees, has lived a hand-to-mouth existence for the past year, therefore his wife is not able to find this large sum of money.

MR. BUTCHER FINDS ANOTHER MARE'S NEST.

Mr. Butcher, M.P., complains that Irish farm servants and others, whose wage is 25s. to 27s. a week, "have left their employment in order to get 20s. for idleness." Can it really be that the workers have taken to copying the habits of the aristocrats? But, courage, Mr. Butcher, the donation only lasts for 13 weeks, and these imitators of the landlords could no doubt be got back to work by offering them a higher wage.

HUSH AND RUSH MEASURES.

The Government's proposals for new House of Commons procedure are merely designed to refer questions to Committees instead of having them openly discussed, and to give the Government further power to closure debate and rush Government business through.

THE CLYDE STRIKE.

The Joint Committee advised a resumption of work on Wednesday, February 12th, "until such time as we can perfect the organisation of our forces with a view of making our claim for 40 hours on a National basis, and to enforce it by a National strike of all workers in the near future."

Not only had the strikers to contend with the employers, the Government, and latterly a dose of baton charges and military display, but the bitterest opposition of all the "official" Trade Union "leaders," composed for the most part of ardent Government supporters. We must now set our house in order by clearing out those individuals at the earliest possible moment. Their distinguished services will doubtless be taken advantage of by our "democratic" Government to aid them in the fight against the workers when the class-war becomes more intense. The fight is getting too serious to suffer any reactionaries in the camp. Therefore the next strike must be "official" and strike benefit must be paid all round. Let us see that organisation amongst all grades of workers (not only shipbuilding and engineering) takes the place of sporadic action amongst a few. The need for absolute unity amongst all grades cannot be too clearly emphasised if we are to approach anything like complete success in the near future, and that unity must not be confined to Glasgow, nor yet Scotland: Ireland and the storm centres of England must be brought into line. Don't let the fighting spirit of the men be broken by useless sectional actions; rather delay and success than haste and failure.

And now a word as to the press. What we had to suffer in Glasgow in this respect would have made the angels weep. Practically every leading article in all the local morning and evening newspapers was directed at the strikers; at one moment coaxing them back to work, at another bitterly attacking them and their "Bolshevik" leaders. From the first week of the strike these yellow rags had "more men resuming work" every morning and evening, so naturally those strikers predisposed to that weak-kneed feeling didn't get much encouragement. At least one real labour National daily is essential. Glasgow is moving in the matter of an evening paper and it should be ready for the next fight. Let us get to work immediately to solidify the National 40 hour week movement, let the shop-stewards movement extend to all the Trade Unions, and let us push aside those reactionaries who are standing in the way of progress.

ALEC SUTHERLAND CAMPBELL.

WOOLWICH "NO RENT" STRIKE.

Congratulations to the "no rent" strikers at Woolwich, who are demanding that their rent be decreased from 9s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. and 5s., as the huts are out of repair. Direct action has already resulted in a Government offer to allow a reduction of 2s. 6d. a week till the buildings are repaired. The strikers refused the offer, and declared they will pay no rent till their full demand is conceded.

The Coventry Rent Strike is still going strong. It began on Nov. 15th, 1918!

ANOTHER POLICE STRIKE?

The Police Union reports that at Oban, the Chief Constable of Argyllshire ordered several men either to withdraw from the Union or resign from the force. Three men resigned from the force, two from the Union. At St. Helens, four police sergeants are said to have been punished by reduction in class, involving loss of income for joining and advocating the Union. The Police Union threatens vigorous action.

POSTAL WORKERS.

Postal workers, at a mass meeting at Terry's Theatre, London, on Feb. 16th, complained that owing to the bad arrangement of hours they are obliged to attend for 14 hours in order to put in 8 hours work.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

At an Albert Hall meeting organised by the National Federation of Women Workers Mrs. Taplin, a widowed shop steward from Wapping, told the meeting that she worked 9½ hours a day to earn 27s. a week to keep herself and four children. "When you eat your marmalade," she said, "think of the war widows peeling the oranges and lemons with hands bleached white with the acid for 27s. a week."

THE THAMES STRIKE.

The Shipbuilders and Repairers on strike in the Port of London are still standing firm.

The Times complains that the N.U.R. demands would give a porter, who before the war got 18s. a week, an increase of 183.3 per cent. on his pre-war wage, whilst the guard of an express train, who used to get 48s., only receives an increase of 68.7 on that sum. Under Socialism, we shall all get the same pay, whatever work we may do.

The River Thames Shop Stewards' Children's Feeding Committee urgently needs funds to help the strikers' children. Send a donation to us at 400, Old Ford Road.

A. ACKFIELD } Hon. Treasurers.
NORAH SMYTH }

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

The working classes, Henry, had better sit up and be good; for the Men of the Middle Class are on their track. *The Globe* has said it and the National Party is rolling up its sleeves. The said Party (*Evening News*, 12-2-19) "calls upon all Law-abiding Citizens—upon the Great Middle Classes, Discharged Service Men, and Patriotic Labour" to rise up and give the Bolshevik Menace the cold shivers.

Observe the order in which the various Law-abiding Citizens are named. First come the Great Middle Classes who won the war by editing *The Globe* and reading it. Then those incidental Service Men who did the actual fighting whilst the brains of the Great Middle Classes courageously led—from behind. Then, last of all, comes Patriotic Labour who, tied up with the Munitions Acts and wrapped up more carefully with seven hundred pages of Dora, was engaged in turning out tanks, Lewis guns, and mustard gas, in order to win the war—on the Clyde front.

The Middle Classes—we will miss out the "Great"—are not duds, nor Dubbs. Business meant, not swank. They are going to fight those who lead "attacks against the liberties of the people": the liberty of the worker to strike will be answered by the Middle Classes' liberty to exhibit the colour of their legs—either black or yellow. The policy is to urge on the loyal and patriotic to insist on his freedom to "scab," and when the wicked striker indulges in that violent form of obstruction known as "peaceful picketing," he is to be swiped a one-er—the picket, I mean.

The National Party, or the Great Middle Classes, do not actually believe in violence: their motto, Major Pretyman-Newman tells them, should be Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. And they intend to act up to it! They hate class warfare; but they would bayonet a striker. That is one way of showing Fraternity, just to prove that the Middle Classes are Equal to the Working Classes. You will notice where the Liberty comes in. As I have remarked, the Middle Classes mean business—with a big B. The Automobile Association came out during the strike with a quarter-page advertisement in the London Press in these terms:—

"URGENT APPEAL to every motorist residing in the Metropolitan Area to offer his or her car or motor cycle with driver TO CONVEY LOYAL EMPLOYEES to their National Work... FREE MOTOR SPIRIT supplied or cost refunded. Stenson Cooke, Secretary, Automobile Association."

Note the happy phrase "with driver." Stenson Cooke is certainly some lad.

On Friday 14th the Boorjoys had a Great Mass Meeting. They are putting up their trusted representatives in the persons of Havelock Wilson, Esq., M.P.—and may we hope O.B.E.?—Prebendary Gough and General Page Croft. There is also a gentleman of the name of Boosey. The Middle Class are certainly unfortunate in names. But they are well served with representatives. I do not understand why they have missed "Captain" Tupper, Ben Tillett, or Ralph D. Blumenfeld, of *The Daily Express*.

THE WIDOW'S ONLY SON.

A poor widow toiled to bring up her only son. She worked and pinched and deprived herself of necessities to apprentice him to a trade though her health was rapidly failing. Two years ago the lad was conscribed becoming eighteen. He was told that he would not be sent to France until he was nineteen, but the promise was not kept and he served at the front both in France and Italy for two years with only two short periods of leave. When her son was called up the authorities granted her only 2s. 10d. as separation allowance, later this was increased to 6s. 4d., making with her son's allotment 9s. 10d. She is 63, and is now too feeble and poorly to work. How can she exist on 9s. 10d. a week.

Her son was conscribed for the period of the war only, but has been informed that he will be retained in the Army of Occupation although his firm applied for him. The pledge that the widow's only son should not be conscribed has been broken, the pledge not to send the lad abroad until he was

The idea is "to consider forming an organisation to fight Bolshevism." In the snowy wastes of Murmansk? Oh dear, no. Your British Boorjoys are not so ambitious. They refrain from going overseas, so that there may be more Victoria Crosses to go round the working classes. The idea of "fighting" entertained by the Boorjoys is to sit in their club and write up to *The Globe* about "meeting Bolshevism and people who aim at blotting out the bourgeoisie." It must really be annoying, extremely so, to a Boorjoy, to think he is considered as a mere blot of ink to be "blotted out." So his motto is that the hand that grabs the blotting paper rules the world.

The first thing, therefore, is to provide "loyal" members of the Dubb family with free transport—driver included—and why not cigars and cham? The working classes may drink methylated spirit occasionally, as a doctor solemnly informs us, but they have not come to—no, not even to "Free Motor Spirit." Now, if only those motors, cycles, or side-cars—with driver—could be induced to stop at the "Blue Pig" en route... or would the Savoy be considered too good for "Patriotic Labour"?

The only way to cure an evil is to get at the root. And the Boorjoy believes that an obvious symptom of Bolshevism is a sudden dislike for work. That, of course, applies to the working classes, not to those living in a line drawn from the Strand Corner House to Murray's. The dwellers in Eaton Square and Park Lane work with their brains, doncherknow. So the Boorjoys are asking their fellow B's. to enrol themselves as porters, lift attendants, or crossing sweepers, as the case may be. A form is printed in the papers for them to sign. Some wicked agitators may suggest that the Great Middle Classes will do all the directing, whilst the crossing sweep business will be done by the Discharged Service Men and Patriotic Labour. But even so, who is to doubt the claims of the Upper Boorjoys to be the intelligentsia of the lot? Does not Major Pretyman-Newman tell us that the Boorjoy is the Man who Made the Empire? Leaving George Robey, of course, as the Man who Made the Alhambra.

I am afraid, however, that the Boorjoy underrates the cunning of the Bolshevik. What if this man, with the unlimited German gold and Bolshevik Boodle at his back, should keep the workers out indefinitely on strike? Even crossing-sweeping has its limitations. It is hardly enjoyable to have wicked strikers careering around the West End, whilst the Industrious Boorjoy is bespattered with mud from the said vehicles, as they hurry to land their fares at the Caflton (Hon. Mem. L.U.V.W., Liver and Bacon King.) Nor is it pleasant to receive a gilt sixpence for taking the striker up in the lift to the Green Room or waiting on him in the Easy Shave section.

If the overworked Boorjoy managed to restrain his hand from letting the razor slip, accidentally on purpose, it would only be because he knew of an alternative.

He would come out on strike.

nineteen was broken. The mother is not getting the separation allowance to which she is entitled by the regulations, which are anything but generous to mothers.

The pledge to demobilise the boy if his firm applied for him is broken, and the promise that conscription would be for the period of the war only is also broken.

LONDON TELEGRAPHISTS WAKING UP.

The London branch of the Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association held a General Meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C., on Friday, February 14th, "to discuss the General Labour situation as far as it affects Postal Servants, with special regard to wages and hours of duty."

Resolutions to go to Annual Conference were considered and sent forward.

DREADNOUGHT readers will be interested in the following resolution affirming sympathy with Labour everywhere striving for shorter working day, distrust of capitalist press, and pledge to

MEXICO, AMERICA, AND THE PEACE.

(Continued from page 1230.)

Even in the question of taxation the foreign capitalists claim the right to intervene. Hear Mr. Chamberlain:—

"The tax question is not of equal importance. Whether the operators are taxed as owners, lessees, or concessionaires makes little difference; the Government, by changing the form of its royalty to a license tax, can compel them to pay the same amount of money, and it will not be seriously contended that the legislature, in 1887, in freeing 'mines of petroleum' from taxation, bound the hands of subsequent legislatures. If a future Mexican Government attempts to confiscate property rights of foreigners by taxation or in any other way, the right of protest of their Governments will be the same whether the rights arose from concessions or from land ownership."

To capitalism the proper outcome of Mexico's attempt to nationalise its oil fields is the annexation of Mexico by one of the capitalist Powers. The demands for United States intervention in Mexico, or for the annexation of Mexico by the U.S.A. have long been commonly heard in American capitalist circles. Of late these demands have become more insistent. The American Nation in its leading article of January 11th said:—

"Newspaper comment running throughout the week is in the tone of 'Mexico next!' The New York Times has an editorial condemning as confiscatory the provisions of the new Mexican Constitution with regard to natural resources, particularly oil deposits. 'No time should be lost,' says the Times, 'in making the Mexican Government understand that titles obtained and granted in good faith must be respected, and that the enforcement of confiscatory legislation will not be endured. The Engineering and Mining Journal comes out with a fine four-square avowal of Palmerstonism: 'Commerce follows the flag, but the flag follows the prospector,' and proceeds to talk about two million soldiers, not as a threat, but merely by way of pointing out to Mexico that 'the viewpoint of the American public has changed somewhat within the last few years'; and ends with the customary intimation to Mexico that 'what we ask her to do is for her own good more than ours.' The public will get more and more of this kind of thing in the course of the next few months, and we hope that newspaper readers, while there is yet time, will learn to appraise it at its proper value. In case of disagreement between two Governments, the chosen function of the press in most instances is to egg on each of them until the disagreement winds up in a serious collision. This is precisely what the American press is doing—urging on first the Carranza Government and then our own. If the public permits itself to be moved, the press and the interests it speaks for will gain their ends, but not otherwise."

Recalling the history of Egypt, Morocco, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Tripoli, Persia, Spitzbergen, and others, the threat of American capitalism to Mexico is easily understood.

But American capitalists are not alone in claiming the right to exploit Mexico. British capitalists, as we have seen, have sunk even more capital than Americans there. When a big Power wishes to seize a small nation, the only protection for the small nation is the jealousy of the other Great Powers, which protest loudly against the annexation, but usually explain, more quietly, that if adequate compensation is offered, not to the small nation in question, but to themselves, they will withdraw their objections. The required compensation often takes the form of permission to exploit or annex the territory of some other small nation.

So to the question: What do American capitalists want out of the European war? we answer: Amongst other things, undisputed possession of Mexico and its oil fields.

support Labour when it comes. The Executive Committee were called upon to convene immediately a Postal Congress, 50 per cent of the representatives to be drawn direct from the rank and file, to formulate a Charter for Postal Workers to be submitted to the Postmaster General, negotiations to be opened with railway unions to enforce it. The Branch Committee are to organise Social Science Classes for the staff of the central telegraph office. A resolution aiming at the reorganisation of the staff in the C.T.O. on the lines of "Workers' Committees" was defeated by a small majority.

WORKSHOP NOTES.

By W. F. Watson.

THE PECKHAM POLTROONS.

A REVOLUTIONARY UNION FOR
ENGINEERING WORKERS?

Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first drive mad. Evidently the gods are determined to destroy the Executive Council of the A.S.E., for most certainly have they driven it mad. The removal from office of the London, Glasgow, and Belfast District Committees, is the action of panic-stricken cowards, and as even *The Herald*, which always had such high hopes of the Society, says, it might easily sound the death-knell of the A.S.E.

For my part, and I am a sixteen years member, I hope such will be the case. Beyond a doubt, the A.S.E. has, in the past, been a useful and effective organization, but students of Industrial Organization have long since recognized that it has ceased to function as a fighting body. It is over centralised and unwieldy; its machinery is obsolete, and its administration has got into the hands of a caucus of unscrupulous politicians.

It is a very interesting position when one remembers that in the main, the members on the E.C. are alleged Socialists, although the evidence to hand would never convict them of being such. The Chairman, J. T. Brownlie, who holds the reputation of having blacklegged twice in his younger days, was a B.S.P., and once wrote a pamphlet called, 'Some dangers which threaten Trade Unionism.' Were he to revise the pamphlet, if he were honest he would have to write down the E.C. of the A.S.E. as the chief danger. J. T. B. was included in the first O.B.E. list, advocates payment by results, and increased production. His war reputation is as unsavoury, in my opinion, as can be. It is said that the reason he has not got a fat job is because he is far more useful to the boss in his present job. A. B. Swales is a member of the I.L.P., and claims to be a Socialist. He should drop that claim now he has lined up with J. T. B., Tillett, Havelock, and that gang of labour parasites. Jim Kaylor was once a *Clarion* Socialist, but merely out of sentiment. A decent chap to have a beer with, but he never struck me as a man of ability or initiative. It would have been far better for W. H. Hutchinson had he not fallen under the influence of the backslider Button, when he first went to Peckham. He might have been a bit stronger. Andrew Lorrimer is a young Irishman with whom I sat on the Glasgow Final Appeal Court in 1917. He said but little during the whole time the Court sat, and is certainly not a strong man.

Joe Wilson and Alex. Gorman can be written down as old fashioned constitutional Trade Unionists, whilst Peter Dickinson, of whom some people had great hopes, does not appear likely to justify those hopes. It is not necessary to say much about Bob Young since he is not responsible for the action of the E.C. He is an I.L.P. with an oily manner worthy of Chadband, and can now place the letters M.P. as well as O.B.E. at the end of his name. I hope the A.S.E. has seen the last of him. He secured his job as Gen. Sec. in a peculiarly detestable fashion and even the Law Courts turned him down.

On the whole they are a sorry lot at the Cowards' Castle. Their latest move is to apply for an injunction against the Trustees of Kingston-on-Thames and Acton Branches to restrain them from paying benefits to the wicked strikers. I happen to be a Trustee for Acton Branch, and on Wednesday was at home nursing a vile cold when a very long telegram came acquainting me with the fact that the majesty of the Law was being invoked against me, and threatening me with dire penalties. On Friday I received a huge registered envelope, 12 by 6 in., wherein were three small sheets connected with the affair and instructing me to appear at the High Courts of Justice (?) at 10 A.M. the same morning. Do these small-souled fools imagine we are to be deterred from our revolutionary course by mere threats of legal penalties? What types of men are these that they immediately fly to the law to assist them in helping the boss? Their very solicitor changed his name at the commencement of the war from Schloesser to Slessor! O shades of Newton and Allan! When the future history of the A.S.E. comes to be written the present E.C. will be written down as men without vision, initiative, courage or decency who at a very critical time turned traitors to the class from which they sprung and sold themselves body and soul to the capitalist class.

Apparently the Belfast and Glasgow Districts intend putting up a fight which may result in a wholesale breaking away, but I have no great hopes of the London District. The resolution adopted last Saturday advising a resumption of work also asks the E.C. to resume negotiations with

the employers. This is a lamentable sign of weakness which will make the Peckham Poltroons chuckle. The Glasgow resolution was far more manly, in that it did not ask any one to do anything for them, but declared their intention of going back until they were sufficiently strong to strike again for the forty hours.

It seems to me that we have now reached that stage when all rebel engineering workers should be banded together into a revolutionary Industrial Union, and I would be glad to hear of members of all craft Unions, A.S.E. toolies, steamers, iron-founders, boilermakers, brassworkers, and all engineering workers of both sexes in the so-called unskilled Unions who are prepared to join such an organisation. Write to W. F. Watson, 7 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, London, W.C.1.

DAVE RAMSAY ARRESTED.

Apparently the authorities consider that Comrade Ramsay is too dangerous to be at large, so on Friday last he was arrested in Leicester, conveyed to Bow Street on the Saturday, and just before the Court rose appeared before Sir John Dickenson on a charge of sedition and remanded until Saturday, February 22nd.

Mrs. Ramsay, who is now in London, tells me that about 8.30 on Friday night five hefty defenders of "Ioranorder" called at the house and took Dave to the cop shop. Perhaps they thought Dave was armed and would offer resistance. How silly! Let me tell the Police that one will be quite sufficient to arrest any of us. We don't propose offering any resistance, as a matter of fact most of us sadly need a rest and we know there are plenty to fill our places.

Nevertheless we warn the authorities that the rank and file are beginning to resent this unwarrantable interference with our propaganda, and instead of keeping the movement under it only tends to make it grow, and if persisted in there will shortly be hell to pay.

Comrades of London and the surrounding districts take note that David is to appear at Bow Street on Saturday at 10.30, and see to it that you all have the half day off, and assemble in your thousands outside and show the authorities that it is not your express wish that Ramsay goes to jail. Even if we fail to get him off, it will let our Comrade know that we will carry on the good work whilst he is an unwilling guest of Geo. Windsor. Further than that Mrs. Ramsay must be maintained if Dave goes to quod. If you have any cash to spare send it to me at 7 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.1.

Organising Middle-Class Women for Blackleg
Engineers.

An interesting meeting of women was held at the Caxton Hall for the purpose of forming a Women's Engineering Society. The promoters were Lady and Miss Rachel Parsons of Parsons' turbine fame, and amongst the speakers were Mr. Richardson, Editor of *Engineering*, Major Lloyd Graeme, Mrs. Ormesby, and HARRY DUBERY, ex-Socialist.

It is not intended that this shall be a beastly vulgar trade union, but a respectable society of women workers in the engineering industry and, as Mr. Richardson suggested, such an organisation would be useful in times of industrial disputes.

The subscription is fixed at 10s., payable in advance, but for unemployed women the subscription is 1s. Really this is too thin and will not deceive many, and whilst it may be possible to get a number of middle-class women to join up great difficulty will be experienced in getting any number of working women to become tools of the strike breakers. This is further evidence of the attempts to organise the middle class against the revolutionary workers.

We are informed on good authority that most of the clerical jobs in Scotland Yard are held by middle-class women, and the anti-Bolshevik movement emanates from the middle class. Once we are properly organised, and we are making splendid progress towards that end, all your middle-class moves will avail nothing.

THE STAFF AT THE PENSIONS OFFICES.

The Times reports that 2,864 clerks are employed at the Chelsea Pensions Award Office, and 4,000 at the Baker Street Pensions Issue Office. The administration of Pensions needs investigating!

ANTI-BOLSHEVISTS IN SOUTH WALES.

Sir Edgar Jones, M.P., of Merthyr, is forming a Welsh League against Bolshevism. He has undertaken a hopeless task.

RUSSIAN NEWS.

The Fate of the Czar.

Arbeiter Zeitung of January 29th contains an article by an Austrian prisoner of war, who was in Ekaterinberg with the Czar. He writes that the Czar was housed there in a most luxurious villa, allowed to receive visitors and provided with newspapers and literature. He wanted for nothing, and was permitted to receive the Czarina and family in June, 1918.

Owing to the growing danger of the Czechoslovaks, who were surrounding the town, the Soviet sent the Czarina and family away after a week. Early in July the Soviet wanted to remove the Czar, too, but feared he might fall into the hands of his supporters. It was, therefore, decided to pass judgment on him, and he was found guilty of betraying both country and people, together with the murder of Russian citizens. He was ordered to be shot, and this was done in a cellar to prevent the townspeople from hearing the reports. The writer adds that the stories about the Czarina and her daughters are mere fabrications.

[So many people who have been said to be dead have come to life again in Russia, that we still believe the Czar alive, indeed Monday's *Times* has since resurrected him.]

"Disorders" in Petrograd.

A Russian Government wireless (not published by the British press) declares: "The dastardly campaign carried on by the press of Western Europe against the Soviet Government adds a new calumny by reporting alleged disorders in Petrograd. This manoeuvre is entirely of a provocative character and has for its object the discrediting of the Russian Soviet Republic in the eyes of other nations. It is a pure fabrication and is without any foundation whatsoever. Perfect calm has been reigning in Petrograd of late and not the slightest disorder has been observable anywhere in the city. The working classes continue to support the Soviet Government."

Intervention in the Ukraine.

Volksrecht of January 22nd reports that the Red Army is in control of South Ukraine. It is interesting to learn that the German armies in the Ukraine refuse to fight against the Red Army, and even provide the Bolsheviks with arms.

L'Humanite of February 11th publishes a protest of the Soviet Government against intervention in the Ukraine. Rakovski, the Soviet representative, points out that the Entente does not scruple to make use of German officers and soldiers in their reactionary campaign. In Nikolaiev 20,000 German soldiers are retained to maintain order.

(From the People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, London.)

THE CZAR AND THE SOVIET.

The Russian Red Gazette quotes from *The Tribune* (organ of the German Independent Socialists) which, dealing with the accounts in the bourgeois press of the Red Terror in Russia, says, "We cannot know what measures the Bolsheviks have been forced to adopt lately in order to defer the revolution, but we know that they have to defend themselves against a whole world of enemies." Answering the accusation that the Bolsheviks are as tyrannical as the despotism of the Czar, *The Tribune* says, "There is a vast difference between the despotism of the Czar and the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks. The Czar endeavoured to perpetuate *ad infinitum* the subjection and exploitation of the people under his sway; the proletarian dictatorship will raise the Russian people to the highest level of social life, and is striving to destroy the very foundations of social and political servitude."

BRITISH SOLDIERS IN THE FAR NORTH.

'*Krasnaya Gazeta*' (*The Red Gazette*) Oct. 31st, 1918, stated under the heading 'The English in Karelia': Prisoners from Eastern Karelia report on the unhappy plight of English corps owing to shortage of supplies. The English soldier's daily ration consists of three small pieces of bread. The corps is retreating towards the coast.

THE FUTURE OF THE ARISTOCRAT.

L. H. Gower writes:

"The Glasgow workers striking for the 48-hour week are all ratepayers. They have to pay for the upkeep of the police and soldiers used against them. Let us all work for equality; no work, no food. I want to see the time when the aristocrats work for food."

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.
Outside Mansfield Hotel, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22nd.
Holloway District.—Meet outside Jones' Bros., Holloway Road, at 3 P.M., and at Giesbach Road (near Archway Tavern), at 6.30 P.M. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, John Blythe, and others.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
"Salmon and Ball"—11.45 A.M., John Syme.
Finsbury Park.—3 P.M., Miss Price.
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25th.
Grundy Street, Poplar.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28th.
The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, MARCH 1st.
Meetings in Lewisham and Camberwell.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.
1, Kingly Street, Regent Street (behind Robinson & Cleavers).—8 P.M., General Meeting.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd.
400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Mr. Saklatvala, 'India and Western Democracies.' Chair: Miss Smyth. Discussion.
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24th.
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27th.
20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle).—Mr. Edmunds, 'Marxian Economics.'
OTHER ORGANISATIONS.
Walthamstow League of Rights.
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25th.
William Morris Hall.—3 P.M., Mrs. Walshe. Chair: Miss Horsfall.

Meetings advertised in this column one line free, each additional word one penny.

Parliament as We See It.

During the week the business of the House was devoted to the Debate on the King's speech. This was read on Tuesday, February 11th.

The New Social Order.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Adamson, said his party was in the House to—as the King's speech said—"usher in at the earliest possible moment a new social order." It is surprising to find such optimists in the House, the procedure of which has been dubbed as antiquated by the Leader of the House, and even Lloyd George. How is the "New Social Order" to be advanced by throwing cutting remarks, and flowers of eloquence across the floor?

Mr. Lloyd George remarked on the present labour unrest saying: "Some of the causes are legitimate, some are not.... May I say that we are determined to fight Prussianism in the industrial world as we fought it on the Continent of Europe with the whole might of the whole nation"!! The Prime Minister means presumably tanks and machine guns by the "strength of the nation." But will the workers and soldiers show a less co-operative spirit than did the Curragh men in 1914 when they refused to take action against their fellow countrymen?

Now We Know!

John Bull, otherwise Mr. Bottomley, gave two solutions so long wanting. The way to have made

peace was to march the Allied forces into Berlin! The way to get Germany to pay is to register judgment for the war debt, and "if she cannot pay, seize the country." The voters of Hackney little know how they have added to the brains of the House by their choice (!)!!

Bolshevism.

Mr. Lloyd George never meant to invite those "assassins" to the peace Conference, no. "The horrors of Bolshevik rule are so great that there is a sense of disgust when you come to deal with its leaders." But still he admits that there is no machinery in Russia except the Bolsheviks! "The Bolshevik machinery in Russia is deadly, is brutal, is horrible, but there is no doubt about its efficiency for its purpose." Well, Mr. Lloyd George, these admissions are magnanimous. But how do they compare with the facts of what constructive work the Soviets have done and are doing? Read any of the decrees, read the reports of all fair-minded people lately returned from Russia—they all prove the Soviet to be the salvation of Russia.

An Anachronism.

The small Nationalist Party also made its appearance, forgetful of the fact that Ireland has now determined her own destiny, and has ceased to ask what she has proved herself able to take.

M. O'C.

Longuet and Adler on Bolshevism.

At the Berne Conference M. Longuet and F. Adler put the Bolshevik motion of the Left; it was in substance as follows:—

".... We warn the proletariat against any proposed condemnation of the Soviet Republic, since we have not sufficient grounds to pronounce judgment. We are sure only of one fact, namely that a shameful campaign of lies and slanders has been carried on against the Russian Revolution in which the press and agents of the Central Empires have vied with those of the Entente. We do not want to fall a victim to the manoeuvres and interested calumnies of the bourgeois governments by our premature verdicts on political methods. To our profound regret we cannot rely on the information of our Russian comrades who are attending this Conference, as they only represent a minority of the Russian proletariat. Without any aspersion on their good faith, we must demand that the Internationale should not desert its old principles. Both sides must be heard before any decision is taken. The Berne Conference is a first, and a much too feeble attempt at a meeting of the Internationale.

"Entire political parties from Serbia, Switzerland and Russia are absent. Others take part only reluctantly. We have warned you against a decision which might render more difficult the future re-union of the proletarians of all countries.

"We wish to safeguard the free entry into the Internationale of all the Socialist and revolutionary parties of all countries who are conscious of their class interests. The majority of the sub-committee has refused to listen to our warnings. We do not

want to become accomplices of an action, hostile to the interests of the Internationale, and we cannot fully endorse a resolution, certain clauses of which could be exploited by the bourgeoisie."

From a Soldier's Letter.

"Believe me, comrade, when I tell you that the army is seething with an indefinable 'ism.' Men in all ranks—not excluding officers who were once N.C.O.s or privates—are restive. They realise that this is not the best of possible worlds. They want to know—to know—to learn—to be enlightened. They want something, as Jack London would say, 'put in their hand.' Something not preaching, not up in the clouds, but a reality upon earth that they can feel and live in and share it and extract from it the utmost that can bring joy and happiness and contentment and harmony to a distracted, mutilated humanity."

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Extracts from a letter from Helcen Ankersmit of the Dutch Socialist Party to Cedar Paul. Dated Amsterdam, January 29th, received in London, February 14th.

".... It is a long time since I have had a letter from Clara Zetkin. I was anxious about her, having read in the newspaper that she was ill. I wired for news, and she replied that she was better, had left Stuttgart, and was writing, but the letter has not come.... Poor Clara, her intimate friend Rosa murdered, Liebknecht murdered, and this morning comes the news of Mehring's death. From the very outset of the war, these four were united in their protest against it. They devoted all their energies, sacrificed their leisure, gave up their very lives, to educate the proletariat against war, to give the workers a socialist mentality. Think of our dear friend, at her age, in poor health, nearly blind—is it not terrible that she should lose her closest intimates in so brief a period, and two of them in such a fashion?

Most grievous of all must it be for her to see the proletarians flocking to the banner of the Scheidemanns, the Eberts, and the Noskes, those who have joined forces with the bourgeoisie, and have appealed to the militarists to overthrow the Spartacists, knowing that this appeal would result in murder....

I hear from friends in Berlin that the Ebert-Scheidemann régime is characterised by a ruthlessness greatly exceeding anything that was ever known during the rule of William II. In Berlin, they write, there is a reign of terror such as we have never known before. One after another the achievements of the revolution are being lost, and yet the majority of the workers continue to support Scheidemann....

Grant that the Spartacists provoked the struggle, surely no one who calls himself a socialist should join hands with bourgeois militarists to fight other socialists. At least let socialists fight out their own battles without invoking the aid of the bourgeoisie. It would seem as if some who tell us that we can never gain our ends by violence, who renounce resort to force for the overthrow of the capitalist system, are none the less willing to condone violence, and violence of the most atrocious character, when it is used against their fellow-socialists! Words fail me, dear Comrade, for the expression of the intensity of my sorrow at what is happening in Germany....

My sorrow is the more poignant because I myself seem to be in a maze. Unable to see the way clearly, I have to stand aside, and as long as I hesitate I feel that I am useless. Those only who stand as firm as a rock, those only who see clearly ahead, those only who can march undismayed towards their goal, are of any use to our movement at this juncture.... I do wish that I could meet you and talk all these things over with you....

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