

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

VOL. VI.—No. 21.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16th, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

HUNGARY: AN APPEAL BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Comrades! Workers all over the world! Men and Women! Wake up to your undoubted duty to protest by some action, both collectively and individually against the temporary conquest of Hungary by the combined forces of reaction.

Only those of us who have actually been in Hungary during the recent régime of the Communist Government can realize the perty and double-dealing of the Allies, with the Roumanians as willing tools, and the enormous loss to humanity and the workers all over the world if the short-lived success of the imperialists, dims for one moment the vision of internationalists or allows them to become victims of hallucinating discouragement. You who have not been there to see for yourselves the constructive work done by the Communists, read the facts and disseminate the knowledge broadcast. If you are speakers thrill your audiences with the hope which the new ideal inspires. If you are writers put it in black and white so that he who runs may read. If you are organizers gather together small groups everywhere to consider action. "Workers of the world unite!" Demonstrate your solidarity and use the power so feared by those "in the saddle" just now.

Fortunately a Hapsburg has been chosen by the Allies to set up a "truly representative government" in Hungary. Happily no pseudo-socialist government, as in Germany and Austria, camouflages for the unintelligent and unsophisticated workers, organized or unorganized, the true designs of the Council of Five.

How funny it would be if it were not so tragic for our comrades in Hungary! Five men in Paris having encouraged the Roumanians in their unconscionable aggressions for months, calmly expecting them to give up the "loot" as soon as the "Bolshevik Beast" is safely locked up, and finding their Ally obdurate, clamping on the new blockade. That's the way! Starve everybody! Of course tactful intervention was only countenanced by Paris to save the starving women and children of Hungary dying under wicked Communist "misrule." The "Times" this morning states in a dispatch from Paris, August 9th:—

"It is also stated in official dispatches that Roumanians in Budapest are pillaging and committing atrocities. Mr. Polk has announced that supplies to Hungary have been stopped, and declares that the Allies' view is that the new Government (meaning the Roumanians) cannot possibly expect countenance from the Allies, since it is so definitely reactionary as to be certain to encourage Bolshevism."

You see! Everything encourages "Bolshevism"! It is feared by the "respectable" Paris Press, that the nice little Hapsburg Arch-Duke, so conveniently near the scene at the proper moment "may encourage bolshevism." One correspondent from Vienna began his dispatch the other day by saying that the Bolshevik terror was beaten and that the streets of Budapest no longer ran with rivers



"I know what this Bolshevism means, Bill—it means us!"

(Reprinted from *The Liberator*, New York.)

of blood spilled by the Red Guards. And in the next paragraph he said: "My information comes over a private wire from Budapest, and doubtless the inhabitants of that city do not know of their deliverance yet but will be apprised early to-morrow morning."

Knowing something of the racial hatred between the Roumanians and the Hungarians I would hazard a guess that the inhabitants of Budapest have been sure of their "deliverance" every minute of these last terrible ten days!

At a meeting which I held in the Budapest House of Parliament with the leaders of the revolutionary women in June, they told me what the Roumanian occupation was already bringing forth in some of the provinces. Women were beaten, outraged, brutally murdered because they were suspected of communist sympathies, or because they wore a small red ribbon pinned to their waists. Hundreds of them were even then suffering imprisonment.

What is the fate of the twenty women members of the Budapest Soviet now that the City has been "delivered"? I can see them now as they told me of the way they had worked for years under the Hapsburgs, organizing and inspiring faith in their cause until they saw the fruits of their victory. They recounted to me how they had already secured equal pay for equal work, so that scrub women received the highest wage paid. Women teachers had been given a living wage, public baths had been organized so

that every child got a bath a week. They had adapted confiscated villas on Lake Balaton for the use of sick children. The orphan children were no longer isolated in hideous orphan asylums. The young girls under eighteen were sent out of the factories back to schools and paid while they studied. The older women received at least two hundred per cent more wages than ever before, etc.

I can see Bela Kun, overworked, heavy eyed, but absolutely direct and decided in every answer to my enquiries, working at least sixteen hours a day, speaking at as many as twelve meetings some days, but always available and ready to reveal his every move for the welfare of Hungary. I can see Havesi, the twenty-nine year old Commissary of Social Production, with his prematurely seamed face and his dead-gone look as he came in night after night to dinner at the Soviet House as late as nine-thirty o'clock, but never too tired to explain to me his latest solution for making production both democratic and efficient for the workers, and his plans for using every factory as soon as the Allies would allow imports of raw materials. I can see Hamburger, the Commissary of Agriculture, bending over his charts dotted with co-operative societies for the distribution of food products which he had already, within two months, organized in the various provinces, or showing me the maps of these provinces where formerly 75 per cent of the land was owned by landed no-

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BERNE—A POST-MORTEM CONFERENCE.

(AN EXPOSURE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.)

By LUDWIG LORE.

If the world at large and the Socialist movement in particular still needed proof of the fact that the second international is dead, it was given at Berne, Switzerland, in the two weeks of February, when an international conference of what remains of the proud Socialist international of former days, was first able to convene since the beginning of the war. How much better would it not have been to let the dead body rest, to bury decently an epoch of the Socialist movement that has done its work and should long ago have given place to one more fit to cope with the problems of a new age! As it is, the desperate efforts of the social-patriots and super-opportunists who arranged that sorrowful post-mortem, who tried to galvanise its corpse, served out to turn a tragedy into grim comedy, at the expense, albeit, of the international working class movement.

The programme that was presented to the Congress when it convened showed how statesmanly the erstwhile leaders of the world-proletariat have become, how well they have learned to avoid those subjects that most urgently demand discussions, how completely they have subordinated working-class problems and working-class interests to their newly acquired sense of bourgeois-nationalistic responsibility. More than five years have passed since the representatives of the Socialist movement met to discuss their common aims and problems. And in these five years a new world has been born. Thrones that seemed built upon rocks have been overturned. Armies that seemed invincible have been vanquished. Institutions that seemed built for eternity have been thrown on the scrap-heap. Day after day the human race has accomplished the impossible. Nations have gone under—new nations have arisen. The human race has gone through a period of unspeakable suffering, has shown itself capable of incredible sacrifices. New values have taken the place of old. The whole world is looking at life with new eyes, from a hitherto unknown point of view. These Socialist gentlemen alone have learned nothing, have forgotten nothing. They are prepared to go calmly on where they left off five years ago, thinking the same stereotyped sets of thoughts, using the same worn-out methods, with the same narrow-minded ideals and aspirations. In Russia, in Germany, in Austria, and in Hungary the Socialist movement has overturned the established order and has taken the power out of the hands of the capitalist class. In every civilised nation revolution is hanging by a hair over the heads of a trembling capitalist class. And these gentlemen come together, placidly, with the dignity that becomes ministers and diplomats, to discuss "A League of Nations," "the regulation of territorial questions," "international labour legislation." Further they did not dare go. For these careful gentlemen felt, and perhaps not without good and sufficient cause, that a serious discussion of the fundamental questions that are agitating the world would bring about the hopeless collapse of the whole carefully erected edifice.

The purpose and aims of the entire Congress were very accurately characterised by Loriot (France) in his declaration to the international conference:—

"You have come together not for the purpose of finding a Socialist solution for the tragic problems that have followed in the wake of this greatest of all capitalist crimes, but for the purpose of finding some sort of justification for the governmental, nationalistic, chauvinistic neo-war-socialism that nourished upon the ruins of the Socialist movement after the outbreak of the war.

"You are here, not in order to give expression to your determination to fulfil your Socialist ideals, but in order to document the agreement of the international with the policies of Wilson, the representative of American multi-millionaires.

"You have met, finally, and above all, to condemn the tremendous struggle for freedom that is spreading out from Russia all over Western Europe.

"The history of Socialism will not be written in your Congress. It is being written, page by page, day by day, by the proletariat itself, and to-day the elite of this, the class-conscious, revolutionary proletariat, no longer stands behind you!"

The conference itself was characterised by certain departures from the method of procedure usually adopted at former international congresses. Though unimportant in themselves they serve to accentuate the spirit in which it was conceived. Newspapers of all shades and political affiliations had been so liberally deluged with reporters' cards that there were, in the convention hall, far more "gentlemen of the Press" than there were actual

delegates. On the other hand, the transactions were closed to the general public, "to avoid undesirable ovations." This did not prevent, however, the admission of ladies and gentlemen of the "better class," while comrades, who are familiar figures in the international movement, were refused permission to enter the Conference Hall. The credentials of the so-called delegates were not passed upon by the body itself but by a commission, which, likewise, was not elected, but had been appointed for this purpose. Delegates were admitted against the protest of a part of the conference that objected to the admission of men, as in the instance of Frank Bohn from America, who had been sent by their respective governments, while the actually elected and accredited delegates from these countries were prevented, by the same government, from attending the Conference.

In other respects also the Conference differed from Party Congresses of former years. The Socialist Party of Belgium refused to send delegates to meet the representatives of the German Social Democracy, until the latter have formally repudiated the crimes committed by the German militarist autocracy during the war. The Socialists of Switzerland, Italy, Serbia, Rumania, Norway, Denmark, and the Left Wing Socialists of Sweden had refused to participate in a conference controlled by social patriots. Important questions were not decided according to the invariable method pursued at all international Socialist Congresses—by recorded votes—but by the very questionable and uncontrollable showing of hands. In fact the entire Conference, its order of business, the nomination of committees and commissions, the list of speakers and the presentation of resolutions, were all so completely in the hands of the engineers of the Conference, that one could not but receive the impression that these gentlemen favour democracy only when it can be used as a weapon against revolutionary Socialist methods.

At the insistence of Thomas, the arch-nationalist of the French Socialist movement, the question of responsibility for the war was taken up as the first order of business, and occupied the evening of the first and the entire second day of the session. As was to be expected, the German majority Socialists presented a resolution which, in spite of an evident desire to placate the French and Belgian Socialists, whitewashed not only their own actions, but indirectly even those of the former German government, and attributed the war to the general imperialistic development of the last decades. They did, however, promise to investigate the immediate occurrences that were responsible for its outbreak, and to publish, as soon as possible, all documents that may serve to shed some light upon this question. The committee-made resolution that was finally adopted, with very obvious reluctance on the part of the French majority Socialists, evaded the issue by accepting, with a few courteous generalities, the statement of the German majority group, and leaving it to future Congresses to render a decision. The words with which Wells, the spokesman of the German majority Socialists, closed the discussion were significant: "The German majority Socialists are silent, and we hope that our French comrades will understand our silence."

Since it was the avowed purpose of the Conference to bring pressure to bear upon the Peace Congress in Paris, the question of a "League of Nations" was accorded a lion's share, both of time and rhetoric. Speaker after speaker emphasised the necessity of exerting a strong influence upon the negotiations in Paris, without, however, in any case being anything but delightfully vague as to the means by which this much to be desired end was to be accomplished. Indeed, it must be admitted that the powers that be who were making history in Paris, while the Berne Conference was consuming valuable time with optimistic speeches, seemed to have little or no regard for the intentions and desires of these powerful representatives of the international working class. By the strange irony of circumstance, the revolutionary uprisings of the German and the Hungarian proletariat, the threatening attitude of English and French labour, the rumbling in Southern Europe, in the Balkans and in Italy, and surely the Soviet Government of Russia, seemed to interest the great rulers of the world more keenly, seemed more forcibly able to influence their actions and decisions, than all the words and all the resolutions that were sent over the wires from the "Socialist" international Conference at Berne.

On the whole, the persons who participated in the Convention were far more interesting than the resolutions that were finally adopted. "In the eyes and in the whole deportment of most of the delegates," writes a Swiss comrade, "one saw the desperate desire to create an impression, the real bourgeois arrogance, the emptiness of soul and spirit that characterises the political aspirant. One felt depressed in this sickening atmosphere of hypocrisy, of phrases and demagoguery. One longed for a breath of fresh, revolutionary air, of healthy fanaticism, and enthusiasm for Socialist ideals, for true freedom. One was forcibly struck by the contrast

between the few revolutionaries who were present and the great majority of opportunists, who seemed to feel called upon to prove their individual fitness to occupy ministerial seats in their respective governments."

In comparison with the social-patriots of France and Germany, the British delegation, while no one could accuse them of an over-abundance of radical sentiment, appeared in an extremely sympathetic light. There was in their speeches and in their attitude nothing of the intense nationalism, that placed the French and German majority delegations, and those that came from some of the smaller nations and national groups, so completely beyond the pale of serious consideration. They evidenced a clear desire to render impartial judgment. Their words and actions were free from jingoism, their speeches gave some indication at least, of a wholesome idealism and faith in the power of the working-class. While they did not go so far as to indorse the actions of the Russian revolutionary government, and, in the main agreed with the prevailing sentiment that "democracy" must not be subordinated to Socialism, they were obviously unwilling to render snap judgment upon the Russian comrades, based only on the strength of the lies and slanders that have thus far been the sole source of information about Russian conditions.

Of the delegates to the convention, Kurt Eisner was one of the few who showed a willingness to learn from the past and to meet the issues that face the world squarely and courageously. During the discussion of the responsibility for the war, while the French and German government Socialists tried to vie with each other in mutual recriminations, when Kautsky warned the Conference to forget past grievances in order to be prepared to meet the menaces that threatened the international Socialist movement, from counter-revolution on the one hand and Bolshevism on the other, when even Friederich Adler tried to bring about a peaceful understanding by explaining that the German and Austrian workers had striven to defend their country against the menace of Russian robbery and greed, just as the French had protected their nation against the ravages of German attack, Eisner unflinchingly shouldered the burden of responsibility. He condemned the attempts of the majority Socialists to hide behind exploded legends.

"Are you revolutionists or not," he demanded. "If so you must punish the old system. . . . The minutes of the caucus session of the Socialist Reichstag group of August, 1914, should be published. Wells and the others have lost their memories."

"They helped to throw Germany into an abyss. They did not have the courage to vote against Brest-Litovsk. It is worse to carry the war into another country than to bear it oneself. We suffered unspeakably under the hunger-blockade but we have no right to protest, for Germany provoked the blockade by her disregard of every principle of international justice."

Later, when the question of prisoners of war was under discussion, and the German majority delegates were bitter in their denunciation of the Allied governments for refusing to liberate German prisoners of war, thus provoking the French delegates to equally bitter recrimination against the Germans for their alleged inhuman treatment of Allied prisoners, Eisner again showed the same freedom from nationalist prejudice:—

"Have we the right to protest? I say no. It is too late! Shall we protest against involuntary servitude, who countenanced the forcible employment of 10,000, aye 100,000 human beings, worse than in the middle-ages? Have we forgotten that young girls were dragged out of France and Belgium to work for their captors? Have we forgotten how French industry was destroyed, how their bridges, their factories, their railroad have been devastated? We have no right to protest. To alleviate the lot of these prisoners must be our first consideration. . . . It is the duty of Germany to help rebuild in France and Belgium, willingly, as a penance."

As we look back over the international Socialist movement of the last two decades, it would seem as if its entire development was one of stubborn and tenacious resistance to the inevitable day of reckoning that has now come upon it. We spoke of the coming world war, yet feared to look its consequences in the face; at Basel we staged an impressive and heart-stirring demonstration of proletarian internationalism—and steadfastly refused to decide upon that most important of all questions, the attitude of the Socialist movement in the various countries in case of war. We wrote books and delivered speeches filled with high-sounding phrases of the overthrow of Capitalism—and unconsciously shrank from forming in our own mind and in the minds of our hearers a definite concept of the course that such action would involve. We used the phrase "expropriation of the expropriator"—and our horror over the methods that

(Continued on next Page)

ANGELICA BALABANOFF ON SOVIET RUSSIA.

Avanti of July 31st publishes the following extract from a private letter of Angelica Balabanoff:—

"You cannot form any idea of what is taking place here. One witnesses the daily miracle of the re-organisation of an old, decrepit and rotten system which only the new regenerative forces can put life into; one looks on at this work of constant renewal going on amidst attempts to boycott it, to sabotage and blockade it in all directions. The spectacle is infinitely inspiring; it fills you with pride; it revivifies your faith in human power and in the divine potency of the ideal. With all kinds of material deficiencies and with a continuous struggle going on against the enemy without, a great creative work is nevertheless being undertaken in the domains of Science, art and the education of the masses and the new generations.

"When the history of the times comes to be written, people will marvel how with such small numerical strength, we were able to resist, to rule and to regenerate an organism so vast, complex, undermined and threatened with utter ruin. As regards the mere negative sides of the question which are being described to you with such abundance of lying and invented particulars, believe about a thousandth of what you hear. Then compare it with what is happening in other countries, and you will see that the consequences of the war are felt much less here than elsewhere; that, whilst under any other régime they would soon have led to the complete decimation of those classes least capable of resistance to them, they are here supported and shared justly all round. Therefore, when they tell you that we are living in the midst of terror and assassinations, keep ever present before your minds the fact that never before have there been so few of the latter, as at present; as to the 'terror,' it suffices to compare it with the few days of struggle in Germany and elsewhere* to understand that here it has been a question of a very mild sort of struggle indeed, and of methods of work which are truly patriarchal. And knowing as you do how much my temperament rebels against violence, you may believe me when I tell you that the White terror is a thousand times more cruel, deliberate and treacherous, and that all the tales you hear about the Red terror are just so many inventions. They have had the effrontery, intentional, of course, to

* e.g., The wholesale slaughter of Spartacists round about the time of Liebknecht's death, and the bloody suppression of the short-lived Soviet régime of Toller and Levine in Bavaria.

pass off as terrorism what was merely legitimate self-defence. The Lockhart trial suffices to show up the attempts that were made to damage not only us, but whole populations. I acted as translator in this trial, so I know what I am talking about—the devilish plans to blow up bridges, to reduce tens of thousands of people to hunger. It was not only a question of mere political sabotage, but also of attempts on the lives of people, as witness, for example, the plot hatched against the people's commissaries. In the light of these facts look at the mildness of the sentence passed. Those most directly concerned in the plot escaped and the foreigner who had been proved guilty of espionage was allowed to remain here. The carrying out of the sentence was put off, with a view to an eventual exchange of prisoners. And this is the 'Red terror'!

"With regard to the defects in the State machinery, due to the lack of capable and conscientious co-workers,† a severe and remorseless criticism is kept up in the Party's newspapers, constituting an aspiration towards self-betterment only possible to a revolutionary Government. The crux of the whole matter, in so far as internal politics are concerned, is that the Government and the Communists in general have to suffer the consequences and take the responsibility for the acts of enemies, of traitors, of impostors, who find their way into our ranks, of employees and officials who act contrary to good faith, carry out acts of sabotage and strive by every means in their power to put obstacles in the way of normal life.

In spite of all this the country lives and is reconstructing itself; new organisations spring up, although the flower of the working-class must needs leave the work of public administration and go to the front. If you but knew with what joyful spirit of sacrifice the work of recruiting goes on here. I have been present at meetings of 'Red' officers which, in the spirit of enthusiasm and courage shown, were truly religious in the best sense of that word. One always feels the difference between the war for the masters and this war, which is our war.

"I need not tell you that, not at the front only, but everywhere the claws of the Allies are visible. They make use of any and every means, direct or indirect, to damage the Revolution. It is not here at home that the reaction has its fountain head; that is outside, in every sense of the word.

† Refers probably to the bad grace with which the officials and "Government office, bank clerk" class carried on their work under the Bolsheviks.

"The people and their leaders are firmly convinced that the workers of other countries will not allow the Russian Revolution to be drowned in blood, nor the German Revolution either, which, through untold difficulties, is slowly steering towards victory. At the present time the fate of the peoples depends on the proletariat of the Entente. Encouraging news continues to reach us. All have put their hope and trust in the Italian comrades,‡ who have been the standard-bearers in every glorious struggle during these years of hard trial.

"Unrestrained enthusiasm is aroused at every mention of your name.

"Although we do not get much news sometimes, I never have any doubts about your political discernment or of your boundless devotion to the cause of the Russian Revolution. You have understood, comrades, that it is not a question of choosing between Bolshevism and some other Socialist section, but that it is a question whether you are going to stand for the rights of the proletariat or are going openly to defend bourgeois privileges. There is no alternative, and there cannot be one. He who is not conscious of this is serving the reactionaries, is betraying, involuntarily, it may be, the proletarian cause, and is helping to save the Capitalist system at the most critical moment. This applies not to Russia only; in Germany the situation is even clearer. I should not be at all surprised if, amongst you, too, the bitterest accusers of the Scheidemanns and others are now their most cynical defenders now that they have drowned in blood the revolution which they pretended to prepare. But one must be blind indeed to believe that in Germany this has been the last decisive battle, for there the people are preparing to manifest for far wider claims. It is Communism which will free you from the orgy of imperialism, and the honest revolutionary who does not see it is to be pitied.

"We count on the Italian Socialists as the firmest upholders of the Third International.

"ANGELICA BALABANOFF."

‡ The Italian Socialist Party was the first great party to adhere solidly to the Third or Communist International.

|| Lucerna Conference take note. Many a "Labour leader" is at present if he but knew, receiving the best thanks of Kolchak, "Butcher" Mannerheim and Denikin, K.C.B. The Labour Party thinks that it is more important to hold meetings to discuss the action of one of its best members in not rising when the National Anthem was sung than to help Russia in any way!

BERNE—POST-MORTEM CONFERENCE.

continued.

have been employed by the Russian revolutionists to put this idea into active operation shows how thoughtlessly these words were actually used. The history of the international Socialist movement of recent years has, in fact, been one of consistent procrastination and self-deception.

What was unforgivable short-sightedness before the war, however, becomes a crime in the face of the tragedy that the world has undergone. The Socialist leader who, in the midst of this ruin and devastation, face to face with nationalist hatred in the very heart of the International, still pins the future of the working-class to a "League of Nations" controlled by Imperialism for openly imperialistic aims, who can aspire no higher than to the international regulation of labour legislation by capitalist powers at a time when Imperialism is trembling at the sound of revolution in every country of the world, is, consciously or unconsciously, betraying the spirit of the movement that looks to him for guidance.

Whatever one may think of the course of action that has been adopted by the Bolshevik rulers of Russia, there can be but one opinion as to the serious nature of the problem their activity presents. Russia is the first state to come under Socialist rule, the first state to attempt the full realisation of the Socialist programme of industrial socialisation. This being the case, it seems that an international Socialist conference would under all circumstances regard the problems that have been created by this new social experiment as of vital and consuming interest, and would make them the centre of discussion. When one considers that

nation after nation is shaking off the yoke of capitalist domination, that the coming months may see the rule of the proletariat established in every industrially developed country of Europe, does it not seem as if some united course of activity, some method of binding together these proletarian nations for united resistance against the common capitalist foe should have been decided upon, or at least seriously discussed? Actually, however, the Berne Conference took exactly the opposite course. In the original order of business laid before the conference, there was nothing that even indicated the existence of such problems. Only upon a motion of Thomas was it brought up for discussion, and then in a form that circumvented the necessity of taking a definite position. Ostensibly the discussion was limited, or rather broadened, so as to cover the entire question of "Socialism v. Democracy." As a matter of fact, the speakers, from Karl Kautsky, who maintained that the Bolsheviks had accomplished nothing but the creation of a large army, to Axelrod, the violent Russian anti-Bolshevik Socialist, refrained, with notable unanimity, from discussing the question in its theoretical aspects. It was evident that the whole discussion had put the conference into an extremely uncomfortable position necessitating, as it did, some open statement of its position. But this is exactly what the gentlemen of the Right and the Centre were not prepared to do. Not that they have hesitated in the past to speak their opinions openly where the Soviet government is concerned. But recent events in Europe, the spread of revolutionary sentiment, as well as the strong likelihood that the Allied powers will, sooner or later, come to some sort of a working agreement with the Russian government have convinced them of the foolhardi-

ness of committing themselves to an anti-Bolshevik declaration before a proletariat that is looking more and more to the Russian republic for inspiration. This accounts for the minimum of time allotted to the discussion of this extremely important question. It accounts, too, for the ambiguous wording of the question as it came up for discussion to be sent to Russia. It explains also, why the Conference refrained from coming to a vote on the question. It was the cowardly climax of a cowardly convention.

The one definite result that the Conference accomplished was the very thing it had striven most desperately to prevent. It proved to the Socialist movement of the whole world that the parting of the ways had been reached. The best efforts of sentimental idealists like Friederich Adler and others who attended the Conference not because they were in sympathy with the majority but because they hoped that it would be possible, now that the war is over, once more to bring together the various elements of the movement in some kind of understanding were in vain. There can be no cohesion between social patriots and revolutionists. There can be no understanding between those who have done the work of the counter-revolution in Russia, and its revolutionists; there can be no harmony between the Spartacides and the people who represent the Ebert government. It is for the Socialist movement in every country to decide whether it will stand with those who have compromised and are continuing to compromise the Socialist movement in the interests of the bourgeoisie, or whether it will lend its undivided support and allegiance to the struggling revolutionary movement of the working-class.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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ADMIRAL KEMP PULLS OUT THE CHESTNUTS.

The Government has hitherto made war on Soviet Russia without a formal declaration of war. Probably it has adopted this course for a variety of reasons. After the war with the Central Empires and in view of the many "Never Again" vows that had been taken, the Government was no doubt anxious not to alarm the public mind. But there is another reason: The Allies in their fight against the Soviets are openly disregarding all the rules of international warfare, which though often broken, are supposed to be binding and which there is always a pretence of keeping. The Allies have decided to treat the Red Armies not as the forces of an enemy Government, but as bands of rebels whom they are entitled to punish by death or in any other way for having borne arms in defence of their Government. The disgusting hypocrisy and cruelty of this course requires no comment. The Red Armies on the other hand, treat the Allied comrades as honourable foes.

It has been reported again and again that the prisoners taken by the Soviet Armies are well treated, and this was once more confirmed in the *Times*, August 7th, by—"An American Y.M.C.A. representative who has returned on parole and states that all British personnel captured in the mutiny has been well treated and is at present at Vologda."

But by fighting the Workers' Republic without a declaration of war, the Government finds itself in a difficulty: the provisions of D.O.R.A. do not apply to us Socialists in this country who recognise the beauty of the Soviet system who owing to our common belief in Communism, feel a strong sense of comradeship with the Russian Communists, and who are working against the Intervention. Therefore the plot stories are being circulated by agents of the Government, in the hope of creating an atmosphere favourable to the passage of legislation to make our advocacy of the Soviet Republic illegal.

Admiral Kemp, whose libels on the Soviet Government were replied to by a British Ex-Consul, Mr. Douglas Young, has now written to the *Times* to make the appeal the Government is looking for. He asks that the operations, against the Soviet Government be brought within the provisions of D.O.R.A. without a formal declaration of war. If this be "inconvenient" he urges special legislation.

The Capitalists would make it a crime for us to give our sympathy and support to our Socialist comrades in Russia. Yet they have actually dragged the country into war in support of their comrades out there. It really is extraordinary that the workers tolerate the situation!

THE RUSSIAN PLOT AT NEWMARKET.

In accordance with its policy of helping the Russian Capitalist reactionaries against the workers, the Government has set up a Russian Officers' Training Camp at Newmarket where it is spending public money in training Russians to fight for Koltchak. Some of the Russians there having realised that Koltchak is fighting to re-establish Czarism, have decided they would rather fight for the Soviets; so the British Government has imprisoned eleven of them as well as two of their wives. This affair has been described as a Bolshevik plot. We call it a Capitalist plot: part of the big international plot to enslave the workers.

THE CRIME OF HUNGER.

Poverty is always treated as a crime under capitalism, though capitalism necessitates that some people shall be poor: therefore it is not surprising to find the chief complaint its capitalist accusers have to make against the Workers' Soviet Republic is that the people are suffering from the Allied Capitalist blockade. The *Times* is devoting much space to the story of an escaped Russian General, who took service with the Soviets and then deserted and came to this country. He says that instead of the graduated rations for manual workers, sedentary workers and idlers, which used to obtain in Petrograd, there is now but one ration for all, and that to obtain the ration everyone must do work of some kind. We think the statement is incorrect—but if it were true, what of it?

An American recently returned from Vienna and Budapest tells us that in the former city under capitalism, the prices were so high that the poor had to sell their ration tickets for several days to the well-to-do at a profit in order to get enough money to buy a little bread, whilst in Soviet Budapest as in Soviet Russia things were better because everyone had an equal share. People with banking accounts, relics of Capitalism, were not allowed to draw out more than enough to raise their income above that of the highest paid worker.

The *Times* correspondent reports that in Russia the ration of Cigarettes of real tobacco is 100 a month and that this ration costs 30/-, that works out at something less than 4d. each. The *Times* Berlin correspondent reports that in Berlin with the blockade lifted, Cigarettes cost 6d. each, and of course, in Germany there has not been the levelling of wages and wealth that has taken place under the Soviets. According to the same correspondent the Allied blockade and German profiteering drove up the price of Cocoa in Germany to £3.15.0 and £4.10.0 per lb., and the price now has fallen to 15/- and £1. The Russian General who writes in the *Times* gives the good news that the Russian profiteers are at last abolished: he says, "So thorough-going have the Soviets been in this respect that they have even exterminated the bagmen—the profiteers in foodstuffs who took incredible stocks in order to be able to supply people with extra ration foods."

We commend the Soviet way, to Lloyd George's Government and the Labour Party in their mild little war on profiteering! It is a better way than "stringing them up," Mr. Thomas!

The General seems to object that, according to his story; two-thirds of the Petrograd Police are women: that seems to indicate there is little disorder—but we commend it to Mrs. Fawcett's Society, the W.I.L. and the Women's Freedom League.

The General admits that the only rent paid is for electric light, water and other services. We commend that to the Rosyth rent strikers!

The General says that the working hours are seven a day, he speaks as though that were a very great hardship. But then he probably was not accustomed to working at all before: in any case the workers decide their own working hours.

DENIKIN AND KOLTCHAK.

The Red Army continues making great strides against Koltchak, but Denikin makes a steady though slow advance. We are greatly concerned by his progress for it means not only the enslavement of the people wherever his Armies triumph, but also loss of food and raw material to Soviet Russia. British Communists reading with dismay of Denikin's victories ask is there treachery, is there too much concentration against Koltchak: what is the reason? Remember that the work of the Red Army is carried on as much by propaganda as by fighting. The workers and peasants of the Ukraine were later in their conversion to Communism and the Soviets than the rest of Russia, and probably the conversion is less complete. Koltchak has a more hostile population to deal with. An Englishman writing from Harbin some time ago, complained that the Allies were establishing a worse Government than that of the Czar, and said:

"Meanwhile the Russian workers here are not sleeping. The old Nihilist terror is being revived. Bombs are already being thrown right and left, some successful, others not. Large bands of men have been formed; some of them are even led by women. They are infesting the steppes and forests of Siberia and are causing lots of damage by tearing up the railway lines and bridges."

That sort of warfare is being carried on all over Russia in varying degrees; and the counter-revolutionaries know that only by military terrorism and by alternately depriving the people of food and then supplying on condition they abandon their Soviets have they any chance to subdue the Russian people.

HASTEN DIRECT ACTION!

The Triple Alliance is still dallying with its ballot which Labour Leaders repudiate direct action and the Government through the mouth-piece of Mr. Bonar Law, on August 6th, in the House of Commons, said that the Government will resist the strike if the Triple Alliance declare for it "with all the resources at their disposal."

The Government is challenging Labour: is Labour afraid to do its duty?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

PART III.

The appeal of the strike leaders was always "do nothing," "preserve law and order," "we have no intention of interfering in matters of Government." And this appeal was responded to: there was perfect order, the Courts had no work to do. The strike had lasted from May 1st to May 24th before an arrest took place, and then it was a strike breaker and not a striker who was taken into custody for "carrying a concealed weapon"—"a length of lead pipe, with a handle attached by wire. The strikers controlled the city, but they were starving. They maintained the essential services: bread, milk, ice, and so they continued supplying the hostile bourgeoisie, though the workers, for lack of money, were less and less able to buy. Comrades who had endured the general strike in Seattle came over, explaining that the same difficulty had met the workers there, and saying that the eyes of the world were looking to see whether Winnipeg could solve the food problem. The Winnipeg Strike Committee replied, not by taking control, but by intensifying the strike. On June 3rd it was decided to call out workers connected with ice, picture theatres, restaurants, flour mills and elevators. The gunmen and private police of the committee of 1,000 were now much in evidence. Within two days the police arrested eight of the gunmen for carrying weapons illegally. Whilst one of these men was being taken to the police station, the Mayor rushed, bareheaded, after and secured his release.

£45,000 SPENT ON STRIKE BREAKERS.

The impartiality of the policemen was evidently displeasing to the authorities; 2,000 special police were engaged at a wage of six

dollars (£1 4s.) a day—a much higher wage than that paid to the regular force. (Canadian soldiers in France had been paid only one dollar, 10 cents a day). £30,000 was immediately voted for the special police and by June 25th \$225,000 (£45,000) had been spent on them.

On June 6th the committee of 1,000 sent many boxes of bludgeons from its quarters in the Auditorium to the City Hall, for the use of the new special police force.

On June 7th Mayor Gray informed the Demobilised Soldiers' "Parliament" that the special constables had been enrolled for the purpose of guaranteeing the delivery of milk and bread and to protect from intimidation men who wished to return to work. So little account was taken of the character of applicants for the special police force, that a number was enrolled with a criminal record. Presently the people began to complain of the lawless behaviour of the specials. The demobilised soldiers offered to assist in keeping order. The Mayor said that if they were sure they "could act impartially," they might offer their services to the officer in charge of the special police force, but when they did so, their offer was rejected.

People repeatedly complained bitterly of the lawless behaviour of the new "specials," who committed robberies even in broad daylight, and called at private houses and shops, demanding money under threat of violence.

At this juncture, June 9th, the Police Commission issued a statement, finally dismissing and removing from duty all the police who had refused to sign the undertaking, dissociating themselves from their union, now generally spoken of as "the Slave Pact." The Commissioners stated: "there exists general dissatisfaction and lack of confidence among our citizens in our police constables." The force

must therefore be "reorganised, purged of all unruly and incompetent members and brought up to a standard of efficiency, loyalty and devotion to duty, befitting the occupants of such responsible positions as guardians of the peace and the preservers of law and order within our City." It was also complained that "one member of the police force has been acting on the Inner Council of Fifteen in the Labour Temple, aiding the Strike Committee there." The strikers retorted that it was not their wish to have a police officer on the Strike Committee, and that he was there at the bidding of the authorities, who were paying him to occupy that position!

The police in a body refused to sign the Slave Pact, and fifty extra police who had been enrolled a few days before, also refused.

On June 10th the special police were left in control of the city, and that very day trouble began. Here is the account of it which appeared in the *Western Labour News*—the strikers' paper. The 1st, 5th, 6th, 7th, 10th and 11th paragraphs were afterwards made the subject of a criminal charge against the editor and eleven other men:—

SPECIAL POLICE DRIVEN FROM STREETS.

RIOTING AT MAIN AND PORTAGE ENDS IN COMPLETE ROUT OF MOUNTED POLICE.

"The Committee of 1,000 has achieved a distinct success in dismissing the Winnipeg police and filling our streets with special police, many of whom are thugs. They have spilled blood, caused boose to be sold openly on the Main Street at 50c. a drink, and allowed fifteen to twenty bunches to carry on games of 'crap' for hours on the same Main Street, without interference. These are the magnificent forces of law and order that replaced the police who were said to have refused to obey law and order.

(Continued on page 1434.)

£280

DEAR COMRADES,—

You all want to know about the £6,000 which did not come and the £280 which was duly received, so I shall tell you all about it and leave you to judge the matter for yourselves.

Now, first I must tell you that the DREADNOUGHT has many friends in Scandinavia. I was over there in 1913, and met many friends in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and afterwards kept in touch with them by means of the DREADNOUGHT. Several of these friends became regular subscribers to the DREADNOUGHT; some of them subscribed also to the Federation.

When during the war the DREADNOUGHT was black-listed, they wrote expressing regret that it did not arrive.

Now the paper is reaching them again they are pleased to have it, and some of them decided to send us a donation: they did so—£280.

They asked Axel Zachariassen, a young Norwegian student, who was coming over here to study social conditions, to bring this money, as they have such an unfavourable opinion of the British Government that they did not believe it would reach us by the post. They know that the Scandinavian nations are forced by the British Government to refuse to trade with Russia: to force Russian people to remain hungry and cold for lack of the vegetable seeds and other commodities which Scandinavia could supply. They know that the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT is working to stop the Allied attack on the Workers' Republic of Russia, and they therefore thought that the British Government would stop any money that they sent to the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT. The British Government knows whether there was any justification for their suspicions.

I understood from our comrade that he did not want it known that he brought the money. Perhaps he thought the British Government

would not have let him come and would not let him stay to carry on his studies had the authorities known that he was a Socialist and a friend of the DREADNOUGHT. Perhaps he had personal family reasons for keeping the matter quite private. I did not question him at the time. But I felt I was in honour bound not to mention that he had brought the money. At the same time I was quite certain that there was nothing either illegal, or, least of all, morally wrong in his having brought that money from our Swedish friends, or in the DREADNOUGHT accepting it.

The money did not come from Russia, as has been alleged, but had it done so, do you not think, Comrades, that it really would have been a very great compliment to the DREADNOUGHT and a matter of real pride if it had?

Now, in about a fortnight's time after I saw comrade Axel, I suddenly learnt that he had been deported. We remembered the Irish "plot." I remembered the Wheeldon case and all the people who have been unjustly interned or imprisoned during the last few years. I was desperately alarmed for our young comrade's safety, fearing that he might be made a victim of a spy hoax. Although I knew that he had come here to study, with an honorarium, too, from his college, and was vexed at the idea that his time and money had been wasted. I was so nervous lest any harm should come to him that I was greatly relieved when I learnt that he had been deported, because that meant that he was safe at home and out of the clutches of the police.

When the false stories of the £6,000 having been brought to me began to be circulated, I wanted to say he brought only £280, and the money is safely put away until it is needed, but I remembered my promise. When the reporters came flocking round I made up my mind not to tell them, though I wished I might disclose the whole innocent little matter.

But at last I have learnt that the Scandina-

vian comrades themselves have decided to explain the whole matter, and so I am glad to be able to give you this information.

Since we are now needing a new stock of paper for printing on, it will save me from making the very urgent appeal for funds that would otherwise have been necessary.

But, comrades, I am thinking of all the splendid things we might have done with that £6,000, which Scotland Yard has invented—if only we had had it!

The newspaper reporters tell me that Scotland Yard sent out, through the Press Association and in an interview with reporters, this story. I copy it from the *Star*:—

"This money, said by some to be as much as £6,000, came from Hungary, but it was really Russian money.

"It came here via Stockholm and was brought by a man who has now been deported.

"Some of it, though probably not all, it is known, was delivered to a lady of extreme views—Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, as a matter of fact.

"She denies that she had it, but the man, when arrested, made a full confession, and there is no doubt at all of the facts."

Now, if Scotland Yard's story that comrade Zachariassen "made a full confession" is true, of course Scotland Yard knew that our comrade brought me £280 and that the money came from Sweden. Why not have said what was actually known, instead of giving currency to the story of £6,000?

Why has Scotland Yard communicated my business to the Press at all? Scotland Yard has sent no one to see me about the affair, you must understand.

And why has our comrade been deported for bringing a donation of £280 to the DREADNOUGHT?

How can we feel it is safe to tell the truth about things if this is to be the result?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

Continued from page 1433.

"These are the men that Mayor Gray was depending on when he thumped his desk and said: 'By God, I'm responsible for law and order, and I'll maintain it. By God, I'll run this city.' Sentiments such as the above are excellent as a boast, but the utter lawlessness of this city during the first 24 hours the regular police were off the streets, fits ill with his proud boastings.

"While Canon Scott was addressing the crowd from a car at the corner of Portage and was being cheered to the echo by the strikers, and Major Bob Rodgers, special policeman, who never saw active service in France, was doing point duty, the mounted police were charging the crowd. A bunch left the street and charged along the sidewalk. But the gallon was short lived. The crowd quickly surrounded the horses and by tormenting and blows caused some of them to bolt towards Broadway.

"One husky youth of 20 years was seen to rip off his police badge, jump from his horse, hit him a crack with his newly-found baton, and then hand the same over to a striker. He said: 'This is enough police duty for me.'

"The special police were panicky and uncontrolled. When one man who kept cool drew his baton and quietly urged the people to get back on the sidewalk, he was charged by another special policeman and went down under a smashing blow from his baton. So excited were these men that they slashed out at everybody promiscuously, and received a shower of missiles in reply. When one became separated from his fellows he was quickly unhorsed and understood the meaning of a rough-house. Several 'blackiacks' were wrenched from the 'specials' by the strikers, and are now on exhibition at the Labour Temple. They are heavy chains, loaded with a clevice and bolt, and covered with leather. Whoever made them had murder in his brain.

"One fellow was seen to take a daily paper, fill it with filth from the street and wipe the dirty mess all over the face of a 'special.' He spat and swore.

"The rioting lasted some time, but was ended when the 'special police' and the mounties dispersed in all directions and left the field to the crowd.

"Such is the record of the first day of the 'special police' and the absence of the real police. Mayor Gray should see by this time what a fool the 1,000 are making of him. This act will be long remembered.

"Col. Lyle evidently had better sense than some others. He immediately ordered the mounties back into barracks and the 'specials' were withdrawn from the streets.

"It is understood that Canon Scott begged the Mayor to dismiss the thugs and enrol a police from the returned men. A strong committee of soldiers left Victoria Park and offered Mayor Gray their services to maintain real order if the thugs were removed.

"Further, they offered that, provided the special police ceased provocations and that these thugs were sent out without guns, and with short batons which were concealed, and that the mounties rode in two's instead of four's, sixes and eights, that they would not be molested. But, if these specials were looking for trouble, they would be sure to find it.

"About 250 neckyokes were supplied by Ackland as batons, through Hingston-Smith Co. Certain parties went to Acklands and were looking over wheel spokes when they were shown the neckyokes. These, cut in two, were decided to be the very thing needed.

To be continued.

ELECTRIC FARMING IN RUSSIA.

Copenhagen, Wednesday, July 30.

An Exchange telegram reports: According to Russian Newspaper reports, the Soviet Government has assigned 22,000,000 R. (nominally, £2,200,000) for a grandiose scheme for the electrification of agriculture to alleviate the trouble caused by the lack of forces and human labour.

Several of the largest German electrical machinery companies have been invited to co-operate."

HUNGARY—
AN APPEAL BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Continued.

bility and was totally unproductive. I can see Erdilyi pouring over his district maps of Budapest, pointing out where he was going to distribute the food that was brought from the country and I can see each and every one of the earnest faces of the Commissaries as they moved about the Soviet House utterly devoid of any show of ostentatious power and seemingly unconscious of their elevated positions. Everybody in the Communist government worked!

And then I can see the various members of the Entente "Missions" strutting about in the streets of Budapest watching which way the cat would jump. Bela Kun welcomed them there as he said he had nothing to hide. And then I can see the American Captain Gregory, one of the present voters for Joseph. He tells me that he is watching things closely as he knows no government can stand without food and then he relates how he expects to feed Vienna better next week when the food comes from the southern provinces of Hungary. He did not say Yugo-Slavia.

And the last thing I remember is the beautiful pale face of young Maria Gosthonyi, as she sat up in her bed at the socialized hospital recovering from an automobile accident, and with her blue eyes filled with the youthful hope of twenty-one years, calmly said to me:

"It really makes little difference whether the Entente succeeds in starving the government of Hungary or not as the seed of Communism is planted and cannot be killed. I am not nationalistic or individualistic enough to care very much whether this particular government lasts or not as Communism is sure to triumph by the mere establishment of it in Russia and Hungary so that the workers can see that it can be done."

Yes it has been done and can be done again. I wonder how Count Andrássy feels as the Roumanians pillage Budapest. Inasmuch as he was in Switzerland frankly working for the monarchists, does he congratulate himself that he has substituted the foreign conqueror for the native Communist? Having talked with him for three hours I think he will be just as mad as the five are in Paris. And what about the Queen of Roumania? Will she make another trip to Paris and England to "arrange" how small nationalities are to be allowed to practise self-determination, so that Roumania can become the great state fitting for such a queen to rule? Time will tell. Meanwhile Comrades, make up your minds what you will do and do it!

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HUNGARY.

Yes the Hungarian Soviet has fallen and as usual by the blandishments of the wire-pullers hiding behind a reformist cloak, the black reaction which animates them. As Brailsford tells in a *Daily Herald* article, "I learned at first hand, while I was in Vienna last April, of a warning which the British Government delivered to the Austrian Government. — 'You may if you so please,' he said, carry legislation of a Socialistic tendency. One thing, however, we shall not tolerate, we cannot allow you to set up a Soviet system."

Oh British workers, oh "moderate" Socialists, oh wavering I. L. Press, does not even that open your eyes?

So in Budapest assured that all would be well, the Allies would make peace, the terrible blockade be raised if only the Soviet system were abandoned. There would be no sacrifice of principle. Oh, none at all if this were done, for a Socialistic Government could take its place. The little detail about disarming Hungary: leaving her quite defenceless was overlooked. Bela Kun and the best of his colleagues must go, but what are personalities, where the welfare of the people is concerned? So the weaklings surrounding the Communists argued: and so at last Bela Kun and the best of his colleagues were overcome and amid the cheers and the tears, and the loving tributes of the rank and file they left the posts on the bridge he had held so bravely and so well.

Soon was the weak Socialist Government that replaced them swept aside and the city given over to be pillaged by the Roumanian Army, whilst the Archduke Joseph, one of the Ruling House Hapsburg, has taken control.

And the Allied Governments, Lloyd George and the rest accept no responsibility; but no one reading the Parliamentary questions and answers, and the leaders in the Government inspired Press can doubt that this is another Allied plot.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

AUGUST 4TH.—Sir H. Greenwood.—“The decision to withdraw the British troops from Russia does not involve any change in the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the Soviet Government.” Yet without change there can be no progress!

POLICE “MUTINY.”

Mr. Shortt refuses to regard the police strike as a strike; to his mind it was “a definite act of mutiny.”

LET ME LOOK, TOO!

The Members of the House were not to be done out of their Bank Holiday enjoyment. Sir D. Maclean (L.) asked what arrangement had been made to permit the House to view the River Pageant. The Speaker agreed to suspend the sitting of the House so as to allow the House “to salute the representatives of the Mercantile Marine.”

THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH (?)

AUGUST 5TH.—In reply to Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy (L.), Mr. Harmsworth made the following glaringly inaccurate statement: “No blockade has been declared, or is being exercised, against any part of Russia. . . . Although no blockade exists either in the White, Baltic or Black Seas the existing conditions, which are the result of the aggressive measures taken by the Soviet Party in Russia against those portions of the former Empire which decline to acknowledge their authority, render it, I believe, physically impossible for goods to reach the interior of Russia.” If these are Mr. Harmsworth's real convictions, the most charitable suggestion to make is that the work is too much for him. If he knows the facts as everyone who makes a study of Russian affairs should, then surely the spirit of truth has little influence over his Parliamentary answers. We have all been inured to equivocations on the part of Parliamentary replies; but this reply denying the Blockade — — — !!

THE MAN.

Mr. Bonar Law is still being worried about the choice of an Ambassador to the United States. He promises to get “the best man possible for this post.” Now we shall look forward to this phenomenon!

FORESTRY.

A second reading was given to the Forestry Bill, which is to give an impetus to afforestation in this country.

“ECONOMY” (?)

A Bill to raise the salaries of Ministers and Secretaries of State from £2,000 to £5,000 was introduced, but not very favourably received. Mr. Bonar Law's remarks in arguing the increase in salaries are noteworthy. Amongst other words of wisdom he said, it is wasteful “to underpay the man on whom you have to depend for the efficiency of the work.” “The value of money and what you can get for your money have changed so much that the salary of £2,000 . . . is absolutely inadequate for a man who fills these posts. . . . There is not a big business man, in the real sense of the words, who will not tell you that the real way to make business a success is to pay well the men on whom he depends . . . and you must free them from any sense of anxiety in regard to monetary affairs. . . . We know that there are many men—I might say, millions of men—who have to live on harder conditions. . . . £2,000 a year now is not reasonable.” How we all must echo these fine phrases and agree that Mr. Bonar Law is imbued with a sense of justice; the only fault is that he begins to be just at the wrong end of the scale!

STILL AT WAR!

AUGUST 6TH.—As the various Peace Treaties are not yet ratified, the “end of the war” cannot be defined.

MONEY TO THE WEALTHY.

The Prime Minister moved that the sum of £385,000 be granted to His Majesty. This sum to be divided amongst nineteen officers for their eminent services by sea, on land and in the air, the separate sums ranging from £100,000 to £10,000. The opinion of the House was unfavourable to singling out any “eminent” men, because it merely gave rise to bad feeling. Mr. Adamson (Lab.) moved to reduce the vote by £385,000. If he had moved the total rejection of the vote he might have had more success at the Division. The chief arguments put forward against bestowing these fortunes on men who already possess considerable wealth, and for the most part, in addition, are drawing big salaries were: that the country is already borrowing £300,000,000 a year; that the man left out from the list will feel slighted, and chiefly that the rank and file should not be left to drag along on a pittance, and often without any aid, whilst the wealthy are surfeited. The Prime Minister took a very undignified stand on this point and rubbed in that £100,000,000 had been voted for pensions for the men! Mr. Lloyd George evidently does not realise that there were more men than officers in this war, and that these millions must be divided amongst millions! Neither is there any ground for comparison—any service man would relinquish only too gladly his magnificent pension for

such a trifle as £10,000 cash! Every soldier reading the Prime Minister's speech must regret that he did not throw in his lot with the C.O.s. Even though I do not approve of soldiering, I cannot forget that the “Tommy” risked all he had, and is now taunted because the Cabinet grants him a paltry pension.

The degrading inquisition which the unfortunates have to undergo to get that pension need not be repeated here.

EQUIVOCATION PAR EXCELLENCE.

AUGUST 7TH.—Asked whether the chief leaders of the Soviet Government in Russia have any “underground connection with our former enemies,” Mr. Harmsworth replied: “I think the facts as to the Soviet Government in Russia are very generally understood!”

GERMAN CAPITALISTS ALL RIGHT.

In reply to Commander Kenworthy (L.), Mr. Churchill stated that Prince Lieven formerly had relations with the German Government. Now, however, he is co-operating with the Russian North-West Army, under the direction of General Yudenitch!!

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

As is customary, a wide range of subjects was touched upon under the cloak of the Consolidated Fund. Apart from the theme of bankruptcy, Ireland, as hastening that end, was most generally debated. It appears that the Army of Occupation in Ireland costs £900,000 a month.

Sir D. Maclean (L.) raised this well-worn topic, and in reply to his reminiscences and criticisms, Mr. Lloyd George said: “It is perfectly obvious that the state of Ireland is not satisfactory. It is not a credit to this country that after hundreds of years of British rule in Ireland we should not have succeeded in reconciling Ireland to the partnership, and it is the business of statesmanship to bring that condition of things to an end.”

Agreed. But how? The oracle further declares:

THE PARTIES IN THE STREETS.

During the war the men living in the Bow streets formed themselves into patrols, keeping vigil night after night in case of air raids. When the Armistice put an end to their labours they held a party for the children of the neighbouring streets in the W.S.F. Hall at 400, Old Ford Road. But now the mothers are giving parties—Peace Parties—to the children, not in a hall this lovely weather, but in the open street, and the idea is spreading like a fever from street to street. Last Saturday we saw the wonderful party that the mothers of Appian-road had organised. We could hardly believe our eyes. All the greyness was gone. From innumerable strings stretched across the street hung numberless paper pennants, all in pale colours—white, pink, lilac, green, blue—so many, so many of them, as gay and light as a forest of almond blossom. The walls of the houses were all covered with decorations, from as high as the top of the ground-floor windows one could see no bricks at all, they were covered by lace curtains, striped muslins, of many colours, and all sorts of draperies, and hanging from all the windows were the bright, strong, primary colours of the Union Jack and other national flags. There were mottoes over the doors, such as: “Peace, Peace! All are Welcome.” Beside the open doors stood small tables, which had been brought out to serve as stands for flowers, photographs, and other ornaments. Right down the street, in the middle of the road, were trestle-tables, covered with white cloths, decorated with flowers, and loaded with cakes and bread and butter. 172 children, all dressed in clean pinafores, were at tea, and the mothers were waiting on them, whilst fathers, grandparents and other friends were sitting in the doorways watching them. Two men, with highly-painted faces, dressed in curious gay garments and posing as a country man and woman, were strolling up and down amusing everyone. Some of the mothers were wearing best dresses and clean, white aprons, but some had a wonderful fancy costume, having a mob cap, a bodice of broad red and white striped cotton material, a short, blue cotton skirt, with the name “Britannia” stitched upon it, and low shoes tied, with red white and blue.

There were no parsons, district visitors, or social workers amongst the throng: the whole affair had been organised by the mothers of the street. One of them was now reading out to the group at each table in turn a bunch of letters and telegrams of good wishes, which had been received. She said that she had written to Buckingham Palace for a message. The King's Secretary had replied that it was a most unusual thing for the King to send a message to a public gathering of that kind, but that if a telegram of congratulation were sent to him no doubt it would be replied to. “So if the King wants a telegram,” she said, her voice broken by annoyance, “he has got it. I sent one off at two o'clock, but I haven't had an answer yet.”

But neither the children nor the majority of the

adults were worrying about a Royal greeting. This was their very own party, organised by themselves, and they were charmed by its prettiness and gaiety. We, too, were well pleased, for we saw in these parties the germ of the co-operative life that will arise when the Social Revolution comes.

MORE INTERVENTION.

The long and interesting speech of Colonel Wedgwood (L.) falls when you realise the great disappointment his appeal for intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, and even of Austria, must create. There is a free spirit, who always criticises injustice, intervention and any kind of tyranny; why does he suddenly fall into line with his Jingo countrymen? Simply because the Roumanians are devastating Hungary—people whom the Hungarians hate like poison. When in Buda Pest, people there convinced Colonel Wedgwood of their faith in England. Is it therefore he thinks that British intervention will be less distasteful than Roumanian, when he exclaims: “For goodness sake send English troops, if only a regiment, in order to look after the interests of the Hungarian population and to see that there is fair play between these two Kill-kenny cats.” Any foreign interference will be equally badly received in Hungary, the reason of the belief that Great Britain is different from other Capitalist countries must be attributable to the distance which separates us. Colonel Wedgwood would do well to recall the various instances in which England went to see “fair play” and remained as conqueror, and history does repeat itself.

AFFORESTATION.

AUGUST 8TH.—The Forestry Bill was read a third time, and passed. It will entail a subsidy of £350,000 being paid towards that purpose for ten years.

M.O.C.

adults were worrying about a Royal greeting. This was their very own party, organised by themselves, and they were charmed by its prettiness and gaiety.

We, too, were well pleased, for we saw in these parties the germ of the co-operative life that will arise when the Social Revolution comes.

The people in the poor, little streets of Bow have begun by organising children's parties: some day they will organise the Soviets.

AN AMERICAN POST-WAR D.O.R.A.

A Bill has been introduced into the United States Senate by Senator King of Utah, making it (amongst other things) an offence, punishable by ten years' imprisonment, to “advocate any change, alteration, or modification in the form of the Government of the United States, except in the manner provided for by the terms of the Constitution of the United States,” or to “display, publicly, any flag or emblem, except the flag of the United States, as symbolic or emblematic of the Government of the United States, or of a form of Government proposed by its adherents or supporters as superior or preferable to the form of Government of the United States.”

Of course, it is the Soviets and the red flag that are aimed at!

LONDON DISTRICT COUNCIL B. S. P.

Save the Socialist Republic.
DEMONSTRATIONS.

Sunday Evening, August 17, 1919.

Finsbury Park, 6.30 p.m.

Joint B.S.P. & Herald League

Mrs. BAMBER, Liverpool, B.S.P. Executive

J. G. BUTLER, Soc. Cand. for Hastings,

Highbury Corner, 7 p.m.

In conjunction with Islington Lab. Party

J. F. HOGSON, Reading, B.S.P. Executive.

Victoria Park, 6.30.

JOHN MACLEAN M.A., B.S.P. Executive

Tooting, Church Lane, 7 p.m.

Miss O'NEIL, Dr. DUNSTAN, Soc. Cand. for

Birmingham, FRED. SHAW, Huddersfield,

B.S.P. Executive, Coun. J.J. VAUGHAN,

Bethnal Green.

Southwark, Manton Rd., New Kent Rd., 7 p.m.

W. McLAIN, Salford, B.S.P. Executive, F.

W. LLEWELLYN, Plymouth, B.S.P. Executive

DUBB DIALOGUES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

(NOTE:—Being on holiday in a seaside spot where one buys cigarettes at the butcher's and newspapers arrive several days late, the author of "Between Ourselves" sends these articles. They are a solemn warning to would-be dramatists to avoid the howling wildernesses of lonely seaside resorts.)

Characters: Henry Dubb and a Soglashatelist.

Scene: A briny beach.

Sog.: Good morning, Henry; I perceive that you have a rugous expression and that your brows are furrowed in deep thought, as if compounding some problem. Doubtless it will be the subject of our talk of the previous evening, when I proposed that the theorem—

HENRY: Hold on a bit. What do you mean by our talk of last evening? Why, this is the first time I ever set eyes on you in my natural.

Sog.: You do not appear to grasp the gravity of the situation. This is a Dialogue.

HENRY: Well, wharrerbartit?

Sog.: What language! What expressions!

HENRY: Here, come out of it. You are pretty cool for a stranger.

Sog.: I'm a Soglashatelist, I am.

HENRY: I believe you. You look it. Not that I know what you're talking about, let alone our little confab of last evening you was referring to just now.

Sog.: That's the author. He says a Dialogue always begins like that. It is customary to have had a talk the previous evening, in order to give me a start.

HENRY: Then, if you ask me, the author has a brasted cheek. If he can't write an article without telling lies about it, he ought to leave well alone. In a workshop like this here—

Sog.: This is a briny beach, if you please.

HENRY: A whatter?

Sog.: A briny beach. If you look at the beginning of this Dialogue, you will see it is headed "Scene: A briny beach." The author made it like that to remind him of home.

HENRY: I'll briny beach him.

Sog.: Never mind him; all authors are affected like that. His purpose in putting me here was to explain anything you wanted to ask me about Socialism, Communism, Bolshevism, or any other 'ism. May I ask if you have read Karl Marx?

HENRY: What, me? Never heard of the chap. What's him?

Sog.: He's a writer. Wrote that brilliant political work, "Capital."

HENRY: Well, I can't say as how I haven't heard of him. Is he anything like the writer of this here Dialogue?

Sog.: Not exactly. He is a venerable man with a beard like a prophet.

HENRY: Who? Which? Not the writer of this here, surely. I reckon he is one of them young men who knows most everything more than what a respectable married man does, and goes about showing off how clever he is. Bolshevik most likely, if you ask me.

Sog.: No, I was referring to Marx of course. If you had studied his theory of surplus value, you would know he is a sane and able writer who proves that capital tends to concentrate in fewer and fewer hands as industrial evolution proceeds, and hence—

HENRY: I wish you would not talk so long-winded as all that, or I can see this here Dialogue turning into a one-act play.

Sog.: That's the author again. He says that a proper Dialogue is usually written like that. For example, "A Talk Between Two Workers," is in that, very same style.

HENRY: But who ever heard a working-man talk like what you do? Their language is more lively and more like sense. You reminds me of the man on top of the tank. Ever heard of it?

Sog.: No; I do not usually go in for misplaced humour.

HENRY: Well, I guess a bit of misplaced humour won't do you any harm for once, so

here goes. There was a chap on top of a tank spouting for all he was worth about the Victory Loan or summat like that. Well, there was also a fellow in the crowd and he ups and asks, "Say, Mister, what is that there tank driv along with?" "Petrol," says the Victory Loaner, pretty sharp. "Oh, it's petrol, is it?" says the fellow, "why, I thought it was gas!" Pretty smart, I call it. Ha, ha!

Sog.: I fail to see anything funny in it. Indeed, you are getting extremely personal. The author might at least have given me an interlocutor with better powers of conversation and interrogatory.

HENRY: Oh, blow the author!

Sog.: Well, as my language appears to be beyond you, let me explain in shorter and simpler sentences. I believe you understand that at the present time, articles of commerce, or commodities, as we Marxists call them, are made for profit?

HENRY: Get on with it.

Sog.: Now, the Capitalist must have a market for his commodities, and as the worker makes about three times as many articles as he could buy back, there are a good many left over. These, not being saleable in the home market, the Capitalist naturally looks abroad for a market. Unfortunately for him, there are other capitalists in the country, who have similar goods to dispose of, and they have to find markets abroad. Now, what do they do?

HENRY: Take 'em abroad, of course.

Sog.: Precisely! The surplus, as we Marxists call it, is disposed of abroad. But meantime the worker at home is turning out goods three times faster than he need. This results in still other markets to be found, so we go to Africa, India, China and other places. That would be very well, if we were alone—

HENRY: Hold on, who are "we"?

Sog.: The capitalists, of course.

HENRY: Well, that's the first time in my life I've known I was a capitalist. If you asks my candid opinion, I should say the author was drunk.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

These are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia.

SATURDAY, AUG. 16th

Grove Lane, Camberwell, 7 p.m., Th. Edmunds, G. C. Bhaduri and others.

SUNDAY, AUG. 17th

Osborn St., Whitechapel—11.45 a.m., F. H. Burnett.

Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., David Ramsay, Chair: W. H. Cousins.

SATURDAY, AUG. 23rd

Cobden Statue, near Mornington Crescent Station. 7 p.m.,

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, AUG. 15th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.10 p.m. Dancing.

FRIDAY, AUG. 22nd.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.10 p.m. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

East London Workers' Committee.

SUNDAY, AUG. 17th.

Victoria Park, 12 (noon) Walter Ponder and others.

TUESDAY, AUG. 19th.

Queen's Road, corner of Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m., Walter Ponder and others.

THURSDAY, AUG. 21st.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.30 p.m., Members' meeting.

TUESDAY, AUG. 19th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Rd.—3 p.m. Edward Fuller "An Awkward Question," a talk to parents on sex.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND. — Profit on Woodford Outing, £13 18s. 9d.; "Irene," per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £4; Pte. A. Cuttill, 2s.; C. O. Sympathiser, 1s. Collections: Osborne Street, 16s. 2½d.; Sheerness Labour Party, per Pte. Edmunds, 9s. 6d.; Dock Gates, 2s. 8d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mr. and Mrs. Saddy Brown, £8; Mrs. Boswell, £2; per Miss J. E. Weir, £1; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £1; Mrs. Usherwood, 12s. Collections: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 5s. 5d.; Misses E. Lagading and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 9s. 1d.

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