

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. V.—No. 52

SATURDAY, MARCH 22nd, 1919

Price Twopence.

THE BERNE CONFERENCE AND BOLSHEVISM.

How British Delegates Voted.

As we consider it highly important for British Socialists to know what transpired at Berne and how the delegates representing this country voted on the important question of Revolutionary Socialism, in spite of their inordinate length we print in full both the resolution, and also the Adler-Longuet Resolution because we desire British Socialists to know exactly what is being done in their name. The I.L.P. Conference is about to meet. Members of the I.L.P. were present at the Berne Conference. They were the only British Socialists at Berne. The I.L.P. annual meeting will give them an opportunity to explain their action on this important question, and it will give the I.L.P. rank and file an opportunity to express their views upon that action. Circumstances are forcing the Socialists of every country to choose whether they will work to perpetuate the Parliamentary system of government, or to build up an industrial republic on Soviet lines. It is impossible to work effectively for both objects.

It will be observed that the official resolution of the Berne Conference declares for Parliamentaryism and attacks the Russian Soviets by implication. It welcomes expressly the political revolutions in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, leaving it to be understood that it does not welcome the industrial revolution. It declares for Parliamentary government which it insists to be the only form of democratic government. It implies that the Soviet system has "no chance of gaining the support of the majority of the people" though even its capitalist opponents admit that it has gained that support. It declares against the dictatorship of the proletariat, but does not openly say so. In its effort to belittle the great achievement of the Russian Bolsheviks, it pretends to agree to send a delegation to Russia because of the "general interest Socialists in all countries have in exact knowledge of the facts bearing on these popular upheavals." It thus attempts to dismiss the appearance of the Soviets as a temporary upheaval which will disappear, having no place in the steady development of peoples. It should be noted that according to the official report the entire delegation from Britain and Canada voted for this resolution, but only the minority of the French and Italian, and half the German-Austrian delegation.

The Adler-Longuet resolution lacks the courage to take a decisive stand for the Soviets, but it says: "we warn the working classes against any kind of stigma which may be applied to the Russian Soviet Republic." The French majority, half the German-Austrian, the Dutch, Norwegian, Irish, Spanish delegations and one Greek delegate voted for this resolution. The Italian majority did not vote; evidently the Italians did not desire to sit on the fence but to give open support to the Soviets. We are surprised that the Irish delegation was content to support this compromise resolution. The Workers' Revolution begun in Russia is approaching this country westward through Germany. It is surely necessary for the various so-called Socialist parties to discuss their attitude towards it; to make up their minds whether they are to support or oppose the Industrial Revolution. The minority in each party can then devote its energies to furthering the policy it approves.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP. THE 'ADLER-LONGUET' RESOLUTION.

The leading idea of the policy which we have energetically and indefatigably pursued throughout the whole course of the war, was the reconstitution of the international front of the conscious revolutionary proletariat. This same fundamental principle also determined our attitude towards the Berne Conference.

We maintain that this Conference runs the risk of provoking grave criticism, not because of what is contained in its resolutions, but because certain commonplace truths have been expressed too late, not during the war, but after the war is over.

On the other hand, the resolution on Democracy and Dictatorship gives rise to most serious objections. The same men who have passively or actively hindered international action for four and a half years, who have thought it their duty to abstain from any international meeting, now eagerly utilise the Conference for a course of action which will inevitably increase the difficulties of the International.

We warn the working classes against any kind of stigma which may be applied to the Russian Soviet Republic. We have not sufficient material for a judgment. One thing only do we know with certainty, that the shameful campaign of lying in which the press and agencies of the Central Empires and the Entente have vied with one another during the war, continues unchanged to-day.

We do not wish, by passing premature judgment on political methods, to be the victims of the manoeuvres and interested calumnies of bourgeois governments. To our great regret, we are unable to rely solely on the information received from those Russian delegates present at the Conference, who represent only a minority of the Russian working class. We do not cast the slightest doubt on their good faith, but we must demand that the International remain true to its old principle of hearing both sides before coming to a decision. The Berne Conference is but a first feeble attempt at an international assembly. Whole Parties, such as the Italian, Serbian, Roumanian, and Swiss are standing aside! Others are taking part reluctantly.

We have warned you against any decision which would make the meeting of the working classes of all countries more difficult in the future. We desire to reserve free entry into the International for all Socialist and Revolutionary Parties of all countries conscious of their class interests.

The majority of the Sub-Committee have not listened to our warnings. We do not wish to be parties to any action against the International and we cannot be bound by the resolution as a whole, since certain paragraphs can be exploited by the bourgeoisie.

[This resolution was adopted by: Holland, Norway, Ireland, Spain, the French majority, by half the German-Austrian delegation, and by one Greek delegate.]

THE OFFICIAL RESOLUTION.

The Conference hails the great political revolutions which, in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, have destroyed the old régimes of imperialism and militarism and overthrown their Governments.

The Conference urges the workers and socialists of these countries to develop democratic and republican institutions which will enable them to bring about the great socialist transformation. In these momentous times, when the problem of the Socialist reconstruction of the world is more than ever before a burning question, the working classes should make up their minds unanimously and unmistakably about the method of their emancipation.

In full agreement with all previous Congresses of the International the Berne Conference firmly adheres to the principles of Democracy. A re-organised society more and more permeated with Socialism, cannot be realised, much less permanently established, unless it rests upon triumphs of Democracy and is rooted in the principles of liberty.

Those institutions which constitute Democracy, freedom of speech and of the press, the right of assembly, universal suffrage, a government responsible to Parliament, with arrangements guaranteeing popular co-operation and respect for the wishes of the people, the right of association, etc.; these also provide the working classes with the means of carrying on the class struggle.

Owing to certain recent events, the Conference desires to make the constructive character of the Socialist programme absolutely clear. True socialisation implies methodical development in the different branches of



"Wilson comes to Europe to stitch with 14 points the mouth of Imperialism."

[From the Italian Socialist paper *THE AVANTI*.]

economic activity under the control of the democracy. The arbitrary taking over of a few concerns by small groups of workers is not Socialism, it is nothing but Capitalism with many shareholders.

Since, in the opinion of the Conference, effective socialist development is only possible under democratic law, it is essential to eliminate at once any method of socialisation which has had no chance of gaining the support of the majority of the people.

Such a dictatorship would be all the more dangerous if it were based upon the support of only one section of the working class. The inevitable consequence of such a régime would be the paralysis of working-class strength through fratricidal war. The end would be the dictatorship of reaction.

The Russian delegates have proposed that a commission composed of representatives of all socialist tendencies should be appointed by the Conference and sent to Russia for the purpose of making an impartial report to the International on the political and economic situation there. The Conference fully realises the difficulties involved in such a task; nevertheless, considering the general interest Socialists in all countries have in exact knowledge of the facts bearing on these popular upheavals, the Conference authorises the permanent Commission to arrange for a delegation to be sent to Russia on this mission.

The Conference decides to put the question of Bolshevism on the agenda of the next Conference, and recommends the permanent Commission to carry out the necessary preparatory work.

The Conference, however, desires to call immediate attention to the fact that the famine and misery which the war has brought to the whole world, and more especially to the defeated countries, was bound to lead to social disorganisation.

Instead of using Bolshevism as a bugbear, and denouncing under this term every revolt of working people reduced to the lowest depths of despair, Governments should face their own responsibilities. Counter-revolutionary forces are already at work everywhere. The Conference warns those who now hold the fate of the world in their hands, against the dangers of an imperialist policy, and of a policy of military or economic enslavement of the peoples.

It calls upon Socialists throughout the world to close their ranks, not to deliver up the peoples to international reaction, but to do their utmost to ensure that Socialism and Democracy, which are inseparable, shall triumph everywhere.

[This resolution was adopted by the delegations from Sweden, Germany, Russia, Estonia, Lettland, Georgia, Alsace, Argentine, Denmark, Bulgaria, Armenia, Hungary, Finland, Great Britain, Canada, by the French and Italian minorities, by half the delegation from German Austria, and later also by the Ukrainian delegation.]

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

BY L. A. MOTLER.

Mr. James Douglas, in the *London Star* (March 13th, 1919), is in great pain about the "betrayal" of the League of Nations. "Woe," says he, with a fountain pen that weeps salt tears of Stephen's ink, "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth! Woe! Woe! Unutterable woe!"

And all because our militarists are showing themselves to be just militarists, not stained-glass Fabians who believe in making people happy by Act of Parliament. It is woe, woe, unutterable woe! because our diplomatists are diplomatists, not members of a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon brotherhood. It is not woe, woe, unutterable woe! that British women have to exist on a beggarly fifteen shillings a week. It is not that miners live in one-roomed houses, nor that a coal company can pay 197 per cent and still have a reserve of £150,000.

Mr. James Douglas is a Liberal, with Fabian leanings. He believes in harmony between the Kind-Hearted Capitalist and the Willing and Respectful Worker. His ideal of "a land fit for heroes to live in" is a kind of factory system built in garden cities, with Henry Dubb coming to work half-an-hour too early and leaving half-an-hour later than the official time, and the K.H.C. (Kind-Hearted Capitalist) smiling his appreciation with a Double Corona between his teeth.

James imagines that a slave is no more a slave if his chains are gilded with profit-sharing schemes. And he imagines that Europe will be a happy Europe, policed by a kind-hearted police of the League of Nations, armed to the teeth, whilst Henry Dubb will not be allowed to carry a jack-knife on him. James imagines that we have only to have a few more President Wilsons round the corner and wars will be no more. I do not agree with James on all these points, but I heartily agree with the last. There would be no more wars. They would be massacres.

We are asked to believe that Woodrow Wilson is an angelic superman who never spoke a foolish thing. But he has seldom done a wise one. When Tom Mooney was convicted for a crime he didn't commit, Wilson got a move on when the workers began to be uneasy. But Tom Mooney is yet in prison.

Under Woodrow Wilson's kind and beneficent rule, Haywood, the Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, was sentenced, with several others, to TWENTY YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. And a kind of double-overweight fined 20,000 dollars apiece.

In the sunshine of Woodrow Wilson's smile, Eugene Debs, who stood as Socialist candidate for the American Presidency, was sentenced to TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. Rose Pastor Stokes, who talked Socialism, was sentenced to TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. Conscientious objectors, who were happy enough not to live in Royal England, but basked in the Liberty Loan of Wilson's sunlight soap, were sentenced to periods of from FIVE TO TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. Max Eastman, Editor of *The Masses*; Victor Berger, the Socialist Congressman; Emma Goldman, the Anarchist; Margaret Sanger of the Birth-Control Movement—all these will tell you what to expect if you look at Wilson through the green spectacles of Mr. James Douglas. Woodrow, you will notice, believes in equality of the sexes. What the workers want is not a Wilson Peace, nor a Wilson League of Nations, nor Wilson's soft soap. The workers don't want open diplomacy. They want no diplomacy at all.

Mr. James Douglas, in his capacity of Editor of *The Star*, says: "This atrocity will not be averted by doctrinaires and professors who talk and write pamphlets. It can only be averted by the plain peoples." And here he refers to the "betrayal" of the League of Nations. The plain peoples, he says, must veto it here and now, or the consequence will be Armageddon over again.

Mr. Douglas wants to hypnotise Henry Dubb into believing that the League of Nations is a kind of patent medicine to cure all diseases. And Woodrow Wilson is the man to sell it at so much the bottle, with a written guarantee if desired. But we noticed that Mr. Lloyd George had to leave that new toy and hurry over to England when the miners and the Clyde workers and the soldiers began to kick.

The people, the plain people, cannot pay the rent or the grocer or the butcher with a League of Nations. They cannot dine off it.

A League of Nations is no use if it does not do any of these:—

- (a) Abolish such a thing as a "working class."
- (b) Restore the land to the people.
- (c) Build homes—real homes—for all the people.
- (d) Transfer all industry into the hands of the workers, who will then be ALL THE PEOPLE.

These are all the real needs of the British and other peoples. But the League of Nations will

THE SOLDIER and THE WAR.

The following passages comprise one of six fragments appearing in the "Dreadnought" from a novel by Dudley Howard Tripp, a young soldier who enlisted early in the war and here records his impressions.

IV.

...Peter came home suddenly at the end of April, after nearly nine months in hospital in England....

We had supper, then we talked. The inevitable subject came round. Peter said—and the phrase sticks in my mind—"Do you think, when I was wounded, that I lay twelve hours in that field without swapping souls with the Devil? You talk of nobility in suffering and courage in trial as something that almost makes war worth while. You think the heroism of a man redeems the depths of its blackness and gives it grace and holiness. It doesn't. It damns it thrice. You talk glibly of a holy war: there is only bloody, bestial war. The nobility of a man should turn to better purposes than that, should be harnessed to something cleaner than a slaughter cart."

I lay there from seven in the morning to eight at night. I had been standing in the open, such as I did at Loos, save that Noel was not with me, when there came a splitting roar in the air and something struck me in the chest, head, arm and leg. At first there was no pain, or only a little in my leg. I hardly realised I had been hit. It seemed simply as though something had taken a little strength from me—strength and firm purpose—and made me dizzy. I turned back when the trickle of blood from my head became noticeable on my tunic. I had gone about fifty yards when pain gripped me, crushed me, and I fell..... seemed to be falling, falling.....

I think I fainted, was for a long while unconscious, as, suddenly, I realised that I was staring up into the sky, with eyes strangely cold round the rims, and that a bank of mud, making a sort of horizon against the clouds, was encircling me. I could not move. Can you imagine my slowly growing horror when I found I could not move? I could hear everything, I could roll my eyes.... certain sounds came to my ears, muffled, as from a distance. I fought for memory, searched a vague background of indefinite ideas. Bit by bit it came back to me. I had to drag it piece by piece from eternity: that was how it seemed—pick up the threads of existence from an infinite and unaccountable void—grow again....

Time passed. I do not know how long.... Suddenly something caught my eye, something moving and dark against the sky. It came round the edge of the shell crater, crawling along with painful slowness. It seemed to stir some half hidden thought, awaken an echo of memory in me, render the blank vaguely luminous.... presently I understood that it was a stretcher carried by two men.

I dozed again, from weakness I dare say, then re-awakened with a crash ringing in my ears. The ground was preceptibly rocking, shaking. A lapse of time, then another rending cough, nearer, fuller, deeper, and, behind the bank of mud, rising and falling scattered fragments of earth and wood.

Knowledge leapt through the lethargy, the uncertainty in which I was labouring! Quite suddenly I adjusted my muddled ideas, understood the sound, the meaning of the flying fragments. I shivered, appalled, as the earth trembled again and again. Each moment the thudding terror crept nearer. The moving barrage advanced like a wave of the incoming sea upon the sand. I had enough life in me still to be horrified, to be filled with the fearful suspense of awaiting death. You cannot understand all that I went through lying there with hellish curtains of fire pounding towards me.

not do any of these things, because it cannot. The peoples, the plain peoples, can only do these things themselves. "Freedom cannot be granted; it must be taken."

In the words of Mr. James Douglas himself: "It can only be done by the plain peoples.... They must terrify the reactionaries and frighten the jingoes and scare the militarists who are still living in the year 1914 instead of 1919."

Then we shall see whether the world cannot be cleansed better than with Wilson's soft soap, if the soap we use is branded "International Socialism."

Each whisper, as it rose to a shriek, seared and jarred the nerves and fibres of my brain with hot, white, pricking fire. Each movement seemed a livid eternity. The movements of my heart were so uneven, so strange that I hardly breathed; as each shell broke like surf thundering on the rocks, darting needle points of flame rushed beneath my skin and my lids. Then, as suddenly as it began, the horror ceased.

Another queer figure crept round the edge of the crater, this time from the other side. It carried a box of cartridges on its shoulder. It seemed to me in my semi-dazed condition to be grotesque and unreal. The mud squelching and sapping beneath its boots mingled in sound with the far off stutter of machine guns.

A tall lanky figure it was, with red hair. As it came opposite me, and as I strained my eyes to look at it, it stopped, and planting its feet firmly, stooped to ease its burden. I saw the man's face clearly, the flush of exertion upon it, the rugged brutality, the squinting eyes. On the instant stooping, he became rigid: his eyes became fixed, a stare crept into them. With a jerk he flung his ammunition sideways, bent his knees like a hunted, crouching animal, spread out his hands, lurched vividly, drunkenly into the cavity of the shell hole. There was a blinding flash, a thunder that beat solidly at my temples and ears, a scorching wave, and then something that rolled laughing, and, I thought spitting upon me, and lay a dead weight across my legs. There was for a long while a blue swirling pall, like tobacco smoke, through which fine rain began to fall gently.... then again darkness, utter and impenetrable.

When the nurse bent over me as I lay in hospital far behind the lines and her blouse, rounded by her soft breasts beneath, came near my lips, I smiled. I dare say I cried, too. But I loved her, so tender she was and so kind, so soft.... She redeemed me, just as in the tale the crucified God redeemed the soul of the thief. She took me out of the blackness and squalor and stink of blood.... I always think of her breasts: they seemed to call to me, as though I had been a babe, to sink asleep on them, to rest.... rest....

I love her still for that instant, for the divinely tender nature of her, for the simple memory of her breasts and their tenderness—because perhaps, she is an illusion, a dear blessed illusion of mine. No woman is as beautiful as that, at least not now. My ideals are somehow, all foul and bespattered, mauled, in the dust, broken....

His faced twitched suddenly, became ugly, vindictive almost; bitter from the bitterness of his soul—"What should you know," he said roughly with an impatient gesture, "What should anyone know in this world of...."—he jerked his hand and his eyes swept the room—"of pictures and armchairs and china? Its clean, its tidy, it looks good. If one did not know it hid all these other things—blood, murder, rape, blasphemy, one might consider it charming!...."

THE COAL SHORTAGE.

Miners in Wales have been working short time, and yet the country is kept terribly short of coal and we are told that foreign competition will put British coalowners out of business. Even some of the miners around Pontygwaith have been left without house coal, which is supplied to them by the colliery, and a stoppage of work had to be threatened before the promise of another delivery was forthcoming. Meanwhile, many a grate was empty for a week. The only possible explanation of this shortage is that stocks are being accumulated in case of a strike. There is a persistent story in South Wales that people are coming around to the houses to find out where there is room to billet soldiers.

The coal, by the way, is dumped a ton at a time in the road in front of the miner's house. Many houses have no receptacle capable of containing a ton of coal. The miner and his wife carry it in many journeys through the house and put it in the yard or the scullery, as seems handiest. Rubbish for the dustman has to be carried through the house by the miner's wife and left in the road to be collected. The local authority provides no dust pail.

If the Labour Councillors, so many of whom have been elected in South Wales during the recent contests, can do anything for the miner's wife they will secure some improvements in these conditions for her.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION.

Speech delivered before the All-Russian Soviet Executive Committee, October 22nd, 1918.)

BY VLADIMIR LENIN.

I believe our present situation, despite all the contradictions it contains, can be characterised by two theses: First, that we never before stood so near to the international proletarian revolution as at present; second, that we on the other hand never found ourselves in a more dangerous position than now.

And the most serious part of our situation consists in the fact that the broad masses of the people are hardly aware of the danger that menaces us. Therefore, it must be one of the principal tasks of the Soviet representatives to make the present situation entirely clear to the broad masses—no matter how difficult this task may sometimes be. The weightiest objection that was raised against the Soviet Government, not only by the bourgeoisie but also from the ranks of the lower middle class that had lost faith in Socialism, was that we allegedly had begun the Socialist revolution in Russia in a reckless manner, as the revolution in Western Europe was not yet due.

Comrades, now in the fifth year of the world-war the general collapse of Imperialism is an evident fact; now it is clear that the revolution in all the belligerent countries is unavoidable. We, however, whose existence at the beginning was counted by days or weeks, at the most, have done more in this year of the revolution than ever has been done by any other proletarian party in the world. The bourgeoisie no longer denies that Bolshevism is now an international phenomenon. Of course, you know that the revolution has broken out in Bulgaria and that the Bulgarian soldiers are organising councils, or Soviets, after the Russian model. Now comes the news that similar Soviets are in the process of being organised also in Serbia. The national bourgeoisie of the various small States of Austria will not be able to hold out. In Austria, too, the revolution of the workers and peasants is knocking at the door everywhere.

In Germany the press already talks openly of the abdication of the Kaiser and the Independent Social Democratic Party now dares to speak of the German republic. This certainly means something! The German revolution is already a fact. The military party talks about it openly. In East Prussia revolutionary committees have been formed; revolutionary slogans are being uttered. The Scheidemann gang will not remain at the helm very long; it does not represent the broad masses of the people, and the proletarian revolution in Germany is inevitable.

So far as Italy is concerned, the revolutionary sentiment of the proletariat of that country is evident to us. When Gompers, the social patriot who has turned himself over to the bourgeoisie, visited the cities of Italy and preached patriotism to the workers he was hissed out everywhere. During the war the Italian Socialist Party has taken a big step towards the Left. In France at the beginning of the war the number of patriots among the workers was only too great, for it was declared that the soil of France and Paris was menaced. But there, too, the attitude of the proletariat is changing. When a letter was read to the last convention telling what mischief the Entente was up to in Russia there were shouts of "Long live the Russian Socialist Republic" and "Long live the Soviets!" Yesterday we got word that at a meeting held in Paris 2,000 metal workers greeted the Soviet Republic.

And in England it is true that the so-called Independent Labour Party has not openly entered into an alliance with the Bolsheviks, but its sympathies for us are constantly on the increase. The Socialist Labour Parties of Scotland have come out openly for the Bolsheviks.

This fact looms up before us entirely on its own initiative: Bolshevism has become a world theory and tactics of the international proletariat. And the working men of all countries,

who formerly read only the lying and calumnious articles and news reports of the bourgeois press, are now beginning to take stock of what is happening in Russia. And when last Wednesday a demonstration took place in Berlin, and the workers—in order to show their ill-will toward the Kaiser—wanted to march in front of his palace, they then went to the Russian Embassy in order thus to announce their solidarity with the acts of the Russian Proletarian Government.

So, Europe has got this far in the fifth year of the war. Therefore, we also declare that we never were so near to the world-wide revolutions as we are to-day. Our allies are millions and millions of proletarians in all the countries of the world. But for all that, I repeat that our situation never before was so precarious as it is at present, because in Europe, as well as in America Bolshevism is being reckoned with as a world power and a world danger.

Immediately following the conclusion of the peace of violence [Brest-Litovsk] we began the positive work of building up the Socialist republic. As soon as we gave an opportunity to the peasants actually to get along without the land owners, and a chance to the industrial workers to arrange their own life without the capitalist, as soon as the people understood that it could manage the State itself, without slavery and exploitation, then it became clear to everyone, and also manifested itself in practice, that no power and no counter-revolution in the world would be able to overthrow the Soviet power, i.e., the government of the workers and peasants. It required many months for us to come to this conviction in Russia.

In the cities the revolution began to consolidate itself already in November, 1917, but in the country it did not do so until the summer of 1918. In the Ukraine, on the Don, and in various other places, the peasants have had occasion to feel the power of the Constituents and the Czecho-Slovaks in their own affairs. This required many, many months, but our agricultural population comes out of the struggle hardened. The peasants finally became aware of the danger menacing them from the side of the capitalists and the land owners, but were not frightened, and merely said to themselves: "We have learned much in a single year, but we shall learn still more."

The West European bourgeoisie, that up to now has not taken the Bolsheviks seriously, is now becoming aware of a power in Russia to arouse true heroism and a genuine spirit of self-sacrifice in the masses. When this proletarian power began to infect Europe the bourgeoisie of the world noted that it, too, must reckon with this enemy. And so the bourgeoisie began to unite more closely in proportion as we drew nearer to the proletarian world revolution which flared up, now here, now there.

Now the situation for us, for the Russia of the Soviets, has changed and events are following their course at a quickened pace. Before, we had to deal with two groups of imperialistic robber States, that were striving to destroy each other. But now they have noticed, especially by the example of German Imperialism, that their principal enemy is the revolutionary proletariat. By reason of this fact a new danger for us has now arisen, a danger that as yet has not quite unfolded itself, and is not yet fully visible—the danger that the Anglo-French Imperialists are quietly preparing for us. We must keep this danger clearly before our eyes so that we, with the aid of the leaders of the masses, with the help of the representatives of the workers and peasants, may make the broad masses of the people aware of this danger.

In German Government circles we may now observe two lines of thought, two plans for salvation, as it were, if there can be any talk at all of salvation. One group says: "We want to gain time and hold out until spring; perhaps we may succeed in winning by arms!"

The other says that it is of the greatest importance to arrive at an agreement with England and France at the expense of the Bolsheviks. In this connection one might believe that between the English and French on the one side, and Germany on the other, a tacit agreement something like this exists: "Don't you Germans leave the Ukraine so long as we have not arrived there. See to it that the Bolsheviks don't get in, then everything else will be adjusted." And the Germans take great care to do so, for they know that for proved service they, too, will have some of the loot.

That is the judgment of the Anglo-French Imperialists, for they very well understand that the bourgeoisie of the occupied districts—Finland, the Ukraine, or Poland—will not be able to hold its ground a single day after the withdrawal of the German garrisons and the bourgeoisie of these countries, who only yesterday sold their territory to the Germans, are to-day offering their fatherland to the English and the French. This conspiracy of the bourgeoisie of all countries against the revolutionary workers and the Bolsheviks is constantly becoming more clearly outlined and becomes cynically apparent. So it is our direct duty to point out this danger to the workers and peasants of all the belligerent countries.

But for us, comrades, the German revolution is favourable. Considering the power and the degree of organisation of the German proletariat, we may believe that the German revolution will develop such power and will be well organised, that it will solve a hundred international problems. Only we must know how to march in line with the German revolution, not to run ahead of it and injure it, but to help it. And our comrades, the communists of the Ukraine, must bear this in mind. Our principal work must be carrying on propaganda, and a daring, persistent propaganda.

We must not forget that Germany forms the most important link in the revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends to the greatest degree upon Germany. We must not fail to consider the changes and excrescences accompanying every revolution. In every country the revolution follows its particular ways, and these ways are so different and tortuous that in many countries the revolution can be delayed one or two years. Every country must pass through definite political stages in order to arrive at the same point—the inevitable proletarian revolution. And although the international proletariat is now awakening and making important progress, we must confess that our position is particularly difficult because our enemies direct their attacks against us as their principal enemy. Now they are preparing to fight, not against the hostile armies, but against international Bolshevism.

We must direct our entire attention at present to our southern front, where the fate, not only of Russia, but also of the international revolution, is to be decided. We have many prospects of victory. But what favours us most of all is the fact that a change has taken place in the popular feeling. The people have grasped the fact that in defending Soviet Russia it is not defending the interests of the capitalists, but its own interests, its own country and desires, its factories and shops, its life and liberty. The discipline of the Red Army is gaining, but it is not a discipline of the club, but the discipline of Socialism, the discipline of a society of equals.

The army is turning out thousands of officers who have gone through the course of study in the new proletarian military schools, and other thousands who have only gone through the hard school of war itself. Our southern front is the front against the whole Anglo-French imperialism, against the most important opponent we have in the world. But we do not fear this opponent, for we know that it will soon face the struggle with its "internal enemy." Three months ago it was said that only the half-crazy Bolsheviks could believe in the

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation

Telephone: EAST 1787.

Annual Subscription - Post Free, 10s. 10d.

Back Numbers, 4d. post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at

400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3

All business communications to the

MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Vol. V., No. 52.

Sat., March 22nd, 1919.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY.

The Bar Between Russian and German Socialism.

The greatest effort of the Council of Ten, which controls the Peace Conference, is to keep Russia and Germany apart.

Russia's paramount need is modern agricultural machinery, in order that her 140,000,000 peasant cultivators may be enabled to produce enough to maintain themselves in comfort, and sufficient surplus food to sustain the industrial population of the towns.

Russia, in time, could develop manufactures of all kinds to supply her agricultural needs. Unless and until she does that, she should import large quantities of manufactured articles from abroad.

Germany, a country of vast industries and Russia's near neighbour is the natural source for supplying her with manufactured goods.

Two factors have closed to the Russian peasant their most convenient source of supply—the autocratic Government of the Czars, and the jealousy of the Allied Capitalists, who are the rivals of the German Capitalists.

Oppressive laws, and the extortion of tax-gatherers and landlords, kept the Russian peasants in a state of such extreme poverty that they could not buy adequate agricultural machinery and manufactured necessities.

Though the peasants used only primitive implements on their own land, they were accustomed to using the most up-to-date machinery and modern methods of cultivation on the estates of their employers. Only poverty prevented them from getting these for their own land.

Allied intrigues, combined with the jealousy and suspicion, always entertained towards their near neighbours by imperialistic rulers, induced the Czar to form Alliances hostile to Germany.

Nevertheless prior to the war the greater part of the manufactured goods and especially the machinery and the tools for making machinery, which Russia imported, came from Germany.

Though these imports did not find their way to the poor Russian peasants, though only the landlords could buy German agricultural machinery, Russian manufactures were mainly dependent on German machinery and Russia was largely dependent on Germany for manufactured goods.

Imports from Germany ceased on the outbreak of war, and except in munitions there was on the whole, a progressive decrease in the imports from other countries.

Since the Workers' Socialist Revolution, imports from Allied countries have ceased, and the Allies prevent importation from the Central Empires and even from neutral nations.

The Allied intervention in Russia is moreover hindering the development of Russian industries by preventing raw material from reaching her industrial plants.

Russian peasants are not able to raise abundant crops, because the importation of seed and agricultural machinery is prevented by the Allied Governments.

Russian peasants finding that money is valueless to them, because they cannot buy with it what they need, are reluctant to sell their crops which are barely sufficient to maintain their families.

Socialist Germany would come to the aid of Socialist Russia and, each supplying the other's needs, they would together establish an invincible

combination, from which the Socialist community would grow in such strength and beauty, that the entire continent, and shortly the whole world, would be drawn, by its influence, to organise on the Socialist basis.

The Allied Governments understand that if Socialist Russia be allied to a Socialist Germany, Socialism will be irrevocably established; but blinded by capitalist greed, and tenacious of power, they fail to realise the glorious possibilities and the rich stores of happiness and evolutionary development, which the golden era of Socialism will open to the human race. They fail to realise also that the coming of the Socialist era is inevitable.

Therefore the Allied Governments are straining every nerve to prevent the alliance of Russian and German Socialism. To prevent German manufactures reaching Russia, they are endeavouring to reduce Germany's manufacturing power to the lowest possible ebb. They are preparing to take from Germany large territories containing raw material required by her for manufacturing purposes. They are preparing to hand over to other countries between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 of her people. They are creating new states to reduce the power of the German people and to divide them from Russia. Allied armies are occupying the railways and important industrial centres of Germany. They are reducing the energies of the German people by starvation. Rather than allow Germany's manufactures to aid Socialist Russia, the Allied Governments seem prepared to maintain indefinitely a military occupation of the whole of Germany, or as much of it as may be necessary to their purpose.

In their efforts to prevent the growth and establishment of Socialism, this Council of Ten is plunging the people of the greater part of Europe into untold misery, holding them in the grip of relentless famine, forcing them to slow painful death and sub-human degradations.

In order to accomplish their purpose the members of this Capitalist Council of Ten will enforce upon the people still greater suffering, but their effort to prevent the coming of Socialism will be in vain. It is inevitable.

Innumerable writers have portrayed the hard life of the Russian peasant under the Czarism; a life whose poverty was not lessened, but instead greatly increased, by his enfranchisement from serfdom. True he was no longer openly bought and sold; his freedom to marry was no longer by legal right interfered with, as it was in the old days, notably by a certain old maiden of the nobility, who, as recorded by Turgenev, forbade her serfs to marry, saying: "God forbid. Here am I living single. What indulgence! What are they thinking of!"

Generals Koltchak and Denikin are fighting to re-establish the old régime. The Allies are supporting Generals Koltchak and Denikin.

When the peasants were freed the landlords drove them from their land, and either forced them to buy it, or if they chose, gave them a small piece of stony ground usually less than one dessiatine (two and three-quarter acres) and called a "beggar's lot." Those who refused to leave their land were flogged and even killed. When the peasants were serfs the Government estimated that a peasant family needed at least 33 acres of land to maintain itself, and took steps to assure this; but in 1900 the average amount of land possessed by each peasant family was only 17 acres. Perhaps it may be thought that the peasants were able to raise more produce per acre than in 1861. On the contrary, the rate of production had actually fallen.

It is estimated that if Russia were cultivated as Britain is, she could maintain 500,000,000 people; as it is, her 140,000,000 people are starving. Walling, who made a special study of this question in the years 1905-8, reports that most of the wagons and barrows were made without a scrap of iron, and the ploughs in general use were of a type used a hundred years ago. The ploughing was only six inches deep with the result, that as drought is frequent in the most fertile districts, the crops fre-

quently failed. If the ploughs had been capable of turning up twelve or eighteen inches famine would have been rare. The high tariff on iron and the peasants' extreme poverty are responsible for the fact that only one-tenth as much iron was used per head as in the United States.

The Russian peasant had an income equal only to one-third that of a poor German peasant and one-fourth that of the poorest French. The Russian peasant produced only half enough to maintain his family and animals in decency; yet even the little that he produced was not left to him. He had so little land of his own that a part of what he had was rented from the landlord, and the rent charged was often as much and sometimes twice as much as the land could produce. To make up the difference the peasant was forced to work for the landlord.

The Government taxed the peasant very heavily, both directly and indirectly. The cost of petroleum, when Walling wrote was multiplied four-fold by the tax, the tax accounted for four-fifths of the price of alcohol, one-half the price of tea. The taxes on the peasants' land amounted to all that their land could produce, and much of what they could make by their labour elsewhere. The tax collectors appeared at the harvest, and took every scrap of the peasants' property which was not considered necessary to prevent immediate starvation. Professor Simkhovitch showed that in the province of Novgorod the food deficit, to be made up by the peasants' work in the cities or on the landlord's estates, amounted to 3,000,000 roubles. The taxes reached a similar sum, and all that remained to the peasants was about 12½ roubles (25s.) per household, from which they had to buy a part of their food, and all their clothing, agricultural implements, and other necessities.

The peasants could scarcely afford to have for themselves a sheepskin coat, and this necessary garment was worn till it was in rags. The peasants could not afford to retain the leather they produced, but wore shoes made of bark. The harness was made of rope or knotted vegetable fibre. They could not afford woollen underclothing even in winter. The high tariff on cotton increased their difficulty in buying it to wear. They seldom eat meat, (usually only four times a year), or vegetables. They could not afford tea, but drank a brew of sour black bread. Their staple food was black bread and potato soup.

The women worked 12 to 15 hours a day. They often gave birth to their children in the fields, and returned to work within three or four days. These women could not long suckle their children and when their milk failed, they chewed black bread and put it into little bags for the babies to suck. No wonder there was a high infant mortality! The death-rate for all ages was higher than that of any other civilised community, and half a million people died annually, sacrificed to poverty.

Famines, owing to the primitive methods of cultivation, were frequent as we have said. In the district of Buzuluk in the Samara province in 1906, the peasants plucked the ears of grain by hand, lest any should be lost; and fed their starving animals with the thatch from the roof. A certain Mr. Keeling has recently complained to *The Westminster Gazette* that in Petrograd in this year of war and scarcity, his bread ration was only half a pound a day, and that the public dinner, to which he was entitled, consisted only of thin soup, meat and bread. What was the relief granted by the Government of the Czar in the famine of 1906? In that year there was no war and no Revolution; in that year Russia exported grain to the value of more than 500,000,000 roubles though 30,000,000 of her people were starving, and the export of rye actually continued in the famine districts. The peasants there who had sold their grain at three-quarters of a rouble were a few weeks later forced to buy it back at a rouble and a quarter.

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The relief sent by the Czar's Government to the famine areas was 40 lbs. per head for the whole season; according to Walling at least 200 lbs. was necessary: his estimate is terribly low. The people were fed not with bread but with a weak soup made with bread and potatoes. In many places the grain sent by the Government for seed was rotten and full of worms and mixed with earth and manure, and it arrived late for the sowing. In some cases the sum assigned for this relief was stolen outright. The contractors and Ministers responsible went unpunished.

And what view did the Czar's Government take of the peasants' life of hideous poverty? Walling reports the view of a lieutenant of the notorious Witte. Having observed that the peasants commonly wore a belt which they tightened to allay the pangs of hunger, he said:

"Why, under the present perfectly hopeless circumstances, is not this a very practical device? ... The peasant is underfed, but there is not enough work for him to do. Why should he be kept in full strength? Is it not fortunate for Russia that her peasants do not have the habit of eating as much as they do elsewhere? ... There are many savage races that, forced by necessity, have accommodated themselves to the most varied and meagre diet."

But Social Reform was demanded. The "Social Reform" inaugurated by the late Czar consisted, firstly in the abolition of the Mir, the peasants' ancient communal council, which was too democratic for his liking; and, secondly, the passage of a law to enable the peasants to sell or mortgage their lands. This simply meant that in the first year of famine the poorer peasants would lose their land, and become wholly dependent on what they could earn* as labourers at an average wage of 8d. per day.

Shortly the mass of the Russian peasantry would have been landless, but the Revolution has changed the course of events.

The Revolution gave land to the people, but it was impossible that the desperate situation of the peasants could be righted all at once. In the year 1911, 46.6 per cent of Russia's total imports were from Germany, 15 per cent from Britain, 42 per cent of the agricultural machinery, 80 per cent of other machinery, 59.6 per cent of parts of machinery and apparatus, 88 per cent of the scientific apparatus and instruments, 77.7 per cent of iron and steel goods, and 89.9 per cent of the goods made of copper and alloys, which Russia imported came from Germany. The respective percentages from Britain being 11.1 per cent, 15 per cent, 11.4 per cent, 2 per cent, 10 per cent and 2 per cent. All imports from Germany ceased with the war. And now all Allied imports are stopped and neutral imports are largely prevented by the Allies. Maxim Litvinoff has told us that 40,000,000 roubles worth of vegetable seeds bought from Denmark and paid for in cash by Russia, were stopped by the Allies, and of the Allied ultimatum which has forced the Scandinavian nations to refuse to trade with Russia. The Russian peasants were starving for lack of agricultural implements before the war, and though the Soviet Government and the peasants' land committees have collected the agricultural machinery of the great landowners, and now arrange for it to be lent out and used for the general benefit, of course there is not enough to go round. The bad harvests caused by the war have resulted in a shortage of seed, as well as of food, and the Allies are not merely preventing imports, but are hindering supplies from passing from one part of Russia to another. Counter-revolutionary armies supported by the Allies prevent the coal from reaching Soviet Russia.

The petroleum oilfields of Baku in 1912 produced 169,124,814 roubles worth of oil.

* According to the Russian Year Book, edited by Dr. Howard P. Kennard, the average total earnings of the industrial workers who are subject to the law of fines (more than half) was £25 a year in 1912, two thirds of the women got less than 30s. a month.

Of this 8,882,408 roubles worth was kept in Russia, and 147,106,580 roubles worth was sent abroad. Russia is not getting the benefit of her oilfields. The people are without oil for domestic use. For the trains run by oil it is necessary largely to substitute wood. Russia does not even receive the money which she should gain by the sale of her oil abroad. Mr. Churchill has explained that a British Army of "a certain size" is concentrated at Baku, and *The Mining World*, casually referring to the Baku oil product under the heading "News from the Properties," confirms the news that Russian petroleum has passed into British hands.

Russia was always deficient in railway accommodation. Walling tells us that the railways never could transport the produce of the peasants: only that of the landlords. He says that the peasants were often obliged to wait three or four days in the station for a train which would hold them. The roads were an even worse case. In Simbirsk, he says, the peasants paid a farthing per head per annum for the upkeep of roads, and the landlords, who had "an absolute monopoly of local government," paid nothing whatever for such purposes. War has in every country made terrible havoc of roads and railway equipment, and war still continues in Russia.

Under these conditions it is to be understood that the Russian peasant, still scarcely able to produce food enough to feed his family, should shrink from parting with his grain for paper money, which, under existing conditions, cannot purchase anything that he needs. Bessie Beatty, an American writer, who was in Russia during the Kerensky regime and until the early part of last year, speaks of the peasants' reluctance to part with their grain even then. She says:—

"The greatest difficulty that each succeeding Government experienced was that of making the peasants give up their grain. They wanted plows, cotton for their looms, shoes for themselves and their children; and the roubles they received had depreciated so greatly in value that they had no purchasing power. The peasants looked upon them as so many scraps of worthless paper."

"A Russian who had two estates down in the south told me of an excursion that he made to the Government of Chernigoff in September. He went there to try to induce the peasants to sell their grain to the army. 'There was one village,' said he, 'where there were two thousand inhabitants. It was in the heart of the rich grain country. Since the previous December no official had been allowed to enter the village. The people had isolated themselves from the rest of Russia, and officials remained away under threat of being killed. I went alone on horseback with a rifle and some ammunition. As I neared the place I saw the villagers coming out to meet me. I told them they must give bread to the army, which was in danger of starving at the front. I made what I thought was a forcible plea. When I finished an old grey-haired peasant, who seemed to be the spokesman of the crowd, said: 'That's all very clever talk, but now listen to what we have to say. You want our bread. You offer to give us five roubles a pood (forty lbs.). What is five roubles to us? We want to buy shoes. For shoes we must pay a hundred roubles. We will keep our grain.' 'All right,' I answered, 'if you want to keep your grain you can keep it; but you need petrol, and sugar for your tea, and iron for your plows. If you do not give us grain we will not give you these.' The old peasant smiled and beckoned me to follow him. He led me to a window where a couple of crude pine torches cut from a near-by wood had been placed. 'Those were the lights our grandfathers used,' he said. 'They are good enough for us, you can keep your petrol.' 'But sugar—you must have sugar for your tea.' 'Our grandfathers needed no sugar for their tea. They got along without tea, and they had as much bread as we have.' 'What about iron for your plows?' I asked. Surely, here at any rate I had him stumped. He led me to a shed at the back of his house, and showed me a small, primitive *sochar* plow, in use now only in the most backward sections. 'Do you see that blade?' he asked. 'Our fathers used those and they had bread. There's enough steel on the old plows in the village to make new plows to last four years. You can keep your petrol and your sugar and your iron,' he said triumphantly. 'You know,' I said, playing my trump card, 'we can bring troops down here and force you to give up

your grain for the good of your country.' 'Yes, of course,' he said, 'we are only two thousand, and if you brought a whole regiment you could beat us. But we will recall our own peasants from the front, and when they come, do you suppose they will fight for you? No, they will fight for us.' It was of no use—all threats had failed. I tried persuasion. 'But please, please,' I said, 'your brothers are starving—please give us some grain for the army.' 'Yes,' he said, 'we will give you bread. We will give you two thousand poods of bread for our brothers at the front.' 'We will be glad to pay you—' I began. He interrupted. 'No,' he said, 'it is a present—we will not sell you bread. We have no use for your roubles. They are scraps of paper.'"

"... The peasant who could neither read nor write knew enough to realise that money is paper when its purchasing power is gone. Unless it could be transmuted into farm implements, it was of less value to him than his grain. The dream of the Soviets was communally owned farm machinery that would lift Russian agriculture out of its primitive state and lessen the drudgery of the peasant's desperate struggle for life."

Lenin tells of the well-to-do peasants; the little capitalists who hoard and profiteer whilst their brothers starve. Bessie Beatty adds:—

"The same official told me that he had visited the village of Radouel, and found the people without bread, while two kilometres away the peasants were feeding bread to the pigs and selling pigs for lard. 'Why should we sell bread for 2 roubles a pood, when we can get 150 roubles a pood for fat pork?' the peasants asked."

The Germans, with their highly developed industries and manufacturing skill, might come to the aid of Russia; but the Allies prevent it. When the German Revolution broke out, the Russians offered food trains to Germany, and desired that the two nations should co-operate; but such co-operation was forbidden by the Allies, and the reactionary elements in Germany were thus able to point out that friendship with Russia meant renewed war with the Allies. The Allies refused to negotiate with the German Workers' and Soldiers' Council, which was the equivalent of the Russian Soviet. Foch ordered the Allied armies to dissolve such councils.

Since the Armistice Germany's own hardships have grown more serious than when she was still at war. Mr. Churchill's own words are the best proof of this:—

"We are holding all our means of coercion in full operation or in immediate readiness for use. We are enforcing the blockade with rigour. We have strong armies ready to advance at the shortest notice. Germany is very near starvation. All the evidence I have received from officers sent by the War Office all over Germany shows, first of all, the great privations which the German people are suffering, and, secondly, the danger of a collapse of the entire structure of German social and national life under the pressure of hunger and malnutrition. Now, is therefore the moment to settle."

British soldiers have complained of the hardships of German people. General Plumer has protested. Here comes a protest from another young soldier:—

"The following information has been given to me by the mother of a soldier just returned from Cologne, from the Army of Occupation there:—

"'Sad as it is,' he says, 'to see the children so pale and thin and so timid of every one,' there is one thing far worse in his opinion. It seemed to him nearly every woman and girl seen in the streets of Cologne was a prostitute, and for a piece of soap and a lump of bread or a few biscuits, a soldier could live with a German girl for a week. He called it 'live,' his mother said. 'God forgive us.' I cannot conceive that such ill can be done, as is being done by the continuance of this inhuman blockade, and no just punishment follow."

Volkstimme's report of the wholesale destruction by the French troops of Occupation in the Maingau chemical factory, for which no redress could be secured, is ominous of future possibilities. Very ominous, too, is the account of Allied intentions given in *The Times*, March 8th, by Mr. Frank H. Simonds, an account corroborated from other sources. According to Mr. Simonds when the peace treaty comes to be signed, Germany will have been deprived of between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 people who are to be placed under foreign rule. President Wilson laid down as one of his peace terms:—

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"The settlement of every question whether of territory or of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and, not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

Disregarding this pledge to the peoples of the world, the Council of Ten is arranging, as Mr. Simonds explains, to hand over to France not merely Alsace Lorraine, but also the Saar Valley an area of about 1,000 square miles, "because of its great coal deposits." Says Mr. Simonds:—

"The 30,000 inhabitants would unquestionably choose the German rather than the French nationality at this time, but the question of self-determination in this specific case is affected by other considerations."

Even in Alsace Lorraine the workers are holding demonstrations to express their desire to return to German rule because a change of citizenship has meant that their masters cause them to work longer hours for lower wages than before. Germany is to lose, Mr. Simonds continues, not only Alsace Lorraine and the Saar basin, but, as Sir Edward Carson and the Secret Treaties promised, all the territory on the west bank of the Rhine. A Rhenish republic is to be created to cover the remaining area. This is not all, the Rhinelands east of the Rhine, are to be occupied indefinitely by the Allied armies, perhaps for 10 years, probably more, till the heavy indemnity which the Allies are demanding has been paid; an indemnity incurred, if incurred at all, by the Kaiser's Government, not by the people. This is not all. Posen, Dantzig, together with the whole of East and West Prussia, are to be taken from Germany and handed over to Poland, in order that Poland, as Mr. Simonds tells us, may become capable alike of resisting German and Bolshevik attack. Thus on the French frontier and in Schleswig 2,500,000 Germans are to be removed from Germany, 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 Germans are to become Poles and 4,500,000 are to belong to the Rhenish Republic.

Europe will be divided into water-tight compartments for resisting Bolshevism. Russia is to be kept apart from Germany by a strong Poland and Allied money and munitions will help Poland to fight Bolshevism. On the west the danger of Bolshevism spreading from Germany is to be prevented by further buffer states. The present terrible blockade is making German capitalists and aristocrats ready to suffer a British occupation which will hold down the workers, especially as the German Government, in response to pressure from the workers, has antagonised them by taking some feeble steps towards the Socialisation of industry, and has agreed to incorporate the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in the Constitution.

There is evidently a difference of opinion amongst the Allied politicians as to the best way to stay Bolshevism. Lansing, the American Secretary of State, says Germany must be fed: "not out of pity for the German people... but because we, the victors in this war, will be the chief sufferers if it is not done." The Liberal newspapers continually urge that the people must be fed to defeat Bolshevism. The Spartacist battles in Germany, they point out to be largely a fight for actual food. The *Daily News* records that the fighting discloses hidden stores of food, which are seized by the starving people; and tells that the people waiting in the food queues say: "Thank God, we are armed." Press reports declare that the German rich are indulging in an orgy of luxury and pleasure, dancing whilst the people starve, and Germany is being reduced to ruins. Yet the same newspapers are unanimous in opposing the Spartacist Socialists, who wish to end this corruption and to establish the era of equality.

In spite of the frequent declarations of Allied Ministers and members of the Council of Ten that Germany must be fed, the blockade continues with unabated rigour; the ultra-coercionist politicians hold sway.

STRIKE POSSIBILITIES.

The employers and the Government, which more and more reveals itself as the Executive Committee of the Capitalist class, are now so contemptuously flouting every demand of the workers, that even the least class-conscious of the old-fashioned Trade Union leaders, are moved to indignation. A situation is developing, in which, in spite of their desire to avoid conflict, the National Trade Union officials may be forced to approve a strike and to follow the lead of the restive rank and file, as did those district officials whom the A.S.E. lately dismissed. The Railway Executive has indeed thrown down the gauntlet to labour, in refusing to allow the 33s. war increase won by the railway workers, to remain a permanent part of their wage. The railway men in pre-war days were amongst the sweated workers of the country: to propose a gradual reduction of 15s. to 24s. a week in their present wage is not only an outrage; it is just one of those provocative proposals which no body of workers will accept, the refusal of double pay for Sunday duty, and the offer of time and a quarter instead, will serve to inflame the situation. One can only conclude that the Government expects that a strike will eventually develop and is choosing its own moment for it. Perhaps, also, it prefers to have the workers fighting a defensive battle to retain their present status than an offensive to secure improved conditions.

The coal inquiry has revealed much profiteering, and on behalf of the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Mr. W. Straker has submitted proposals for nationalisation. These provide for a national mining council appointed for five years, and consisting of five representatives chosen by the Miners' Federation, five appointed, presumably by the Government, to represent consumers, and a Chairman appointed by the Government who will be Minister of Mines. The scheme provides district mining councils and pit committees constituted in the same way, and sitting for three years and one year respectively. It is proposed that the Minister of Mines may compulsorily purchase mines and land for sinking new mines. It was suggested that the mine owners could be paid the value of their invested capital out of the average profits of 25 per cent

The German soldiers cannot be trusted to fight Socialism: therefore, though the German Government has announced its intention to build up a substantial army, Mr. Lloyd George insists, and the Peace Conference has agreed, that the German army shall consist of only 70,000 or 100,000 men (though General Foch and his military colleagues would have allowed 200,000) and that conscription in Germany shall be abolished. Britain, on the other hand, is to take Germany's place as a military nation with an army of 900,000, in the first instance, and conscription is to be extended till April 20th, 1920. Germany is to be allowed no military air force and the question of a German commercial air force is still under discussion.

The German Navy, it is suggested, should be distributed amongst the Allies, the greater part of the German mercantile marine is also to be so distributed, and the British are to have three-quarters of the tonnage. Whilst capitalists are prosecuting the war against Bolshevism and punishing Germany, they take care to look after their own private interests, for, of course they intend that these ships shall pass to them, like the ships built by the British Government during the war. The British Navy is meanwhile to be maintained at the pre-war two-power standard, which will undoubtedly mean an enormous increase, because America is also we believe about to become a great Naval Power. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

IMPORTANT.

NEXT WEEK we shall publish criticisms of the Berne Conference by International Socialists including: F. Lorient, of the Left Wing French Socialist Party; Ernst Toller, Member of the Executive Council of the Bavarian Soldiers' and Sailors' Council; R. Grimm, Swiss Socialist Deputy; Ch. Rappoport, famous French Socialist writer; Louise Münch, Swiss Socialist, &c.

and that they could have 5 per cent interest meanwhile. We are opposed to the principle of re-paying invested capital. In the case of the mines the capital has already been repaid again and again out of the profits. We think that the right principle is to offer work to the dispossessed capitalists, for a pension, equal to that given to any one else, if the ex-capitalist is unable to work. That is the Soviet plan, and we think it is the right one. The control scheme is not so good as the Soviet method, by which members of the controlling body are delegates who must report to, and receive instructions from, those who appointed them, and can be changed at any time. The basis of the workers' control under the Soviets is the workers in the pits or workshops. Delegates from the Co-operatives which represent the consumers, the Soviets (themselves formed of delegates from the industrial workers) and the industrial and professional organisations concerned are added to the district and national councils.

Nevertheless, we must admit that this M.F.G.B. scheme is a great advance, coming, as it does, from a National Executive. We may look to see improvements introduced under stress of events. Mr. Straker said that there would be a strike if nationalisation were not conceded. Nationalisation on the Post Office lines or on the lines of the present Transport Bill, would not benefit the workers, except by stimulating their class-consciousness by bringing to them a practical realisation that their conflict is with the Government—with the capitalist system itself. The Government will not readily agree to such proposals as those put forward by Mr. Straker, defective as they are from the workers' standpoint. If the workers adhere to their demands, a great conflict will arise, which may include miners, railway workers, dockers, and all others engaged in transport. The demand of the agricultural labourers for a wage of £2 5s. has also been refused, and though the labourers offered to accept 35s., the farmers refused to concede more than 30s. If the Triple Alliance decides to strike, the agriculturalists will probably join them. The dockyard workers, who so lately were beaten, will be glad of an attempt to reverse their defeat. But a strike of the miners and transport workers inevitably means that the majority of workers are thrown out of employment. Will the workers use the general strike to establish the Soviets in Britain?

TARDY JUSTICE.

Ten months have elapsed since the Government imprisoned leading Sinn Feiners. They have been denied the chance of trial, and no charge has been preferred against them. As our readers will remember, an alleged German plot was used as a reason for the arrests. Now they have been released just as unceremoniously as they were arrested. Nothing has been gained from the Government's point of view by this absurd and unjust transaction. On the contrary, Ireland is more Sinn Fein, if that be possible.

Countess Markievicz, Ireland's first woman M.P., has just returned to Dublin after her long imprisonment—her reception in Dublin shows that she is even more popular than ever. Her sojourn in prison gave her time to study methods for the advancement of Ireland. In a conversation she told us that she favours the Russian Soviet system, though owing to differences in the countries, the system would have to be adapted to Ireland's needs. The Soviet idea is nothing new to Irish people; Connolly was its exponent. The future of Ireland will be watched by Socialists on this side of the Channel with the greatest interest.

W. F. WATSON.

A further remand until to-day (Saturday), at 2 p.m., was secured by W. F. Watson, at Bow Street. Watson kept the Court busy for a full three hours, and as all his witnesses were not present, procured an adjournment. On account of the lively scenes at Ramsay's trial, only those specially named by Watson were allowed to be present. Nevertheless, we urge all supporters to come in for this time.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By Frank Phippen.

The workers are at last waking up to the realisation that they have been ridden on for years by the parasites and drones of society, and it is a notable fact that the drones have been depending for the continuance of their "cushy" jobs on the apathy and indifference of the workers, quite as much as upon the coercive power of the police and army.

This awakening of the workers is very marked in South Wales and is reflected in the numerous strikes occurring—strikes made necessary by the greed and mismanagement of the mine-owners.

Soldiers, who have been from the mines for the period of the war, all agree as to the change that has come over the miners. No longer is it possible for the bosses to "sack" any man for his trade union activity, and if it was attempted the rank and file would be up in arms in a short space of time. When it is realised that a South Wales miner is now free from victimisation, all will agree that it is a great step forward in the fight for freedom.

And, again, it is astounding to think to what extent the miners' control their industry. The coalowners will wake up one of these days and find they own no mines at all; they will begin to rub their eyes and wonder if they ever had any mines, so gradually and effectively are the miners usurping control. In most pits to-day, if a manager requires overtime labour for doing some job or another that can't be done during working hours, he has to consult the Pit Committee and lay all the facts before them. If the Pit Committee consider the work to be classed as emergency work, they will kindly allow the management to use the labour power of a few men for a certain definite time to be fixed by the Pit Committee. Before any new arrangements in regard to the working of the mine are made the men must be consulted with a view to having their permission, and if any official is disliked by the workmen steps are taken to affect his removal. The men will not tolerate an official who does not look after the safety of the mine as it should be looked after. Too long have the miners allowed output of coal to come before safety. Fear for their own safety has compelled the miners to employ their own fellow workers as examiners of the mines, and whenever these examiners decide that a portion of the mine is unsafe, the rank and file force the hands of the management to make the mine fit for working.

COAL COMMISSION.

The facts brought out by the Coal Commission are having a great effect upon the miners, and every one that thinks at all is of the decided

opinion that while one shareholder gets a penny piece profit out of coal-mining the workers are justified in making the present demands.

Nationalisation must be a means to an end, and that end is, control by the workers for the workers.

SOLDIERS AND STRIKES.

The Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers' and Sailors' Union of the Rhondda Valleys has expressed the opinion through a resolution that, if called upon, in case of a strike, with the miners, to shoot down their fellow-workers, they will recognise that the time has gone for ever when the workers can be split up into soldiers and civilians. They are all fellow-workers, and one of the miners' demands is for full pay for all ex-service men who are unable to obtain work.

ADVERTISEMENT FUND.

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The Dreadnought has no financial backing, it looks to *you* for help.

Please send what you can *now* to "Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

SPITZBERGEN.

Those who remember that the British Navy recently conveyed a private company, The Northern Exploration Company, Ltd., to Spitzbergen and there annexed the island, permitting the private company to reap the benefit, will be interested to know how the affair is progressing. The *Mining World* reports the Company is conveying coal down the mountains at the rate of 30 tons a day and has 19,000 tons of coal ready for shipment. Plant has been ordered for developing and working the iron ore. "It is anticipated that a large tonnage will be available for shipment to this country during the year."

Parliament As We See It.

March 10th.—The common recruiting cry was for men to come forward and "fight for their country." Now these same men are being discharged and Mr. Bottomley (Ind.) suggests the construction of the Channel Tunnel in order to find employment for them! Where, then, is "their country"? And what has "victory" done for them?

EDUCATION.

According to Mr. Fisher's statement, the abolition of fees in secondary schools in England and Wales, with the present number of scholars, would amount to about £1,400,000 per annum. What a trifle when compared with the daily war expenditure!

BLOCKADE.

"We have still to maintain a blockade of our enemies," were words used by Sir A. Geddes (Minister of National Service and Reconstruction) in reference to the trade position in this country. Colonel Wedgwood (C.L.), however, in his speech showed that Protection was also much to blame. The blockade, he explained, was "preventing our goods from going abroad where they are wanted." Perhaps this argument may induce those vindictive people, who want an eternal blockade, to pause and consider whether this vengeance doesn't cut both ways.

BOLSHEVISM.

March 11th.—Mr. Cecil Harmsworth confidently told the house he had "every reason to believe" that the Bolsheviks take and murder hostages. The source of the information is not given. Was it the *New Europe* which started the Nationalisation of Women lie, and now withdraws it?

RENT BILL.

The Increase of Rent (Restrictions) Bill was considered in Committee and passed with amendments on March 14th. The most important change was the raising of the control limit to £75, per annum, thus enlarging the scope of the Bill.

AN ELDORADO.

March 12th.—Mr. Churchill told the House that in Murman "the comfort of the troops is being carefully attended to, and measures are being taken to give them recreation and interest"! Cinematographs, stores, and gramophones valuing £1,600 have been sent out. "The clothing provided for the troops is excellent.... The ration scale is generous...." Compare this statement with the statements of soldiers actually in Murmansk. They say they are starving, and a soldier writing from Archangel asserts that they are always cold and wet. We feel sure that Mr. Churchill must have had his report from Whitehall, or some leaflet pointing out the attractions of the Arctic zone!

AIR ESTIMATES.

March 13th.—Major-General Seely, in asking the House to accept the Air Estimates, pointed out that had the war continued they would have been £200,000,000 instead of £66,500,000, which he was now asking. Everything depended on "what kind of a peace we are going to make." Mr. Joynton-Hicks (C.U.) has prated of this war as "the war to end war," and yet he said: "War in future, I think, will be air war." Most speeches made calmly contemplated the effectiveness of airships in all future wars. And this before the present peace melodrama has concluded.

M.O.C.

THE RHONDDA TEACHERS' STRIKE.

BY ONE OF THE STRIKERS.

For a fortnight 35,000 children in the Rhondda Valley, South Wales, have been running idly about the streets. Only people who have lived in such an industrial area, with housing conditions as they are, among the smoke and grime of the collieries, can realise what this means.

Over 1,150 teachers have delivered notices, and there are twenty-two grades among them, from the head teacher of the secondary school down to the supplementary teacher. Each grade has formulated its own demands, but all ranks have determined to stand each by the other until all are satisfied. Anyone who knows anything about organising teachers will realise that this combined action means a deeprooted grievance.

The agitation began in February, 1918, and an audience was not granted by the Urban District Council until July. This audience the Council persisted in calling a conference, though the deputation of teachers was merely allowed to state its demands, answer certain questions put by the Councillors, and then retire.

After further agitation a scale was proffered by the Council, and rejected by the teachers in September. Another was offered in December and provisionally accepted, the teachers still adhering to their demands for the National Union of Teachers' scales of salaries. The Rhondda teachers are supported by their Executive, which is determined to secure for them an adequate living wage.

The Rhondda is practically a one-industry area, for the huge majority of the male population are engaged in or about the collieries, and are members of the all-powerful South Wales Miners' Federation. Surely these fellow workers will admit the right to other workers to make a trade union demand, and will lend their influence towards the acquiring of it.

The teachers' representatives have proved that owing to the operation of the Fisher formula the rates will not be raised, although not conceding the principle that their wages should depend upon amounts collected in this manner.

The Board of Education has now offered to bring about a meeting between the disputants in order to find a way out of the *impasse*. What will happen remains to be seen.

AMERICAN SUFFRAGETTES.

The Federal Women's Suffrage Amendment having been defeated in the United States the American "Women's Party" is making a great to do. On New Year's Day some of its members lighted fires in front of the White House, which they say will be kept burning till the Senate has passed the Amendment. A stone urn has been kept ablaze with speeches of President Wilson, including his words to the American soldiers on Christmas Day, his toast at Buckingham Palace, and his address to the British wounded. Wood for the other fires has been brought from every State in the Union. Many of the fire-makers have been put to gaol. A special train containing women ex-prisoners is being run to conduct a campaign throughout the States.

INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION.

(Continued from page 1263.)

German revolution; but to-day we see how in the course of a few months Germany has changed from a mighty empire to a rotten tree trunk. The force that has overthrown Germany is also working in England. It is only weak to-day, but with every step that the English and French advance in Russia this force will steadily rise to power and will even become more terrible than the Spanish influenza.

The seriousness of the situation must be apparent to every worker who knows what he is aiming at and he must make the masses see it, too. The mass of workers and peasants is mature enough to be allowed to know the whole truth. The danger is great, but we must, and shall overcome it, and for this purpose we must develop and solidify the Red Army without halting. We must make it ten times as strong and large as it is. Our forces must grow with every day, and this constant growth will give us the guarantee, as before, that international Socialism will be the victor.

[Lenin's speech was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm, and a resolution was passed embodying his recommendations.]

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

SATURDAY, MARCH 22nd.

Waterloo Road, meeting near "Old Vic."—
3 and 6.30 P.M. Speakers: Miss Birch and
Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, MARCH 23rd.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel (Joint Meeting with
the Committee for the Release of C.O.s).—
11.45 A.M., John Syme, and others.

Deptford Broadway (Joint Meeting with the
United Builders' Labourers' Union).—
11.30 A.M., Mrs. Walker, John Blythe.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.

Cobden Statue.—5.30 P.M., Mr. J. G. Stone.

SATURDAY, MARCH 29th.

Great Push in Lewisham and Camberwell.

INDOOR.

SUNDAY, MARCH 23rd.

400 Old Ford Road.—4-7 P.M., At Home
(Musical Programme).

MONDAY, MARCH 24th.

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

THURSDAY, MARCH 27th.

20 Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle.—
8 P.M., Mr. Edmunds: 'Marxian Economics.'

SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.

400 Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Mr. Alex. Gossip:
'The Real Fight for Freedom.' Chair: Mrs.
Walker. Discussion.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, MARCH 25th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris
Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.
Chair: Miss Horsfall.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.

East London Workers' Committee, 400 Old Ford
Road.—7.30 P.M.

SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.

East London Workers' Committee, 400 Old Ford
Road.—7.30 P.M., Monthly Meeting.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Mrs. Durant, £1. COL-
LECTIONS.—Chandos Hall, £3 7s. 7d.; Poplar
W.S.F., 15s. 6d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mr. and Mrs. Sadid Brown,
£8; Mr. J. H. Wilson, £2 2s.; Miss M. S. Pelly
(monthly), £1 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly),
10s.

BOLSHPILLS.

TONIC PILLS FOR BOLSHEVISTS TO BE
TAKEN ONE EVERY HOUR DURING STRIKES.

CALCULATIONS BASED ON VARIOUS
GOVERNMENT RETURNS FOR 1918.

29,732 persons paid Super-tax on an
aggregate income of £247,257,124.

No. of Paupers at last return

(Indoor and Outdoor) ...	752,041
No. of Old Age Pensioners ...	948,582
Total ...	1,700,623

Thus 29,723 persons receive enough to
give themselves an income of £1,000 and
to give each one of these 1,700,623 depen-
dants on State charity a pension of £200
a year.

OR:—

If you gave those 29,723 persons a State
Pension of 5s. per week, the 1,700,623
victims of the Industrial War could receive
£350 per annum.

The increase in the industrial wages
bill for 1918 was £112,516,000.

Thus if you were to put those 29,732
shirkers in the workhouse and used their
unearned income for industrial purposes,
the whole of the workers of this Country
could have received an increase of three
times the amount of that which he actually
received.

Population at last Census, 45,221,165.

Disregarding the appalling loss of life due
to the war, 29,723 persons received in 1918
sufficient to give each living soul in the
Country, children included, a bonus of £50
per head.

No. of families living in tenements in
1918, 8,005,290.

29,732 Capitalist Bolsheviks rob the
people of sufficient to allow themselves an
income of £1,000 a year and to enable each
one of these 8,005,290 families to have a
decent house of an annual rental of £27
(rent free).

The Civil Service estimate (which in-
cludes the estimate for Public Education)
in the last Budget was £42,325,000.

Thus 29,732 people receive sufficient
in 1 year to allow themselves an income of
£1,000 and to defray the above estimate
for 5 years.

The total estimate for the "Supply Ser-
vices" of Old Age Pensions, Ministry of
Labour, State Insurance, Civil Service, and
Public Education in the last Budget was
£64,029,000.

29,732 persons receive sufficient to allow
themselves an income of £1,000 and to
defray the cost of these services for 3 years.

The cost of the Board of Trade
"Working Class Budget" in 1914

was ...	25s.
Do. do. in 1918 was	52s. 9d.
Increase due to the war ...	25s. 9d.
(or 111 per cent.)	

29,723 persons received sufficient in 1918
to allow themselves an income of £1,000
with enough over to defray the increased
cost of food for over 4,000,000 families on
the basis of the Board of Trade Standard
Working Class Budget.

Death Duties paid in 1918.

11 per cent. of the estates above £5,000
outvalued the 89 per cent. in capital value
over FIVE TIMES.

According to Pethick Lawrence's book:—
2 per cent. hold 64 per cent. of the private
wealth of the Country.

85 per cent. hold 12 per cent. of the
private wealth of the Country.

"The Earth is the Lord's and the fulness
thereof."—I don't think.

The above calculations are based on the various
tables of statistics given in the "People's Year
Book" for 1919.

P.G.H.

MACDONALD'S PASSPORT TO RUSSIA REFUSED.

The British Government has refused the
passports to Russia applied for by Ramsay
MacDonald and C. Roden Buxton as members
of a Commission of Inquiry appointed by the
Berne Conference. The fact that the Govern-
ment has refused to allow Ramsay MacDonald,
who has always displayed a distinctly anti-
Bolshevik bias, to go to Russia, is a proof that
it is aware that only the most hardened
pro-capitalist reactionary can possibly support
the Allied Intervention, and that no truthful
person can fail to praise the Soviet for its
constructive work, and valiant and capable
handling of both difficulties bequeathed to
it by the old régime and those thrust upon it
by the counter-revolution.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word.
Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay
and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought,"
152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 11d.
—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

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of the paper? Do you sell it at the meetings of
your organisation? Introduce it to your work-
shop.

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15s. a week to every child in our midst as proudly
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Trade Unions and Socialist Organisations.—Apply, Miss
E. Lagsding, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E. 14.

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preferred.—Apply, W. S., Box 1, Workers' Dreadnought
Office.

WANTED.—Woman Gardener, fruit and vegetable
garden, near London.—Apply, F. T., Box 2, Workers'
Dreadnought Office.

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C.O. MEETING.

A meeting of the C.O. hunger strikers tem-
porarily released from Wandsworth and other
prisons under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, will be
held on Sunday, March 23rd, at the Grove,
Hammersmith, at 11.30 A.M. The Chairman will
be Comrade Ruderman, who will be supported by
the following speakers: Comrades Sara, Hanrodt,
and Beauchamp. All have been on hunger strike
either at Wandsworth or Winchester Prisons.

OUT-OF-WORK PAY REFUSED.

47,682 rejected claims to the unemployment
donation had been heard by the Courts of Referees
up to February 27th. Of this 65 per cent have
been refused by the Courts on the following
grounds:—

	Per cent.
Employment left voluntarily without just cause	25.5
Dismissed for unsatisfactory conduct	10.3
Refusal to accept suitable employment	47.3
Trade Disputes	12.3
Other grounds	4.6

But what is to become of those 47,682 people?
If they take food without paying or attempt
suicide because they cannot pay their way they
will be sent to prison.

Printed by J. H. Francis, 11 and 13 Bream's Buildings, London,
E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, at
152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.