THE WORKERS

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. VI.-No. 1 +

SATURDAY, MARCH 29th, 1919

Price Twopence.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE.



What do you think of the League of Nations? Ch! "Capital," my boy, "Capital"!

HE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

nessed by wrether from Maccow on Jan. And nessege is not always cleer and often defective, manifesto begins with two assertions;—

The complete bankruptcy of the two (?) alist parties and the social democratic party. The danger to the revolution from the nee of capitalist States, need two factors necessitate the convocation in international congress of the revolutionary partian parties. What will be the basis of convocation? It will be based on the follow-principles:—

1. We have reached the period of a universal débâcle of the capitalistic system.

2. The proletariat must forthwith assume power.

3. The proletarian Government will take the form of a dass dictatorship: the dictatorship of the proletariat will be an instrument for bringing about the systematic overthrow of the exploiting classes.

4. Immediate expression of a universal organisations of courseds with the same trend of thought."

14. The Congress will serve as a centre to the communist international, the chief characteristic of which will be the subordination of the movement in every country to the common interests of the International Revolution.

classes.

4. Immediate expropriation of capitalism, abolition of private property, monopolisation of large

classes.

4. Immediate expropriation of capitalism, abolition of private property, monopolisation of large firms.

5. Disarm the bourgeoisie, general armament of the people.

6. Omitted.

7. Mass action by the proletariat....

8. The former International has split into three groups: the pathotic Socialists, the Minority Socialists like Kautsky, always wavering, incapable of a determinate stand and who, up to mow, have really acted like traitors; finally, the left revolutionary wing.

9. Against the patriotic Socialists a fight to a finish; as to the centrists, one must discriminate between the leaders whom one must exceedy criticise, and the revolutionary elements which one must endeavour to alienate from the leaders.

10. To act in unison with the syndicialist revolutionary elements of the working class movement which is not yet politically organised.

11. It is essential also to rally the elements, which though they have not joined the revolution have a tendency to move in that direction.

12. Then follows a list of thirty-nine organisations which are invited to take part in the Congress Sperteus Leoter the kerner of Helphanik, and The Congress Sperteus Leoter the kerner of Helphanik, and Culibeaux announced the demise of "Me International of the Opportunists" in terms which make a tendency to move in that direction.

12. Then follows a list of thirty-nine organisations which are invited to take part in the Congress which were adherents to the former International; the French Socialist nevenment which in their ensemble have shown solidarity; the British Socialist Party, &c., &c.

The foundation of the third International representations of the victory of the proletarian world representations of the victory of the proletarian world representations of parties which were adherents to the former International; the French Socialist nevenment which in their ensemble have shown solidarity; the British Socialist Party, &c., &c.

The foundation of the third International representations of the victory of the proletari

THE COAL CRISIS.

Struamon is Source Walks by Sexpic.

Writing on March 24th it is rather difficult to describe a situation, in itself full of conflicting movements hourly changing; and which may have changed entirely by the end of the week. The side will know of the miners demands, or Charter as it has come to be celled, consisting 1. A situation working and which points.

3. Nationalization of the Mining Industry, with large measure of centrol of working conditions by the working miner.

4. Full minimum rate of pay, according to their as the second of the side working miner.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

THE QUEEN IN BRADY STREE

op of a call from she has been round a few friends there. Brady Street I have a few friends there. I should realize hay street, but that is a the better part of Brady Street, but that is a far er reon a rarden suburb. One climbs up far er reon a rarden suburb. One climbs up innovariable steps in a "block," where series of room are piled on top of one another and called as a the mark L "mansions." There is a court below where the children play on that grassy carpet made of concrete which is so pleasing to the eye, and so restful for a child to fall upon. d to fall upon.

I have another friend who lives over a grocer's shop, right at the top, where a plaster ceiling has to serve for an umbrella when the gates of heaven are opened and someone turns on the tap. This is in Bethnal Green Road. I am sorry our dear Queen missed it. She would have been interested in it, surely, and more so in the story the young wife who rents it could tell. Her husband was on a committee that opposed the application of the Conscription Acts to Russian subjects, and one day some of our kind police came in and packed him off to Russia, without any arrangements about his wife and child. He is now in Moscow, and I daresay his wife could go there if the Queen could lend her fifty pounds—perhaps.

with the landlords. And everything newadays

with the landlords. And everything nowadays is looked upon in terms of profit.

And if Brady Street were pulled down and better houses built, how would the tenants be able to pay the rent? It is obvious that they do not live in Belgrave Square because there is a little matter of money that makes a great deal of noise. Yet these people, who will go on paying rent for these slums until they are pulled down, are probably employed in industries that paying rent for these slums until they are pulled down, are probably employed in industries that are making big profits for the owners. For instance, one colliery firm was able to pay a dividend of 197 per cent and put £150,000 into reserve, whilst most of their colliers had to live in one-room "houses."

in one-room "houses."

Let us suppose then, that all workshops, all factories, all mines, all docks, all ships, and all railways were owned and controlled by the people themselves. And that wages were abolished. How would the people live then?

As the houses would belong to the people, there would be no rent to pay for such houses as were good enough to live in. The house-builders would be able to build other new and better houses as bricks, wood, and other

better houses as bricks, wood, and other materials would be free. There need be no

slums—nor palaces.

Food and clothing would be free. There would be no starvation then. There would be no hoarding of food, and no "cornering" it, because as everybody could have food for the asking no one could sell it. There would be no

daresay his wife could go there if the Queen could lend her fifty pounds—perhaps.

It is not clear what determined Queen Maryto go to Brady Street. Time hangs heavily on one's hands when one finds little useful to do, but we may have some hopes that she will write an article for The Dreadnought on her impressions. She may even ask some of the dwellers in Brady Street to come and lodge in some of the rooms at Buckingham Palace, or Windsor Castle, or Osborne, or Balmoral, or Windsor Castle, or Osborne, or Balmoral, or well live all the load the state of the Queen about as useful to Brady Street as would be the visit of a Jazz band. There have been others—mere and women—who have taken an interest in the slums, not only of Brady Street, but of Ancoats, Angel Meadow Pollkishaws, and all the rest of the places when slume and hospitals flourish. And for trying to oltea these slums in the only way they can be alward, these men and women have been abused, insulted, and imprisoned. The people of Etaland once shuddered at the word "Socialism now it is called "Bolshevism."

It is not a question of names or label. It is not a question of the man and women have been abused, insulted, and imprisoned. The people of Etaland once shuddered at the word "Socialism now it is called "Bolshevism."

shuddered at the word "Socialism" now it is called "Bolshevism.'

It is not a question of names or labels a question of commonsense. A flower yill only grow in the sunshine, and how much he countryside is void and in cities, whilst the countryside is void and empty for acres and leagues. But slums bring empty for acres and leagues. But slums bring profits, and that is the only question that counts

THE TRUTH ABO'T POLAND.

When Paderewski arrived in Poland the hopes of all oppo-ed to the government then in power-elements of the Left under the popular dictator-elements of the Left under the popular dictators and composed of Pilsudski—were turned towards the ship of Pilsudski—were turned towards the ship of Pilsudski—were turned towards the ship of Pilsudski or an entered into negotiations with Pilsudski or and entered into negotiations with Pilsudski for an element being without money.

Moracewski's Government being without money, Moracewski's Government being without money, and not daring to face a difficult situation by a and not daring to face a difficult situation by a bourgeoisie, to exact a forced loan from the bourgeoisie, to exact a forced loan from the Warsaw bankers, nor in short to solve the pro-Warsaw bankers, nor in short to solve the pro-Warsaw

bayonets fixed was sent to the ommunist newspaper, Sztandar Socialist Standard) and after the printing paper and destroying suppressed the journal manu

the type, they suppressed the journal manu militare.

And now as to the elections. At Warsaw 25 lists* were put forward, eight of them being Jewish. The communists proclaimed their abstention. At once the struggle resolved itself into one between list No. 2 of the Polish Socialist Party and list No. 10 of the nationalist alliance with Paderewski and Dmowski at its head.

The electoral struggle was a very quiet one, without any noteworthy incidents of a public character. It was a struggle in which the Church brought the whole weight of its influence to bear. I was assured that the Catholies spent over 4,000,000 marks on the campaign. In the churches indulgences were promised to those who voted for No. 10 and the pains of hell to those who voted for the Socialists. And because the Socialist list included the name of Perl, a Jew and director of the Socialist newspaper, Rabotas (The Worker), the conservatives, improperly cannot be suppressed to the service of the structures of the suppression of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Handreds of thousands of leaflets were ev sented a serpent, with a Jew's head, threatening the back of a workman. Others villified the Jew and prophesied the Bolshevist menace, in the cvent of List 10 not being successful.

on the eve of the election the nationalities stuck up a poster in which this sentence occurred "Wilson has sent a telegram saying that he look forward to the victory for list No. 10." Other said: "If you want the Entente to send foot and the cost of living to decrease, vote for list No. 10." The participation of the electors, bot male and female, in the voting was very considerable; in spite of the intense cold, long queue of men and women patiently waited their tur in the streets before the polling booths. In a 280,000 electors east their votes. The list No. 1 by reason of the requirity of Paderewski, of the intense propagate arried on by the Churand of its anti-sentic and ententophile leaning obstined 160. The wore elected 11 canadatase (including one womant). were elected 11 cannidates (including one wor of list No. 10, 2 Socialists and 2 Jews.

of list No. 10, 2 Southers and 2 Jews.

The Jesuits have no rtaken a campaign, co ducted with a certain amount of caution for the present, in favour of a monarchic régime. Catholic newspaper has already suggested "popular monarchy." The conservatives do hide their sympathy towards a monarchy, be they fear that in the present political atmosphe it would be premature to set it up, because would threaten to unchain rebellions in the part of the Left. Many conservatives think that will be necessary before reaching the monarch of the control of

probability we shall have the monarchy.

As you see, then, the Polish State, built up contradictions has not yet traversed the crisis its formation and systematisation. The intensituation is still uncertain; by the side of eservative and monarchical whims, there rises a spectre—Bolshevism, which finds in the actionaries the best propagandists of the pman's revolution. The economic situation, tis difficult groups, more than 500,000 unemploy actionaries the best propagandists of the p-man's revolution. The economic situation, tis difficult enough; more than 500,000 unemploy are looking for work in vain. The conservation are hoping that the Entente may supply are and money to Poland, entrusting to her mission of combating Russian Bolshevism, becarby these mans Poland would be able to enla and consolidate her Eastern frontiers, and so by militarism and with allied gold the threaten problem of unemployment, assuring an exterwar, internal "peace," i.e., the wealth and I dominating power of the privileged classes.

Luciano Magrini

[From the Secolo of February 18th.]

* The Halian says:—"Le liste presentate a Varsof furono veinticinque."

'Dreadnought' Collecting Sheets on a plication to 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4.

A MESSAGE FROM HUNGARIAN SOCIALISTS.

The Ido Federation of the Hungarian Socialist State, trampled upon our educational organisations and, instead of freeing Labour, oreated a new slavery.

The Hungarian Workers' Congress calls to the workers of the world:—

The Hungarian Workers' Congress calls to the workers of the world, begging them not to allow the Hungarian people's Republic and the newly-on liberties gained by the Hungarian workers of the destroyed by the Allied occupation. We resenting delegates to all parts of the world to appear to have taken seriously the resenting delegates to all parts of the world to appear to have taken seriously the form the workers of the dangers which are meatening Hungarian democracy and Socialism, and to appeal to the workers of the world for The lake of coal means the destruction of our deducational organisations and, instead of freeing Labour, oreated a new slavery.

The occupation of Hungary not only means the suppression of all popular rights' and the strangling of the growing Labour movement: it means also the stoppage of work. Where there is no coal there can be no work. The Army of Occupation appears to have taken seriously the impossible, and that by advocating it they are impossible, and the people's government. It not only opposes the right of self determination, but it is furious because the Hungarian because the Hungarian of the reactionary Press believe it possible to strangling of the growing Labour movement: it means also the stoppage of work. Where there is no coal there can be no work. The Army of Occupation appears to have taken seriously the impossible and the proposes attraction. the Hungarian Workers' Congress calls to the cries of the world, begging them not to allow Hungarian people's Republic and the newly-niberties gained by the Hungarian workers be destroyed by the Allied occupation. We sending delegates to all parts of the world to orm the workers of the dangers which are eatening Hungarian democracy and Socialism, to appeal to the workers of the world for the control of the control of the control of the control of the world for the control of the workers of the world for the control of the control of the control of the workers of the world for the control of the control of the control of the world for the control of the world for the control of the control of the world for the worl

p. Vhat is happening in Hungary at this moment?

Revolution, with hardly any bloodshed, rthrew an old degenerate tyranny and the ngarian republic was born. The people's public rapidly cleared away all remnants of dalism, established complete democracy and enlarged possibility of Socialism.

marged possibility of Socialism.

Then the Entente Powers were still fighting, re they had achieved victory, they inscribed a their banner: Liberty for the small nationes and the security of democracy. The enterpowers won, but their incoming troops not bring liberty: the people's Republic of agary had already created liberty here. The enterwhich promised to free the world from yoke of German absolutism has subjected gary to the backward and greedy imperialism Roumania, Serbia and the Czecho-Slovacs. See Empires belong to an inferior stage of elopment to that of Hungarian democracy.

The property of association of the property of t

so thingarian workers congress eals to the ses of the worker of the area and the newly imperite gained by the Hungarian workers of destroyed by the Allied occupation. We add to the workers of the dangers which are can generally and the workers of the dangers which are can generally and the workers of the

THE SOLDIER and THE WAR.

following passages comprise one of six fragappearing in the "Dreadnought" from a by Dudley Howard Tripp, a young soldier who dearly in the war and here records his

There is only one crime that we cannot ve, and of which we ourselves have been y. The crime of narrow patriotism; the e of not having insisted on open diplomacy full, unvarnished facts; the crime of not ing to international relations, international utes, the same procedure, the same judicial em of prosecution and defence as we enjoy he courts of common law. There is the derime of infinite folly, infinite ignorance,

was towards the end of 1915 that I began to that; it was then that I began to think and der. I had been a year in the trenches. I to myself one day, looking at a shivering, implaining man upon the bitter parapet: e did not make war." It was an astounding the state war. It was an assorbiding he; it burnt into my brain with sudden, rating fire. It took me from him to the r, from the Kaiser to his Generals of armies, is Chancellors, and from those great men to include the state of the state o mple, suffering, grey-coated guard in the

ured him then as ignorant, as helpless, as fortable, as heroically uncomplaining as the clad figure a yard away from me. I could m drawing his coat-collar round his ears as in lashed him, hear him muttering doggedly mself: "It must be seen through; I must

It; to is just."

It them side by side—grey and khaki—the listening on their sodden great coats, streamom their caps, marked their numbed hands, a nails, red-encircled eyes; listened, even, to

in I said: "Naked men, both of you, when me into the world! To-day, if I sent you in your multitudes, silent and uncomplaintipped of your uniforms, and bade you fight, ould you say, either of you: 'This is my ; him will I kill!'"

It is not in your ranks that the enemy is to be found; it is not in your home that the spirit of hatred and revenge makes its bed. Uniform is thrust upon you, and made a symbol of racial enmity; nationality is impressed upon you, and made a synonym for false pride. You have not been taught; you have not understood that all war is civil war, that all men bleed red no matter what colour be their skin or their hair, that the brotherhood of man—Internationalism—is the truth of Christ, the very key to the citizenship of the world.

...So I looked deeper, and the deeper I looked half-truth for lack of its balancing moiety became to them a convincing whole; how their lack of individuality had made them dependent on the care-free agent of mighty class and financial

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care-free agent of mighty class and financial interests.

...And then I looked for light. For a long while I saw none. For many days in this first groping of mine I beat against dark encircling walls. So many things were hidden from me, so many books and ideas shut away from those blood-stained lines. Thought, dimly stirring, became agony as it moved like a child in some confined womb. Then....then, Noël was killed.

With the death of a real pal something dies, but something newer and deeper is born. We had been pals for a long time, had suffered and wept, laughed and sworn together. We had broken a last crust evenly, and licked at a table-spoonful of water. We had buried men—even

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Sat., March 29th, 1919.

THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

The Hungarian Workers' Revolution at last has answered the call of Soviet Russia. In Budapett, the beautiful city where East meets West, the great hall of the Vigado will become the scene of many a wonderful meeting, and the scene of many a wonderful meeting, and great doings will be witnessed from the windows of that suite of rooms occupied by the Women Clerks' Trade Union, which overlooks the Vigado Square, the Corso, and the Danube.

Political propaganda held an important place in Budapest before the war. The offices of

in Budapest before the war. The offices of progressive organisations were not, as so often here, hidden away in back streets, but prominently situated. The Women's Movement was in many ways the healthiest and most active in Europe. Four thousand of the 6,000 women clerks were organised in 1914, and their union had its own library complexment hursan and had its own library, employment bureau, and legal adviser. It worked actively to influence legislation in the interests of its members and to secure wider educational opportunities for women. It was the first organisation to ask for Votes for Women. Did it discover presently the futility of Parliamentary Government? Did it throw itself actively into the work of establishing the Soviets? The Women Clerks Union and the Social Democrats were just before the war organising the shop assistants. The Women's Suffrage Movement was the most vigorous on the Continent and was more demomore friendly towards the Socialists. than in most other Continental countries. Miss Pogany, who was active in it, is sister to Willy Pogany, the Socialist artist then well known in London, and, we think, also to Joseph Pogany, the President of the Soldiers' Council, who is now Soviet Minister of War. The Suffragists now Soviet Minister of War. The Suffragists occupied splendid offices in the same building as the great newspaper Pesti Lloyd. Their activities were filmed by the cinema shows. Their paper ANÖ, the woman, was sold on the Corso. Will it presently be said that Hingary with this advanced Woman's Movement has nationalised her women? The Pacifist Movement was also strong in Hungary. Rosika Schwimmer, a foremost Suffrage leader, joined the Women's International Peace Movement. the Women's International Peace Movement, attended the Women's Conference at Hague, and with Jane Addams and others toured the world, visiting the neutral and belligerent governments in the interests of belligerent governments in the interests of peace. She received widespread support and was greeted on her return by great and enthusiastic popular demonstrations. War fever evidently took no strong hold in Hungary. In 1915 the English residents in Budapest made a collection in aid of the Hungarian Red Cross in collection in aid of the Hungarian Red Cross in recognition of the kindness shown to them. The French colony petitioned the French Government asking that Hungarians in France should be treated as well as the Hungarians were treating them. Active reformers had secured for Hungary the best child welfare system in the world. National sick insurance had been established in 1907. Rural home industries were subsidised by the State and minimum

wages fixed by the State for such industries.
Wages Boards were set up for home industries.
Municipal housing in the form of great suburban
colonies was carried out on a more extensive and

efficient scale than anything attempted in this

These reforms but slightly palliated appalling conditions. Nowhere could one see a more striking contrast between the workers and the bourgeoisie. The former worn and often refined by hard toil, the latter fleshy and luxurious. Rents were high; wages low. Women clerks, in spite of their union, could be had for £2 10s. a month; domestic servants got 16s. to 25s. a month. Men and women were building the houses together; the women serving as labourers to the men got 1s. 8d. to 2s. 1d. a day; the men 2s. 6d. to 3s. 4d. per day. Carpenters' wages were similar. Market riots by the women and rent strikes were common even before the war. Poverty drove even children into prostitution. Vice was regulated by the State and in the Budapest Prison we saw numbers of little girls in their early teens who had been sentenced for in their early teens who had been sentenced for plying the trade of prostitution without first being registered by the police. There were no women officials in the prison; the men warders women officials in the prison, the inen warders wore swords. Four or five girls were kept in the same small cell. Some of these poor children, dying of venereal disease, bare-footed and clad in filthy rags, with matted hair over their eyes, seemed to have become sub-human. The franchise even for men was very narrow.

Agriculture is the main industry of Hungary;

it is said that the land, next to that of Colorado, is the richest in the world. Almost every inch of the vast plains appears to be cultivated, One sees no hedgerows; the furrows come down to the edge of the narrow roads. Peasant women, minute in the vast landscape, are at carts drawn by oxen or horses and laden with brushwood passes slowly. Everywhere is great evidence of labour. Occasionally the evidence of labour. Occasionally the wide stretches of arable land are broken by wooded knolls, where wonderful y large and numerous stacks of faggots are ready for collection. A long line of giant supports with connecting wires carries water from the Danube to distant fields. The houses of the peasants are small and mean. Until yesterday these rich lands, so splendidly cultivated by the patient hands of innumerable workers, were concentrated in the possession of a few rich individuals, but now the Revolution

In 1914, going by chance and on a sudden impulse into a Budapest elementary school, we saw in the headmaster's room the statuette of a saw in the headmaster's room the statuette of a big man in working clothes; his massive head was bowed despairingly, his clenched hands, in one of which was a weapon, hung still more despairing at his side. We asked the schoolmaster the meaning of this figure. He said that it represented the peasants, who, after the revolution of 1849, had been forced to lay down their arms. The schoolmaster's grandfather had been the model for the figure. "I am a revolutionary like you," he said. "I would fight for freedom if I could." Neither we nor our unknown comrade realised that in less than five years he would have his chance.

The letter from Hungarian Socialists which The letter from Hungarian Socialists which we publish on another page, tells us how events have moved in Hungary since the first revolution, which substituted Count Karolyi for Count Tisza as head of the Government, and set up a bourgeois reformist anti-war government. The bourgeois reformist anti-war government. The imperialist Czechs, Roumanians, and Serbs secured the revision of the armistice concluded at Belgrade on November 8th, 1918, between Karolyi and General Franchet d'Espérey on behalf of the Allies. The new terms involved behalf of the Allies. The new terms involved territorial encroachments, causing Hungarians, who had secured a wide measure of political freedom by their revolution, to be forced under the control of these small and backward autocracies. They also deprived Hungary of supplies stored in these territories. The Allied occupation of Hungary opposed all freedom. A Times' correspondent, writing recently, said that the country was on the verge of starvation, real was unobtainable and in all the large coal was unobtainable, and in all the large factories the workmen had "turned out the directors and appropriated everything to them-selves," there was "no army to speak of," and the police "were not to be trusted." (That is, the police "were not to be trusted." (That is, of course, from the standpoint of the possessing classes.) Karolyi seems to have tried to make

friends with the Allies; but the Council of Ter in Paris would not relax their extortionate grin spite of the fact that their oppressive treatment of Hungary was bringing the workers t that point of desp-ration at which they wou risk all and plunge into a second revolution establish a proletarian government. That s called Peace Council has recently presented Hungary a demand that a neutral zone be se hungary a demand that a neutral zone be set up between the Hungarians and Roumanians, which would lop off another large piece of Hungary, including the towns of Szegedon, Arad, Grosswardein, and Delreczin. Civil government in this neutral zone would be "exercised by the Hungarians under Allied control."

The Karolyi Government replied that the new demands were contrary to the armistice an Military Convention of November 13th, and tha the Government was "not in a position recognise the decision of the Peace Conference and to assist in carrying it through," because i was not invited to the Feace contented therefore its only alternative was resignation Perhaps the reply may have meant: if you had helped us we would have held on; as it is, we wash our hands of the business and leave you to deal with the Workers' Revolution which about to overcome us. Be that as it may, Count Karolyi published simultaneously a proclamation to the people, in which he declared that the Allies intend to use Hungary as a base of operations against Soviet Russia. He concluded:—

"I, as provisional President of the Hungariar Republic, turn from the Paris Peace Conference to the proletariat of the world for justice and support. I resign, and hand over power to the proletariat of the Hungarian peoples."

Karolyi has resigned, as the Kaiser and Prince Max of Bavaria resigned, nominating, as the did, the power that is to succeed him. Bu Karolyi has not, like those others, chosen to b replaced by men whom he thinks able to stav off the dictatorship of the workers: he has handed the government to that dictatorship. the news is authentic and Karolyi has acted good faith, he has done a very wise an

courageous thing.

The Budapest Workers' Council hastily formed a Ministry with the following members President, Alexander Garbai; Home Office Eugene Landler; Treasury, Eugen Baga Education, Siegmund Kunfy; Foreign Office Bela Kun; War Office, Joseph Pogany. Ku was recently imprisoned and injured in a figh between the police and the communists Pogany, the President of the Soldiers' Council called by The Times "the strongest man i He recently said :-Hungary."

Hungary." He recently said:—

"The political revolution, although apparently at an end, is in reality only beginning, and will be succeeded by a social revolution, which will only end when we have completely crushed the old system. There is a revolutionary Government, but it has not power over the country. The question is whether the Government is willing to earry through quickly the revolutionary transformation. We gave them a limited time to demolish the old system and the sources of its power. If they want to be masters they must crush the present land-owners, capitalists and clergy. Not the small landowners but the farm labourers must carry out the land reform. In the development of Socialism they can proceed step by step, but the question of power must be settled now."

This seems to prove that Pogany, at least, adopt

the Bolshevik standpoint.

This Government, formed from a coalition the Social Democrats and Communists, eviden the Social Democrats and Communists, evidency regards itself as merely provisional, for its asys that Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils are to be established and to wield supreme legislative, judicial, and executive power. It declares for a dictatorship of the proletariat the socialisation of mines, industries and banks, and the land.

'Land reform is to be carried through, no by land partition, but by way of Socialist production and trade unions," so runs The Time clegram, which means that the land is to worked co-operatively, presumably by organis

(Continued on page 1275).

VIEWS ON THE BERNE CONFERENCE BY W. F. WATSON SENTENCED. INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS.



LOUISE MÜNCH.

The working class is revolutionary or it is

t is all very well for the Berne Conference to to all very well for the Berne Conference to be itself by discussing questions of responsiand territory. There is only one question: tevolution. Whether one wants it or not, as to be either for it, with the Bolsheviki as Spartaoists, or against it, with the capibourgeoisie. The intermediate position up by the Berne Conference only aims at g the responsibility of making a plain. The proletariat must force the sycoof Socialism, the masqued appropriate of king-class is revolutionary or it is nothing."
F. Loriot
f the Left wing of the French Socialist Party.)

of the Left wing of the French Socialist Party.)

OUR GOAL A SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF PEOPLES.

"The revolutionary Socialist youth of Europe as band itself together in a decisive resolute the Bourgeois reforms will not serve us. Our all is the creation of a European Socialist League Peoples. We wish to be no longer simply aterial in the hands of generals and capitalists; wish to live, to live for Socialism, which for us can samuch a new society, a new, clear interures between man and man, people and people, it does an economic transformation. We wish live in order to fight for the spirit of love and manity."

ERNEST TOLLER (Member of the Executive of the Bavarian Workers' and Soldiers' Council.)

Workers' and Soldiers' Council.)

WISH TO REPLACE CAPITALISM BY COMMUNISM.

The working class is revolutionary or it is hing.' This Conference was called by the ernments of the capitalistic world, in order to the Revolution to flight. The revolutionary letariat did not attend the Conference; Brant-Thomas and Ebert celebrated their triumphs. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole lid must advance along revolutionary lines, equest of political power! Dictatorship of the letariat! The arming of the working class! o disarming and removal of the bourgeoisie! so action! These are, and remain, our watchds. We do not put our trust in Wilson, but the class struggle. We do not ask that beast italism to be just, that would be Utopian. We the oreplace Capitalism by Communism. Workers all lands unite!" VALERIN MARCU of the Roumanian

when they express the fighting spirit of the arist in individual countries, and when they express the fighting spirit of the arist in individual countries, and when they express the fighting spirit of the arist in individual countries, and when they express the fighting spirit of the arist in individual countries, and when they express the fighting spirit of the socialist of communist revolution.

"8. With certain reserves such a correspond to the socialist of the socialist of the capitalist of the socialist of the socialist of the socialist of the capitalist of the socialist o MEANINGLESS CONFERENCE

A RUTHLESS CLASS STRUGGLE IS NEEDED. "This Conference at Berne has something international, but not an atom of Socialism about it. It is the servant of the bourgeois gover ments and belongs to them completely. While excusing and absorbing the renegades, it destined to sanction the ulterior revolutional work."

A BULGARIAN SOCIALIST.

"What has the International Socialist Conference at Berne done for women? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Not a single question was dealt with to advance our position. No advance was possible at this gathering, because the Conference consisted of people who no longer take their stand on the international class struggle. These people are against us and must be against us because of their standpoint. Therefore it must now be our task to call an International Women's Conference, a conference of comrades who adhere to the revolutionary class struggle and who are determined that the proletariat who adhere to the revolutionary class struggle and who are determined that the proletariat shall not be led to the slaughter a second time. Not only the women of the belligerent countries, but also those of the neutral states, have suffered so greatly under this mass murder, that they must use every effort to prevent its repetition. This can be accomplished only by the most ruthless class-war against the bourgeoisie of each individual specially and the resolution who voted for the secretary of the Berne Socialist Party, well-known as a Socialist and feminist).

CAN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL BE RESUSCITATED?

CAN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL BE RESUSCITATED?

"The Berne Conference could not be and was no more than a mutual exchange of ideas. Therein lay its interest. The fact that the representatives of so-called enemy countries met together—even before peace was signed—is of great importance. This meeting, beyond its symbolical value, contributes to the re-grouping of all the working class forces of the world.

The Second International, despite its failings, may live again. The Berne Conference has proved it. Nevertheless two conditions are necessary. On the one hand, it must conform to the principles adopted unanimously at the Amsterdam Congress; on the other hand, it must get rid, in all countries, of its false elements. If these two conditions were not fulfilled a third International is absolutely necessary."

RAGUIL VERFEINT (Delegate from the French Socialist Party).

(Delegate from the French Socialist Party). Berne, February 9th, 1919.

NOT AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS, BUT A CONGRESS OF NATIONALITIES

"1. This was not an internationalist Socialist Congress but, by the force of circumstances, and by the faults and failings of the Second International, it was only a rump congress. The revolutionary international sections were lacking there—Switzerland, Italy, and above all Bolshevik Russia, which is at the head of a formidable Socialist revolution without precedent in history.

Socialist revolution without precedent in history.

"2. It was an ice-breaker, the object of which "2. It was an ice-breaker, the object of which was to unite in the same hall enemy brothers—the jingo Socialist majority groups—of the different countries. It was a step forward in comparison with the state of war; it united, for instance, French patriotic Socialists and German patriotic Socialists; it was the first time they had met each other with resolutions, instead of with hand

grenades and cannon.
"The majority Socialists of all countries have agreed to put nationalism above the International. And the Congress did not alter this state of mind.

"4. It was not an international Socialist congress, but a congress of nationalities, a great non-dewish Bund. (The Bund is an organisation of Jewish workers, half nationalist, half inter-

"5. There were some fine internationalists at the Congress, but they allowed themselves to be effaced by the others.

effaced by the others.

"6. A genuine International Socialist Congress should place in the dock all forms of nationalisms beginning with Socialist nationalism; which is the death of the International.

"7. A genuine International Socialist Congress should place in the dock the capitalist régime, which called up the war-world and should lead

"8. With certain reserves such a conference should unite itself with the Russian and German

At Bow Street on Saturday, March 22nd, W. F. Watson was sentenced to six months in the second division for a "seditious" speech made at the "Hands Off Russia" Meeting on February Sth at the Albert Hall. Substantial evidence was given by At Bow Street on Saturday, March 22nd. evidence was given by numerous witnesses, which should have proved that Watson was "not guilty" had the magistrate been inclined to alter the sentence. But this it seemed evident to the writer and others was prearranged.

Watson defended himself, and made a fine speech, both in his own defence and that of the cause which he had supported, and would support whether in gaol or out of gaol.

He based his defence on the following points:

(a) Arrest under Section 55 of D.O.R.A. was illegal without a warrant, since such a long period of time had clapsed between the "crime" and the arrest; (b) a charge under Section 42 of vidence was given by numerous witnesses

and the arrest; (b) a charge under Section 42 of D.O.R.A. was inadmissable, seeing that we are now prosecuting peace not war, though perhaps technically we are still at war; (c) the legitimate object of trade unionism has always been to seize on existing unrest, as he had advocated in his Albert Hall speech—George Lansbury testified to the correctness of this interpretation of trade unionism, and ridiculed the action of the authorities in arresting Watson; (d) assuming that the said speech was "seditious," since it spoke to the spirit of the resolution, all the other speakers and those who voted for the resolution should all be put

As an absurd sentence appeared in the official transcript, an error made by both police reporters, Watson alleged that there was collusion. Shorthand experts gave testimony that the error could hardly be made by two people without collusion. Luckily a friend had taken down Watson's speech at the Albert Hall, and her notes were conclusive evidence that Watson reporters ascribed to him

Watson in the course of his speech gave Sir John Dickinson and the court an insight into the lives of men of his class. His words should have made the minions of the law uncomfortable, and had the general public been present in the court much good propaganda might have been

quietly if he would be allowed second division and the right to appeal. Sir J. Dickinson granted both requests. If any more trials on these lines should follow it is to be hoped that the victims will show the same dauntless, fearless and determined spirit that Watson displayed. "An injury to one is an injury to all," Watson said. We hope that all Socialists will feel this in both the Watson and Ramsay cases, and leave said. nothing undone to restore them to their public activities, where they are now so sorely needed Meanwhile the p'ace of every fighter thus removed will be more than filled twice over. Unjust imprisonments made Sinn Fein what it is to-day! M. O'C.

LONDON & DISTRICT WORKERS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

David Ramsay had five months' imprisonment, now W. F. Watson is sentenced to six months. Those who are dependent, must not be allowed to suffer. Donations should be sent to the secretary, pro tem., Mrs. Holloway, 7, Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, London, W.C.

"9. It ought to prepare the programme of the coming Socialist revolution.
"10. The Berne Congress was the first at which Marx was absent with his watchword: 'Workers of the world unite.' None dared say: 'Wilsonians of the world unite'!!! But that

"In short the Second International is dead. We must have a Third International of a Socialist revolutionary communistic character."

CHARLES RAPPOPORT.

THE BUMBLES OF BETHNAL GREEN.

A woman, her eyes red with crying, distracted by grief and anxiety—she is the worst of all criminals, a poor widow. For this she must suffer the punishment of being parted from her

For eleven years she lived in the terrible Borough of Bethnal Green—terrible by reason of its prevailing poverty and the fact that the destinies of its poor people are in the hands of a Board of ruthless, cold-hearted people, neglectful starvers of poor old people. The Poor Law Guardians of Bethnal Green make a practice of principles of the Poor Law Guardians of Bethnal Green make a practice of properties. practice of refusing Out Relief. Their rule amounts to an offer to the destitute of a term of imprisonment in the workhouse, its infirmary, the Poor Law schools.

Three years ago this woman who is so miserable left the terrible Borough, and moved to Poplar, but Bethual Green still holds her fate in its clutches. The Law of Settlement, dating from the Act of 1832, provides that to acquire a settlement in any parish three years residence is necessary, and during that three years there must be no assistance from the Poor Law.

This unfortunate woman had a delicate little boy, who fell ill, and as there was nowhere else available, he had to go to the Poplar Sick Asylum. Therefore the three years was "broken by relief." Moreover, the husband suffered by the popular to the Poplar suffered to the Poplar to the from phthisis. He, too, had to go to the Poplar Sick Asylum for six weeks, and during that six weeks the Poplar Guardians allowed the family 22s. a week. Perhaps they forgot to inquire how long these people had lived in Poplar. At the end of six weeks the Guardians transferred the hyshered to the Potheral Carea. the husband to the Bethnal Green Infirmary he did not stay there, but took his discharge within an hour. Being still too ill to work he asked for relief for the family. The Guardians refused, saying that he might bring his family to the workhouse. The Guardians cannot refuse to relieve the destitute; but, if they choose, they may offer by way of relief only the

In January, 1918, the husband died, and the woman was left with four little children. An Act of 1846 makes it impossible for the Guardians Act of 1846 makes it impossible for the Guardians to remove a widow from their parish for twelve months after her husband's death. Therefore the Poplar Guardians paid the widow and her children £1 a week, and she earned on her own account an average wage of £1 a week by making boxes for a neighbouring factory. In September, 1918, her eldest girl became 14 and went to work, earning 12s. a week, and shortly afterwards the Guardians reduced the mother's relief to 14s. a week. The family income was therefore £2 6s.

income was therefore £2 6s.

In January, 1918, the year of respite since the husband's death having expired, the Poplar Guardians communicated with the Bethnal Green Guardians to say that this woman and her little family had now become chargeable to the terrible Borough. The Bethnal Green Guardians payed that extravagant 14s. a week, which just enabled the woman to stratch out. which just enabled the woman to stretch out her little income to cover each week's expenditure. The Relieving Officer warned her that her situation was precarious. He told her that there were hundreds of widows in Bethnal Green, but not to one of them would the Guardians give out relief. In a few days she was summoned before the terrible Board of Guardians. It was a full Board Meeting. "A lady," Miss James, the only woman Guardian, was in the chair. (And are you able to sleep and pass your days in comfort, Miss James, after

and pass your days in comfort, Miss James, after what happened next?)
"Our relief to you," the Guardians announced to the mother, "is to take two of your children," "I don't want to part with my children," the mother protested. "It would break up my home—well, my feelings. In a few years my boy will be able to leave school, then he will help me; and my girl will be earning more. Only give me a little relief, just for a few years more." But the Guardians said earning more. Only give me a little relief, just for a few years more." But the Guardians said the matter was decided and that they would take the two boys. "Not the little one," said the mother, "he is delicate. He will fret for

me." But the matter was decided. Yes, it was decided, poor woman, even before your children were born, for the Guardians of the terrible Borough will not grant Out Relief

The mother thought they were saying that she might keep the little boy and that they would take the elder boy and the second girl. They told her to bring the children round to the mind when to part with them.

The mother went home determined that, as she must, she would somehow manage without the 14s. and that she would not allow her children to be taken from her. But work was children to be taken from her. But work was slack at the box-making and the children were hungry. "What must I do?" she asked herself. "If they would be well cared for by others have I a right to keep them here to starve

She went to the Relieving Officer, begging him to get back the 14s. relief for her. He explained that he was powerless and said that if she would get her children ready he would send the Poor veyance to fetch them on Saturday,

Torn with grief, the mother prepared herself to part with her boy and girl, but when the conveyance arrived the woman officer presented a form containing the two boys. The mother ight there must be some mistake, as she had thought there must be some mistake, as she had, said that in any event she would not part with the youngest. She took the three younger children to the workhouse, thinking to get the form altered, and the three little ones were clinging to her, pleading with every gesture not to be sent away. The workhouse officials insisted that the Guardians had chosen the two boys and that the two boys must go; and they coaxed the mother by telling her that this would be best, because the boys would remain together at the schools, whilst a boy and girl would be separated. She charged her 12-year-old son Ernest to take care of his younger brother Eddie and to write at once to tell her if he seemed to be fretting. Then, stunned with

grief, she left them.

The two unhappy little lads were soon afterwards taken in the tram to the Poor Law schools at Leytonstone. The official who took them asked the attendant who received them to try to find them some dinner, and presently she brought them some bread and butter and left them alone in the receiving room. At five bread and butter and milk were given to them, and at 5.30 they were told to go to bed. Eddie was crying for his mother, and the elder brother first crying for his mother, and the elder brother first pulled his bed up close to him and then got in beside him and held him close, but the little one cried all night and the elder boy cried with him, and, rendered ill by his distress, inffered with diarrheea

On Sunday the children were still left alone. They were too miserable to eat their dinner.

week they were to be parted. Eddie was told he must learn not to cry as he would be away from his big brother next week. "What would mother say to that? She told me to take care of him," Ernest thought, and made up his mind to rebel. He searched around and found a way out at the back, and a wall that was not too

high for him to lift Eddie over.

Ernest's clothes had been taken from him. He had been given a pair of kniekers with elastic at the knee, that he thought had been made for a girl, and a short Norfolk jacket. Eddie was not warmly clad, but Ernest found his overcoat and then they were soon over the wall.

Boys in the streets called after Ernest:

Where did you get those trousers?" and he was afraid that they would recognise them and send them back to the schools, but, asking the way, they at last got home to Old Ford where they live.

oushed open the door and took them in. Th mother was sitting desolate after two sleepl nights and days of unhappiness.

"Don't turn us out again, mother; eat dry bread if you'll only let us stay," the sleaded. "He was cry, cry, crying for you light long, mother, and he looked so ill I co not let him stay," Ernest said. "And Edd was ill. He has suffered from diarrhœa an Throughout the week the mot any of her children, but she was afraid that over her children the Guardians might ha

The authorities made no inquiries. O Monday afternoon the mother went to t Levtonstone schools to return the scho othing, which the boys had brought home wi

The matron said : " Have you got the boy

then? Why did you not bring them back? "Why did you not tell me that my childre were lost?" the mother answered. "What di you do to find them? Suppose they had le heir way in the forest?" The officer toss We telephoned to Bethnal Green

it was their business to find them," she answere The Bethnal Green authorities had not con inunicated with the mother up to March 22nd We notice that the ladies of the Natio selves about women being "pauperised" having to receive Poor Law Relief; we even more concerned for the women whom the

in vivid, melodramatic form the evils of the present system. Here's to the Revolution!

OUR APPEAL.

COMRADES! Why continue to smoke infer

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437, COMMERCIAL ROAD, LONDON, E.I N.B.—All Labour and Socialist Clubs should send for particle and terms by which they can help our factory and their clu

London Indian Association. Lokmanya B. G. Tilak.

An Indian Home Rule Leader will speak in ESSEX HALL, Essex Street, Strand, W.C., on MONDAY, the 7th of APRIL, 1919, at 7 F.M., on Present Situation in India Other speakers include Mr. George Lansbury, C.Jonel Wedgwood, M.P., and Dr. V. H. Rutherford Admission free. Reserved seats at 1s. each.—Apply R. K. L. Nandkeolyar, 12 Alfred Road, Acton, W.3.

Continued from front page.

owes to those who were prepared to sacrifi their lives in defence of their king and country. 2. That this meeting of Discharged and Dem bilised Soldiers reiterates its allegiance to t Crown and expresses its readiness to return to t

Lo! the patriotism of class is here shown in conflict with the "patriotism" which is m factured to protect the capitalist and his inte When their working-class instinct and love of

THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC. (Continued from page 1274.)

of the land workers. Hungary, a stage n, is mainly peopled by a peasantry which is land long ago. Russia, whilst it too reat estate owners, had also millions of cultivators. Their grievous lack of ural implements and shortage of stock, Russia has not been able to supply, to the vast numbers to be dealt with and r and the blockade. Hungary, in spite conditions, is, in this respect, more tely placed. Agriculture is in Hungary and equipped industry, only partially and by war; Hungary, with its rich, thivated lands, and its great dairy farms, ove of great assistance to the Revolution. sia, to Germany, and to Austria also, for colution in these two nations must shortly he proletariat in power.

best evidence that the Hungarian Revois genuinely Socialist, is that it declared e Soviet form of government and has at allied itself with Soviet Russia. At the time, we do not know how far the Hunlidarity necessary to maintain the Soviets tic, the workers have not passed the test erthrowing the bourgeois government, but actually had the reigns of government ed over to them. Nevertheless, the revolutionary movement must have ned to a certain strength in order to induce Karolyi Government to this step. If the ets take drastic Socialist action, the varian capitalists, like the capitalists of will ally themselves with the foreign

nembers of the Council of Ten must have foreseen that Soviets would be in Hungary, should they persist in naking it a theatre of war, in order to use a base of attack against Russia. Either foresaw this, or they are the most arrant erers. We believe they foresaw it, but ler to attack Socialist Russia they were red to fight Soviet Austria also, if need be international but believe that capitalism chance of winning. We do not believe but we urge Socialists to open their eyes struggle that is taking place.

e Times reports that Garbai, the new dent, stated at the Workers' Council ing that he had been disappointed in the ate, "which he had supposed had a love emocracy, and only when it was obvious nothing but a dictatorship peace was to be ned from the West, had Hungary turned East to obtain what the West denied. the new Food Controller, is reported Times to have declared that "the nte measures had compelled Hungary to

not, the alliance with Soviet Russia is a measure of expediency to some of men, and non-Socialists are still to be the Soviets are in working order we shall ground in Hungary, as in Russia.

committee of five has been appointed to ge for the election of Workers', Soldiers', Peasants' Councils. Each People's Comry is instructed to prepare a programme iis department, and a Directory of 31 bers is instructed to discuss these promes which will, of course, eventually come e the fully constituted Soviet. A revolu-ry Law Court is to be established at pest; the carrying of arms, except by the rs' guard, and the sale of alcohol are bited. Looting will be strictly repressed.
banks have been taken over by the Soviet
rument, which has decided to abolish all of rank, to separate the Church from the

Allied troops, including French, British, and Czecho-Slovaks, have been disarmed by the Soviet soldiers, and the Czecho-Slovak consulate was seized without bloodshed. The Socialists

of the world should rejoice indeed.

Mrs. Snowden, in the Labour Leader, wrote, concerning the Women's Congress at Berne, the other day: "It was grievous to hear that Clara other day: "It was grievous to hear that Clara Zetkin, Adelheid Popp, and Rosa Bloch are now fierce converts to Bolshevism." Has Mrs. Snowden observed that the women

whom she has mentioned together with the murdered Rosa Luxemburg, are the foremost Socialist women of Europe? Socialists, who may be passing through mental tremours on the verge of deciding whether to support revolution, should consider why it is that these four famous women should all be found on the side of country but few hitherto prominent Socialists, whether men or women, have taken this stand. We think that the reason of this is partly We think that the reason of this is partly because the Socialist Movement in this country has been very little Socialist; partly because the issues, for and against revolution, and the Soviets or Parliament, have not yet become so acute here as they are in the Continental countries, and as they will presently be in this country also. If Mrs. Snowden were in Russia, Hungary, or Germany she, too, might be a "fierce convert to Bolshevism." It requires a greater power of clear, independent, and adventurous thinking to say or Bolshevik in Britain to-day, than it will do when the argumentative battle of Bolshevism has been won as far as the Socialist Movement

The establishment of the Hungarian Socialist Republic has sent an electric shock around the world. Though hesitant semi-Socialists may fail to realise its significance, the governments of the world are awaking to it. The Times observes, with excitement, that "Bolshevism has installed itself well to the west of the cordon establish around Russia."

In Germany Radek, the representative of Soviet Russia who has been imprisoned there, even fettered in his cell, under conditions of mediæval cruelty, is now released, the German Government announcing that "he entered Germany in a perfectly regular manner," and there is "no reason for keeping him under arrest." This change of front is due to Hungary's alliance with Soviet Russia. The growing oppressions of the Allied Council of Ten are making the German Government realise that perhaps, after all even from the selfish standpoint, its safest and most profitable course is to join hands with Russia. Already it is rumoured that Kautsky is about to visit Moscow on the German Government's behalf, and the fact that German sailors are refusing to hand over their ships to the Allies may bring matters to a head.
Austria hesitates whether to follow Hungary's

example. The German-Austrian Workmen's Council at Vienna on March 24th passed a resolution against doing so, excusing its failure by saying: "In our land there are no more supplies; we are completely the slaves of the Entente." Food supplies have begun to reach Austria; just in time, it would seem, to defer the alliance with the Soviets.

But the alliance of the peoples of the Central Empires with Socialist Russia is inevitable. It cannot be long delayed. Soviet Russia offers m freedom and friendly co-operation capitalism offers only punishment, exploitation, and economic and political slavery.

Meanwhile the Russian Soviet troops are

scoring many successes, especially in South Russia, so vitally important because of its stores of coal, oil, iron, and wheat. Reports of victories and defeats contradict each other from day to day, but General Renkin's me "No time must be lost, if Rostoff-on-Don, Novo Tcheslak, and the Donets coal region is to be saved from the Bolshevists" plainly shows the position. The Bolshevik victories in the south will mean food and warmth for the starving people of Moscow and Petrograd, supplies for the factories, and vital necessaries for the peasant cultivators.

STRIFE AT HOME.

The theatrical flights of J. H. Thomas to Paris and the absurd letter addressed to Lloyd George by Wilson, Clemenceau, and Orlando have been combined with many subtler arts to stave off the Labour unrest threatened. The trade union leaders, without waiting for a rank and file mandate, appear to have made up their minds that a compromise shall be accepted and no strike take place. Nevertheless, the Rhondda miners are on strike and no one can predict with certainty what may develop.

The miners have been offered a 7-hour day from July 16th; 1919, and a 6-hour day from July, 1921, a 46½ hour week for surface workers; 2s. a day increase in wages; 1d. a ton to be spent on housing and other amenities in mining localities; and the question of nationalisation to be reported on by May 20th.

These are poor terms; the 1d. a ton on coal which is to raise £1,000,000 a year reveals how poor they are, for why should only 1d. per ton, out of the wealth produced by the miners, be spent on the districts where the miners live? There is no guarantee that nationalisation will be granted as a result of a further inquiry, no likelihood that a capitalist Government will give the miners control.

The Miners' Executive has put forward the

1. That the six-hour day should be established in July, 1920 (instead of 1921), and should not be contingent on the economic condition of the

ndustry.

2. That the seven-hour day, and ultimately the six-hour day, should apply not merely to the men under the Eight Hours Act but to all workmen in

the mines.

3. That surface workers should have a 45-hour week (instead of 46½ awarded in the report).

4. That the advance in wages should be 2s. 6d. a day (instead of 2s.).

5. That where workmen have been paid a

bonus turn" (i.e., given six days' pay for five ays' work), the 2s. 6d. advance should be paid

But these are trivial details. The miners' charter is dissolved in a maze of small points.

The railwaymen were again offered terms so bad that it seemed impossible they could accept them, and it appeared probable that the miners, even should they compromise on their own position to avoid a conflict, must strike own position to avoid a conflict, must strike work in support of striking railwaymen, because their Federation is a component part of the Triple Alliance, "the very name" of which The Morning Post condemns as a "threat." The Railway Executive then offered terms which were slightly less flagrant than those originally announced. The present wage and war increase is not to be reduced till December 31st, when the position will be reviewed; Sunday duty is to be paid for at time and a half; overtime between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. to be paid for as time and a half, other overtime at time and a quarter; and work not overtime between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. be paid for at time and a quarter; a week's holiday a year is to be given; and in every 24 hours 9 to 12 hours' rest. A Committee is to discuss setting up a Joint Committee of the two railway unions and the Railway Executive to discuss questions affecting rates of pay and conditions of service. There is no pretence that the Government is offering the railwaymen any share of control of the railways and their

Unless the rank and file take things into their own hands the great Triple Alliance will subside, as ignominiously as though it were a little union in a half-organised industry. Mr. Bonar Law threatened that the Government would oppose the strikers with "all the resources of the State without the smallest hesitation" the State without the smallest hesitation."
And the trade union leaders spent their efforts in inducing the workers to accept a compromise not to take up the challenge.

Beside all the wire-pulling of the last days how grandly rises the vision of the Workers' Socialist Republic in which all poverty and inequalities shall be abolished!

E. SVI.VIA PANKHURST.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics. Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.
Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.
The Square, Woolwich.—12 noon., Mrs. Walker.
SATURDAY, MARCH 29th.
Lewisham and Camberwell.—Meet at the Clock
Tower, Lewisham, at 3 P.M., and at Camberwell Grove at 6.30 P.M. Speakers: Miss
Birch, Miss O'Neill, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Thring,

well Grove at 6.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss O'Neill, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Thring, and John Blythe.

SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Club Row, Bethnal Green.—11.45 a.m., Miss O'Neill, John Blythe.
The Grove, Hammersmith.—7 p.m., Miss Birch, Mr.. Edwards. (Joint meeting with Committee for Release of C.O.s.)

SATURDAY, APRIL 5th.
Great Push in Holloway District.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.
20 Railway Street.—Speakers' Class, 8 p.m.
SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.
400 Old Ford Road.—7 p.m., Alexander Gossip,
'The Real Fight for Freedom.' Chair: Mrs.

The Real Fight for Freedom. Chan : Maler. Walker. Discussion.

MONDAY, MARCH 31st.

44 Malden Road, St. Paneras W.S.F.—2.30 p.m.,
Business meeting.

THURSDAY, APRIL 3rd.

20 Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle.—

8 p.m., Mr. Edmunds, 'Marxian Economics.'

FRIDAY, APRIL 4th.

20 Railway Street, 8 p.m., Sylvia Pankhurt.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, APRIL 1st.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
William Morris Hall.—2.30 p.m., Miss Horsfall.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 p.m.

SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.

400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 p.m., Monthly

400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 p.m., Monthly Meeting. Kingsley Hall, Bow.—8.15 p.m., Maude Royden, 'Beauty of the World.' FRIDAY, APRIL 4th. 400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 p.m., Hands Off Russia

Committee.
SUNDAY, APRIL 6th.
Victoria Park.—4 P.M., Miss Price, Mrs. Walker,
John Syme, Jack Tanner, G. H. Russell, A. A.

Watts.

FEDERATION NOTES.

BOW.—Hon. Sec.: N. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E. Members' Meeting, Wednesday, April 2nd, 8 P.M. Members and friends asked to make a point of coming to Hands Off Russia Demonstration, Victoria Park, Sunday, April 6th, 4 P. M.

4 F.M.
POPLAR.—Hon. Sec.: E. Lagsding, 20, Railway Street. Speakers' class, Fridays, 8 F.M., beginning Friday, March 28th. Admission free. Comrades interested in forming a Cycling Club for coming season in conjunction with Poplar W.S.F. should communicate with S. R. Young, 69, Salmon Lane, Limehouse, E.14.
WHITECHAPEL.—Hon. Sec.: S. Valentine, C/o 400, Old Ford Road, with whom those wishing to join Whitechapel Branch should communicate.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.
GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £3;. COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £1 7s. 5d.; Poplar W.S.f., 4s. 7d.
SOCIAL WORK. Miss J. T. Drewry, 5s.; Mrs. Minturn Scott, 2s. 4½d. COLLECTIONS; Miss Lageding (Green's Yard), 6s. 8d.
CLOTHES, &c.—Miss C. Tallard, Miss E. Limouzin.

Parkament As We See It.

March 17th.—Mr. Higham (C.U.) advised the Prime Minister to appoint a Commission to inquire into the "aims and objects of the Bolsheviks, with special regard to their treatment of women." A very good idea, no doubt, provided the Commission be impartial!

INTERVENTION.

Members complained that men who had served in Salonika and were over 40 were being sent to Russia. We complain of and protest against the sending of any troops whatsoever to Russia.

THOSE EGYPTIANS!

March 18th.—It seems that Egypt took the words of the Allies in reference to small nations literally, and demanded complete autonomy! But His Majosty's Government, "while sympathising with the idea of giving the Egyptians an everince asing share in the government of the country, they could not abandon their responsibilities for order and good government in Egypt...." As though any one could interpret the self-determination principle as applying to any well-governed country blessed with British protection. Oh, dear no!

dear no!

BOLSHEVISM.

Colonel Wedgwood (C.L.) ventured to tell the House some of the allegations of atrocities committed by the anti-Bolsheviks. But Mr. Churchill insisted that any atrocity that did occur was the work of the Bolsheviks. How impartial!

BUREAUCRACY.

The Bill to establish a Ministry of Ways and Means met with a mixed reception. Vested interests seented possible nationalisation and protested. Absolutely disinterested members fore-told the ruin of all transportation if a "Department" were in control. One cannot but sympathise with the latter when one sees the waste and jobbery that has occurred, and is occurring, in most Government controlled Departments. Sir Eric Geddes argued that the purpose of the Bill was to co-ordinate all means of transport and thus get more efficient work done, and save thereby. But one must ask whether Sir Eric Geddes knows anything of Ministries when he is so sanguine of success. Even should economy, be effected, will not the retinue of the Minister cost

more than any such economy? Further, a capitalist State is not capable, at least no proof has been given up to now, of running anything without the attendant red tape! Do we want more of it? Ireland, too, is intended to be blessed with this new departure should it become law. The Bill was read a second time, after being debated for two days.

EMPLOYMENT SCORNED.

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March 19th.—Righteous indignation was expressed by certain members because employment is alleged to have been refused by some men and women receiving out-of-work "donations:" Mr. J. Jones (Lab.) aptly asked whether the "unemployed rich" were applying for work!

ORIGIN OF THE WAR.

March 20th.—Earl Winterton (C.U.) accuses
Mr. Bernard Shaw with attributing some responsibility of the war to the British! He is
disturbed and wants the Government to show
Mr. Shaw how mistaken he is. The Government
does not intend, however, to publish an official
denial. Apparently there is no one capable of
measuring swords with G. B. S., especially as he
is in the right.

On the Second Reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill economy in public expenditure was urged from all parts of the House. Mr. G. Lambert (L.) referred to the Army Estimates which are £500,000,000 this year, whilst about £30,000,000 was the pre-war one. He pleaded the right of the House to know whether "these Russian expeditions" were going to be continued, and "who we are going to fight!"

Big farming interests made a stand for continued subsidies for corn. The plea for the agricultural labourer was deftly interwoven. Of course the demands for increase in pay should be granted, they argued; but the farmers' position in reference to prices must be assured to enable them to pay the labourers adequately. If the land does not pay on one would continue to till it; and since these landowners want to prove that privately owned land is a risky business, surely they ought to advocate going the land to the people!

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-paj and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 134 —Malthusian League, 48. Broadway, Westminster.

EX-SHIP'S STEWARD.—Hotel worker, 19, design employment, willing to learn; work for the cause partered.—Box 400, this office.

VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT. 15s. a week to every child in our midst as proud welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 year and £1 a week for everyone at 60.

MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

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

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The Progressive Book-shop

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N. B. - Books bought for Cash.

H. W. Edwards, 68 Red Lion St., Holborn, W.C. (Near Chancery Lane Tube Station).

RUSSIA AND THE FACTS.

THE CATHOLIC CRUSADE HAS ARRANGED

ME TING

On THURSDAY, APRIL 3rd, 1919, at 7.30 p.m. ADMISSION ONE SHILLING AT DOORS, AT

CHANDOS HALL (by Rehearsal Theatre), MAIDEN LANE, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND,

SPEAKERS : DR. RICKMAN, MRS. RICKMAN, MISS WHITE CHAIRMAN: CONRAD NOEL, Priest of the Crusade. Questions invited.

IMPORTANT.

All Newsagents and Railway Bookstalls throughout the country will supply "The Workers' Dreadnought" if you only place your

As we go to press the news reaches us the . F. Watson is out on bail, pending his appeal

The Editor is obliged to hold over Mr. Francis reply to Mr. Halls till next week.

PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

March 21st.—Mr. Waterman (Lab.) introduces a Bill with the above ambitious title. Doubtles the Labour Party credit it with power to proven unemployment. But how? Are skilled worker going to enter "institutions" where they wireceive "maintenance," as Clause 10 seems to presuppose? Will not "institutes" of the kind always savour of charity so long as or present system prevails? The Bill was rejected not on grounds of insufficiency; but because sat a far-reaching measure could not be dealt will hurriedly. Should the Labour Party make another try, let us hope the Bill will be as ambitious its clauses as it is in its title.

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