

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE TREACHERY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

LLOYD GEORGE REVEALS THAT IT URGED
RETENTION OF BRITISH TROOPS IN CAUCASUS

On August 18th, Lloyd George, in the House of Commons, said:—

"We have been urged to withdraw troops, and it is said that the withdrawal of troops and demobilisation are the only methods to secure immediate reduction: but the other day I was amazed to get a letter from the International Labour Conference, sitting at Lucerne, which represented Socialists of all ranks. What was their suggestion? Was it that we should demobilise; was it that we should reduce our armaments; was it that we should clear out from countries which were not our own and leave the people to self-determination? Not at all. It was a resolution angrily complaining that British troops were withdrawing from the Caucasus. We have a division and a half there, and it is costing us millions. Speaking roughly, I should not be a bit surprised if it costs us about £30,000,000 a year, with shipping and everything else. America appeals to us not to withdraw, the International Socialists appeal to us not to withdraw."

As a matter of fact the Second International is reported by Reuter to have passed the following resolution:—

"The International Conference, shocked at the renewed massacre of the Armenian population, asserts the necessity of putting an end to this outrage against humanity, and requests that the British Army of Occupation be not withdrawn, and that it may remain until its withdrawal has been finally decided upon by the League of Nations."

So this is the work to which the Second International is lending itself—a pretty conspiracy indeed! A scandalous piece of treachery!

And why are British troops to remain in the Caucasus? "To protect the Armenians." Oh the sickening hypocrisy of it! The Armenians would do well enough were there no oil wells at Baku, and had the workers of Russia not set up a Communist Government there.

The official Labour and Socialist movements of France and Britain have been demonstrating against the Russian intervention. They responded tardily to the appeal of the Italians and to the pressure of the French and British rank and file, and yet in face of this the British and French delegates have actually gone to Berne and have there adopted resolutions asking the British Government to retain the troops in the Caucasus.

Let us look a little more closely into the matter. Not only are there precious oil wells at Baku, for lack of which Soviet Russia is suffering greatly, not only does the Caucasus provide a base for controlling the Caspian Sea, the Sea of Azof, and the Black Sea, a vantage point for bombarding and blockading the communists and for cutting them off from the southern seaboard of Russia, but British troops in the Caucasus can lend valuable aid to General Denikin, the most formidable and successful enemy of the Workers' Republic. A

wireless Press telegram reports a message from Moscow that:

"A British General has addressed a Note to the various Caucasian Governments demanding that their troops shall retire southwards, and that all Caucasian Governments shall abstain from any aggressive action against Denikin's Volunteer Army, and shall assist General Denikin at least by sending supplies. The non-fulfilment of this demand will entail the loss of British sympathy."

La Feuille, July 22nd, published this statement issued by the Circassian Press Bureau of July 11th:—

"Throughout the Caucasus a grave struggle between Denikin and the North Caucasian Republic is the order of the day. His Army is composed in great part of officers of the old régime. He is abundantly supplied by the Entente with arms, war material and munitions. A lively agitation is spreading amongst the Caucasian population. The Circassian Government has addressed a strong protest to the Allied representatives. It was read in the Parliament by M. Kozof, the premier, in the following terms:—

During the whole period of our government we have taken part neither for nor against Russia. We have given assistance to all those who sought a refuge with us. Russia, on the word of Russians themselves, can only nourish feelings of gratitude towards us.

We had the right to expect that Denikin's Army of volunteers would entertain no aggressive designs towards us. We were deceived.

We do not want war. We have made many concessions. General Denikin demands not only that we should recognise his authority, but requires us to furnish him with troops. The people of Daghestan, for example, have been asked to supply 3 regiments of cavalry, 8 of infantry, and 3 squadrons of artillery, all fully equipped.

"The Premier concluded by declaring that all the Caucasian people are agreed that they must fight to the end against the common enemy. The declaration of war, followed by mobilisation of all men between the ages of 18 and 40, has been notified to the Allies' representative in the Caucasus who, on his side, has asked the forces of the Circassian Republic to remain on the defensive.

"This new conquest of the Caucasus undertaken by the 'black general'—for so Denikin is generally called—has put all the other Caucasian Republics in a ferment—Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan. All strongly protest against the invasion of Denikin's volunteers."

And yet, in face of this, we find the leaders of the workers in this country asking for British troops to be retained to assist Denikin against the Caucasian people! It was against the atrocities perpetrated on the Hungarian Communists and the overthrow of the Workers' Republic there that they should have been protesting.

What are the I.L.P. delegates about, those one-time comrades of Keir Hardie, that they are making no protest against this treacherous request to continue the intervention?

Is it possible that they are such fools as not to know what it means. After all their study of international relations and the rapacities of British foreign policy under the tuition of the U.D.C.? Have they forgotten the history of British diplomacy in Egypt and Persia, a further shameful chapter of which is even now being prepared?

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE BETRAYAL.

J. H. Thomas, M.P., and T. C. Cramp, of the N.U.R., Robert Smillie, W. Brace, M.P., and Frank Hodges of the Miners, J. Sexton, M.P., Harry Gosling and Robert Williams of the Transport Workers' Federation, decided to defy the decision of the Triple Alliance Conference and to stop the ballot until after another conference had been held. They issued the following resolution to the Press:—

"This joint meeting of the three Executive Committees, bearing in mind the changed circumstances which have arisen since the Caxton Hall Conference and the proposals of the Triple Alliance having been further considered by the Government and the House of Commons, recommends that the decision of the Caxton Hall Conference to ascertain the views of the respective memberships on the question of direct action to secure the abolition of conscription, the discontinuance of military intervention in Russia, and in trade union disputes at home, shall meanwhile be postponed, and accordingly recommends that a further full delegate conference be summoned to which a report of the whole proceedings shall be submitted."

What are the "changed circumstances" referred to in the resolution? What is the result of the "further consideration" given by the Government and the House of Commons to the questions at issue? The position of Thomas, Brace, Sexton and Gosling is well known; they are opposed to direct action, Brace and Sexton have openly fought it; but where do Cramp, Smillie, Hodges, and Williams stand? They have been put into office by the advance guard of their unions: Smillie and Williams especially have been given the enthusiastic confidence of large numbers of revolutionary Socialists. What is their explanation of this? One would have thought it impossible for the other Members of the Committee to set aside the decision of the Conference without their agreement. But when is the delegate conference to be held?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SPY PLOTS: A WARNING.

The Home Office is using its secret police service actively in sinister ways. On August 11th a man called Maurice Facey, of the Soldiers' Sailors' and Airmen's Union, was arrested; he was released next day: it is said through the intervention of Major Rawlinson: Who is Major Rawlinson? We remember that when ex-Inspector Syme was charged a while ago he was released on giving an undertaking to Major Rawlinson. Evidently Major Rawlinson is connected with the police.

The Globe published a sensational story of documents it alleged to have been found at 7, Featherstone Buildings, where the S.S.A.U. and the London Workers' Committee have offices, and which was raided ostensibly in connection with Facey's arrest. One of these documents was supposed to contain plans for the coming revolution, including the absurd statement that "Women and children of the Bourgeoisie will be put to the sword."

The Globe ought to produce its authority for that quotation. Every communist knows that no communist has written that; we do not believe the alleged document exists, but, if it does, it is either the work of a lunatic, or was planted at Featherstone Buildings by the opposition.

As for the editor of this paper, the Home Office has issued a fable in which she is said to have been given a box. Like the modern Pandora, she is presumably supposed to have released from it, not in this case all the evils, but Bolshevism, which is Socialism in a hurry; the only thing capitalism fears.

We learn that our Norwegian comrades of the Socialist daily, *Social Demokraten*, are bringing an action against another Christiania paper, *Middagsavisen*, for stating that the *Social Demokraten* was paid with Russian money. The same fear of the Russian Communists is felt in all capitalist countries.

The Labour Party's official news service has sent out the following paragraph:—

"The Home Secretary admitted that Watson gave information from time to time about breaches of the law actually committed or planned, such as the fomenting of strikes in munition works, incitements to disorder, etc., and was paid small sums in respect of each piece of information found to be of value to the police. It is extraordinary to find the Government admitting that a man who has been one of the most disturbing personal influences in industry during the past few years was at the same time one of the Government's paid informers."

It should be noticed that the aristocrats of the Labour world have accepted unreservedly the charge made by a capitalist Government against a working man it has imprisoned without waiting to give him an opportunity to defend himself.

The reference to Watson as "one of the most disturbing personal influences in industry" aptly reveals the standpoint of those smug officials who, having themselves climbed out of the work-shop, desire that those left behind should be resigned to the capitalist system, and live in relations of cordial amity with the capitalist.

When Watson is released he will doubtless reply to the charges, and we understand that the London Workers' Committee, of which he was chairman, will also have a statement to make. Until that time we consider the affair should remain in abeyance.

We wish, however, to warn our readers that Scotland Yard now sends out Press bulletins and holds conversations with the Press, and that we shall probably see an epidemic of spies and spy stories.

The only way to meet these tactics, comrades, is to stand firmly by our principles, and to continue our work, refusing to allow our energies to be diverted by the tactics of our opponents. Scotland Yard undoubtedly sends its spies into the movement and is trying to induce people in the movement to be its spies. Scotland Yard will also try to discredit honest rebels.