

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

VOL. VI.—No. 17.

SATURDAY, JULY 19th, 1919

PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

By M. PHILLIPS PRICE.

At the end of the eighteenth century the French people, after two years of embittered struggle, threw off the tyranny of a feudal aristocracy. During this struggle they were surrounded by the armed forces of a coalition of European kings, who had invaded France to subject her people to that slavery from which they had just freed themselves. Prussian peasants shed their blood in the Argonnes that Royalty might once more oppress the French people. British seamen died at Toulon that feudal seigneurs might rule again at Versailles. Looking back on these times to-day we recognise that the role of the English and German Governments during the French Revolution was not a creditable one.

A little over a century has passed. Mediaevalism has given way to modern

miseries. Famine, the authorship of which the Bolsheviks are accused, was already raging in the autumn of 1916, and got steadily worse under Kerensky, as the war, like a great pump, sucked the life blood out of the country's industries. I know, from my own

squads of soldiers got together to talk things over. Groups of workmen hung about the factories and peasants crowded round the village commune building. The same word was on everyone's lips: "What next?" These thousands of informal meetings that took place from the Baltic provinces to the Pacific coast, from the Arctic circle to the oases of Turkestan, were not summoned by anyone. They were the creation of the free spirit of man, which had just burst the bonds of an archaic and now useless form of society. They were the first rude instruments, now anarchic, soon to be organised, which were to build the new order of society. They were, in fact, the embryo Soviets.

For the new social order the first necessity was to create a new discipline. The informal



URITZKY.
Murdered by an Entente Agent.

bourgeoisdom; the Divine Right of Kings to the Divine Right of Mammon. Russia, who has never been touched by the purging fire of the French Revolution, has groaned under a threefold tyranny—a theocratic Tsarism, relic of her proximity to Asia; an agrarian feudalism, which escaped the European conflagration of last century; a middle-class, grown up under the influence of Western industrialism, but demoralised and corrupted by its two companions. At the beginning of this century the governing power in Russia rested on these three rotten pillars—two of them decaying relics of a bye-gone age; the third an abortion of modern bourgeoisdom. It could not last long, but was bound to collapse from its own internal weakness. How did the Governments of England, France and Germany treat the new Russia, which, phoenix-like, arose upon the ruins of the old? History will prove that they treated the new Russia as shamefully as the Governments of England and Prussia treated the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century.

The Russian Revolution, like every great popular movement, was set in motion by vast, elemental, anarchic forces, which had been pent up throughout the ages, and like a lava-flow, burst the overlying crust of convention, unreality and insincerity. Everyone was discontented with Tsarism; the war caused untold



SVERDLOFF.
President of the Soviet Executive Committee.

observation as a war correspondent, that after the summer of 1916 the Russian Army was no longer fit for the offensive owing to the impossibility in an economically undeveloped country of feeding and supporting fifteen million troops. By the winters of 1915-16 and 1916-17, when no one in Russia but the intellectuals had heard of the Bolsheviks, the principal towns of central Russia were filled with deserters. One of the Tsar's retired diplomats even admitted in the columns of the "Novaya Zhizn" in July, 1917, that the Russian Revolution was nothing more than a mass uprising against the war. But it was something besides.

The working classes of the Russian towns used to live in conditions of want and misery, probably without parallel in Europe. They were forced to work such long hours that they often dropped from fatigue. They were systematically underfed. The factories where they worked were simply spy-dens. Nor was the peasants' lot any better. Half the land of Russia belonged to the landlords, the Church, and the Imperial family, and that was the best half. On it the peasants had to work like serfs. The rest of the land, much of it forest and swamp, was left to them to get what they could out of. The corn produced on the good land (a large proportion of the cereal production of Russia) was systematically exported under the bounty system to pay for Tsarist warships and armaments, while the peasants in the villages near by were often starving. Add to this the miseries of the three years war, and it is not difficult to see why the spell-binding discipline, born of fear, vanished as soon as the rumour got about over the length and breadth of the gigantic plain, that "little father Tsar" was no more, that policemen had been locked up by the workmen in Petrograd, that Cossacks had gone over to the masses.

Everywhere throughout the land in these days



VOLODARSKI.
Murdered by Counter Revolutionaries.

gatherings of workmen, soldiers, and peasants, which were called Soviets (the Russian name for council), had now this task before them. In Petrograd, on the second day of the March Revolution, the garrison soldiers issued an order that there was to be no more saluting of officers, and that no order was to be obeyed unless it was countersigned by the Soldiers' Soviet. The necessary measures to protect the workers' revolution had to be taken because the bulk of the officers and all the generals were known to be Monarchists, or, at the best, only supporters of a bourgeois republic.

"What is the meaning of this war with Germany?" began to come from a thousand throats. "Is there no means of stopping it by appealing to the German soldiers direct?" they asked. Surely a natural and obvious, if somewhat unconventional thing for war-weary soldiers to do. Soldiers using Soviets to fraternise with people whom they no longer wished to fight became now a common phenomenon. No one had heard of Bolshevism in these days.

In the factories meetings were held and committees elected. The latter were to see to it that wages kept pace with the cost of living. They were to look into the proprietors' books and see how much war profit was being made.

(Continued on next page)

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA, continued*

and lop off enough to fill up that ever-narrowing margin between weekly wages and weekly expenses. And was the peasant, with his dessiatine of land, on which he had to starve, going to allow the rich black earth near by to fill the barns of the "baryn"? Here, too, the spell was broken, and "Zemsky Nachalnik" (rural police spy) was sitting in the local jail, whither he was used to send others. The fruits of that seigneurs' land were to go to the peasants' barns that year. And they went, somewhat anarchically, it is true, and not without heartburnings as to how much should go to each peasant.

By the summer of 1917 the class which considered itself the rightful successor to the Tsarist heritage—the bourgeoisie, manufacturers, and war profit parvenu—began to recover from the shock of the revolution, which had gone so far past what was considered respectable. Girondin like, they began to organise resistance to "anarchy," to insist on discipline in the army, to demand that every citizen of the republic should carry out his "patriotic duty." Alas! What duty? To shoot at, and be shot at by "German workmen in order that Russian war profit parvenus should dominate at Constantinople, and French bankers exploit the Alsace-Lorraine iron mines! No, the time for this had gone by. The spell had been broken. The people now must know the reason why they were to die. But the Russian bourgeoisie could not read the signs of the times. The Mene-Tekel hand was writing on the wall, but they could not see it. Desperate, they organised the Korniloff rebellion, which only aggravated the strife. This rebellion first showed the real power of the Soviets. The soldiers' committees put their men into the field telegraphs, they had their comrades on the railways. No message of the counter-revolution passed. The soldiers' messages for help and instruction flew all over Russia. The counter-revolution vanished, but the war did not. Winter was coming down. The soldiers came to the Soviet offices and said: "Start negotiations with the Germans for a general peace; we shall stay in the trenches till the first snows, and after that we go home with our rifles and divide up the landlords' land." No, it was not Bolsheviks who said this. Lenin at the time was in hiding, and accused by the very soldiers who were saying this of being a German spy. Lenin's friends, who had control of most of the soldiers' Soviets, by September, 1917, were trying to calm these war-weary soldiers and, indeed, when they came into power in October, they exhorted them to remain in the trenches and not to demobilise anarchically, and thus turn Russia into a chaos. A mighty power—the will to international solidarity—had laid hold of the psychology of the Russian masses. That power was manifesting itself in disorderly anarchic ways, because it was crude, elemental and sprang from the masses themselves. If the Bolsheviks had not put themselves at the head of that movement, some other unknown group would have done so, and have become world famous. The Bolsheviks, finding the movement there, led and directed it into orderly channels; seeing the soldiers' Soviets, those informal bodies which had sprung up spontaneously in the first days of the Revolution, they used them as the channels through which the will of the masses could be expressed to the outer world.

All through the summer of 1917 the workers of Petrograd and Moscow tried to better their conditions through their own elected factory or shop stewards' committees. But every step they took to control the actions of the employers was met by counter measures of sabotage, and often by open resistance from "white guards" hired by the employers to defend the "sacred rights of property." Heads of the shop stewards' committees were arrested and sent off to the army by the counter-revolutionaries who hid the raw materials and locked out the workers on the plea that there was no work for them to do. The workers replied by organising

A MESSAGE FROM ROBERT MINOR.

I have spent nine months of the past year in Central Russia, and am in a good position to know what the situation there is. I wish to tell you that nearly every article now being published to disparage the Soviet Republic is totally false, and is propaganda financed by men interested in restoring re-action.

The persistent stories of bloodshed in Russian cities are false almost in toto. I have read accounts of battles in Moscow at times when I was there, and I can certify that such stories are ridiculously untrue. There is less disorder, and a man, woman or child of bourgeois, or any other class, is safer on the streets of Moscow than in any other city I have ever been in.

There is terrible hunger in Russia*. But that hunger is due almost entirely to other causes than Bolshevik rule. The chief cause at the present time is the blockade by the Entente navies. By preventing by force Russia's trading with foreign markets, hundreds of thousands of women and children are being starved by the Entente and American Governments.

Hypocritical offers of charity are made in order to cover up the fact that the starvation is due to the blockade. By means of shutting off Russia's natural food supply until the people are desperately hungry, and then by sending in political and military expeditions behind food trains, the bankers of Paris, London and New York hope to whip the Russian people into submission.

I should say that the second greatest cause of Russia's present hunger is that the French Consulate from May, 1918, until it left Soviet Russia was engaged in destroying all the locomotives that its agents could reach. Many men were sent out with French Consulate "sauf conduits" and suit cases containing emery powder. By thus "sabotaging" the railroad system, placing the emery powder in the bearings of the locomotives, the French official representatives have contributed more to the death by starvation of Russian people than any mismanagement that the Bolsheviks could possibly be guilty of.

Those who jeer at the Russian Government for inability to keep its factories working, should remember that no other nation was able to keep its industries in shape under the pressure of war. And Russia has now been at war longer than any other nation in Europe. She is fighting invaders on every side simultaneously.

The anti-soviet propagandists claim that the Russian Government is not the choice of the Russian people. Well, if that is our business, let us remember that the population of Samara drove the Czech-Slovaks out and welcomed the red army, and that while under hostile military occupation, Vladivostok re-elected the Soviet representatives who were then in jail. Only in the last few days a popular uprising in favour of the Soviets occurred in

Red Guards, seizing the factories and trying to run them themselves without expert officials or technical knowledge. Chaos increased; one group of workmen often struggled with another group in the attempt to get hold of the much needed raw materials. Meanwhile famine became worse and worse, and the workers' Soviets were in danger of turning into committees for grabbing whatever they could get for their own members. Then the Bolsheviks came along, and in October, when they came into power to control the Soviets, gave the latter political as well as economic power, and created an organised proletarian mass.

And so it was also with the peasants; during the summer of 1917 the landlords, and their agents among the war profiteer parvenus, organised resistance to the peasant land committees. Peasant elders were arrested and thrown into prison; some were even shot. The peasants replied by sacking the landlords' mansions. Anarchy was raging in the provinces long before the Bolsheviks came into power in

Siberia, which is entirely shut off from the Moscow Government's influence.

The truth of the matter is that the Russian Soviet forces are defending "their country" in a truer sense than any people ever defended "its country" in all modern history.

The forces supported by the American and Entente Governments are the most reactionary forces in all Europe or Asia. Koltchak came into power by a brutal seizure and the murder of constituent assembly members, and the little incident that precipitated the quarrel indicates its character—Koltchak's officers forcing musicians to play "God save the Tsar" at the point of revolvers at a dinner to celebrate the arrival of French troops at Omsk last November started the quarrel that ended in the swashbuckling adventurer, Koltchak naming himself dictator. The heart and soul of the forces supported by the French, British and American Governments are monarchist.

By frequent conversations in Moscow with supporters of Koltchak, I positively know that it is their desire and their plan to incite a wholesale slaughter of Jews throughout Russia as a means of winning power. Not that they are particularly concerned with Jews, but they frankly say that this would be a good way of getting rid of a Government which in the popular imagination is largely composed of Jews.

By careful observation since the signing of the Armistice, I have observed that the Entente and American Governments are systematically appeasing the discontent of their peoples by vague hints and promises to withdraw troops, but behind the promises they are quietly proceeding to strangle the Russian people with military operations of either their own troops or re-actionary troops financed by them—which amounts to exactly the same thing.

In short, while the censorship keeps you in the dark and makes you victims of all lies the re-actionaries care to tell, the resources of your country and mine are being used to start the most brutally criminal and mercenary war that the world ever knew.

The invasion of the Belgian kingdom was a crime. The invasion of the Russian Republic is a fouler crime. Those who march against Russia, or tolerate others doing so, are doing worse than the first German soldiers who marched across the frontiers of Belgium. The rulers who are directing this monstrous assault upon a little republic that is suing for peace are writing their names in eternal shame beside the name of William Hohenzollern, and whatever the German working people should have done to prevent the advance into Belgium, the French working people ought to do now to prevent the advance into Russia.

* Robert Minor left Russia before the Soviet victories in the Ukraine and Volga regions had been achieved.

October. The latter, restraining the righteous indignation of the peasants, declared their informal committees in the villages (the first fruits of the March revolution), to be the legal authority, possessing the right to take the landlords' land and to work it in the interests of the whole community. Long and difficult has been the struggle of the Bolsheviks with the disorderly forces among the Russian peasantry. The latter, divided into rich and poor, struggled among themselves for the landlords' land and split up into two contending factions—small proprietors and rich speculators; the other labourers, or those peasants who hire no labour. The latter group became the committees of the poorer peasantry, or the reconstituted rural Soviets. It became their duty to stop the disorderly scramble for land and to create the new communal system of land tenure. Thus the seed sown in the soil of anarchic revolution germinated into the young shoot, which fed the atmosphere of order and discipline.

(To be continued.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

"MEXICO NEXT."

The cry "Mexico Next" has long been heard in American capitalist circles, where an ardent desire is felt to annex the little republic of Mexico, because she has dared to try to nationalise her oil wells. "The Times" Washington correspondent says: "President Wilson's return may mean the inauguration of a stiff Mexican Policy.... There have lately been serious developments.... Permission to make fresh borings has been refused.... Representatives of oil interests were told by the State Department that if the troubles continued, they would find the Government strongly behind them.... It might mean a repetition of the Cuban venture on a larger scale.... With the exception of General Angeles, none of the rebel leaders could be turned into a successful President, and General Angeles has his draw backs. He is a man of education and of considerable military ability, but he is stated to be afflicted in politics with the same sort of Radicalism and lack of balance that make President Carranza such a nuisance.... More words speak volumes. Carranza is too Socialistic!"

SELF-DETERMINATION?

Mr. Cecil Harmsworth informed Commander Kenworthy that it would be "very difficult" to consult the peoples of Asia Minor as to which, if any, of the Great Powers they would wish to rule over them.

THE SUPPRESSION OF IRISH ORGANISATIONS.

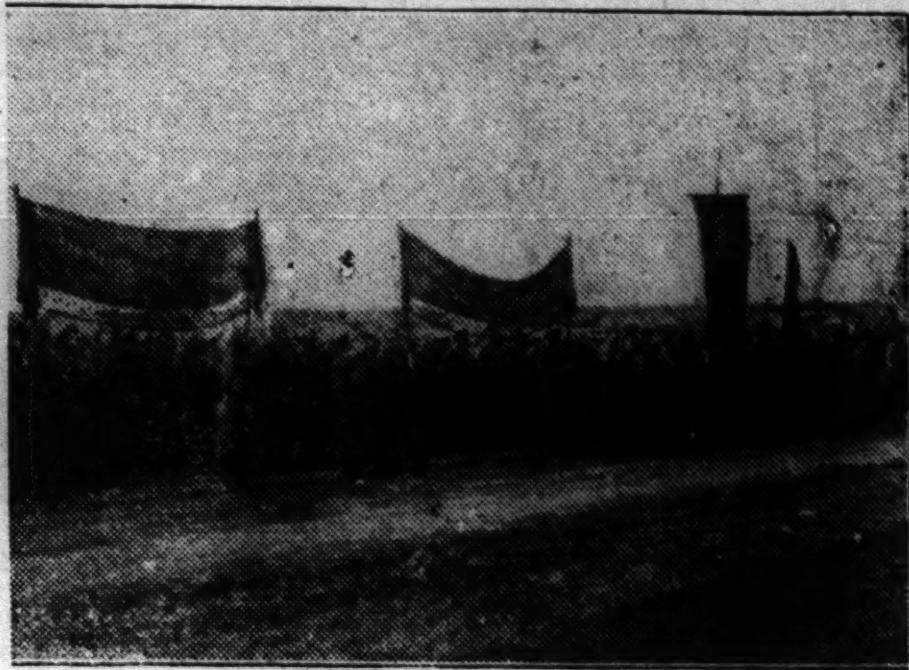
The prohibition and suppression, by order of the Irish Privy Council, of Irish organisations in Tipperary—the Sinn Fein organisation and Sinn Fein clubs, the Irish Volunteers, the Women's Cumann Na Mban, and the Gaelic League—is one of those provocative acts which lead to serious happenings. The Irish are very impatient for their freedom, and Carson's challenge, also, will help to fan the smouldering fire of revolt.

Many Sinn Feiners say that the Irish will

win their freedom, but not until after they have paid a second time with the lives of Irish heroes. Like so many others, the Sinn Feiners put faith in Wilson and the Peace Conference, and these have failed.

THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

These extracts from the Winnipeg "Socialist" leave no doubt that the Soviet there was an attempt at the real thing:—"Winnipeg is now governed by a Soviet. The seat of authority has been transferred from the City Hall to the Labour Temple.... there will be no need to use the weapon of the strike when we own and control industry, and we won't relinquish the fight until we do."



Red Guards in the First of May Demonstration.

SWEDISH SOCIALISTS AND DIRECT ACTION.

The Left wing of the Swedish Socialist Party met in congress on June 12-15 and decided (1) that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a necessary transition stage; (2) that participation in Parliament is necessary to protect the interests of the workers, to conduct revolutionary propaganda in Parliament and at elections, and because Sweden has not reached the stage of revolution; (3) Parliamentary action must be subordinate to mass or direct action, for which the party must work; (4) the party advocates the Soviet system with the Soviet of producers, leading to complete socialisation; (5) in order that the revolution may be bloodless, the bourgeoisie must be disarmed and soldiers' Soviets formed; (6) adherence to the Third International

ITALIAN NEWS.

A SOVIET AT FORLI.

The *Avanti* reports that the proletariat of Forli took possession of the city. On July 3rd the working people invaded the food shops, leather factories and so on, and took the goods on lorries to a storehouse near the "Camera del Lavoro," the workers' headquarters, where it was decided to keep the things till they could be sold at greatly reduced prices.

The Workers' Councils took control of all the shops and the owners were obliged to deliver up the keys in order that the goods still left in the shops might be sold at reduced prices fixed by the workers' representatives.

Several people were arrested, but afterwards released. The demonstrators provided food for the soldiers posted to guard the shops.

The Forli Soviet issued this decree:—

- (1) Food Supplies. All food shops must be open, beginning from to-morrow, July 2nd, and must sell at the prices fixed by the new statute published by agreement with the municipality.
- (2) Objects of personal use.—All clothing shops, etc., will be opened in succession by groups, according to arrangements made by the Committee. The wares will be sold under the direction of delegates nominated by the Committee, at prices fixed by the latter. Shops opening on their own initiative, without any previous agreement with the Committee, will do so at their own risk and danger.
- (3) Goods for industrial use.—Those establishments selling goods and material for industrial use will also open at their own risk, unless they have first entered into agreement with the Committee.
- (4) For pharmacies, the Committee undertakes to nominate a technical council which will report within three days.
- (5) In the case of cafés, inns, and all such establishments as are not specifically provided for, the owner must carefully question the Committee as to the necessary agreements.
- (6) The goods stored at the headquarters of the various organisations will be disposed of as the Committee sees fit.
- (7) The Committee is conducting negotiations so

that full pay may be paid to the strikers.

N.B.—The Committee is sitting in permanence at the Municipal Buildings.

The Milan correspondent of the Swiss Socialist paper, *La Feuille*, writes on July 4th: "The disturbances resulting from the increased cost of living begin to assume a clearly revolutionary, Bolshevik character in the Romagna. For example, in the town of Inola and in its neighbourhood, the Socialists and Syndicalists are directing the movement. The red flag has been hoisted on the cathedral tower. Processions of peasants carrying red flags prevented the resumption of work in the factories. The town is being administered by committees, who carry red cockades. Sub-committees are coming in from the country in charge of communications. At Forli the police stopped four automobiles decorated with red flags and carrying 17 propagandists, who were about to make a propaganda tour in the country. They have been imprisoned."

"At Ancona, the general strike has been proclaimed. Meetings held at Florence to protest against the cost of living have led to a general strike there also. Following upon the procession and demonstration all the shops were closed as a precaution against pillage. Affrays took place between the populace, the police and the troops. The prefect caused the vegetable and fruit stocks to be seized."

AN EXPEDITION TO VIENNA?

The *Avanti* of June 27th said:—

Rome.—A persistent rumour is going about here that Allied troops, especially Italian soldiers, are to be sent to Vienna. It is well to state, however, that this expedition would take place with the consent of the Austrian bourgeois and that the Italian soldiers would be used as police. After the recent troubles in Vienna, which gave evidence of the powerful and threatening forces of the communist proletariat, and in face of the inevitable propaganda arising from Hungary's success, the panic-stricken Austrian bourgeois are making an appeal to western democracy for the safeguarding of property and

"You may see a sympathetic strike on the London buses to support Southend," said the conductorette. "It is a pity they did not come out with us when we had our strike; but we should be showing solidarity now."

Meanwhile Southend is having its first experience of the sympathetic strike. Why not a Southend Soviet?

SHOP NOTES.

LINCOLN.

The strike of operatives in the building trades is practically over at last, and it is another example of the futility of sectional action. Although the operatives and the bricklayers have secured 1/8 per hour and the labourers 1/4d., this only applies to Government contract work, and many men engaged on private work are not getting these rates. It is the general opinion that the strike would have been over the first few days if the Building Trades Federation had called out all the men in the affiliated trades at Lincoln, thereby preventing blacklegging, which is prevalent now, in the (unofficial sense). The sooner the building operatives realise the futility of craft unionism and decide to organise on a class basis, the sooner progress will be made.

A Joint Continuous Meeting will be held in Hyde Park, Marble Arch on MONDAY, JULY 21st, beginning at 3 p.m. To protest against Intervention in Russia. The following speakers have been secured: Dora Montefiore, Sylvia Pankhurst, Melvina Walker, F. H. Burnett, Ernest Cant, Arthur Field, Geo. C. Sanders, S. Saklatvala, H. M. Straker. More speakers will be welcome.

order. The Viennese Government, jealous of Noske's laurels, would like to reap similar ones with the aid, above all, of Italian arms. You will see that all the enthusiasm of the Italian chauvinists will be raised for this expedition. We give the alarm so that the workers may know what is being hatched. After putting them at the disposition of the French and Russian capitalists to strangle the liberties of the Russian people, the governing classes are to-day preparing to do the same for Austrian capitalism against the proletariat of Vienna.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: Sylvia Pankhurst
Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.

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.

THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL WAR

THE GENERAL STRIKE ON JULY 21ST.

In France and Italy the general strike against the war which the Capitalist Governments are making upon the Workers' Republics, will be overwhelming. The Executive of the French General Confederation of Labour has made itself responsible for the strike by instructing its affiliated unions to take part in it. The big essential unions, those of the railway workers, the miners, metal workers, navvies, seamen, dockers, cab drivers, postal, telegraph and telephone workers, have agreed to join the strike. The railway workers' secretary, Bidegaray, opposed the strike and tried to defeat the project by arguing that its effects would remain for fifteen to twenty days, that the soldiers, in process of demobilisation, would be turned against the workers, and the revictualling of devastated towns would be held up. But the French railway workers realised that the soldiers of France and many other nations are being kept far away from home in the fighting ranks by the war which capitalism is making against the Soviets, and that the workers of Russia and Hungary are being blockaded in the effort to starve them into subjection.

FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S THREAT.

Therefore the French railway workers decided for the strike, although their Government had that day issued a serious threat against them. Clavelle, the Minister of Public Works, announced: (1) railway men who belong to the classes now under arms will

(a) be handed over to the military authorities, who will post them to their respective regiments without prejudice to any disciplinary action that may be taken against them, or,

(b) they will be punished in accordance with the decree of June 22nd, 1914.

(2) Railway men belonging to the classes that have been demobilised will be liable to trial by Court Martial, in accordance with the law of 1877, dealing with requisitions.

M. Clementel, Minister of Commerce, sent a circular letter to all railway officials, appealing to them not to strike, and warning them that if they do, they will be dismissed.

The wholesale milk dealers have warned the public and the intending strikers that a twenty-four hours' stoppage will deprive Paris of milk for three days. Every form of pressure is being brought upon the unions, but they stand firm, and the railway workers, who largely hold the key to the situation, have issued the following businesslike notice regarding the strike:—

"A general strike of 24 hours will begin at 5 a.m. on July 21st, and will terminate at the same hour on the 22nd. Trains running at the moment the strike begins must go to the nearest depot and resume the journey 24 hours later. All necessary measures for security are to be taken until the last train arrives, but the workers must cease work at the latest at 7 o'clock in the morning."

WHAT ARE BRITISH WORKERS DOING?

The London District Committee of the Dockers led the way in declaring for the strike. Less definitely, with an eye to D.O.R.A., but unmistakably, the Executive Committee of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen has appealed to its members to fall into line. It appeals to them to join the "international protest" and to support the demonstrations on July 20th and 21st. The international protest on July 21st is not a mere affair of meetings:

it is a general strike, so the members of the union will know what to do that day. Other unions, too, are circularising their members.

WHAT ARE THE BRITISH LABOUR OFFICIALS DOING?

The Labour Party Executive was instructed by the Annual Conference of the Party to approach the Trade Union Congress Committee with a view to direct action to stop the war against the Soviets. The committees have met, but are still negotiating, and they are allowing this particular opportunity for direct action to pass by without any definite word from them. Henderson, in the monthly journal of the Ironfounders' Union, however, has issued another appeal against direct action.

WHAT OF THE SOCIALIST AND LABOUR PRESS?

The Workers' Dreadnought, as far as we can discover, is the only weekly Socialist organ that has hitherto made a direct appeal to the workers to join the General Strike on July 21st. *The Daily Herald*, though it professes to favour direct action, is boycotting the strike, as far as this country is concerned, and its references to the strike on the Continent are exceedingly meagre. It seems to be rather more excited about the fact that some of its copies are being burnt on the Rhine than about the attack on our Russian comrades in which so many lives are being lost.

The boycott of the strike by the only daily newspaper which claims to speak for Labour, is a serious handicap, and shows the importance of uniting all those who stand for the revolution in a Communist Party which, by uniting, will shortly be strong enough to run a daily paper of its own.

In the meantime, comrades, do not wait for the Press or the officials to point the way. Remember that a strike on July 21st, even though a mere minority of the workers take part in it, will pave the way for a bigger protest. Those who strike on July 21st will be doing what they can for Socialism and International solidarity. Those who work on July 21st must consider themselves as blacklegs. Therefore, "down tools" on July 21st.

ITALY'S PART.

Italy is already in revolutionary mood, and the twenty-four hours' strike, though it will undoubtedly be a tremendous manifestation there, will be less important than other present-day manifestations of Italian workers, should it end in twenty-four hours. Soviets, as we report elsewhere, are already set up in several districts, food prices have been reduced 50 per cent. by direct action. The Italian seamen's federation refuses to allow goods to go from Italy to Russia, and its members in Naples are holding up the steamer "Cablons," which was on its way from London to Russia. Some time ago *Avanti*, the Italian Socialist daily, failed to appear, because its offices were wrecked by reactionaries; now the tables are turned—the workers in the Federation of Book Workers prevented the publication of all newspapers, except *Avanti*!

WILL THE ANTI-SOVIET BLOCKADE BE RAISED?

The Daily Herald has twice stated emphatically that the blockade of Soviet Russia is to be raised immediately. We should like to believe the story, but it is so improbable that we cannot do so without unmistakable evidence of its truth. So far, the evidence all points in the opposite direction. It is well nigh impossible to believe that the Allies will continue their attack on the Soviets and their aid to the counter revolutionaries, and at the same time, raise the blockade, and certainly there is no indication that these things are to cease. *The Times* reports: "the export of tea and coffee from Holland, except to Bolshevik Russia and Hungary, has been sanctioned by the Dutch Minister of Agriculture." Holland, a weak, neutral nation, acts virtually under the instructions of the Allies in blockade matters.

The workers will make a terrible mistake if they slacken their efforts against the blockade and the intervention because rumours are circulated that the capitalists will terminate these of their own accord. It is wisest for us to as-

sume that the attack by capitalist Governments will never cease until capitalist Governments are overthrown.

Germany is making preparations to trade with Soviet Russia, and has sent a Commission to arrange with the Soviet Economic Council for German assistance in the building of Russian railways, in the provision of machinery, tools and technical experts. But the Big Five will probably intervene to upset these plans.

The inevitable outcome of the situation is that the German workers under the pressure of their many hardships, will rise, and, taking the power of Government into their own hands, will establish a Soviet Government and form an Alliance with Soviet Russia.

A warning of the impending outbreak is given by the mob attacks on French soldiers in Berlin. Should the working masses of Germany rise in their millions the army of occupation would be powerless to quell them.

Austria has a Social Reform Government, which is endeavouring to stave off a proletarian revolution by concessions to the working classes. The Austrian Government appeals to the Allies to be admitted to the League of Nations, urging that it has complied with every order of the Paris Council. The Big Five reply that Austria may apply for admission to the League "as soon as they are assured that Austria possesses a responsible Government." That means when they are sure that Austria is not going to Socialise her industries and allow her workers to control them.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic correctly gauges the spirit of the Big Five: though its Prime Minister calls himself a Social Democrat, *The Times* reports him as saying: "We wish to keep England as a model and not to leap in the dark in our social experiments." President Masaryk has made a very unsatisfactory statement on Socialisation.

PETROGRAD SOVIET ELECTIONS.

The lies about the Soviet Government being a self-imposed dictatorship and the story that there are no elections for the Soviets are nailed to the counter by the following paragraph from *The Times*:—

"Elections for the Petrograd Soviet, according to a wireless message from Moscow, have resulted as follows:—847 Bolsheviks; 49 in sympathy with Bolsheviks; 147 from the United Labour Parties; 227 'Dezpartyny,' or Independents."

D.O.R.A. TO LAST A YEAR LONGER.

Sir Hamar Greenwood, Under Secretary to the Home Office, has announced, on the Government's behalf, that the Defence of the Realm Act is to continue for a year. The reason is that the Government may have power to coerce the workers at home and to stifle agitation against its attack upon the Workers' Governments abroad.

THE COAL SITUATION.

The Government seems determined to flout the miners and the workers generally by raising the price of coal 6/- a ton and refusing the nationalisation of the mines, railways, piers, docks and so on, all of which it has promised. The Government, the mere puppet of the Great Capitalist interests, gives way to them and impudently flouts the workers. But the Government is playing a dangerous game. To promise nationalisation and then contemptuously to refuse it, is the way to stir the masses to revolution.

What do the miners and railway men say about it? Will they pick up the challenge or allow the capitalist Government to kick them yet again? The offer to suspend the 6/- increase if the miners will work at feverish war pressure solves nothing.

This is a splendid opportunity for advancing the struggle against Capitalism. It should be seized with enthusiasm and eagerness. The advanced section in the South Wales coalfield has its own scheme for socialising the industry and securing control, not for the Trade Union Executive in London, but for the workers in the pits.

Do not go to work on Monday, July 21st.

Join the Triple Alliance of British, French and Italian workers. On July 20, a great demonstration will be held in Britain, France and Italy to demand **HANDS OFF THE WORKERS' REPUBLICS OF RUSSIA AND HUNGARY.**

On July 21st, the workers of France and Italy will abstain from work as a protest against the shameful war on the Workers' Republics. They ask British workers to do the same. **JOIN THE GENERAL STRIKE ON JULY 21st.**

AN OPEN LETTER TO LENIN.

From the inaugural meeting of the Finnish Communist Party held in Moscow on September 3rd, 1918.

COMRADE,—

With deep consternation and anger we have heard that the bullet of an assassin hired by the bourgeois has wounded you, the greatest soldier of the Soviet Republic, and leader of the International Revolutionary Labour movement.

We meet here, in the capital of the Socialist Soviet Republic, to organise a Finnish Communist Party, in place of the Social Democratic Party, that fell in the revolutionary storms last spring. We hoped to see you amongst us, honoured comrade, and best adviser; we had already adopted a resolution asking you to come to our Conference. As our wish to see you here with us cannot be realised owing to the infamous attack on your life, we desire by this open letter to convey to you the thoughts in our hearts that we had hoped to express to you verbally.

A year ago you were an exile in our country; now we are visiting yours. You were exiled by the terrorism of the Russian Bourgeoisie, and afterwards by the Temporary Administration, which coerced and exiled Russia's struggling proletariat. Now it is we who have been chased to Russia by the violent terrorism of the united Finnish and German bourgeoisie, which by a bloody military dictatorship is now crushing the workers of Germany and Finland.

A year ago we could not believe that during the war Russia could achieve a real proletarian revolution. We thought: "First peace, then revolution." But you, comrade Lenin, declared with deep confidence, "First revolution, then peace."

You acted with decision and in harmony with that belief. You hurried from Helsingfors to Viborg, from Viborg to Petrograd. We sent you a special warning: "Take care, Kerensky is seeking your life." But you disregarded our warning because you thought that the time had come to lead the workers to revolution.

In October the Russian proletariat rose; it crushed both the bourgeois administrators and their Socialist hirelings and took all power into its own hands.

We Finnish Social Democrats did not then realise the true meaning of this tremendous stroke; we could not believe that still, in September, 1918, the power wrested by the workers from the bourgeois state which they have destroyed would remain in the workers' hands, and that they would be building a Socialist society.

Last Autumn, on the very eve of the Russian Revolution, you, comrade Lenin, advised us Finlanders: "Rise; rise without delay; take all power into the hands of the organised workers." By failing to follow your wise advice in November, 1917, we made, as we know now, an historic error.

In November, 1917, there were good prospects for our Finnish Revolution. Unscrupulous profiteering had angered the Finnish workers and driven them to the very verge of the class war; but one pace removed from forcible conflict. When from Russia the trumpets of proletarian revolution sounded, the Finnish workers were ready to rise. But our Social Democratic Party, the only workers' party in our country, was not prepared.

Our party was paralysed by the Bourgeois Class Administration; it dropped to the level of peaceful class rivalry, at which, for instance, the German Social Democratic Movement has always remained. It was one of those Labour Parties which try by trade union methods to better the conditions of the workers within the Capitalist state, in the programmes of which Socialism is a mere ornament, and which strive to avoid the workers' revolution, instead of making ready to fulfil the great historic mission of the working class. Therefore, after a period of hesitation and uncertainty, our party guided the revolutionary flood tide of the workers into mere general strike demonstrations, and stayed off forcible conflict between the workers and the bourgeoisie. We did not believe in revolution; we did not wish to endanger our organisations and the "democratic" institutions of the country. We preferred to continue developing those institutions.

Now, looking back, it is plain to us that those tactics could, at best, have led only to a temporary and relative victory; not a genuine victory of the working classes, but to a so-called democratic compromise between the capitalist parties and the majority of our Social Democratic Party. The minority would then, doubtless, have left our party to call the workers to revolutionary Socialism. A

Finnish revolution last November could not have placed the working class immediately in power, but it might have taken us an historical evolutionary step in that direction. It was the duty of our party, as a class war organisation of the workers, to dash forward to that goal; not merely to lay in wait, as it did, for attack by the bourgeoisie. If we had chosen revolution then, our country's class struggle would have been less costly than it has been. The process of evolution will in any case take its toll in human life, but the cost, if we had acted boldly, would have been smaller.

By failing to do its duty in November, our party could not long prevent armed conflict. The democratic administration of the State, the eight-hour day, and other Parliamentary reforms which seemed so near, we could not secure by Parliamentary tactics. On the contrary, all these democratic prizes were, week by week, more evidently endangered, because the capitalists were preparing to frustrate our efforts to obtain reform by forming armed organisations for civil war. Under this menace our Party also began to prepare the workers for self-defence. But this work was not done with the great energy and enthusiasm we could have shown had we been mustering for a campaign that our hearts desired instead of for one we wished to avoid.

At the end of January, 1918, Finnish capitalism set its traps to attack the workers.

Our Social Democratic Party replied with revolution; but the situation, both in home and foreign possibilities, was now less favourable to the workers than in November. On the eve of the revolution it was difficult to foresee this clearly; nevertheless we ought to have known that the time was coming in which the workers and their Party would have no other choice. In any case a proportion of the workers would certainly have taken up arms to protect their rights; thousands of them must in any case have been butchered. It is questionable whether our organisation would have been spared, even had our Party withdrawn from the struggle, and certainly had it done so it would have split the workers' front and so helped the bloody dictatorship of the bourgeois. We could not thus degrade our Party. In every district where it was possible, the whole Labour movement, political and trade unionist, rose as one man to campaign under our leadership.

But still we had no clear understanding of the nature and mission, even of this our proletarian revolution. The armed conflict was only, in our view, a necessary evil, and we who were in charge of the revolutionary movement gave less attention to the organisation of the campaign than to law making and the re-arrangement of administration. When the fierce revolution was already raging and within a few weeks we got into fighting order a Red Army of 80,000 men. That this was possible in a dominion which had but half its population of three million still left to it, and where for the last fifteen years there had been no native military, so that the workers had no source from which to draw trained officers and war technicians, must be attributed rather to the general organising capacity of the workers than to the military talents of the revolutionary administration.

In its political aims our revolutionary administration long tried, rather to restrain, than to encourage the revolutionary tendency of the workers towards Socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The goal of the revolution seemed to us to be, not the Socialism, but social reforms, not the annihilation of the bourgeois State and the creation of a workers' dictatorship, but reformation by the idle way of general democracy, not the establishment of "revolution as a lasting state," to which Marx pointed, but the getting rid of revolution as soon as possible, as though it were some horrible nightmare.

This was the logical outcome of our conceited Social Democratic teaching and of the long tramping by the ways of Parliamentarianism and trade unionism, which has paralysed the revolutionary Socialist impulse of our workers. When we had actually to face the effective historical process, the proletarian revolution, which, even in our Social Democratic programme was ever the most shining ornament, and the preparation for which should have been the highest object of the earlier Labour movement, and from which, at last, the Labour movement should hurry to gather the long awaited fruits—then it became apparent that Social Democracy's vaunted "high stage of development" was half-blind, half-lame. To revolutionary workers it was rather an obstacle than a banner of victory. The Social Democratic Party had not

made use of the blossoming time of democracy within the capitalist State to prepare for that which is the highest stage of the class struggle, the armed revolution, at the outbreak of which democracy, having finished its task, is doomed to perish.

When our workers' democracy tardily and unwillingly came, at last, to revolution, the inner logic of the struggle led us on to the workers' dictatorship and the socialisation of industry. When we stepped in the revolutionary path, in reality to avoid revolution, our mental conflict and unreadiness lent a mischievous uncertainty to our movements from which grew up a general discontent with the leaders of the revolutionary army. It is tragic that, perhaps, those mistakes of ours were responsible for the defeat of the workers' cause when the scales of victory or defeat were hanging in the balance. But if the working class had been victorious in the conflict we might have sailed on on the waves of uncertainty, face to face with the greatest tragedy possible to the Labour movement; the tragedy in which the Russian Mensheviks have been engulfed, that of struggling, weapon in hand, against the workers' revolution. The disastrous defeat of our Finnish workers' revolution was not the outcome of the leaders' mistakes.

The revolution was crushed by the beast of German Imperialism, which hastened to the aid of Finnish capitalism with weapons of highly trained forces. Whether German Social Democracy did all that it ought to prevent this we leave it to the German workers to decide. To us the interference of the German Government was destructive—and instructive. The independence of our mother country, a gift which came to us from you, honoured Russian comrades, we Finnish Social Democrats enthusiastically protected; but the bourgeoisie of Finland sold it to German Imperialism for the price of the Finnish workers' blood. By this deed the bourgeoisie has stripped us of social patriotism.

By international slaughter, power and the capitalist technique of mob murder, the opposition of our revolutionary workers was strangled last April (1918); men whose bravest efforts could not withstand the pressure of our enemies, and no help came to us from abroad. The German comrades did not hear our call. Our Russian Comrade heard, but had not power enough to save us. He was himself in danger, but yet helped as much as he could. Our debt of thankfulness became larger day by day and week by week. This we felt deeply, and also were ashamed, because there was once a time when, under the influence of bourgeois local-patriotism, we hesitated to accept aid from the soldier comrade of Russia, and to enter into noble alliance with him. The sacred blood that was shed on the snowfields of Finland has bound us now in a fraternal alliance that will last for ever.

Comrade Lenin, the real meaning of revolutionary Socialism, which on the eve of our workers' revolution we failed to understand, now begins to be made clear by the example of the victorious Russian proletariat and by your teaching. Here in Russia we have been able to study the working of the greatest revolution in the history of the world, the first grand revolution. We were told in Finland that we should see here destruction, only destruction. It is true we have seen much destruction, but destruction which has resulted from the proletarian revolution has shattered only the capitalist class state; it has only meant the conscious and thorough annihilation of the old, rotten and oppressive State organisation of the exploiting classes; from under this destruction we have seen germination and sprouting upward a nobler crop than we have even imagined. We have seen the grand and suffering Russia bring forth to the world in life and actual reality the beautiful ideal of which the workers of the world have been dreaming for many thousands of years.

SOCIALISM

We now understand that only thus can Socialism be realised, that it will never grow to life from the jungle of democracy, as we in Finland believed, but from the reality of destruction, danger, suffering and warfare. The class government of Russia's victorious workers, of which you, honoured Comrade, are leader, is founded to help into being the long-awaited new society. This gigantic task will daily call for the boundless straining of nerves and power. The administrative difficulties of your task would demand from the proletariat very great exertions, even if Russia had been out of the terrible war, which has raged now for several years, and in which Russia is losing still important lives. Greater efforts are needed, because you must struggle under the attack both of internal and

(Continued on next page.)

AN OPEN LETTER—continued.

external enemies. Sword in hand must the Russian workers build, sword in hand must the revolutionary ploughman plough. They are building, ploughing, and struggling with inexhaustible energy and enthusiasm. "The work will be bad, the work will be worthless!" croak the expelled hawks from outside. It is true that all that is done cannot be good, because there is no time for polishing, but every day some work is finished. We have seen growing from your combined efforts unexpectedly rich results, and that is good testimony. If in Russia, held for so long under the tyranny of the Czarism, and lately in the grasp of Germany's iron-hand, if in Russia, where the cultural and economic process was in chaos, the Socialist Soviet Republic stands firm after eleven months, how ripe, indeed is capitalist world for socialist revolution! The capitalist world is ripe for communism, as we now say, comrade Lenin, in accordance with your teaching, the value of which the workers' revolution in your country has proved to the world.

To us Finnish Social Democrats the communist revolution has brought altogether new ideas of the world and of life. We have awakened now to the sunshine of Socialism, of which before we only dreamed.

For the knowledge of communism we are in debt, which we must pay by sincere and enthusiastic work for the international socialist revolution, above all in Finland and here in Russia. Communism has given us the bright and hopeful belief that the great sacrifices the workers of our country have endured in their campaigns this year, and still more in the beastly orgies of revenge held by the Finnish bourgeois after the workers' defeat, are not wasted but given for the international victory of the proletariat. This noble end the Finnish working class tried to help in their campaigns of last spring; small in number, knowledge and strength, it yet made great sacrifice and once more it will rise up from the dust. Communism will bring the light of new hope to the darkest night; it will break the chains of despair, and pour into the sorrowful soul of the defeated soldier a new and iron-strong belief in victory.

On the day when the commanding song, "This is our last struggle," shall sound throughout the world; when the International Red Army starts forth on its onward march, the world shall see the proletariat of Finland also storm out to the war-front and to victory.

In Germany, Austria, England, France, the United States and Japan the working class will repudiate all the Labour Parties that in those countries, which speak to postpone the workers' revolution when the moment is ripe for it, and in spite of all our warnings, still give the false advice: "First peace, then revolution." The workers will repudiate those Labour Parties that directly or indirectly are supporting the attempts of the imperialist governments of their countries to strangle the Socialist Soviet Republic and to crush the workers' international revolution.

We send a brotherly handshake to all those Labour organisations, which, already in war time, are preparing for the revolution, to rescue the workers of their own countries, to help the Russian Soviet Republic and to build up the international socialist republic.

We believe and hope that the present world war will be the grave in which international capitalism will be buried.

Honour to you, Russian Communists, who so heroically have carried out the heaviest pioneer work for the workers' international revolution! From you and the workers you represent great exertions and many heavy sacrifices will yet be demanded, but the victorious march of international Socialism which you have started will go on unchecked to its destination.

In this creative struggle, Comrade Lenin, you are needed. Your firm hand, and bright, far-seeing eye, and the strength of your mental power are important. You will patiently bear the pain and annoyance of the wounded soldier. And soon again you will take into your strong hands the rudder of the Socialist Soviet Republic and the workers' international revolutionary movement.

Tell the Russian comrades, in our name, that their Finnish comrades will go happily under fire; they desire to be in the attack when the forts of capitalism shall be taken and destroyed. The Finnish comrades will not be out of the fighting line when the workers of all countries win the world.

Moscow.

September 3rd, 1918.

FOR 2/6 POST FREE

Three Marvellous Publications
ON BIRTH-CONTROL

Thoughtful workingclass people are following the lead of the upper classes and getting wise on limitation of family.

From J. W. GOTT, Sec., LIBERATOR LEAGUE
61, DORSET ST., BRADFORD.

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA."

Monster "Hands off Russia" meetings are being continually held, which are having a very favourable effect upon the rank and file. The 20th and 21st promise to be days upon which the miners and other sections of workers will show to the Government their opposition to the strangling of Socialist Russia. The miners' leaders would be assured of the whole-hearted support of the majority of the rank and file if they were to take up a strong attitude on the Russian question, even to the extent of a strike that should continue until the British Government unconditionally raised the blockade upon Russia.

The French and Italian workers are praying for the support of the British workers for a down-tools policy against intervention. Will their prayers be unanswered? Will the South Wales miners, who pride themselves upon fighting and destroying the Munitions Acts, so far as they concerned miners, in 1915, allow the appeals of their European comrades-in-toil to be unavailing? The answer to both questions must be emphatically, No! Never!! The miners alone have the power to bring the Government to its knees on this question. If we allow the Soviet Government in Russia to fall, and put Tsardom back upon the throne, not only would we be betraying the Russian workers, but betraying ourselves.

THE 6/- RISE.

The announcement by Sir Auckland Geddes that after the 18th of July the price of coal will be increased by 6/- per ton has no doubt acted like a bombshell in the country.

The rank and file of the miners are all unanimous in thinking that this is done in order to embitter the rest of the workers against the miners, with the object of defeating nationalisation. They realise well enough that there is no legitimate reason why the price of coal should be raised one penny piece. The various methods of economy suggested by the Miners' Report of the Coal Commission, and the elimination of various wasteful methods of production, would amply pay for increased wages and decreased hours. Every miner knows of the waste that is occurring in the mines: items of waste that cannot be appreciated by anybody but the miners. Because he knows these things first hand; that is the reason he believes the increased price of 6/- is not justified, except from the point of view of increasing the profits of the already over-rich coal-owners.

The cry of the miners is, "eliminate profits, and economise in production." Then the price of coal need not increase. The coal owners are, at the present time, deliberately restricting production in many ways well known to the working miner, and which are the subject of daily talk. In most pits the colliers cannot obtain the number of trams they require, and thousands of tons of coal that could otherwise be brought to the surface with very little

extra expense, are not produced. Lack of "clearance" is the general grievance with the colliers, but perhaps this is not known to the general public.

One may ask: "What is the cause?" There is only one answer. Private ownership is the only cause, and the administration of the coal mining industry will not merely remain in its present wasteful state, but will become worse and worse, until it is socialised and controlled by the working miners themselves. Only then can production be carried on scientifically with the minimum expenditure of energy, for then the workers themselves will be directly interested in eliminating all waste. It must not be thought that mere nationalisation will bring these things; only complete ownership by the community and complete control by the workers of the industry they are engaged in, will bring these happy results.

AFTERDAMP OF ROYAL VISIT.

The officials of the Porth Trades and Labour Council have resigned because a few of the local trade unionists betrayed their fellow workers by accepting the invitation to meet the Prince of Wales. In defence they pleaded the right of "personal liberty," but forgot that it was not as individuals they were invited, but because they were the workers' representatives. This entirely knocked out the bottom of the "personal liberty" argument.

Difficulties have also arisen in the cases of service men who were promised a half-day's pay for time lost in seeing the Prince. The promises were not redeemed, and a strike was averted by a victory for the men.

LABOUR TROUBLES.

The heaven of the politicians, wherein no labour troubles occur, is still not in sight. The last few weeks have seen strikes in connection with Miners, Steelworkers, Dockers, Teachers, Bakers, Colliery Clerks, and very many other grades of workers. It is now that the capitalist class is reaping the fruits of the high cost of living, brought about in the main, by the action of the financial interests of this country. At the beginning of the war large amounts of gold were taken from circulation and much larger amounts of paper money were put in their places. This was done consciously to restrict the workers' ability to buy foreign goods, and thus keep down the import traffic. The capitalist should now sing a revised version of a well known song: "If I could turn the clock back just five years." The action of putting into circulation a large amount of paper money which depreciated in value to much the same extent as it increased in quantity, has contributed more than any other single factor to the present-day labour troubles. Most of the present-day fights between capital and labour are the struggles of the worker for the value of his labour power on the present basis of the high cost of living. But these defensive fights on the part of the workers can be turned into offensive fights against capitalism. To achieve this result let us Agitate! Educate!! Organise!!!

F. P.

W. S. F. PUBLICATIONS.

- | | |
|---|-----|
| Independent Working Class Education | |
| By Eden and Cedar Paul | 3d. |
| The Schooling of the Future | |
| By E. Sylvia Pankhurst. | 1d. |
| Self Education of the Workers | |
| By A. Lunacharsky, Russian Soviet Minister of Education, | 2d. |
| Housing and the Workers' Revolution | |
| By E. Sylvia Pankhurst. | 3d. |
| The Truth About Russia | |
| By Arthur Ransome. | 3d. |
| Red Russia, | |
| Book 1 By J. Reed (from the Liberator) | 6d. |
| Book 2 do. (just out) | 4d. |
| The Red Funeral at Vladivostok | |
| By A. Rhys Williams. | 4d. |
| Hands Off Russia | |
| By Israel Zangwill. | 2d. |
| The Chief Task of our Times | |
| By Lenin. | 3d. |
| Soviets or Parliaments? | |
| By Bukharin, Russian People's Commissary. | 1d. |
| Rebel Ireland, By E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Patricia Lynch, M. O'Callaghan. | 3d. |
| Just Out. | |
| The Social General Strike | |
| By Jack Tanner, based on the work of Arnold Roller. | 2d. |
| In the Press. | |
| The Hungarian Revolution | |
| By Henry Charles Schmitt, being an account the first five days, by eye-witness. | 6d. |

ONE OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Dear Miss Pankhurst,—I do hope you won't be offended at my asking in regards to my husband getting a job; he has had no work for five months now, still getting donation but that is nearly finished, so he tells me about joining the Army again if he cannot get work soon. Well, Miss Pankhurst, I don't want him to do that just now as he has already been away 5 years out of the 8 years I've been married, and to make matters worse I am expecting again in September, and things are very bad with me just now. My poor legs are so bad that I can hardly get about with them, and not being able to work myself, being so near, things are rather bad for me. Well, Miss Pankhurst, if you should know of anything going he is willing to do anything. I think I shall go potty if something don't turn up for us and hoping you will know of some work. Yours in the cause. A—F—.

Phone: Central 3820. Established 1855

TOYE & CO,

57, THEOBALDS ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

Sole Manufacturer of

Banners and Flags for Demonstrations.
Metal and Enamelled Badges for all Societies.
Medals, Celluloid and Buttons.
Flags for Charity Collection Days.

LEANEY'S LTD.

WHOLESALE NEWSAGENT.

City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought
9 & 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4
(Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.)

WATSON'S APPEAL DISMISSED.

Is it worth it? Can a revolutionary Socialist plead consistently, or with any hope of success, in the law courts organised to protect the Capitalist system? This was the question ever present during Watson's appeal at Clerkenwell Sessions on July 9th. Watson had been sentenced to six months imprisonment for a speech delivered on February 8th. He had appealed against the sentence, and whilst the months in which the appeal was pending dragged on, he was debarred from all public agitation.

The magistrate was a little humorous and amused before lunch, very much bored in the afternoon, and seemed prejudiced all the time. Miss Campbell, one of Watson's witnesses, had said that the workers are slaves under the present industrial system. Watson asked for an adjournment from one to two o'clock, saying that as that was the dinner hour in the workshop and at Bow Street, he had assumed it would be so at the Sessions House, and had arranged for his witnesses to come at two. The magistrate and Sir A. Bodkin, counsel for the prosecution, jeered and joked at "these slaves"—the workers who require an hour for dinner. The magistrate said he was accustomed to managing with half-an-hour; none observed that the magistrate does not begin work till 10.30!

Bodkin seemed determined, not merely to get Watson into gaol, but to show his disgust for the entire Socialist movement. In cross-examining E. C. Fairchild, he signified his disapproval of the object of the "Hands off Russia" meeting, asking, "You would think it right, then," in accents of horror, "for other civilised nations to stand by whilst Bolshevism rules in Russia?" He cast up his eyes with an air, "can these be?" when Fairchild answered "Yes!"

The magistrate and Bodkin were on the best of terms; both, it was clear, were firmly attached to the maintenance of Capitalist law and order which they were engaged to protect. And here were Watson and his witnesses endeavouring to persuade them; though he desires the overthrow of the Capitalist system and is proud of being a revolutionary Socialist, yet, at the same time, Watson's speech was entirely innocuous from the Capitalist point of view. It was an impossible task; in the nature of things it failed to succeed. It was very sad, the effort was a very sad and depressing business. Watson said that he does not believe in armed rebellion, that he never advocated it, and does not believe it necessary. He described the Irish Rebellion of Easter week as "abortive and unfortunate." (A trip to Ireland would do him no harm). When he said: "Arm yourselves if necessary," he argued that he only meant in case of an unprovoked attack by the police or

ruffians hired by Havelock Wilson, or some other. He said that Neil MacLean's graphic account of the attack on the people in George's-square, Glasgow, had excited him and caused him to use those words. He might have said that he urged the formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in order that there would be no army to fight against the workers.

During the trial some interesting light was thrown on the methods of Scotland Yard. Watson's offending speech was made on February 8th. Inspector Parker, a plain clothes man, stated in evidence, that about February 28th he was given instructions, "but not definite instructions," to arrest him. At the close of David Ramsay's trial on March 8th, Watson's arrest took place—a month after the speech was delivered!

In the trial at Bow Street Watson had probed Inspector Parker in vain for a reason for the month's delay. But now Parker stated that the delay was due to the fact that Watson had gone bail for Ramsay—a poor reason to give, since Ramsay could easily have obtained another bailee. Watson asked Parker who had given him the definite instruction for the arrest and when the instruction was given. Parker replied that Mr. Harold Pearson gave the order at 2.30, when the Ramsay case finished, and that it was executed at 2.40.

Watson wanted to put Pearson into the box, but the magistrate objected that the evidence would not be material.

Watson claimed that his arrest without a warrant was not in accordance with the D.O.R.A. regulations, and, indeed, it seems absurd that there should have been no time to get a warrant, as a month had been allowed to elapse since his speech. Watson complained that after his arrest, when the magistrate at Bow Street had signified his willingness to allow bail, Watson had sent out the names of two persons who would be his bailees, and had asked if these persons were not present that others of his friends, who were waiting outside, should be approached. Parker, however, had not approached the friends, and Watson had been obliged to spend a night in gaol unnecessarily. Meanwhile, Inspector Parker and others had searched his office. Watson seemed to be suggesting some special malice on the part of Inspector Parker, and Parker stood there, scornful and impatient under his questioning. Watson burst out, indignantly, "There is a vile system of espionage in this country. . . I am approached by heads of Scotland Yard and offered a weekly salary to be an informer. I am told you will never be in the dock, Watson, if you work for us." He asked the magistrate, "Can you imagine anything so repulsive?"

Inspector Parker was very angry. His pale face and bald head grew very pink; his hand holding a paper trembled violently, the paper shook as though in a wind. He moved across the court to another seat.

The magistrate sat motionless; one expected him to protest, as he had done earlier, that this had nothing to do with the case, but he said nothing, yet he, too, looked angry: the easy, good-humoured expression had left his face.

Bodkin rose up, fassily heated. His manner seemed to say to the magistrate, we have heard this fellow out: the law, unfortunately demands it; and now away with him to prison. Bodkin spoke to the magistrate as though the affair were a piece of business between themselves, in which there could be no possibility of anything but a mutual agreement: "there are two aspects of the case; the new issue that he has raised and the conviction."

The magistrate, after a moment's conversation with his fellows, answered: "We have no hesitation in saying that the conviction must stand: the only person who might have explained away the speech was the appellant: if he had gone into the box and stood the test of cross-examination. He did not take that course: the conviction must stand."

One expected the magistrate to refer to Watson's charges against the police; to repudiate them: to say it was impossible to believe them; but he did not.

Bodkin was on his feet again. "On December 2nd the appellant was convicted of the very same thing. In his office evidence was found showing that he was connected with the unrest in the Army. His speech was premeditated, the engagement was entered in his diary, and he was billed to speak at the meeting."

Watson objected to the charge being made against him that he had caused unrest in the Army without any evidence being put forward.

"The evidence was elicited by himself in cross-examination," said Bodkin impudently.

As a fact, it had been stated in evidence that Watson's office had been searched, but what was in the papers found there had not been disclosed and no documents had been produced, though, of course, the police had all the documents in their possession, and if any of them had been incriminating Bodkin would surely have produced them.

"We cannot see any reason to reduce the sentence," the magistrate coldly said.

"As we are of the working-class, I ask that we be relieved of the costs," Watson appealed. "No. You will have to pay the costs."

So it was over. Watson was led away to his six months' imprisonment: the magistrate drove off in his motor-car.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

July 7th.—Inquiries were again made as to the validity of allowing Government motor-cars to be used by officials, for other than purely official business. Mr. Bonar Law spoke of the difficulty of obtaining "outside communication!" This, however, applies much more to the general worker, Government or otherwise, who cannot afford to hire vehicles. Why not let them also use Government motor-cars?

GENERAL DENIKIN.

July 8th.—Replying to Lieut. Colonel Sir S. Hoare (C.U.), Mr. Harmsworth stated that there is a British Military Mission attached to General Denikin's headquarters; further, that the Supreme Economic Council at Paris had despatched an Economic Mission to investigate conditions. But what if Denikin should fail?

"DAILY HERALD."

Mr. Churchill was very frank on the question of the *Daily Herald*, and the prevention of its circulation amongst the troops. It was "deliberately" inciting the troops to mutinies, strikes and riots; it had caused "harm!" Therefore, "I have issued directions that it is no longer to be included among the papers which are forwarded officially to our armies abroad." Have you anything further to say?

"A MIS-STATEMENT OF FACTS."

July 9th.—Sir J. D. Rees (C.U.) drew attention to a pamphlet on India, entitled "Coercion and Repression," which is by Messrs. Smillie, Williams and Lansbury. Mr. Montagu in reply pronounced the pamphlet to be a "collection of false statements and deductions." Will the authors take an action for libel against Mr. Montagu?

SOVIET PAPERS

Mr. Forster declared that he was "not aware of any prohibition" of the Russian Soviet Republic newspapers to enter this country. Then, how is it that they do not arrive, except, as Mr. Lunn (Lab.) said, at the Foreign Office?

"No man will be kept there against his will," important admission of Mr. Forster. Friends, collect statistics of British soldiers in Russia, and prove either the truth or falsity of this Government statement!

FINANCE.

On July 8th and 9th the Committee stage of the Finance Bill was taken. Efforts made to curtail indirect taxation, such as the extra penny per pound on tea, were unavailing. Commander Kenworthy (L.) attacked the Imperial Preference Clause. He was sure no one wanted it but the manufacturers. Mr. Chamberlain, in his reply, was rather cutting in his remarks on Commander Ken-

worthy's speech, alleging that he had forgotten nothing; but neither had he learned anything from the war. At this Commander Kenworthy exclaimed, "Before the war I thought in terms of Empire, and now I think in terms of humanity."

The policy of Preference for Imperial benefit will be a source of much complication, and may give rise to all sorts of injustice, not to mention bribery and corruption. For the Board of Trade will have to decide how much of a certain manufactured article "has been produced by or is the result of labour within the British Empire!"

CLASS AGAIN!

July 10th.—"There is a distinct difference between the two classes," Sir J. Craig asserted when asked "the difference between the treatment of service patients and the ordinary pauper patient." One feels impelled to exclaim, "When is an ill-man not an ill-man? Or why should a 'pauper' have less claim to live than a 'service' man?"

WAYS AND COMMUNICATIONS.

The debates of July 7th, 8th and 10th were largely occupied in amending the Bill on Ways and Communications. It was given a third reading and passed, much to the dismay of the *Morning Post*, which sees the Government "going Red," when it dabbles in Nationalisation measures. The chief result of this Bill, should it become law, will be the creation of another department charged with all the means of transportation—in short, another link in the Bureaucratic State.

M. O'C.

DOWN TOOLS ON MONDAY, JULY 21st.

The evidence that comes to us from Russia cannot be disregarded. The reports of all the unbiased witnesses agree. Arthur Ransome and Phillips Price, who went as Liberal correspondents for capitalist newspapers, Albert Rhys-Williams, the American War correspondent, Colonel Raymond Robbins and other representatives of the American Red Cross, Jacques Sadoul, head of a French Military Mission, Dr. Rickman of the Society of Friends: all these men tell us that Russia now belongs to the workers, that the land, the industries and the houses are socialised; that prostitution and poverty are abolished; that titles and class-distinctions are no more; that education is free to all, right up to the University; that the people's schools of science, drama, painting, sculpture and so on are springing up everywhere.

What is actually being accomplished in Russia is what the workers and idealists of the world have dreamed of for generations. The undivided rule of the workers is established there and the rule of the master class is abolished. From Russia, Socialism has spread to Hungary and now to the new Soviet Republic of Slovakia. The capitalist attack has accordingly been extended to Hungary and presently it will be directed against Slovakia.

The employing classes publish lies about the Workers' Republics in order that they may crush them unhindered. But remember that the Workers' Republics can never be crushed by the capitalist class without the help of workers of this and other countries!

An appeal has come from our French and Italian comrades to join them in striking against the capitalist intervention.

The sailors, seamen and dockers of Italy refuse to allow troops, munitions or any supplies whatever, to be carried from Italian ports or in Italian ships to Koltchak, Denikin or the other counter-revolutionaries who are fighting the Soviets.

The French soldiers are refusing wholesale to go to Russia. French soldiers in the Ukraine fraternised with the Red Army, and French sailors mutinied in the Crimea and compelled the return of the French battleships to France, as a result of which the Revolution triumphed in South Russia and the rich food reserves of the Ukraine were restored to the Workers' Republic, and the people of Central Russia were rescued from starvation.

But, aided by troops of all nations and by

British ammunition, guns, aeroplanes, tanks, and all the most terrible implements of warfare, the counter-revolutionary General Denikin is again advancing in the Ukraine and striking northward towards Moscow, whilst British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand soldiers are menacing the Soviets in the North, and, under the orders of the Big Four, and compelled by the dread of the British Naval Blockade, Finns, Estonians, Germans and Poles are also attacking Russia.

The French and Italian workers rightly tell us that Britain holds, that we British workers hold the key to the situation. They already have made it impossible for their Governments to do anything effective to aid the counter-revolutionaries, but munitions of war are pouring out of this country for the purpose; and our Naval Blockade has its strangle-hold on Russia.

The French and Italian comrades have arranged demonstrations to take place on Sunday, July 20th and Monday, July 21st, the first day to be a day of meetings; the second a day of strike. Our Norwegian comrades have formed a blockade committee of their own, which they hope to make more thorough and efficient against the capitalist Governments, and Norwegian seamen are refusing to man ships bound for the counter-revolutionaries of Russia. They appeal to British seamen and dockers and all other workers to join them in this blockade.

The Labour Party Congress, by a two-to-one majority, declared for the principle of direct action to stop the intervention against the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary.

The first exhibition of direct action should be given on July 20th and 21st. To do that successfully means hard and determined work now, in the workshop, in the Trade Union branch, and on the Trades Council. There is not a moment to be lost; the time to work is now!

If the Demonstration Strike should fail to warn our Government to withdraw from Russia, then steps must be taken for a stronger and longer protest.

The Labour Party Conference also instructed its Executive to arrange with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to call a special Conference to decide on the unrestricted use of Labour's industrial power in order to stop the intervention.

The Capitalist Press is already saying that

nothing will come of that resolution; that it was merely a pious expression of opinion and that the Executives will let the matter drop now the Conference is over.

If that should happen, and should our Government succeed in crushing the Workers' Republics, we shall share the responsibility for the murder of Lenin and Trotsky, Kamenieff, Tchicherine, Lunarcharsky, Alexandra Kollontay, Bela Kun and hundreds of thousands—nay millions—of comrades who are unknown to us; for the massacre will be very great. The streets of Russian towns and villages ran red with blood of popular martyrs when the 1905 Revolution was destroyed, but the vengeance of the reactionaries will be infinitely greater and more terrible should the Workers' Republic be overthrown.

Should our Government succeed in crushing the Workers' Republics, and should we take no action to stop them, we shall share their guilt, and our own hope of Socialism will be wrecked for many a long year to come.

But this must not and will not happen, and already the London District Committee of the Dockers' Union has advised its members to abstain from working on any ships bound for Russia or assisting in any way the overthrow of the Russian Proletariat. Moreover it demands that the money invested by the Union in War Loan shall be immediately withdrawn and that its members shall join the General Strike on July 20th and 21st.

This is but one of the many indications that the workers are awakening; that the tide of reaction has turned; and that the workers of the world are about to act together.

Comrades, let us realise the importance of the struggle. Let us spend ourselves in our efforts to rouse the workers of this country to this tremendous fight.

Remember—

1. The Strike of July 21st.
2. The Conference to decide on further industrial action which must be held as soon as possible.
3. The Workers' Blockade against the Counter-Revolutionaries who are fighting the Soviets.

Let us act together for the International Solidarity of the Workers, remembering that we have nothing to lose but our chains.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Sec. W.S.F.
A. Inkpin, Sec. B.S.P.
L. Cotton, Sec. S.L.P.
D. A. Davies, Sec. S. Wales Soc. Soc.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

There are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia.

SATURDAY, JULY 19th.

Great Push against conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace in Poplar and Bow. Meet at 2.45 p.m. at 20, Railway Street. Meetings at 3 p.m. at Grundy Street, and at 7 p.m. at St. Stephen's Road, Bow. Speakers: Mrs. Walker, Ph. Edmunds, and others.

SUNDAY, JULY 13th.

Osborn St., Whitechapel—11.45 a.m. G. C. Bhadani and others.
Piggott Street, Poplar—11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker and J. H. Moore.
Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., Ph. Edmunds. Chair: Mrs. Walker.

MONDAY, JULY 21st.

Hyde Park, Marble Arch.—3 p.m., see advertisement.

SATURDAY, JULY 26th.

Great Push in Waterloo Road.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, JULY 18th.

400, Old Ford Rd—8 p.m. General Members' Meeting. (London Section.)

MONDAY, JULY 21st.

20, Railway Street—7.30 p.m. W.S.F. business meeting. 8.30 p.m. Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, JULY 25th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 p.m. DANCING.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JULY 22nd.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall—3 p.m. Mrs. Edmunds.

THURSDAY, JULY 24th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.30 p.m. East London Workers' Committee.

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, E.C. 4.

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

HOLIDAY CAMP, Newdigate, Surrey. Good scenery and fellowship. 30s. per week. Send stamp.

WANTED, Man and wife, as gardener and general, country house, live in, all found; wages stating wage required, to Greycoke, Hatfield.

WANTED A Teacher interested in modern educational methods. Apply Box 1, Workers' Dreadnought Offices.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION. Comrades willing to operate in such work are asked to write O.F. 10, Workers' Dreadnought Office. Donations towards apparatus, strong ropes, wooden planks, etc., urgently required.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS, 438, Old Ford Rd. donations in cash or kind urgently required.

Why not Unemployment Benefit for Children until they are strong enough to work and old enough to vote? (Ad)

Printed by The Cosmo Printing Co., 14, Little Howland Street, for the responsible Editor, and published by the W.S.F., 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.