

## LOVE THE FAY.

*Love's too light for rank and gold,  
Love's a fay can not be sold;  
Wings of truth divinely pearled,  
Glancing, flashing thro' the world.*

*Lightly touching lovers' eyes,  
Waking babes to glad surprise;  
Kissing here a noble brow,  
Whistling there beside the plough.*

*Love sets fire to many a mind,  
Makes it fearless, great and kind;  
Gives the strength of will to dare  
Human progress everywhere.*

*Love's the light against dark hate,  
Love's the architect of fate;  
From the wreck of hate's mad hell,  
Leads the world to build up well.*

*Love leaps over rank and gold,  
To the outcasts in the cold;  
Gives them help before they fall,  
Claims the world for each and all.*

ALEXANDER HUNTER.

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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## STOP THE WAR

"This Conference pledges itself to give no further support to the War, and urges all Labour, Socialist and Democratic bodies to instruct their Members of Parliament to vote against the War Credits and to demand an immediate truce."

The above resolution, based on the decisions of the International Socialist Conference at Kienthal, if leave be given, will be moved by the Workers' Suffrage Federation at the Conferences which are being held to form a British Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. We believe that the success or failure of the proposed Council may easily hinge on the policy herein laid down. Unless it be clearly recognised that this is a capitalist War, which the workers should oppose, and unless the new Councils are built upon that basis, the policy of the Councils must of necessity be vacillating and contradictory. "Make a king; if not, make peace" is an eternally true saying.

Russia to-day is plunged into hideous misery and may even suffer the loss of her new-won freedom, because the all-powerful Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates has not, as a whole, realised this truth. Whilst apparently recognising the aims of the Allied Governments to be wholly capitalist-imperialist and devoid of ethical purpose, the majority of the delegates yet lack the courage to break away from the War, and still allow the Russian people to be urged on after the vain chimera of victory, though every day of War brings an added danger to the Revolution. Food scarcity, the inevitable accompaniment of war, profiteering, under capitalism an equally certain corollary, and the killing and maiming alike of combatants and non-combatants, are sure, in the long run, to make any war Government unpopular.

Delegates from the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council will address the British Conferences. If these Russian delegates feel free to explain their policy and the confused and tragic happenings in their country during recent weeks, they will have much to tell. If we understand their policy aright, it awaits action from the other peoples of the Allies; it dictates a continued prosecution of the War by Russia, in the hope that the French, the Italians, and we British will insist that our national War aims shall be re-modelled so that they may be summed up in the Russian

phrase: "no annexations, no indemnities; the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny." The Russians have insisted on the calling of a Conference of the Allied Governments in order that the joint War aims may be revised. They hope, no doubt, that the democracies of the Allies will force their Governments to abandon aims of capitalistic aggression before the Conference meets.

Whilst young Free Russia awaits our tardy action, she is herself attempting an impossible task: to take a leading part in prosecuting the most gigantic War of all the ages, and at the same time establish a free community upon the ruins of the autocratic past.

Whatever their constitutions may nominally provide, Governments become progressively autocratic during War: only autocracies can successfully wage modern wars, which are a business of machine-like discipline. Some of those who would keep Russia in the War admit this, saying: "Let the development of free institutions come after the War." But the tide of human needs and passions will not wait: the people are hungry and war-weary; they long for freedom. Through the bias that colours all the capitalist press narratives, glimpses of truth come to us. Dr. Harold Williams, the "Daily Chronicle's" representative, abuses the Leninites for stirring up disaffection, but mentions, without comment, the people, crouching on the Petrograd pavements, waiting all night in the long queue for the morrow's bread. Those who are starving cannot be silenced indefinitely with talk of glory. The people demand enormous increases in wages, which the capitalists refuse; strikes or lock-outs follow, but should the workers obtain all they ask, the rising prices would still leave them short of food. Corruption, mismanagement, and the War itself, which has accentuated the evils always attendant on the capitalist system, have produced an industrial crisis in Russia which threatens to be overwhelming.

The capitalists and their press, both in this country and in Russia, revile as traitors those who appeal to the Socialist solution to meet the economic difficulties, now paralysing Free Russia, and with equal bitterness they denounce those who would save Russia by bringing her out of the War, with the Allies if they choose to join her in making peace, or without the Allies should they refuse. The "Dien," Kerensky's organ, complains that Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, is intriguing with the reactionaries to re-establish the Czardom. The Italian "Corriere della Sera" reports that the British Ambassador is urging our Government to take action to protect British capital invested in Russian factories lest the workers should secure the nationalisation of Russian industry. These reports are ominous. The British people must not allow its Government to play the part of Judas towards the young democracy on which our Ministers have lavished so many empty compliments.

The Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, handicapped by co-operation in fighting the War with the capitalist Governments of the Allies, is drawn into strange inconsistencies. It maintains, even creates, a coalition Government, though possessing the power to form a Socialist Administration, whilst the Leninites are alleged to be using violence or threats of violence to force the Council to become the sole Executive Government of Russia. It forces the resignation of the Minister of Justice, M. Pereveiezeff, for having accused Lenin of being an agent of the German General Staff on evidence which the Council declares to be insufficient. (With memories of the old régime, the Council perhaps believes it manufactured.) At the same time, the Council declares that the soldiers, who in large numbers are leaving the trenches and returning to their homes, are to be regarded as traitors, to whom no mercy will be shown. Kerensky has ordered the shooting of deserters, and has revealed in the terms of his message the widespread character of the soldiers' revolt against the War. He says:

"Most of the military units are in a state of complete disorganisation, their spirit for an offensive has utterly disappeared, and they no longer listen to the orders of their leaders... an order to proceed with all haste... has been discussed for several hours at meetings... some elements voluntarily evacuate their positions without even waiting for the approach of the enemy..."

It is reported that even when Russian troops have fought victoriously they evacuate the trenches they have won. These things give us good ground for hope that the truce in the trenches may soon be re-established on the Eastern front, and that the soldiers may force those at home to act decisively in bringing the War to an end. The British capitalist newspapers report that Leninites have been lynched in the streets, and that the people are turning against the Socialists. The wish is probably father to the thought, but the reaction will fight hard to capture votes at the elections for the Constituent Assembly in September.

Meanwhile, Prince Lvoff and other Ministers representing the capitalist parties, have resigned

because Chernoff, the Socialist Minister of Agriculture, is pressing forward a scheme of land nationalisation, and because autonomy is promised to Ukraine. The "Daily Chronicle" smugly remarks that though the power was on the side of the Socialist Ministers, "the experience was on that of their non-Socialist colleagues, to whom they were constantly indebted for advice in the technical matters of government and administration." The advice, from the Socialist point of view, was probably of doubtful value. The "Chronicle" adds that the policy of the Socialist Ministers, establishing autonomy for Ukraine and the nationalisation of the land, "brought to a head the impossibility of the non-Socialists remaining partners in responsibility, without having any share in the deciding power." Yet this is supposed to be a War for democracy and the freedom of small nationalities!

On these two issues, the freedom of a small nationality within the Empire and the freeing of the land to the land worker, progress appears to have triumphed in Russia. In this country reaction claims the victory on both points. The Indian Home Rule movement is being ruthlessly crushed down, and the new Defence of the Realm Regulation enjoining secrecy and forbidding public comment on the proceedings of the Irish Convention, is of unhopeful augury. In the Corn Production Bill the issue between the landowner and the land-worker has been acutely raised, and the landlord has secured all the spoils.

Mr. Wardle's Amendment to raise the proposed minimum wage of the agricultural labourer from 25s. to 30s. a week, is the first attempt of the official Labour Party to protect the workers from the reactionary coalition to which the Party has bound itself, but even in this most humbly modest effort he was opposed by men of his own party—Mr. Barnes, Mr. Brace, Mr. Hodge, Mr. Parker, elected as an I.L.P. representative; and Mr. G. H. Roberts, who represents agricultural Norwich and was himself once a farmer's boy. Five members of the Party voted against the amendment, and only 16 for it, many stayed away. Mr. Henderson need not wonder that the Russian people are, as he says, "suspicious of the French and British workers for no other reason than that they support the same policy as the 'bourgeoisie.'" In Russia the Socialist Ministers are struggling to obtain the land for the workers; in this country Labour leaders are found to vote against an advance for land workers which would apply only to the able-bodied and would amount to no more than a pre-War 18s. The soldier's wife with five children gets 28s. 6d., and finds it hard to make ends meet, even without her man to keep. Mr. Prothero, arguing against the beggarly 30s. minimum, protested that the labourer's average wage was only 17s. 10d. before the War, and that if the price of wheat and oats should fall to the pre-War level of 32s. 6d. and 19s. 4d. respectively, the Government would only be called on to pay the farmers £68,000,000, whereas to increase the minimum wage to 30s. would cost the farmers £100,000,000, instead of £59,455,000 if the minimum wage were fixed at 25s. The farmers "who have reconciled themselves to the Bill, but who do not like the minimum wage at all," cannot be asked to accept those conditions, says Mr. Prothero, and by their votes the Labour Ministers have adopted his point of view. Yet not merely is the 25s. minimum inadequate to the point of starvation, but the whole Bill is a fraud upon the people by which they will be forced to pay dearly for their bread till 1920, without any guarantee of the increased production which is the pretended reason of this infamous piece of legislation. The organs of the capitalist parties with which Labour leaders have allied themselves, openly rejoice over the rejection of the 30s. amendment. The "Daily Express," unfortunately a paper much read by working people, congratulates the Prime Minister on "facing the issue" and securing a "thumping majority" against the 30s. amendment for which the agricultural labourers have been agitating for many months. "The Times" refers to this amendment, and to the attack on the Corn Bill in general, as "questionable in their motives" and as being inspired, "so far as they are sincere," by attempts to combine "philanthropic social ideals with economic theories." The "Daily Chronicle" says that "cool onlookers" could have expected no other result than the defeat of the amendment, and that the Government was "quite right to insist at all hazards on the early passage of the Bill." In the early days of the Labour Party we Socialists were all agreed that the workers must look for aid to neither capitalist party. In these days of muddled thinking the point must be driven home anew, though it is stranger than ever that the workers should fail to realise it.

Mr. Henderson's visit to Russia has opened his eyes to the fact that the Socialist International movement can no longer be ignored with impunity. He has apparently set himself to secure the capture of the re-born International by his colleagues, the old-fashioned Labour leaders of the Allied countries, who have sacrificed the interests of

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Socialism and the workers, for the opportunity to co-operate with the capitalist parties in carrying on the War. Mr. Henderson, no doubt, calculates that the Jingo-Socialist-Labour men of the Allied countries will be able to outvote the similar factions in the "enemy" countries at any Conference, since the Allied nations, of course, outnumber the opposing belligerents. He probably considers that an International Workers' Conference in which the Governments of the Allies were whitewashed and the Governments of the Central Powers strongly condemned, would form a useful answer to the International Socialists, who declare that the workers of all nations should oppose the War. Mr. Henderson is an astute politician: whatever may be his motive, he has made common cause with the unscrupulous forces of capitalism. His manoeuvres can only be met effectively by building the workers' new Socialist International on a clearly defined basis, uncorrupted by considerations of temporary political expediency. Mr. Henderson has declared that if the proposed British Workers' and Soldiers' Councils are to be formed on the Russian model there will be "no harder fighter against them" than himself. He says:

"What has happened in Russia has shown the folly of allowing an Army to take part in political discussions, and this ought to be a warning to us. I am going to fight most strenuously against any course of action which will paralyse our military force, as it has paralysed the military force of Russia."

The paralysis of the military force in this and every country is, however, precisely one of those objects which we, as opponents of militarism, desire to achieve. We believe that the conscientious objector who refuses to become a soldier, the soldiers who establish a truce in the trenches, and the people which forces its Government to make peace, whether it be a separate peace or a general peace, are all making the same fight, and their fight is our fight—the fight for the civilisation and the upward evolution of humanity.

We desire to see achieved in this country what has been achieved in Russia: the bringing together of the workers, whether they wear khaki or fustian, in a council so strong as to be able to control the national affairs. We desire to avoid the mistake which has been made in Russia of dissipating the unity and constructive force of the newly arisen democracy, by involving it in the prosecution of a disastrous capitalist War. Our wish is to see the British Democracy taking strong and immediate steps to secure a stoppage of the War, and joining the workers of Russia, Germany, and the other nations, in establishing International Socialism, with equal rights for all men and women. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.