

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

VOL. VI.—No. 25.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## SHIPBUILDING AND INCREASED OUTPUT.

By HARRY POLLITT.

### TON FOR TON.

During the war, when passions were roused to fever heat, and the workers were promised all sorts of prizes to keep them contentedly going on with the war, it was a simple matter to launch the policy of "Ton for Ton" for all shipping sunk by the Germans, and one remembers now very enthusiastically the Press that represents the shipping interests became over this policy. The more ships sunk by German submarines, the more pronounced became the ton for ton cry, until finally it was understood that as a result of the Armistice agreement, the shipping companies were to be compensated for their lost ships by the confiscation of the German merchant vessels.

It may appear that this was a perfectly fair arrangement; but when one remembers that every shipping company in England made larger profits during the war (despite the loss of their ships) than were ever known before, it is perfectly clear that, owing to the influence they command, the shipping combine was able to obtain both the toffee and the halfpenny.

However, the policy has its good points, for as a result of the German ships being taken over by the English shipping combine, the necessity for building more ships in this country has been removed. This fact has driven home to thousands of workers in the shipyard area, more clearly than all the lectures will ever do, the fallacy of "Making the Germans Pay."

He will be a brave man who goes to the shipbuilding centres of the North East Coast and the Clyde to talk about "pinching" any more German ships.

The truth is, that nearly all the workers engaged in shipbuilding had been expecting a long run of work, as a result of so many ships being torpedoed; now they see that it is the German shipbuilder who is going to have the long run of work. Human nature being the nature it is, this is making the shipyard worker of England sorry that the German ships were ever taken. Now, on the top of all this, the Admiralty has stopped most of its shipyard work, and so has intensified the ever growing unemployed problem. This is exactly what the Ship-ping Combine and the Shipbuilding Federation has been playing for, and so successful has been their policy that by the end of September, a terrible unemployed problem will be confronting the shipyard workers of Britain. Every day the two federations of employers are coming closer together, and only this week the firm of Harland and Woolf, at whose head stands Lord Pirrie, has bought two of the biggest shipyards on the Clyde. This firm now practically dominates the shipbuilding industry, having its yards at Govan and other places on the Clyde, Southampton, Liverpool and Belfast.

Lord Pirrie is also one of the foremost figures in the Shipping Combine, which made over £300,000,000 profits during two years of the war, and is now in a sound financial position to contest the growing demands of the workers. If there is one class of workers who ought not to be misled by the bogey of "Increased Production," it is the shipyard workers of Britain, for there is not a shipyard in Britain where the workers are not already keyed up to the last second. The pressure is especially great in

those yards where piece work and the premium bonus system are being worked.

The increased production cry is not worthy of the men's consideration, coming, as it does, at a time when men are being dismissed every week and when in every ship-building and ship-repairing centre there is unemployment. Any one who has seen the rivetters at work on the hull of a new ship, and has carefully noted the speed at which they work, knows it is impossible for these men to work any harder. They are paid at so much per hundred and the price is fixed so that none but the hardest and strongest can make a decent living. The constant introduction of labour-saving machinery, such as the oxy-acetylene burner and the pneumatic rivetter, all tend to do away with labour, and to increase production at the mechanics' expense.

What increased production means is more work for less pay, and more work per man means, in hard facts, doing away with a lot of other men, a larger margin of unemployed, and that is the employers' best weapon for reducing wages. Increased production means increased profits for the capitalists and increased misery and poverty for the surplus workers.

All this talk of workers working harder, when there is a growing army of workers willing to work, but finding no work to do, is not a mere coincidence; it is just part of the policy by which engineering and shipbuilding capitalists intend to defeat the workers during the coming winter, and so temporarily crush the rising tide of the revolution.

For what are the facts? In November a conference is to take place at which will be discussed the advisability of continuing or otherwise the 12½ per cent. and the war awards. Let there be no mistake, the capitalists are determined that something has to come off the workers' present wages. The employers have already beaten the Trade Unions on the 44-hour question; they are now ready for the next round. Unless some new development takes place, it is safe to say that the workers are not ready and are going to suffer another defeat.

If the organised workers are beaten in these two highly-organised industries, then every other class of worker will automatically suffer also. The workers will be well advised to put their own house in order, and let the people who are crying for increased production do a little themselves. Men like Brownlie, who are calling for more work to be done, should also come back into the shops and do some work, instead of always prancing round the employers.

### SHIPYARD CONDITIONS.

A liner leaving the landing stage is always a wonderful sight. Those who have seen the Cunard crack liners slowly moving off down the Mersey at the close of a summer's day, know what a picture of finished workmanship such a ship presents. But how many of those who see it think of the conditions under which the men have worked in the shipyards before the liner was ready for launching.

It is everywhere admitted that a British-built ship is the last word in workmanship and finish, yet the conditions under which they are

Continued on page 1462.



"Thank God, Evolution missed me!"

### A POET OF THE STRUGGLE

John S. Clarke, whose writings are a constant feature of the S.L.P. organ, *The Socialist*, and well known in the movement, has just published a collection of his later writings. Clarke certainly has what sceptics may call the disease of writing: his flow is prolific and if the lines do not always seem his justification is:—

And if brutality stains my page,  
Bear well with me to-night,  
For I dreed my weird in brutal age,  
When earth was ruled by the hate and rage  
Of kid-gloved Troglodyte.

Like all writers who are agitators, what he loses in polish he gains in point and topical interest. We all perceive his meaning. Take this:—

ON THE OCCASION OF A PICTURESQUE PRESENTATION.

Said Mr. — to Mr. —

"I like your coat of fur."

Said Mr. — to Mr. —

"You're welcome to it, sir!"

From back to back the coat was passed

With mutual satisfaction:

While people wondered why the air

Was charged with putrefaction.

Out in the wilds of Ohio

A stinking skunk lay dead:

And from the paradise of skunks

It watched the scene and said—

"Although bereft of skin and fur,

And left so cold and clammy,

May God be praised! my lovely coat

Is still kept in the family."

Or this:—

WHEN THE EYE WAS OPENED!

Sing a song of Gov'ment

Pockets full of rules;

Five-and-twenty tricksters,

And forty million fools:

"Combed out" like — vermin,

"Rounded up" like — cattle,

Isn't it a dainty thought

To carry into battle?

Of James Connolly he sings:—

For thou wert jealous in thine hour

The work of tyrants to withstand,

And sang defiance to their power

In accents of thy land.

And in the days that are to be,

The golden days of sweet content,

Humanity shall honour thee

Who strove for their advent.

For when the earth is purged of strife,

And love of fellowship is strong,

'Twill learn the glory of thy life,

And triumph of thy song.

One of the best things in the book is the splendid satire in the excellent drawing at the head of this column.

\*Satyres, Lyrics and Poems, by John S. Clarke, S.L.P. Press, Glasgow.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.



## SHIPBUILDING AND INCREASED OUTPUT.

*Continued from front page.*

made while on the stocks are positively disgraceful.

In the summer it is not so bad, but in the autumn and winter the majority of yards are flooded with mud and rainwater. The lighting is bad, there are no washing arrangements, and the sanitary conveniences are worse than those provided for the Lascars in the docks. There is no protection from rain for the men working on the hull of the ship, they are sent home in wet weather; all shipyard workers therefore experience much broken time. Moreover, the work is heavy and skilled. Yet these are the men who are being appealed to to work harder.

Shipbuilding and ship repairing are dangerous trades; amongst the boiler makers there are hundreds who have lost one eye through hot scales from the rivets, or pieces flying off their drifts. The other trades have their own peculiar dangers.

The Blackwall shipyard of R. H. Green and Silley Wear at Poplar is a typical shipyard; during the winter it is like a mud pond, and there is no decent ambulance accommodation in the yard. On one occasion a Lascar was knocked down the dry dock. When he was brought to the dock side he lay for twenty minutes, and no ambulance came; finally he was taken to hospital on a motor lorry. A month ago, a man received an injury to his eye; he was rendered unconscious, and taken to Poplar Hospital on a horse lorry. Yet this firm has made more money out of the war than was ever thought possible.

In 1918, of the firm's employees eight men were killed and over 2,000 received injuries of a more or less serious character in this yard; from January, 1919, up to the present, seven men have been killed and over 1,000 injured. Amongst the workers of the dock area the yard is known as "Heaven's Friend." The fact that the firm has now appointed special safety officers speaks for itself. If figures could be got from other yards a similar state of things would be disclosed.

I would suggest to the workers that a campaign in favour of *Increased Comfort and Safety* would be more sensible than *Increased Production*.

## WHAT IS THE REMEDY.

The obvious remedy is for the workers in all industries to organise for the purpose of taking over the ownership of all the means of production, but one has to face facts and recognise that the workers are not yet showing any great desire for anything of this character. At the same time the feeling is undoubtedly growing that the Trade Unions have failed, before the superior organisation of the Capitalists.

The first essential is unity and a common programme of action for all the shipyard areas. If we had these we should not again see the spectacle presented in January, 1918, where the shipyard workers in Belfast, the North-East Coast, the Clyde, Liverpool, the Bristol Channel, Southampton and London, were all out on strike, and all striking for different demands.

Such a remarkable wave of revolt has not been seen in any industry before. Had all these areas been linked up with each other; had they combined for the realisation of a common programme, it would have been impossible for the employers to resist their demands, and we should have had a demonstration of solidarity that could have been the beginning for more ambitious and lofty objects. As it was, every area was beaten; the men returned down-hearted and disgruntled. We ought now to profit by our mistakes and set about the task of re-organisation.

The shipbuilding and repairing industry is a compact one, and has no great difficulties of organisation, except the apathy of the workers. The capitalists in their industry are organised to perfection. At the head of the Employers'

Federation are some of the smartest and cleverest lawyers in the country; men like Sir Alan Smith, who knows every move on the board. By organising the employers on the basis of class, irrespective of whether they are large employers or small, they have built up a machine that is now straining every nerve to edge the workers into a fight, because they know the present weakness of the Trade Union Movement.

Workers' Committees should at once be elected in every yard. The country should be mapped out in well-defined areas, local councils should be appointed, and from these the smartest men we have should be chosen, irrespective of their craft, to form one National Shipbuilding Workers' Council. This Council, consisting of men coming direct from the shipyards, would know exactly the feeling of the workers on any important question. If any action were necessary, the Council would be in a position to call for united action and able to meet organisation by organisation. The present barrier to progress is the principle of craft unionism; it may have been necessary years ago, but to-day it is ineffective and obsolete.

Whether you are mechanics or labourers, your wives all pay the same price for food; you all work the same long hours, you all fear the spectre of unemployment, you all run the same risk of accidents, and work under the same dirty and bad conditions. Therefore your aims and interests are alike; and, organising as workers on the basis of Class and not Craft, you breed the spirit of Class Consciousness and Class Solidarity. Mere aims of higher wages and so on, lose their interest, as larger issues come into view by means of your new organisation. So you gradually build up the structures whereby you will one day take your stand with workers similarly organised in other industries. Thus you will finally be able to take over the ownership and control of all the productive forces.

Then "Increased Production" will mean increased wealth and leisure for the working class and everything for the worker that it now means for the capitalist. Until that time arrives, Increased Production under Capitalism means increased unemployment and increased misery.

Workers! which will you choose?

## W. F. WATSON.

The Committee appointed by a conference of the London Workers' Committee (with delegates from the West and East London Committees) to investigate the charges made against W. F. Watson, examined fourteen witnesses, from whom they got signed statements. The evidence clearly shows that Watson was in communication with the police, and that he received money from them. It also shows that Watson was endeavouring to mislead Scotland Yard.

Watson told the witnesses that he had been threatened by a detective for giving the police false information.

One witness said he advised Watson to place himself in the hands of a Committee. This Watson apparently did not do, with the result that now that charges have been made against his integrity the responsibility falls upon him alone.

The investigation Committee desires to make it perfectly clear that the above is a summary of the evidence given them. Watson may be able to clear up the charges made against him by the Home Secretary of having given information "found to be of value to the police."

(Signed) T. F. KNIGHT.  
J. HUNT.  
W. FORDYCE.  
T. KIME.  
DAVID RAMSAY.  
Jack TANNER.

## AGAINST THE REVOLUTION.

## AMERICAN CAPITALISM TAKES PRECAUTIONS.

Capitalism has secured the passage of a new and stringent law for its protection in the State of Illinois, U.S.A. The new law slipped quietly through the legislature unknown to most of the citizens. It provides:—

Sec. 265a. It shall be unlawful for any person openly to advocate, by word of mouth or writing, the reformation or overthrow, by violence or any other unlawful means, of the representative form of Government now secured to the citizens of the United States and the several States by the constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the several States.

It is further declared illegal to publish, sell, or distribute any document, book, paper, etc., which advocates as above, or to organise, aid in the organisation or become a member of any society with such object, or to be present at any meeting where such things are advocated, or to permit premises to be used for such advocacy.

The muzzling order is most comprehensively drafted!

The penalty is for anyone who advocates, publishes or distributes papers advocating or belongs to a society advocating a sabote, may be punished by imprisonment for from one to ten years. Any one who attends such a meeting or permits such a meeting to be held on his premises is liable to from six months to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 500 to 1,000 dollars (£100 to £200). The words "or any other unlawful means" may draw into the legal net all sorts of people who have not even made up their minds whether they want a revolution.

If we lived in Illinois the members of the W.S.F. the S.L.P., the B.S.P. and the Workers' Committees might all be in prison for belonging to organisations which advocate the revolution. Even some members of the I.L.P. might find themselves in prison.

Do not live in a fool's paradise: we shall have such a law here presently! Then there will be many converts to Bolshevism!

On September 1st the police removed the red flags from the Communists' Convention in Chicago with a warning that no red flags could be shown except with the American flag. That is a little beginning: the attempt to put down Communism will not stop there.

Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the American Socialist Party and a member of the right wing, has addressed a letter to European Socialists, in which he points out that over 2,000 American citizens are now in prison for political offences and are serving sentences some of 25 years each, and amounting in the aggregate to 25,000 years. These men and women receive worse treatment than ordinary criminals.

## IRELAND AS USUAL.

Irish political events for the week ending August 9th, as reported in the censored daily Press, included 21 arrests, 10 sentences, two armed assaults by the police, two suppressions and proclamations by the military, nine Courts-martial, 40 raids by the military. The sentences amounted to three years and seven months. Jack O'Sheehan, who had been sentenced to two years' hard labour for singing an Irish patriotic ballad, was released in broken health and re-arrested on an unknown charge. Many people were injured during the breaking up by armed police of a meeting in County Down. At Ballymote, County Sligo, armed police raided a number of houses late at night. P. J. Borrell, of Dundalk, was Court-martialed for having made, in May, 1918, a map of the district where he lives. The sentence has not been promulgated. Robert Anderson and J. Hoey are hunger-striking in Kerry Gaol. County Clare is proclaimed a military area, meetings, fairs, markets being prohibited; the Agricultural Show is therefore postponed.

## THE FOOL NEXT DOOR, &amp;c.

By Ex-Tram-Conductor No. 317 (N. D. Douglas). 2s. net, paper wrappers; 3s. 6d. net cloth bound, postage 3d. The author of this unusual book was for a short time a tram-conductor, but the interest of his poems, plays, stories and essays does not depend upon that. Indeed he has also been a University student, a journalist and a dividend-drawer. Originality is the note of this book.

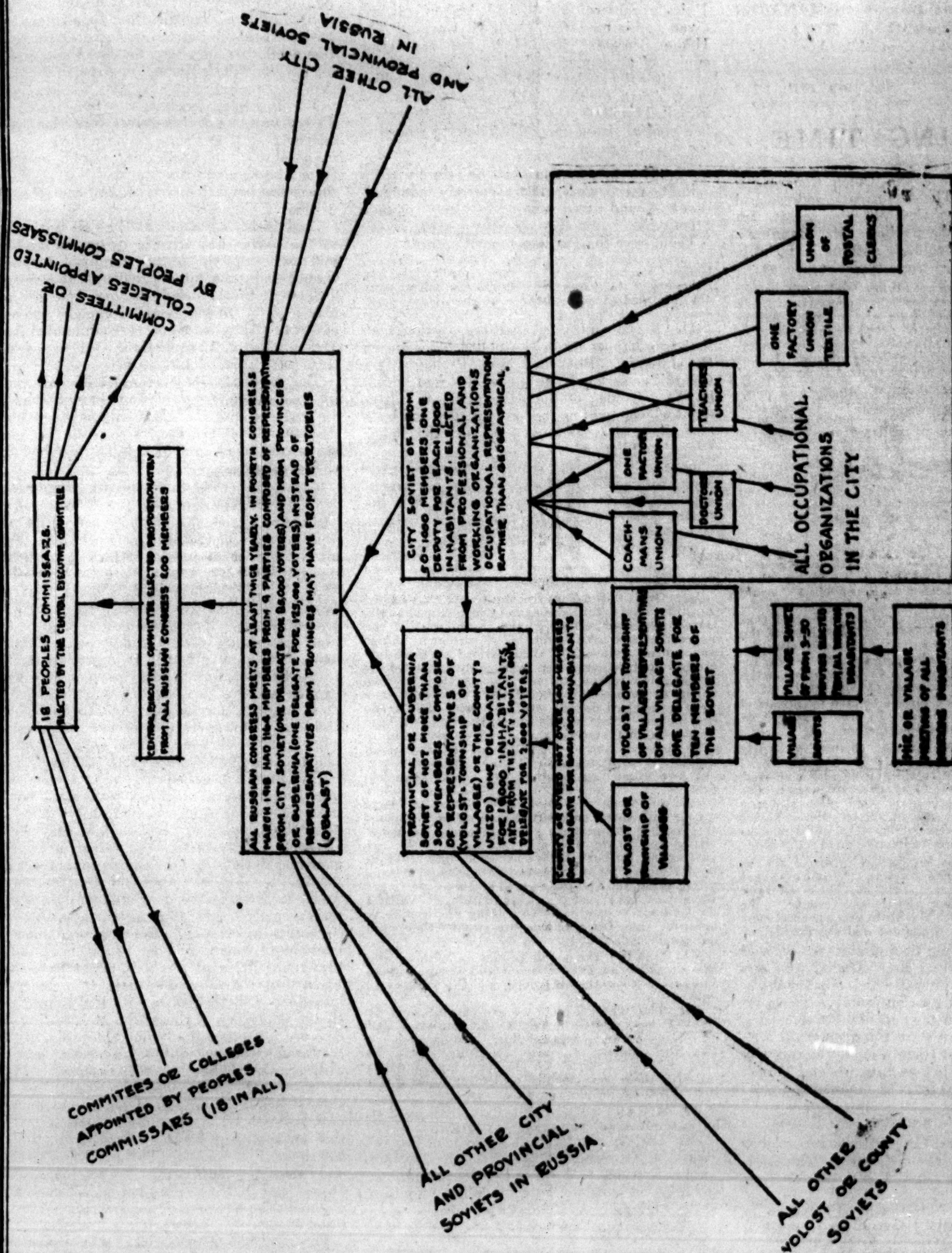
## THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

A Play in four acts by Douglas Goldring. 2s. net, cloth 3s. 6d. net, postage 3d. This is the first volume of a new series of "Plays for a People's Theatre. (Ready shortly.)" **FACTORY ECHOES and Other Sketches.** By R. M. Fox. 1s. 6d. net, postage 2d. These sketches took shape in the workshop amid the rattle and roar of machinery. It is life, pulsating, surging, calling for expression which is portrayed in them.

## GREAT OPPORTUNITY!

Sellers of the "Workers Dreadnought" urgently needed on Sunday, September 21st, at the Demonstration of the Co-operative Movement. Apply to the Manager, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.





-BY-  
JEROME DAVIS. MANAGER OF THE Y.M.C.A. IN RUSSIA.

## From The Arbitrator:



## 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.

Telephone: Central 7240.

Vol. VI. No. 25

Sat. Sept. 13th, 1919

### MARKING TIME.

As we write the Trade Union Congress is about to meet. The Chairman's address and the Parliamentary Committee's report are already issued to the public. Mr. Bunning's address contains absolutely nothing. Its futile spirit is indicated by these typical passages:—

"The great war was not all loss, and, among other things, it proved the strength and necessity of trade unions. . . . Many of those who are now abusing trade unions were almost tearfully appealing to them for help during the war. . . . that assistance was asked by responsible Ministers. It was freely given, and it is well to remind the public.

Then there are those—some within our own ranks—who are always discovering that the Trade Union Congress is played out. The answer to them is to be found in the figures of affiliated membership for this year, a record total of 5,265,426.

It is a vast army, and leadership in it brings great responsibilities. It is therefore not always possible to act as simply and as easily as may be desired, and during the year the action of the Parliamentary Committee on the important question of direct action has been misunderstood.

The request to the Committee was to convene a special congress to consider whether a recommendation should go to the unions to ballot their members as to whether the members would strike in the event of certain demands to the Government being refused. It was suggested that our responsibility would end with the calling of the Congress and would thereafter remain with the delegates. . . . To have called the Congress would inevitably have identified the Committee with the policy of a National strike on political matters. . . .

As to direct action, I do not believe in industrial strikes on political matters. In other words, I do not despair of constitutional methods.

What is called the Labour Charter was first drafted by a committee in Paris, of which Mr. G. N. Barnes was chairman, and four members of your committee, along with Mr. Arthur Henderson, also took part. It is a great and bold idea—to bring together representatives of the State, the employer and the worker, to consider how the world may be a better place in which to live.

There it is. We do not believe in direct action. I do not believe in direct action, therefore we get ourselves against it; we would not allow the rank and file to get together and do as it would. We would rather meet with the State and the employers to discuss the future of Labour and the world."

The band is playing Scotch airs, sweet, wild and plaintive, recalling Keir Hardie, who was of the very essence of that which created them. The fight he fought goes on to-day. These respectable, moderate men in comfortable positions are as stubborn as in the days when they refused to allow that there was any reason why the workers should not be Liberals and Tories. This is the same old fight to sandbag the class struggle.

#### PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES AND RUSSIA.

The Parliamentary Committee's report amplifies Mr. Bunning's statements. The Committee, having interviewed Mr. Bonar Law decided:—

"That the interview is satisfactory enough to justify the Parliamentary Committee in refusing to call a Special Conference to discuss whether industrial action shall be taken to enforce the abolition of the Conscription Act, the withdrawal of troops from Russia, the raising of the blockade, the release of conscientious objectors and the withdrawal of the secret military circular."

The Government's promises were obviously of no importance, but there are none so blind as those who will not see.

#### THE POLICE UNION.

The Parliamentary Committee's statement on the Police Union is brief, but highly significant; it takes the part of the Government throughout, though its words are bold and guarded:

"The matter was fully and frankly discussed with the Home Secretary. . . . Mr. Shortt declined to discuss the question of recognition of the men's union, claiming that he had proved in the House of Commons that the Union's representatives had broken pledges given to his predecessor (Sir G. Cave). The Home Secretary handed to the deputation copies of agreements which had been entered into after the strike of the previous year, which were signed by the Union's chief official and initialled by Sir G. Cave. The Home Secretary laid special stress upon the following clause in the signed agreement:—

"The organisation shall be entirely within the force, and shall be entirely independent of and unassociated with any outside body."

Then, says the Parliamentary Committee:—

"Application for affiliation with the Trades' Union Congress was made five months later, in February of the present year. The Committee were not informed of the existence of the above agreement."

The Parliamentary Committee overlooks all that was happening in the police force during the interim. But does the Parliamentary Committee seriously state that if it had known of the existence of the agreement, an agreement which ought not be binding upon any body of workers, it would have refused the Police Union's affiliation?

Evidently it does. But the speeches made even before the disclosure of the agreement were absolutely appalling: it is well that the Parliamentary Committee has published them. We take a few extracts from the report:—

MR. BOWERMAN: The question has arisen whether it is not possible to recognise the men's organisations in some way.

MR. GOSLING: You can appreciate that one of our difficulties is that we began by believing that the Government had recognised the organisation of the police into a Trade Union. By your own actions you proved that to us. You invited them to one or two conferences which were only attended by trade union representatives, and in that way we began to be associated with the belief that they were recognised in the ordinary way that trade unions are. Then we affiliated the police to the Trade Union Congress. . . . I do not want to take up a position of opposition in any way at all at what is being done.

I was wondering whether you would allow us, first of all, to get into touch with these people whom we cannot very well throw down, and have a chat with them, and perhaps see you again about it; whether the position you are taking up would enable you to do that with us. . . . We are getting, as you know as well as we do, into all kinds of difficulties all over the country. Sets of men are meeting and stopping work, and we have to get them back again and that kind of thing. Whilst I do not want to be a party to making any complaint against the Government in what they are doing.

MR. DAVIS: The people cannot understand why the postman can have a union and the policeman cannot. I know the difference, but the workers do not.

MR. THOMAS: Unless we are careful—and by "we" I mean the Government, the employers and ourselves—we are going headlong into disaster. . . . The Government, I quite recognise, must be firm. . . . Cannot you do something towards relieving these poor mortals—call them dupes if you like, call them people who have been fools.

MR. STUART BUNNING: If it was agreed to by themselves we cannot say anything."

Can anyone wonder that these men are regarded as Government agents? If they are genuinely trying to do their best, their humble, ignominious pleading for their fellow members of the working class is indeed pitiful.

#### THE COAL QUESTION.

The Miners, when first they put forward the charter, declared that they were prepared to strike for it. At their conference the other day they rejected Lloyd George's proposal to trustify the industry and demanded the Sankey scheme, in itself an unsatisfactory compromise. As to what they are prepared to do, they said:

"We do not at this stage recommend the miners to take industrial action to secure the adoption of the Coal Commission Report, but we invite the Trade Union Congress to declare that the fullest and most effective action be taken to secure that the Government shall adopt the Majority Report of the Commission as to the future governance of the industry."

The resolution is weak and indefinite; anyone could vote for it; it means just what anyone pleases. To the Parliamentary Committee it would mean one of their humbly-spoken deputations; to the Communists it means direct action, of course. The direct-actionists have been beaten in the first round, otherwise the resolution would have declared for direct action, calling on the Trade Union Congress to declare a general strike in support of the miners.

Revolutionary Socialists in the mining industry have held themselves confidently declaring that the miners, because their industry is absolutely indispensable, would presently force the Government to socialise the coal-mines and hand them over to the control of the workers.

Lord Fisher's statement that all the vessels in the Navy that are not driven by fuel oil, but by coal, should be scrapped forthwith should make the miners realise that a formidable rival to their industry has now taken a firm hold. Oil has now become the foremost object of Capitalist strife; it is contended for in Mexico, Baku, Mesopotamia, Galicia, even in this country prospectors are active.

The miners must hasten if they are going to bring about the revolution through their industrial pre-eminence. It seems more likely that the Revolution will arise from the deep abyss of hunger and hardship into which the workers are being hastened.

#### THE UNEMPLOYMENT DOLE TO BE REDUCED.

Whilst the workers are urged to speed up production the Government is casting about to find ways and means of reducing the unemployment dole. A Committee of Inquiry, on which the Labour Party has a representative—Tom Shaw, M.P. (we are glad to note that the Trade Union Congress refused to appoint a representative)—has presented recommendations for cutting down the dole and making it more difficult to obtain. It is proposed, after 13 weeks, to reduce the payment of £1 a week to men and 15s. a week to women to 15s. for men and 12s. for women, and to cut off the children's allowances altogether! The giving of children's allowances, it is said, "is out of place and leads to undesirable results."

Attention is called to the fact that it is possible for several members of the same household to be drawing, concurrently, the full amount of donation, and thus to draw "considerable weekly sums." Oh, dear, dear; how alarming! But the Committee cannot yet see its way to stop it. About 45 prosecutions a week for drawing the dole unlawfully are now taking place; the Committee attaches the "greatest importance to the detection and punishment of fraud (by poor people) and thinks that more stringent methods might have been taken to prevent it and advocates "a closer co-operation with the police." The Committee thinks that some of those who are drawing the dole are, "if not actually unemployable, on the border-line, on account of ill-health, lack of skill, criminal habits, or other reasons." Willing to exclude such people the Committee desires the dole to be placed on a contributory basis. Also, the Committee recommends that an applicant may be offered work that is not their usual vocation, but somewhat similar and "does not necessarily carry his former rate of pay, and that if he does not accept such employment the payment of donation should be refused."

The position of ex-Service men the Committee desires to have closely inquired into. "Any who have never been accustomed to work or who for other reasons are not likely to remain in employment should be excluded."

What is to be done with the poor, excluded human beings? How the children whose allowances are cut off are to exist is not indicated:



## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

poverty and a worker's unfitness to be an efficient tool are the greatest of crimes in Capitalist society. Communism would keep at the same level of comfort the employed, the unemployed and the unemployable.

Tom Shaw, the Labour representative, signs the report, subject to the reservations on the reduction of the dole and abolition of children's allowances. The new espionage and stricter inquisition does not appear to dismay him.

## CUTTING DOWN SOLDIERS' TRAINING ALLOWANCES.

The Government has announced a new flat rate of £2 a week for disabled soldiers in training, this will include pension. Men with 100 per cent. disablement pension will find their income reduced by 22s. 6d. a head. The demobilised soldier is already beginning to discover that, in the eye of the Government, he has fallen from the position of a "hero" to that of a tiresome pauper.

## THE INTERVENTION QUESTION.

The Triple Alliance has failed to censure its Executive for stopping the ballot for direct action against the Russian intervention.

Now the Trade Union Congress has an opportunity to bring its Parliamentary Committee to book for not having arranged with the Labour Party Executive to take direct action on this question, according to instructions of the Southport Conference. The fall of the Hungarian Soviet and the determined attack on Russia carried on by the Allies against Soviet Russia ever since should nerve the Congress to realise that its action now should be clear and definite. We are promised a great debate. How weary, how disgusted we are of debate and compromises! Henderson, Clynes, Hodge, Brace and all the Parliamentarians who are opposing the Workers' Revolution are here to throw dust in their eyes and to persuade them to remain inactive.

## THE TREACHERY OF THE MODERATES.

Day by day it is more clearly realised that the Moderate and so-called "democratic" politicians who oppose themselves to the Communist Revolution are as dangerous to the workers' cause as the most hardened reactionary. Kieff has just been lost to the Soviets because Petlura, the so-called "democratic" Ukrainian Nationalist, has joined his forces with those of Denikin.

Noske, the Social patriot who supported the Kaiser's war and, whilst calling himself a Social Democrat, fights Socialism with all his might, whose administration is responsible for the deaths of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, is now actually bargaining with the Big Four for concessions to Germany as a reward for German aid in fighting Soviet Russia.

## LIEUT.-COLONEL SHERWOOD KELLY'S EXPOSURE.

The courageous exposure of Lieut.-Colonel Sherwood Kelly, V.C., who, disregarding the penalties which he risks and the certain destruction of his military career, has come out to tell the truth about the Russian intervention, should shame the Trade Union Congress and even its Parliamentary Committee into direct action to stop the attack on the Workers' Government of Russia.

## ESTHONIANS JOIN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The news, contained in a Reuter message from Copenhagen, that the Estonian Congress at Reval has joined the Third International and passed a Communist resolution, effectively gives the lie to the pretence that the Estonian workers are opposed to Soviet Russia and fight willingly against the Russians. What now becomes of the recognition by the Second International of the Capitalist Estonian Republic and its Coalition Government and Capitalist politicians and Social patriots? That Government dissolved the Reval Congress and arrested and banished to Russia 102 of the delegates who were members of the Communist Party which the Government had banished to Soviet Russia. Little, of the *Chicago Tribune*, reports that 20,000 soldiers of the Estonian White Army went over to the Communists in one week.

E SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## VIENNA MOVING TO COMMUNISM.

It is said that the Soviets would now be officially controlling Austria, but for the fear that the Allies would in that event treat the country as they have treated Hungary. Nevertheless the power of the Workers' Council is growing steadily in Vienna. Two months ago it forced the Government to allow poor people to occupy empty houses at a nominal rent, but now the Workers' Council has taken the matter into its own hands and is putting the poor into unoccupied rooms in the larger houses.

The British Ministry of Health which is cutting down the housing schemes, should note this.

## A RELIGIOUS COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

According to the *Herald* a Continuation Committee to serve as a nucleus of the religious counterpart of the Labour Department of the League of Nations was formed at a Browning Settlement Conference the other day. The British representatives are Bishop Gore, George Lansbury, G. N. Barnes, M.P., W. Adamson, M.P., and Frank Hodges. A Religious Department of the League of Nations is almost as funny as a Labour Department! But since the Labour Department will assist in camouflaging the war of Capitalism on Labour by cries of Bolshevism, the aggressions of Western capitalists against defenceless Eastern peoples may be camouflaged by the Religious Department declaring that the Cross is being protected from the Crescent! A number of well-meaning people will doubtless be found very useful as a screen.

## JEWISH POGROMS.

Albert Thomas, the French Social Patriot, who, at the beginning of the war joined the French Cabinet, has signed, with others, a protest against the terrible suffering inflicted upon the Jews by the Roumanian troops in Bessarabia, and by counter-revolutionaries in the Ukraine, where they say that millions of men, women and children are exposed to death and dishonour and the Jewish population is threatened with complete extermination.

Thomas is bitterly opposing the Communists of Russia as he opposed the Communists of Hungary. He and those with whom he associates know that it is to persecution by precisely the same forces that the Communists have been delivered in Hungary, and those portions of Russia where the reactionaries have regained control.

Morgari, the Italian Socialist Member of Parliament, declares that the white terror in Hungary is assuming atrocious forms and that pogroms are now succeeded by the systematic murder of imprisoned persons.

Starvation still faces the Austrian people. The Save the Children Fund officials state that out of 150,000 Viennese children requiring special care it is hoped "with the help of Switzerland and outside countries to save every third child from premature death." Yet because Petrograd is supposed to have been rendered short of food by the Allied blockade the anti-Bolsheviks insist that they must overthrow the Workers' Soviets by force of arms! The "Big Four" and the Social patriots have made a graveyard of Europe!

## UNNECESSARY MISERY.

On August 14th, Elsie Smith, a clerk in the W.R.A.F., aged 22, whilst lying in the Salvation Army Maternity Home, received a letter from her sister saying that her baby could not be brought home. She tried to smother her baby, then wept till a nurse came and restored the child to animation in two or three minutes. "I didn't think I could do it, but they won't have her at home." That was Elsie Smith's explanation. Now she is to be tried for attempted murder. Her parents, of course, desired to be thought respectable people; what the neighbours would say was more important to them than the happiness of their daughter and her child. Now the neighbours have been given very much greater occasion for talking. Their daughter has not only brought a poor little baby into the world without the sanction of the law, but now it will be said that she is a would-be murderess. But as a matter of fact it is those smug people at home who would have been the murderers of the baby if the unfortunate mite had died.

Marriage and legitimacy laws are all made for materialistic ends to keep property in the family and to secure provision for the child during infancy and the mother during her periods of helplessness. And now we often see the amazing spectacle of a girl who has given herself unmarried to a young man, also unmarried, being persecuted by women who have married men they do not even like, in order to secure a home and material comfort, and by men who are legally married but who consort with prostitutes when they are away from home or in the army.

Only through Communism, which will assure material needs to everyone, and will provide abundantly for all children, can a reasonable working solution be found for these problems. The

economic question solved, people will come to realise that the other half of the matter is their private affair.

## RENEWAL OF COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA.

"According to the Swedish newspaper, *Allahanda*, a merchant named Almgreen has just returned after a lengthy stay in Russia. He had occasion to enter into conversations with the Communist leaders concerning the possibility of renewing commercial relations between Sweden and Soviet Russia. Both Tchicherin and Krassin said they intended to order agricultural machinery from Sweden in exchange for furs, hemp and flax. Almgreen states that during his stay in Moscow an American and a German commission were also in the town, although they had no official mission. He thinks, however, that Sweden will soon have strong competition to fight against."—*Avanti!* August 22nd.

## THE GAME OF VON DER GOLTZ.

*L'Humanite*, September 3rd, 1919, in commenting on the state of affairs in the Baltic Provinces, states that General von der Goltz has not renounced Pan-Germanism, and that he intends his troops to preserve Riga for Germany in spite of the decision of the Peace Conference. The progressive German Press taxes the General with his alliance with Lettish and Russian reactionaries. During recent disorders in Mitau Russian and German officers took part in an attempt to raid a local bank. The commander of the "iron division," Bischoff, has invited his troops to remain in Courland under arms, and has declared an attack on Riga imminent and inevitable. After his address detachments of Keller's and Goltz's troops invaded Mitau and even the building occupied by the Allied Missions. The representatives of the Entente Missions, including the Japanese representative, have left Mitau, and have informed their respective Governments of what is taking place.

The Lettish State Council in Riga has protested against the presence of German troops in Lettland, as a menace to the independence of the Lettish Republic, and has urged the Government to strengthen the army.

The papers of the Independent Socialists in Germany denounce the policy pursued by Von der Goltz.

*Welt am Montag* writes: "Von der Goltz commands a German army which secures his independence. This army will perhaps at first co-operate in the downfall of Russian Bolshevism; but its ultimate aim is to suppress the revolution in Germany, using Riga as its base."

## ANOTHER SECRET CIRCULAR.

The Government is making arrangements for volunteer blacklegs "in the event of trouble at power-houses."

Well, of course! Is anyone under the impression that this is not a Capitalist Government!

## SABOTAGE?

We are puzzled by a statement in the *Times* that seamen and firemen on board the steamship *Maggie* bound for Russia with stores belonging to the British Government and intended for troops in Russia, broke into 40 cases of spirits and opened cases of bombs and scattered them about the ship so that the dropping of a lighted match would have caused an explosion that would have sunk the ship. The men were supposed to be drunk, but was it a case of deliberately sabotaging goods intended for counter-revolutionaries?

## FINLAND.

*L'Humanite*, August 15th, says:—

"The recent vote of the Diet which elected Stahlberg as President, instead of Mannerheim, by 143 votes to 50, is an energetic repudiation of the unpopular policy of the latter. Mannerheim's fall was not due solely to the opposition of the Socialists. The Peasants' Party and all the Left Bourgeois parties voted against him. He was supported only by the Conservatives, who saw in him the defender of Bourgeois society."

*L'Humanite* also says that the Finnish expedition against Russia has now been stopped.

In aid of "THE MOTHERS' ARMS" EAST LONDON DAY NURSERY.

## CONCERT

50, LEINSTER GARDENS, HYDE PARK, W.

(By kind permission of Madame Levinskaya),

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23rd, at 8 p.m.

Miss EDITH ABRAHAM (Violin),

MARIA LEVINSKAYA (Piano),

And other well-known Artists.

Tickets, 7/6, 5/., 2/6, from Miss SMYTH, 438, Old Ford Road, E. 3.



## JAPAN AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

By SEN KATAYAMA.

The *Oriental Economist*, Tokyo, the only independent, fair and sensible periodical of power and influence in Japan, has said words in the past on the Russian Bolshevik Government that ought to be well remembered even by Socialists. It never attacked the policy of the Soviet Government; on the contrary it advocated and insisted that Japan should recognise the Lenin government and warned the Japanese with such headlines as "Recognise the Bolshevik Government" (July 25th, 1918); "Don't Forget There Will be a Revived Russia" (same date); "Announcement of Troop Embarkation to Vladivostok" (August 15th, 1918), under which it criticises severely the Japanese and American policy in Siberia and asks: "Who are the Russian people who gladly receive the Allied countries' help?" "Withdraw Troops from Siberia" (September 15th, 1918), and again, "Withdraw our Siberian Troops" (April 5th, 1919). It never approved Japan's Siberian intervention, but always upheld the policy of recognising the Lenin government. It will interest readers to know what the paper said under the above title in the issue of last April 5th: "The Japanese army in Siberia lost from January to March, 301 soldiers killed and 158 men wounded by attacking the Bolsheviks, and one battalion was lost entirely. There arose strong and loud cries against the Siberian intervention among the Japanese. Those soldiers died in the fields of Siberia like dogs. Our Siberian policy is an utter failure. We must withdraw our troops from there by all means! At first our policy and aim was to aid the Czech-Slovak soldiers. When this aim was accomplished our aim was changed, namely, to attack and destroy Bolshevism in Russia—that is, we proposed interference in Russia's internal policy. Foreign Minister Uchida said in the Parliament that "the first aim of our troops in Siberia is considered to be accomplished, but we cannot withdraw our army. Our army is now to keep peace and order among those localities occupied by our army." What does it mean to sustain the peace and order? Minister Uchida said: "Our policy is not to interfere with Russia's internal policy by any means, but if there is any one who is against our keeping peace and order, our troops' sweeping the Bolsheviks away was the result of the same policy." What localities are those occupied by our troops? The War Minister said: "The Japanese troops guarding the front lines extended over 4,000 miles and along these lines and their vicinity, Japan's troops are placed to keep the peace and order. Our aim being to restore Russia by sympathizing with the Omsk Government, we agree to call those who side with the Omsk Government, the Moderates, and to help them is to keep the peace and order to-day, so that anyone who resists our soldiers who are thus keeping peace and order will be suppressed." Thus our Siberian policy is clear as daylight to help the Omsk Government with our army; those who obey the Omsk Government are called the "Moderates" and those opposed "Bolsheviks," and to sweep away the Bolsheviks is our mode of maintaining law and order. Although Foreign Minister Uchida says our policy is not to interfere with Russia's internal policy—is this not interfering with Russia's internal policy? Really, our Government is engaged in armed intervention on the Russian internal policy along four thousand miles. There will be no Russian internal policy for four thousand miles. There will be no Russian who will not consider us his enemy and hold a bad feeling towards us.

In every country and in any age there are always disaffected persons. Our war minister's so-called "Moderates" are nothing but disaffected persons, and the vast majority of Russians are to-day his so-called Bolsheviks. Therefore, if we keep our army in Siberia any longer, the more strongly will we make all the Russians our enemies. It is better soon to withdraw our army from Siberia!

As soon as we withdraw our troops from Siberia, the Omsk Government is sure to be put down by the Bolshevik Party. Our soldiers in Siberia, since the beginning of the intervention, died "a dog's death," a useless death, and war expenses are simply wasted. We regret the loss on account of our mistaken policy, indeed! But by withdrawing our troops now we shall hereafter commit no more of such a senseless sacrifice and, moreover, the inimical attitude of the Russians can be eliminated. This is the opinion of the best people of Japan.

The Japanese Government's Siberian policy is upheld by the Allies, including America. It is a most outrageous policy. To them the Russian people are only the bourgeois class who are against the Bolshevik Government and trying to sell Russia to the foreign capitalists!

A Chinese proverb says, "The mouth of the public melts metal." It indicates the influence of public rumour, but to counteract this apparent effect of the public rumour or even the public opinion, a proverb says: "Shinri wa saigo no shori" (Truth is the ultimate victor). All lies, falsehoods and twisting the facts about the Russian Soviet Republic and its doings have been poured on the people the world over for the past eighteen months to fool and mislead them. These lies, skillfully fabricated by the capitalists and their paid agents—journalists, editors and pressmen of big dailies, even those truth-loving Christians and God-fearing men, may mislead and cheat the people for a while, but they are like a house built on sand, or storm clouds before the sun; they will soon fall away before the truth. The true state of things about Russia and her Soviet Republic will be known to the world and the hearts and souls of all of humanity, in spite of all the lies. We know all those big phrases uttered about the aims of the present world war which is just about to be closed, and the noble ideals of a democratic peace based on the self determination of peoples concerned, proved to be nothing but words and phrases! Capitalistic Governments and their diplomats will not make a lasting peace in the world. We know that. There is only one true, lasting peace of the world, that is the Russian Bolshevik peace proposed by Lenin and Trotsky when they formed the Soviet Government. At least this is the consensus of opinion among the great masses of the world, and I am glad to say that the Japanese Socialists are of firm belief on this aspect. They know full well who are the Russian people and are ready to aid them by every means in their power.

Sen Katayama is the greatest leader of the Japanese Socialists. He was a well-known figure in the 2nd International, and his public fraternisation with the late George Plökhonoff at the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam in 1904, during the Russo-Japanese war, will for ever stand out as one of the brightest incidents in modern Socialist history.

(From the PEOPLE'S RUSSIAN INFORMATION BUREAU.)

## FOREIGN NEWS ITEMS.

## THE SOVIETS AND CHINA.

*Le Populaire*, September 2nd, announces a Moscow wireless to China requesting resumption of official relations, and offering to relinquish Russia's share of the Boxer indemnity, as well as all special commercial and other privileges.

## GERMAN INTRIGUES.

*La Feuille*, August 28th, observes that immediately after the Armistice the German Government opened relations with Soviet Russia, but when Koltchak began his march towards the Volga the Germans opened negotiations with the Anti-Soviet Governments. When the Independent Socialists reproached Scheidemann with his treachery he said: "When one's existence is at stake all means are justifiable." Believing that the Soviets will eventually fail, the German Government receives Koltchak's military missions in Germany with the utmost cordiality. *La Feuille* asserts, on the authority of well-informed French sources, that Germany is seeking friendship with Koltchak in order to secure the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, and that both Koltchak and Denikin are dissatisfied with the help given by the Big Four and their attitude towards the questions of Nationalities.

According to the *Paris Temps* the troops under Count Keller and Prince Lieven, which the Germans call Koltchakists, are at present 40,000 strong; 37,000 are Germans from Rhenish Prussia, 3,000 are Russians. Recruiting bureaux have been opened in Berlin and other towns. The *Temps* complains that Germany will thus obtain dominance in Lithu-

ania, White Russia, and the Baltic provinces, and thereby, in Russian affairs generally, which will compensate Germany for Western reverses, whilst the Entente remains "a passive spectator." *L'Humanité*, however, declares that the Entente is not a passive spectator, and that the object of the manoeuvre is to establish a counter-revolutionary army.

Philips Price asserts that a Franco-German agreement has been arrived at by which German prisoners in France have been sent in large numbers to the Anti-Bolshevik armies in the Baltic provinces. The French Government provides the equipment and the German Government is responsible for the transport. Russian prisoners of war are also sent to re-inforce counter-revolutionaries.

## THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

*L'Humanité* of August 31st reports that a Russian wireless message of August 27th says: "The United States wish to resume normal relations with us as soon as possible." There is reason to hope that Soviet Russia will succeed in establishing economic relations with America as soon as the stability of the Soviet Government has been proved by the defeat of Koltchak and Denikin.

## THE RED ARMY.

According to *L'Humanité*, August 29th, the Russian Red Army consists of 485,000 combatants, 39,000 in the North, 167,000 in the West, 146,000 in the South, 133,000 in the East, with a reserve of 727,000 in the interior, which brings the total to 1,250,000.

## AUSTRIAN COMMUNISTS DEMAND RUPTURE WITH THE ENTENTE.

*L'Humanité* reports a meeting of Workers' Council of Vienna on August 4th, when the question of the right of asylum of Bela Kun and the other Hungarian People's Commissaries was discussed. A resolution, supported by Seitz, the President of the Assembly, was adopted, declaring the right to be incontrovertible. The Communists, led by Citizeness Friedlaender, demanded the immediate establishment of a Soviet Republic in Austria and the severance of all relations with the Entente. In the last great congress of the Workers' Council, on July 1st, Citizeness Friedlaender had confessed that the Austrian workers had not yet enough confidence in Communism and that her only hope lay in the action of the Entente workers.

## FRANCE AND SYRIA.

The *Times* correspondent in the Middle East sent from Damascus on August 15th a very frank account of the situation there. The Vicomte Robert de Caix, in the *Bulletin de l'Asie Française*, has complained that whilst the British Government, by the Sykes-Picot secret agreement of 1916 pledged itself to leave Syria as a sphere of French influence, this agreement was in conflict with one it had made with the King of the Hedjaz in 1915, and which had been kept secret from the French.

The *Times* correspondent admits the accusation, explaining the matter thus:—

"Our secret diplomatists during the war banked so little on victory that not only did they distribute pledges right and left, seeking aid from any quarter, but they did not even take the trouble to avoid contradictions in their pledges. The ill-starred Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, which assigned as a French sphere of influence the whole of Syria, as well as the vilayets of Adana, Diarbekr and Mosul, besides proving a source of deep discontent to our Italian Allies, who, unlike Russia, were not participants, was, as M. de Caix says, compatible with a previous secret agreement between ourselves and the Arabs.

"It was in any case an entirely indefensible proceeding to dispose of the future of these people without reference either to themselves or to our own democracies."

This last observation is very just, but we never find any objection in the columns of the *Times* to the disposal of the "future of peoples without reference either to themselves or to our own democracies" when they are to come under British rule. But though the *Times* correspondent says the secret agreement was wrong, he asserts that the British authorities are sticking to it. He says that British officers have been instructed:

"To do everything possible to promote good relations between the French and the Arabs, to have no political secrets from the French officers."

But the *Times* correspondent tells us the French officers do not believe in the disinterested intentions of the British; they are in an "excited" and "touchy" state. This, he says, is because they find themselves

"in a country which they believed friendly and enthusiastic, but find to be actively hostile and suspicious. . . . At a meeting in Aleppo a majority in favour of the French was secured by the unexpected and spontaneous presence of a number of British officers, who voted solidly for France in the hope that this striking manifestation of the popular will would lead to their own speedy withdrawal from the country."

These are most interesting statements; so the French soldiers, even the officers, were misled into the belief that the people of Syria wanted them to occupy the country! The British people are made to believe similar silly stories in regard to the many countries occupied by British troops.

The *Times* correspondent goes on to explain that the British taxpayers' money is being paid to the Syrian Arabs, though the French want to take over "this expensive privilege," and that it may take 100,000 soldiers two years to subdue the country. The situation has become simply an issue between Mahomedan and Christian. The Vicomte de Caix asserts that the British have engineered this "deplorable" result, the *Times* correspondent says. He declares that the Syrian Christians would prefer a French to a British occupation, but "The Muslims, the overwhelming majority . . . would like to be left to their own sweet will . . . failing that, the British, or, better still . . . some more remote power such as America."

The French propose to give Syria a measure of autonomy "under French supervision" and to make Prince Feisal the ruler, but Prince Feisal, we are told, though Lloyd George has urged him strongly to come to an agreement with Clemenceau, is supposed to be at one with the anti-French Party, and to have said that "if the French want Damascus they must take it." Meanwhile, the young Arab Party says: "No life without independence: Syria must be undivided."

## THE BRITISH IN COLOGNE.

"We hear from Cologne that the English authorities are giving proof of extreme severity against persons suspected of Bolshevism. Expulsions are numerous. Anyone caught with a false passport is condemned to six months' imprisonment by the English military tribunal, and threatened with shooting if the offence occurs again."—*Avanti!* August 14th.



## A DOSTOIEVSKY EPISODE.

At the present time, when we are called upon twice daily by the Capitalist Press to tremble with horror and indignation at the hypothetical crimes of the Russian Soviet Government, it is interesting to refer to the fully substantiated records of atrocities which the Tsarist Governments have been permitted to perpetrate for centuries, without fear of "intervention" by other European Powers, for humanitarian reasons. The following is an extract from the Memoirs of Sonia Kovalevsky, the great woman mathematician, herself the daughter of a Russian landowner, concerning Dostoevsky, the celebrated writer.

It was the year of revolt, 1848. All Europe was in a state of excitement. In St. Petersburg, particularly amongst the students at the University, and the pupils at the Polytechnicon, numerous small societies were formed, which at first only occupied themselves with literary pursuits. But, as the police had orders to prohibit all societies, of whatever description they might be, the young men were obliged to hold their meetings in secret, and so by degrees they took a political character.

It was Petroshevski, an unusually clever man, and warm adherent of Fourier, who first conceived the idea of joining all these small societies into one large secret political confederation. However, Petroshevski and his party did not aim at open revolt, nor at any attempt on the Emperor's life, and their objects appear rather innocent compared with the Nihilistic propaganda of later years. The questions discussed at their secret meetings were mostly of an abstract character, and occasionally rather naive, as for instance: Can we reconcile the killing of spies and traitors with the principles of philanthropy? or, Are the doctrines of the Greek Church incompatible with Fourier's ideals?

Dostoevsky joined Petroshevski's party. It appeared from subsequent investigations that his crime had been to read an account of Fourier's principles at one of the secret meetings, and to have been involved in a plan for establishing a secret printing office.

The punishment for this offence was—Siberia! April 23rd, 1849, was a fatal day to the Petroshevskists; the chief and thirty of his adherents were arrested on that day. Dostoevsky gave a detailed and graphic account of their long imprisonment and trial.

"It was not till February 23rd the following year that my sentence was read to me in my cell. I was condemned to be shot! Nothing was said about the time, but scarcely an hour had passed when the gaoler appeared and told me to put on my own clothes. Under strong escort I was led out into the yard, where nineteen of my companions were waiting. It was seven o'clock in the morning. We were put into carriages, four in each, accompanied by a soldier.

"Where are we going?" we asked. "I must not tell you," the soldier replied. And as the carriage windows were covered with ice we could see nothing outside.

"At last we reached Senajenovski Square. In the middle of it a scaffold was raised, up to which we were led and ranged in two lines. We were so carefully watched that it was impossible to say more than a few words to those who stood nearest.

"A sheriff appeared on the scaffold and read out our sentence of death; it was to be executed immediately.

"Twenty times the fatal words were repeated: 'Sentenced to be shot!' And so indelibly were the words graven into my memory, that for years afterwards I would awake in the middle of the night, fancying I heard them being read. But at the same time I distinctly remember another circumstance; the officer, after having finished

the reading, folded the paper and put it into his pocket, after which he descended from the scaffold. At this moment the sun broke through the clouds, and I thought: 'It is impossible; they can't mean to kill us!' and I whispered these words to my nearest companion, but instead of answering, he only pointed to a line of coffins that stood near the scaffold, covered with a large cloth.

"All my hope vanished in an instant, and I expected to be shot in a few minutes. It gave me a great fright, but I determined not to show any fear, and I kept talking to my companion about different things. He told me afterwards that I had not even been very pale.

"All of a sudden a priest ascends the scaffold and asks if any of the condemned wishes to confess his sins. Only one accepted the invitation, but when the priest held out the crucifix we all touched it with our lips.

"Petroshevski and two others, who were considered the most culpable, were already tied to the poles and had their heads covered with a kind of bag, and the soldiers stood ready to fire at the command 'Fire!'

"I thought I might perhaps have five minutes more to live, and awful these moments were, I kept staring at a church with a gilt dome, which reflected the sunbeams, and I suddenly felt that these beams came from the region where I was to be myself in a few moments!

"Then there was a general stir. I was too shortsighted to discern anything, but I felt that something extraordinary was happening. At last I descried an officer, who came galloping across the square, waving a white handkerchief. He was sent by the Emperor to announce our pardon. Afterwards we learned that the sentence of death had only been a threat, intended as 'a lesson not to be forgotten.' But this lesson had fatal consequences for many of us. When Grigoriev was released from the pole, he had become mad through the terror he had undergone whilst waiting for the fatal shot, and he never recovered his reason. Nor do I think that any of us escaped without lifelong injury to his nervous system.

"Besides, when we were taken up to the scaffold, they took off our clothes, so that we had spent more than twenty minutes standing in our bare shirts in a cold of 22 degrees Réaumur below freezing point! When we came back to our prisons, some of us had their ears and toes frozen; one got inflammation of the lungs, which ended in consumption. As for myself, I don't remember to have had the slightest sensation of the cold.

"Our sentence of death had been changed to eight years' penal servitude in Siberia, and many years' subsequent exile."

Brutal and calculated acts of this kind, and of a nature almost indescribable, have been perpetrated continuously by the Tsarist governments even against the mildest of progressive spirits, up to the eve of the Revolution.

If we allow the reactionary forces again to hold sway, and this reversion can only be accomplished with our help, what unspeakable calamities must inevitably befall our noble comrades in Russia.

Nothing heroic is demanded of us; no insurmountable barriers obstruct our progress, we have only to wield the power that we possess.

## Facts about Communist Hungary, May 1919.

By ALICE RIGGS HUNT.

A clear and interesting account of how the Soviet system worked in Hungary; interviews with Bela Kun and other leading citizens.

— PRICE 4d. —

From "The Workers' Socialist Federation," 400, Old Ford, Road, E. 3.

## A TRAM CONDUCTOR'S MUSINGS.

## A TRAM CONDUCTOR'S MUSINGS.

Of course the tram conductor should write: he has so many hours to think and to observe people of all kinds. On the frontispiece of his book, *The Fool Next Door*, we see Ex-Tram-Conductor No. 317 there wearing his uniform with the brass buttons and the ticket-puncher with its leather strap over his shoulder. He looks out on us with a genial kindness.

We think that this is probably his first book, though writing is obviously an old habit with him, and he seems to love words and the choice and placing of them, as much as he desires to express his thoughts.

"*The Fool Next Door*, by "Ex-Tram-Conductor No. 317" (N. D. Douglas). London: C. W. Daniel, Ltd., Graham House, Tudor-street; 2/6 and 4/6.

The book contains both prose and verse: the prose we think more successful and covers a wide field of incident.

"THE FOOL NEXT DOOR" is described as a free translation of a narrative attributed to a Jew of the first Christian century. In his narrative we think the author has striven to express his own philosophy. He says of "the fool," who was, in fact, Jesus Christ:—

"It was a curious thing, but he would not allow that anyone was ugly, or utterly bad, and yet he did positively acclaim beauty and loveliness of disposition and talent, and every sweet quality where others saw them. He did not reduce things to one dull level; he did not paint all things grey. He started in his view of people and things from a level that was not dull and not lowly, and on to this he projected praise and admiration for all that was wonderful; but withal, he saw that every soul contains the beautiful and the wonderful, either within its inner or its outer bounds. He believed that this difference between the inner and the outer was no disparity, for the soul that was last should be first, and the first last: the ones which had not yet completed their full glory, would have this defect of time mystically made up to them at the end of time, and all would then be seen in their equality. He believed in paradox and said that equality did not forbid variety."

After a shorthand sketch of G. K. Chesterton and also a "Literary Portrait" of him, we come suddenly on a poem called "The Capitalist," which tells of a workman who was an agitator and "The Class War for Ever." There are some verses on an Agent Provocateur and a play called "The Syndicalist," which tells of two poor young agitators, a husband and wife, who were running a "Women's and Men's Syndicalist and Suffragist League," and were unable to pay their way and find the wherewithal to buy food and clothes. The Syndicalist husband accepts a bribe of £500 a year from the Liberal Home Secretary not to expose certain scandals: the wife takes back the bribe and a letter stating that her husband has changed his mind, and agrees to a proposition which she had previously rejected to sell Suffragette plans to the Secretary's wife. She says: "I'll take great care that they're all untrue!" In the result the Liberal Government is defeated.

We chose this poem for quotation; not that it is better than others, but for its subject, because it is an indication of the way the revolutionary wind comes blowing here.

## SONNET:

(After Reading a Revolutionary Book.)

The stars are what they were: the moon's clear power,  
Burns like a crystal furnace in the blue;  
The world is that wide narrow world I knew,  
Last night, lone-walking, near his solemn hour,  
I—I am quickened with a vaster sense:  
I reach a mountain's shadow toward the moon,  
I feel its power and sorrow as at noon  
I felt the sun's heat—larger and intense.  
The stars are sun in letters—can I read?  
One purer thought—one sooner—following deed,  
And surely I could move the bends among  
And solve the scroll that God has surely hung  
Nearer, at least; at least a larger scope,  
A comrade calling; stronger light and hope.

Sometimes our conductor is humorous. We quote the first and last verses of *Substitutes*, regretting that space compels us to omit three.

## SUBSTITUTES.

Suggested by the new invention—potato-butter.

Dear rulers of us humble folk,  
Do give us, waiting to be fed,  
Adulterated artichoke,  
A substitute for bread.

O, Statesmen, you are so astute,  
Yet all your cunning seems Na pooh.  
We only want one substitute,  
A substitute for you.

This little trifle, one of four "Remarks," shows his whimsical fancy for words that conjure pictures:—

"Sunflowers,  
Their old-gold faces and young-gold whiskers."



## The Great "Greater Production" Stunt.

A Reply to J. Brownlie by DAVID RAMSAY.

—Jack Brownlie, "the strongest official the A.S.E. has had since Dave Burnett ruled the society with a rule of iron," VIDE the capitalist press, has entered the limelight again. He is probably worried at the thought of not doing enough for the class that has showered honours and praise upon him for his treachery to his own class.

"The greatest strike-breaker of modern times," as one of his A.S.E. members called him at a recent mass meeting, has consistently helped the master class of this country in their efforts to stir up racial hatreds, to carry on war, to undermine class loyalty in the Trade Unions, and to compromise the workers by encouraging investment in War Loans.

Like Lloyd George and his other friends, Brownlie is staggered at the situation which has arisen from their intrigues, and, bubbling over, as he always has been, with affection for the bosses, he decides to stand or fall by the shibboleths mouthed by the oppressors of the people.

It seems that someone has been telling Brownlie and L. G. that the country (meaning the bosses) is on the verge of bankruptcy. Since 1914 the whole resources of the nation have been strained to supply the requirements of the war. The Government, ignoring the patent fact that the material and men necessary for the job were in existence, issued fake banknotes ad lib. to present to their friends for their own private use, and then borrowed the same notes back again at swollen rates of interest. Then the notes were used to pay the profiteers three or four times the value of goods required, thus leaving in their possession the means to grant fresh loans. Throughout the war the merry game went on, bogus war loans were floated again and again, and all the time the workers were actually producing and handing over all the wealth necessary to carry on. It is, therefore, a lie to say that sufficient was not provided to carry on the war. What we now are asked to pay is the blood-money demanded in the shape of interest.

True, the matter is somewhat complicated by the debts owing to the United States. But here again, when America is talked about, it is the master class that is meant. The workers of this country owe nothing to their own exploiters and nothing to the workers of the U.S.A. Even if we did, you can bet your life THEY would never get it. The bosses are out for THEIR pound of flesh, and it's up to us to see that they don't get it.

Now let us examine this greater production argument. We are told that, unless we produce more, work longer hours, AND CONSUME LESS, prices will soar higher and higher as a result of the shorter supply. On the other hand, if we agree to put all we know into the task of producing, abundance of wealth will be at the disposal of the people at low prices, and the adverse balance of trade existing between this country and America will be rectified. The value of the pound note will rise to "normal" (whatever that is), and full value will be obtained for "our" money on the American market. A pretty picture—but not borne out by working-class experience. On the contrary, throughout the history of capitalist development the opposite has been proved to be true, and that by the figures supplied by the bosses themselves.

During the first half of the 19th century, when the productive capacity of the factories was not nearly as great as it is now, the workers received in the shape of wages at least one half the wealth produced annually. To-day, with all the improvements in the methods of production, it would be difficult to prove that more than one-fifth goes to the working class. Not only that, but the "improved" methods used have resulted in the marketing of the shoddiest clothing and most adulterated foodstuffs the people have ever been called upon to consume. Production has been so great that home markets have been glutted with unsaleable goods, goods rendered unsaleable because the workers have not the wherewithal to buy back the products of their labour. Foreign markets had to be sought for and exploited, and all the time the same process was going on, in every capitalist country. Before the war broke out every avenue for the disposal of surplus goods was exploited to the uttermost, and the consequent rivalry between national groups of capitalists was one of the greatest factors which led to the war. And increased production at this time will only result in glutted markets, closed factories, unemployment, misery and starvation. Far from abundance of wealth meaning prosperity for the workers, that very abundance is at the root of all the unemployment that exists. And do not forget, the workers of all other countries are being told the same tales; and if they all respond to the call of their masters, trade crises will arise of an even more intensified character than before and possibly lead to further capitalist wars.

## 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.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13TH.

Waterloo Road (near "Old Vic.")—3 P.M., Minnie Birch, Pn. Edmunds and others.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar.—7.30 P.M., Melvina Walker and others.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH.

Tower Hill.—12 (noon), Henry Sara.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19TH.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Henry Sara.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20TH.

Great Park in Hammersmith.

### INDOOR.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH.

20, Railway Street.—7.30 P.M., Poplar, W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.20 P.M., Reading Circle.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH.

400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General members' meeting.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19TH.

400, Old Ford Road.—7-10 P.M., Dancing.

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

East London Workers' Committee.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH.

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

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH.

Queen's Road, corner of Dalston Lane.—7.30 P.M., Walter Ponder and others.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18TH.

400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., Business Meeting, Walthamstow League of Rights.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH.

William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Vida Goldstein. "Women's Peace Campaign in Australia."

What is our remedy? Simply that we have to get back to the root causes of poverty and starvation—the realisation of the fact that whilst private ownership of the means of life continues to exist, poverty and unemployment are its natural concomitants.

Organise as a class on the industrial field through your Workers' Committees, carry the propaganda into every proletarian home, and work to encourage the growth of class-consciousness to such an extent in the minds of the propertyless, that when the bosses find themselves compelled to defend their last ditch, they will also find themselves deserted by even those services which exist to protect the interests of the capitalists. That, Jack Brownlie, is the only way, and you know it as well as those who are NOT bribed to protect the master class.

'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.

### FREEDOM.

A Journal of Anarchist Communism.

Monthly, 2d.; Annual Sub., 2s. 6d.

Agents wanted. 1s. 6d. for 13.

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, London, N.W. 1.

### 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.)

### 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.

### 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, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster

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

HOLIDAY CAMP, Newdigate, Surrey, for health holidays. Good food, and beautiful scenery. 30/- per week inclusive. Vacancies from Sept. 8th. Send stamp for particulars.

WANTED.—Artists and Instrumentalists willing to offer services for Concert to be held at 400, Old Ford Road, E., on Sunday, October 12th, please communicate with S. YOUNG, 69, Salmon Lane, E. 14.

WANTED. Small flat or two or three rooms unfurnished. No children. S.W. district preferred. Harry Surtees, 68, Moyser Rd., Mitcham Lane, S.W.

### READ

"THE RED DAWN," a Monthly Magazine for Young Workers. Monthly, TWOPENCE.

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