

the Chairman chosen by itself. So, too, with the International Industrial Council. If any combination of circumstances should produce a majority recommendation objectionable to international Capitalism, we believe the League of Nations would step in and arrange matters to suit itself. But such a contingency can scarcely arise since the workers are placed in so small a minority.

If the workers were to be diverted from their struggle to better their industrial conditions by the hope that this network of councils would do it for them, their emancipation would indeed be indefinitely postponed. But this will not happen. The toiling masses are just waking to the need for rank and file control of the industrial machine; they have just devised and are perfecting the organization of that control; they are just beginning to see that by travelling resolutely onward in that direction, they can take into their own hands the entire machinery of production and can govern society itself. It is impossible that they should leave behind that broad, inspiring prospect and revert to a still greater dependence upon official leaders. Above all, it is impossible that the workers should revert to dependence upon leaders who, failing to see the vision of rank and file co-operation, and the triumph of the workers, have entered into partnership with the capitalists by accepting seats upon the Joint Industrial Councils. When Arthur Henderson joined the Coalition Government he gave his support to Conscription, the Defence of the Realm Act,\* and the Munitions Act, all of which were used to coerce the workers. He surrendered his freedom of independent protest; he accepted responsibility for the majority decision of the Cabinet; his lips were sealed. He has since declared that there were doings by the Coalition Government which, in his view, were detrimental to the interests of the workers whose representative he was, and to society as a whole. He has said that he could embarrass the Government by disclosing these matters. But he reveals them to no one, because, having joined the Government, he holds himself bound to keep its secrets. We strongly disagree with this view; we think it is Henderson's duty to make these matters public; we think he should have done so as soon as they came to his notice. At the same time we know that every artifice will be used to induce the members of the various so-called Labor Councils to consider themselves bound to help in enforcing the decisions of the Councils. Only those Labor representatives who are prepared to accept the Henderson standard of honor will be acceptable to the Governments and the employers as members of these Councils.

The powers that be are complacently preparing this network of Councils, which will take many months to arrive at even the simplest decisions, and which on big controversial matters cannot decide at all. Perhaps it is hoped that the workers will take years to discover that the Councils are ineffective.

Henderson and Huysmans, so often publicly snubbed by the Allied Governments, yet still playing the part of eager messenger boys to them, are busy in all these intrigues. *The London Daily Herald* reports that Henderson, Ramsay MacDonald, Stuart Bunning, Branting, Renaudel, Longuet, and Huysmans are conferring in Paris on the Berne resolutions, the organization of the International and the International Labor News Agency; Henderson

is also conferring with the British peace delegation, including Lord Robert Cecil, in regard to these matters. Ah, this wire-pulling and conferring with the guardians of Capitalism! Organized on this basis it was no wonder that the Berne Conference condemned the Bolshevik Revolution. The International Labor News Agency will be equally safe, equally useful from the capitalist point of view. Mr. Henderson will be able sincerely to assure Lord Robert that its effort will be to act as an antidote to Bolshevism. We have the capitalist press, the Ministry of Propaganda, and now we are to have the news bulletins of the Joint Councils of employers and trade union officials and the International Labor News Agency!

And there is *The London Herald* telling us a most curious story of the European situation:

"President Wilson and his friends; Lloyd George and his friends are doing what they can. . . Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel House are wholehearted supporters of the League. . . Mr. Lloyd George and the American delegates have vainly tried to speed up the work of the Conference. . . Mr. Lloyd George has again and again declared that the settlement must be one that leaves no bitterness, and that we must not create other Alsaces and Lorraines by robbing Germany of either part of the territory on the Rhine or in West Prussia."

All the delay, all the mercenary grabbing, all the cruel starvation of defenceless peoples by the blockade, the intervention in Russia—are all these supposed to be due to France and Italy? It is absurd to suggest it. America and Britain are more powerful, more able to impose their will than France and Italy. Moreover, every day brings further news showing that Britain and America are playing an active part in all that is going forward.

Our Government is blockading the starving peoples of Europe. We are sending war equipment to those who are fighting the Bolsheviks, beside taking a hand in the fighting ourselves. We are sliding gradually into a great international war. The new Army Annual Bill authorises a military force of 2,650,000 men, exclusive of those serving in India. It extends the penalties to those who encourage or assist deserters, to those who do the same for absentees. It provides penalties up to two years' imprisonment for those who spread reports prejudicial to recruiting. The Navy is appealing for volunteers for Russia, to sign on for nine months. Boatswains and motormen are to get \$13 10s. a month, A.B.s and firemen \$12 a month, free kit or an allowance, and, in

addition, "river transport allowance" of \$2 2s. a week to start on April 12th. The American Government is asking for 50,000 volunteers for three years' service in Europe—for Italy, France, or Russia. The French Foreign Minister on March 26th gave the following figures of troops in Russia:

*Archangel*: 13,100 British; 4,820 Americans; 2,349 French; 1,340 Italians; 1,280 Serbians, and 11,770 Russians.

*Siberia*: Czecho-Slovaks, 55,000; Poles, 12,000; Serbians, 4,000; Italians, 2,000; British, 1,600; French 760; Japanese, 28,000; Americans, 7,500; Canadians, 4,000; making a total of 118,000 men to which Pichon says must be added 92,000 Russian forces.

*East Russia*: French, 140,000; Rumanians, 190,000; British, 140,000; Italians, 40,000; Serbians, 140,000; Greeks, 200,000.

It is by no means certain that these are all the Allied troops in Russia. Regarding the military situation, the Allies seem to be losing ground in the north and south, whilst Kolchak is said to be gaining in the Urals.

It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that strong forces are driving the Allied countries further and further into the war against Socialism. It is not only *The London Morning Post* which declares: "Bolshevism must be fought" and "in Russia." *The London Daily Chronicle* also says: "The Associated Powers . . . are at war with Russian Bolshevism and we see no easy prospect of their making peace with it."

Now that Hungarian Bolshevism has joined Russia, it is important to notice that the General Assembly of Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, by 1,470 votes to 20, sent a telegram of congratulation to Soviet Hungary, pledging itself not to rest "until the final victory of Socialism is assured." But a short time ago the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council declared for parliamentary Government with a Coalition, and against the Soviet form of government with immediate Socialism; the change is significant and will shortly result in action. Even official Germany is growing more independent in its attitude towards Allied demands, and seeing it the Allies grow less truculent. Whilst the workers of Central and Eastern Europe turn towards the Soviets, the Allies prepare to fight Hungary as well as Russia. Reuter reports that Foch has consulted with the Council of Four regarding the military aspect. *Le Populaire*, March 26th, announces that two British monitors have arrived in Budapest.

## Clara Zetkin Defends the Bolsheviks

IN *L'Humanite* of April 15th appeared an account of the Congress of the German Independent Socialists. Kautsky took the place of the murdered Eisner in reporting on the Berne Socialist Congress. He defended his action in having voted against the Adler-Longuet resolution, which refused to criticize the Russian Soviet Government on the ground of lack of proper information. Kautsky declared that a condemnation of the dictatorship of the proletariat was essential. He weakly argued that the Bolsheviks would not be impressed by an evasion of the question and that they could only be brought back into the International if they saw it to be strong and determined.

The conference called upon Clara Zetkin to reply to Kautsky. She said that the Party lacked energy and clear vision. During the war its policy had been feeble and hesitating; it had failed to take up a definite attitude on the question of national defence. Its peace policy inclined to an entente with the governments rather than towards the international action of the workers

Even after the Revolution the Independent Socialist Party, instead of understanding the action of the masses, had allied itself with the majority Socialists, who had betrayed revolutionary Socialism. Instead of immediately applying itself to the struggle against private ownership, the Independent Party opposed strikes and thus helped to bolster up Capitalism. It failed to consider socialization as a question of political power, and regarded it only from the standpoint of surmounting economic and technical difficulties. The Party assumed it to be of first importance to increase production; this was an error, a relapse into bourgeois economic conceptions. Not by scientific commissions, but by practical action will progress be made in the economic field.

Clara Zetkin reproached the Independents for joining the Coalition Government, declaring that they had contributed to limiting the power of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils and that the National Assembly, which is on parliamentary lines and which they had supported, is incapable of freeing the working

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\* Generally called Dora. The English equivalent of the American Espionage Law. It was supposed to be aimed at German spies but, like the Espionage Act, operated almost exclusively against Socialists and radical labor agitators.