THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. VI.-No. 3

SATURDAY, APRIL 12th, 1919

Price Twopence.

HOW THE RED FIGHTS. ARMY

TOLD BY AN AMERICAN FROM ARCHANGEL.

A Russian-American, writing in the Novy Mir of New York, explains that he lived in Michigan State, U.S.A., and was taken as a conscript for the American Army. He was sent with the 339th Michigan Regiment to England and from these to Russia the soldiers and lives and the soldiers and soldiers. there to Russia, the soldiers not being told their

THE SOLDIER'S STORY.

NO STORES TO GUARD AT ARCHANGEL.

"We landed at Archangel. We found there english and French soldiers. Before we landed we were told that we came to Russia not to ight her, but merely to safeguard the Allied minimulation stores. Yet no ammunition was ound there; the Bolsheviki had carried away with them everything to the south—they cleared he place of everything to the last shell and cartidge. Only empty stores have remained.

Our readers will remember that one of the

Our readers will remember that one of the reasons given for sending British troops to Russia was to prevent stores of ammunition alling into German hands. The soldier con-

"What are we to do here, then?" we began question ourselves and our officers. The cers were silent. Others said: 'The future I show.' The first day passed quietly. The n was to organise a military parade through city. Rain torrents caused the parade to be tooned. We scattered around and stood under mores in order to protect ourselves against the ostponed. We scattered around and stood under wrings in order to protect ourselves against the ain. I found myself under a cover of a store-com which was in course of construction and started a conversation with the workers busy to the workers in astonishment looked at me—a reigner who speaks Russian. Their faces be-rayed apprehension: 'What sort of man is he?'—may be a spy. I calraed them, stating that was a Russian, their countryman. We started lively conversation.

GOOD TIMES UNDER BOLSHEVIKI

ADMINISTRATION BANISHED BY ALLIES.

I found out that 'under the Bolsheviki 'they ad lived much better, they had bread and their

earnings had been larger. As soon as the English came—said one of them—everything came to grief; no bread and poor earnings.

"Later I convinced myself of the truth of their words. The English indeed had seized everything there; in a dictatorial manner ruled the territory occupied by the Allied troops. The population hates them, as one can hate foreign invaders. The attitude of the Russians towards the Americans is considerably better.

"But let us return to what followed. As few days after our arrival at Archangel we received orders to march south. 'Where?' we asked. 'To the front,' was the answer. There you are! So we have a front here, too, and we came here to fight and not to safeguard something.... The order is given and we have to obey. We were loaded into freight trains and then we started. I do not remember how long we were on the way. Days there are short and dark, nothing can be seen from the train. Finally, we stopped. We discovered we were at the station Oboserska.

BOLSHEVIKI RETREATED TO AVOID SLAUGHTER: PAMPHLETS INSTEAD OF GUNS.

We saw no Bolsheviki. Later we found out that the Bolsheviki were retreating to the south, and not because they feared our forces, but merely because they wished to avoid slaughter.

"At one place, south of the station Oboserska, we, instead of meeting the bayonets of the Soviet troops, came across a train loaded with proclamations in English, French, Italian and other languages. In these proclamations the Bolsheviki explained the nature of the intervention and advised us to get home. The proclamations were speedily distributed. Later our officers got wise about it and seized them, burning them immediately." them immediately.

WE HAVE DONE NO HARM TO YOU, SO GO

BACK TO YOUR HOMES.

"During the whole of my stay at the front I observed the new Bolshevist methods of warfare. The Bolsheviki did not harm us, although on several occasions they could have shot us down as so many partridges. Once, while we were crossing a river, a man came forward from the



OCCUPIED AND UNOCCUPIED.

Bolshevist side with a white flag and speaking in English he told us that we were being misled, that we ought to leave the Russian territory and the Russian people at peace. 'You have come here to fight us, and not we to fight you; we have done no harm to you, so go back to your homes.' There were also other such instance. We are surrounded on all sides by the Bolsheviki, so that there is no way out of it. We are doomed, we think. But it is not so. They would keep us a day or two and then let us go free unharmed.'

NO TRENCHES: A TERRIBLE COUNTRY TO FIGHT IN.

"Only once they treated us to machine gun and field gun fire—and indeed, at that time there was no way out of it. There are no trenches, because one cannot dig in the frozen ground. Everywhere are marshes, and one stands almost to the waist line in water. We hid behind barricades made of logs. But of course it is a poor defence. When a shell strikes such a barricade nothing but splinters remain.

"During this 'meeting' I was wounded. I was sent to England and thence I came here."

NEWS FROM SOUTH WALES. By F. P. N.

ANTI-SANKEY REPORT

A Delegate Conference of the S.W.M.F. held a Cardiff on Monday, March 31st, decided to ecommend the miners to vote against the adoption of the recent settlement based upon Sankey's deport, and it was only due to the obstinate onstitutionalisms of Mr. Brace, M.P., president, not the conference did not refuse to have anyting to do with the ballot at all. The Conference newed that the rank and file are not at all satisfied ith the result of the recent settlement, and the bjection to the Sankey Report as a basis for expectation was keenly felt.

Mr. Noah Ablet intimated, but failed to give ny direct lead, that the best course would be to x upon a certain day when the men would cease ork at the completion of six hours. Provided any M.F.G.B. as a national body decided on these less this would undoubtedly be the best course, or in spite of Smillie's opinion to the contrary, he miners' right is in their might. The fight in tout of the miners necessitates an undivided out and sectional action will weaken the organization at a time when strength and unanimity re of the greatest importance; but, on the other and, if the Executive of the M.F.G.B. makes it iffeult for the rank and file to take immediate etion on any particular question, the Executive lone will be responsible for any sectional upsing that may result in the discarding of conductional rights.

DOWLAIS DISPUTE

itutional rights.

DOWLAIS DISPUTE

For six weeks the Dowlais men have withheld

their labour, and at Saturday's Delegate Conference, the question was up for discussion. The miners of Dowlais are now virtually "locked out," because the coalowners refuse to allow the men to work on the terms settled upon by W. Cook of the Coal Control. One of the chief points in dispute is that the men claim the right to admit the coal washery workers as members of the S.W.M.F. The washery is situated some six miles from the pits, and in consequence, the management claim it is not part of the coalmaining industry and on that ground refuse to admit the washery men as members of the S.W.M.F. The real bone of contention is that as members of the Federation instead of the Workers' Unions, the washery men are entitled to higher rates of wages and better working conditions all round. This dispute is not alone a Dowlais dispute, but is applicable to the whole coalmaining industry and will come to the fore especially with the increasing development of the byproduct plant connected with the mines. This question has much to do with the principle of Industrial Unionism, and all future like disputes should be guided by the principle that these subsidiary industries are a part of the coalmining industry. In the case of the washeries it is definitely so, for the process of washing the coal is a stage of preparation for the market. The Dowlais men claim, too, that at one time the washeries were situated adjacent or close to other pits that have long since ceased to work.

Saturday, March 29th was an unanimous decision to give the coalowners seven days to settle the dispute, and failing settlement by that time action to be taken by South Wales. Great was the feeling for a "down tools" policy. At the time of writing a settlement has not been reached, so the next few days will decide the fate of the Dowlais men. Even if this dispute is settled satisfactorily, the difficulty is by no means ended, and it is up to the miners to tackle the question once and for all and lay down certain general principles that may guide the S.W.M.F. in matters of this kind for the future. I should suggest that the C.L.C. students in South Wales discuss the question of organisation by Industry in relation to the coalmining industry.

TEACHERS RETURN TO WORK.

After a month's holiday the Rhondda teachers resumed work on Tuosday, April 1st, on the understanding that the Educational Committee negotiate the points at issue within a month. If at the end of that period a settlement is not forthooming, the teachers, without re-tendering their notices, will automatically cease work on April 30th. It is a disgrace to think that the teachers have been on strike for a month—for what? For the right of having their grievances negotiated upon. They have achieved neither of their demands, and if the Educational Committee (consisting of a few Labour men, too) refuse to accede to the requests of the teachers, then a deadlock will arise on April 30th. We wish the teachers every success in their desire to live as human beings should live.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

Do you know, Henry, I am beginning to feel neglected? First Queen Mary went to Brady Street without calling on me for a cup of tea, and now the Prince of Wales has been and gone admired the control of admiring the scenery in Tabard Street, and none so poor as to do me reverence. I am beginning to feel some considerable draught round my

Here am I, a respectable taxpayer (when I am in employment) supporting the whole Royal Family, but not one of my friends of Buckingham Palace has come round to inquire how getting on with my unemployment donation. You must know that I am well acquainted with all of them. I am disgusted with the ignorance of the press on the subject. We are told that the Prince of Wales actually spoke to some of the Prince of Wales actually spoke to some of the Tabardites, as if it was an accomplishment. In fact every little thing he did was put down in type, and just to show he was a human being, there was a photo of our dear Prince walking

on his own legs.

I have called him "dear" because he gets
the neat little sum of about £90,000 from his
estates as Duke of Cornwall. That is a moderately large amount for a modest and retiring young man, who has no vices to speak of. He does not, so far as I know, indulge in baccarat, like his grandfather used to in the prehistoric past. So we may presume he has put it in the Post Office Savings Bank, or perhaps in Peace

It is quite possible, however, he may have given away part of it to the Tabard Street citizens, in order to help them pay a needy landlord. If the Prince is acting up to the words of the Good Book, and giving to the process may be drawn attention to The Devan words of the Good Book, and giving to the poor, may I draw attention to THE DREAD-NOUGHT Appeal! The Editor is only asking for a modest thousand, and that would leave His Highness the decent sum of £89,000 to live on with food at the price it is.

A Cabinet Minister manages to live on a paltry A Cabinet Minister manages to five on a panaly \$5,000 a year, not counting Marconi shares, so if the Prince could manage that, he would still have £80,000 odd left over. That would keep about 55,000 out-of-works for a week at 29s. a head. Or, if you prefer the venerable Henry Dubbs, it would pay 5s. to 320,000 Old Age Pensioners for one week.

Or, putting it another way, 500 men earning 23 a week get as much in a year as His Highness has left over after paying £12,000 to The DREADNOUGHT funds. Which latter, I doubt

Now, most men would be content to drag out a miserable existence on £1,500 a week; but your Prince of Wales is no Henry Dubb.

The Prince of Wales is just your age, Together you will grow up;

He'll soon want money and a wife;
Don't, when the time comes, blow
His marriage grant, however great
Or heavy on the nation;
This stinting princes is the worst
Of vulgar declamation."

To put it in hard cash, the Prince will draw a cheque from a grateful public when his eye has settled on Mrs. Prince-to-be, to the modest tune of £10,000. And the grateful workers of another nation may be asked to cough up a like amount as war bonus for their princess.

Royalty needs no trade union to protect its rights and ask for a six-hour day. Nor does the nghts and ask for a six-hold day. Nor does the nation find it "impossible" to meet the extortionate demands of blue-blooded workers of the House of Windsor (formerly Wettin or Guelph). We cannot pay too well those who, out of

kindness of heart, consent to govern us—at the cost of a couple of hundred Cabinet Ministers. The British workers have always been thoroughly incapable of governing themselves. Which is why we have had first William the Norman, then why we have had first William the Norman, then William his son, Henry, Stephen, Henry, then Richard and John. And all the rest of them, including that good Englishman William of Orange (Holland) and George of Hanover (Germany). You will also remember Prince (Germany). You will also remember Prince Albert the Good, who came from Saxe-Coburg with his friends the Dukes of Albany, Cumberland, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Teck (Queen Mary's and, Meckienburg-Streitz, Leok (Queen mary's people), and the family of Battenberg (now Mountbatten). Then we have Lord Milner, the Rothschilds, Sassoons, Cassels, Brunner-Monds, Harland-Woolfs, Isaacs of Marconi fame, and more and more and more.

The moral of this, Henry, is that a capitalist

is a capitalist, no matter whether Jew or Gentile, Jap or German, Russian or Prussian, alien or home-made. A capitalist will make money out of anybody; so long as there is profit to be made he doesn't give a red cent where it comes from, whether niggers or Henry Dubbs.

And the moral also works the other way, that a worker is a worker, a Henry Dubb is a Henry Dubb, white, black, yellow, hook-nose or flat.
It does not matter if one Henry Dubb works
less hours and feeds on beef and beer, whilst
another sweats all day and smells of garlic and
Spaniels prious. They are both works another sweats all day and smells of garlic and Spanish onions. They are both wage-slaves: and very often, though living a thousand miles apart, they are slaves to the same boss. And to prove this I need only quote an anti-Socialist argument that if the workers ask for too much, "the anticlist will take his acritical absord." the capitalist will take his capital abroad.

The Prince of Wales may be a Bolshevik in isguise and ready to start the Revolution in Tabard Street. But my opinion is expressed in the kind of things he found in one house there. And that is-Rats!

ment's efforts to stop action by the workers

ment's efforts to suop action by the state of a certain extent successful.

It is proposed that the Court of Inquiry under the Wagos (Temporary Regulation) Act shall determine whether the war advances should become permanent or lapse with war conditions.

MORE MACHINERY IS SUGGESTED FOR PREVENTING TRADES DISPUTES.

PREVENTING TRADES DISPUTES.

There is to be "machinery for protection of the employers' interests where members of trade unions or workpeople are engaged in positions of trust or confidentiality, provided the right of such employees to join or remain members of any trade union is not thereby affected." Does that mean that an employee who discloses to his trade union the amount of profit made by his employer is to be punished? That would be a very serious meetter.

the amount of profit made by his employer is to be punished? That would be a very serious matter.

Unemployment is beyond the Committee's courage to make a decision. It prefers to hand over that responsibility to some other committee, but it recommends "organised short time" to avoid unemployment. Since it does not stipulate that wages are to be maintained at their pre-war standard, we can only conclude that the Committee is recommending short rations for the workers as well as short time in periods of trade depression. It is also recommended that the Government should postpone work that is not urgent to seasons of unemployment, in order that the influx of Government work at that time may "stabilise" employment. The people who concect those reports always try to produce the impression that they are great magicians in the art of organising the workers, though they are for the most part timidly incapable of an original thought. The Committee ventures however to suggest that the Government should not only postpone work, but should at this juncture provide work: housing, afforestation, reclamation of waste lands, development of inland waterways, light railways and roads. The Committee refrains from mentioning the national factories and shipping that the Government has disposed of; but perhaps such references would have been considered offensive.

Maintenance.—The Committee suggests "more adequate" maintenance for the unemployed. The position is this: employers of labour find it suits their business to employ the workers irregularly, it is convenient to employ a large number of workers at certain seasons and for the rest of the year either to dismiss a part of them altogether, or to employ them for part time only. The Committee suggests that this system should be extended but that the worker shall be saved from too much suffering and deterioration by being subsidised by the State at the time when the

extended but that the worker shall be saved fro too much suffering and deterioration by bein subsidised by the State at the time when the employer has no use for him. No Committ seems hold enough to suggest that the employ should be responsible for paying a regular was to the workers he employs! The worker we never have an assured subsistence whilst capital ism continues.

ism continues.

On the employment of married women as widows the Committee was "unable to express opinion," but asked for a special inquir. The age for child labour the Committee thin should be raised, but did not commit its definitely; it also asked for an inquiry into the committee that the comm

A National Industrial Council of employe and employed was doubtless the thing that the Committee was really set up to recommend and did whatever was expected of it. It proposed Council of 400 members, half representing the employers' organisations; half the trade union. The Council to be advisory and the Minister Labour its president. The Council to meet the least twice a year," a standing committee to the actual work and to consist of 25 employer representatives and 25 trade union representative a president appointed by the Government and vice-president apiece for employers and exployed. The Council to advise the Government on labour legislation to consider measures for Age Pensions.
A National Industrial Council of employ vice-president apiece for eliminoses and application to consider measures from labour legislation to consider measures from the several action to anticipate or average threatened disputes, "and to issue statement for the guidance of public opinion on industriations." This last is really a danger. We acapitelist press ridden, we have the Ministry Propaganda, and now we are to have veiled an Socialist propaganda from an industrial Council Arthur Henderson and G. D. H. Cole ha added a Memorandum to the Report on "Causes and Remedies of Industrial Unrest," is by no means a striking document: it as amongst other things, for a graduated levy capital with an exemption on property up £1,000. The exemption of property up to £1,000 does not make any special appeal to the week wage earner in The absurd request is made "a drastic change in the attitude of Government and Employers towards Labour"

IN AN ENGLISH PRISON.

The following is a detailed and accurate account f treatment accorded me at Wandsworth Prison n the 2nd and 3rd of January:—

on the 2nd and 3rd of January:—

On Thursday, January 2nd, at dinner time, as a protest against a statement made by the chief warder, that the C.O.s not on strike were enjoying privileges won by our comrades who were, and that we, the non-strikers were hiding behind the strikers' backs, being afraid to endure the punishment to which our comrades were subjected, I smashed my cell windows, furniture, pots and pans, and declared myself on work and hunger strike. After dinner two warders entered the cell and pushed me outside on to the landing rails, where I was seized by about five others. I was then frog-marched along the landing being kneed in the back at every few steps by an officer named —— I also received a few kicks, not very severe, but could not ascertain who was responsible for them. In this manner we arrived at a flight of steps leading on to a lower landing. Here an attempt was made to hurl me headlong, but managing to grasp a rail I averted this. I was then marched as before to the top of steps leading to D I landing, where a second attempt was made to hurl me headlong.* The warder ——, himself sustaining a nasty spill in his endeavour to hurl me down, I was here again able to grasp a rail and so landed at the bottom on my feet. Arriving in punishment cell after having been pushed into many obstructions, I was placed in a body-belt and left till tea-time, when one hand was released to enable me to eat my tea. This I refused to do, so the cuff was again locked. At bedtime my bed was made by a convict. I was then left for the night. About 10 A.M. on Friday, the 3rd, I was taken before Dr. Piteairn, the zenior medical On Thursday, January 2nd, at dinner time, as

* These were spiral staircases.

officer, who informed me that I was a lunatic, and that I should be treated as such. I was then taken to the padded room and placed in a straight jacket. At dinner-time my dinner was brought in, together with a convict to feed me. I again refused to take any food, but asked to be allowed to make water, as I had been many hours without having done so. I was told I must wait till after dinner, but it was not till nearly 3 p.m. that an officer brought a convict to me for this purpose. By this time I was experiencing very much pain from the straight jacket which appeared to me to be strapped much too tight and was cramping my shoulders, and preventing me breathing freely. The convict I found was to hold a chamber to me and do those things necessary which, owing to The convict I found was to hold a chamber to me and do those things necessary which, owing to my hands being confined, I was unable to do myself. Under these circumstances I found it impossible to ease myself. I was then left until tea-time, when, having refused to eat, I complained of the pain I was experiencing and asked if the straps could be slackened a little. I was told to ask the doctor if this could be done, when he visited me between 6 and 8. He arrived about 7 P.M., and I at once complained to him and told to ask the doctor if this could be done, when he visited me between 6 and 8. He arrived about 7 P.M., and I at once complained to him and asked could he have the jacket removed or eased a little, as I was in great pain. He replied that I was not responsible for my actions, being a lunatic, and that it was unsafe to allow me out of the jacket. I pointed out to him that there was no question of insanity in the case, that what I had done had been done deliberately and as a protest against an unjust and false statement. Saying that if I acted as a lunatic, I must be treated as one and giving orders that I be given a chance to make water, he left me. Some time later on an officer came and asked if I wished to make water, but remembering my previous experience and being in great pain otherwise I said "No." I walked up and down the cell for some time, and finally flung myself on to a mattress which had been placed in a corner,

hoping to obtain some relief thereby. I remained so for some time, when the pain in my shoulder, stomach and back becoming so severe, I sought to regain my feet. After many efforts I was able to do this, and at once felt an urgent desire to visit W.C. I called aloud to the warder for some time and when he at last came to the door, I told him what I required. He replied telling me to shut up and do anything I wanted to do in my clothes as I stood, the same as others had to do. Telling him I was not a beast, how impossible it was to do as he suggested, and appealing to him to be reasonable, I was still unsuccessful in obtaining anything but his absence. I continued to call after him for some time until I began to vomit. After the fit of vomiting, during which I was successful in ejecting a little bile, the desire to visit W.C. somewhat abated. I once more fell on to the mattress, until the pain and cold office more forced me to struggle to my feet. In this manner I spent the night, alternately lying and walking, but always in great pain. About 7.15 A.M. I was released from jacket to wash, all my clothes but my shirts and socks being taken from me.

Breakfast and a chamber were then left in the

om me. Breakfast and a chamber were then left in the Breakfast and a chamber were then left in the cell with me. I enjoyed about half or three-quarters of an hour's freedom from the jacket, which was again placed upon me, and from which I was finally released about 10.30 A.M. I was in all about 20 hours in the body belt and about twenty-three and a half in the straight jacket, with only the brief respite at breakfast time mentioned above. I made no complaint to the Governor regarding the above, knowing it to be useless to do so. I was released from Wandsworth on the 9th after a hunger strike of seven days.

P. L. Wells,

P. L. WELLS.

Declared at Lennox House, Norfolk Street, in the City of Westminster this 15th day of January, 1919.

Before me ALFRED BAKER,
A Commissioner for Oaths.

ROADS TO FREEDOM.* By Lancelot Hogben.

There is perhaps no writer of academic eminence There is perhaps no writer of academic eminence in our own country whose excursions into Socialist teaching are sufficiently conversant with the data to merit serious consideration or criticism. Nevertheless, those who, acquainted with 'Principia Mathematica,' 'Sense Data and Physics,' 'The Notion of Cause,' &c., entertain a high respect for Mr. Russell's judgment as a philosopher, can hardly feel that his reputation for sound thinking has been enhanced by the publication of 'Roads to Freedom.' Indeed, it is difficult to comprehend what induced him to publish such a hasty collection of essays.

essays.
The first essay, entitled 'Marx and Socialist The first essay, entitled 'Marx and Socialist Doctrine,' is naturally the most arresting to a Socialist whose sympathies are of the 'left''; for, since Marx claimed to have established the coundation of a scientific communism, and to have given to the world the outlines of a social philosophy foundation of a scientific communism, and to have given to the world the outlines of a social philosophy for the proletariat, it is just there that we should expect Mr. Russell, with his astute appreciation of scientific method, to be most eareful and rigid in his critique. As a matter of fact, Mr. Russell is in this part of his treatment significantly indolent. "Two questions," says the author, "are raised by Marx's work. First, are his laws of historical development true? Second, is Socialism desirable?" In reply to the first, he follows with a list of alleged predictions on the part of Marx (no references cited) and highly disputable statements with respect to contemporary economic conditions. Now, in all seriousness, Mr. Russell is sufficiently acquainted with scientific method to know that it is mere journalism to dispose of a whole body of doctrine by pointing out detailed mistakes on the part of those who formulate it; and still further, that even if all the facts do not appear to fit into any particular scheme, the scientist accepts that interpretation which suits the center terms. any particular scheme, the scientist accepts that interpretation which suits the greatest number, until some alternative working hypothesis has been advanced. And that is just the present position of Marxism. Until Marx's time history was studied with open casuistry, intellectual aimlessness, and total failure to correlate the phenomena with which it dealt. It may be said that Marx made mistakes; and a grequipe Maryian has contributed. with open casuistry, intellectual aimlessness, and total failure to correlate the phenomena with which it dealt. It may be said that Marx made mistakes; and a genuine Marxian has certainly too little faith in here worship to deny it. But the value of the materialist conception of history does no more stand and fall with two paragraphs of Marx's errors than does the Periodic Law in chemistry because two of the elements do not fit into Mendeljeff's Tables. At least it might be hoped that one who is in a position to appreciate the complete failure of the orthodox historians to reduce their study to an exact science, would the soil of Marxism that militant industrial unionsiting grew up in America; it was from America that it was carried to Australia, while the French school was still in its infancy; it was from America that it was from A

in justice to the memory of a bold and original thinker recognise that while the academic sociologists of our time are wallowing in animistic habits of thought and blinded by social bias, Marx more than half a century ago conceived the study of human institutions as a science rather than a cult. But that is the least objection to Mr. Russell's attack upon Marxism. He is mainly concerned with the second question. And with singular attention to the convention of consistency he first ridicules Marx for having no constructive ideas at all, and then quarrels with him because he disagrees with the constructive theories of some of his (posthumous) followers. On p. 42 we read: "Marx allows one moment's glimpse of the hope that lies beyond the present horror." Thereafter follows a paragraph cited from 'Das Kapital,' in which Marx could not by the most subtle jesuistry be pinned down to any particular theory of Socialist organisation. Yet only four pages later there is the declaration: "Syndicalism represent an attack against it from without, from the standpoint of a doctrine which professes to be even more radical and more revolutionary than that of Marx or Engels." Later on in the essay on 'The Syndicalist Revolt' we are informed that "the C.G.T. is mild in comparison with the I.W.W." Now Mr. Russell knows well that the idea of selfgovernment in industry is as old as Robert Owen; he admits that Marx did not set out to elaborate Now Mr. Russell knows well that the idea of self-government in industry is as old as Robert Owen; he admits that Marx did not set out to elaborate a precise scheme of Socialist organisation; he further asserts that the American Industrial Unionists, whose teachings from Daniel De Leon onwards are founded on Marxian theory, are more syndicalist than the French syndicalist; and then curiously assures us that "Syndicalism represents an attack....which professes to be even more radical and revolutionary than Marx." Well, what about it? Actually Marxian teaching has more to do with the emergence of the idea of self-government in industry to-day than the teachings of armchair philosophers like Sorel. It was in the soil of Marxism that militant industrial unionism grew up in America; it was from America

Sentries have been reinforced.

Deutsche Tageszeitung, March 3rd, reports that in order to compensate German Austria for the robberies of art treasures and manuscripts perpetrated by the Italians, a well known neutral art collector (who for the present wishes to remain unknown) is presenting to Vienna his collections which exceed in value the stolen treasures.

LONDON & DISTRICT WORKERS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

Secretary pro tem: MRS. HOLLOWAY, 7 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.

Donations towards this defence and maintenance fund are urgently needed. Guaranteed weekly subscriptions are most acceptable.

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE REPORT.

The bigwigs of the "Provisional Joint Committee" appointed by the so-called "National Industrial Conference" have presented their report. After a month's deliberation they have decided to shelve most questions by recommending that they shall be referred to other committees. The bigwigs have been very eareful not to commit themselves to any advanced or daring proposals, and in most cases have avoided being definite.

They have broken this general rule by recommending an 8-hour day, but that is, after all, such a very hoary proposal that there is nothing adventurous about it. They suggest that if the representatives of the employers and employed agree to increase or decrease the working day, this may be done by Government. Order if the Government has "no reason to deem it contrary to the public interest." If the request for an alteration comes from one party only, either the employers or employed, the Ministry may call a Conference—the usual expedient for delay. "In the event of a substantial agreement being reached" an Order may be made as above. But suppose there is no agreement, what is to happen? Overtime the committee recommends shall be paid for at time and a quarter—the lowest sum recognised by trade unions. The committee shirked the question of pay for night shift, Sunday and holiday work, and shelved it for someone else to inquire into. MINIMUM TIME-RATES OF WAGES

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT EDITORI SYLVIA PANKHURST

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THE SOVIETS REACH BAVARIA

"We must not expect things to happen like that in this country. There is some biological difference between ourselves and the Slav peoples which causes them to develop on other lines."

So Socialists who still regard the idea of revolution as remote and startling, and have not yet realised the crux of the difference between Parliament and the Soviets, seek to pooh-pooh our belief that the British revolu-tion is coming and that shortly the Soviets will be established here. From its first emerg-ing surely it was obvious that the Spartacist was the German counterpast of the Bolshevik movement in Russia, and that the Soviet Government of Germany must soon

The German wiseacres doubtless said: "Our The German wiseacres doubtless said: "Our psychology is different, biologically we are unlike the Russians; our history has prepared us for an entirely other future; the Soviet principle is not applicable here." But fate and the progress of evolution has laughed at them; speedily bringing the Revolution than dealered progress of evolution has ladged at them, speedily bringing the Revolution they declared impossible. The Soviets are established in Bavaria, and presently will spread all over Germany. We British are of the same stock as the Germans; there can be no talk of peculiar

biological differences between us.

The workers and soldiers of Bavaria are cooperating, and the Bavarian Soviets propose to ally themselves with the Soviets of Russia. That is outstanding, though the confused reports at present reaching us appear to show a conflict of opinion within the forces behind the Bavarian Soviets. The struggle in Ger-many is very bitter. Bavaria will have much end with; but Bavaria will not stand alone. The news that in Berlin the Government has found it necessary to disarm the Augusta Regiment and now other regibecause they were implicated in effort to set up the Soviets is exceedingly hopeful. Strikes, with which the Soviet idea associated, continuing to arise in districts so widely spread as Stuttgart, Magdeburg, West-phalia and Rhenish Prussia, all close to the

Allied armies, remain significant.

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany has now definitely declared for the Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has not yet declared against Parliamentary action, but it is evidently about to do so. Haase, hitherto foremost amongst the In-dependents, only succeeded in securing the dependents, only succeeded in scheme the passage by a small majority of a clause stating that the party would employ "all political and economic weapons including Parliament."

Haase was elected to the chairmanship of the

party by 154 votes, as against 109 cast for Daümig, but refused to take office. He pro-bably saw that his majority would swiftly be

bably saw that his majority would swiftly be turned into a minority, particularly as the party in Berlin was supporting Daümig.

The programme adopted by the Conference declared that the Independents stand for the Council (or Soviet) System, supporting the Councils in their struggle for economic and political power, and aiming at the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of Socialism. To attain this end

the anti-Spartacists.)
The Party demands the dissolution of the old

army and volunteer corps; disarmament of the bourgeoisie; the establishment of a national guard drawn from the ranks of class-conscious Labour with its own administration; and the election of leaders by the rank and file. It stands for the immediate socialisation of capitalist undertakings; the transfer of large estates and forests to the community and in the towns; the municipalisation of private property; sufficient housing to be provided by the local authorities; the immediate setting up of a National Court to try those responsible for the world war; the establishment of a public legal monopoly in advertisements; and the acquirement of surplus house space for those requiring accommodation; the establishment of friendly relations with all countries, and the immediate resumption of diplomatic relations with the Bussian Soviet Government, and Poland; the reconstitution of the Workers' International on the basis of a revolutionary Socialist policy in the spirit of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences.

The programme is therefore a hotch-potch drawn from the Russian Bolsheviki, the Spardrawn from the Russian Boisneviki, the Spat-tacists and Items, not yet scrapped, from the old programme of the Independents. That the Independents have at last virtually adopted the Spartacist standpoint, shows that Spar-tacism is on the eve of complete success.

Austria.

There can be no doubt that Austria will shortly establish the Soviets. At a meeting of the Sailors' Council on March 30th, attended by soldiers and by delegates from the Hungaria Soviets, it was announced that a dictatorship of the proletariat was imminent. Kovacs, a delegate from Budapest, declared that once the Soviet was proclaimed food would be sent to Vienna, even if Budapest should go on short commons in consequence. Resolutions declaring for the union of the Austrian and Hungarian ing for the union of the Austrian and Hungarian Soviets were adopted with enthusiasm. The attempts by sections of workers to Socialise the industry in which they are employed, which have arisen in the Central Empires with growing frequency since the Russian Revolution, still continue. It is remarkable to learn that the Vienna bank employees are demanding a share in the administration of the banks and control of the funds, and that the bankers are temporising with the demand.

Bulgaria, long the most politically advanced of the Balkan nations and strongly inclined towards Socialism from the time of the later Balkan wars, is showing signs of bursting into Bolshevism with so much vigour that the Allied armies may be powerless to check the movement, as they have been doing since their occupation. A telegram from Athens to the Matin savs :-

"A Bolshevik movement at Varna (the Bul-"A Bolshevik movement as value to the Surjection and extremists from Sofia, the Allied authorities caused the town to be occupied by British troops, and martial law was proclaimed. All the ringleaders are to be tried by British court-martial and severely punished.—Exchange."

So the Allied military domination of Europe is holding back progress and denying freedom to the workers of all nations!

Serbia and Roumania.

Serbia also appears to be in a turbulent state. Reports of a military revolt against the dynasty have reached this country, and the Prime Minister is complaining that Serbia's territorial claims are betrayed by the secret treaties and that Italy is annexing territory occupied by the Serbs. Roumania is also causing so much anxiety to the Allies that General Mangin has been sent to deal with Bolshevism there.

Hungary.

The decision to send General Mangin to Hungary meant immediate war upon the Soviets there; the reconsideration, which has resulted the visit of General Smuts, means that the Big Four understand that Europe is like a vast powder magazine threatening to explode unless dealt with carefully. They are therefore trying to achieve their objects by subtler methods. The proposals made by General Smuts are really

monstrous and territorially appear to be not more favourable than those rejected by the Karolyi Government. A glance at the map will show that the line behind which Hungarian troops are expected to retire, is a line drawn through the centre of the Hungary which existed before the war, so that the Hungary under Hungarian control will be half its former size, if Allied demands are compiled with. The dis-membered portions of Hungary, which are not already occupied by Allied troops, are to be called a "neutral" zone, and to be occupied by British, French, Italian, and, if they agree, American troops. Karolyi declared that the Allied intention was to use Hungary as a base against Soviet Russia. His words will be against Soviet Russia. His words will be remembered now. The Hungarian Soviets are expected to accept the armistice terms arranged between the late Government and the Allies, and Hungarian troops are to receive orders not to move beyond their present positions. If Hungary were to agree to these terms, she would ver herself, bound hand and foot, to the Allies eagerly waiting to demolish her Soviets. Bela Kun, the Hungarian Commissary for Bela Kun, the Hungarian Commissary for Foreign Affairs, has replied suggesting a con-ference, at Prague or Vienna, between the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the German-Austrian Republic, the Jugo-Slav State, the Zeeho-Slovak Republic, and the Kingdom of Roumania. By this conference, time, so important to the Soviets which work through educative propaganda, will be gained, and tremendous opportunities will be opened up for tremendous opportunities will be opened up for throwing upon the tangled situation the healing

Undoubtedly the Soviets are making headway in Russia—such headway that there has been a press outery that the Allied soldiers may be driven into the sea in Northern Russia and starved out at Odessa. Those who justify the Allied Intervention in Russia base the major part of their argument on accounts of starvation in Bolshevik Russia. They disregard the fact that the Allies and the counter-revolution are causing that starvation by the blockade and the holding up of supplies in Russia Itself. But here we have the Allies caught in the meshes of their own reasoning. Odessa, which was one the greatest of the world's grain exporting ports, is becoming incapable of supporting the Allies, who are stationed there. Why! Mismanagenent and general war conditions are no do ment and general war containing the partly responsible, but the hostility of the Ukranian population towards the invaders, is no doubt the main cause of their lack of supplies. The population is rallying to the Soviets. The press will not say too openly how great is the success of the Communists in the Ukraine but such phrases as the Wireless Press dispatch from The Manchester Guardian tell their own

"A despatch received at Berne from Warsaw announces that the conquest of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks has given them about 26,000 tons of sugar, which were stocked in that country."

The Finns and Karelians who have be under the British General Maynard in th Murmansk region have shown so determined lesire to join the Bolsheviki that the press ha been full of lamentations. In the effort induce the British people to agree to extend the war against Russia to much more formidable dimensions, it is pretended that a large arm must go to Russia, as a rescue party, to preserv the lives of the British soldiers, threatened by the treacherous Finns and the ferocious Russia Red Army, which will advance upon them is warships when the ice-bound rivers become warsings when the re-both restaurance in a vigable. Volunteers are appealed for. A Anti-Bolshevik white paper is brought out, an the cruel reactionary Koltchak is elevated to the position of a hero. The Northeliffe prepublished his 'On to Moscow' proclams. ion as though it were a call to a crusad monsense dictates our oft-repeated que : If it is possible to send reinforcements side by side with the British soldiers fight side by side with the British soldiers in Russia, why is it not possible to bring them home!

Continued on page 1201.

QUESTIONS OF THE

THE LABOUR PARTY AND COLONEL HOUSE.

The Labour Party invited Colonel House to be resent at its League of Nations Conference, slonel House replied that "other duties" would jep him in Paris. When will the British Labour arty cease to pin its faith to capitalist poli-

ANOTHER BLOW AT RUSSIA AND THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

MOVEMENT.

The Government has issued a Proclamation of King George against the importation into this country of Russian rouble notes, except those used by the Counter-Revolutionary Preliminary lovernment of Archangel. "This prohibition hall not apply to any such notes which are morted under licence." To whom are the cences to be issued! We suppose to counter-evolutionaries warranted to work against the loviets. The British Co-operative Movement has prevented this. Allied Governments have been subsidising capitalist companies. renment has prevented this. Allied Govern-is have been subsidising capitalist companies trehangel and in Siberia through Mr. Leslie uhart, she chairman of a large mining company

SOLDIERS PROTEST AGAINST BEING SENT TO RUSSIA.

La Vague (the French Socialist weekly) of March 27th contains many protests from soldiers against being sent to Russia.

SIBERIA A FRENCH COLONY.

About two months ago a circular was issued the Paris regiments asking for volunteers from young classes of 17 and 18 to relieve the troops as colonies. Many of the young men, in order avel and to escape from the barracks, hastened accept. Everything went well until we arrived arsoilles, when, at the 22nd Colonial Regiment, the Company we were discreasely a writed.

From an article in the French Socialist Weekly, La Vague;" by Pierre Brizon "Kienthalian," eputy to the Chamber of Deputies.

All is lost, here is Bolshevism in Hungary now!

stead of retreating, it is advancing. It is ng in upon us...! It threatens Pichon. chon is at the head of the European Reaction.

chon is at the lead of the social world observing is at the head of the social world dution. It leads it to its Austerlitz.

olution. It leads it to its Austerlitz.

and of course Bolshevism is worse than the war.

r only takes poor folks' lives. Bolshevism

res the life, but lays its hand on the money bags,

the land of the aristocrat and the money of the

recois! Terrible, is it not?

tolshevism wishes to be done with parasites,

aries, and wars. No more wars, how frightful!

No more dead on the battlefields, no mbs on towns, no more hurricanes of

ery fire, no more poison gas, no more trenches, anger any means of getting rich whilst others tying. Lesting peace between the Socialist blics of the world. Ah, barbarism!

b live / Bolshevism actually claims that we on the earth to live / To live happily with the th produced by the work of all. The work of The politics of life. The morality of life—of th, abundance and joy. One has never seen like of it. It is horrible!

A LETTER FROM RUSSIA.

A French soldier dragged over there as a would-be volunteer, writes to the Vague that: "The Bolsheviki are ten times more civilised than we

REST! BUT SILENCE.

La Vague says: "For the last week 20,000 naval shipbuilders and metal workers (all classes) have stopped work. But the Censor keeps his eye on the newspapers, no doubt in order not to compromise our national defence—in Russia!"

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN RUSSIA.

RUSSIA.

In conflict with the stories of chaos in Russia comes the news given in Le Populaire of March 23rd that the Soviet Government has carried out an important piece of constructive work in widening and deepening the River Svir. The work was carried out by a great fleet of dredgers and finished in August, 1918. It enabled the Russians to take war vessels from the Baltic Sea to the Volga and contributed to the taking of Kazan by the Soviet troops.

troops.

The Soviets have completed a railway line from Arzamas to Kromey and are completing one from Razan to Ekaterinburg, a distance of 578 miles.

Two thousand miles of railway line are in course of construction and will be finished on May 1st. Arrangements are being made to re-connect Central Russia with Turkestan by railway. Many bridges are being built and 1,200 miles of railway for railitary purposes are also being laid.

BLACKS AND WHITES IN JOHANNESBURG.

The Times' Johannesburg correspondent complains that during the Rand Strike the same treatment has not been meted out by the authorities to black and white workers and refers to the nurder of a native by hooligan whites. We deeply regret such murders, but we observe that capitalist organs like The Times become indignant at such murders when the natives are acting in a way that is acceptable to the capitalists, as blacklegs upon white workers. In Fevret the natives are than Marseilles, when, at the 22nd Colonial Regiment, ar 26th Company, we were disagreeably surprised of find that we were destined for Siberia / Yes, nark well: Siberia! We protested at the office without result. One of us was even told that is acceptable to the capitalists, as blacklegs ilboria had become a French Colony! In short, in February 25th, two companies were formed and imbarked, not without some fuss, on board the Paul Loca.' Two-thirds of our comrades had not

had leave; some, who came from the Palatinate, had not seen their friends for some months."

to kill them is not called murder. "Mobile columns," which "deal with offenders on the spot," in the eyes of the conqueror are quite in

THE BOLSHEVIK PROGRAMME AND THEORY.

The article on 'Parliament or the Soviets,' by the Russian People's Commissary Bukharin, which we published in our issue of April 5th, was taken from a pamphlet entitled 'The Programme of the Communists (Bolsheviki),' which is not obtainable in this country. Next week's issue will contain a further instalment, entitled: 'The Anarchist, or the Communist Social Order?'

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Owing to a fire in the Editor's Room at 400 Old Ford Road, several letters have been burnt. Correspondents whose letters are not answered are requested to write again.

THE DOGS' BILL.

Mr. Leonard Hill is upset by the Bill to prevent experiments on dogs, because by experimenting on puppies he wants to find out whether children, if allowed enough fresh air can do without proper food without becoming rickety, or if given enough food can escape the disease though kept in overcrowded conditions. The ruling classes may discover how to rear a healthy working class at the lowest cost. Under Socialism we shall not carry on such dismal researches. carry on such dismal researches

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS CALL FOR GENERAL STRIKE.

The Parliamentary group of the Italian Socialist Party has issued a manifesto assuming that the Peace Conference is preparing a peace that will rival Brest-Litovsk, and calling for a general strike

CANADIAN JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS.

In Canada the employers are eager for the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils of employers and employed. The Socialists oppose those Councils, which are supported by the old-fashioned trade unions affiliated to Gompers' American Federation of Labour and opposed to Socialism.

L. A. MOTLER.

Read what has befallen our comrade L. A. Motler, whose common sensical witticisms enliven our columns week by week, and form your own

judgment.

On February 6th Motler's article in The Dreadnought was built up around the conversation of a group of men in a workshop on the question of working hours. The workshop was in reality the workshop where Motler was employed, the incidents referred to were real incidents; indeed, the story was taken from actual life.

And what followed?

On Friday evening the overseer of his department handed to Motler this letter:—

"Immediately after disembarking certain units were unknowingly led into the fight. Men refused to march. They were scattered amongst different units. Leaves and repatriations were stopped.
"Every day Russians are being shot here. In the first few days here I saw one shot for distributing propagandist pamphlets.
"What was on these pamphlets? The truth! The Russian people had risen up against their masters who were devouring them. They were counting on us French soldiers to understand that their cause was also ours. And the pamphlet ended with an appeal to the Workers' International for the avoidance of war between brothers.

"Ah! he was a brave fellow, the distributor of this moving appeal. He died boldly. He watched all the preparations without trembling. When they tied him to the post, he asked them to let him rest his knee on the ground, so that he would be firmer.

BELL PUNCH AND PRINTING CO., LTD. 52-56 Tabernacle Street, E.C.2. February 7th, 1919.

February 7th, 1919.

Sin,—In consequence of the return of some of the Company's old employees whose positions were guaranteed to them when they left to join H.M. Forces, I have to say that your services will no longer be required after this date. You will be paid herewith your wages for this week, to which will be added two weeks' wages in lieu of notice. Yours faithfully. face of this man who was about to die without flinching for his ideals; whilst the soldiers of the firing party told off to shoot him were presenting Ided two weeks wages in Yours faithfully,
S. D. Black, Secretary.

S. D. BLACK, Secretary.

It is true that Motler was engaged on a machine on which a soldier had worked before being conscripted, but this soldier had returned and another machine had been found for him. On Motler leaving, a girl, not a returned soldier, was put on to the machine he had been working. Motler had been employed at this firm for four years and he is the only man who has been dismissed. It was strange to pay him in lieu of notice. Motler wrote at once for a reference and received this letter in reply:—

and in reply beg to state that you will be at liberty to refer any prospective employer to us for a reference.

Schold the Barbarians! Bolshevism is ad-toing over Hungary. All is lost in our old and with me these passages of a letter, dated th 5th, and written by a French soldier, which we received from Odessa:—

BOLSHEVISM ADVANCES.

or? To take the bread out of our mouths? To put us in chains again??

"The rich say to us: 'Why do you stop there doing nothing? It is not in Odessa that you have got to fight anarchy. The Bolsheviki are bandits: no mercy for them!'

"We are not active enough to suit the purposes of those who have the money bags!

"In our skirmishes with the Bolsheviki blood has been spilt on both sides. May it fall as a curse on the heads of the guilty—who are in France!"

"We live like pariahs in this Southern Russia.
We are cut off from everything, almost without letters from France and entirely without news-

papers. Anger is rising among us.

"Everyone looks askance at us, rich and poor alike. The poor say: "What have you come here for? To take the bread out of our mouths? To

mer.
"The French officer growled his insults in the

They are making us Republicans fight against tation of Russians who have thrown off the so of the Tsars. They are making us fight side side with some Russians and Poles who wish cestablish the old régime, and bring back the

RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM—TYRANNY OR FREEDOM.

RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM—TYRANNY OR FREEDOM.

There is a vide decrease of cyline facing and anomaly progressive, movements of the properties of the control of the

ALEXANDRA KOLONTAI

THE SOVIETS REACH BAVARIA. Continued from page 1288.

The war against the Soviets of Russia and all Soviets must be stopped; it is a disgrace to Allied workers that they ever permitted it begun. The most effectual way to end it set up the Soviets in Britain.

e Parliamentary Committee of the Trade

n Congress and the Labour Party, as we , are holding a conference to discuss this tion. Indeed, it is high time that they ld act. Their policy towards Russia has most reactionary; Henderson, who placed faith in Kerensky and bitterly attacked Bolsheviki and the Soviets, has been very ch to blame. Now that the pressure of k and file understanding is steadily forcin reactionary officials to a change of front nust be made plain to them that mere on by refusing to load ships for Russia; the Thames area, the press complains that the area delaying the export of munitions. In the Labour world is a smouldering fire of ostility to the anti-Russian adventure, which y break into flame at any time. Soldiers and ors also, have manifested their determined

Thomas, an abler counterpart of mes or Henderson, has made some important missions concerning Russian affairs, which we appeared in the *Populaire*. Writing to pt. Jacques Sadoul, French Ambassador in trograd, whose indignant letter exposing ed anti-Soviet plots created a sensation last r, and was seized by Scotland Yard when it eared in this country, Thomas says :-

have always said, here in France, that t, whose character I know, is above sus-i; I have always said concerning Trotsky, I do not know him and can therefore say ng, but that I have no reason to suspect him: as for the others, I have a strong suspicion they had German money for their propa-

Thomas also asked Sadoul to assure the sians that the Allied war aims are now

have written thus Albert Thomas must

be a fool or a deceitful hypocrite. s letter of his should be studied in con-on with the Berne Conference majority ution, which condemned the Soviets and Bolsheviki and which he supported. hat is Thomas doing in France to oppose

Bolshevism and Belgium.

olshevism is likely soon to appear in ium, because the condition of the people is of such acute hardship, and the neglect by ies is so great, that they will realise, in f Vandevelde and Huysmans, that the rkers must take the power in their own hands, to dismiss this (apitalist system?

In the neighbourhood of Antwerp all but eleven per cent of the workers are said to be unemployed. Vandervelde says that two and a quarter million out of a population of seven millions are living on State aid. Out of 20,000 dockers in Antwerp only 2,000 are working. In Brussels there are 92,000 unemployed. Britain has forced Belgium to cease exporting coal to Switzerland, as this "week the Driving of the Switzerland" of the same of the s coal to Switzerland, as this "upset the British exchanges." Belgium has lost 213,000 tons of shipping out of a total 350,000. No compensation has been said for the said of th tion has been paid for this or other damage, and Belgium has had no definite guarantee as to her share of the sum to be exacted from Germany. Latterly the Allies have even ques-

tioned her right to priority of compensation.
Whilst the Peace Conference wrangles, the people of Belgium are workless and hungry. Many are homeless; their ruined houses are not rebuilt. Yet the Allied capitalist Governments, in a spirit of callous iniquity, are busy spreading reports of Bolshevik atrocities! Belgium may presently have the distinction of starting the Soviets in Western Europe. Thus will her people find what recompense is possible for the sufferings which capitalist rivalries have thrust upon them

The workers of Europe are fighting a desperate battle with capitalism: a struggle the loss of which means actual death to large numbers, and the living death of subjection to the entire

And here we have British trade union leaders unanimously adopting a report containing a jumble of out-of-date reforms, as a bait to enter into a partnership with the employers under the proposed Joint Industrial Councils, which are designed to stultify working-class action. The worthlessness of the partnership was clearly demonstrated, if any demonstration were needed, by the Chairman's reply to a delegate's request for an interpretation of the term "legitimate vances." The Chairman's reply was:—
That is a thing that all the world quarrels grievances.'

about, so I am sure we cannot get any answer.

Precisely: on every important question, employers and employed must fail to agree. What further condemnation of this pretence at unity is necessary! Arthur Henderson, in moving the resolution to accept the report, again showed himself totally unfit to hold an official position in the Workers' Movement. He said that the trade union representatives on the Committee were determined not to press the claims of the workers to extremes, and that the employers were of the same mind. He declared that Lloyd George had not been able "to conceal his delight " at the report. He said that this Joint Council would get for the workers those increases of justice to which they believed they were entitled. They could get them "and be an example to the whole world."

An example to the whole world." Yes, we An example to the whole world. I.es, we British workers are in danger of becoming an example, a warning, to the world of to-day and to posterity, in that we sat by, our officials smugly priding themselves on their clearness in avoiding conflict, whilst the workers of all the world were enslaved by our masters!

Lloyd George's reply to the pettifogging proposals of the Conference was not even a promise to legislate, but merely an expression of sympathy.

We are glad to learn that the conscientious objectors who have had the pluck to bear imprisonment for their convictions are to be released after two years in gaol. But we emplotically also are to be released. phatically dissent from the thanks which The Herald has offered to Lloyd George. It says: "We are grateful to the Prime Minister and his colleagues that at last they have been able to defy the reactionary forces in our country and release these martyrs to conscience.'

We give no thanks to the Government for this tardy relaxation of its cruel grip upon the men who have resisted conscription. We say to the workers: When are you going to join in getting them all released; when are you going to dismiss this Government and end the

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SMOKE NO MORE.

SMOKE NO MORE.

By James Christie.

From Land's End to John o'Groats there are institutions galore for the cure of disease but not a single one for its prevention. There should be many real live dreadnoughts in the shape of smokeless Garden Towns studded throughout Great Britain, cooking, heating and lighting to be done by electricity.

In 1909 I suggested that a start might be made in the vicinity of London. At that time the people were not ripe for the change, but there has been a great transfermation since then. The idea was that the coal would be brought up to the pit's mouth, the generation was to take place there, and the power to be sent on with cable, but the late Professor Ramsay, four years after, told the world that it was not even necessary to bring the coal to the surface, and, being a scientific man, no doubt he was right. Why use coal and have these periodical pit disasters with their attendant loss of life, our ships can go to sea without it. In British Columbia in 1913 a Company was formed that fitted up a ship to act as generator. A few should be built and anchored at different points of the Pacific; the motion of the sea was to do the rest. Unfortunately, the shareholders were financially poor and the idea was abandoned, but there is not the least excuse for shortness of finance to-day in this country. To the question, "What are the wild waves saying?"—one answer is "Harness me, and I will drive thee wherever thou wilt."

Some time ago I asked a man in charge of a large building being fitted up with electric light, if he did not think it would be a good thing to use electricity for cooking and heating as well. He answered: "Simply grand." But he was terribly puzzled to know how the poor painter would get on for work. From such remarks one would almost think we live on work; the experience of the world is that the live on food and to get that food, and other necessaries, a quarter of the hours that have been done in inormal times is enough.

of the hours that have been done in normal times is enough.

It has been suggested that the houses in devastated France and Belgium should be rebuilt in the style of the British Garden City houses. It is to be hoped not for they are chiefly composed of roof with all sorts of unthinkable angles, a thorough waste of labour and material, inside corners and crevices. When reconstruction begins the new Woman will have something to say about shelving and seeing that the door is not where the window ought to be as compared with the sink and cupboards. Stephen Walsh, M.P., remarked that the house of to-day is a brick box with a slate lid on. That is not to be the house of to-morrow. It will have a concrete roof—flat, so that it can be of use for recreation and sun baths. The walls of the rooms will be smoothly plastered, so that they can be painted and washable.

baths. The walls of the rooms will be smoothly plastered, so that they can be painted and washable. There will be no awkward corners and no projecting brickwork of fire places, as they will not be required. The present chimneys must get their last sweep, then be turned into ventilators. Professor Simpson has just told us that prevention is better than cure. The cure is simple. Stop constructing rabbit hutches as dwelling places for human beings. People coming out of these places recking with disease must certainly infect those who live in the palace. It is not wise to exist in an expensive Hell when it is possible to live in a cheap Eden. Health is wealth, and a healthy nation is a happy one.

Architects, Town Dwellers and Town Planners, let the cry go forth "Electricity."

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Collecting sheets may be had on application from 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. OUR FRIENDS and supporters are asked to do all they can to HELP the paper now. The circulation has doubled since December, 1918, but it must increase much more. Money is needed to keep up the present standard, and increase the circulation until we have at least a million readers.

If you can get a friend to collect also, please do so. Full result will be printed in our May Day Number.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

TRIDAY, APRIL 11th.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (NOON), Miss O'Neil, Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12th.

Great Push against Conscription in Poplar and Bow.—Meet at 11.30a.m. at 20, Railway Street, and at 2.45 r.m. at 400, Old Ford Road, meeting at Grundy Street and at St. Stephen's Road. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss O'Neil, Mrs. Walker, John Blythe, and others

SUNDAY. APRIL 13th.

Mrs. Walker, John Blythe, and other SUNDAY, APRIL 13th. Osborn Street.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker. Salmon and Ball.—11.45 A.M., Miss O'Neil. SATURDAY, APRIL 19th. Great Push against Conscription in Stratford.

MONDAY, APRIL 7th.

44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 p.m.,
Business Meeting.
THURSDAY, APRIL 10th.

20, Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle.
—8 p.m., Philip Edmunds, 'Marxian Economics.'

nomics,

FRIDAY, APRIL 11th.

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

SATURDAY, APRIL 12th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., Anti-Conscription meeting for Women only, Miss
O'Neil, Mrs. Clara Cole.

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Old Ford Road, London, E.S.
SUNDAY, APRIL 13th.
20. Railway Street.—7 P.M., Arnold Lupton,
'Old Slavery in New Governments.' Chair:
Mrs. Cressall. Discussion.
No General Meeting on Friday, April 18th.
It is postponed to April 25th, 8 P.M., at 3, Great
Garden Street, Whitechapel.
FRIDAY, APRIL 11th.
400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London
Workers' Committee.
SATURDAY, APRIL 12th.
Chandos Hall.—7.30 P.M., Reginald Roper, M.A,
SUNDAY, APRIL 13th.
Trafalgar Square, 3 P.M., Demonstration to
demand release of Ramsay and Watson.
400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., East London
Workers' Committee's Social in aid of the
Ramsay and Watson Fund.
TUESDAY, APRIL 15th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris
Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Miss Margaret
Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Miss Margaret
GENERAL FUND.—COLLECTIONS: Bow

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—COLLECTIONS: Bow People's Hall, \$3s. 7d.; Bow Branch Meeting, 1s. 7d.; International Dance, Mr. J. H. Fowler, 2s. PORTABLE PLATFORM, Anon.
SOCIAL WORK.—Miss A. Udny (Jan. and Feb.), £2 18s. 6d; Misses Gulland (monthly), £1 15s.; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), £1 5s.; Nurse Hobbes (weekly), 10s.; Goole I.L.P., 5s. COLLECTIONS: Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 11s. 9d. BOOKS, Anon.

We See It. Parliament As

March 31st.—Mr. Bonar Law said that the question of withdrawing British troops from Russia had been discussed "pretty often." He refused to grant a day for a debate on Russia. There should be no fear of publicity if there were nothing to hide!

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CONSCRIPTION.

On the ground that there was no "immediate national necessity" for the Naval, Military and Air Service Bill, Mr. G. Thorne (L.) moved that the Houzer of the tension of the Houzer of the tension of the Houzer of the Houzer of the Houzer of the House, that "even if Russia did not exist the measure would have to be passed." Yet the acquiescence of the Commons in this further crime against the people, has been followed by the dispatch of a "rescue" force to Russia!!

Commons in this further crime against the people, has been followed by the dispatch of a "rescue" force to Russia! !

April 1st.—Mr. Boner Law had to admit that the Government had not as yet considered the question of women magistrates; but he supposed "it will have to be considered some day." Why not save time by removing the sex barrier in all such matters, instead of using the people's rights as a means of winning favour. For instance the "reward" of wer work was the vote to women over thirty. Other countries are giving votes to all over eighteen as a right.

April 2nd.—People who have followed debates since the elections with a feeling of despair were glad to note that even the present House of Commons can be pushed too far! The Army (Annual) Bill was read a second time on Mar. 31st, and already then protests against Clause 12 were raised. On the Committee stage Mr. Adamson (Lab.) moved that paragraph (a) of that Clause be omitted. It provided for the complete muzzling of public opinion on military matters. One could neither speak not write one's views without risking being punished for causing disaffection under this Clause. Mr. Churchill when he realised that the whole House was up against him agreed to withdraw the Clause. This success should encourage the opposition to greater efforts.

THE POUND OF FLESH.

The adjournment was moved by Colonel C. Lowther (C.U.) in order to bring the question of indemnities before the House. He was supported.

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The adjournment was moved by Colonel C.
Lowther (C.U.) in order to bring the question of indemnities before the House. He was supported by a goodly number of coupon bearers, filled with indignation at the very thought of Germany not being bled to death. Mr Bonar Law held out no hope to them that all the desired millions would be forthcoming.

RUSSIA

Colonel Hoare (C.U.) referred to a peace offer which "two distinguished Americans" now in Paris had brought from Lenin to the Allies. He warned the Government against having any traffic with those Bolsheviki! Mr. Bonar Law said he did not "think there was the shadow of a oundation" for the said report. Everyone knows

now that a peace offer does exist. The great four are keeping Mr. Bonar Law in the dark it seems!
"MISCONDUCT"

"MISCONDUCT"

April 3rd —Mr. Churchill announced that a decision had been arrived at whereby soldiers, including conscientious objectors who have completed a total of two years imprisonment, will be "discharged from the Army for misconduct." Was there ever such irony!

"SOME." LINEN.

People who during the war have been unable to procure linen, this "dad to hear that the Air Ministry has about 40,000,000 yards to clear. Cost price 1s. 8d. and 3s. 94d.; 1s. a yard now offered. It is only another instance of the business ability of modern Governments.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Only one woman has been appointed on the

Only one woman has been appointed on the Old Age Pension Committee, the other fifteen are men. Does the Government fear that the misfortunes likely to come to light during this inquiry will be too much for a woman's feelings?

are men. Does the sovenhine teach the misfortunes likely to come to light during this inquiry will be too much for a woman's feelings?

A whole debate was devoted to repeating the old story with few variations. Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Nat.) opened it with a detailed speech on Irish wrongs. The only new elements were those contributed by Sir E. Carson and the new Chief Secretary. Carson said that no one now was in favour of the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book, and that "he was waiting thirty years for Home Rule" and was now going to work for reconstruction, especially the insprovement of educational facilities. These as we all know are a disgrace in Ireland. Mr. Macpherson whilst making no promises to Ireland admitted that housing conditions "are a disgrace to civilization..... They are the allies of Bolshevism and Sinn Fein"! With a little more insight into the rule of Great Britain in Ireland he will give up the ghost, if he has any self respect.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

April 4th.—When Mr. Adamson (Lab.) introduced a Bill to give votes to women at twenty-one—a Bill which had difficulty in obtaining a second reading—one felt that Westminster was more antiquated than ever! It is all past history now! Advanced women are so disgusted with the Parliamentary machine that they wish to see it superseded not perpetuated. Above all they surely will not countenance Mr. Adamson begging for this right on the ground of good services. Let us get on with the new world and leave these fossils to amuse themselves; one cannot take them seriously.

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PUNISHMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF CONTROL IN SCHOOL AND STATE.

Chair: MARGARET MACMILLAN. Questions and Discussions

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

ANNUAL MEETING will be held SUNDAY, APRIL 13th. at 2.30 p.m. in the Council Room, A.S.E. Institute, Stanley Street, Wicker.

AGENDA:
FINANCIAL STATEMENT.
RE-ELECTION OF OFFICERS.
UNITY WITH S. L. P.

Will members make a special effort to attend. Sym-

pathisers also invited.

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Fund, will be held at 400, Old Ford Road, on
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Comrades GUY ALDRED, VICTOR BEAUCHAM,
and HENRY SARA will be present. C.O.s specially
invited. Admission by ticket, 1s.

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TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

Dr. JOHN RICKMAN will Lecture at Limes Hall, Limes Grove (off High St.) Lewisham, S.E.

Thursday, April 24th, at 7.30 p.m. Chair: Miss S. PANKHURST.

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