

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE OUTLOOK

CENTRAL POWERS' REPLY TO POPE.

The German and Austrian replies to the Pope's Peace Call are better in general tone and atmosphere than any Note previously issued by any of the belligerent Powers. They contain not a single abusive or even reproachful word towards those whom the Austrian Note refers to as "our present enemies," as though to suggest that shortly those enemies will be friends. They admit that "in future, the moral force of right must take the place of the material force of arms" in the international field. They agree in principle to the simultaneous reduction of armaments on land, on sea, and in the air, and the reference of international disputes to compulsory arbitration. They also demand the freeing of the seas. This is a step in advance. In pre-War days, when Germany urged the freedom of the seas, Britain (as owner of the biggest Navy and controller of the principal straits and points of vantage on sea, and the possessor of only a small Army) resisted the proposal, declaring that it could only be assented to in conjunction with the limitation of armaments. Now Germany has assented to Britain's condition, what will Britain answer?

So far, the Notes of the Central Powers are a move towards Peace; but there they stop. They do not refer to the immediate objectives because of which the nations are wrangling. The German Note says:

"When the nations led by this spirit shall recognise that for their own benefit it is better to show a uniting than a separating tendency, they will succeed in regularising the few open points still in dispute."

Austria says:

"If the nations of the earth were to enter with a desire for peace into negotiations with one another in the sense of your Holiness' proposals, then peace could blossom forth from them."

But, whilst they wish to negotiate, to bring the rulers of the belligerent nations around a table to discuss matters, neither the Kaiser and his Government, nor the Emperor of Austria and his Government are yet willing to make public definite terms of Peace. The reason of this is, no doubt, two-fold. On the one hand, they do not want either to reveal to the workers the real objects of the War, or to allow the workers an opportunity of expressing their opinions thereon, opinions which might not be expressed by speeches and resolutions only. On the other hand, it is not thought wise to make the jingo capitalists aware of any concessions which the rulers of Germany and Austria may feel themselves compelled to make at the expense of the ambitions of those jingo capitalists who have various forceful methods of enforcing their desires. And again, before going further, both the German and Austrian Governments are undoubtedly waiting, in accordance with the rules of the international diplomatic game, for a conciliatory move from the Allies.

THE KAISER'S ADVICE TO THE CZAR.

As the very best way out of the impasse, we commend to the Kaiser the very sensible advice which he gave to the Czar during the Russo-Japanese War, a translation of which we publish on our front page. The Kaiser's advice was to refer to the elected representatives of the Russian people the decision whether to make peace or continue the war. Will the Kaiser and the other rulers and Governments of the belligerents adopt that course now?

The Kaiser might well set the example; he is supposed to be fond of taking the lead, and enlightened people in Germany are already protesting against the statement in the Note that the people stand behind the Kaiser in their desire for Peace. "The Muenchener Post" protests that "the people stand before the Kaiser." But it behoves us always to set our own house in order first, and it is our duty to press our Government to submit the Peace issue to the people of this country. By setting a good example we shall take the best means of inducing other peoples to

follow. The Reichstag Peace Resolution gives reason to hope that the answer of the German Parliament would be for Peace on reasonable terms, though the National Liberals have now repudiated the Resolution. In all countries there has ceased to be any essential difference between Liberals and Tories, and German capitalists are as unwilling to sacrifice any prospect of advantage as any others.

But in this country capitalism has a greater hold upon the national life, and therefore, if the Peace issue were submitted to the British people their answer is doubtful. Nevertheless, we believe that a referendum ballot would show a majority for Peace. But the issue would be fiercely contested. The entire capitalist Press would range itself against Peace, striving by every conceivable artifice to terrorise the people into believing that it is unsafe to make Peace, and to stir up and play upon the least worthy passions of human nature, jealousy, hatred and pride, and the desire for domination and revenge. If Parliament were allowed to decide, the result is still more doubtful. So deeply coloured are the opinions of our workers by the capitalist Press, that in no country have they been more prone to elect their masters to represent them. In Russia the Socialists have secured a majority in the municipal elections; in Sweden the Socialists are winning so many seats in the Parliamentary elections that Branting, the Socialist leader, may become Prime Minister. But in this country the capitalists, who are gaining enormous profits out of the War, hold a large proportion of the seats in Parliament, and moreover, about one-sixth of the House is now in the direct service of the Government, and therefore a part of the War machine. Nevertheless, it would be an immense advantage to have the question of Peace or War submitted to Parliament, if possible together with all the secret treaties and understandings and all the other material facts bearing upon the issue. The decision of 670 elected persons arrived at in open debate, with every speech and every fact laid bare to the public, would more probably be in accordance with the people's wishes and interests than the decision made in secret by such men as Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Barnes, whose voice, if he ever has the strength of will to raise it in opposition to his capitalist colleagues, undoubtedly is ignored. Whatever the decision might be, the fact that Parliament was actually deciding the Peace issue would set everyone thinking, and the published reports of the speeches would provide a much-needed education to millions of people who read what the newspapers say without exercising the critical faculty.

Because the newspapers call for it, poor haggard frightened people creeping out from their hiding places after the air raid is over say plaintively: "Our airmen ought to go straight to the heart of Berlin; that would stop it!" They do not reflect that air raids on London have not induced the British Government to refrain from sending air raiders to Germany, and even so far as Constantinople. Air raids on German towns are constantly taking place, and if Berlin is not chosen it is merely because the raiders find other towns more conveniently situated. To those who call for revenge for what they have suffered, and for the fears which unnerve them, we say: Have pity on your husbands, sons and brothers in the trenches, who are obliged to endure the bombardment, not for half an hour occasionally, but, with short intervals for rest, continuously month after month! They cannot go to the cellar or the tube station for shelter and buoy up their courage with special refreshment; they must endure a continuous and infinitely more terrible bombardment in the dismal and filthy trench, and if they flinch from what is required of them they will be shot for cowardice. If you care for the soldiers in the trenches, work as hard as you can to stop the War.

MYSTERIOUS RUSSIA.

From the confused and contradictory reports from Russia one fact giving cause for great satisfaction can be disentangled. It is that the Socialists who are variously called Bolsheviks, Maximalists and Leninites have secured a majority on the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. The Maximalists are the International Socialists who recognise that this is a capitalist War and demand an immediate peace, and who desire to establish in Russia not a semi-Democratic Government and the capitalist system such as we have in England, but a Socialist State. They desire Socialism, not in some far away future, but in the immediate present. The Maximalists desire that the C.W.S.D. shall become the Government of Russia until the Elections for the Constituent Assembly have taken place. They urge that the continuance of the War forces Russia to depend for loans and War material upon the capitalist Governments of the Allies. They probably think, and very rightly, that the advantages accruing from Allied loans will be outweighed by War losses.

The alleged revelations concerning the Korniloff rebellion become daily more astonishing. It has been confidently asserted that his intention was to become dictator in order to secure a more vigorous prosecution of the War; that he desired to make Peace; that he desired to re-establish the Czarism; and that he had declared that the Czarism should only be re-established over his body. Now it is alleged that he was acting in conjunction with Kerensky and his Government, the object being to place Petrograd and the nation under a military dictatorship in order to abolish the power of the C.W.S.D., the scheme being abandoned because the C.W.S.D. immediately took what promised to be effective steps to defend Petrograd. The C.W.S.D. councils of defence were thanked and ordered by Kerensky to disband after the arrest of Korniloff.

This version of the Korniloff rebellion at first sight seems too impossibly fantastic to be taken seriously; but some colour is lent to it by the still more curious version of the affair which comes from Washington via Exchange Telegraph. It is here asserted that:

"The Russian Embassy has absolved Korniloff from the blame of the uprising, and officially explains that this defection was due to a mutual misunderstanding between the two leaders. On the night of September 8th Vladimir Lvoff, a former member of the Duma, acting ostensibly as an emissary from Korniloff, appeared before Kerensky, stating that Korniloff demanded a dictatorship. Kerensky immediately requested confirmation from Korniloff, whom he rang up on the telephone. Korniloff, believing Kerensky referred to himself, answered in the affirmative, and the consequent revolt was the result of this mutual misunderstanding. The motives which prompted Lvoff are unknown."

If the statements made in this telegram are really authorised by the Russian Government, the story of collusion between Kerensky and Korniloff may quite possibly be true. Men do not make revolution by accident, and if Korniloff is to be absolved so easily, there must be some serious reason why. Our reading of the situation is that Korniloff has been absolved because he was supported by the sympathy, even the practical help, of persons possessing power with the Allied Governments. Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador in Petrograd, is one of these, and it is obvious that the "Morning Post," "The Times," and other great capitalist organs, are desirous of re-establishing the Czarism. Kerensky we believe to be deluded by the belief that the fortunes of Russia are dependent on an Allied victory. This belief causes his policy to be swayed by the Allied Governments and the jingo capitalists of Russia; but we think it unlikely that he has deliberately entered into a plot with Korniloff. We agree whole-heartedly with the Bolsheviks in their contention that the continuance of the War is the opportunity of the counter-revolutionaries. But all this applies in Britain equally with Russia. When will our people realise that essential fact?

REVELATIONS AND RUMOURS.

New American revelations of German spying and other discreditable methods are published almost daily. We would warn our readers that all news coming from America is highly coloured and deeply underlined. The spirit of America in her Departments of State, as well as in her newspapers, is the spirit of sensational journalism. At the same time we must regretfully admit that the diplomacy of all the world's Governments is very sordid. We desire to see it replaced by a better system erected on a basis of fraternal co-operation: not on a basis of competition and exploitation.

Peace rumours still continue: may they prove to be truly founded!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

EDWARD, EDWARD

"Why does your brand sae drip wi' blude,
Edward, Edward?

Why does your brand sae drip wi' blude,
And why sae sad gang ye, O?"

"O, 'tis but the Tricolor's red sae gude,
Mither, mither;

O, 'tis but the Tricolor's red sae gude,
That I hae won for me, O."

"The Tricolor's self was ne'er sae red,
Edward, Edward;

The Tricolor's self was ne'er sae red,
My dear son, I tell thee, O."

"O, 'tis the blude of Russia's dead,
Mither, mither;

O, 'tis the blude of Russia's dead
That I would na let be free, O."

"O, Russia's dead were never your care,
Edward, Edward;

O, Russia's dead were never your care;
Some other dule ye dree, O."

"O, I hae slain my ain dear land,
Mither, mither;

And the blude of millions is on my brand,
Alas, and wae is me, O."

R. PALME DUTT.