

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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DOCKERS BEWARE! By Harry Pollitt.

No apology is needed for introducing this subject to trade unionists, as it is so important and serious to every lover of national freedom and liberty, that one can only stand amazed that the British Labour Movement has stood idly by so long, while the Government has proceeded with its policy of Military Intervention in Russia.

The British Government is assisting the intolerable reactionary capitalists and landlords of Russia to revive the old régime of Czardom, which represented the world over all that was the most bloody and tyrannical, "so that there stretched from Moscow to the remote icy regions of Siberia one long damning trail of Red—the blood trail of the exiles upon the snow."

The trail of the pioneers of Russian trade unionism and Socialism, and to-day, after the workers of Russia have overthrown their age-long tyrants, the Government of Britain is sending soldiers, munitions and aeroplanes to defeat the Bolsheviks, who have succeeded in establishing the first Socialist Republic in the world.

That Republic stands in danger of being overthrown because British trade unionists (who are compelled to be in a trade union to fight the English capitalist) are manning the engines and ships that are carrying soldiers and munitions to Russia.

Here in the London Docks, British trade unionists are working every possible hour on barges that are being fitted out to carry bombs, ammunition boxes, and aeroplane parts, that are going to Russia to defeat and kill Russian trade unionists. Aye! and by some ironic circumstance, as if possessed by the bloody imp of capitalist greed, these same staunch trade unionists are working at a speed (and under

atmospheric conditions) that they never endured when it was thought so urgent to have ships to beat the Germans. How the gods of War and Greed must now be smiling in fiendish delight!

And all this effort, all this loss of comradeship, all this prostitution of idealism and manhood, to assist the capitalists of this country to defeat the proletariat! Bolshevik atrocities! Why, even if they were true (and all independent eye-witnesses from Russia declare that they have never witnessed any of them), they would pale into insignificance besides the ghastly executions and pogroms under the late Tsar, which in one year caused to be executed 28,000 of his subjects, the majority of whom belonged to your own class.

Your Government never intervened then!

Therefore I would appeal to all of you, who still have a heart that beats in sympathy with our comrades abroad, to get busy in your branches and get the members to refuse to touch any ship that is to carry munitions to Russia. Only by such action can the British Labour Movement wipe out the stain that now tarnishes its ideals. If this action means personal sacrifice, what of it! On the Continent men and women are dying every hour to defend working class Russia, shall we fail them in their hour of need, or rather, shall we not exhibit a little of that international solidarity that we love to cheer about, but have now such a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate?

In conclusion, let me quote you the closing passage from Arthur Ransome's 'Truth about Russia'—

"These men who have made the Soviet Government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shields and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written



THE RICKSHAW BOY.

a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the story of the human race. They are writing amid showers of mud from the meaner spirits in their own country, in yours, and in my own. But when the thing is over, and their enemies have triumphed the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and the writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun when I looked from my windows in Petrograd."

MAY DAY IN LONDON.

It was a bigger turn-out than is usual for May Day demonstrations held in London on May 1st, when May Day does not fall on a Sunday, for we London workers are always timid of taking a day off lest we should get the sack. But it touched scarcely the fringe of the population. The crowds that gathered in the sordid streets of the working-class suburbs to watch the decorated carts go by were but scanty. Between the Embankment and Hyde Park more people had assembled, but the crowds were not great and their enthusiasm was not high. The Stratford Co-operative Society had decorated its many vehicles with Union Jacks. And whilst we were sending fraternal greetings to the Soviets our fellow trade unionists in Poplar Docks were loading munitions, made by our fellow trade unionists, to be sent out there for use against the Soviets. It had been arranged with the National Kitchens that the children should be given tea in Hyde Park. Well enough, if you like, but, after all, it was merely a case of putting a few paper roses over the chains that firmly bind the people. The news placards that we passed on our march flaunted in our eyes the fact that the Government is fighting our Soviet comrades in Russia. Some of us, three or four hundred, made up our minds to go to the House of Commons to raise a protest; we knew that the Commons would not heed us; we hoped that the people outside might. We marched with a few small red flags and after a time were met by mounted policemen, who made their horses rear amongst us,

and by foot policemen, who tried to push us back. But some of us succeeded in passing them, a much depleted force. We went on to Whitehall, turned in at Downing Street, found the door of the official residence wide open, and with police running across from the Foreign Office to prevent us, rushed in, calling for the Prime Minister. The police dragged us out, so we went on to the House of Commons. Policemen barred our way. We all of us pay for the upkeep of the place but the police refused admission to us; we might disturb the ancient mummery and the smug, wire-pulling there. Again some of us tried to rush in and as a result two of us were soon in the cells at Cannon Row, and were kept there in the cold, semi-darkness till the talking shop over the way put its lights out at 10 P.M. E. S. P.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA PROTEST.

Demonstrators Discharged.

! On Friday, May 2nd, before Sir John Dickinson at Bow Street, Sylvia Pankhurst was charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, and Miss O'Mahoney was accused of trying to rescue her. The defendants had been arrested for going to the House of Commons to call attention to the war upon the workers' governments of Russia and Hungary. They were ordered to be bound over to keep the peace for six months and to find sureties of £5. They refused to be bound over, saying that this would be an admission of wrong-doing, and they thought they had done right, and were removed from the Court in custody of the gaoler. Afterwards, they

were again brought into Court, when Sir John Dickinson said that he did not wish to record a conviction against them, and that he would therefore discharge them.

GLASGOW'S LABOUR MAY DAY.

If any proof were required of the unqualified success of Glasgow's Labour Day Demonstration on May 1st, one only required to peruse the "leaders" of the reactionary press the following day. One would gather from their attitude that they were sorry the procession through the principal streets had passed off quietly without being attacked.

The demonstration was easily the largest on record, it being conservatively estimated that as many as 130,000 people took part representing 250 Socialist, Trade Union, Co-operative and Sinn Fein organisations. The weather while not too bright was, on the whole, favourable. The route of the procession had been, at the request of the Chief Constable, slightly altered from that of former years to minimise interference with the tramways, yet the density of the crowds in the main thoroughfares through which the procession passed almost wholly dislocated the system for hours throughout the day.

New features of the demonstration this year were the inclusion of Sinn Fein and Discharged Sailors and Soldiers Federation Contingents; the Countess Markievicz speaking for the former in Glasgow Green with the Republican colours prominently displayed on the platform. The Co-operative Movement had numberless decorated lorries in the procession but the profuse display of Union Jacks and other imperialist emblems was entirely out of place in such a demonstration of International proletarian solidarity. Happily, this blight to the procession was adequately

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THE SOVIETS OF THE FAR EAST.

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.

Q. Could you tell us something about the schools? Did your children go to school under the Soviet régime?

A. Yes, my children went to school. We organised the schools. The teachers also formed a union and called a conference and laid out their programme—how they wanted to teach the children and what was best for the children. Of course, this was probably abolished when the reactionary power took control again. I spoke to many teachers before I left, and asked if they would continue teaching under the old laws again, and they said: "No, we shall stop teaching in the cities; we shall go to the farmers and villages and teach quietly, where nobody can interfere with us."

Q. When the teachers organised a union and took over the schools themselves, did they improve them?

A. Yes, they improved them greatly. They tried to bring the free spirit into the schools. They tried to learn to know every individual child, and they would go home to the mothers and learn their life at home and they would find out the child's position and the child's background, and would deal accordingly with the child. In the classes every morning the children would elect their own chairman for the day, and the teacher would just sit aside and watch them. Then if anybody had to be punished they would not come to the teacher, but would call a meeting—a revolutionary tribunal—and decide what to do. Of course it was somewhat comical, but the children would rarely do any mischief because they would be ashamed before each other. I spoke to many young teachers and asked them if they had ever heard the name of Montessori or Ferrer, and they said, "No." But they had the same ideas; they just came naturally to them.

Q. Did you stay there long enough to see whether the people in general seemed more healthy and happy; or were they worried, and was there a great deal of trouble?

N. No, they were not worried or troubled. The people were very happy because of the fact that they lived better economically under the Soviet Government than they had lived before. The wages were higher, bread was cheaper, and the theatres and moving pictures were better and cheaper. We had a Soviet Theatre. Of course the working men and the peasants could hardly reach the theatres at all before, and they all enjoyed them under the Soviet Government.

Q. Was it a free theatre?

A. Not free, but cheaper. It was a co-operative theatre.

Q. What about the priests and the ministers of religion and people like that?

A. They all opposed the Soviets.

Q. What is the relation of the people to the Church? Do they neglect the Church?

A. Yes. You see before they really had no other enjoyment or any other amusement than going to church. Under the Soviet there were more meetings and more lectures and theatres and moving pictures, and they would go to the churches more rarely. The priests did not like that.... There were many days that the White Guards and the reactionary power would try to rise against the Soviets, but they had very small power because the people would not back them. They had neither ammunition nor arms, and so they just did their howling in the streets and then went home to sleep.

Q. Were you obliged to put many of them in prison?

A. Yes, but we never kept them there long, because the Soviets in Siberia felt strong, and they were not afraid of the counter-revolutionists. They knew that they had no power at all. The people and the soldiers were all with the Soviet Government. They really loved the Soviet Government and they were ready to fight for it.

Q. The bourgeoisie—the few that there were around—they were living merely on the actual cash that they had, were they?

A. Yes, most of them lived on what they had before. Many of them, though, went to work, because we invited any one who wanted to

work, to become a member of the union and take a job; and they could become managers or select any work that fitted them.

Q. Were there any executions of counter-revolutionists in Siberia?

A. No, not a single one during the nine months—of course we had fights. While the Soviet Government was in power, it always had an army standing guard on two fronts. One was in the central part of Siberia; the other near the Chinese frontiers.

Q. What were you saying about nine months?

A. I said during the nine months that the Soviet was in power there was not a single execution; not a single death-sentence imposed by the Revolutionary Tribunal. We were most of us against capital punishment. We put those that were dangerous in prison.

Q. How long were the sentences of conspirators?

A. They were indeterminate—just until we felt strong enough to set them free.

Q. Say that again.

A. Well, the Tribunal decided that they would not give or issue any sentence. We kept them in prison as long as we felt that they were dangerous. As soon as the Soviet felt that they would not do any harm, they set them free. We had many counter-revolutionists who became sympathetic to the Soviet afterwards, some from necessity and others from understanding.

Q. Will you tell us your viewpoint about the Czecho-Slovaks?

A. At first the Czecho-Slovaks came through Siberia with the intention of going to the French front. Many regiments stopped in Vladivostok, and of course the Soviets gave them the best reception and the best buildings, thinking of them as guests and trying to accommodate them. But then many regiments arrived in Central Siberia carrying Russian arms with them, and the Central Siberia Soviet became a little suspicious, because the Russian arms could not be any good in France. So they asked them to leave the arms in Siberia—the rifles and the guns. They refused to do that and the Red Guards surrounded the trains, and would not let them proceed to Vladivostok. A good deal of trouble followed, but finally we tried to come to an understanding with the Czecho-Slovaks. We organized a peace conference in Central Siberia, to which all the cities should send delegates and the Czecho-Slovaks should send delegates. The conference took place in Irkutsk. While the peace conference was in session a shot was heard outside the depot where the trains were—the Czecho-Slovak trains. Of course, we do not know by whom that shot was fired. Supposedly it was fired by some of the counter-revolutionists trying to make trouble. Well, anyway, one Czecho-Slovak was wounded and then the fight began. The Czecho-Slovaks fired from the trains and the Red Guards fired back. It was a two-days fight. Very many wounded Czecho-Slovaks came to us in Habarovsk and we shipped them to Vladivostok. The Czecho-Slovaks heard the news in Vladivostok, and with the help of the Japanese and the English, they arrested the Soviet in Vladivostok, without giving it time or helping it to investigate by whom that shot was fired or who started the trouble. They just simply imprisoned the members of the Soviet. While they were being arrested, one member shot himself in the Soviet. He did not want to give in. He knew what was coming. It came so suddenly they were not prepared for a fight. The shops were busy and the sailors were at work.

After the Soviet was arrested there were about three or four days of fighting. Many factories would not give in until they killed out every one.

Q. What did they do with the leaders of the Soviet?

A. In Vladivostok they are keeping them in prison. When they took Habarovsk, however, they put out sixteen people in a row and shot them, many of them teachers. Some of them were the most intelligent people we had.

Q. What had become of your Government—the Commissars, had they gone farther away?

A. When Nikolsk and Vladivostok were taken we organised a strong army and tried to put up a fight. We held the front four weeks—until the English and Americans came. The Czecho-Slovaks and Japanese could not take Habarovsk; for four weeks they were put back. During that time a special conference was called in Habarovsk of the remaining Soviets to decide what to do—whether to retreat or fight on. The people would not listen to giving up the power. They wanted to fight. Of course they couldn't see the uselessness of it as the leaders could, but the leaders urged them to retreat and wait until the Allies should come to their senses. The commissars and leaders retreated in two boats to the wilderness alongside the Amur. I left them about two weeks before they retreated, taking my children to Nicolaievsk and waiting there for a boat to take me to Vladivostok. It took me six weeks to get to Vladivostok. During that time I was recognised once, and arrested, and my cabin was searched, but I was allowed to go on. When I came to Vladivostok I read in the newspapers that some of the Commissars had been caught and among them my husband, and they were—the news was that he had been shot.

The last time I spoke to him was when I was waiting in Nicolaievsk for the boat. The day they were to leave I spoke to him over the long-distance, and he said: "We are leaving at 6 o'clock in the evening." He just told me that they were leaving "for business," and I understood that they had given up.

Q. You did not tell us about the nationalisation of the land. I wish you would describe how that was done. Were there any fights about the allotment of it?

A. No, there were no fights. Of course, there were some small misunderstandings, but they called meetings, and people would explain to each other what was being done, and they always came to an understanding. They didn't want any fights. I think they are very good-natured people.

Q. Were there large estates there?

A. No, in Siberia there are not. They are just settlers, you see. I think it was harder in Russia—in Central Russia—than in Siberia, because there were great land owners.

Q. And during the summer when you were there all the peasants went to work and tilled the land?

A. Yes. Many soldiers who were set free went back to their homes and farms and cultivated the land, and they were really expecting to have a very good crop. They had most of them tried to put in an eight hour day's work, and they expected to have enough bread this winter to feed Russia—to feed Central Russia. And they would have had it but for the counter-revolutionary uprisings and for the attacks of the Czecho-Slovaks and the armies of the Allies. They would no sooner start to work than they would have to leave their tools and take a rifle in their hands and go out to defend themselves. And so it was whenever we wanted to do any constructive work. Even in the State Soviet they would have a meeting about organising some important work, and then a telegram would come of an uprising, and they would have to leave the meeting and raise an army. We never had two months of quiet to show what the Soviet could do.

Q. When anything like that happened, did you need to do any urging at all? Did the people just simultaneously throw down their implements and go?

A. Oh, yes, they just went—happily.

Q. When they went to fight, what did they think they were fighting for or against?

A. They thought they were fighting for the preservation of the Soviets.

Q. Were the ordinary people quite conscious that it was a new kind of political and social life they were defending?

A. Yes, indeed. All the peasants and working men went to the fight consciously. It was unnecessary even to call a meeting; we just had to announce that there was an uprising of the Semionoffs and they all knew what that meant.

Continued on page 1319.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

THE NEW SPY SHOP.

It should never be said that the Government does not find employment for people who have nothing else to do. There are simply tens of thousands who work from early morn (10 A.M.) till latest night (5 P.M.) in the various offices that sprawl all down Whitehall. This is not counting the hotels and hutments which add a fresh beauty to the scenery in St. James's Park.

The Government is indeed a large (not to say a generous) employer of labour—at the people's expense. It is a way governments have, of giving away what belongs to other people. It is not in money alone, but also in territory. Look at the unselfish way they promised a slice of Albania, a bite at Greece, and a gobble at Turkey in order to induce Italy to come into the war for "freedom, honour"—and what could be got meantime.

There is one particular department which holds a warm corner in the heart of the Government, which is known familiarly as the "Yard." This is known officially as His Majesty's Criminal Investigation Department, and is housed in a building which is a maze of corridors and is called Scotland Yard. The hefty young men who run about this rabbit warren spend all their day finding out everything about crime there is to be found. And then some. It is suggested by evil-minded persons that when these young men get "stuck" at any particular point, they fall back upon their imaginations, which are always in running order—in fact they sometimes run away with them. A specimen of such a Cuthbert was the notorious Alec Gordon.

It must not be supposed that the C.I.D. gallants are engaged in the merely ordinary game of hunting down forgers, burglars, murderers, and such bric-a-brac. This is left to the common or garden police over the way. These have no connection with the firm opposite. The main feature of the C.I.D. is the Special (or Political) Branch which tracks down peace-plotters, anarchists, Bolsheviks, and conscientious objectors. There is supposed to be a "black list" of all revolutionaries kept by the Special Branch, so that in case of the Angel of the Revolution smuggling herself into this blessed land of freedom, they can be put away safely in Brixton Prison until she is either interned or interred.

It was the Special Branch who tracked down THE DREADNOUGHT to its lair, and made all those little raids on *Forward*, *The Socialist*, *Freedom*, *The Tribunal*, *The Vanguard*, *The Worker*, *Satire*, *Voice of Labour*, *The Workers' Republic*, *Trade Unionist*, and all those contemptible little papers who refused to bow the knee to Dora. It was the Special Branch who made raids on some thirty private individuals and took away their personal belongings, just because these said individuals were foolish enough to think this was free England and not Tsarist Russia.

It was the Special Branch who raided my rooms, broke into our offices, took away *Satire*

and my private papers, and finally brought me up for breaking an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1823! After all their raiding, their burgling, their seizing my seditious papers, they could only bring me into Court on a charge of contravening the Lottery Act. Their mountain of brain could only bring forth this little mouse. Fancy the great, the brainy, the brilliant, the Special Branch of His Majesty's Criminal Investigation Department doing the dirty work of an ordinary cabbage-patch copper!

And now, in order to reward their arduous labours during the war, they are going to have an Extra-Special Branch all to themselves. They are all going, these lads of keen intellect who couldn't discover the secret press of *The Tribunal*, to have a nice new house all to themselves. They will, no doubt, have a new grindstone in the cloak-room where they can sharpen their brains—and their noses—prior to going out and tracking some German barber to his doom.

This is what the London *Star* says of the new job of Basil Thomson, the Chief Bottle-washer of the "Yard" (April 23rd, 1919):—

"Espionage, the alien question, and services rendered to the War Office and Admiralty Intelligence Departments have brought a volume of work to the Special Service Branch and a burden of responsibility to its head, which only a man of iron nerve and a wonderful constitution could have possibly stood so long."

A man of iron nerve, certainly! Some people would call it brassiness, gall, and cheek. I don't know if he has a wonderful constitution, but he has a wonderful imagination. Arresting East End tailors for being Bolsheviks! Chasing German barbers and Russian bakers into internment camps! Leaving wives and children stranded, with no money and no means of earning any, for false reasons or no reason at all! The upholder of the State, private property, the sanctity of marriage and the home, burgling his way into our houses, forcing husband and wife apart, trampling on the family. A brave, a gallant, a polite gentleman, who would make your Prussian bully look very small beer indeed.

He is the "man who questioned the spies" is Basil Thomson. "Questioned" is good. You will have seen on the pictures how the American police "question" criminals. And "spies" is extraordinarily good. I turn to *The Weekly Dispatch* of January this year:—

"Spy mania affects every nation in war, but the exaggerated rumours which spread like wildfire throughout England in the latter end of 1914 HAD LITTLE OR NO SUBSTANCE IN FACT."

The Dispatch is not a Bolshevik publication, neither has it ever been suspected of being pro-German. It has never been raided by the Special Branch. And here it is in black and white for friend Basil to digest.

Let us wish him luck in his new home. And should he ever lack for plots, he has only to look up some good novelist, like Edgar Wallace, William Le Queux, or Joseph Sandcock.

THE SOVIETS OF THE FAR EAST.

Continued from page 1318.

Q. How many people do you suppose there were opposing the Soviets before the Allies came?

A. You mean in Harbin? Well, you see that city is really an officers' city. It was the capital always of the Far East, and all the officials and all the banks and many governmental institutions were there, and, of course, all these officers were against it. Out of 50,000, perhaps, five or six thousand would be against the Soviet. All the higher officials were in the beginning against it. They would try to sabotage. Banks would go out on strikes. The higher teachers, too, went out on strike, but the parents called meetings and compelled them to go back and teach their children. We declared that if they did not go back they would have to go to work in the shops, and so they went back.

Q. Do you think that there was a higher percentage of people against the Soviets there than there was in other cities?

A. Oh, yes, because it is an officers' city.

Q. How close connection did you have with the government at Petrograd and Moscow?

A. In the beginning all the decrees that they had in Russia we had in Siberia, and telegrams came every week. My husband once spoke on the long-distance 'phone to Lenin in Moscow. But later, about four months before the Allies came, we didn't have any communication whatever with Russia, and we didn't know whether the Soviets there were dead or what had happened. We had to work independently. We issued our own money in the Far East.

Q. Is there a bitterer feeling against the Allies than against their own reactionaries in Russia?

A. It is the same feeling; they feel that it is just one company. They do not discriminate between them.

Q. They have no admiration for Mr. Wilson there, have they?

A. Well, they heard of Mr. Wilson, and they had faith in him, and really the people in Siberia thought that the Americans would not send in their troops. They hoped and believed that the Americans would not send in troops, and they were surprised when they did; I was surprised, too.

Q. How did you manage to get away?

A. I got a passport under a false name and went to Yokohama. While I was there I bought a copy of *The Japanese Advertiser*, published in English, and I found there a paragraph about my husband. I will read it to you:—

"The most important personage in Siberia at present is Krasnochokov, the leader of the Siberian Bolsheviks. No one now knows his whereabouts, but he is really an admirably strong man, while being in possession of a large sum of money with which he can easily start disturbances in either Mongolia or Manchuria. Four of his colleagues are now imprisoned in Vladivostok, and the Allied authorities are exerting themselves for the arrest of Krasnochokov. He may, perhaps, have the intention to go to America."

That makes me hope that my husband was not executed, after all. But, of course, I do not know. If he is alive he will communicate with me as soon as he can.

Q. After the revolution did the people think they should work less?

A. In many cases they worked harder, not because they were compelled but because they saw the necessity for it. Now, for instance, the sailors in Chabarovsk. It was in April, 1918, when the ice on the Amur cracked and the sailors had to prepare the boats for the navigation. The commissars and leaders at first doubted as to the faith of the sailors. But to their great surprise, when the day of navigation came, the fleet on the Amur River came out in its full beauty, every boat newly painted. With red flags on each boat they floated, covering the Amur. They were ready for the summer work.

I also remember the time when we could not obtain money from Petrograd because Semionoff stood between. The railroad men worked for three months without getting wages. They knew that the Soviet had no money to give them and were willing to work without compensation.

Q. Why were the people against the Constituent Assembly?

A. Well, I think because they had no confidence in the intellectuals. They were afraid to have those former lawyers and all those shrewd people go to Petrograd and put down iron laws for them. They felt that the Revolution was too young for that.

[Reprinted by special permission from 'The Liberator' of New York.]

A PACIFIST TO THE COALITION.

You stand for the worship of Property, bourgeoisie!
I stand for Sinn Fein, Bolshevik, Democracy!
How can we pull together, you and I?
Our goals are as far asunder as earth and sky.

Imperial Mammon you call the Christ and raise on high;

Whilst Jesus the Carpenter, Virgin's son, lies fettered and bound.

You may tie his hands, his feet, and gag his mouth, but his spirit will not die!

Your earthly kingdom will fall and his spiritual kingdom he'll found.

We mourn for you, O believer in physical force!

For the weapons you use against us be sure must against you turn.

Justice, Mercy, and Peace we commend as your wisest course.

Hasten! and follow us then. — Let your consciences burn.

BERTHA STARR JEFFERIES.

Russia and her Allies. By Joseph King. Price 3d. Published by the Reformers' Bookstall, Ltd., 224, Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

A very useful pamphlet, which gives an outline of British relations with Russia from the time of the Crimean War to date, and also some useful facts about the Revolution.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE BUDGET AND THE COST OF THE WAR.

It is forecasted that Germany will be ordered to pay an indemnity of eleven or twelve thousand millions, but it is absurd to pretend that that will pay for the war. The budget of 1914, before the war, was £205,985,000; the budget just introduced by Mr. Austen Chamberlain is for £1,434,910,000. He estimates a deficit of £233,810,000. Last year the budget was for £2,579,301,000, and there was a deficit of £1,690,280,000. Germany's indemnity would not pay the war costs incurred by Britain alone; it certainly will not pay the costs of all the belligerent countries. The war charges have not ceased with the war; they will continue for many a year to come. The budget estimates for the Army and Navy were £28,885,000 and £51,550,000 respectively in 1914. In the present budget they are:—

Army	£287,000,000
Navy	£149,000,000
Air Force	£66,000,000

These great forces are to be kept up for fighting against working-class Socialism. British workers will have to pay for the extermination of working-class governments abroad.

Proposing this enormous expenditure, and expecting a huge deficit, how has Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the capitalist Chancellor of the Exchequer, dealt with the problem? He introduces Imperial preference to please the Tariff Reformers, reducing the duty on certain imports from British colonies by one-sixth and on others by one-third. But this does not increase; on the contrary it reduces, revenue; it only assists traders within the Empire to increase their profits. Mr. Chamberlain further reduces revenue by reducing the excess profits duty from 80 to 40 per cent, and he abolishes the motor spirit licence, exempts benzol from taxation and abandons the luxury tax: he does not wish to annoy the rich! He does not reduce the tax on small incomes, in spite of the demands of the higher paid wage-earners. Surely even a capitalist Chancellor might have thought this but fair since he reduces the excess profits tax!

The duties on beer and spirits are raised, but beer prices are to remain at present—the sole concession to the workers. "Give them more beer and they will return to their old sleepy content," perhaps the Chancellor may think!

THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL WAR. GERMANY GOING RED.

The capitalists are making a great fight to crush the Workers' Governments in Europe. It is reported that Munich and Budapest have fallen, but the fall of the Munich Soviet has been reported many times, and yet fighting between the workers' army and the capitalists continues. The question of signing the peace must come to a head presently. If the German Government decides to sign it is probable that the Government will be repudiated by the people and the Soviets established. The capitalist Governments will thus be confronted with a formidable new opponent, and the Workers' Governments will welcome a powerful new colleague.

BUDAPEST.

The hope of Germany joining the Workers' Republic tempers our anxiety at the grave danger threatening the Hungarian Soviets. Should the Allies take Budapest many of our comrades there will probably lose their lives.

The Allied Governments have defied even the harsh conventions of capitalist warfare in the terms they have offered to Hungary, in which they propose to overthrow the People's Soviet Government and to substitute a Government on lines suggested by themselves, and in their refusal to guarantee the safety of the members of the Soviet Government and their families.

But no country in the world can be carried on without its workers. The Hungarian workers who have enjoyed a first taste of power will never willingly go back to subjection, and the harsher is the persecution of the capitalists the more determined will be the resistance of the workers. They may fight with the old military weapons; they will also fight with the new weapons of industrialism and class solidarity. Budapest may have fallen, but the Soviets have not yet disappeared from Hungary.

THE CAPITALISTS' OFFENSIVE IN RUSSIA.

With the spring thaw the capitalists are preparing a great offensive. All the resources of capitalism will be used to concentrate the biggest guns and the most horrible engines of warfare against the workers. The capitalists adopt other methods also in Russia which remind us vividly of the industrial warfare at home in Britain, just as do the appeals issued by the Soviet Government to British troops. *The Times'* Murmansk correspondent wrote on April 4th:—

"General Maynard tries peaceful persuasion blended with the stratagem that one expects in the G.O.C. Here is an instance. A short while ago the Bolsheviks issued posters for the eyes of the workmen: 'Comrades! Follow the ideals of Lenin and Trotsky. Down with the villains who would enslave you.' The General ordered a raid: there was a systematic search for weapons and twenty ringleaders were arrested. The sequel was this: The 'representatives' of the Union or Profession waited upon M. Yermoloff, Deputy Governor-General of the Murmansk region, and urged that this prisoner and that prisoner had been wrongfully arrested, since he was not a spy nor an agitator nor a Bolshevik....

"M. Yermoloff sent for General Maynard and they, between them, agreed to release the prisoners if the deputation became surety for their good behaviour. The deputation agreed, readily, but its members had to sign their names to a declaration that they would not allow the accused to take part in any unauthorised meeting; that they themselves would do all in their power to crush the insidious reptile of Bolshevism, and so forth. And then General Maynard had the declaration printed in the local vernacular newspaper so that, if the members should go back on their word, they will have to atone to the Allies for their breach of faith, and explain their renegade words to Messieurs Lenin and Trotsky."

TILLET, SEXTON, AND WILSON OFFER TO SEND A FOOD SHIP.

Tillett, Sexton, Havelock Wilson and other British trade union officials have many times intervened in the international war between Capital and Labour, taking the side of Capital. They have now outdone all their previous acts. General Yudenitch, one of the Czarist generals, has offered to conquer Petrograd if food supplies for the city are guaranteed to him. Clem. Edwards in the House of Commons clamoured for the British Government to accept the General's offer and to pledge itself to supply the food. *The Times* records the sequel:—

"In these circumstances, the following telegram, which was sent from London yesterday to the British Consul at Helsingfors, will be read with special interest:—

"Please hand the following to General Yudenitch: 'The National Democratic Party and other sympathisers with anti-Bolshevik Russians wish you good luck in your purpose of getting to Petrograd and have arranged to immediately dispatch you a shipload of food and supplies for the people of Petrograd as soon as you get in.'"

"The National Democratic Party, which is the Labour wing of the Coalition, has obtained valuable support for its enterprise. It is stated that Mr. Tillett and Mr. Sexton will use their influence with British dock labourers to get the food ship loaded for nothing, and that Mr. Havelock Wilson will use his influence with the seamen to secure a free voyage for the cargo."

Who is paying for this food ship? Is it the Government or a group of capitalists?

When will the dockers and seamen dismiss the men who sent that telegram? The unions concerned are urged to take immediate steps to repudiate their action and to secure their dismissal from office.

The Times' Omsk correspondent tells how Koltchak, the reactionary general who is getting the support, came into power as Siberian Dictator, by using his position as Commander-in-Chief to arrest other members of the reactionary Government, in which he was chagrined to find that he had been given only a subordinate post. Colonel John Ward, who poses as a representative of British Labour, was in the district at the time and agreed to support Koltchak, though, according to *The Times*, he urged that the arrested members of the Government should receive a trial instead of being summarily shot.

SPLENDID SOLIDARITY OF ITALIAN WORKERS.

By threat of a general strike the metal workers, masons, and textile workers of Italy have obtained the eight-hour day. The Agricultural Labourers' Federation is also demanding an eight-hour day. In Turin the workers who had won the eight-hour day, which was made to date from January, received half a million francs in back pay. This they decided to give towards building a new Maison du Peuple. The metal workers gave the wages earned on the first eight-hour day to the *Avanti*, the Socialist daily paper.

THE WAR TO END WAR?

At a Conference between the presidents and chairmen of the Territorial Force Association and Mr. Churchill on May 1st, Sir Douglas Haig said: "I am glad to see that the Army Council is thoroughly sympathetic, and you are all unanimous....in forming a great Territorial Army.... I congratulate Mr. Churchill.... I look upon it as the duty of the Education Department to see that citizens are trained for the duties which will fall upon them when they become men."

Which will be the last war? The war to exterminate the Socialist Republics which will be lost.

THE I.L.P. AND THE SOVIETS.

Mr. C. H. Norman points out that the figures of the voting at the I.L.P. Conference which we gave are incorrect. We took them from the Capitalist Press. Miss Bondfield's anti-Bolshevik resolution was lost, he says, by 200 votes to 206. We are glad to learn that, but regret that the I.L.P. Conference did not pass a strong resolution in support of the Russian Communists and the Soviet system.

THE COAL INQUIRY.

Mr. Sidney Webb assured the Coal Commission that he is opposed to restriction of output. Mr. Webb is so patriotic now!

Sir Leo Chiozza Money hopes to see the last of piece work in about twenty years. Lenin expects to see the last of capitalist wage slavery in about fifteen.

G. D. H. Cole thinks that when the coal mines have been nationalised an employer who is a competent man may get a job on the managerial side: he was afraid "an incompetent employer would have to go and work as a coal hewer." Evidently G. D. H. Cole does not know much about coal.

THE CIPPENHAM MOTOR DEPOT.

What seems to us important regarding the Cippenham Works is that the War Office decided to erect this large establishment knowing that it could not be ready in time for the late war, and that after the signing of the Armistice a firm of contractors was brought on the scene and instructed to proceed as rapidly as possible. The firm was offered very substantial recompense. The public is asked to believe that the Government eagerly desires to engage in motor repairing on commercial lines. In view of the closing down of other national factories and the selling of national ships this seems improbable. The key to the Cippenham mystery seems to us to be the "Capitalist war on the Soviets!"

THE GREAT GRAB.

The Peace Terms are again delayed, but *The Times* says Germany is to lose 70 per cent of her iron ore, one-third of her coal, and 20 per cent of her potash.

THE POLICE DEMONSTRATION.

The police held a fine demonstration in Trafalgar Square to demand the re-instatement of a comrade, but a strike would have been more effective.

ACTION. By E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

Our comrades often talk of the unconscious movements of the people, which we who foresee and desire revolution must watch and, as occasion offers, must harness to the Socialist or Communist ideal.

But those who would take a part in moulding events and actions must not wait passively, or they will fail in their attempts to influence. Only they who will act and suffer with the people should be, or will be, accepted in their councils. It may be a comfortable and pleasing exercise to imagine oneself sitting aside, pulling the strings and directing the whirlwind, but in matters revolutionary it does not work.

Moreover, we are the people; our individual acts all help to make up popular movements. Each one of us counts, only as one of course, but still as one.

The duty of action falls on each one of us individually. It would be very pleasant if suddenly, like clockwork, all the workers would begin to act in the mass, without any more uncomfortable propaganda to urge them on than the holding of some great public meetings, in which the speakers would be cheered to the echo. If the social revolution could come about without any violence or imprisonments it would be most pleasant, but life, alas! does not follow the easy working of our desires: the bed of the revolutionary is not made of rose leaves!

We must not wait for the mass to act: by individual action those who are spurred to the need for action must create the atmosphere in which the mass will act.

We are all agreed that mass action is most effective: that what will actually achieve our goal is the general strike and the setting up of Soviets or Councils by large bodies of workers, soldiers, and sailors. We are all agreed on that, but how is it to be done?

The sentiment must be created which will make it possible.

People say that the workers of this country will only move when they come to suffer from hunger and privation as the people of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary are suffering. But will the like condition of want ever come to this country? The Allies have been victorious in the war, the British Empire has tremendous resources, and our rulers, knowing the danger to them which might arise if our people were forced to endure extreme privation, will do all that they can to preserve a minimum standard of comfort to the workers here.

Our rulers may be successful in their effort to prevent actual famine ever reaching this country: are we, then, to endure capitalism forever?

When the question is put in that way, all but the extreme pessimists of the movement will admit that we shall probably obtain Socialism by some other means. But, it is said, we must pursue educational methods until the great day of mass action shall dawn. Precisely; but there are various means of education and the action of the comrade who goes to prison, even though his or her action did not appear to shake the citadel of capitalism by even a hair's breadth and was something done in a very small way, will perhaps have as great an educational effect as the publication of numerous books and pamphlets!

But let us return to the subject of industrial mass action, which, as every one is agreed, is the strongest and most direct power the workers possess. It is important to realise that palliative reformism, which is so widely condemned by Socialists in the Parliamentary field, must be guarded against in the industrial field also. It is quite true that we must welcome every strike, however small its object, because it is an effort of solidarity, an example of revolt; but in our industrial effort, those of us who have grasped the idea of revolution and who desire the abolition of capitalism, must continuously advocate industrial action for that object.

It is essential that we should purge our minds of the pharisaical thought that we are not as others; that we should strip ourselves of the idea that there is an inherent incapacity in the mass of people to grasp the truths that have

revealed themselves to us. Above all, we must not follow the example of those who desire to keep the masses in subjection by seeking to gull them with sham reformism in the hope that they will be led by accident further than they can see. No, we must treat them as equal human beings, realising that as we are to-day they may be to-morrow, explaining to them frankly our own philosophy and the thoughts which are the motives of our actions. In this Lenin has shown a fine example: his speeches and writings clearly show that he places entire faith in the masses, that he tells them fully what the position is, what are the hopeful features, what the difficulties and dangers.

The great and simple ideal of a society in which all men and women shall be equal, without masters or servants, rich or poor, is not difficult of comprehension. It is easy to understand the idea of the Soviet system, in which every group of workers is entitled to appoint delegates from amongst themselves whom they instruct to speak for them, who must report as to how they have carried out the instructions given to them and who may be changed at any time; also the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the refusal of any share of political power to those who, instead of joining the general companionship of workers, employ others to work for them for private gain. The workers' control of industry appeals forcibly to all workers. Any one can grasp these ideals; they are simple in the extreme.

But if we refrain from preaching them, if we waste our energy on details—in protesting, for instance, against the levying of income tax on the better paid workers, instead of urging a change in the social system—we can hardly expect to make converts to Communism; we can hardly expect to bring about the Social Revolution.

"It is more important that I should act than that I should remain urging others to action. If I should pass away, others would take my place." This is the standpoint of the real revolutionaries, the standpoint of those who made the Russian Revolution, the first proletarian revolution. To follow in their footsteps needs less courage, less faith, than that which animated those pioneers. They did not wait in quietude for events to develop, for the masses to bestir themselves to action. The revolutionaries fought, and toiled, and suffered until they had created the spirit in the masses which at last caused them to rise when circumstances gave the spur.

The growth of all popular movements, for objects whether small or great, has been accelerated by individual action. Plimsol, by his shouts of "murder," could not have secured the fixing of the load line unaided; but Plimsol's cries awoke the public feeling which forced the Government to obey. Plimsol did not wait for the electors to act in the Parliamentary constituencies, for the Trade Union Congress to go on a deputation, or for the Seamen to strike—although, no doubt, many people said that he ought to have done so, declaring with unctuous superiority that only by such large and important action could the seamen be protected. The fixing of the load line was but a small palliative: the cries of one man sufficed to create enough public feeling to secure it; the Social Revolution is a thing of vastly greater magnitude: a very mountain of force is needed to achieve it. But for the Social Revolution also, we have seen the way prepared by individual action, and not alone in the terrorist field. The Russian writers have told us how, again and again, some little group of workers has braved the forces of reaction by marching out with the forbidden Red Flag, incurring thereby both violence and imprisonment, in order to make the masses think. The Spartacists of Germany have made many such demonstrations. We all remember how during the War groups of Berlin Socialist women collected outside the Reichstag and how Karl Liebknecht spoke to them from a window in the Reichstag building. The women were dispersed by the police and soldiers. Karl

RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES.

WHITE GUARDS ENCOURAGED BY ALLIED GENERALS.

The *Izvestia*, February 13th, 1919, says: "We got possession of a parcel of Krasnov's publications, 'Izvestnik (news distributor) of the General Staff of the Armies on the Northern Front.' The issue dated January 5th contains a description of the reception of the Allied military mission in Rostov. General Poole said: 'We will support and assist you, but one must bear in mind that owing to the present lack of transport facilities, it will be difficult to give immediate help on a large scale; however, during the fortnight that I and the French have been on Russian territory, we have already supplied 50,000 rifles, several million cartridges, a large quantity of medical and other material. Before leaving for Rostov I received a telegram from London notifying me that measures have been taken to send heavy and light artillery, rifles, 500 tons of medicines, aeroplanes and tanks. As to the present situation, in my opinion it is not as bad as many people seem to consider it. We hope for great things through Admiral Koltchak.' The French Capt. Fougé said: 'You will make a proud and victorious entry into Moscow, and you will re-establish your great and glorious country.' The President of the military district, the Cadet Kharlamov said: 'Our allies are celebrating their victory, but they must bear in mind that the war is not yet over; Germany has one more ally—Russian Bolshevism. Our warriors are being worsted in an unequal fight, we need the Allies' help, and not only material help, but help with live forces.' That help the Allied Governments are sending.

In an article in the *Izvestia* of February 16th, 1919, Rakitnikov writes: "To prevent misunderstandings, I wish to say that E. K. Breshkovskaya does not represent the party (Social-Revolutionary). She has gone abroad in a private capacity and without any instructions from any party. It is a well-known fact that she disagreed with the majority of the Party at the beginning of the Revolution. The attitude of the Party is determined by its decisions. You are in possession of our decisions, which define the new attitude of our Party. It consists in the relinquishing of armed conflict with Bolshevism; a call to overthrow the reactionary Governments which have sprung up in some parts of Russia under the protection of the German occupation or with the support of the Entente; a sharp and emphatic protest against intervention; and the repudiation of all manner of 'bloes' and agreements with the bourgeois parties in the establishment of an All-Russian Government."

[From the People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.]

Liebknecht was punished; but what of that! The movement gained a new impetus: the news spread. It was a method of propaganda—nothing more; but out of it has grown the present serious struggle of the Spartacists to overthrow the established Government; a struggle which at first might have been called hopeless, but which every day brings nearer to success. The Irish Rebellion of Easter week, 1916, was a hopeless effort, its failure was inevitable; it was costly, grievously costly, in precious lives, but it laid the seeds of something bigger, something that is growing too strong to be resisted.

The deeds of pioneers are calling to us to do something; to do, not waste our lives in dull inaction. Mass action is desirable; mass action alone can succeed, but those who are ready for action must act and thereby cause the mass to move.

How urgent it is! How terribly urgent! We British workers are being used to crush the working-class Governments in other lands. Action that will arouse and startle the people into a recognition of that fact is most imperative; it is imperative that we should hasten. The capitalists are sending a relief force to Archangel, but it is we Socialists who should heed the S.O.S. call from the workers over there. It is we who should play the part of Plimsol, crying "Murder!" for the capitalist armies are murdering our comrades who have set up the Soviets in Russia, Hungary, and Munich; it is the capitalists who have got the Workers' Revolution by the throat and are endeavouring to strangle it.

FRENCH CAPITALISM AND THE SAAR VALLEY

THE FACTS ALONE.

"England is a nation receiving knowledge of its acts from uncertain rumours which reach it from abroad."—Lord Palmerston in the famous debate on Portuguese Affairs, 1829.

In the same speech Palmerston said words which are of special significance in view of the rumours in the French press of Friday, April 11th, that France was to be given control of the Saar Valley. They should burn into the brain of every lover of justice:—

"Those statesmen who know how to avail themselves of the passions, the interests, and the opinions of mankind, are able to gain an ascendancy, and to exercise a sway over industry and human affairs far out of all proportion greater than belongs to the power and resources of the State over which they preside."

Clemenceau has gained the ascendancy, though he is the instrument of the great economic interests, as I shall show below. In *Le Temps* for January 18th a report was published of the French Commission appointed by the Government to inquire into the economic organisation of France. One of its proposals reads as follows:—

"Peace Terms: The mining district of the Saar Valley must be included in Alsace-Lorraine; the navigation of the Rhine must be free; the port of Strasbourg developed. Various raw materials must form part of the indemnity to be paid by Germany."

As I pointed out last year in the Socialist press and elsewhere, just as Japanese hegemony in China is determined by the valuable coal and iron ore fields in Shantung province, British, American, and Japanese aggression against the Soviet Government in Siberia, because of the existence of valuable platinum resources in the Altai mountains (Japan for supplying munitions of war to the Czarist Government obtained mineral rights in the Urals as security against non-payment); so France, now that she has secured the victory (*vide Paris press*), to obtain paramouncy in Western Europe must have the Saar coalfields and the potash deposits of Alsace-Lorraine. For under capitalism coal and iron-ore are the life-blood of the State. That nation which controls these dominates the weaker Powers. When it is known what a valuable property the Saar mines are to France, it will not surprise readers of *THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT* why French capitalists and their henchmen—the Senators—are prepared, if necessary, to lose the friendship of America to secure this property. Remember we are still living in a capitalist world, where economic greed is the order of the day.

What is known as the Saar district are mainly the three divisions comprising Saarbrücken, Saarlouis Ottweiler, and St. Wendel in the Rhine province; Lorraine, with Forbach and St. Avoird; St. Ingbert to the Bavarian Palatinate, the third of the three. In the first division the coal-mines have an area of 110,000 hectares (1 hectare=2.47 acres); that of the Bavarian Palatinate, 60,500 hectares; and of German Lorraine, 47,550 hectares, making a total of 22,000 square kilometres. According to calculations made by a Committee of the Geological Congress at Toronto in 1913, states the German expert Dr. Schmidt-Essen in *Wirtschaftsdienst*, the deposits in the Saar basin are estimated at 16,548 million tons. On the basis of the annual production in peace-times the Saar coalfields will last 1,000 years. The average annual output between 1908-12 was 14,915,300 tons, so France will soon have no coal shortage! But, as Louis Feraison points out in his work 'La Question du Fer,' the possession of the Saar will not only solve the coal problem, but also will enable France to make strides in metallurgy that will enable her to rank as the greatest European power. That is how engineers and iron magnates view the situation! Since 1751, with the exception of the short period of French control (1797-1806), the Saarbrücken area has been in the control of the Prussian State. During the hundred years of their management by the Prussian Ministry of Mines the output amounted to 362 million tons, and the profit about £26,000,000. There is only one

private undertaking in the Rhenish portion of the Saar, producing 194,458 tons in 1913. The Bavarian Ministry of Mines shares with the private-owned Franzenholz Company the production of coal in the Palatinate, producing 341,170 tons of the total given above. In the Lorraine area output is controlled by private concerns.

But the Saar area is of most importance for smelting iron, confined in the main to the Rhenish and Palatinate works. The output in 1913 was: crude steel, 2,079,825 tons; pig-iron, 1,374,534 tons; finished articles, 1,652,414 tons. Quoting from official figures in 1,000 of tons, we get the following facts about the position of the Saar district:—

District.	Output of Pig-Iron.	Output of Steel.
Rhenish-Westphalian ..	8,209	10,112
Lorraine ..	3,870	2,286
Saar (Rhine province and Palatinate) ..	1,374	2,080
Other districts ..	3,308	3,136
Total, Germany ..	16,761	17,614
Total, Luxembourg ..	2,548	1,336
	19,209	18,950

It will thus be seen that the Saar district contributed 8 per cent of the German pig-iron output and 12 per cent of the steel output. The result of the loss of the district to Germany is that France will double her production of pig-iron and steel, as the following figures for 1913 show:—

	Pig-Iron (millions of tons).	Steel (millions of tons).
France ..	5,311	4,635
Alsace-Lorraine, 3,870 }	5,244	2,286
Saar District 1,374 }		2,080
		4,366
Total output ..	10,555	9,061

For Germany the loss of Lorraine, Luxembourg, and the Saar district will mean the crippling of her industries, which, whether it is a Soviet or capitalist State, must continue to provide for the needs of the German people. Think of this: she will lose annually 7,792,000

tons of pig-iron out of a total output in Germany of 17,309,000 tons, and 5,702,000 tons of steel out of a total output of 18,950,000 tons. Her industries, as a study of the German press shows, are already being destroyed for want of coal, &c., causing untold thousands to be out of employment and in dire want. It is like this country being deprived of the wealth of the South Wales coalfields.

No wonder the Paris Political Economy Society, immediately before the Armistice, said that the potash mines and the Saar district "must pass into the hands of the French State for the sake of military, political, and social interests." It is for such things as the possession of coal and iron-ore resources that modern wars are made. I will not burden the reader with quotations from the French press in pre-war days to prove my contention; they are too numerous; but when the inner history of the war is written the demand for *revanche*, i.e., economic power, will be found to have played an important part in the fundamental causes which brought about a semi-decade of murder madness in Europe. But it is for the Labour Movement in this country to say whether it will sit quietly and allow the proposed spoliation to be carried through under the guise of "reparation." We are already reaping the whirlwind of our economic injustices to the Egyptian peoples begun in the 'eighties. Are we to prepare for an European whirlwind holocaust, to meet the wishes of the French metallurgical and coal syndicates, which have already bled Morocco white, and are bleeding their peoples, too, through the iron hand of conscription? There is only one answer. The Labour Movement must say: "No; we will have none of your concession policies. Better Europe perish now than that the British youth now growing up shall be called upon to blast their lives in Northern France in the next decade, and as they are doing now in Archangel, to secure payment of bonds and dividends to French concessionaires." As Mr. Massingham has so well expressed it: "If France wants the left bank of the Rhine let her alone be responsible for the army of occupation necessary. We cannot afford it."—ARTHUR FINCH.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By J. T. MURPHY.

War and revolution have shattered many things besides cathedrals and thrones.

Old theories of social development were blown to the winds with the first shot of the world war. What were considered up-to-date notions of progressive development went the way of the obsolete with the bursting forth of the world revolution in 1917.

Even the professed revolutionists have had to shift their ground and review afresh the relationship of their ideas on industrial organisation to the achievement of a social revolution.

The class struggle has been proclaimed, Industrial Unionism has been advocated, and a variety of methods adopted to achieve the organisation desired. But in most cases it has been assumed that before a revolution could be achieved it would be essential for the working class to adopt Industrial Unionism.

History has proved this idea to be as wrong in experience as the theory that it would be necessary for all countries to go through a stage of highly-developed Industrial Capitalism prior to a revolution leading to Socialism.

Industrial Unionism is a theory of organisation arrived at as a result of the examination of industry, and a consideration of what would be the most effective manner of waging the conflict against the Capitalist class.

That this theory has contributed valuable assistance to the workers in their struggle none can dispute.

But it must never be forgotten that organisation is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end: a weapon, something with which to wage a fight for an objective other than itself.

However desirable a perfect weapon may be, we are compelled by the force of circumstances to accept the weapon which history provides.

The economic antagonisms in society provide the impelling force which drives us to fight. The conception of a new social order derived from human experience and demanding a social revolution provides us with the objective which must be the determinant of the nature of our activities in the fight.

The failure of many industrial unionists to appreciate these facts has stultified their activities.

A subject class cannot choose either the ideal moment to move or the ideal weapon with which to fight.

Its subjection compels a continuous struggle against odds.

Such has been the struggle of the working class throughout its history. Hampered by its wide distribution, its lack of consciousness of itself as a class, disintegrated by a multitude of minor interests, it has fought onward through the years.

It has never yet set out to achieve anything as an organised class, and never will do, so long as it is a subject class.

Such a movement pre-supposes a general intellectual revolution prior to a social revolution, the thinking in terms of a new order not yet in existence.

Mankind does not act in this manner. Its movements are urged by its elemental needs, and when any social order fails to meet them, it is superseded by another.

The mass moves intuitively in response to the pressure of circumstances and is launched into revolutionary deeds, unconscious of the fact that they are revolutionary.

It does not follow from these observations that none are conscious of the direction of these movements. But it does follow that they who are conscious of the direction in which things are moving, and are confessedly out to achieve a

Continued on back page.

Parliament As We See It.

April 29th.—The Food Controller, Mr. Roberts, stated that for food only the increase in the budget of a working-class family was 113 per cent above July, 1914. Mr. Roberts added that this estimate was assuming that the family budget remained unchanged since 1914!

UNEMPLOYMENT.

£25,000 of the Estimates which were debated, Sir Robert Horne said were devoted to dealing with unemployment. Sir E. Carson (C.U.) remarked that when soldiers were wanted the country was placarded with advertisements; why was not a similar campaign run for the men wanting work. Sir F. Banbury (C.U.) seemed to think that the workers should have saved up for this time of unemployment. Surely he does not think that any one can even exist on 15s. a week! Has he tried it?

"DUTY" AGAIN!

In answer to criticisms about the slowness of demobilisation Mr. Churchill gave a sketch of all the responsibilities of this Empire. "The situation in India, in Egypt, and in Ireland all make drains upon us!" Reinforcements are necessary, he assured the House to maintain order in these countries! How much longer will British soldiers believe this nonsense about "order"? When will they begin to ask by what authority is Great Britain interfering in the affairs of other nations?

THE "ANACHRONISM."

April 30th. No Irish Minister being present in the House Captain Redmond (I.N.) asked whether "the office of the anachronism has at last been abolished?" No such luck, however, the Chief Secretary is merely "detained" in Ireland!

THE PROOF.

May 1st. Those who argue that Ireland receives the same treatment "as other parts of the Empire" will have some difficulty in keeping to this belief. The press censor has been done away with in England; but in Ireland a new one has been appointed!

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM.

Much indignation was expressed by Colonel Wedgwood (L.) and Commander Kenworthy (L.)

on the subject of the deported Russians. Mr. Shortt maintained that they are being deported by whatever route is found practicable; they are being sent to Odessa, though they asked to go to Petrograd!

THE BUDGET.

The new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Chamberlain, introduced the Budget on April 30th, by telling the House how little he liked the job! Although May 1st was also completely taken up with the debate, the committee stage is still in full swing. Amendments are threatened by Sir Donald Maclean (L.) and Mr. Adamson (Lab.). Does any one fancy knuckling down without a protest under a system of Imperial Preference, such as that sketched by Mr. Chamberlain? The income tax minimum has not been raised; but the Labour Party is agitating for a £250 minimum. Let them call for equal incomes for all and thus make an end of graduating taxes.

CHECKWEIGHING.

May 2nd. A Bill to extend the system of checkweighing to iron and steel industries, chalk and limestone quarries, tinplate-workers and others was given a second reading. The Bill received the whole-hearted support of the Government, which promised to do its best to see that it is made law this session.

ANIMALS.

A Second Reading was given to the Animals (Anæsthetics) Bill, which Colonel Guinness (C.U.) introduced. The object is to make it impossible to perform operations on horses without the use of an anæsthetic. It is appalling to know that even veterinary surgeons do not as a whole favour the use of anæsthetics. The most painful operation, such as removing a tumour, Earl Winterton related, was performed without chloroform, and a red hot iron used to stop the bleeding! And we think we are civilised! The great fault of the measure is that it is too mild. It ought to be made law that all animals be given the benefits of science to the same extent as human beings. For, by what right does humanity use and maltreat dumb beasts? M. O'C.

GLASGOW LABOUR MAY DAY.

Continued from front page.

counteracted by the numberless Red flags carried by the brake-loads of Socialist Sunday school children.

At Glasgow Green where the demonstration was held it required twenty-two platforms to deal with the multitudes assembled; and at the sound of the bugle at 4 P.M. the following resolutions were carried with enthusiasm at each platform:—

"That this meeting declares for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth.

"That this meeting sends fraternal greetings to the European Soviet Republic and the workers of the world.

"That we protest against the deportation of foreign subjects without trial.

"That we urge the withdrawal of all Armies of Occupation, and declare in favour of the first day in May being observed as International Labour Day."

In the evening a Musical Festival was held in St. Andrews Hall, where the Socialist Brass Band, the Clarion Choir, and the "William Morris" Choir, were the principal attractions.

ALEC SUTHERLAND CAMPBELL.

MAY DAY IN IRELAND

Celebrated by a General Strike.

The Irish people celebrated May Day by means of a highly successful general strike; an exhibition of splendid solidarity. Limerick has secured the abolition of the offensive military permits by the same means.

In England, Scotland and Wales the forces of capitalism are unafraid of the forces of Labour, therefore no obstacle was thrown in the way of the British May Day demonstrations: tyrants do not attack the exploited people till they threaten to rebel. Coventry seems to have begun to enter into the spirit of May Day: many factories were deserted by their employees, the bakers did not bake and the municipal trams stopped, although the corporation had decreed that they should run.

MAY DAY IN PARIS.

The French and Italian May Day demonstrations were suppressed because the forces of capitalism in those countries fear the forces of Labour. Our French comrades rose to the occasion valiantly. They did not go cringing to the Government displaying backboneless resolutions and prepared to submit to further censor-

ship. Nor did they quietly abandon their demonstration because the authorities had banned it? No! No! They proceeded in spite of the official ban to organise in Paris a wonderful demonstration which was attended by millions of people, who, in spite of the pouring rain, assembled with happy faces and wearing wild roses to celebrate the festival of the workers. No newspapers appeared except *The Voice of the People*, the official bulletin of the General Confederation of Labour. No letters were delivered, trams and buses ceased to run and those of the railways which did not stop altogether stopped part of the day. The vast majority of Paris workers ceased work for 24 hours.

But the Government had banned the procession.

L'Humanité reports that soldiers and armed police were drawn up across numbers of streets to bar its passage and to break it up. On the whole the soldiers were sympathetic to the workers, and in very few cases used violence. When ordered to fix bayonets they did so, but put them up again. The demonstrators hailed them with cries of: "You are with us, soldiers! We are brothers!" and the women offered them flowers. The soldiers responded with friendly gestures, and the workers and soldiers fraternised. The police, on the contrary, were most brutal, using their swords and truncheons and trampling women and children under foot. At the corner of the Rue Saint Honoré and Rue Royale the fire brigade turned the hose on the crowd, but there was no panic. Jouhaux, the Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour, and others called upon them to be calm and the procession reformed. At the corner of the Place de l'Opéra the demonstrators were met by a strong cordon of police. The crowd was calm; there was neither singing, nor shouting. Suddenly the police charged. Some few women who were attacked fell to the ground. They were abominably trampled under foot. A shot was fired. A man fell. Several witnesses of this murderous attack stated that the shot was fired by a police agent dressed as a bourgeois. They place all responsibility on the police, who attacked without any provocation. In the Rue Lafayette a charge by the Dragons also caused some casualties. But here and elsewhere the attitude of the infantry was calm, almost indifferent; they had grounded their arms. While the police and municipal guards were brutally attacking the demonstrators in the Avenue de l'Opéra, applause burst from the offices of the Military Club, but such a hooting greeted them, that they quickly returned to their

drawing rooms. The rich timidly pulled back their curtains to watch the workers marching past. They heard the rumour of the Revolution which is coming.

A pregnant woman was kicked in the stomach by a policeman. Poucet, the Socialist Deputy of Vincennes intervened, but shortly afterwards was himself seriously wounded. The guardians of the Peace were charging, and, recognising Poucet, they told him to stand against the wall. A few moments later, the same policeman struck him with great violence and it is a wonder that he was not killed. Near the Gare de l'Est a number of American soldiers mixed with the crowd, showing a sympathetic curiosity. Suddenly, some shots were fired. Again the police had used their revolvers. An American soldier fell, covering his neighbour with blood. He was hit in the chest, and blood flowed from his mouth.

Jouhaux, Secretary of the C.G.T., attempting to intervene on behalf of the women, was attacked by the police and wounded over the eye. Perrot, Secretary of the Union des Syndicats, wishing to avoid any disorder, asked for permission for the crowd to pass the cordon and go to the Place de la République. His request was granted, but the crowd had scarcely begun to pass, when the police, with drawn swords, and the mounted Municipal Guards charged upon them. Charles Lécat, member of the Executive of the Syndicat du Bronze, states that he and his wife were pushed on to the pavement by the Republican Guards, one of whom cried out "Arrest him, he is armed!" His wife protested that he was not armed. At that moment a policeman tried to slip a revolver into his pocket, but did not succeed. He protested and was allowed to pass, but his wife received a sword cut on the head. At the same time two revolver shots were fired and two young men fell—one of them died on the way to the hospital.

L'Humanité's report from which our information is gathered effectively disproves the story that it was the demonstrators and not the police who fired upon the people. The official Labour Bulletin, the *Voix du Peuple* issued the following advice to the demonstrators: "People of Paris, recognise your power. Demand immediate demobilisation; full amnesty; the cessation of intervention in Russia; the suppression of the censor; the establishment of a Peoples' Peace; abolition of taxes on wages."

The London *Times's* Paris correspondent admits that "the police behaved with great violence, and, to the onlooker, with unnecessary brutality."

There have been many casualties. The movement towards Revolution has received an impetus and the outcome may be a general strike, leading perhaps, to the beginning of Revolution.

Jouhaux, has resigned his post of French Labour delegate to the Peace Conference, as a protest against the Government's action. Compère Morel and Bonisson, Socialist Commissioners of Agriculture and Marine have also resigned their posts at the instruction of the Socialist Party. The French Socialists are to be congratulated on their spirit; the prohibition of Labour demonstrations has never evoked much protest from the Labour bigwigs in this country.

But how is it that those who insisted in demonstrating make no great protest against the war which the French Government is helping to prosecute against the workers of Hungary and Russia?

There were riots on May Day in Cleveland, Ohio. There is much Labour unrest in Canada and strikes at Toronto, Ottawa and Winnipeg. Machinists, blacksmiths, boilermakers and others in Toronto are demanding a wages increase and an 8-hour day and threaten to bring out every machinist engaged in transport from the Atlantic to the Pacific. *The Times* says that the Canadian Trade Union Congress is trying to co-operate with the employers to prevent a strike, and observes that there is a struggle between the Individualists and the Socialists for the control of Canadian Labour. The remark is shrewd enough: the same struggle is going on all over the world.

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INDIA FOR THE INDIANS.

A Bolshevik blue book on Indian affairs, disclosing a secret understanding between the British and Russian Imperial Government anent the Nationalist Movement.

Under the title of 'India for the Indians,' the Bolshevik Government published last June a remarkable collection of documents extracted from the archives of the ex-Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It is edited with an introduction by Troyanovsky. When it can be fully translated it will make bitter reading for those of us who cling to the belief that British Imperialism is synonymous with content and grateful loyalty.

The series cover the period between 1907-1917, and consist partly of instructions from the Tzar's Government to the Russian Consuls in India, and secret correspondence relating to the serious unrest throughout the country.

Since the treaty between England and Russia in 1907, there has long been a rumour that the Tzar had taken Kroupatkin's advice to drop the old hostility and to come to an understanding with England, with a view of supporting one another against the growing movements for the emancipation and independence of Asia. The fact that England allowed the Tzar to strangle the constitutional movement in Persia gave this rumour some appearance of probability. The book before us confirms it.

The following extract is a translation of one of the most striking passages; it is taken from the secret instructions issued to the Russian Imperial General Council in India:—

"Concerning your future activity your foremost duty is to take all available measures for the establishment of the best possible measures for relations with the Anglo-Indian Government and the local authorities. In spite of the convention which took place between Russia and England, in 1907, the distrust of Russian policy in Middle Asia, and of the activity of the Russian representatives there, has not entirely vanished. Therefore, following the examples of the previous representatives you must act with all possible precaution in your investigations....and also in your relations with the natives in order not to call forth any displeasure or suspicion of the local authorities.

"Apparently, the signs of a very serious national movement have been observed recently in India, this movement is to a great extent the echo of similar movements in Turkey and Persia, and sometimes takes a decidedly revolutionary form. It is not a secret that among the native population of India there is a firm belief that a collision between Russia and Great Britain is unavoidable, and that the natives cherish the hope that the result of this collision will be the liberation of India....Therefore, all the attempts on the part of the natives to talk with you on this

subject must be checked with the utmost determination. On the other hand, it is your duty to follow most attentively the march of events, in the locality, to watch the influence of Japan, which since the Russo-Japanese War, has been noticeably spreading in India, and also the growing force of Pan-Islamic propaganda amongst the Mohammedan population."

The following extract from 'The Report of the General Council in Calcutta' (October 14th-27th, 1913) is illuminating, as showing an official view of the situation in India:—

"The events which have followed the disturbances in Calcutta, called forth by the destruction of the building adjoining the Kaunpal Mosque, shaped themselves differently from our anticipations. I have already had the honour of communicating to your Excellency regarding the absence of any cause for any serious disturbances amongst the Mohammedans, in this particular case, and I expressed the supposition that the Central Government would take all possible measures to check the agitation.

"Undoubtedly, the Mohammedans have every reason to rejoice. Out of an insignificant incident they managed to create an event of such a great political importance, that the Viceroy considered it necessary to come himself to the town, and to pass a resolution granting all their requests and desires. The agitation concerning the Kaunpal Mosque is likely to cease. But it is clear that there will be no lack of similar causes for riots. The milder the government is, the higher will the agitators raise their heads. Lord Harding created a dangerous precedent, and undoubtedly discredited the authority of the local governments."

The Russian officials are further advised to pass on any important information they may get concerning the Nationalist activities to the British officials. This appears to have been done in the case of a certain Rajah who applied to Russia for aid against England. Unrest amongst some of the Indian troops is also discussed. We learn from one of the documents, dated Delhi, February 17th O.S., March 2nd, 1915, that Sir E. Grey had been asked to warn and to make it quite clear to the Amir of Afghanistan, that "England and Russia were quite at one." And with "the slightest attempt against Russia he will find himself between the hammer and the anvil."

British Labour has no material interests in India, but too often have the people had to pay the piper for imperialistic adventures without having the least say in calling the tune.

Our Russian comrades are to be congratulated on their fine work for Internationalism and Open Diplomacy. We need to emulate them. There can be no peace in the world so long as a great people like the Hindoos are denied self-government.

S. C. P.]

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, MAY 9th.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Miss O'Neill.

Harrow Green, Leytonstone.—6.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, MAY 10th.

Great Push against Conscription in the St. Pancras District.—Meet at 2.45 P.M. at 44, Malden Road. Meetings at the Queen's Crescent at 3 P.M. and at the Cobden Statue at 6.30 P.M. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss O'Neill, Mrs. Walker, and Mr. and Mrs. Edmunds.

SUNDAY, MAY 11th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss O'Neill.

Piggott Street, Poplar.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, MAY 16th.

Tower Hill.—12 (noon), Miss O'Neill.

SATURDAY, MAY 17th.

Great Push in Lewisham and Camberwell.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, MAY 12th.

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

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14th.

Liberty Club, Manor House, 318, Green Lanes,

N.—8 P.M., Important Islington and Holloway W.S.F. Business Meeting. All are welcome.

FRIDAYS, MAY 9th AND 16th.

20, Railway Street.—7.45 P.M., Speakers' Class.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

FRIDAYS, MAY 9th AND 16th.

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

TUESDAY, MAY 13th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Miss O'Neill.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Continued from page 1322.

social revolution, have before them a clearly defined responsibility, i.e., to harness these intuitive movements of the masses that they may lead to social revolution.

When the masses move it is useless to tell them they cannot do anything until they have embraced industrial unionism.

Certainly it is all to the good for industrial unionist ideas on organisation to be applied. The masses, however, will not move because they are industrial unionists or trade unionists, but on account of the pressure of circumstances. Under such stress they will use any organisation, old or new.

The movement of the masses towards socialism is the thing that matters.

The value of all ideas on organisation will be tested by the degree to which they can be applied in a crisis, in a revolutionary transition, and in the maintenance of the revolutionary victory.

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Social Revolution should be the objective determining our activities.

Industrial Unionism should be the armoury from which can be drawn valuable ideas to help in the conflict.

Industrial and political crises should be regarded as the revolutionary situations to be harnessed for social revolution.

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