

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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REVOLUTION SPREADS TO THE CENTRAL EMPIRES.

The long-predicted Revolution in the Central Empires seems to be well launched. Three movements are there warring for supremacy: the Socialist movement of the workers, the capitalists, and those who are animated by purely racial sentiments; the two latter sections largely coalesce in opposition to the first.

BULGARIA.

In Bulgaria the Tsar Boris, who so recently succeeded his father Ferdinand, has abdicated. It is reported that a Republic has been established with a peasants' Government, under the leadership of Stambulinsky, who is backed by an army of 40,000 men. The Peasants' Party, of which Stambulinsky is a leader, in 1913 joined the Socialists in demanding an independent Confederation of Balkan Republics and the dismissal of the diplomatists in office during the Balkan War; but till fuller information comes through we should not be justified in assuming that the Socialists have yet come to power in Bulgaria. Nevertheless, we believe that they will shortly control Bulgaria as they now control Russia. We believe that the Bulgarian Government was brought to surrender to the Allies by fear of popular revolution. It seems that the revolution was but postponed.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In Austria-Hungary the subject nationalities are claiming their independence. The Galician Poles have wiped out the frontier dividing them from Poland and have established a Polish Government in Galicia. The Italians in Austrian territory have proclaimed their unity with Italy, and some of the members by whom they were represented in the Austrian Parliament have actually gone to Switzerland to discuss the terms which are to be imposed upon Austria-Hungary by the Allies. The Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina announce that those provinces are now a part of Serbia. The Bohemians, the Croats, and the rest have taken up arms to secure independence. On the other hand, the German people of Austria are also endeavouring to form a separate nation (perhaps eventually to be joined to Germany) and have notified President Wilson of their existence as a separate state. German-Austria, demanding admission, as such, to the Peace Conference. All the separate nationalities are setting up their governments, and these appear to be republican, with at least a pretence of ushering in a democratic era.

The racial upheaval is undoubtedly an enormous force in Austria, but the social upheaval affecting all races is much greater. Socialists and reformists are struggling for the supremacy of their ideals. The proceedings in German-Austria precisely echo those which took place in the early stages of the Russian Revolution. We hear of a Soldiers' and Officers' Council and a Workers' and Soldiers' Council; rivals, no doubt; the first reformist, with its roots in capitalism; the second Socialist and animated with the Bolshevik spirit.

The army seems to have seized the seats of Government, a Republic to have been proclaimed, and a National Council formed to draw up a republican constitution and to carry on the business of government meanwhile. The Emperor Charles was said to have fled; now it is announced that he

abdicates, not because the people dismiss him, but because he refuses to accept the terms of the Allies.

In the new National Government a Coalition Government is being set up, into which Victor Adler, the Majority Socialist leader, enters as Foreign Minister—an important post—and his colleague Renner joins as Minister of Social Affairs. Austrian Majority Socialists have been truer to Socialist principles than the Majority Parties of other countries. Nevertheless, they still, we think, belong to the old Liberal-Reformist school, which has no clear faith in the actual establishment of Socialism and cannot cut itself adrift from capitalist ways. In any case the real revolutionary Socialist will never enter a capitalist coalition. We know, quite surely, that this coalition will pass and other leaders of Socialism will arise to fit the times. Perhaps Fritz Adler—retrieved from death some time ago—may come into prominence in the critical days ahead. It is reported that hitherto unknown Socialists are taking an active part in the struggle. *The Times* of November 4th reports:—

"As a result of the discussion representatives of the State Council yesterday visited various barracks in Vienna to negotiate with soldiers' representatives the formation of a National German Army.

"The German-Austrian State Council has issued a proclamation addressed to the soldiers at the front, saying that the National Assembly has taken over the Government and will immediately conclude peace. The proclamation appeals to them to maintain order and discipline and to prevent plundering and acts of violence. 'An orderly demobilisation,' it adds, 'will immediately be begun.' A similar proclamation has been addressed to the garrison of Vienna.

"Dispatches from Vienna relate the following incidents: A procession of 400 soldiers from Grinzing war hospital proceeded on Thursday afternoon to the Parliament Buildings and communicated their desires and grievances to Herr Seitz, president of the State Council. Thence the procession went to the War Ministry, where it was dispersed by guards. Small crowds gathered before the War Ministry at 6 P.M.

"At the constituent meeting of the Soldiers' Council in Vienna a soldier suddenly rose to oppose the proposed formation of a National Guard, and proposed the establishment of a Red Guard. The soldier with his followers then formed a soldiers' council of their own, and the former left the hall as commander of the Red Guards amidst protests, the Nationalists remaining behind."

This reads like a page from the story of the Russian Revolution. There, too, the Bolsheviks, left the Coalition Assembly!

We watch with impatience and sympathy the swiftly-moving struggle.

In Hungary the same movements develop and rush on with even greater intensity. The Karolyi administration is useless from the Socialist point of view; but this stage will pass, as it passed in Russia. Karolyi is the Rodzianko of Austria; we must look for the Milyukoff, the Kerevsky, and the Lenin! Karolyi has promised universal suffrage for all men over 24, for all soldiers, and for women who can read and write—in that he is a trifle more generous to women than the Lloyd George Government. He announces that his government will begin by restoring order. We know that it will fail!

REVOLUTION COMING IN GERMANY.

In Germany, too, revolution is undoubtedly drawing nearer. The South German States are seized with the fear of the Allied invasion which is likely to be made through Austrian territory now that Austria has concluded an armistice; and leaflets are being distributed in Bavaria urging that a separate peace should be made by a new "Peoples' Government." A Socialist Republic is demanded.

Arthur Ransome reports from Stockholm that Scheidemann and his fellow Majority Socialists are discredited and that the coalition of which they are a part will be short-lived. Also that leaflets calling for an amnesty and for the establishment of Soviets, of like tendency to the leaflets which were used by the Bolsheviks prior to their triumph, are being distributed in Berlin; and of course, it is said, and perhaps with truth, that the Russians are helping in this propaganda. No foreign effort can produce a revolution however, it can only come to birth as a native product.

Meanwhile the demands that the Kaiser shall abdicate are not allayed by his proclamation promising to co-operate in the democratisation of Germany, and the question is to be decided at a

meeting of the Reichstag parties. How are the mighty fallen! But Germany is indeed wonderful in her elasticity! Scheidemann presses for the abdication. A proclamation by the Majority Socialists urges the workers not to respond to a summons to leave work during the next few days. It is the beginning of the Revolution. As it was in Russia so it is in Germany!

THE ARMISTICE TERMS.

Meanwhile armistice terms are said to have been offered to Germany, but the terms are not disclosed and apparently the German reply has not been made. Harsh and humiliating terms were announced, but the British Government repudiate them. Has it made Germany an offer, or is it delaying in order first to win a spectacular victory? Meanwhile the casualty lists are mounting steadily and the poor fellows on all fronts are suffering injuries that can never be redressed.

The Austrian armistice has been concluded, but at the time of going to press the terms are not announced.

The terms of the Turkish armistice are, however, announced; at least, in part, for there have been rumours of a secret understanding which has been denied by Lord Robert Cecil. The main points of the published terms are that the Turkish army is to be demobilised "except such troops as are required for the surveillance of the frontiers and the maintenance of internal order"; Turkish ships to be interned at such Turkish ports as the Allies direct. The Allies are to occupy "any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies." The Allies to use any ports they please: to control wireless telegraph and cable stations, "Turkish Government messages excepted"; to have facilities to buy coal, oil, fuel, &c., which are not to be exported. Allied control officers to be placed on railways.

All these provisions can be enforced as the Allies please, but they are set forth with a suggestion of consideration towards the Turks which we failed to see in the conditions imposed on Bulgaria.

TRANSCAUCASIA?

Turkey is to evacuate Persia; that is natural. Part of Transcaucasia has been evacuated; "the remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies, after they have studied the situation there." How is this? Transcaucasia belongs to Russia. Surely Turkey should be asked to withdraw. There is some mystery here. Is Turkey to keep Transcaucasia or to help in fighting the Bolsheviks, we want to know? The Allies are to occupy Batoum and Baku—both Russian ports in the Caucasus. This is ominous. An article in *The Times* speaks of the ease with which the Allies will be able to get from the Bosphorus—which they will also occupy—to Odessa, another important Russian port and a distance by sea of only 340 miles. The surrender of Turkey is undoubtedly a menace to the Bolsheviks.

For the rest the following paragraph from *The Manchester Guardian* is illuminating:—

"Commenting on the Turkish armistice, Paris papers say that vast and rich regions will now be exploited, with the help of friendly peoples, under the economic and political protectorate of the Allied Powers.—Exchange."

SUBJECT NATIONS SOLD?

The Manchester Guardian makes some very striking allegations in regard to bargaining with Turkey. It says:—

"The Allies began their operations against Turkey by secretly selling the oppressed peoples as if they were cattle. Have we closed and sealed our operations against the Turks by again secretly selling the oppressed peoples as if they were cattle?"

In regard to the armistice the writer of *The Manchester Guardian* London letter says:—

"The negotiations were conducted with the British Vice-Admiral at Mudros through the mediation of General Townsend, and there is reason to believe that the final agreement did not secure the enthusiastic approval of all the Allied Governments."

"One effect of the agreement is to put a British force and a British authority first into Constantinople and the Straits and in supreme control over these places of such strategic and political importance. Had the occupation come from the land instead of from the sea, the first forces to arrive would have been a part of the Allied Balkan army and the supreme authority would have been French. That is not an altogether negligible feature of the armistice."

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"But I find a strong belief that, side by side with the military arrangements, certain political assurances were given the Turks. Their exact nature is not revealed, but I should guess that they were something of this kind: The preservation of Turkish rule over Armenia, and the maintenance of perhaps nominal Turkish sovereignty over Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. Obviously pledges of such a character would be fatal to Armenian national hopes and gravely injurious to those of the Jews and Arabs. It should also be recalled that, in the secret treaty concluded in 1915, France was promised a large slice of Armenia. That would be an additional reason for the rumour that France is far from pleased with what has just been done.

"If these speculations are correct there would be the further temptation to compensate France at the expense of the Jews in Palestine and the Arabs in Syria."

Oh, for the end of this sorry bargaining: and of the capitalist system to which it belongs!

JAPAN'S SHARE OF THE SPOILS.

The Japanese view on the position, as expressed by Marquis Okuma, is also illuminating:—

He says it is impossible to declare what will be the terms that Japan will demand at the peace conference.

In view of the fact that Japan holds a very important position in the Far East, our claims must be settled in a way satisfactory to Japan at all costs.

1. Though we have a voice in questions affecting the Western front, the Balkans and the African Colonies, these do not direct the relations of Japan, and we ought to support England, France, and America in these questions.

2. Questions relating to the future of Germany and Russia should be decided in concert with the Allies with a view to the future perpetuation of the world peace.

3. Questions of an indemnity should be decided by a conference of the Allies.

4. The disposition of Samoa should be left to Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of abolishing the German base in the Pacific.

5. Australia will hold New Guinea.

6. The Marshall, Caroline, and Ladrone Islands, which the Japanese occupy, are valueless to Japan, but dangerous in the hands of Germany. As there is no reason why they should be given to a third Power, Japan must continue in possession of them.

7. The telegraph connecting Tsingtau and the South Seas, now in control of the Japanese Navy, will be transferred to Japan. The Tsinan Railway should also be held by the Japanese, Germany purchasing it from the owners.

8. Japan should confer with the Allies regarding the maintenance of order in Siberia. In reference to questions of concessions and other interests in these regions, no Power should be allowed to have a paramount voice.

9. In the relations of China with other Powers, the principles of the open door and equal opportunity should be maintained as heretofore.

In view of all this Lord Northcliffe's statement that Germany will lose her Colonies and has forfeited the "right to help Russia." Northcliffe would have a boa-constrictor help a lamb, we suppose! Northcliffe's plan for re-making the map of Europe is said to be quite unofficial, but he is Minister of Information and appears to do anything he pleases with the War Cabinet.

The hypocrisy of the high falutin' talk of self-determination of peoples, in which the mighty now indulge, is exposed by the Russian Minister Tchicherin, who was interned for a time here in London. He says:—

"As a condition for an armistice, during which peace negotiations shall be begun, you have in your Note to Germany demanded the evacuation of the occupied territories. We are ready, Herr President, to conclude an armistice on this condition, and request you to inform us when you intend to withdraw your troops from Murmansk, Archangel, and Siberia."—Reuter.

The Peoples' Revolutions in Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, and Germany are coming to the aid of the Peoples' Revolution in Russia. From the first the Bolsheviki have called to the toiling masses of Europe to come to their aid, to join them in building a new world. In spite of the long and perilous waiting they have surely believed that their call would be answered. The answer comes and Labour wakes at last—after the long, long years of waiting in which even the pioneers have known despair.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.