

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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## THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT By W. H. Andrews

Many people in the British Isles appear to accept General Smuts as a representative South African, and the opinions he expresses on South African affairs as reflecting the views of the majority of the people there, more particularly the Dutch-speaking section.

Nothing can be further from the truth.

For some years, "Slim Jan," as he is called, has been suspected by many of his fellow-countrymen, particularly the wage-earning class, the small farmer, and the young educated men, including many of the professional class.

It was observed that he and Botha, with the wealthier land-owning class, always acted in close association with big mining, industrial, and mercantile capitalists, regardless of the wishes of the workers generally, and particularly his fellow-countrymen—the Dutch—whose support and votes raised them into power. This suspicion and uneasiness took shape under the leadership of General Hertzog, of the Free State, who severed his connection with the landowner-cum-capitalist government of Botha and Smuts in 1912, and was placed at the head of the Nationalist Party. The objects of the Party were rather vaguely stated at the beginning. The preservation of the Dutch language being the point most emphasised. It is often forgotten that at the peace of Vereeniging at the close of the Anglo-Boer War it was agreed that there should be two official languages in South Africa—Dutch and English. To enforce the observance of this compact was the most prominent point of the Nationalist programme. As events moved, and the South African Party Government of Botha and Smuts was repeatedly only saved from defeat by the support openly given by Natal capitalists, and more covertly by the Rand-Magnate-Unionist Party, the alienation of the Republican Dutch became more general and a bolder policy was adopted by them. At the beginning of the present war the Nationalists bitterly opposed the invasion of German South-West Africa, and particularly the use of the Defence Force in extra-Union expeditions. So bitter was the resentment at this, one of the numerous violations of the law Smuts had helped to make, that armed resistance took place. The rebellion was suppressed and the real cause covered up by emphasising the pro-German tendencies of some of the leaders. It must be clearly understood,

however, particularly now that so much lip service is given to the right of self-determination of small nationalities, that the conquered Dutch Republicans have no sympathy with Imperialist aggression, and desired that the Union of South Africa should remain neutral. Failing this, General Hertzog clearly pointed out that the War would not be settled or the result materially altered by the occupation of the German colonies, and if a section desired to help Britain then its place was on the European battlefields. The forcible and illegal drafting of the young men of the Defence Force to German West was the last straw, and the Nationalist Party grew by leaps and bounds in spite of the defeat of De Wet and his friends in the field, and at the election in 1915 the Republicans greatly increased their membership in the Union Assembly and other public bodies.

Encouraged by their success, the Nationalists now frankly stand for a South African Republic and will probably soon include all but a handful of privileged Dutchmen in their ranks. With all this, those who believe in the principle of self-determination must agree.

Here comes the weakness of the Nationalist position, however. The non-Dutch population, mostly urban and industrial, is not convinced that its point of view will receive adequate consideration at the hands of the Dutch Nationalists, and the wishes of the great mass of the population—native, coloured, and Indian—are entirely ignored. The Republic, in short, dreamed of by the Nationalists is rather on the lines of the Greek Republic's than, say, of Switzerland. The most bitter opponents of any improvement in the status, industrial or political, of the non-white inhabitants, are the followers of General Hertzog. For that reason the International Socialists of South Africa, although in sympathy with many of the aspirations of the Nationalists, prefer to take no part in any separation agitation at the present juncture. The interesting question of the fate of the conquered German Colonies is one on which General Smuts has already touched in his speech before the Royal Geographical Society. He quite clearly indicates that in his opinion the South African Union, and possibly the people of Rhodesia will claim a voice in the settlement, and hints that a proposal to return them to Germany will be viewed with disfavour by the section

responsible for the considerable sacrifices of the Union in life and treasure involved in their conquest. The diamonds of German South-West and the tropical raw material—not forgetting the exploitable labour supply—of German East are coveted by the capitalists of the Union, and they will leave no stone unturned in spite of their much advertised patriotism and loyalty to the Empire in order to work up an agitation even in defiance of Great Britain, if necessary, having as its object the retention for exploitation by them of the territories mentioned. Stranger things have been

## Of Special Interest This Week

### The Miracle and the Terror

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

### Do Poplar Poor get Surbiton's Leavings?

witnessed in history than the possible demand by the so-called loyalists of South Africa for separation from the Imperial tie if Britain's policy happens in the future to clash with the financial interests of the diamond, gold, sugar, and other lords of South Africa. What the attitude of the Nationalists may then be is uncertain. Whether their objection to forcible annexations will stand the strain of an opportunity to throw in their lot with the separatists and free themselves from the hated flag of Britain remains to be seen, and the development of the situation will be awaited with interest by those who study South African affairs closely.

In any case, it is safe to say that the attitude of the Republican Nationalist Party will have an important bearing on the general South African situation in the difficult period of satisfying conflicting claims which lies immediately ahead, and they are not likely to be deluded by the insincere cry about the rights of small nationalities, whilst they remain a conquered people, and are forcibly held as part of the British Empire.

## ANOTHER HYDE PARK ARREST

On Sunday, March 10th, Miss Phoebe Rickards spoke for the W.S.F. in Hyde Park. She was arrested, and on the following morning appeared at Marlborough Street Police Court to answer to the charge of using insulting words.

From the frequency of Hyde Park arrests it appears that the authorities intend to stop the holding in the Park of any meetings which have even a tendency towards pacifism.

One of those present in court sends us the following account of the proceedings:—

"Miss Rickards pleaded 'Not guilty' in a voice itself the embodiment of pacifism at the point where it merges into pugnacity.

"At once sprang to the oath an inspector: 'The Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth—so help me God!' (I take solace in the hope that the man is probably an unbeliever).

"His evidence revealed that a crowd of 300 to 500 persons was gathered about the prisoner at 4.50 p.m. on Sunday last, when he arrived on the scene.

"At once his keen eyes discerned what the indecently and unpatriotically normal eyes of the two following witnesses entirely failed to discern; all the symptoms of patriotic passion struggling in an intolerable restraint, gliding into loathsome words, passing into hideous threats incomprehensible with excess of meaning!

"Appears the inspector! How the hundred soldiers behind the imperturbable Miss Rickards, dangerously unaccustomed to taking the law into their own hands, fell about his neck ravishingly, with half-suppressed tears beseeching him to arrest the something there, the utterer of vile truths and calumniator of their great country, withdrawn in her modesty as she is isolated in her virtue!

"Perhaps even then he might not have acted,

but—could human flesh and blood stand more of it?—above the angry buzzing of the hundred soldiers rose the words of the speaker—there she stands unabashed!—"the mothers of the future will refuse to bear children to be cannon-fodder." The rest may go untold. Let this moment bear witness to the feelings that surged to his heart and overwhelmed him.

"The questioning of him revealed nothing, except perhaps that like emotions have surprised him in the past, and having resulted in like consequences. He has his answer on his lips before you have your question in your mind.

"Miss Rickards called her witnesses; both strangers who had volunteered to give evidence. With true forensic skill she marshalled her questions, and brought her main point to the fore. The evidence showed that the meeting had been in progress for over three-quarters of an hour, and that the majority of the crowd was wholly sympathetic—a cadet officer, several privates, a sailor, and a number of women expressed their sympathy with the prisoner's point of view.

"Said the magistrate: that that had nothing to do with the question."

"Quite so, but he might note the point, nevertheless, for his own personal digestion—and that the only disturbance at all noticeable was in the nature of the heckling customary to Hyde Park meetings, and that from no more than one or two individuals.

"His Worship here intervened to point out that he was not interested, which required no pointing out, and that all that mattered was whether a breach of the peace was likely to be caused or not.

"The prisoner agreed, and instructed his Worship in an elementary principle of logic, namely, that in any syllogism the conclusion is necessarily contained in the premises, so was the

unlikelyhood of a breach of the peace contained in the sympathy which the audience manifested.

"Came Miss Rickard's summing up; but his Worship was too busy with a little sermon of his own, preparing in his magisterial brain to take heed of the eloquent defence being spoken from the dock. His Worship's oration did not reach the reporter's ears: and gleams my bland approval! but I awoke at the sentence, and Miss Rickards stands to forfeit £10 if she breaks the peace within the next six months."

"J. POLISHUR."

### THE LITVINOFF CASE

Mr. Justice Nevill, in upholding the action of the landlord who sought to evict M. Litvinoff, the "Plenipotentiary Minister of the Russian People's Government in London," has shown that the law courts are to-day as much instruments for the suppression of propaganda against the dominant political power as ever they were in the most tyrannical periods of the Middle Ages. The landlord's plea that other tenants were annoyed by the assemblage of aliens in the passages was a frivolous one, for naturally the Ambassador of a foreign nationality will be visited by persons of that nationality. The growing practice of referring to anyone who is not of British blood as "aliens" is a most objectionable one. Justice Nevill, however, based his decision in favour of the landlord on the ground that M. Litvinoff had issued circulars to British trade unions, explaining the causes and objects of the Russian Revolution, and urging them to rise against the present British Government. This, Justice Nevill contended, had brought M. Litvinoff within the D.O.R.A. Regulation 27:—

"No person shall by word of mouth or in writing or in any newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed publication spread false reports or make false statements intended or likely to cause disaffection to his Majesty or to interfere with the success of his Majesty's forces."



## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA FANKHURST.

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### THE MIRACLE & THE TERROR

Two prisoners who would have betrayed the Revolution to the Czarism have been murdered in their beds, and some other men have been killed from time to time since last October, we scarce know by whom. A report comes from Kieff to Vienna, and round by way of Zurich, that "Angelica Balabanoff, she who was a Bolshevik, is condemned to death by Lenin." It is enough: Socialism must go! It is not necessary to reflect that the Bolsheviks have abolished the death penalty, and therefore most probably the report of Balabanoff's condemnation is false. "It is absurd, for Balabanoff was working with us until the other day!" says M. Litvinoff, the Russian Ambassador in Britain. It is unlikely, for Balabanoff has long been a Bolshevik: why should she cast off her old faith and desert her old comrades now? Yet had she left them and transferred her efforts and allegiance to the Czarism, what should we say of her? Many a spy has been shot in this country and every belligerent country during the War. The Press either ignores or applauds their execution, and the opponents of capital punishment hold their peace.

In Russia during the years 1905-6, which saw the stamping out of the then Russian Revolution, 26,083 men and women lost their lives, and 31,117 are recorded as seriously wounded by the punitive forces of the Czar. Police-made pogroms in Russia counted a further 37,348 victims during the same two years. During the five years in which Stolypin held office, 37,000 politicals were committed to punishment of one sort or another 31,000 of whom were sent to penal servitude. In this European War of defence and freedom—as all the belligerent Governments call it—4,263,956 Allied soldiers and 2,925,136 soldiers of the Central Powers had lost their lives, up to July 28th, 1917, according to the "New York Times." To every home extends the agony of bereavement, each street has its quota of broken and wounded men; but it is urged that the sacrifice must not stop till the victory is recorded, more lives must be freely given in order that "the triumph of democracy" shall be assured.

In Russia, last October, appeared the miracle; the workers long inert, dulled, exploited, long accused by impatient reformers of being spineless and cowardly in their slavishness and sloth, rose to the waiting work of evolution, set themselves swiftly, resolutely to the task of establishing Socialism, that happy organisation of society which shall create for us the golden age. The vast Russian Empire became a seed bed of new social organisms; peasants and industrial workers, soldiers, sailors, peoples of many races, even the Eastern women casting aside the veils of the harem, together toiled to build the Socialist machinery. The intellectuals played but a small part in the creation; the mass of them struck work and refused to serve under the Bolshevik Government; whilst some who accepted the proffered appointments, did so merely to destroy that which they were engaged to extend and conserve. In the Army every member of the higher command was for the Czar or Kerensky; no officer beyond the rank of ensign could be found to fight for the Socialist Revolution. The Red Guards, who went out to meet the picked troops which Kerensky marched against them, were civilian workmen, unused to warfare. The Red Guards made their own formations, placed their guns in position, and drove Kerensky's troops away, before Ensign Krylenko appeared to command them. Military experts were astonished by the excellence of their strategy, the coherent determination of their action.

Rank and file industrial workers took over the management of industries, displaying remarkable initiative and organising power; they re-opened factories which had been closed for lack of fuel and raw material, and they somehow succeeded in getting the necessary supplies. They started new enterprises and transformed War manufactures into peace work. War, civil war, and sabotage wrought by capitalist intrigue, intensified their difficulties. People in Petrograd were starving, though there was food a hundred miles away, because the railways and rolling stock had been destroyed. Everywhere popular universi-

ties and lectures for the people were started; the people so long kept in ignorance would learn, learn, learn, they flocked to the class rooms—not merely to read and to write, essential accomplishments, but oh most vitally important, they must learn to understand the political and economic system around them, the causes of the tyranny and soul stunting poverty from which they were emerging, the War raging at hand, and the Revolution, itself, which they had made. Elementary Secondary, and University teachers were pressed into the service; if they taught the children of Russia in the day, they must teach their parents at night. The theatre was requisitioned to aid the work of education; actors and actresses were instructed to present such plays as would explain the Socialist ideal.

So Russia strode on to freedom, but the menace of destruction gathered around her. War by Germany without; civil war by capitalists and autocrats who desired to destroy the new creation, sapped the energies needed for the work of reform. Russia needed peace, and the Bolsheviks were pledged to offer peace to all nations on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of all nations to decide their own destiny. Moreover, it was—it is still—desperately urgent that the peoples of other nations should join the Bolshevik effort to secure Socialism if Socialism in Russia were to be firmly established. The Brest-Litovsk negotiations were started. The German Government welcomed the negotiations; it was important to German strategy to detach Russia from the Allies; to make the frontier between Russia and Germany safe, to secure Russian supplies. We have it from well-informed Russian sources that the German Government, believing that the Bolsheviks meant to make a genuine peace with it, was prepared to make large concessions and to offer what the world of to-day would consider "a very decent peace." But the Bolsheviks belong to the world of to-morrow; their object was to make propaganda to stir the German and Austrian workers to Revolution, and undoubtedly their propaganda created the January strike movements in Germany and Austria. Realising that the main aim of the Bolsheviks was to establish Socialism all over Europe and that their propaganda was already taking effect in Germany and Austria, the Governments of the Central Powers were roused to anger, fear, and determination to crush the Bolsheviks—sentiments which were fully shared by the Governments of the Allies. From the first outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Allies have poured into Russia money for use in bribing men and women to betray the Socialist Government. They gave financial support to the reactionary Ukraine Rada in order that it might triumph against the workers and peasants who were struggling to establish a Soviet Government like that of Russia. When the Ukraine Rada made a separate peace with Germany, the newspapers which voice the views of the Allied Governments had little to say, though the signing of peace by the Ukraine immensely weakened Russia's power to resist Germany. Yet both the Allied Press and the members of the Allied Governments have declared Russia to be an outcast among the nations, because she has been forced, after many struggles and refusals, to sign the German peace terms. The Roumanian Government, too, has had the sympathy and commiseration of the Allies showered upon it now that it has made peace with the Central Empires.

Why these differences? Because the Government of Russia is a Socialist Government, and therefore it is found more hateful than that of Germany by the capitalistic Governments of the Allies. The Governments of Roumania and the Ukraine, on the other hand, are capitalistic Governments in conflict with their people who strive to establish Socialism. Moreover, the capitalists of the Allied Powers still hope to obtain benefits from Roumania and the Ukraine.

Everyone has heard of the treachery of the Ukrainians, who, having obtained from the Russian Socialist Republic the right of self-determination (a right which Britain denies to Ireland by the way), swiftly proceeded to the Brest negotiations to stab Russia in the back. If the public had not contracted the bad habit of confiding its judgment on matters of honour and morality to the Press, such treachery would be generally regarded in this country with contempt and scorn. Less has hitherto been known of the opportunist character of Roumania's part in the War, but the Bolshevik Government has now published secret documents found in the Petrograd archives which lay bare the sordid story. A telegram, dated July 1st, 1914 (five days before the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, and, of course, before War was declared), from Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, to Polevsky, the Roumanian Minister in the Roumanian capital, states that Sazonoff has heard that Roumania has offered to "turn all her strength against Russia" should war break out if secured from a Bulgarian attack on the rear. On

August 3rd Polevsky wrote to Sazonoff declaring that Germany and Austria had demanded a declaration of War by Roumania on Russia, and had offered Roumania Bessarabia and the Timok Valley. Polevsky added that the Roumanian Minister, Jake Jonescu, had said that Roumania was "lost in any case," and would either be "wiped off the map" or become a Russian or Hungarian province! Sazonoff replied by promising Austrian and Bulgarian territory to Roumania to draw her into the War on Russia's side. But Roumania remained neutral, and on September 1st, 1914, Polevsky wrote to Sazonoff saying that the Roumanian Government desired promises of territory in return for its not having joined the Central Powers. On October 13th, Sazonoff promised Austro-Hungarian territory to Roumania in return for continued "benevolent neutrality," the promise to be kept secret till the territory had actually been secured. Russia promised "only diplomatic," "not armed resistance" to attacks on Roumania. He insisted that benevolent neutrality should mean that:

"Roumania will put a stop to the supplies of food and military articles proceeding through her territory for our enemies and their auxiliaries, while making every effort to facilitate our rendering assistance to Serbia."

This, no doubt, was the sort of benevolent neutrality which Germany desired from Belgium. Who, indeed, can pretend that the manners of the Great Powers differ one iota where weaker nations are concerned? Roumania evidently found the bargain unsatisfactory, for by this one-sided neutrality she had exposed herself to the risk of War without gaining any promise of help should she be invaded. On December 1st Roumania promised to join the Central Powers shortly. Having won no territory and lost the Dobrudja, her Government must now be repenting its decision.

Whilst the displeasure of the Allies towards Russia was shown, on the one hand, by the public refusal to recognise the Socialist Government or to send food or money, and, on the other, by the more dangerous plan of lending secret aid to all in Russia who will fight against the Bolsheviks, the German method was at first to display a growing truculence at the Brest negotiations. When Trotsky and his colleagues refused to sign the terms of an annexationist peace, and declared the War to be nevertheless at an end, the peace terms were rendered still more harsh, and Russia was invaded. Broadly, the treaty expels Russian troops from Finland and the Aaland Islands, where German troops are installed, as they profess, temporarily. Russia is pledged to recognise the independence of the Ukraine, which has made a peace treaty with Germany, also that of Esthonia and Livonia, where German troops will remain till the security of the provinces is guaranteed by their own institutions. Esthonia has just been proclaimed a self-governing Republic. Apparently the troops of the Central Powers will remain there for a time, and self-government on how real a basis time will prove, is to be given. Poland is not mentioned in the treaty, at least, not in the summaries published here. Ardahan Kars and Batum, in the Southern Caucasus, are to be taken from Russia and reorganised by their populations in agreement with neighbouring States, particularly Turkey. Persia and Afghanistan are to be recognised as independent States, and Germany is to have free direct communication, via Russia, with Persia and Afghanistan. The return to Turkey of the districts in the Southern Caucasus and the provision of opportunities for German trade with Persia and Afghanistan have aroused a storm of anger amongst Allied capitalists, not because they care a rap for the populations concerned, but because they desire to retain these districts as their own commercial preserves. It should be observed that the populations of Ardahan Kars and Batum are in most districts mainly Moslem.

The most important point is that the Russian Government pledges itself to refrain from propaganda in the Central Empires or the Ukraine, to demobilise its army, and to disarm its warships. Propaganda can, of course, be carried on by individuals as well as by Governments, and the strength of working-class revolution lies rather in the power of organised labour than in that of armies and navies. But the Russian Socialist Government is assailed by enemies upon all hands. And should Germany cease to attack Russia, when she is disarmed the Allied forces which are preparing to attack, and the counter-revolutionaries at home must yet be contended with. Can the general strike and the solidarity of the workers and soldiers win a way out for Russia? If the solidarity can but be made international, Socialism will certainly triumph; but at present grave dangers threaten.

The British Press has sought to make it appear that the Soviet Government would overthrow Lenin and Trotsky because they had at last, to save the Revolution from further German inroads, agreed to sign the terms forced upon them, sub-

(continued on page 970.)



## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

## AN INJUSTICE TO THE W.A.A.C.s

The members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps get soldiers' pay, but their dependants get no separation allowance. A woman may join the W.A.A.C. at a time when her family does not need her help; later, perhaps through the death of her father or brother, the family may be plunged into destitution. If she were a free woman, she would certainly help her family, but the pay of the W.A.A.C. will not enable her to do so, and she can no more leave the W.A.A.C. than a soldier can leave the Army. The W.A.A.C.s are told that their work is as important as that of the soldier; why should their conditions be worse?

Ruby Elvina Spatchett was fined £3 at Ipswich for absenting herself from duty, she being a person enrolled by the Army Council.

## LABOUR MISSION TO AMERICA

Many International Socialists are of opinion that the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Mission to America, to "persuade" Mr. Gompers and the American Confederation of Labour to send delegates to an International Conference is merely an attempt to postpone the Conference till the War is over. Then the Conference can safely be turned into a whitewashing party, to establish that Henderson and the other Allied Labour or National Socialist leaders were justified in supporting their Governments, and that Scheidemann and other Socialists of the Central Powers were justified in supporting theirs.

## MR. J. H. THOMAS NOT YET READY TO FOLLOW RUSSIA

Mr. J. H. Thomas is not ready to assent to the formula of our Russian Socialist Comrades: "No annexations, no indemnities, the right of the people to decide their own destiny." He wants to fight on till the Central Powers give a pledge to restore Belgium. Can any victory restore Belgium the lives she has lost or make whole those who have been maimed? To continue fighting is to add to the damage which no power on earth can restore. He asked whether anyone could honestly say that it was possible to get a peace "made by and for the peoples" at the present time. Speeches such as his do not help to increase the possibility.

## BRUTALITY!

Maurice Andrews, a Russian Jew who left Russia at the age of seven and has been living in Aberdare, was arrested at Aberdare in January last as a conscientious objector, court-martialled at Wrexham and sent to Hereford Detention Barracks. There he was ordered to put on uniform and refused. He was forcibly stripped and left in a cold cell in singlet and pants for eight days. The military authorities refused to return his civilian clothes, and forced him into khaki. He was put in a padded cell, and his hands were strapped behind his back for four hours every day, a proceeding which caused him unspeakable agony. A friend who has seen him says his wrists will bear the

marks for life, and he is a physical wreck. And all this in spite of the fact that it is clearly laid down in the Army Act that all brutality and attempts to coerce a man by force are illegal! Andrews was again court-martialled at Wrexham on March 2nd, and is awaiting promulgation of the sentence.

## EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

The settlement of the tramways dispute is said to give equal pay to men and women, and so, a week more than the pre-War wage of those whom the newcomers have replaced.

## WORKER VERSUS EMPLOYER

When the Munitions Acts were passed, which established conditions of indentured slavery for the workers, the workers were told that they ought not to protest, because the profits of the employer would be limited. We always protested that the limitation was slight and ineffectual. When a W.S.F. deputation was received at the Munitions Office and attempted to question Dr. Addison, who received the deputation as deputy for Mr. Lloyd George, on this point, he rudely refused to discuss the matter and told the women to confine their attention to the wages and conditions of the workers. Now the House of Commons Committee on expenditure has revealed most scandalous profiteering on munitions. One firm they declare made a profit of £1,300,000 out of a contract of £4,000,000, and were allowed to write off half their capital expenditure from excess profits. They "would not accept any arrangement depending upon the investigation of their books." How then could their profits be properly limited? Another firm with a paid-up capital of £11,250 made a profit of £51,000, after paying all excess taxation. Another firm on a capital expenditure of £160,000 was to get a clear profit of £200,000 after seven months' working.

What fools we workers are to allow a capitalist Government and its friends thus to make game of us!

## ARMY MORALS IN FRANCE

Thirty-three women's organisations are joining with Mr. Lees Smith and others in a protest campaign against the fact that certain brothels are placed within bounds for the British Army in France. We welcome this action, but we must point out that the mere putting out of bounds of these brothels will not solve the evil, which is infecting both the soldiers and the civil population with venereal diseases. To deal with it effectively we must stop the War, and undermine the militarist ideal, improve the economic position of women so that money will not tempt them to prostitution; improve the economic position of men so that they will not be too poor to marry; and establish a truer knowledge of sexual matters in both men and women. Alas! there are no short cuts to morality! It is interesting to observe that none of the Pacifist or Socialist women's organisations have been asked to join the campaign.

## BREAD

It is said that bread will be rationed in June, and that owing to the shortage of flour it ought to be rationed now, and would be but for the fact that it is feared that anti-War feeling would grow if the rationing of bread should

begin before the people have grown used to the rationing of other commodities. The only way to check the growing food shortage is to stop the War; only the workers can be trusted to control the food supply.

## DO POPLAR POOR GET SURBITON'S LEAVINGS?

Why has the Food Controller "paired" Poplar with Surbiton for the purposes of the Meat Supply? What connection can there possibly be between Poplar and Surbiton, which are so far apart? It boroughs are to be paired, one would expect that adjacent boroughs would be chosen. We can only conclude that Poplar is to get the meat that Surbiton refuses to buy. This supposition is borne out by the complaint by a butcher in the Bow Road that he never had such bad meat in his shop as the stuff which the Controller is now sending him.

## LECTURE BY MISS MURIEL MATTERS

On Thursday, March 7th, Miss Matters lectured for the Manchester W.S.F. on the Montessori Method.

Eight hundred people were present. The smaller Milton hall had been taken but proved far too small and it was fortunately possible to move into the large hall. The university colleges, schools, and nurseries were well represented amongst the audience.

The Hon. Secretary of the Manchester W.S.F., Miss Nagley, 271 Moss Lane East, writes: "Miss Matters showed how under the present system of education the child is repressed, not understood by the teacher and consequently does not unfold naturally; whilst the Montessori System aimed at bringing out the possibilities in the child, through right environment, and presenting the right material, and by the helpful guidance of a watchful though apparently passive teacher. Many interesting questions were asked. A hearty vote of thanks was given to the lecturer and the chairman, Mr. Ward, H.M.I., expressed his pleasure in having heard Miss Matters as he had had many points cleared up concerning the Montessori Method of which he was doubtful, and the lecturer had also given him much to think of."

A collection was taken at the door to help the work in the East End. Many "Dreadnoughts" were sold, and many W.S.F. membership forms were given out. Each person was given a leaflet dealing with Militarism and Education.

On Friday, a reception given by Mrs. A. C. Scott was held at the University Union for Miss Matters. It was suggested that Miss Matters should come to Manchester and give a series of lectures dealing with the Technical side of the Montessori System.

Miss O'Callaghan speaks for the Manchester N.C.F., Milton Hall, Wednesday; Onward Buildings, Friday; and there is a Social and Dance on Saturday, at the Cheetham Liberal Club, Waterloo Road, at 7 p.m.

## "A LUCKY FIND—DARTMOOR, 1925"

The picture we published last week, entitled as above, was sent to us from Dartmoor by the artist, a C.O. prisoner there.

## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

March 5th.—Captain Sheehan (I.N.), pointed out that no representation was granted to Irish town and country workers in the Advisory Council for Reconstruction. He demanded the formation of a distinctively Irish Reconstruction Council. Dr. Addison consented to consult the Chief Secretary on the matter.

## SUGAR CARD: NOVEL USE.

March 6th.—If you do not deliver up the sugar card of the deceased you cannot get a death certificate! Mr. Anderson (Lab.) stated that in Kensington this practice is in force. Mr. Hayes Fisher asked to be supplied with full particulars as there was no intention to let such a practice go on. We should hope not!

## "A REVOLUTION OF OPINION."

Mr. Morrell (L.) made a feeble speech contradicting the Home Secretary's accusation that he had advocated a Revolution here similar to that in Russia, on the occasion of M. Litvinoff's meeting. It then transpired that Sir G. Cave had a special shorthand-writer at that meeting, so as to have an accurate report of all that was said! What a free country we live in! But Mr. Morrell should not speak at such meetings till his backbone is stronger!

## MORE SOFT SOAP.

The death of the Irish Leader, was an occasion for the Prime Minister to air some of those phrases meaning nothing, for which he is so famous. Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Carson and other leaders of the various sections joined in praise of Mr. J. Redmond's ability and earnestness. To those who have watched his career and the treatment the Government has meted out to him, the insincerity of such speeches must be apparent. If he were so much esteemed, why did the Government never listen to his advice? Now, the Government will regret its actions, for with John Redmond gone, the Sinn Féiners have the field clear. We wish them good luck!

## NAVY ESTIMATES.

On March 5th and 6th, the debate on Supply was continued. Sir E. Geddes made a long statement about the position of the Navy and his own activities at the Admiralty. Commander Bellairs disclosed the fact that "last week, in the Irish Sea alone, we lost six vessels in one day." Mr. Butcher (U.) showed himself human after all by pleading that the wife of a sailor should be placed on the same financial basis as the wife of a soldier. Dr. Macnamara went into the usual intricacies of sailors' pay, outfit and rank. He promised, however, that the whole matter should be gone into by a Committee. Meanwhile the sailor's wife and child must go short.

## WHY TALK PEACE?

March 7th.—As an instance of the attitude of the Foreign Office towards peace, we note the following question and answer a propos of Roumania:—Mr. King: "Can the Noble Lord hold out the expectation that on Monday he will be able to make a statement with regard to the policy of the Allies in view of the impending peace negotiations?" Lord R. Cecil: "Certainly, I should not make such a statement, though my right hon. Friend might conceivably do so?"

## THE JELICOE CASE.

Much time was spent in recriminations at the dismissal of Sir John Jellicoe. Mr. G. Lambert (L.) said it seemed as though he had been dismissed because he did everything that was right! Why else should he have been raised to the peerage! Sir Edward Carson threw the case into a new light by telling that when he was at the Admiralty, "he was smarting under the constant and persistent efforts of a section of the Press, which might be said indeed to be associated with the Government, to try to get Lord Jellicoe turned out of his post." But as he knew of no better man, he did not heed this pressure. Sir E. Geddes declared that Lord Jellicoe had been removed with the consent of the Government. Just as he had finished this declaration Mr. Bonar Law entered the House and proceeded to explain that the "Minister in charge of the Department is the Minister who is responsible for the men serving under him." This delightful contradiction of procedure from two Cabinet Ministers left the House to be consoled by Sir E. Geddes' childish plaint that he was so new to the ways of Governments that he thought a discussion with the Prime Minister was equivalent to asking the opinion of the whole Cabinet! When will the country have a competent Government?

## HUNGER STRIKERS.

Mr. Byrne (I.N.) stated that there is one man in Mountjoy Gaol who has been eleven days without food. He warned the Government of the possibility of another Thomas Ashe affair!

## VOTE OF CREDIT.

A sum of £800,000,000 can really convey nothing to the average mind—it is huge; but one cannot criticise it as one would sums of four or five figures. Yet Mr. Bonar Law asked the House to agree to vote £800,000,000 to tide us over Whitsuntide, when the House hopes for a period of recess! After going into a few details as to the disposal of this sum, he told the House that the National Debt is likely to amount to £5,900,000,000, at the end of the year!

Members who spoke later referred to the disgraceful emptiness of the House. But really descriptions of millions being lavished in loans and other expenditure must fail to interest, when the denunciations of such an outlay fall on deaf ears. Mr. Bonar Law referred to Russia and the fear that the money advanced there was not as safe as had been hoped. He admitted having trusted that the War would have been over by now, but Russia was the cause of his hopes being shattered. Of course Mr. Law does not stop to think who was responsible for the present state of Russia! The War is being waged to destroy "Prussian Militarism," he explained, but failed to account for the desire of Militarists here to gain a victory for British Militarism. Mr. Outhwaite (L.) maintained that the War Aims of this country were not those that were announced in 1914; if they were, they were practically within reach. Secret Treaties, which exposed schemes of territorial aggrandisement, had since been disclosed proving that new aims had been added. To attain these the present Vote of Credit was wanted! Mr. Hogge (L.) again demanded more generous treatment for soldiers' dependants and disabled men. Mr. Hodge declared how full of sym-

pathy both he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were, that delays and mistakes were due to his huge untrained staff. We would recommend trying a small trained staff, it would be cheaper and leave more money for the soldiers.

## THE LATEST.

March 11th.—An organisation for the promotion of pig-keeping has been set up!!!

## FROM PILLAR TO POST.

Sir A. Stanley admitted that some cases of apples had been shipped to this country and were sent to retailers without authority. They were immediately ordered back to the Customs Officers to dispose of; but somehow they were re-shipped to New York!

## ROUMANIA.

Mr. Balfour in reply to Mr. King (L.) about the Roumanian Peace Treaty said that "it will certainly be our duty and our endeavour to obtain at the eventual Peace Conference, a revision of the harsh terms which have been imposed."

## POOR BALFOUR.

Again Mr. Balfour cut a sorry figure when questioned about Japan. He was not in a position to make a statement.

## EXPERIENCE NOT WANTED.

A paper Controller has been appointed, a Mr. Henry A. Vernet. Sir A. Stanley admitted that he was not aware whether he had had any previous experience! We presume he will cater for the Northcliffe clique and share the refuse amongst those papers whose editors are anti-Government!

## THE PRESS GANG.

Mr. Lloyd George defended the appointment of newspaper men to offices by pointing out the exceptional ability of these gentlemen. According to him, Lord Northcliffe is the eighth wonder of the world. Why not let him be Prime Minister, if whatever he says must be obeyed? During the Report stage of the Vote of Credit, Mr. Chamberlain raised the question of the connection between the present Government and the Press. He emphasised that there had been too much coincidence in the attacks on Government officials and their subsequent dismissals. Mr. Spencer Hughes (L.) amused the House by his sarcastic and witty remarks; but in times like these though a joke is welcome, we feel that precious time ought not to be wasted thus. The Prime Minister defended the appointments of press men to Governmental offices and denied that the Press had any influence on the actions of the Government. We did not expect him to do otherwise, but we did expect the House to have more spirit than to accept such transparent excuses about what has become a scandal.

All Pacifist, Socialist, Feminist, Literature may be obtained from the W.S.F. at:—

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## WHATS' ON? W.S.F. FIXTURES OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, MARCH 15th.

Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, MARCH 16th.

Great Push for Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All in Hammersmith; meet at 2.30 p.m. at 10 South Street, King Street (a few minutes' walk from Hammersmith Station). Meetings at 3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and others.

SUNDAY, MARCH 17th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m., Miss Price.

"Salmon and Ball," Bethnal Green, 11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker.

Finsbury Park, 3 p.m., Mr. Cave and others.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22nd.

St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, MARCH 23rd.

Great Push in the South-East District.

## INDOOR

SUNDAY, MARCH 17th.

Bow Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. W. Carter, Chair, Mrs. Bouvier.

MONDAY, MARCH 18th.

Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., General Meeting, London Section.

TUESDAY, MARCH 19th.

53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley W.S.F., 7 p.m., Miss Lynch.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20th.

Richter Music Academy, High Road, Leytonstone (near Midland Station), 7 p.m., Leyton W.S.F. Social and Business Meeting; Miss S. Pankhurst, Miss Lynch.

THURSDAY, MARCH 21st.

20b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 7.30 p.m., Lady Margaret Sackville, Reading from her War Plays; Miss M. O'Callaghan, "The Present Outlook."

## OTHER ORGANISATIONS

William Morris Hall, Somers Road (Walthamstow League of Rights), 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

## FEDERATION NOTES

### LONDON NEWS.

BOW.—(Hon. Sec., Miss Lynch, 400 Old Ford Road, E.) Members are reminded that there are two important Bow functions this week, the Social on March 16th, starting at 7 p.m. prompt, and the meeting on Sunday at which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, W. Carter N.U.R., and Mrs. Bouvier will be the speakers. Tickets for the Social 8d. (including tax), and for the meeting, 1d. can be obtained at the doors by those who have not already bought them. We shall be very much obliged if those members

who have taken tickets on sale or return will come prepared to settle up. Then on Monday there will be the General Meeting. Members of all branches are invited.

BROMLEY.—(Joint Hon. Secs., Mrs. Minnie Lansbury and Mrs. Wood, 53 St. Leonard Street, Bromley-by-Bow.) The "At Home" held at the Bromley shop on March 7th, was very successful. After the refreshments were disposed of, Miss Smyth recited and Miss Pankhurst spoke on the example shown to us by the Bolsheviks. One of those present was sceptical about the effects of Socialism in Russia or in England, and her objections led to a very animated discussion. It was decided to hold the meetings in future every Tuesday at 7 p.m. Speaker next week: Miss Lynch.

LEYTON.—(Hon. Sec., Mrs. Hart, 73 Calderon Road, Leyton.) The first monthly social and business meeting of this branch will be held at Richter Music Academy, 608 High Road, Leytonstone, near the Parish Church. All members and friends are cordially invited. Miss Pankhurst will speak during the evening.

S. NORWOOD.—(Hon. Sec., Mrs. Montague, 20 Bungalow Road.) The Sale of Work in aid of the funds will be held on March 26th, at League House, 141 Portland Road. It will be opened at 2.30 p.m. by Miss Smyth Miss Lynch in the chair.

### PROVINCES.

MID-RHONDDA.—(Hon. Sec., Miss Ray, 40 Blanche Terrace, Williamstown, Glam.) This branch has been exceedingly active since its formation. On March 3rd, the branch organised a public meeting at Llwynypia Baths, at which a resolution was passed protesting against the attitude of the Government towards the question of irregular houses in France, and calling upon the British Government to follow the example of the Americans by placing such institution out of bounds for the troops.

BULWELL W.S.F.—(Hon. Secs., Miss E. Smith, 9 Commercial Road, Bulwell, and Mr. Forsyth, 114 Logan Street, Bulwell.) On Saturday, March 10th, the Bulwell W.S.F. held a social and dance at Basford Adult School. The Misses Cooper, Turner, and Draper provided a musical entertainment. Mr. Forsyth took the chair, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst gave a short address. On Sunday afternoon Miss Pankhurst addressed the Basford Adult School, the chair being taken by the Nottingham City Coroner, Mr. C. Z. Rotherer. In the evening a largely attended public meeting was held by the W.S.F. in the Albert Street Schools, where Miss Pankhurst again spoke, the chair being taken by Mr. Baldwin, and short speeches delivered by Mr. Croft and Miss E. Smith. Many new members were made.

### THE WALTHAMSTOW DEMAND.

The Walthamstow League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives has passed a resolution demanding increased allowances and pensions, and that the widows' pension shall be raised to the wife's scale. They say: "owing to the excessive cost of living, it is utterly impossible to exist on the present scale," and they protest against the grant to Lady Maude.

## The Miracle and the Terror

(continued from page 968)

ject, of course, to the ratification of the Soviets. But the Executive Committee of the Soviets has supported the decision, and we believe that the Council of Delegates will do the same. Trotsky's resignation as Foreign Secretary was heralded enthusiastically as a Bolshevik split, but the jubiliations are damped by the fact that Trotsky has accepted office as President of the Revolutionary Committee of Petrograd. The resignations of Krylenko and some other less known men are also largely boomed, but during the Revolution (as in the British Cabinet) many men have resigned, and afterwards have again accepted office. Kameneff, whom the authorities relieved of a cheque for £5,000, which he carried for the relief of Russians in France and Italy, bundling him unceremoniously off back to Russia, was at first opposed to the Bolshevik Revolution, and circulated a memorandum of warning against it. To-day he is glad to serve the Revolution. Those steadfast men at the helm and the awakened masses have often had cause to be impatient with the fickle-minded intellectuals!

But there has been worse to surmount than mere indecision; as the German troops advanced into Russia, Russian officers of the higher command met them offering their services in the fight against the Russian workers. The Bolshevik Telegraph Agency sent out the following unhappy call:—

### "THE KIEFF RADA AND THE GERMANS.

"Information has been received from the Revolutionary Military Committee at Mohileff regarding what is happening at Minsk since its occupation by the Germans and Poles. In the town the old régime has been re-established. The Czar's agents and police have reappeared. Gendarmes, by way of meting out justice to the members of the Socialist party, shoot them pitilessly. The Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) are jubilant, and have joined hands with the Right Revolutionary Socialists. Landowners have re-established "order" in their domains. The White Russian Rada has displayed mischievous activity, leaguely itself with the Germans and Poles and marching against the Soviets and peasants. Workmen are treated like slaves, without any rights whatsoever. The Revolutionary conquests are reduced to nothing. Comrades, we must not allow the enemies of the Revolution to triumph over us."

There can be no question that the sympathy of the German Government is with the forces of Russian reaction. But more and more the War in the East is resolving itself into a War between the people and their masters. The upper classes in Finland have sacrificed the freedom of their country for German aid in suppressing Finnish Socialism. This is clearly shown in the recent treaty. In the Ukraine the poorer peasants and agricultural labourers and the industrial workers, joined more lately by the soldiers, desire that the corn of the Ukraine shall be sent to the Socialist Republic of Northern Russia, whilst the richer people of the Ukraine have pledged themselves to send it to Germany in return for the crushing of

Socialism. General Alexieff is prepared to ally himself with any who will attack his Socialist countrymen. Prince Lvoff, according to the "Pravda," has set up a new Russian Government in Peking. Of course he has Allied support or he could not operate from China. He is awaiting the landing of Japanese troops at Vladivostok in order to enter Russian territory with them.

Siberia, taught by the long succession of revolutionaries who have been exiled there, is said to be solidly Bolshevik, and at any time Russia may be attacked by Japanese and Chinese troops through this Eastern frontier. Japanese warships are already at Vladivostok, and Japanese soldiers have actually landed there, the excuse being that they come to protect from the Bolsheviks arms which were "accumulated" at Vladivostok for "the Russian Government." When a Liberal Government succeeds a Conservative Government the assets accumulated by the old Government pass to its successor. But, of course, there is no essential difference between Liberals and Conservatives; when Socialists come in the circumstances take on an entirely different complexion.

Japan, the most war-like of nations, with her soldiers all unaware of Socialism, is preparing the invasion of Russia. Lord Robert Cecil, of the British Foreign Office, M. Pichon, of France, have expressed their desire that Japan shall act. President Wilson fails to give his consent, and is being praised for his scrupulous love of freedom on that account. He has hitherto refused to recognise the Soviet Government, and still professes himself quite unable to send it any help, but he is now sending kindly messages to the Moscow Congress, assuring it of America's desire to secure Russian freedom. The reply of the Soviet to the President will assuredly be: "deeds, not words."

President Wilson's alleged reluctance to assent to a Japanese invasion of Russia is, unhappily but too little likely to be due to friendliness. There is an old-standing jealousy between Japan and America, both of which desire to exploit and subjugate unwilling China. A Japanese paper, the "Nihon-oyobi Nihonjin," published in Tokyo, recently contained an article by Dr. Ninagawa Shin, suggesting that a Japanese, Chinese, and American expedition should be sent to attack Russia and win for China the Amur region and Baikal districts, for America the Behring Straits and Eastern Siberia, and for Japan the middle part of Siberia! The usual plan of conquest which draws nations into this "War of freedom."

"Jiji Shimp" Tokyo, of January 17th, publishes further suggestions by Mr. Onishi Rihel, a Japanese, writing from America. He desires that Japan should offer the Allies one or two million men in return for being allowed to occupy the Tayeh Colliery in China, and to build several

(continued at foot of next column.)

## OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.2. All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.2.

### Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (£1 weekly) £2; Miss M. Kemp (monthly), 4s. COLLECTIONS: Camberwell F.O.R. per Miss Pankhurst, 16s.; Bow Women's Hall 2s. 6d.

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### INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.

Dear Friends of Humanity.—Before the storm bursts let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORK-HOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.

POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

[Adv.]

ship-building yards there along the Yangtse, and, as Japan's share of the spoils, either Asiatic Turkey should be included in her sphere of influence, or Siberia east of Baikal should be ceded to her.

When American and Japanese capitalists have made a bargain which seems satisfactory to both sides, the invasion of Russia will doubtless begin unless some miracle appears to stay the terror.

Our workers, jaded, weary, and dull-eyed from over toil, gulled by a capitalist Press, wend their way home from work in the crowded buses, trains, and trams. They do not know that they, citizens of Imperial Britannia, have the power to save the Russian Workers' Republic and to lay firmly the foundation from which shall arise the golden age of Socialism for the workers of the world.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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