

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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## THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

STARTLING NEWS OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR WAR.

The mail has brought us a bundle of issues of the *Western Labour News*, which grew from a weekly to a daily newspaper during the Winnipeg general strike, and served as the official strike bulletin.

Our first sensation in reading them is one of sharp disappointment. The Winnipeg Strike Committee was called in this country the Winnipeg Soviet, and we had thought the name was chosen deliberately by the strikers themselves. Extracts ostensibly from the *Western Morning News* and the speeches of strike leaders which appeared in the *London Times* distinctly stated that the strikers were out to overthrow the capitalist system, and to establish a Soviet Government. But now that the strikers' own paper is actually in our hands we find, in almost every issue, a disclaimer of these splendid objects. Here is one of the passages in which the *Western Labour News* explains its standpoint:—

### "WOULD NOT SUPPORT REVOLUTION."

"For the benefit of those who fear the present strike has some ulterior purpose such as the overthrowing of the present system and the establishing of a Soviet form of Government, and the calling of a revolution; let us say calmly and with conviction that the workers of Winnipeg would respond to no such call. Even supposing a few hot heads do make such an appeal the mass of the workers would defeat it by their votes as overwhelmingly as they have supported the strike. No, the workers are dissatisfied, but they are not revolutionists. And there will be no revolution. The workers want the control of industry in their own hands as soon as possible so that they can get the full product of their toil and eliminate production for profit. But they will wait until this is accomplished by constitutional processes. The very leaders who are most maligned and suspected at this juncture are members of the Labour Party whose platform is that of gradual change from the present system to that of a more equitable justice. Were they revolutionists they would form some

revolutionary society of their own or link up with some already in existence wherever they were found."

Again and again the *Western Labour News* repudiates Bolshevism, and even makes such foolish observations as: "The real Bolsheviks are those who have profited while others have fought and suffered." It boasts that its promoters supported the war, which it still refers to as "the war for freedom."

The demands of the strikers are set forth again and again and quite unmistakably:—

(1) "A Living Wage"; in other words an increase in wages.

(2) *The Right of Collective Bargaining*, which the Strike Committee explained as follows:—

"The right of any individual to belong to a labour union if he so desires; and the right of all such unions in a given industry to form themselves into a council, to conduct negotiations through their council; when same is agreed to, they shall be signed covering all trades within the industry mentioned."

### THE COMMITTEE OF 1,000.

The militant capitalism of Winnipeg, in its determination to crush industrial unionism, conducted a fight against the workers of so bitter and uncompromising a character, that, in spite of the pettifogging views of the labour officials, it brought Canada very near to the verge of an industrial revolution, and rallied twenty-five cities to join Winnipeg in the general strike.

To organise the campaign of militant capitalism, there sprang into being a so-called "Citizens' Committee," which was named "The Committee of 1,000," and had a daily newspaper of its own called the *Winnipeg Citizen*. The *Winnipeg Citizen* was given away in the streets without charge, but the strikers were not allowed a free distribution of the

*Western Labour News* on the ground that this would infringe the City Health Bye-law. The Committee of 1,000 manipulated the City Council and the Provincial and Dominion Legislatures against the strikers, got it made illegal for the employees in the public services to affiliate to the labour unions, enrolled volunteer scabs, drilled volunteer troops, secured the dismissal of the police force, the suppression of the *Western Labour News*, and the arrest of strikers and strike leaders, and organised riots and outrages.

The strike was precipitated by the truculent attitude of three great iron firms, the Manitoba Bridge and Iron Works, The Dominion Bridge Company, and the Vulcan Iron Works.

### THE METAL TRADES COUNCIL.

The workers in the metal industry had organised a Metal Trades Council to cover the members of all the various trade unions employed in the metal shops! This Metal Trades Council put forward a demand that the wages and hours (9 per day) which the McAdoo award had given to the workers in the railway shops in both Canada and U.S.A., should be extended throughout the metal trades of Winnipeg. The Metal Trades Council and its demands were ignored by the employers. The Council therefore decided to declare a strike, but the Winnipeg Trades Council approached the employers in the hope of effecting a settlement. Some of the smaller firms then agreed to the terms of the Metal Trades Council, but the three great firms we have mentioned refused to negotiate, saying that there was "little doing" in the metal industry and that they could close down their workshops indefinitely. Most of the smaller firms were in part dependent upon the three big iron masters and followed their lead.

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## THE SECOND AND THIRD INTERNATIONALS.

The Italian-Swiss Socialist paper, *L'Avenir del Lavoratore*, July 19th, comments on the fact that delegates of the Second International are meeting at Lucerne on August 1st. The paper quotes the resolution on the Second International passed by the Third International in Moscow. This resolution was moved by Zinovieff and Platten. The resolution analyses the various Socialist factions which made their appearance during the war: (1) The Social-Patriots, who are roundly dismissed; (2) The Centrists (i.e., the Kautsky group, the Independents and the Social-Pacifists), from whom every effort should be made to detach the revolutionary elements still remaining in their ranks; (3) The Communists now organised in the Third International. The resolution goes on:—

"The Berne Conference in February, 1919, was merely an attempt to galvanise the Second International."

"The composition of the Berne Conference proved clearly that the revolutionary proletariat has nothing in common with it."

"The victorious proletariat of Russia, the heroic German proletariat, the Italian proletariat, the Communist groups of the working classes of Austria and Hungary, the working classes of Bulgaria, Roumania and Serbia, the left Socialist parties of Sweden, Norway and Finland, the Ukrainian, Lettish and Polish proletariats, the pick of the organised workers of England, and the Young People's and Women's Internationals, all refused to take part in Conference of the Social-Patriots at Berne."

"Those taking part in the Berne Conference who have still kept up a certain contact with the real working class movement of our times, formed an opposition group against the policy of the Social-Patriots, in so far, at least, as conceals the all-important question of the Russian Revolution."

"The declaration of the French comrade, Loriot, characterising the majority of the Berne delegates as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, expresses the real opinion of the class-conscious workers the world over."

"The French and British colonies in the interests of

capitalism as a matter of course. In this way the On the so-called question of responsibilities the Berne Conference turned constantly in the orbit of bourgeois ideology. The French and German Social-Patriots hurled in each other's faces exactly the same accusations as the French and German bourgeoisies.

The Berne Conference minutely discussed one action or another of bourgeois ministers before the war, without being willing to recognise that those mainly responsible were the capitalists of the opposing coalitions, and their lackeys, the Social-Patriots. The majority at Berne wanted to find out who was chiefly responsible for the war. They could easily have done so by gazing into a looking-glass.

On territorial questions the declarations of the Berne Conference were capable of a double interpretation. This was simply playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Clemenceau, the most reactionary representative of the international bourgeoisie, showed that he recognised the services rendered by the social-patriotic conference of Berne to imperialist reaction, when he received their delegation and proposed that it should take part in the work of the different commissions at the imperialist Peace Conference.

On the question of colonies the Berne Conference followed the lines laid down by liberal bourgeois colonial policy, which justifies the exploitation and enslaving of Colonies by bourgeois imperialism, and merely strives to cover them with a philanthropic, humanitarian phraseology.

The German Social-Patriots claimed that the German colonies should remain the property of the German State, which meant, of course, that the exploitation of those colonies by German capital was to continue.

These differences of opinion on such a matter prove that the Social-Patriots of the Entente are merely taking up the point of view of the slave-Berne Conference proved that it had entirely forgotten the motto, "Restore the colonies."

In the course of the discussion on the "League of

Nations," the Berne Conference showed that here, too, it was following in the footsteps of those bourgeois elements, who, with this lie of the "League of Nations," are going to try to banish the proletarian revolution from the world. Instead of unmasking the machinations—worthy of a band of filibusters—of the Inter-allied Conference at Paris, the Berne Conference supported them, and lowered itself to becoming a mere instrument in their hands.

The attitude of humble docility taken up by this Congress in leaving to the Conference of the bourgeois States the care of deciding what the protective legislation for labour should be, shows that the Social-Patriots are conscientiously in favour of conserving capitalist slavery and of throwing to the proletariat the crumbs of a few insignificant reforms.

Attempts, inspired by bourgeois politicians, to oblige the Berne Conference to accept a resolution by which the Second International would have conived at the armed intervention in Russia, only failed, thanks to the efforts of the opposition. In this victory of the opposition at Berne over purely Jingo elements, we recognise an indirect proof of the fact that the proletariat of Western Europe sympathises with the Russian proletarian revolution and is ready to fight the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The fear that these lackeys of the capitalists feel when faced with the inevitable spread of the Soviets, is clearly shown by their timid inclination to avoid the examination of facts of such world-wide, historical importance.

The Soviet or Council of Workers' Delegates is the most important innovation since the Paris Commune. By ignoring it, the Berne Conference has but given proof of its poorness of spirit and bankruptcy of ideas.

The Congress of the Communist International regards the "International" which the Berne Conference is striving to call back to life, as a mere "yellow" International, a mere arm in the hands of the bourgeois class.

The Congress urges the workers of the world to wage a decisive struggle against the yellow International, to defend the popular masses against this International of lies and deceit.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

By M. PHILIPS PRICE.

### Part III.

#### ANARCHY.

Gradually the iron ring round Central Russia began to break. Revolutionary Russia had allies in all the territories hitherto occupied by the counter-revolution. These allies were found among the working classes of the towns and the poorer peasantry. No greater services has in reality been done to revolutionary Russia than the behaviour of the Allied Governments and their agents in the territories they have occupied. On the Don, in Siberia and Archangel, the whole of the social programme of the Bolshevik Government has been reversed. As soon as the feudal landlords who had taken refuge in England and France heard that the Allied troops had seized the territory where their land was situated, they returned, and, with the aid of foreign bayonets, reduced the poorer population to the condition of poverty they were in under the Tzar's tyranny. Free sale and speculation in land was again allowed. Labour organisations were either broken up, or else reduced to committees which had purely nominal power. Everywhere the Union Jack or the tricolour flew along with the old flag of Tsarist Russia, there was a restoration of enslavement for the Russian people. But this only aroused the Russian workers and peasants to a hatred of the Allies hitherto unknown. A deputation of peasants recently coming from the Volga provinces said: "The Allies have taught us a lesson, and we shall never again oppose the Soviet Republic." Gradually, in all the outlying parts of Russia, in the Baltic Provinces, the Ukraine, the Don and the Cossack territories, the oppressed workers began to come together to decide upon a common action against foreign tyranny. In Courland, Lithuania and White Russia the native workers and peasants formed their own Soviet Governments, which took power as soon as the old German army left. The landlords and rich people fled with the Germans, and in Berlin, Paris and London started a propaganda for Allied military support to reinvade these territories. The touching sympathy between the propertied classes of England, France and their erstwhile foes, the propertied classes of Germany, was never so clearly seen as now. It is a fact that during February and March of this year the German General Staff in East Prussia was in touch with the British naval authorities in the Baltic, and that Prussian Junkers' volunteer corps have received the protection of the British Fleet to carry on operations against the Bolsheviks.

Further south in the Ukraine, the local Bolsheviks had been organising during the autumn of last year a Ukrainian Red Army. As long as the Germans were there, the soldiers of this army hid in the forest, dug in their rifles and artillery, and contented themselves with propaganda. But by Christmas, 1918, large numbers of the German troops came over to the Bolshevik side, and the rest anarchically demobilised and went home. Then the Red flood was indeed let loose. The 10,000 army of Ukrainian Bolsheviks came out of their hiding and marched south, with the cry, "War on the mansions, peace to the cottages." It was met everywhere with the wildest enthusiasm. Young men fled to join the Red Army, old men brought their blessings. The landlords' domains became once more the property of the peasants; the sugar factories came again under the workers' control. Everywhere along the west and south borders of Muscovite Russia there a chain of Socialist Republics has come into being. They sprang up everywhere like mushrooms, as soon as the artificial force of the foreign bayonets had been dispelled, like an unhealthy miasma before the pure wind of heaven. There has been no invasion of these

provinces by the Red Army, no Bolshevik Imperialism spreading West and South in imitation of Tsarist traditions. The advance of the Red Army has been brought about by the triumphant, social revolution within these territories, which took place as soon as the German tyranny had been removed. The Red Armies that have been formed in these border regions of Russia are all from the local population. It is not true that Chinese mercenaries are used by the Bolsheviks. Lies of this type are spread by counter-revolutionaries, in order to stir up race-feeling, and thereby hinder the creation of a united proletarian front. Moreover, the local Socialist Governments in the Baltic Provinces, in the Ukraine and the Don, are, in practice, quite independent of Moscow and have only gone into federation with the Bolshevik Government there because of the common interests and social ideals which inspire them. The Soviet Government of Central Russia does not seek to impose its authority on any people in the world. It only seeks allies, which exist in all lands among the working class, and is ready at all times to work with them.

#### THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN PRACTICE.

Now, what is the Soviet as it exists in Russia to-day? We have seen that in the first days of the Revolution it was formed out of the thousands of informal gatherings of workers and peasants throughout the land, which came together to decide what next to do. The original Soviets were economic bodies, for it was natural to expect that people connected with one another by common work and common material interests should meet in times of cataclysmic social change. A factory worker's immediate interests are more closely bound up with the interests of his comrades in the same factory than they are with the workers in another industry.

For instance, the metal workers depend for their daily bread upon the welfare of the metal industry, the railwaymen on the railways, and the peasants on the agricultural industry. Ever since man first began to divide the work of civilization among his fellowmen, he has shown a tendency to congregate on the basis of guilds or special trades. At the more natural is it now, in a highly developed society in a state of temporary flux, that metal workers, railwaymen and peasants should get together in the various districts and discuss the subjects that most affect their lives. The informal economic unions, which sprang up in the first days of the Russian Revolution, became as we have seen, the basis of the Soviet system. The most important point to observe about them is that they were industrial and had no relation to territorial divisions of society, except in so far as geographical and climatic conditions imposed a certain limit to the industrial organisation. The Revolution therefore brought Soviets to life on an economic basis, and for an economic purpose, and in their first inception they were anarchic and without any common plan of action. During the first few weeks of the Russian Revolution one Soviet knew nothing of what the other was doing; only after the first month was it possible to talk of an organisation which was gradually uniting and co-ordinating the actions of all the Soviets scattered about the country. This co-ordination became most imperative for the safety of the Revolution, because the forces of the old social order which had been overthrown soon began to gather strength again. Only organised Soviets could raise the necessary barrier to reaction. Only if they expanded their activities in broad political action could they possibly safeguard those local economic interests, to protect which they originally were created. Only by becoming political bodies could they

guarantee the new social order. Thus in every town in Russia the factory committees and informal workers' unions united into a central soviet, which at once took upon itself the task of fighting the counter-revolution and controlling whatever authority the middle classes had set up. Soon the question was raised whether this central soviet, which was already exercising a sort of control over the bourgeois government, should not take all political authority into its hands. The controversy that raged about this question marked the second stage of the Revolution, which ended in October, 1917, in the victory of the proletariat and the expansion of the power of the Soviets from that of indirect political control into that of direct political responsibility. Thus, after the October Revolution, in every town in Russia the central committee of all the soviets of that district became responsible for public order, for the militia, for public works and conveniences, and for the local finances. The same thing took place in the villages, where the union of peasant communes, or, later, the committees of the poorer peasantry, which came from the former, replaced the local democratically-elected body. The latter for the most part were controlled by people who had got into power in the first days of the Revolution and had stuck to that power ever since. Finally these central urban soviets and the unions of provincial soviets sent their representatives to a great State congress of the whole country. This congress now meets every six months and elects a Central Soviet Executive, which is empowered to act with authority in the period between the congresses. This body has now become the supreme political authority in the Soviet Republic. It controls the Red Army and Navy, the foreign policy and the economic exchange with other States. Thus beginning with informal gatherings of workers bound by economic interest, the Russian Soviet has developed into a great political power, which is to be reckoned with in international politics.

But that is only half the story. We have seen that the original anarchically-formed committees were the seed from which the green shoot of the centralised political soviet grew. But this shoot soon began to put forth another—the organised economic syndicate, which came about in this way: The workers' factory committees, which elect the local political soviet for managing the militia, etc., soon began to send their delegates to a conference representing all the workers in that particular district according to their occupations. This movement was in complete antagonism to the old trade union movement, which sought, under Tsarism, to divide the workers into a number of craft unions within the industries. The essential feature of this new economic soviet or syndicate is that it is organised on the basis of industry and not on the basis of guild. Only in this way is it possible to prevent the economic power of the workers, the unity of which is so essential in the struggle against capitalism from being broken into jarring craft unions all working at cross purposes. Under the new system the wood-worker and book-keeper in the metal industry must choose their representatives to look after their economic interests along with the actual metal-workers themselves.

The same process of organising the proletariat industrially has taken place among the rural peasantry. After the October Revolution the latter sent their delegates to a political soviet, the duty of which was to organise the rural Red Guard and keep revolutionary order in the villages. Somewhat later they began to form purely economic unions, as the villages began to split

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### THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

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up into factions of rich and poor peasants, and the conflict between these two classes began to develop. West Europeans imagine that the Russian peasant is a peculiar creation with habits and customs of his own, living apart from the rest of the world in dirt and ignorance. My experience in the Russian villages has taught me that just the same social divisions are to be found there, in perhaps slightly different form, as exist in the more industrialised rural districts of Western Europe. The idea that it is possible to separate the peasants from the urban population of Russia, and thereby mobilise an anti-Bolshevik force within the country, is a fantasy. The same proletariat and land labourer and middle class corn speculator are found there as in other lands. And the Russian urban worker who supports the Bolshevik has an ally in the villages in the shape of the landless peasant, just as the urban middle-class has his counterpart in the village corn speculator. It was natural, therefore, that this mobilisation of the Russian village into two social camps should be accompanied by the growth of professional unions on the basis of the new social division. Side by side with the rural political soviets, there thus grew up the union of labouring peasants, which took upon itself the duty of working the landlords' land on a communal basis.

Thus we see how the proletariat in town and country built up its professional alliances on an industrial basis. Once formed, they began immediately to gravitate towards a centre. For just as the political soviets formed State congresses for the control of foreign policy, so these economic soviets or syndicates of metal workers, cotton operatives, accountants and labouring peasants, sent delegates to State congresses of their particular branches of industry to protect the interests of each. At the present moment there is the All-Russian union of Professional Alliances which is the top of the pyramid towards which all the workers' syndicates converge. This is the real labour parliament, where the internal affairs of the different industries are attended to, and reconciled with the public interest. Here in numerous committees and sub-committees are worked out the wage-tariffs, the hours of labour and the capacity of output of each of the amalgamated syndicates.

Thus two great social institutions have sprung up in revolutionary Russia—the political soviet and the economic soviet. The duty of the former is to protect the Republic from internal and external counter-revolution. The duty of the latter is to build up under the protection of the former the new social order. Once the danger of foreign intervention is removed, it is possible that in Russia the political soviet will reduce its functions, and that the power in the land will pass to huge economic syndicates working under the control of the Central Council of Public Economy. The latter body is something like the Central All-Russian Professional Alliance, except that it concerns itself only with production, distribution and exchange on a public basis and has nothing to do with the internal affairs of the different industries, which belong to the syndicates. When the new social order is really guaranteed from foreign counter-revolution, the political conflicts which have been raging in Russia since the Revolution will gradually die down. The struggles between the Bolshevik theory of "Immediate World Revolution" and the Menshevik theory of "Labour Coalition with the Bourgeoisie" will give way to others. Then will arise the delicate problem of how to adjust the interests of the whole community to the claims of the different workers' industrial syndicates, so that private capitalists, conquered in the October Revolution, shall not reappear again in a more insidious form. All this, however, belongs to the future.

Russia has advanced by giant steps along the new road, in spite of all the wounds inflicted

on her by the war and the foreign intervention. Young and energetic, untrammelled with the century-old conventions and traditions of an older, more archaic civilisation, she has a clear field in which to begin the work of re-construction. The private exploiter no longer exists in Russia to-day. If he was unwise, he fled to Paris and London to plot counter-revolution. If he was wise, he entered the service of Soviet Russia and is now receiving an ample salary, according to his knowledge and skill in industry. Throughout the length and breadth of the Russian plain the struggle is still going on between those peasants whose ideals cannot go beyond cornering corn and holding it up for famine prices while the towns are starving, and the proletarianised labouring peasants, who have learnt in the school of adversity that only by collective labour, by communist production and distribution, can a new and juster society be created.

#### SOVIET SYSTEM VERSUS DEMOCRACY.

Everywhere in Russia now the organs of the new form of society are found in the two types of soviet. Upon these political and industrial unions only those who labour by muscle and brain can elect and be elected. In order to obtain a vote, therefore, a man or woman must be organised in some sort of economic soviet or industrial syndicate, and in order to be thus organised one must do some form of productive work. This is the first essential of the soviet system. The second essential is that the soviet should be elected, not territorially, but industrially. This is the real difference between a soviet state and a democratic state. A democratic state recognises no economic divisions in the electorate. Everyone is regarded as a part of what is vaguely called "the people." How impracticable a democratic parliament is for the modern industrially specialised form of society, the following example may show. A metal worker, let us say, lives next to a railwayman, on one side, and an accountant on the other. All three have special economic interests for the understanding of which exact professional knowledge is required. Each of them, if he was to draw up a programme of his demands at a given moment, would have different claims to make for the protection of his particular economic interest. In a soviet state each would have these interests put forward through the economic syndicate, of which he would have to be a member, and the central union of the syndicate would then consider them in relation to the whole economic production of the country. In times like the present, when the fight with the counter-revolution is still going on, the syndicate would have to consult with the political soviet and obtain its sanction also. But the point is, also, that the whole soviet organisation is so arranged that the economic apparatus which is able to represent the workers' special interests and can reconcile them with the interests of the whole community is at hand. In a democratic state exactly the reverse is the case, for here the workers' industrial organisations have no political power, and can only advise a body which is brought into being by a scattered electorate. Thus the three types of workers I take above are in a democratic state only able to elect representatives for one district in which their economic interests are swamped in thousands of others. Candidates are put up by party caucuses which work on a territorial basis, and these candidates cannot possibly represent all these interests at the same time. The democratic election to a parliament, in fact, is nothing more than a device to deceive the workers by dividing them into artificial constituencies on the basis of which they cannot possibly unite and draw up a common social and economic policy. This can only be done through the development of the industrial unions as described above.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the soviet, however, is that it is capable of being continually re-elected. The workers can withdraw their delegates and elect again at will. Thus the soviets are always a reflection of the opinion of the workers at the given moment. This

was most clearly seen in the case of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918, and the Russian Constituent Assembly, which met in that same month. The former, elected only a short time after the election for the Constituent Assembly, gave a large Bolshevik and left socialist-revolutionary majority. The Constituent Assembly, however, was elected on a candidate list made up in the autumn of the previous year when quite different parties were in the political arena, and when the important split between the left and the right wing of the social-revolutionary party had not yet taken place. The result of the Constituent Assembly election was a majority for the right socialist revolutionaries, in which the left wing was hardly represented at all. For in the few weeks that elapsed between the drawing up of the list of candidates for the Constituent Assembly and the elections for it, an entirely new political situation had arisen. The Soviet Congress reflected this change, and the Constituent Assembly did not. Therefore, when the Allied Governments say that there must be in Russia a body which represents all the Russian people in a Constituent Assembly, before they can recognise the Russian Government, they are really saying that they want a government which will be put in power by scattering all the economic forces of the Russian workers, and which will become an empty shell within a short time of its election.

I would add one final word of appeal to the working class of England and France. Do not listen to the tales of horrors which the bourgeois Press of Western Europe tells about the Russian Revolution. I say, because I know, that the starvation and misery from which the Russian people are suffering is due, not to those who are building up the new socialist form of society, but to those who for three years drove Russia in an exhausting war, and then sent armed forces to invade her territory, and cut off her food supplies, and the raw materials of her industries. The Russian people appeal to all the world for peace. They long to establish the normal economic exchange between East and West Europe which alone can make good the destruction of the four years' war. Raise the blockade, they say; send us the technical advisers without which we cannot restore our industries, shattered by the war. Soviet Russia is ready to pay handsomely for the services rendered. If the workers of England and France are still content to leave private financiers to control the relations between their countries and Russia, Soviet Russia will raise no objection but will treat with their financiers and satisfy their wants in so far as they do not involve the reduction of the Russian workers and peasants to the slavery that they lived in under Tsarism. If on the other hand English and French workers take these matters into their own hands they will find in Bolshevik Russia a friend and an ally. They will at all times be welcome in the territories of the Republic, which are as safe for those engaged in honest labour as in any state of Western Europe or America. An immense field will be open to them to assist their Russian comrades with the technical advice which only they can give. On the other hand, they can learn many things which will be new to them in that wonder land that lies between Europe and Asia. Let us tear out the pages of the past! Let us write a new page in the history of the future!

A Day in the Country. **OUTING** to Federation House, George Lane, Woodford, on BANK HOLIDAY, 4th AUGUST 1919. TICKETS, 2s., including admission and Tea. Dancing in the evening.

Tickets may be obtained from Miss Bush, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.

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





## KARL LIEBKNECHT.

TO THE WORKERS AND SOLDIERS  
OF THE ENTENTE.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers!

In the midst of the earthquake of the world war, of the chaotic collapse of the Czarist imperialist society, the Russian proletariat, in spite of misunderstanding, hatred and slander, has established its rule—the Socialist Republic of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. It is the titanic beginning of the Socialist construction of the world, the work which constitutes now the historic task of the international proletariat. The Russian Revolution has tremendously stimulated the revolutionising process of the world's proletariat. Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are already drawn into the struggle. The German Revolution, too, is awakening, though tremendous difficulties are arising on the way to the victory of the German proletariat. The bulk of the people of Germany is with us. The power of the most bitter enemies of the working class is breaking down. Still they are striving by means of lies and deception to chain the masses to their chariot and to put off the hour of the emancipation of the German people.

And just as the imperialism of the Entente powers was strengthened by the robberies and murders perpetrated by German imperialism in Russia, so have the German rulers made use of the assault of the Entente powers upon Socialist Russia for the maintenance of their power in Germany.

Have you not seen how a few weeks ago Kaiser Wilhelm II, who after the overthrow of Czarism is the representative of the most in-

famous reaction, made use of the intervention of the Entente powers against proletarian Russia to arouse anew the war spirit of the masses of workers?

We cannot allow that such welcome opportunities for demagoguery be placed into the hands of our contemptible enemies—the most abominable enemy of the world proletariat. It cannot be that the proletariat of the Entente powers should allow such a thing to happen. Of course we know that you have already raised your voice against the machinations of your governments; but the danger is constantly growing. The united front of the world imperialism against the proletariat is becoming a reality in the case of the campaign against the Russian Soviet Republic.

It is to fight to prevent this that I am appealing to you!

The world proletariat cannot allow the fire of the Socialist Revolution to be put out if it does not want to see its own hopes and power vanish. The downfall of the Russian Soviet Republic would mean the defeat of the world proletariat.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! Rise against your masters!

Long live Russia of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

Long live the revolution of the French, British, Italian and American proletariat!

Long live the emancipation of workingmen of all countries from the hell of war, exploitation and slavery!

Berlin, October 31st, 1918.

HOW THE CAPITALISTS ARE  
WORKING IT.

Sir Arthur Steele-Maitland, who has recently resigned his position as head of the Government of overseas trade, has a keen eye to capitalist interests. He urged at a meeting of Chambers of Commerce that British trade should be developed in South East Russia. Major-General Briggs, lately British Representative at Denikin's Headquarters, said that Denikin's last words to him were: "Tell everyone in England that if I have tanks to go first, and corn following behind, and behind that boots and shoes, I can conquer the whole of Russia." But Denikin's progress has come to an end; the Red Army has checked it.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* (June 15th) publishes a letter from a Stockholm correspondent, who emphasises the fact that great sensation was aroused some months ago by a note issued by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Soviet Republic, in which it was stated that Russia was prepared to recognize her State debts in foreign countries and to confer great advantages on foreign capitalists by granting concessions. At first this was regarded as a mere manoeuvre on the part of the Bolsheviks, etc., etc.

In this connection the personality of Lenin is of supreme importance. According to Staig and Puntervold, and their view is supported by many who knew Lenin, the most important leader in the Russia of to-day is a commanding and highly-gifted personality. Puntervold, a Socialist of the Right, claims that Lenin is a well-read, political economist and lawyer and a thoroughly Russian, patriotically-minded, practical politician, who knows his people. An old friend of Lenin's describes him as a man of the greatest energy and the purest motives, who is deeply affected by the bitter distress of the Russian people. He is, at heart, not a destroyer, but a builder, who, now that the old régime has been completely abolished, is striving with all his might to lead the fortunes of Russia into happier paths.

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## LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

These are meetings to protest against Inter-  
vention in Russia.

SATURDAY, AUG. 2nd

Great Push against Conscription and Inter-  
vention in Russia and for a People's Peace  
in Canning Town. Meet at 2.45 p.m. at  
"Whitehouse," Rathbone Street, and at  
7.30 p.m. at Beckett Road.

Speakers: Clara Cole, Ph. Edmunds,  
S. Hanson, R. M. Fox and others.

SUNDAY, AUG. 3rd.

Osborn St., Whitechapel—11.45 a.m. J. H.  
Moore, Sidney Warr.  
Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., S. Hanson.  
Chair: V. E. Grimes.

SATURDAY, AUG. 9th.

Great Push in Poplar and Bow.  
INDOOR.

FRIDAY, AUG. 1st. and 8th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7-10 p.m. Dancing.

MONDAY, AUG. 4th.

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

## OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, AUG. 5th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William  
Morris Hall—3 p.m. Miss Stephenson.

THURSDAY, AUG. 7th.

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

## GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s.  
weekly) £7, "A Communist Friend" 4s., Ed.  
Healy 2s 6d, Mrs. Hardy 1s., Mr. J. Leakey £2,  
Miss Limouzin 10s 6d., per Miss Burgis 2s.,  
Mr. Ed. Healy 1s 3d.

Collections.—Mrs. Walker £6 8s 6d., Publi  
Hall Canning Town £2 14s 10½d, Chandos  
Hall Meeting £2 5s 6d, Osborn Street 10s 2½d.

Social Work.—Mrs. Alice Singer £2 5s, Miss  
Elsie J. Whyte £2, Miss M. D. Fox £1 16s 11½d,  
Misses Gulland (monthly) £1 15s, 'In memory  
of Elsie Grant-Michaelson' per Mr. A. Michael-  
son £1, per Miss J. E. Weir £1, Mrs. Richmond  
(monthly) £1, Miss Burgis (Sale of clothes) £1.  
Nurse Hebbes (weekly) 10s, Mollie Newman  
3s 6d, Mrs. Bodley 2s 6d., Miss M. Gliksten  
£2 2s., Misses Gulland (monthly) £1 15s., Mr.  
Norman Gliksten £1 1s, Mrs. M. B. H. Ellis £1,  
Miss Burgis (sale of clothes) 15s 6d, Mrs. Hen-  
derson 10s, Mrs. Despard 10s, Nurse Hebbes  
(weekly) 10s, Mrs. Ellis 5s, Miss C. Symonds  
2s 6d, Miss Limouzin 11d.

Collections.—Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts  
(Green's Yard) 19s 3d., and 16s 11d.

Children's Party.—Mrs. Green, £1, Mrs. Hub-  
bard Ellis £1, Mrs. Despard 10s., Mrs. Wood  
10s., Mrs. Henderson 10s., Mrs. White 5s.,  
Mrs. Ellis 5s., Miss Limouzin 3s., Dr. Johnson  
2s 6d, Miss Durrant 2s 6d.

Flowers, etc.—Mrs. Beesley, Mrs. Green, Mrs.  
Crosland Taylor, Mrs. Clark.

## W.S.F. NOTES

About 300 children attended a party organ-  
ised by Miss Burgis at 400 Old Ford Road on  
Saturday, 26th July, and thoroughly enjoyed  
themselves. They had tea, chocolates (kindly  
provided by Messrs. Nestlé's) and an entertain-  
ment consisting of a Punch and Judy show, a  
gramophone (kindly lent by a friend,) songs  
and dances. We wish to convey our best  
thanks to the many friends who worked so  
hard to make it a success.