

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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RED BOLOGNA : *The Italian Socialist Congress.*

Beautiful Bologna! "Red Bologna"—red in a double sense, red in its colouring, Socialist red in spirit—still seems to be lingering in the quiet old world of the Middle Ages; the hurrying swirl of modern capitalism has not touched the ancient city yet, nor are its people stirred by the approach of the newest Social Order. Aggressively modern Communities writhe and groan in long and painful birth pangs, for the New Order; their populations contend in terrible strife, but the working people of Bologna, seem to be hurrying forward gladly and without fear or doubting, to take their part in the Social Revolution.

The old streets are mostly lined with portici, so that one seldom needs to step from under the shady archways into the sun. The massive houses, coloured in soft venetian red that pales to a mellow orange, are carved with the arms of ancient families, and through their lofty doorways one sees spacious courtyards with statues and fountains, wrought iron gates and glimpses of green gardens beyond. Oxen pass drawing great drays, finely carved and ornamented with nail heads; old vehicles handed down from generation to generation. Some of their owners will tell you they do not know the age of them, but can trace them back for more than a hundred years. On these slow-going drays big wine barrels, from which, when they stop at their destination, you can see the grape juice ladled out, all newly trodden, with the stalks and the smashed grapes yet in it. Pictures of long ago they seem as they rumble through the old streets, these drays with the covering of straw that the barrels may rest steadily without rolling, and the woman in short cotton skirt and a handkerchief for her head-dress, sitting on the barrels to drive holding a whip of string, whilst the man toils before leading the oxen with his hand on the bridle.

These peasants coming into Socialist Bologna, are arriving from a surrounding country that is even more Socialist than the town.

At Imola, a little village forty minutes' ride in the train from Bologna, a meeting was addressed by members of the newly elected Committee of the Socialist Party and the foreign delegates to the Congress.

The speakers arrived late,—the audience very early, it had waited more than two hours when the meeting began. The stage was cleared of scenery, in order that the entire space might be occupied by the people who crowded in behind the speakers. The pit was thronged, the tiers of the boxes (which take the place of the circles in British theatres), were packed, the women in front, the men behind, with tightly wedged human beings who seemed as though they might easily burst over the edge by sheer weight of numbers. Very vivid, almost startling, was the effect of the bright coloured peasant dresses and the warm brown human flesh lit up against the black interior of the boxes: more striking still was the force of the enthusiasm that stirred the people. "Viva il Socialismo! Viva Lenin!" the cries resounded, the people all



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cheering and waving, calling the speakers by name—"Viva Lazzari! Viva Serrati!" Even the foreign delegates were remembered, the French with a special enthusiasm. It was not from the speakers these people had come to gather enthusiasm, they had an abundant and overflowing store of it to impart. They were all glowing and burning with it—one felt the thrill of the coming revolution.

On the walls of the village houses was painted here and there: "Viva Lenin!" The Socialist Party has a large club house in the village where there is a big portrait of Lenin in a fur cap. On the walls of the Lecture Hall

of the club-house are painted portraits of Karl Marx, Karl Liebknecht and Andrea da Costa and the motto—"Those who do not work shall not eat."

Again in a suburb of Bologna itself there was a gathering in the Casa dei Fiori; a supper in honour of the newly elected Executive of the Socialist Party and a meeting in the courtyard outside. There was a dense mass of people, peasant women of all ages, some very old, others but children, were seated on chairs in the centre of the crowd; the men were standing densely massed on the outskirts.

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BMD BOLOGNA.

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The women prompted the speakers, punctuated their sentences with ready comment, called for them to continue yet longer and would scarcely let them end. Even a foreigner, whose words they could not follow, was upborne by the warmth of their welcome; hundreds of hands were stretched out to help, to shake, to wave in greeting.

Bologna is the Oxford of Italy, the home of her oldest University. The city was once entirely aristocratic; the villeins, the working people lived outside in the country, and the noble families demonstrated their greatness and pride by building enormous brick towers as symbols of their power. Bologna possessed until recent years a very forest of these towers, but one only, Asinelli, now remains at its original gigantic height, 257 feet. Close beside Asinelli is a decapitated rival, Garisenda, which leans greatly to one side. Dante, when he saw Garisenda in the year 1300 likened it to the Giant Antaeus, leaning forward. Dante's verse has been inscribed on a tablet affixed to Garisenda and the Bolognese eagerly advise all visitors to stand at the angle where they can see the tower "as Dante saw it."

Life seems to go smoothly in Bologna. People sit leisurely at the tables outside the restaurants. The cafés are open and brightly lit till two o'clock in the morning. Asinelli towers hugely against the pellucid sky. The street lamps throw into warm relief portions of ancient buildings leaving the rest all clothed in the black mystery of night. Four scene shifters returning home, with spirits exhilarated by wine, pause here to sing a part song. One of their number beats time for the rest and then protests volubly at their inexactitudes. Two others stroll up to argue about the singing. An attendant at the café sits down to observe and makes humorous comments on the scene. We are back in the time of Shakespeare—either he must have travelled in Italy, or British cities were like Bologna in Shakespeare's time.

The Socialist Congress was held in the big Teatro Comunale (Municipal theatre) at Bologna. Banners announcing it were hung across the principal streets leading to the theatre. The walls of Bologna in every direction were plastered with Socialist posters; Manifesto from the Socialist Party to the people of Bologna, addresses of welcome from the local workers' organisations to the Socialist Congress and so on. Posters advertising the "Avanti" and other Socialist newspapers were everywhere; the Italian Government receives a tax for each poster, and perhaps because of this, there is complete freedom to post bills. On the commercial bookstalls one could buy translations of Russian Soviet pamphlets, pamphlets by De Costa, and other Italian Socialists, and a serial history of the Italian Socialist movement.

There were upwards of 1,200 delegates to the Congress, representing 1,891 branches and 81,463 votes. Before the war the greatest number represented at any Congress was 1,418 branches and 66,708 votes. The membership steadily declined during the war. In 1917 there were 870 branches, in 1918 765.

The fine Teatro Comunale is brilliantly lit and decorated in red and gold. The artistic sense so lacking in England has made the best of the premises. Instead of a table and stiff rows of chairs at the front of the platform with a drop scene behind, as we do it in Britain, the entire stage is open. At the back sit the visitors to the Congress, who, have proved their enthusiasm by paying five francs each for admission, as have the other

visitors who crowd the top gallery of the theatre. Midway across the stage is a big table for the press; at right angles to it, on the left hand side of the stage, is another press table. Nearer the front of the stage, and to the left of the centre, are tables for the Executive of the Party. All these tables have dull covers, and green plants are gracefully arranged at various points. To the right of the tables where sit the Executive, and a little nearer the footlights, is the tribune from which the speeches are delivered. It is covered in brilliant scarlet and draws all attention to the orator.

At the far end of the hall, right opposite the centre of the stage, is a great portrait of Karl Liebknecht, surrounded by red flags and with black ribbon draped about it. Again and again the Congress rose to its feet to cheer Karl Liebknecht. Was Rosa Luxemburg forgotten? We sent a note to the Chairman recalling the name of that great Communist heroine. He read it to the assembly; the delegates leapt to their feet and cheered most cordially. The omission recalled the fact that not 5 per cent of the members of the Italian Socialist Party are women. To the mind of the average Italian, (this is not untrue to say it of our own country also) the word "leader" always conjures up the figure of a man. Yet several Italian comrades, commenting upon the incident, expressed the view that Luxemburg was probably an even greater force in the German, and in the International Communist movement than Liebknecht. The moral of this is a call to women comrades to come out and take their due share in the revolutionary struggle, and not merely to remain in the safe harbourage of agitation for piece-meal reforms, which entail no serious conflict with the possessing classes—of the women who are in the Italian Socialist movement, but few belong to the well-to-do bourgeoisie; many are teachers, many belong to the manual working class. In certain sections the women are well organised industrially. In the stretch of country eastward from Piedmont to Ancona there are 8,000 women to every 1,000 men in the industrial Unions and in the Unions for land workers.

For one session at the Congress the chair was taken by a woman, comrade Altobelli.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEA ACCEPTED BY ITALIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

Several outstanding facts must impress even the most superficial observer.

No one in the Congress, except Turati, the old reformist leader of the Party, whose day has passed, expresses the least doubt that the Russian Soviet Revolution is a genuine Socialist Revolution, that the Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship are the essential medium for securing Socialism, and that the Bolshevik policy is the right one.

No one in the Congress openly dissents from the view that a Socialist Revolution is desirable in Italy as in all countries, that this revolution will shortly arise in Italy and that force will be employed on both sides.

In Italy the rank and file of the movement so strongly desire the Revolution that not a single leader dare tell the Congress that he is against it. Even Treves, a very clever reformist, who, were he in this country, would not be a Socialist at all, but a member of the Liberal Party, found it best merely to suggest that the Revolutionary period may not have arrived, that much preparation is necessary, and that the present popular tendency towards a violent revolution may only be an effect of the war.

In Britain, not a single official leader has yet taken a firm and unequivocal stand for the Revolution.

In Italy, the rank and file enthusiasm for the Russian Communists is so strong that, of all the leaders, only Turati dare cast a doubt on their bona-fides. In Britain, Henderson, Thomas, and others have persistently maligned and abused the Russian Communists, whilst the I.L.P. has refused to declare its solidarity with the Communists and the Soviets, and has insisted on adopting an attitude of impartiality between Soviet Russia and those so-called "Socialists" like Kerensky and Alexinski (at present acting as diplomatic courier for the British capitalist Government), who are joining with the

forces of world capitalism to attack the Russian revolution.

The Italian Socialist movement accepts as an incontrovertible fact the view that the League of Nations is primarily a capitalist instrument for crushing the Russian Revolution and all other popular movements which may arise.

We, ourselves, have consistently maintained these views, which, though they are in Britain regarded by the majority in the movement as almost fantastically extreme, are regarded as accepted commonplaces in the Italian Party.

It must be remembered that the Italian Socialist Party created the Italian Trade Union movement—the Trade Union movement is less advanced politically than the political party.

The Italian Socialist Party embraces all the political sections of the working-class except the Anarchists.

The original leaders of the Socialist movement were all intellectuals. Twenty years ago there were many Socialists amongst the University students. Now that the Revolution approaches, the Italian bourgeoisie no longer produces those who will fight against itself.

In the Italian Socialist Congress members of the actual working-class play a small part. Boreo, a Turin metal worker, was the only manual worker to address the Congress.

It is important to notice that though Revolution is the subject of public discussion by the Italian Socialist Party to-day, this was not the case in times past.

At the opening of the Congress the greetings of the Bologna comrades were voiced by Bentini, who said that this city was the birthplace of the Socialist movement in Italy. Turantini, in bringing good wishes from the industrial side of the movement, the "Confederazione Generale del Lavoro," declared that the glory of that body is the strike for Soviet Russia of the 20th and 21st of July and the great strike of the Metal workers. Frasinelli brought greetings from the Young Socialists. Altobelli, from the Socialist women, saying that the message of the suffering motherhood of Italy is: "no more wars." More necessary and important she insisted than legal, political, and Parliamentary action, are international strikes.

A representative of the 300,000 demobilised soldiers, who are organised as Socialists in 600 branches, declared that the ex-soldiers organisation does not wish to form a separate Party but to work with the Italian Socialist Party and with the International. He said: "We are preparing our battalions to fight by your side. We shall form the Red Army to fight against the yellow army—the Arditi. We know that the war was a capitalist war. We have no hatred for the soldiers who fought against us; we reserve that for the Italian capitalists who drove us to the slaughter."

Greetings were brought from Yugo Slavia and from the Trentino; telegrams came from the Socialists' Municipal Council of Milan, from the comrades in Moscow, Berlin, Constantinople, Holland, and from the British Socialist Party. We were asked to speak on behalf of British comrades. We explained that we could not officially speak for the British Socialist movement as a whole, only in a general sense, and that our official greeting must be from the W.S.F. We spoke in English and Dr. Schiavi very ably translated. The French and Swiss delegates arrived later in the Congress, and received like ourselves a splendid welcome; the spirit of the Italian Congress is intensely international.

Paul Faure, co-Editor of "Populaire," addressed the Congress in French. He was as closely followed as though he had spoken Italian, and was tremendously cheered. When the Swiss delegate stated that the Swiss Socialist Party had left the Second International, but had not joined the Third, he was interrupted by cries of "Viva la Terza Internazionale! Abbasso la Seconda Internazionale!" and "Viva Lenin." "Viva Lenin" was a cry often heard during the Congress. "W Lenin" and "W la Borghesia" are signs often painted on the walls by the roadside in Italian work-

ing class districts. When cheers were given for Liebknecht many voices cried: "Instead of cheering make the revolution!"

The main business of the Conference was to receive the report of the Secretary, Costantino Lazzari, to elect the committee, and to decide upon the policy of the Party in regard to joining the Third International,* preparation for the coming revolution, and the question of participating in Parliamentary action.

It is said that the Congress is more orderly than in any other days. Probably the delegates are sobered by the knowledge of the impending struggle. It is noticeable that social conditions: questions of rents, prices, pensions, and so on, are scarcely referred to broad outlines of policy, and the question as to how the capitalist system may be altogether overthrown, now holds the field. Few contrasts are more striking than that presented by this Italian Congress, and that, for instance, at which the British Labour Party adopted Sidney Webb's programme of reforms, which in pamphlet form has been published under the inappropriate title "The New Social Order."

Three main groups reveal themselves in the Italian Socialist Congress, each of which has presented a manifesto, and a resolution to the Congress.

These Groups style themselves:—

THE MAXIMALIST UNITARIANS whose motion stood in the name of Lazzari.

THE MAXIMALIST ELECTIONISTS whose motion stood in the name of Serrati.

THE COMMUNISTS whose motion stood in the name of Bordiga.

There is also a fourth tendency, the Reformists, whose members are so few that they evidently think it useless to put forward a motion. This group consists mainly of the Members of Parliament; Turati, Treves, and Mordigliani are its most prominent members. It was noticeable that the Parliamentary Group remained seated when all stood up to cheer the Russian Revolution and Lenin.

THE TAUNT OF TREVES. A REMINDER TO THE BRITISH.

Treves, who by the way was opposed to the Zimmerwald Conference, declared that the Peace Treaty of Versailles has made a successful revolution in Italy impossible, as our revolution would be crushed by the foreign intervention organised by the League of Nations. He also argued that the failure of France and Britain to join Italy in the general strike of July 20th and 21st, and the failure of the Italian effort to stop the Allied intervention in Russia, is a proof that the workers can do nothing by international action.

This argument, though it is not merely false but foolish, should make us realise in this country how grievously we betrayed the International, when we failed to respond to the call of the Italian comrades last July.

Treves urged as another argument against the possibility of a successful revolution, that the industrial organisations are becoming more and more conservative. It is true that the leaders of the Industrial organisations in Italy belong to the right wing of the movement, but the struggle between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks is going on there as everywhere else in the workers' movement of every country.

LAZZARI'S MOTION.

The motion of the Lazzari section adheres to the Party programme of 1892, but states that it should be amended so as to indicate

*The Executive of the Party had already adhered to it.

that when the working class captures political power, it will supersede the present Governmental machinery by Councils of Workers: it recognised the important and international character of the revolutionary action which the workers are taking to secure Socialism: it demands complete liberty of thought for all members of the Socialist Party, but insists upon discipline in action.

The manifesto published by this section recognises the class struggle, adheres to the idea of Social Revolution, states that the transfer of power from the capitalists to the workers may be more or less violent, and cannot be accomplished except by the dictatorship of the proletariat, through such Councils of Workers and Peasants as are the strength of the Russian Revolution.

This is a very advanced pronouncement to come from what is really the right wing of the movement, for the reformist section is too small to count as a wing. The statement is cooled down somewhat by a warning against making preparations for an insurrection, and a declaration that the invincibility of the Party and its power to create a great coalition of the workers against the bourgeoisie, lies in the admitted and recognised civil and political rights.

Lazzari, in moving the Unitarian resolution, explained that he did not wish to sign a special programme and to adopt a sectional title: he wanted to remain an old Socialist. It seemed that a clinging to tradition had probably a good deal to do with Lazzari's opposition to new tactics. His position is peculiar and by no means logical. He desires a revolution, but objects to preparing for it. He said that during the period of the strike of July 20th and 21st, when comrades kept coming to him mysteriously, saying: "I know where there is a bomb," he felt that he was no longer the secretary of a party, but a man in a comic opera. He urged that a revolution cannot be made without arms, and he talked

of the importance of munitions in the late war, though of course a war between state and state is by no means the same thing as a war between class and class. He said it is folly to speak of arming the workers, that the workers in the Army have the arms, and the spiritual change in the people will automatically bring those arms to the service of the workers. In this last he was saying exactly what the more advanced groups declare, but he did not recognise those groups as an evidence of the spiritual change he was predicting. The open letter which the Finnish Communists sent to Lenin, attributing the failure of their revolution to lack of preparation, should be carefully studied by Lazzari and the Unitarian group.

Lazzari accuses the Maximalists of having faith in no one, but no one is so scathing as he in condemning the Socialist Members of Parliament. Of Treves he said: "We admire your cleverness, but we do not know whether we can trust you when the moment of trial comes." Lazzari argued that it is necessary to put Workers' Councils in the place of the present Parliamentary power, and accused the Socialist Parliamentary group of working, not for this object, but for a continuance of its own power.

It seems to us that no charge could be more derogatory and insulting, but Lazzari, who made it, still thinks the party should spend itself in putting such groups into Parliament, and considers the abstentionist position ridiculous. Lazzari is however very far removed from the bourgeois ideals of the Second International: he repudiated the glorification of President Wilson at the outset and denounced the Berne Conference as an expedient for giving a new virginity to those who betrayed the International. He betrayed regret that when the offices of the "Avanti!" were burned, the Socialists did not retaliate.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

October 22nd.—Mr. Long tried to quibble over the question as to the number of British ships taking an active part in the Russian expedition. Finally Mr. Hogge (L.) elicited that "there is a considerable force" in the Baltic! Mr. Jack Jones (Lab.) who asked, "Can you make war without consulting the House?" was called to order.

A CHURCHILLISM.

"There are no formed bodies of British troops in any Russian theatre of war." This is another way of shaking off responsibility for any British soldiers now in Russia.

RUSSIAN BLOCKADE.

October 23rd.—The truth of the story of the Allied attempt to blockade Soviet Russia was admitted by Mr. Harmsworth. Then Mr. Hogge (L.) asked: "Can the hon. gentleman say on whose authority we are refusing to deal with the Soviet Government?" Mr. Harmsworth: "It is part of the policy of the Allies in Paris." Do we require further proof of the Capitalist determination to crush Socialism?

ALIENS BILL.

The debates on the Aliens Restriction Bill took place on October 22nd and 23rd. The clause which has been given the most notoriety was clause four, which guarantees that "no alien shall hold a pilotage certificate for any port in the United Kingdom." To this the Government moved an amendment to safeguard the Pilotage Act, of 1913, by which an agreement had been made with France to the effect that French were entitled to hold a certificate for a British port. All the venomous anti-alien were up in arms at once, with the result that at the division there was a majority of seventy-two votes registered against the Government amendment! The House was adjourned according to Parliamentary procedure.

It would have been more creditable to the House to have defeated the Government on the liberty-robbing Clause 3 which in Section 2 provides: "If any alien promotes or attempts to promote industrial unrest in any industry in which he is not bona

fide engaged in the United Kingdom, he shall be liable, on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months." This proviso strikes at the heart of all trade union amalgamations, and may be used by employers against any prominent non-British trade unionist, should he or she make things uncomfortable.

M. O'S.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA.

On Sunday, October 28th, a delegate conference was held at Chandos Hall, called by the B.S.P. to form a London section of the National Hands off Russia Committee. The following resolution was passed:—

"That this conference demands the withdrawal of all our troops, naval and air forces from Russia; the stoppage of supplies to Koltchak, Denikin and all counter-revolutionaries; the raising of the blockade on Russia; the establishment of normal relations between this country and Russia, and the recognition of the Soviet Government."

It was decided to send this resolution to the Prime Minister, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labour Party, and the Executive Committee of the Triple Alliance. A provisional committee of 12 was elected from the various trade unionist and Socialist bodies represented, whose duty it would be to call a conference of all industrial, political and Socialist organisations in London, with a view to forming a permanent Hands off Russia Committee in London, and to draw up a plan of campaign to stop intervention in Russia. The delegates present were asked to get their various branches to send the above resolution to their local Members of Parliament.

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THE PRICE OF VICTORY A CALL TO THE RANK AND FILE.

WORKERS, COMRADES,

The Russian Revolution, Soviet Russia, the first Socialist administration in the world, is in danger! The master class of all countries has combined to fight it.

The story that Petrograd has been taken by the counter-revolutionaries has again proved false, but the advance of Denikin continues. His advance is more serious than would be the fall of Petrograd, for he has cut off from Soviet Russia the rich territories of the south, he approaches Moscow, the seat of the Soviet Government, and Tula, a great munition centre.

What can we do, comrades, to save the first Workers' Republic from the capitalists of the world who are fighting against it?

The general strike, sabotage of war materials, insurrection, seem to be the only methods the Government will heed; these are our only effective weapons.

Whilst we have been dozing, comrades, the master class has been pouring British war material into Russia for the use of the counter-revolutionaries. When Denikin was furnished with plenty of British guns, shells, aeroplanes, and, above all, with plenty of British tanks, he began to win his victories against the Russian workers. A tank, manned by a handful of officers, can kill many hundreds of Russia's soldier workmen armed with the best munitions that Russia, never a manufacturing country, can provide.

What a tragedy it is! If Communism, the hope of all the workers of the world, be crushed in Russia, the British and American workers who made the munitions and transported them, will have been used for the wicked act.

Week by week, comrades, we have laid bare the truth of the Russian question; we have declared that the League of Nations is but a union of the employing classes to crush in all countries the efforts of the workers to secure freedom by abolishing capitalism and establishing Communism in its place. We many times warned you that the powerful Allied Governments are the leaders in this business, and are compelling the Governments of the neutral nations to join in it, whether they wish or no; also that the Allied Governments are bringing the same pressure to bear on defeated Germany, and combining with the reactionary elements in Germany to oppress the workers, both in Germany itself, and in Russia.

Comrades! we all of us blame the Governments, but, after all, we had to expect that the master class would fight to maintain its hold upon the workers.

There are others whom we must blame more justly and intelligently. There are the traitors to the cause of the workers who are to be found within our movement itself; the members of the Labour Party Executive; the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, and the Executive of the Triple Alliance, who have held the workers back from taking action in defence of the Russian and Hungarian Soviets, in defence of International Communism itself.

The agreement of the Capitalist Governments against Soviet Russia has now been revealed—a still more interesting and important agreement, which should be published, is that

between the Labour Leaders and the Government to keep British Labour quiet whilst Soviet Russia and working-class Communism in all other lands is strangled.

It must be made known which of the Labour Leaders are a party to this agreement. What are its actual terms? What are the threats that intimidated the traitors and what are the bribes? How far the intrigue to produce a fake "Labour" Government with Lloyd George at its head is bound up with this conspiracy?

Not one member of the three Labour executives, man or woman, is above the suspicion of being concerned in the intrigue who does not come out openly and denounce the refusal of the executives to obey the mandates of the Southport and Glasgow conferences regarding action to stop the war on Communism.

Comrades! since the executives refuse to obey the mandate to call a conference to decide on action to defend Soviet Russia, it is surely the duty of the rank and file to carry out its own mandate. The rank and file should call its own conference, rank and file committees should be formed in every trade and industrial union for this purpose. These should join with the Workers' Committees and the few Socialist organisations that adhere to the Third International (the Workers' Socialist Federation [Communist Party] the Socialist Labour Party, British Socialist Party, Communist League, and South Wales Socialist Society) in calling the rank and file conference. Every branch of every Socialist Labour, Trade, and Industrial organisation in the country should be summoned to the conference.

The agenda should consist of—

1. A vote of censure on the executives of the Labour Party, Trade Union Congress, and Triple Alliance.

2. A resolution to hold a general strike to stop the Russian intervention, on a given date.

3. The election of a strike committee.

Unless we take such drastic action we shall only have ourselves to blame if the Communist Revolution be crushed.

Comrades, open your eyes! regard the appalling prospect that is before us; bread to be 1½ per loaf, and everything else to cost on the same scale; rates to go up; rents will rise with them.

Why is our bread to cost so much? Do you realise that in Italy, where most things cost more than in Britain, bread is cheaper than it is here to-day, and the same is true of other countries. Why should bread cost more in Britain than in other countries? We have our own country where wheat is grown, and we have the first call on the great resources of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada: we have first call on India, where wheat is most cheaply produced, because our Indian fellow-workers are paid but a few pence a day. The answer to the riddle is that the profits of British farmers are safeguarded by the British Government.

What is meant by the demand of Lloyd George for increased production and for economy? Simply that the workers are to double their labours, and, at the same time, live more poorly than they ever lived before.

This is what an Allied victory has brought to us, and to the workers in all the Allied countries.

Go to the villages of Alpine Italy; see there the women bearing great baskets on their backs heavily laden with potatoes, turnips, wood, and so on. See them working in the fields, or carrying their load by the road-side; a bowed woman, heavily laden, is the typical feature of that land. Go into the workers' homes; these mere huts almost unfurnished; two rooms, the bedroom upstairs, the kitchen below; a table, a few chairs, perhaps a shelf or two, or a chest; nothing else—no covering for the stone floor, not even a mat by the door or the fire-place, not an ornament. There is little to eat—bread, war bread, still; maize very costly, and scarce; sugar scarce and of poor quality; butter or margarine non-existent; rice costly, poor, scarce; coffee bad and very costly; cheese, the workers call it soap, it is more like it than like cheese,

difficult to obtain and very costly; macaroni also costly; wheat seldom eaten; vegetables eaten by those who grow them; milk costly and scarce. The morning meal consists of bread and black coffee. The mid-day meal perhaps potatoes and bread; perhaps also some boiled maize flour called polenta; or perhaps a poor soup, made with rice or macaroni, cheese and what other stock or seasoning can be found. The evening meal is the same, or consists of bread only, if other food is lacking. If you have had soup, and you ask for coffee, people regard you with pained surprise, telling you that you will have coffee in the morning.

The life, always hard in those mountains, has been made infinitely harder by the war, and the outlets to America and England, chosen by so many poor Italians in pre-war days, are practically closed.

In every country the workers have to tell the same story: the war has made harsh the struggle for existence, more difficult than before.

Only Communism—only the revolution provides a way out.

If, as Lloyd George says, bread is to cost 1½ a loaf, the poor woman who, pathetically discussing the difficulty of making the weekly wage cover the needs of the family, says: "I cut up four loaves a day; I will have to pay 11/8 a week more for bread alone. On the poorest families the increased charge will fall most heavily, for not only are they least able to bear it, but as their diet is more restricted they eat proportionately more bread. They are to suffer to protect the taxpayer and the profiteer."

The announcement of this big increase in the price of the loaf shows clearly enough, that the only substantial thing the workers have gained by the railway strike is the feeling of self-respect which comes from having refused to fall back before the Government's brutal intimidation. The Government's attack on the railway workers' standard of living was part of a general international campaign to force the workers to live more sparsely in order to pay for the war. When the railway workers showed fight, they simply proved to the Government that the method of raising prices to reduce the proletarian standard of living is a more convenient one than that of attacking wages in one trade after another. One of the principal objects of the Government in provoking the railway strike was to have a dress rehearsal of the measures militant capitalism will adopt when a more serious revolt of the workers has to be dealt with. That object the Government attained, and no doubt it learnt many useful lessons by it. Having done that it renews its attack by announcing the increase in the price of bread.

The Government has limitless power over prices; the Food Controller is able to intervene in all directions. Moreover by inflating the currency prices are automatically raised, and Lloyd George has no scruples in that direction!

To strike for increased wages is very much like baling water from a leaking boat, the cause of the trouble—the competitive capitalist system—is not touched. Since the war the holes in the boat have grown very much bigger.

It would be more intelligent to strike against the increased price of bread than for an increase in wages; indeed, a general strike against the increase is advisable, though, of course, such a strike could be of no permanent benefit except in so far as it could teach the workers the power of solidarity and create a revolutionary situation.

The arbitrament of the strike is a very terrible one; the strikers suffer untold hardships, pawn and sell their clothes and furniture, go short of food and warmth, and thus permanently undermine their health. There are always some strikes going on in every country, and there always will be till the workers have abolished capitalism and wage slavery, and established the Soviets.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

PEACE!

The Treaty of Versailles has not yet been ratified. Recent information discloses the decision of the Supreme Council "to leave it to the High Command to decide when the Peace Treaty is to come into force." This puts the peace of the world at the mercy of General Foch, who is still on the war path!

THAT "CRISIS."

The week-end raised visions of the fall of the Government, and of a General Election. But no, Mr. Lloyd George is far too diplomatic to allow a trifle like a Parliamentary defeat to disturb his reign. The bone of contention—the Pilotage Clause in the Aliens' Bill—is to be re-worded, and thus the dignity of the House and the Government's equilibrium will be preserved. The course adopted to conciliate the "enemies" of the Government was the calling of those "enemies" to a conference. This is not usual, but now that a precedent has been made there will be many opportunities of imitation!

RUSSIAN SITUATION.

It is now officially admitted that the Bolsheviks have captured Terekoe Selo and Pavlovsk, driving back Yudenitch to Gatchina. An eye-witness in the *Daily Herald* states that Yudenitch has lost all chance he may have had of ever occupying Petrograd.

Denikin's successes of last week have also been temporary, and although he may have recaptured Kiev, he has made no great advance on Moscow. The Bolsheviks are now rallying their forces to make a determined stand. The dangers which threaten them, and with them—progress for the world—are dealt with exhaustively in this issue.

BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA.

German Socialists protest against the proposed blockade of Soviet Russia, and *Die Freiheit* says:—"The blockade is but a leap in the dark, for Russia will not be starved out by these new measures. On the contrary, the blockade will give more power to the Soviet Government, and will strengthen the proletariat in all the countries. The Entente's fear of Soviet Russia is grotesque, and the diplomats who imagine that Russia has exported the proletarian revolution, should realise that the revolution is in the hearts and heads of the workers of all the countries. This attitude of the Entente, if persisted in, will prove to the proletariat of the world that they must unite for the struggle against international capitalism."

BRAVO! GERMANY.

The National Assembly has decided against Germany participating in the blockade of Soviet Russia, and a Note is being sent notifying this decision.

POGROMS BY DENIKIN'S TROOPS.

Bucharest papers report a sanguinary pogrom organised in Fastov; a large number of Jews had sought safety in the synagogue, which Denikin's soldiers flooded with petroleum and set fire to. All those who tried to escape were shot. Two thousand Jews have lost their lives in this pogrom. The same papers also mention that pogroms have taken place in Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav.

This is the regime supported by the British Government and people! For until we protest effectively against the Government activities in Russia we share the Government's guilt.

DENIKIN PERSECUTES UKRAINIANS.

The Ukrainians have risen against Denikin, who is destroying everything Ukrainian; forbids them to speak their own language, closes their schools, burns their books, destroys the monuments of their heroes, shoots their thinking men. At Bomoschno his troops shot forty women because their husbands served in the Ukrainian army. At Odessa three Ukrainians were hanged. In the government of Poltava more than 200 Ukrainians have been shot. The revolt is feverishly organised; the villages unite with one another, commune with commune, district with district. Arms and munitions are in sufficient quantity.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

THE WORLD ALLIANCE AGAINST COMMUNISM.

The Russian Soviet Government has obtained possession of correspondence between Koltchak and Denikin which proves that there is an alliance between Germany and the Allies against the Russian Soviets. The Communists realise that they are fighting not the Russian reaction merely but the world reaction. Indeed, our Russian comrades insist that they would have no difficulty in coping with internal affairs, but for the outside attack, the most serious menace being the supply of British munitions, tanks, and so on.

Industry was disorganised when the Soviets came into power; wherever the war situation permits they have now organised it. Others talk of proletarian culture, the Russians are creating it. They have a Socialist Republic which will become a Communist Republic when the foreign intervention ceases.

Comrades from Russia say that the war situation is very serious; last April Denikin was all but defeated. On account of British assistance Red troops had to be withdrawn from the fight with Denikin to meet the advance of Koltchak. Then British tanks and other munitions poured in to the support of Denikin. Russia has never been an engineering country; therefore the Soviets having British and American munitions opposed to them are fighting against a superior technique. If the workers in the Allied countries cannot stop the supply of munitions to the counter-revolution the Russian Revolution must eventually be crushed. A period of extreme re-action would follow throughout the world.

The Russian comrades therefore renew their appeals to us for action.

THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE BOLSHEVIKS.

A meeting at Moscow of the most well-known members of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries living in that city, together with several delegates from the provinces to the Ninth Conference of the Party, decided to publish an appeal to members of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. This appeal, signed by Volaky, ex-President of the Congress of Members of the Constituent Assembly, by the famous Socialist-Revolutionaries Rakitnikov, Burevoi, Sviatitsky, and others, has been reproduced by *Izvestia*:

"The October Revolution caused our Party to abandon its advance position and carried it over to the Right. From that moment the Bolsheviks took their place at the head of the revolutionary movement, and have since led the Revolution along

the path towards the realisation of the revolutionary programme. Hostility to their tactics, together with—let us say frankly—a false Party pride, have led our Party infinitely further in its struggle against the Bolsheviks than the fundamental principles of our programme and tactics permitted. For a long time, as facts clearly show, we have taken up a mistaken attitude."

The signatories state that the writings and declarations of representatives of their Party abroad seem counter-revolutionary even to the Western Socialists. They affirm that their ideal is the Social Revolution, in Russia and all over the world.

Severely condemning the hesitating line of conduct of the Executive Committee and the Ninth Party Conference, the signatories state that the Bolsheviks alone have been able to maintain the principal conquests of the Revolution; suppression of the autocracy, of private property in land, of all the old forms of exploitation of the toiling masses, and, finally, of the economic yoke of the capitalist class. These conquests must be preserved at all costs, and the struggle against the capitalist reaction of the world calls for a union of all Socialist parties on the basis of the principle of popular representation through Soviets. The signatories call upon all their comrades and sympathisers in the Red Army to carry on an active struggle against reaction. They call upon all those who are members of the White bands of Koltchak and Denikin to turn their arms against the reactionary usurpers.

—The People's Russian Information Bureau.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

OBSERVATIONS OF A NEUTRAL EYE-WITNESS.

La Feuille publishes an account from the special correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* commissioned to study Bolshevism on the spot, who writes from Berlin on September 23rd:

One can truly say that Russians, no matter to what side they belong, are all anti-British. England is despised in Eastern Europe because she has satisfied nobody and has never openly declared her aims.

I saw in Moscow a White Book with a complete text of the conversations between the English and the Soviets. It appears that Tchitcherin proposed an armistice not only once, but several times. All proposals were rejected. I cannot understand how Lloyd George can say that the Soviets never made offers of peace. Peace is all the Russians ask.

Bullit's statements* only confirm what I had heard previously in Moscow.

* See *DREADNOUGHT*, October 18th and 26th.

KOLTCHAK AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYNDICATE OF BANKERS.

New York, October 30th.

It is announced that an international syndicate of bankers is preparing to advance 50 million pounds sterling to the Koltchak Government. America's share in the loan is 15 million pounds.

REACTION HELPED.

In case our readers should be in any doubt about British support of the Czarist agitators we draw their attention to the fact that General Yudenitch's representative, General Dobejansky, arrived in London last week. His mission is to ask for more help!

FRESH FIELDS OF EXPLOITATION.

From Bucharest the arrival of Mr. William Cozens Hardy, M.P., is announced. He had an audience with the King and the Government, to whom he explained the object of his mission. Mr. Hardy stated that England wanted to effect a free economic agreement with Roumania to help exploit the great agricultural and mineral wealth of the country. England would supply the capital required!

DISTRESS IN GALICIA.

The Lemberg paper, *Vpered* ("Forward"), of October 15th, describes the distress of East Galicians in the following words:—

"All East Galicia from Lisko to Kowsoy is starving. The people, ill-treated, ragged, and barefooted, suffer their cruel fate in despair and resignation. The large estates, having no cattle, no machinery, not even seed, are lying fallow. The peasants' small property is in the same plight. The events of war have severed all connection of the country with the rest of the world. It is impossible for the people to earn any wages or even to procure the necessities of life. All over East Galicia typhoid is spreading in an alarming manner. Hygienic or sanitary institutions are lacking. There are no medicines, no hospitals, and no sanitary service. In masses the people are lying in their miserable homes dying without help, buried without coffins, there being no boards to make them with."

East Galicia has become part of Poland, under the new dissection of Eastern and Central Europe.

STRIKES.

Few countries are free from strikes just now—a fact which should prove that the proletariat of the world is awakening after its long sleep during the war.

But the threatened miners' strike in America overshadows all European strikes in its magnitude. It may involve 3,000,000 workers, as the rail workers promise to come out in sympathy.

President Wilson, from his sick-bed, is trying to intimidate the workers by declaring the miners' strike for a six hour day illegal! What next?

AN AFTERTHOUGHT.

German and Austrian delegates have been appointed to the Labour Conference in Washington.

FAMINE.

According to the *Daily News* the coal famine in Vienna will force the authorities to close down the schools during the winter. But what are the poor parents to do with starving children at home?

APPEAL TO THE WORKERS TO FORM A RED GUARD.

The *Populaire* announces that in order to answer the provocative actions of the blackguards of the famous "Bloc," a Red Guard will be created to defend all revolutionary, Socialist, syndicalist, libertarian and communist ideas.

SOVIETS IN AUSTRALIA.

Sydney, October 21st.

The inhabitants of Port-Darwin, dissatisfied with the way in which they are governed, have proclaimed a Soviet Government.

A BOLSHEVIK CANDIDATE.

The French Socialists of the Left have proposed Jacques Sadoul as Parliamentary candidate in no less than three constituencies. Sadoul's great popularity is due to his championship of the Russian Revolution.

"The Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia: Its Rise and Organisation," by Captain J. Sadoul, price 2d., has just been published by the People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet-street, E.C.4.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

To celebrate the Second Anniversary of the RUSSIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC GREAT DEMONSTRATION

Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C. on

Monday, November 10th at 8 p.m.

Chairman—A. A. WATTS, L.C.C.

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J. G. Butler, L.C.C., J. F. Hodgson, John MacLean, W. H. Ryde, C. T. Cramp, H. Dawson Large, Tom Mann, Robert Williams,

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THE TRUTH ABOUT PETROGRAD.

THE FEELING IN PETROGRAD.

Captain Pettit, who was of the party which went to Russia with Mr. Bullitt, describes Petrograd as he saw it in March. The perusal of his description does not bear out the news paper harangues on the joy which the inhabitants feel at the approach of the armies of "liberation."

REPORT OF CAPT. W. W. PETTIT.

I left Petrograd on March 31st. During the past three weeks I have crossed the Finnish border six times and have been approximately two weeks in Petrograd. I have met Tchitcherin, Litvinov, and most of the important personages in the Communist Government of Petrograd (including Bill Shatov, chief of police).

Briefly, my opinion of the Russian situation is as follows: In Petrograd I presume the present Communist Government has a majority of the workingmen behind it, but probably less than half of the total population are members of the Communist party. However, my conclusions are based on conversations with not only Communists but also many opponents of the Communist Government, members of the aristocracy, business men, and foreigners, and I am persuaded that a large majority of the population of Petrograd if given a choice between the present Government and the two alternatives, revolution or foreign intervention, would without hesitation, take the present Government. Foreign intervention would unite the population in opposition and would tend to greatly emphasize the present nationalist spirit. Revolution would result in chaos. (There is nowhere a group of Russians in whom the people I have talked with have confidence. Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Trepov, the despicable hordes of Russian emigres who haunt the Grand Hotel, Stockholm; the Socithans, House, Helsingfors; the offices of the peace commission in Paris; and squabble among themselves as to how the Russian situation shall be solved; all equally fail to find many supporters in Petrograd.) Those with whom I have talked recognise that revolution, did it succeed in developing a strong Government, would result in a white terror comparable with that of Finland. In Finland our consul has a record of 12,500 executions in some 50 districts, out of something like 500 districts, by the White Guard. In Petrograd I have been repeatedly assured that the total Red executions in Petrograd and Moscow and other cities was at a maximum 3,200.

It may seem somewhat inconsistent for the Russian bourgeoisie to oppose Allied intervention, and at the same time fail to give whole-hearted support to the present Government. They justify this attitude on the grounds that when the two great problems of food and peace are solved the whole population can turn itself to assisting the present régime in developing a stable efficient Government. They point to the numerous changes which have already been introduced by the present Communist Government, to the acknowledgment that mistakes have been made, to the ease of securing introduction of constructive ideas under the present régime. All these facts have persuaded many of the thinking people with whom I have talked to look to the present Government in possibly a somewhat modified form as the salvation of Russia.

At present the situation is bad. Russia is straining every nerve to raise an army to oppose the encircling White Guards. That the army is efficient is demonstrated by the present location of Soviet forces who have contended with the Russian White Guard supported by enormous sums of money, munitions, and even soldiers from the Allies. Naturally, transportation is inefficient; it was horrible in the last year of the Czar's régime. Absolute separation from the rest of the world, combined with the chaotic conditions which Russia has passed through since the 1917 revolution, plus the sabotage, which until recently was quite general among the intelligent classes, including engineers, has resulted in a decrease in rolling stock. The transportation of the enormous army which has been raised limits the number of cars which can be used for food. The cutting off of Siberia, Finland, the Baltic Provinces, and until recently the Ukraine, made it necessary to establish new lines of food transportation. Consequently there has been great suffering in Petrograd. Of the population of a million 200,000 are reported by the board of health to be ill, 100,000 seriously ill in hospitals or at home, and another 100,000 with swollen limbs still able to go to the food kitchens. However, the reports of people dying in the streets are not true. Whatever food exists is fairly well distributed and there are food kitchens where anyone can get a fairly good dinner for 3.50 roubles.

For money one can still obtain many of the luxuries of life. The children, some 50,000 of whom have been provided with homes, are splendidly taken care of, and except for the absence of milk have little to complain of. In the public schools free lunches are given the children, and one sees in the

faces of the younger generation little of the suffering which some of the older people have undergone and are undergoing. Food conditions have improved recently, due to the suspension of passenger traffic and the retaking of the Ukraine, where food is plentiful. From 60 to 100 car-loads of food have arrived in Petrograd each day since February 18th.

It is needless for me to tell you that most of the stories that have come from Russia regarding atrocities, horrors, immorality, are manufactured in Viborg, Helsingfors, or Stockholm. The horrible massacres planned for last November were first learned of in Petrograd from the Helsingfors papers. That anybody could even for a moment believe in the nationalization of women seems impossible to any one in Petrograd. To-day Petrograd is an orderly city—probably the only city of the world of its size without police. Bill Shatov, chief of police, and I were at the opera the other night to hear Chaliapine sing in Boris Gudnov. He excused himself early because he said there had been a robbery the previous night, in which a man had lost 5,000 roubles, that this was the first robbery in several weeks, and that he had an idea who had done it, and was going to get the men that night. I feel personally that Petrograd is safer than Paris. At night there are automobiles, sleighs, and people on the streets at 12 o'clock to a much greater extent than was true in Paris when I left five weeks ago.

Most wonderful of all, the great crowd of prostitutes has disappeared. I have seen not a disreputable woman since I went to Petrograd, and foreigners who have been there for the last three months report the same. The policy of the present Government has resulted in eliminating throughout Russia, I am told, this horrible outgrowth of modern civilization.

Begging has decreased. I have asked to be taken to the poorest parts of the city to see how the people in the slums live, and both the Communists and bourgeoisie have held up their hands, and said, "But you fail to understand there are no such places." There is poverty, but it is scattered and exists among those of the former poor or of the former rich who have been unable to adapt themselves to the conditions which require everyone to do something.

Terrorism has ended. For months there have been no executions. I am told, and certainly people go to the theatre and church and out on the streets as much as they would in any city of the world.

CO-OPERATIVE FOOD CONTROL IN RUSSIA.

(A. SCHIAPPE.)

Under Kerensky a committee was established to direct the food supplies in Russia. It consisted of a department for the army, one for the civil population, and the co-operative food supplies.

With the advent of the Bolshevik régime this system was soon seen to be far from effective in meeting the serious conditions of the times, and the Soviet decided to put all commerce in food under the control of a co-operative organisation. Every individual in Bolshevik Russia must belong to a co-operative society, otherwise he cannot get his food cards, which means he cannot eat. Now all the different local co-operative societies of Russia are united under a Central Committee; this union was effected most simply by pooling their funds. Before doing this the Soviet Government had nationalised all banks, except the co-operative. Then finding that money was put into the co-operative bank instead of the national one it nationalised that too, but realising the great work of the co-operatives, it saved them a large sum of money, besides putting at their disposal hosts of lorries, etc., and giving them transport facilities.

It was this gigantic co-operative system which withstood the British blockade, and, free from middlemen and speculative interests, kept up, in a time of revolution and war, an efficient national food supply.

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SECRET WHITE ORGANISATION IN RUSSIA.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken of October 6th, gives an interesting account of a "White" organisation for spying and collecting information, with branches all over Russia. It is called "Asbuka," an old Slavonic name for alphabet (A equals az, B equals Buki) because the leaders are only known by their initials. An account of the league and its activities fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks amongst the secret papers of the "White" general Grischin-Almasoff. The league has representatives in Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Crimea, and in Caucasasia, and is in close touch with Koltchak and Denikin. The headquarters are at Ekaterinodar. Important political and military personages are active members, and the league maintains an organised corps of secret couriers so that the various centres are in constant touch with each other, and all information, political as well as military, can be safely and quickly dispatched. The aim of the league is to recreate old Russia and reunite all parts that constituted Russia before the war into one great united empire.

ALLIED BRUTALITY.

An Italian soldier tells in the *Avanti* how, by orders of the English, Italians were forced to help the English in shooting six Bolsheviks condemned to death by order of the British command. This took place at Archangel in January, 1919. The Italians were told by their superiors to obey all British orders, except the one to fire. On this account the Italians were asked to fetch the prisoners to their execution, and this is what the Italian officer in command writes about the brutality of the death sentences and treatment generally:—

"You cannot imagine in what a squalid state we found them. In a small cell, about 6 by 16 feet, there were twenty wretched Russian prisoners. A warder called the names of the six who were to be shot, and we escorted them. As we marched them along two asked to be allowed to smoke, and one of my men obliged them. At the place of execution the English Major made a sign to me to send three of the prisoners forward. I did so. They were immediately shot. Then the other three went forward, and they, too, were shot.

"They were subjected to indescribable treatment from the place of execution to the mortuary. Even after they were dead they were ill-treated! Six other prisoners were then ordered to place the victims in sacks, and bring them to the mortuary, as if they were sacks of rags. Imagine, there were twenty-eight men with fixed bayonets at five yards to shoot six prisoners! I have described this painful affair to give an idea of the sort of civilisation that is being taken to foreign countries and of the barbarity of the English towards the Russians who are fighting for their freedom.

(Signed) Sergeant A. Triulzi (returned from Russia).

ROUMANIAN WHITE TERROR IN BESSARABIA.

Isvestia of Moscow, announces that a terrorist anti-Bolshevik organization has been formed in Bessarabia. During one week 120 persons were shot in Bender, 30 in Akkerman, and 80 in Kischineff.

The November

PLEBS

Contains: The Soviet Government's Decree establishing a Socialist Academy of Social Science, The First Endowment of Socialism out of "State" Funds, a Document which will appeal to everyone interested in Working-Class Education. Other articles, reviews etc. by J. B. Askew, W. W. Craik, E. & C. Paul, etc. From all Labour bookstalls 3d. or (postpaid 3½d.) from Plebs League, 11a, Penywern Road, Earl's Court. S.W.5.

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Lecture IV. Thursday, Nov. 20th.

"The Kingdom of God." The Rev. P. E. T. Widdington. Mr. Fred. Hughes, Chairman.

Tickets for the Course, 4s. Single Lectures, 6d. Can be obtained at the door, and from the Secretary, Miss E. M. Alston, 1, Manor Place, Paddington, W. 2.

PERSECUTION of AMERICAN WORKERS.

[The writer of the following article served one year and seven months in prison as an I.W.W. official. He is now in England to tell British workers what their fellow workers are suffering in the States.]

The war of capitalism has nominally ceased: but the capitalist class of the world still wages war on the workers, and especially is this true of America. While President Wilson was fooling the world with his beautifully constructed phrases such as "Freedom of the small nations" and the seas, etc., his administration was crushing all men and women, or organisations, who dared even to have the audacity to ask for more wages and better working conditions, etc. To use one of the President's statements given at the American Federation of Labour Conference at Buffalo, New York, as early as November, 1917, where he said: "Anyone who kicks over the traces will have to be put into the corral." There is no mistaking what this idealist meant.

The I.W.W. (the Industrial Workers of the World) had in jail hundreds of its members when the above statement was made, which proved he was in favour of their imprisonment, thereby aiding trustified capital in its onslaught against industrial unionism.

The I.W.W. is an organisation that grew out of the inadequacy of craft unionism to cope with such organisations as the U.S. Steel Corporation, which embodies 28 steel producing concerns. This trust, together with all the other trusts, through the Government (the Department of Justice) was responsible for all the official and unofficial acts of violence committed against the I.W.W. that ranged from lynching down to the meanest trick to trap its members and hold them in jails, months and years without trial.

The U.S. prisons to-day hold many hundreds of I.W.W. members. About 250 officials still linger behind the grey walls of the prisons. Hundreds of members are in jail for no crime whatever, except that it may be a crime to be a member of the I.W.W.

Workers were imprisoned in the U.S. for quoting the constitution of the United States and even quoting President Wilson himself from *New Freedom*, in which again he gave out

an extraordinary, but this time truthful, statement when he said, "How far from the ideals of their youth have many of our business men drifted, enmeshed in the vicious system." Further, "There has grown up in the United States a greater power than the Government itself." This proves that Wilson's administration was under the influence of the trustified capitalist class when the I.W.W. men were arrested. When the I.W.W.s went on strike in the woods and demanded the eight-hour day the President's agent and Secretary of War, Baker, together with the late Governor Lister, of Washington State, urged the Lumber (Timber) Trust to grant it, and was told to mind his own business, as they were running their own affairs.

The same in Arizona, where the I.W.W. copper miners went on strike, and where the Sheriff of the county helped several mine guards (gunmen) and small business men of Bisbee to deport 1,164 miners to the sandy desert of New Mexico without water or food. All with official sanction, for Federal troops were afterwards sent to guard the deportees. Thus was the President's "idealism" expressed officially, for while he did send a note of supposed protest (he has sent many he never intended to carry out) his acquiescence afterwards was his guilt.

In the United States, as in all imperialist countries, Governmental actions are dictated from the outside, not inside. This explains why so many of our members are still in prison. They are there because they believe in a new social system yet to be. The big case of Chicago and all other cases were industrial not war cases. These strikers were used as evidence in court against the I.W.W., although they were justified in the words of Government officials. Even the Butte miners' strike was used against the I.W.W.s in Chicago, which was caused by men refusing to go into unsafe mines after 175 men had been burnt to death in the "Speculator" Mine Disaster, due to the companies building concrete bulk-heads where there should have been exits. The Montana laws made this compulsory, but again the Copper Trust defied the law.

The Press campaign carried on against the I.W.W. was based absolutely on the war hysteria prevailing in the States at the time of the strikes, which urged hanging of our members. This was done in the case of Frank Little (Executive Board member) by hirelings of the Copper Trust. Seventeen members were rushed into automobiles by bankers, businessmen and police at Tulsa, Oklahoma; stripped of their clothing, beaten with a rope dipped in salt, and then tarred and feathered. Even the I.W.W. Attorney, J. L. Metzger, was beaten and tarred and feathered. All with impunity, and never one individual arrested or even reprimanded.

To-day many members of the I.W.W. are in permanent isolation (black hole) serving 5 and 10 years. One member was strung up for 15 days with his arms raised above his head, shackled for 7 hours a day on a bread and water diet. Shackling in the above fashion has been the lot meted out to about 30 I.W.W.s serving 5, 10 and 20 years in Leavenworth, Kansas. Their spirit is, however, unbroken. There are many more cases, such as that in Kansas State, where 84 men have been held without trial for 2 years after being dismissed in open court twice by a Federal judge.

Death has stalked the tracks of the I.W.W. members for the last few years because they have succeeded in awaking their fellow workers to join a class union. They still face possible death in the dark dungeons. They are appealing to the world's workers to protest in no uncertain terms. They are Internationalists in its broadest form. Let us help them to see the daylight once more. Then, by helping them, we will have helped ourselves.

Pay no attention to beautifully constructed phrases. They are empty! Look at the facts in America. Demand their (the members of the I.W.W.) release. Capital is determined that all militants in prison in America shall stay there. Let the American Government know that you are alive to their brutal tactics. Send resolutions to the Department of Justice and the President of the United States in Washington, D.C. We, the workers, are strong if we realise our strength. So let us be up and to action. We will then preserve these workers from further capitalistic abuse and restore them to their wives and families.

GEORGE HARDY.

FAMOUS SOCIALISTS.

80,000 SWISS FRANCS FOR THE HEAD OF PLATTEN.

Different Government agencies announced the release of comrade Fritz Platten from the prison of Gnava, and his expulsion from Roumania across the Ukrainian frontier with the excuse of facilitating his return to Moscow. This really means to Platten his capture by the White troops and probable death.

An officer of the Political Department of Berne states that a certain Lieutenant-Colonel Schaetti is instructed to have dealings with the anti-Bolshevik league in order to render powerless the agitators from Switzerland and Germany. This same Schaetti offered 80,000 Swiss francs to a German agent on condition that he should assassinate Platten before reaching Switzerland.

We have still to learn if the Roumanian Government, knowing the fate in store for the Swiss deputy Platten, decided that it would be better that his death should occur in the territories occupied by the White troops.

Since the notification of his expulsion nothing further has been heard of Platten.

THE ASSAULT ON HUGO HAASE.

On Tuesday, October 8th, according to *Die Freiheit*, a little after 1 p.m., an individual in civilian clothes fired six shots at Hugo Haase as he was descending from a tram, with his wife, on his way to the Reichstag.

The criminal was captured by the police, despite his efforts to escape.

After Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Eisner, must Haase be the next victim of the sinister counter-revolutionary association and of the campaign of hate that the monarchist Press is directing against us?

The police gave the following account, with some reluctance, to a reporter of the *Freiheit*:—

The accused states that his motives were revenge on Haase for not publishing certain documents he had given his victim. In the detention room the reporter found the criminal unguarded. He is a worker of about 51 years of age who pretends to be a Socialist and tries to represent Haase as a traitor to the popular cause and one sold to the bourgeoisie. The prisoner has all the appearance of a man of feeble and degenerate mind. He promises to give the public an account of the "treason" of Haase during his trial.

ITALIAN CONFERENCE ON THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

On October 10th the National Committee of the Italian Socialist Party held a conference at Imola with delegates and comrades from other countries who had attended the conference at Bologna. Resolutions were adopted declaring that the principles of the Third International are those of the revolutionary Socialism of Marx and Engels, that the Second International is at present in the hands of "social-patriots" who have made of it an instrument for safeguarding capitalism and an organ of political corruption in support of the Capitalist Governments. The Imola Conference decided to do everything possible to propagate the principles of the Third International and to bring into it the Socialist and Labour organisations in all countries in spite of any opposition from the old "leaders" who have become mere nationalists. It was decided also to summon as soon as possible an international conference of all Left Socialist parties to consider the means of advancing this propaganda. It was decided to issue a manifesto to the workers of all countries and to call an international conference of the parties already adhering to the Third International to discuss the establishment in all countries of the dictatorship by the workers.

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

Following upon the Miners' Conference, everybody will be anxiously looking forward to the results of the Government Commission which is now sitting to inquire into the incidence of taxation. It is understood that Mr. George Barker, Miners' Agent, Abertillery, Mon., is one of the nominees representing the Federation to give evidence before the Commission. Meanwhile, no further action will be taken by the various districts as to payment of Income-tax until a decision is arrived at. Other matters arising at the Conference were relegated to the Executive body of the Miners' Federation to bring up a report.

Truly, seeing is believing, and some pressure more than passing of resolutions will have to be made upon the Government in doing away immediately, and forthwith, with the continuance of the high cost of living. Prices are still going higher, despite the introduction of the Profiteering Act. Since a special Trades Union Congress is to be convened at an early date, we shall await the outcome with interest.

Labour Classes During Winter Session.—Mr. W. F. Hay, Ynyshir (Rhondda) has been appointed a full-time lecturer to these classes, and will commence his duties at once. Here's to him every possible success—may the old and new students rally to his support.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA."

A series of demonstration meetings will be held in the Rhondda Valleys on Monday, November 3rd next, when several well-known national speakers will attend. The objects will be to protest against this country's intervention in Russia—withdrawal of all troops—thereby assuring to those unhappy peoples a chance of self-determination. The abolition of Conscription and the Military Service Act will also be demanded. I am looking forward to a successful issue, when it is sincerely hoped an impression will be made.

Through the instrumentality of Mr. Will John, miners' agent, and Ald. Dai Lewis, J.P., Miners' Secretary, a strike of Rhondda Tramway employees was averted. The dispute arose out of the dismissal of a motorman over the least offence. After a lengthy deliberation it was settled, notices were withdrawn, and the worker reinstated "*Law*."

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

"LITTLE MARY"

The price of existing in this free country has gone up a few. Soon, Henry, it will be no cheaper to die, because I hear the undertakers have been holding up the dead Dubbs until the cash for the coffins has been forked over.

But, as you sit down to the very shop soiled eggs and perfumed bacon of your morning meal, you have reason to be thankful. I read in the "Daily Express" of the twentieth of this month, thusly:—

"Fewer Starvation Deaths. There were 26 deaths from starvation in England and Wales last year, in spite of the high wages prevailing. For the most part, according to a Government White Paper, death was due to disease following on or accelerated by want or exposure or both..... There were 66 deaths from starvation in 1917."

You will see therefore that even in a Christian land of plenty (of profiteers), there are still people who die because they are the unfortunate possessors of "Little Marys." Now, if only the working-class could do without appetites, how cheap it would be.

It is true that last year, and the year previous, the "Hun" boats were sinking our food, when it was not thrown overboard by our profiteers. There was then a sort of double blockade.

A ship arrived in a port with sugar, but because the shipper or consignee, or whatever the "owner" was, had no license to import sugar, the ship had to leave port and the sugar was dumped in the North Sea. It was much cheaper than taking it back to where it came from.

That was only an instance. Other ships would arrive with meat or bacon, but because there was no cold storage, they had to go from port to port, until even a dying cat wouldn't have looked at the meat.

Now the U-boat blockade is no more, but the profiteers are still at the merry game. What are you going to do about that? And what are

you going to do about the blockade of Russia and other countries? A blockade is always a war on women and children, because they are the first to suffer. Death from a "baby-killing" Zeppelin or Gotha was more merciful than the death the Allies propose to mete out to Germany, Austria, and Russia.

You have read the Peace Terms, Henry. Now I ask you to look at one item. The Allies demand the surrender of 140,000 milch cows from Germany. What does this amount to?

It means that for every litre of milk lost, a baby will die. We are at peace with Germany now, or will soon be officially. Are we going to start by starving the women and children of Germany? "In Prussia and Austria especially," says General Foch, "the population is certainly in a state bordering on famine." "Nearly all the infants died soon after they were born," says a returned English prisoner in "Commonsense."

And our pet Lloyd George read in Paris, on March 10th, a telegram from General Plumer saying that the sight of the sufferings of women and children was causing discontent among our soldiers in Germany.

Again I ask you, Henry, what are you going to do about it?

You will say, perhaps, that Germany and Austria are only getting what they asked for. What you mean by this is that it is only right that the people of Germany and Austria should suffer for the sins of their rulers. But those of the people of Germany and Austria who will suffer first—they are suffering already—are the women and children!

Do we make war on women and children—especially when we have just concluded Peace?

Look at Russia for a change then. Russia did not fight against us. She suffered about six million casualties—practically all of whom were workers and peasants. Then these peasants and workers, tired of being killed for the sake of a monarchy worse than even that at Potsdam, overthrew their rulers. And incidentally the Tsar was killed.

Then King George, his cousin, (and the cousin of the Beast of Berlin as well as of the Puppet of Petrograd), went into mourning. Who went into mourning for the Russian workers and peasants killed in the war?

You would think that six millions of casualties were enough share of blood for a fight for "Liberty, Honour, etc." But the Allies were not satisfied.

As soon as the "Huns" troubled them no more, they set out to tighten the blockade of Russia. I will not quote any pro-Bolshevik for the effects of this blockade. I will quote at once the most recent evidence from a man who is out to wipe Lenin and Trotsky from the face of the earth.

My copy of the "Star," (London 21.10.19) has the following:—

"Yudenitch Appeals to America. Help Starving Petrograd. The Prime Minister of the 'North West Russian Government' and General Yudenitch, commanding the North West Army, confident of the almost immediate fall of Petrograd, have requested the American Minister in Stockholm to take urgent steps to secure American relief for the starving population of the city."

I ask you, Henry, to remember this insistently. Say it to yourself again; and yet again. A blockade is always a war on women and children.

In Russia the workers have risen and taken over their own country. They are trying to make it a better world. They are trying to make it a "land fit for heroes to live in."

And the answer of the Allies is a blockade. A blockade is a war—a merciless war on women and children. And the Allies have had the cheek to ask the Germans to lend a hand in starving Russia.

For the last time I ask, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Friday, 31st. Oct. 12 noon—The Square Woolwich, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, 1st Nov. Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in Camberwell. Meetings: 3 and 7 p.m. Grove Lane, Camberwell. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, Henry Sara. (3 p.m.) Ph. Edmunds.

Sunday, 2nd Nov. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, White-chapel: Melvina Walker, Minnie Birch. 7.30 p.m.—Dock Gates, Poplar, Henry Sara. Chair Melvina Walker.

Friday, 7th Nov. Queen's Rd., Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m., Henry Sara.

Saturday, 8th Nov. Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

Monday, 3rd Nov. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m. Reading Circle.

Thursday, 6th Nov. 8 p.m.—First Lecture on Industrial History (General Introduction), Mark Starr.

Friday, 7th Nov. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, E.3. Dancing.

NOTICE.

Fortnightly Sunday Meetings will be held at 400, Old Ford Road, E.3 at 7 p.m. On November 9th David Ramsay will speak on "Industrial versus Political Action." We urgently appeal to members and friends to attend and to make these meetings known.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE. Sunday, 2nd Nov. 12 noon—Victoria Park, Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, 4th Nov. Queen's Road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m.; Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, 6th Nov. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd., E.3. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, 4th Nov. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Ed. Fuller.

East Ham League of Rights.

Tuesday, 4th Nov. 8 p.m.—Old Public Offices, Wakefield St. Clara Cole, "The Right to Strike."

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund. Irene per Mrs. Drake (20/- w.) £4; Bow & Poplar Branches £1 17 4; A.J. Marriott 10/-; Rev. and Mrs. Moxon 10/-.

Collections. Osborn Street, (two) £1 14 1; Woolwich, (two) £1 10; Liberty Club 13/3; Hoe Street 9/-; Dock Gates (two) 8/10; Pretoria St 3/-.

Social Work. Poplar Garden Fête £5; Per Miss Udny monthly, £4 2 8; Mrs. M. Boswell, monthly, £2; Misses Gulland, monthly, 1 15 0; Per Miss J.E. Weir, monthly, £1; Miss F. Haughton 5/-; Miss Clara Symonds (Quar.) 2/6; Collections E. Lamsding and J. Watts, Greens Yard, £1 12 7.

W. S. F. NOTES.

An International Fair will be held on December 5th and 6th in the Bunhill Row Institute. Contributions towards expenses and goods for the stalls will be welcomed by Miss Beauchamp, 7, South Court, Gray's Inn, W.C.2.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

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