

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. VI.—No. 5

SATURDAY, APRIL 26th, 1919

Price Twopence.

CAUSES OF THE INDIAN UNREST.

COERCIVE BILLS IN INDIA.

Now that it is said that peace is about to be signed people in this country are impatiently asking when D.O.R.A. is to be repealed. The Defence of India Act is to be kept on the Statute Book for six months after the war, and some of its worst features are being given permanent legislative form by the repressive Rowlatt legislation which has been hurried through the Legislative Council.

The Rowlatt Bills are based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt or Sedition Commission, which reported on police evidence taken *in camera*; the persons against whom charges were made being given no opportunity either to defend themselves or to submit evidence.

The British law of evidence is supposed to throw the onus of proof upon the prosecution. An accused person is not supposed to be punished simply because he has not proved his innocence; it is supposed to be necessary for the prosecution to prove his actual guilt. In India people can be imprisoned on suspicion.

Repression always existed in India. It was increased during the war under the Defence of India Act, and the authorities now wish to retain the coercive powers thus obtained. The Rowlatt Bills are their opportunity. The Constitution provides that in the Imperial Legislative Council of India, which has passed the Rowlatt Bill, the official members shall be always in a majority; the Indians always in a minority. The Indian members of the Council all voted against the Rowlatt Bills and several of them have since resigned.

The first of the Rowlatt Bills is intended as a permanent addition to the criminal law of India. It is a very drastic piece of legislation and makes the possession of seditious documents an offence punishable by two years' imprisonment, or a fine, or both, unless the person in possession of the documents can prove that he possesses them for a lawful purpose! How serious is this dangerous innovation in law, in India, where coercion has long been common, may easily be imagined! Under its authority the police can enter your library, pick out any book on political science—even Mill's 'Liberty' or a history of the French Revolution might presumably be kept for a seditious purpose—and send you to gaol for two years, unless you are able to prove—and remember the burden of proof rests upon you—that the book was kept in your library for a "lawful purpose."

The Bill further provides that in a trial for sedition, it is relevant evidence against the accused to prove that he has "habitually and voluntarily associated" with any person previously convicted of sedition. This means that a person once convicted of sedition should be socially boycotted by every one, and that even the relatives of a man who has been convicted of sedition may be punished for association with him. To be punishable the association need not be criminal: provided it be "habitual and voluntary"—it is an offence even though it be for commercial or literary purposes.

Any person convicted of sedition may be ordered by the Court to execute on release from prison a bond with sureties for good behaviour for a period not exceeding two years. This means that an agitator must cease to agitate for two years after he or she has been released from prison; that a person who has been convicted of possessing books of which the Government may disapprove, or of associating with a

friend who has been convicted, must promise not to do so again for two years, and must provide sureties which will be forfeit if the promise is broken. No person convinced that he or she has been acting rightly would sign such an undertaking. Unless and until the undertaking is given, the person concerned will be kept under surveillance; he must notify the authorities of his residence or any change of residence. He may be forbidden to enter any specified area or he may be forced to reside in any specified area. He may be forbidden to speak at public meetings or to distribute any written or printed matter dealing with political questions.

The Rowlatt Bill, No. 2, or Emergency Powers Act, is designed "to make provision in special circumstances" to supplement the ordinary criminal law.

There are three parts to this Bill: the first deals with the procedure to be followed:—

"If the Governor in Council is satisfied that scheduled offences are prevailing in the whole or any part of British India, and that it is expedient in the interests of the public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences."

The second part declares what is to be done:—

"If the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that movements which are in his opinion, likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State are being extensively promoted."

The third part can be enforced if the Governor-General is satisfied that:—

"Scheduled offences have been or are being committed... to such an extent as to endanger the public safety."

In the first cases existing penalties are to be imposed for existing offences, by a new Court consisting of three High Court judges. There are to be no juries or assessors, because it is said that they are not to be relied on "in this class of case."

If the trial discloses that the accused has committed an offence with which he has not been charged, he may be convicted of that offence, although he has naturally been unable to prepare a defence.

The trials will be *in camera* and the Court may direct that its proceedings shall not be published or disclosed.

There is no right of appeal.

Statements may be used in evidence made by persons who are dead or have disappeared. This opens the door to much corruption. The Chief Justice may make rules to supplement this part of the Act "which may appear to him necessary!"

The Local Government in the area to which Part II. of the Act has been applied may issue orders against persons whom they believe to have been active in the movement objected to, to execute a bond, with or without sureties, to be of good behaviour for any period up to a year; to notify his residence and changes of residence to the authorities; to remain in any part of India; or to remain outside any part of India; or to refrain from any act which the authorities may specify; and to report himself to the police at specified periods.

The Local Government, or its officers, may use any and every means to ensure compliance with these orders. Therefore such cases as that of the shooting of the soldier by his escort at Waterloo Station may easily occur.

The Local Government may appoint such persons as it thinks fit to be visiting committees and to pay periodical visits to persons under



THE COLPORTEUR.

restraint. Treated in their own country as aliens were treated during the war they will thus be constantly subject to harrying supervision.

Such orders are to be made for not more than a year, but may be again renewed by the Local Government for another year.

Any one failing to comply with the order, or attempting to evade it, may be imprisoned for six months, or fined up to a thousand rupees (about £66), or may be both fined and imprisoned.

These Orders, issued on mere suspicion and without careful inquiry, are to remain operative for a month, during which time the case is to be examined by an Investigating Authority; the period may be extended if the investigation has not taken place during that time. The Investigating Authority is to consist of three persons appointed by the Local Government, one of whom must have held "judicial office not inferior to a District and Sessions Judge." One of the three must be "a person not in the service of the Crown in India."

The Investigating Authority is to allow the accused person "a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage in its proceedings," but it is expressly provided that:—"nothing in this sub-section shall entitle the person in question to appear, or to be represented before the investigating authority by pleader, nor shall the Local Government be so entitled."

Though the accused may be called before the Investigating Authority, just to hear what the charge is, and to be questioned, he is not entitled to be present and take part in the proceedings in the way that is customary in Britain. Even the Local Government itself is not entitled to be in Court, probably this refusal is to prevent any democratic elements getting information.

The Investigating Authority, says the Act, "shall not be bound to observe the rules of evidence."

Part III. provides that in the areas to which it is applied, the Local Government may arrest, imprison, or search where in its opinion "there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has been, or is concerned in such area in any scheduled offence."

Moreover it is provided that by sub-section 41:—"No order under this Act shall be called in question in any court, and no suit or prosecution

Continued on page 1307.

TO BRITISH WORKERS.

ARE YOU A TRADE UNIONIST?
A MESSAGE FROM LENIN AND
TCHITCHERINE.

If not, why not?

Did you find the conditions of life in field or factory so pleasant that you had no desire for any improvement? Did you find your employer so obliging, and ready to give you what you asked, that you did not find it necessary to take other measures to get what you wanted? If so, then you have been more fortunate than most workers, for that is not the usual experience.

If you are a trade unionist, do you thoroughly understand the reason of your membership of a trade union? You know that the employer does not employ you for love, you know that, if he can, he will press your wages down to the lowest level, you know that when you are organised you are better able to get your demands accepted than when your employer has to deal with each man separately. Even so, your employers have resisted your demands, and you have been compelled to come out on strike.

You have learnt that masters are no friends of workers.

You have learnt the need for working class discipline, and working class loyalty: for you will agree that there is no more contemptible creature than a blackleg. But being a trade unionist means much more than this. Have you ever asked yourself why it is that in spite of your organisation, in spite of your strikes, even successful strikes, your position as a worker has not improved? Even when you obtained higher wages you were not able to buy more food or clothing with them. Did you not find that prices were rising always higher than your wages? It was like chasing a will-o'-the-wisp in trying to keep up with them. In spite of reductions of hours there were still plenty of unemployed. And how often have you found that with the introduction of a new machine your work has completely gone, and the trade union could do nothing to prevent it?

You see then merely to be a trade unionist is not enough. You are not merely up against the particular employer you work for, but against all employers as a class.

Your interests are not merely identical with the workers in your particular trade or industry, but with all workmen.

THE CLASS WAR.

In fact you are up against the whole capitalist system. What is capitalism? Capitalism is the system under which the land, the railways, factories, and the means of obtaining a livelihood are owned by private individuals, who use them for their own benefit.

Who owns England? Do you? Can you point to any part of England and say: "This is mine"? If you can, you are one of the lucky ones. There are not many working men in England who can say that. The England that you call "your country" is not your country, but the landlords'. In England women whose husbands are fighting "for their country" are being evicted from their houses. If you do not pay rent to the landlord, you cannot live in "your country."

The tremendous industry of England is not run for the purpose of providing you and your family with food and clothing. It is run for the purpose of providing profit and interest for the capitalists, financiers, and for rich shirkers generally to lead idle and luxurious lives while you slave and toil to create it.

All wealth comes from labour. Does labour get it? If it did there would be no poor people in England. The worker is robbed of the product of his labour. He is robbed by those who take the rent profit and interest, i.e., the landlords and the capitalists. Between you and them there is an irreconcilable antagonism. As long as there are capitalists, workmen will be robbed, and continue to remain poor. Your aim as a trade unionist, desiring to improve your conditions in life, should be to abolish capitalism and landlordism, and take possession of your

country. You would be doing more good for yourself, if you conquered England for the English people.

THE WAR AND THE CLASS WAR.

The productivity of labour has increased to such an extent that the capitalists have to find new markets to dispose of the surplus wealth and profits you have created. This is what this war is about. The German capitalists and the Allied capitalists are competing with each other as to who shall control the undeveloped parts of the world for the purpose of investing the profits they wrung out of the labour of their respective workers. This is why you have been brought to Russia. Your capitalists see in our country a rich field for investment. And so you have been brought here to overthrow our workers' government, and bring back the rule of the landlords, capitalists, and the Tsar. It is indeed a grim jest, that the workers of Europe are slaughtering each other by the thousand for the purpose of deciding where the wealth they have been plundered of, shall go. Even during the war the class war has gone on. At the outbreak of the war the capitalists said to you: "We must not quarrel now. We are of the same race, we must all unite and show a solid front to the enemy." The workers believed them, and gave up everything in defence of their country. But the capitalists continued in their old business of bleeding the workers. With them it was "business as usual," only more so. For the people the war has been the cause of ruin, sorrow, grief, and disaster. For the capitalists it has been an El-Dorado. They have made such profits as they have never in their lives dreamed of. Immense fortunes have been made out of the blood and tears of the working people.

It has been the same in every country. In every country the capitalists have used the workers as cannon-fodder on the battlefields, and as material for exploitation at home. The capitalist class worships no other god but profit, and owns allegiance to any country where profit can be obtained.

Does not this show that the peoples are not divided according to nationality, but according to class?

The workers of each country are not enemies to each other. Their real enemies are at home, the capitalists, who are robbing and exploiting the people, and who have set the workers against each other, in order that they may be able to fleece them the more.

The workers can only put an end to this exploitation, and mutual slaughter by overthrowing the capitalists and taking control into their own hands.

This is the logical outcome of being a trade unionist.

OUR REVOLUTION.

We, the workers of Russia, in our fights with the capitalist have always taken this view. In October last we swept the capitalists out of power, and declared that Russia belongs to the whole of the Russian people.

We are not going to grow food for the rich to feed, or weave cloth for the rich to wear. The people will enjoy the product of their labour.

Can you wonder that the capitalists of all countries should hate us? We have shattered their dreams of the vast fortunes to be made out of the great stores of natural wealth contained in our country.

Besides, if they allow us to remain in existence, will not the workers in the other countries follow suit, and do as we have done?

They have decided therefore to crush us before we have time to consolidate our position. And you, English trade unionists will be used for this purpose.

The Russian capitalists do not stand an earthly chance against us by themselves. But your capitalists know that their interests are the same as those of the Russian capitalists, and have come to their assistance.

Why do you not recognise your class interest

in the same way? You as trade unionists are fighting your capitalists, we have settled our account with ours.

What are you going to do? Are you going to undo the work we have commenced? Are you going to do the dirty work of your enemies, the capitalist class? Or will you remain loyal to your own class—the working class—and support our effort to secure the world for labour?

REMEMBER!

By fighting us you are not fighting for your country, but for the capitalists whom your fellow trade unionists at home are fighting. By fighting us you are fighting your fellow workers. Every blow you strike against us is a blow against yourselves. If you crush us, you will only succeed in strengthening the power of your capitalists to rob you and exploit you.

Fellow workers, on whose side are you—the workers' or the masters'?

N. LENIN,
President Council People's Commissaries.

G. TCHITCHERINE,
People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

THE REWARD OF THE HERO.

To-day, in the French army, men are made to endure rigid discipline, indifferent billets, dirty ration-bags, the mud of the camps, compulsory filth, and days in prison with hair cropped short. When they go home they find taxes to pay, a grumbling landlord, the land lying waste, no work. Whether they have or have not the "Croix de Guerre" stuck in the coat, they have bronchitis in the lungs, rheumatism in the limbs, and nerves ruined by days and nights spent at high tension.

An army of poor fellows, wounded, ill, and in pain; an army of sufferers falling from one misery to another. Humble and unknown, they formed with their own bodies the bloody rampart; they have need now to be cared for, consoled, and healed. But now, after the battle, they find hunger, unemployment, and the self-satisfied smile of the "victors."

Jesus, agonising upon his cross of pain, asked for a little water to quench his thirst: he was given a sponge dipped in vinegar. To the soldiers of the armies, who would fain have some small share of the pure water of well-being and joy, they give the bitter gall of misery, of humiliation, of servile labour.

There is talk of having a glorious procession under triumphal arches. Alas! ever since human blood has flowed it is the Golgotha of pain that is climbed by the brave sons whom their mothers nursed so tenderly in their infancy, whom they had petted, "spoiled," and cherished. If the child coughed the poor mother denied herself to buy him cough mixture. She trembled at the smallest sign of a cold. What have they done with the mothers' sons, the "Heroes," caught in the red deluge, poor penniless fellows, emaciated, without clean clothes, and covered with vermin?

The soldier of the heroic armies, sad and broken, weeps for his youth, his lost health and vanished liberty....

Joseph Tommasini of the 173rd Infantry Regiment was condemned to death and was shot on November 19th, 1914. On September 12th, 1918, the "Cour de Cassation" recognised his innocence. Just lately a commandant of the gendarmerie, in the name of the President of the Republic and the War Minister, called on the widow at her house in Corsica to express regrets! But what is to be done with the murderers? What is to be done with the criminal judge who condemned to death an innocent man, and with those who had the "courage" to give the word to fire on him?

Julien Leroux of the 33rd Infantry Regiment, sector 137, was condemned to five years' hard labour for having gone home to look after his sick wife and children. He could not endure the idea that they were in danger, and so he went home. But he returned to his regiment and the authorities allowed him to go back to fight again in the bloody trenches. Now they have put him under lock and key for five years' hard labour.

Another soldier, Silvestra of Marseilles, four months after the armistice, obtained 24 hours' leave to go and see his wife. He found her ill in bed with the "flu" and without a penny. He overstayed his leave, went to work for eleven days to get a little money to pay for medicines. He could not let her die there like a dog. She was his wife you see. He worked hard, and when she began to recover he went back to his depot. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. The poor fellow is at this moment a prisoner in Fort St. Nicholas at Marseilles....

MARCELLE CAPY in *La Vague*.

SOME THOUGHTS OF A RUSSIAN WOMAN.

We Russians are often reproached for lack of patriotism. I wish to explain my conception of patriotism, and to appeal to the world-renowned English sense of fair play. I want to have a heart to heart talk with the English woman in order that she may understand how I and many other Russians see things. If I can do that, I believe that, though she may disagree with me, she will not be knowingly unjust. It is of vital importance to both of us that we should understand each other.

Russia is down-trodden and humiliated. Russia is starving, much more so than Germany in some districts. Russia is said to be the centre of Anarchy; but English papers hardly ever mention the new forces that are at work there, reconstructing the morals of the country, building up a new, a nobler, and higher form of patriotism than has ever been known in the world before. And Russia is doing this under most unfavourable conditions. She is thinking and setting up new standards of life to the accompaniment of all the horrors of civil war. Seventy per cent illiterate, she is struggling for the new truth with hardly any help from her educated classes, who are so scared and blinded by the catastrophe which befell the country that they cannot see their way at all. Most of her intellectuals recall to me the words of an Irish poet to his beloved one: "Tread gently, for you are treading on my dreams." Because they see some of their dreams broken by the heavy steps and rough hands, they refuse to see the eternal, growing, living things that have survived and are building up a new life and a new hope. No one in England can imagine the difficulties that this situation produces, the forces that in Russia are pulling in different ways.

But there are two other difficulties with which Russia must cope now. One of them is common to all the countries who sent their sons to the war. Sons of all nations have come back mutilated, brutalised, never to be the same boys that they once were. Another difficulty belongs to the old political conditions of Russia: her powers of organisation and initiative were suppressed for so long that now they seem stiff like the limbs of a prisoner. Russia has had to start life, going on unprecedented lines almost at a moment's notice. And my country is doing this, in spite of everything.

I hope I have said enough to make quite clear why I am proud to be a Russian, born and bred, with an unmistakable Russian peasant ancestry for at least three centuries to back me up. I hope that the English will understand my reason for writing to them in this strain: there are not many working-class Russians who can speak English at all, so I am taking the opportunity to speak for them. I hope you will listen to me patiently since you have given that opportunity to so many of the Russian nobility and intellectuals.

My conception of patriotism is this: love your own people better than you love yourself; fight for its birthright, its right to build its own life; and give the same opportunity to other peoples: unless you do, you will have to fight for ever. I wonder if this is your conception of patriotism also.

Russia is starving: your British shops are stuffed with food, because you have taken possession of the means of transport, and are using them for your own advantage only. Do it as long as you can with a clear conscience; but remember that your muscle, blood and bone

are being built with material taken away from the Russian children.

Russia is humiliated. Have you given her the opportunity to speak for herself? How can you be so unjust to her? Do it, if you insist, as long as you can, but remember that we hate you for it, and we shall always hate your system of repression.

Russia is said to be the centre of Anarchy. You are sending your boys to set matters right for her. What would you, who call yourself patriotic, say if the position were reversed, and some other country were to send troops to help you to settle your difficulties? Would not you tell that nation to mind its own business? Are you not too cocksure in your assumption that you know what is best for Russia, even though you are allowed to have very imperfect information regarding affairs? Send your boys over to Russia if you are quite sure you are right in doing so. But do not be afraid to tell them first all that I have told you; it is better that they should know what they are in for before going, than that they should learn it when the mischief has been done, and the hatred of half-inarticulate people, who are just awakened to the new life, breaks loose on those who are ignorantly trying to turn the wheels back again into the bad old ways.

Enough of hatred, enough of injustice and bloodshed. Leave us alone to build our new life for ourselves. The burden is almost too heavy. At least refrain from adding to it, if you will not help us.

There is still time—let us be friends. We are hungry for your friendship. If you prefer to try to kill us as a nation, you will see what we can do when we are driven to bay.

IN CAMP.

Addington Park and Palace at Shirley, near Croydon, once occupied by the Archbishop of Canterbury, is now an enteric, dysentery, and typhoid hospital and dispersal camp for soldiers and prisoners of war. During the war the Palace and huts beside it were under the management of a local committee. Shirley Camp near by was a Labour Centre of the Eastern Command. About three months ago the military took over the whole establishment, and the huts at Shirley have since been used as a dispersal camp for men suffering from the diseases named; that is to say, soldiers who have suffered from enteric, dysentery, and typhoid, are sent from various parts of the country to Shirley, to be demobilised there, when they have passed the necessary tests.

With the advent of the military came various changes. In the great hall of the Palace, which was used as one of the sick wards, the big marble fireplace and overmantle, the carved wooden dado and other decorations were hidden from sight by wooden partitioning. The military authorities probably did not realise that this, and the trampling down of certain flower-beds, was a source of keen regret to the soldiers. Military discipline and management everywhere changed the comfortable homely atmosphere of the Palace. Freedom was curtailed. The convalescents had been allowed to do light work for the neighbouring farmers, both the money paid for it and the work itself were regarded by the men as privileges. The work was stopped: the military authorities said that the men would carry disease into the fields. Perhaps they were right; the men did not think so, and resented the change as part of the general militarisation. In the days of the local committee there were five or six R.A.M.C. orderlies at Addington, mainly employed in the Quartermaster's stores; there were also about eight nurses and about ten maids.

With the advent of the military the number of the R.A.M.C. orderlies at Addington grew to about seventy, with twelve V.A.D.s; yet there was actually a decrease in the number of patients since the days when a couple of dozen men and women did the work. The Palace accommodates 80 to 100 patients and the huts 700. At Shirley Camp, where there are from

300 to 600 men awaiting demobilisation, there are 60 R.A.M.C. orderlies, 20 of whom are employed in filling up demobilisation forms—only about 50 men a week pass through their hands. The newcomers awaiting demobilisation stay as a rule from two weeks to three months in camp, but there are men in the camp who have been there upwards of two years; these men are principally on the staff. The men complain that it is quite unnecessary to keep waiting here men who are longing to go home. "My firm has applied for me several times and I have nothing to do all day but a little sweeping in the morning." "We have a chemist washing up! Oh! we are all indispensable!" so they protest, asserting that even when orders come from Woolwich that men can leave the camp, the Colonel insists that they cannot be spared.

In January things came to a head. Men were still held in the camp who had enlisted in 1915, or who were over 41 years of age. The refusal to let the men go was the main grievance, but there were other irritations. The quality and preparation of the food was a perpetual annoyance, and the uniforms of the men in Shirley Camp were worn out, their shirts were ragged, and some of them were six weeks without a change; there were plenty of new clothes in the stores by the garage at the Palace, but these were refused.

The huts at the camp are bare and uninviting. They certainly do not look worth the £1,000 a piece which the men say the contractor got for them. A large number of men, too large a number for ordinary comfort, sleeps in each hut. There are plank beds. "Like prison beds," some one says, and the soldiers answer in chorus: "This is a prison!" The mattresses are filled with straw. Some of them were verminous a little while ago, and the blankets were far from clean. There is a fumigating apparatus for cleansing them, but it was not used. The hut windows were broken. The stoves had no chimneys and therefore could not be lighted! The gas jets were without mantles; the recreation room adjoined the scullery and the noise of washing up made it difficult for the men to follow each other's conversation. The food was poor; the meat, of indifferent quality, was badly cut and cooked. At last, in January, a

riot took place, a raid was made on the stores; the men threatened to strike. Promises of improvements were made to them, but nothing happened. Then there was another threat to strike and a deputation of the men was received at Woolwich. As a result of these disturbances, new garments were served out, new straw was provided for the beds and clean blankets; chimneys and gas-mantles were fitted; windows were mended; the food improved in quality; and it was arranged that V.A.D.s should replace the W.A.A.C.s of whom the men had complained. The men think the work of the W.A.A.C.s is inferior to that of the V.A.D.s, partly because the V.A.D.s, being free to go when they choose, instead of being bound like soldiers, are treated with greater consideration. As a rule, too, the V.A.D.s have had a much better training than the W.A.A.C.s.

The new V.A.D. matron at Addington is regarded by the men with profound admiration. She is insisting on all sorts of improvements. Old stoves and boilers are being replaced by new, and leaking taps will have to be attended to.

Amongst the convalescents who assist in the hospital are the German prisoners. They work well and are exceedingly popular. Their huts are the most tidily kept about the place, the soldiers say. The British soldiers and the German prisoners play football and other games together on the best possible terms, and the Germans speak English, though the English do not speak German.

As in most camps, the Y.M.C.A. has a hut here. "And they make us pay for it!" the soldiers say. Cigarettes and everything on sale at the Y.M.C.A. is more costly than outside the camp. Billiards, also, are charged for.

Outside the hut some ladies are seated in a motor; a man in officer's khaki, probably a Y.M.C.A. official, stands beside it bareheaded and deferential. He steps back as the car swerves and starts off, covering him with dust. "Voluntary workers on duty for the day. Haven't you seen the pictures in *The Daily Mirror*? 'Lady So-and-so doing war work at Addington!'" says a soldier grimly, and "Let's go to the village for tea: it's cheaper and better than this."

"Why are they keeping us here, idling away our time, making work, or doing nothing?" That is the question every soldier asks.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation

Annual Subscription - Post Free, 10s. 10d.

Back Numbers, 4d. post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at
400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3

All business communications to the
MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Vol. VI., No. 5.

Sat., April 26th, 1919.

THE "PEACE" CONFERENCE.

A New Military Alliance.

The Peace Terms, still being arranged in Paris, are not yet disclosed, though the press daily publishes a new version, which may or may not be correct. It is now stated that a new Military Alliance has been formed between Britain, America, and France, on the ground that this is the only means of securing the actual execution of the peace terms. The terms appear to be so thoroughly bad, so vindictive and rapacious, that we are not surprised it should be thought necessary to use military power to enforce them. But we believe the chief activity of this alliance will prove to be the fight against Communism. It is noteworthy that it seems Italy may be left out of the Alliance: evidently the ambitions of Italian imperialists are in conflict with those of the other three Powers; also Italy may "go Bolshevik" at any time, it is feared.

The Allied Governments are continually protesting their love of democracy, and yet when the German Government decides to take the really democratic course of sending delegates who are not empowered to act without consultation with those whom they represent, the Big Four declare that they will not receive "mere messengers," and that plenipotentiaries must be sent with full power to commit an entire people, without its knowledge or approval.

OFFERS TO SOVIET RUSSIA.

Lloyd George says we are in Russia to help "our friends," the counter-revolutionaries, who started fighting "at our instigation" and "largely no doubt at our expense." But though Koltchak, Denikin, and the rest, may be the friends of Lloyd George and the landlords and capitalists of Britain, we contend that the Bolsheviks and the Soviets are the friends of British workers and, indeed, of all workers. Why, then, should British workers fight their friends, in order to assist the friends of Lloyd George and his capitalist government?

Mr. Frazer Hunt of *The Chicago Tribune* publishes an interview with Tchicherine, the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, who is alleged to have said:—

"Russia is at war. She has civil and foreign wars on her hands. The Allies are helping those who are trying to tear down this Government. Half our energies are used up in protecting ourselves against our internal and outside enemies."

"We want to meet the Allies. We will welcome any plausible suggestion of theirs for getting together. We have made a definite promise that the minute peace is signed" [this clearly means peace between the Allies and Russia] "we will not interfere in the internal affairs of America or the Allied countries."

"We have offered to pay the old Government's debts and to give big concessions and guarantees to the Allies. Our cause is stronger now than it has ever been. Time is on our side."

"We are willing to discuss any idea of peace or agreement that will give us the possibility of peaceful development. But there is nothing discouraging about our military situation at the present moment. Koltchak and his Siberian army offer a serious problem but the Siberian peasants are already rising in Koltchak's rear, and we are certain there will be serious trouble within Siberia itself."

"The conditions on our other fronts are very favourable. Odessa has fallen, and we have

recently opened up the great rich districts in South Russia."

"Let the Allies withdraw their help, and we will end civil war within our borders within a few weeks."

We know that if the Russians have made these offers they have done so reluctantly. We know that they do not desire to enter into contracts with capitalist governments, or to give concessions to capitalists. We know that they desire to carry the propaganda for communism on the Soviet plan into all countries. But they realise that example is better than precept and knowledge of the Russian example has already travelled all over the world. In time that example, added to the natural longing of the workers for a social order which shall bring freedom and justice to them, will lead to the establishment of the Soviets in the Allied countries at present attacking Russia. Faith in that prospect may have reconciled Soviet Russia to the compromise here indicated, if the report is authentic. But other compromises are suggested, to which we feel sure Soviet Russia will never willingly agree. One such compromise is that suggested in the correspondence between the leaders of the Allied Governments and Dr. Nansen, which is firstly, that food should be distributed in Russia by a Commission of delegates appointed to represent Norway and Sweden and, possibly, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland. Such a Commission is described as "neutral"; it would not be neutral from the Soviet standpoint. Cleavages in regard to the Soviets do not follow lines of nationality, but of class and opinion. Bourgeois politicians nominated by capitalist governments can never be neutral where Bolshevism is concerned, as the so-called neutral nations have already proved by protesting against the Red Terror, and ignoring the much more violent White Terror.

The Big Four have further stipulated that if this food is to be taken to Russia, hostilities are to cease. Presumably they mean that the Red Army is to lay down its arms, and Koltchak, Denikin, and the other counter-revolutionaries, are to be left in possession of the rich and vast territories of Russia, which they have seized, and where they are only able to maintain their government over the unwilling people by sheer force. The British, too, we suppose, would retain their hold on the oilfields of Baku.

THE TESTING OF BRITISH SOCIALISTS.

Resolutions of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. Conferences.

The I.L.P. at its Annual Conference in Huddersfield, has passed a resolution recording its "full agreement" with the Berne Congress. In more guarded language, but as unmistakably, as did the Congress of Berne, where all sorts of reactionaries assembled, the I.L.P. resolution registers its lack of solidarity with the Soviet form of Government, with the Revolution, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat:—

"This Conference, in full agreement with the declarations of the International Socialist Congress, firmly adheres to the principles of democracy and firmly declares that a reorganised society, more and more permeated with Socialism, cannot be permanently established unless it rests upon the triumph of democracy, and is rooted in the principles of liberty. It is of opinion that true socialisation implies methodical development in the different branches of economic activity under the control of democracy, and declares that those institutions which constitute democracy including freedom of speech and the Press, the right of association and assembly, universal suffrage, a government responsible to, and co-operating with, the people, also should be used to their fullest extent for the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth."

By this resolution, carried by a close vote of 251 to 245, the I.L.P. has stepped out of the Socialist ranks and joined the Liberal reformists. It is a pity, for much effort and sacrifice by many genuine Socialists went to the building up of that Party, and this resolution is in direct conflict with the spirit of its founder, Keir Hardie.

Afterwards a resolution refusing to condemn the Russian Soviet Republic was moved by

the ex-Liberal M.P. Arthur Ponsonby, and carried unanimously, but the votes cast for that resolution by those who carried the former motion, were actually, though perhaps unconsciously, a mere sentimental sham.

Now that the I.L.P. has officially disowned the Socialist Revolution, what course will be adopted by the Socialists in the I.L.P.?

We congratulate the B.S.P. on having declared, not only for the Russian, Hungarian, and German Soviets, but for the British Soviets also. But the B.S.P. has not quite made up its mind yet to throw in its lot with the Socialist Revolution. It could not decide whether to sever its connection with the sham International of Henderson, Huysmans, Vandervelde, Thomas, and their kind (whose conference at Berne is said to have been financed by the American Government); or with the Red International, the Third International as it is called, which recently met at Moscow by the invitation of the Russian Communists. Not being yet quite sure to which International it will belong, the B.S.P. Conference has referred the question to its branches. On that decision hangs the future of the B.S.P.

Moreover, the B.S.P. carried a resolution proposing unity with the I.L.P. and S.L.P. Perhaps it had not yet seen the resolution passed by the I.L.P. Conference.

RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION CONDITIONS.

The Trade Union Practices Bill offers what is by no means a complete restoration of pre-war customs. A majority of the workers concerned must serve a notice on the employer to restore pre-war conditions. The employer must in that case comply within one month, but he will have the right of appeal to a munitions tribunal. Should his appeal be turned down he will only be fined £25 if he refuse to obey the Act, and the restoration of the practice is only to be maintained for one year.

As usual, the workers, we fear, will only get what they are strong enough to take! As usual, the Government has broken its promise.

THE GLASGOW RIOTS.

The sentences passed on Comrades Shirwell, Gallacher, Murray, and McCartney do not surprise us. These actions are brought for the purpose of keeping the workers quiet and forcing them to abstain from attacking the established order. We say to the workers of Glasgow and of Britain in general, it is our duty to get these men out.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE, MILITARISM, AND RUSSIA.

We welcome the resolution of the Triple Alliance, urging the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to call a national conference, to decide what actions should be taken to compel the Government to withdraw the Conscription Bill, to withdraw the British troops from Russia, to release the C.O.s, and to raise the blockade. But these are all urgent questions which have been allowed to drag on unheeded at the cost of much misery and wrong; another conference means more delay. The Triple Alliance is strong enough to take effective industrial action which would remove these grievances and if the Triple Alliance were to act other sections would follow.

NEXT WEEK: 1st of MAY Special Soviet Number.

The Story of the Hungarian Revolution, illustrated.
The Allied Intervention in Russia, by Phillips Price
(Manchester Guardian Correspondent).
The Soviet of the Far East, by the Wife of its President.
The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, by Karl Radek,
Bolshevik representative in Berlin.
Orders for this Special Number are pouring in.

The Progressive Book-shop (NEW AND SECOND-HAND BOOKS).

I can always linger over the huddled books on the stalls; always gladden my amorous fingers with the touch of their leaves.

H. W. EDWARDS & CO., 63 Red Lion St., London, W.C.1.

NORTH RUSSIA: The Truth About The Expedition.

By an American lately returned from Russia.

II.

Perhaps the greatest hardships of the soldiers in North Russia are the stupidities, red tape, and petty tyranny of "the army." It is not easy to lodge complaints against tyranny: the Army chiefs have those subject to their orders at their mercy. Even the officers see the farcical mistakes of the executive. One young officer who was a little independent has ever since been made to feel the resentment of the High Command. He has not been allowed leave when his turn came, and his first summons home by the War Office, procured by his wife, was quashed promptly in the same spirit.

The grievances of the Italian privates on account of the selfishness of their officers in keeping all supplies for themselves were censored again and again, till finally one of their officers sided with them, and the ruling officers feared to carry their high hand further; they began then to take some account of the common soldier. One officer had all the complaints which he sent to headquarters against his O.C. stopped by that O.C.

From certain evidence which I received from two friends, this same O.C. practised the most diabolical tyranny on two Russians in the town over which he held command. The Government owed both these men big sums on large contracts, and for no other reason, apparently, these men found themselves accused of being Bolsheviks. It was made so hot for one man, a Russian officer with our forces, that he had to leave the place without the money owing to him ever being paid; his wife, to raise money to go and join him, had to sell her personal effects. The other man is still in town, and, so far as I know, still pressing his claim for payment of lumber sold to the English Government.

There is an amount of high feeling existing between the English and the bodies of Allied troops working under English command.

One mean bit of small jealousy cropped out in the friction between the American Y.M.C.A. men and the Army in the Murmansk district. It may have been felt that these American Y.M.C.A. workers had no place there where there were no American troops at the time, but certainly the trouble arose from another cause. The Americans were accused of doing propaganda work among the Russians; that is, their relief and educational labours among the Russians had the effect, intended or not, of making the Americans seem more the friends of the Russian than the English, who had the job of giving more or less necessary orders that the population did not relish. The Y.M.C.A. gave way, of course, and most of their representatives left the district, jurisdiction being given over to members of the British Y.M.C.A., who, so a high American Y.M.C.A. official tells me, are expected to do the proper propaganda work.

These petty tyrannies and jealousies are small matters, perhaps, but the growing hostility of the Russians to the whole expedition is a most signal evidence of its failure. The natives are not only blamed for all the thefts, but also for the deaths of a few officers. The shooting of those officers about Christmas time stirred up a great feeling, but the nature of the whole episode in each case was so little to the credit of the officers concerned that the matter was hushed up. Three Russians were sentenced by an unwilling judge to be shot for one offence, and several others given long prison terms. It is needless to say that all these Russians who get into any such trouble are called Bolsheviks, even though they are nothing but plain thieves and prostitutes. The out-and-out Bolsheviks were put under arrest sometime after our "invitation" and occupation. The officer in charge of them told me all about them. They are maintained as a gang of workmen-prisoners to do the hardest labour on the Murmansk quay....An Allied soldier goes beside each prisoner and sees to it that he "works." "Such a waste of labour, almost slave-driving, too," I

ventured to suggest; "why couldn't our own soldiers do some of the work themselves?"

"Why, the Tommy wouldn't do that heavy work," he assured me promptly, "they come out here as soldiers, not as a labour battalion." Even among the anti-Bolshevik bourgeoisie there is a growing dislike and disgust for the methods pursued by us in North Russia. Fraser Hunt, Russian correspondent for *The Chicago Tribune*, during the two months that he was in North Russia was complaining bitterly because the facts of the situation as he saw them could not get past the rigid political censorship-lines. In a recent article in his paper he quotes "one of the sincerest Russian Revolutionists in Archangel, who gave years of his life to bring about the original Revolution," as follows:—

"The thousands of honest anti-Bolshevik Radicals throughout Russia are fearing the course that the intervention may take more than they fear the Bolsheviks. We prefer the present Moscow Government to the return of the terrible reaction. As far as we can judge certain of the Allies now are working toward breaking the heart of the whole spirit of advancement in Russia, and want a heavy-handed dictatorship established, so that life and business can go on under the old imperialistic conditions."

Most of the Russians in Archangel and Murmansk are coming to believe what the Bolsheviks have said from the beginning, "that the Allies are intervening for some other purpose than to help the Russian people." And, on the whole, considering what has been our attitude under the present British military and political leaders, such a belief is logical enough. For the majority even of the moderates in Russia are Radical and when they see how we recognise only the reactionary elements they lose hope in our championship of political freedom. "They might learn from our treatment of the Red Finns, who were driven out of Finland after the Finnish Revolution by the Germans and White Guards, and who at that time were welcomed by us. I don't know what we promised them, but now, at any rate, they are in a ridiculous position. We have undertaken to support a friendly government in Finland, but the sort of people we have chosen are not our old friends, these Red Guards and their leaders, but the old White Guards their oppressors, the very same men, probably, to whom German militarism guaranteed the power. Moreover, the Russians in the occupied territory have found that there is little love, or hardly respect, felt for them by us. It is said that one General hates the sight of a "damned Russian," and will not have one in his office if he can help it. I have heard some of the best officers express contempt and aversion for the Russian. Generally the natives are treated by our officers as inferiors, and certainly that is the army philosophy; the Russians are not fit for self-government—this, by the way, is the contention of Mr. Dillon, the well-known writer about Russia; he has written a book of more than 700 pages to prove his contention: Mr. Dillon is not the only foreigner who has lived in Russia and studied the Russian, and yet never become acquainted with the animal. It ought to be said, however, that there is made in some quarters an attempt to please the people. Many, even of those who dislike the Russian, are quite happy to dance with his daughters, and they are quite put out if the Russian notabilities decline to come to their soirées, as was sometimes the case. In one village it was definitely one of the duties of the interpreter, an English sergeant, to call upon the families in a friendly, cheerful way; the men at headquarters used to joke about this scheme as a clever trick, and were congratulating themselves that the feeling of the natives toward the military was improving. But all this paternalism and pretence does not fool the Russian. The Russian of these parts dresses, and eats, and amuses himself on a scale different from that of the English officer, and so, to the latter, may appear a dull-head; the Englishman does not realise what a clever, perceptive

fellow the Russian is. The Italians and the French mix more readily with the natives and often pick up quite a smattering of the language.

Our greatest illusion regarding Russia, that the people are waiting to be delivered and will flock by the thousands to our standards, was quickly dissipated there on the field, although I see that it still lingers in certain quarters in Paris. We sent out a preponderance of officers and N.C.O.s with the purpose of training the Russians. These instructors I happen to know have had absolutely nothing to do in that way. The local population has in no sense ever rallied to us. Those Russians who are in our pay have in many cases, I suspect, been lured into the service by hope of bread, for in Archangel, I understand, the Russian divisions have shown the greatest reluctance to do any fighting. The result of this indifference of the Russians to our ambition to free their country has been the illogical result, which is usual in dealing with the Russian question; we now have "suggested" to the Russian authorities, who are nothing but our puppets, that there must be a mobilisation of all citizens, and at the present time the civilians are being rapidly mobilised in both districts. Everybody among us is saying how appropriate it is that the Russians should do their own fighting. In the meantime, there is little doubt how a good percentage of these conscribed men feel. I talked with quite a few of them. All hated the idea. Even the anti-Bolsheviks were unwilling to take up arms against brother Russians, and the really Bolshevik fellows avow that they will accept the training and join the Bolsheviks at the first opportunity; some of the anti-Bolsheviks said the same thing.

However common it may be to hear the people speak unfavourably of the Bolsheviks, especially if one of us asks the question, there is seldom anything terrible, such as you would expect, said against them. Such feeling as exists is generally political, except in the case of the prominent bourgeois, who know that much that they hold dear is at stake if a change from the old social conditions is brought about again. The richest citizen in one village told me quite sincerely that he believed the only way to settle Russia was to kill every Bolshevik. "Every Bolshevik?" I asked. "Every Bolshevik," was his firm answer. I inquired about the Bolshevik atrocities on the Archangel front. Many men who had never been there were telling these stories. They do exist. So some Americans, who weren't much worried about it, said. Some of the Russians, especially the Cossacks, stop at no limits in warfare. The atrocities committed by both sides in Finland were frightful. I heard some officers telling with great glee of what I should call an atrocity committed by one of our own Serbs upon a Bolshevik. The worst part of this story to me, however, was not what the big, barbaric Serb sergeant did, but the glee with which these professedly atrocity-horrified Englishmen told the story. The Americans were amazingly indifferent to the Bolshevik peril. Perhaps this is because they have been unduly affected by the discrimination which they say the Bolsheviks have shown toward them. They say that the Bolsheviks sent word to the Americans they would not attack them. At any rate, once, so these Yanks said, they held a position a whole month without a yip coming from the enemy guns, but that the very night they went out of the position and were relieved by English troops, the Bolsheviks attacked.

The glaring fact is that, whatever our statesmen may say in council chambers at home, the men on the field in North Russia are not moved by any high motives. The men admit it would be a crime to get shot by a Bolshevik bullet now up there in Russia. They did not feel this way about the fighting in France. If there are men in England who really do want to fight the Bolsheviks, as they profess, they should volunteer and join the expedition at once.

CLARA ZETKIN DEFENDS THE BOLSHEVIKI.

In *L'Humanité* 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 criticise 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 Bolsheviki 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 Socialisation 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 class. She urged that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an essential transitory measure, the object of which is the abolition of the capitalist class. In opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Independent Socialist Party had become an accomplice in preserving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Zetkin demanded the immediate resumption of relations with the Russian Soviet Republic. The fact that the Soviet Government had so long maintained its power was the best proof that it was not an arbitrary régime resting solely upon the force of bayonets.

It was wrong for the Independents to go to Berne and illogical for those to participate in it who had been represented at Zimmerwald. Berne she described as "a conference of reciprocal and general amnesty." The delegates conjugated: "I am a sinner, thou art a sinner," and so on, and believed that it was possible thus to re-establish the International! "The old International died in shame: it can never be resurrected!"

The Independents ought to have refused all collaboration with the Majority Socialists; the sanguinary policy of the Majority Party after the Revolution ought to have been enough in itself to render collaboration impossible. The Berne Conference, so far as it could, had frustrated the establishment of an International of action, and had betrayed and deceived the masses. Great confusion had been created by the fact that the German Independents had refrained at Berne from separating themselves from the Majority Party.

Zetkin insisted that: "A union of peoples will never result from Wilson's League of Nations, but at the Berne Conference more faith was placed in Wilson than in Marx." Kautsky abused his influence at Berne. The repudiation of the Bolsheviki deserved the strongest condemnation. The rejection of the Adler-Longuet motion was a provocative insult to the Bolsheviki.

Socialists must carry on the work begun at Zimmerwald, for only a world revolution would relieve the situation. Only a world revolution could give Germany a good peace. It was necessary to push on with the German Revolution.

Hitherto the German Independent Socialist Party had not been inspired by that necessity. It was a product of the process of decomposition which had been going on in the old Social Democratic Movement, and its parentage has involved it in that process. The antagonisms which existed in its very midst could not be eliminated by a mere resolution of the Conference. A complete severance between the left and right wings had become imperative. "Personally," said Zetkin, "I am faced with a painful and difficult decision. It is impossible for me to remain in the Party if it maintains its present majority. I will not spend the closing years of my life in an atmosphere of death. I will spend my last years in an atmosphere pregnant with the forces of the future. Some people appear to think they can bury the Revolution, but the Revolution is more alive than ever. The agitations for higher pay have become revolutionary. The masses are animated by a new spirit. It is our duty as Socialists to guide them, but to do so we require a vision rendered strong by its keen foresight. Thus Socialist theory will become a living force which will take possession of the masses."

Clara Zetkin's closing words were received with loud and prolonged cheers.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

Peace is coming, having made up her mind to arrive somewhere in the early part of May, if not before. So get your flags ready. Everybody will be rejoicing over that for which the "peace-cranks" were thrown into prison, not so very long ago. So get up that whoop, or you will be suspected of being that vile thing, a war-crank.

On a certain day which is being kept a profound secret, as to tell it would be giving information to the enemy, the newspapers will come out with red, white, and blue posters with the word "peace" in big letters, and, perhaps, the pleasing word "Official" may be tacked on to it somewhere. Then forty million solemn faces will light up, and the Pig and Anchor will do a big business.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Peace fireworks will go off without a dud. There will still be a few disgruntled people left, who will give a nasty smirk, put cotton wool in their ears, and seek a quiet spot in the country. And if you ask them the whyness and the whencity of that thushness, they may point a withering finger at Central Europe and that everlasting Russia, from which there is no getting away. They will talk of "Peace, when there is no peace." And maybe quote a gentleman who died some time ago and was known to his friends as Jehu. He was a great authority on peace, I believe, for whenever the latest bulletin arrived from the Peace Conference of A.C. 2345, they would anxiously enquire: "Is it Peace, Jehu?" And for the forty-seventh time he would say, "Possibly this week or next, but if not, the week after." This Jehu was a sarcastic person. He was probably a Bolsheviki.

His friends and descendants of these latter days will go about with a mournful its-no-use-telling-me sort of smile. They know better. They will tell us that it is all very well in its way, supposing it's true, but where do "we" come in? They should be told that we come in very well.

To begin with we come in for Mesopotamia and Egypt. With India and the German colonies, it is not a come-in to be sneezed at, even if some miserable grumblers point out that Law and Order is getting the frozen face and a complete

set of Brock's Extra Specials in some of the countries we were divinely appointed to rule. We have also come in for the German Fleet, which is a fine thing to have, even if we don't know what to do with it. And we also come in for an indemnity, although friend Dubb won't have the handling of it lest he should spend it on beer.

Our friends the Jehu-hoos will also point somewhat unsteadily in the direction of where Archangel may be supposed to be, and ask if we call that peace. We can at least answer that it is not war. We only declare war on civilised people like the Germans, not on Bolsheviki who are all whiskers and atrocity. It is a fine adventure, except when we get the worst of it, as in Gallipoli.

But there is no room for the blues. It will be a different world when Peace is declared, officially, finally, and once and for all. We shall then feel all our little troubles vanish, as if by another addition to Dora. The landlord will no longer call for rent, or if he does, he will smilingly ask us if we really insist on paying him. The grocer will no more be rude over our coupons, and will not only give us exactly what we want, not something just as vile, but let us have it sent in the new motor van he bought with his war-profits. The shoe-maker's repairer will no longer use shoddy stuff, but will actually sole our boots with extra-strong cardboard faced with leather on the wearing side.

Workers and employers will fall on each other's necks and drink the health of The Man Who Won The Peace. There will be no more strikes, lock-outs or trade disputes. Henry Dubb will be content with his wages and Mr. Fat with his profits. New houses will grow up, like mushrooms in the night. Ireland will be contented, and elect Carson as Viceroy of a United Ireland.

In a word, it will be all polony and pickles. Life will go by like a dream. And we shall never, never go to war any more. Oh, dear no! Peace, peace, beautiful peace!

"I love her, yes, I love her, yes, I love her, yes, I do,
When I've had one or two;

When I've had three or four
I love her mo-wer and mo-wer;
Ireland is the place for Irish stew."

Let us all raise our voices and sing the praise of peace. And of the super-statesmen who got it for us, with all its blessings. Lives of great men all remind us, there's no need for overtime. They will look after our business for us whilst we all take a trip to Paris, and see what it's like when one has to make peace there. Better leave our wives behind, though, Paris being what she is, eh, Henry?

And when we do get the flags out, we had better go slow with them. There is a story of a man who made a foolish mistake on Armistice Day. He sent his children to school with flags, so that they could join in the general joy. He was surprised when his children came back in half an hour with a very fierce inspector lugging them along.

"Eh ????" queried the fond parent.

"What do you mean by sending these children of yours to school with flags like this?" the inspector roared.

"I don't see any harm in the flags."

"But they're red, man," the schoolman vociferated, "RED, do you hear?"

"I hear perfectly. Don't get excited. You know my nationality?"

"Yes, you're Russian."

"Well, they're my national flags. The official flag of the Russian Republic of Soviets is RED; got me?"

Crown 8vo, pp. 230, paper covers, 1s. 8d post paid.

FRANK MOND

THE BURDEN OF WOMAN.

The Tyranny of Man—The Submission of Woman—
Lack of Sympathy—Neglect of Intellect—Sickly Children

THE BOMB SHOP, 66 Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

A REBUKE FROM THE STRANGERS' GALLERY.

"You are leading the people into another War."

The Press has given many versions of what was said by the "British Bolshevik" who rebuked the House of Commons on April 15th. We are in a position to furnish our readers with a correct account of the incident. Mr. Tyson Wilson and Mr. Charles Edwards had just spoken to a weak resolution on the pensions question, and had asked for some slight ameliorations of the hard lot of disabled soldiers and sailors and the widows, orphans and parents of men killed in the war. The Deputy Speaker was about to put the question which was only a pious resolution and so indefinitely drafted that it could benefit no one, when a voice broke on the still slumbrous air, saying: "You are murderers here; you have not yet settled up the last war. You are still haggling over the miserable pensions of the men who fought in the last war, and you are leading the workers into a new war in which you are fighting against a government of working people for your God Capital."

Long before the interrupter had proceeded thus far, she was seized by the attendants, but she continued as they carried her out: "You are fighting a war against the workers; there will be no peace till we have the Soviets here." A companion of the first interrupter held back an attendant, who attempted to stifle these words by putting his hand over the speaker's mouth. The second woman said: "We shall turn out the men who made the war."

While all the attendants in that part of the House were engaged in putting out these two women, a third rose unmolested, and informed the House that "Parliament is no good: we want the Soviets."

Some of the papers reported that a woman said: "My Kaiser." The statement is a fabrication. As a matter of fact none of the interrupters were of German nationality, and the Bolsheviks of all nationalities are opposed both to Kaisers and Kings.

The three interrupters were detained in the police room till the House rose at 11.30 p.m. The police treated them with great consideration and courtesy; realising, no doubt, that under the Soviet system the police would have their own representatives in the Local and National Governments.

CAUSES OF INDIAN UNREST.

Continued from front page.

or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person, or anything which is in good faith done, or intended to be done under this Act."

If a veritable reign of terror and violence is instituted, if innocent persons are injured and their property destroyed, there is no redress.

The Local Government may order:—

- (a) The arrest of any such person without warrant.
- (b) The confinement of any such person in such place, and under such conditions and restrictions as it may specify.
- (c) The search of any place specified in the order which, in the opinion of the Local Government, has been, is being, or is about to be, used by any person, for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety.

Persons arrested under (a) may be held for fifteen days in such custody as the Local Governing Board may have prescribed for such cases. The cases of persons who are to be confined under Part III. are to be dealt with and shall be referred to the Investigating Authority as in Part II. There is no appeal from the decision of the Investigating Authority. Persons who fail to comply with, or attempt to evade Orders issued under Part III. are liable to be both fined and imprisoned for a year.

Persons against whom Orders were made under the Defence of India Act, or who are in confinement under the provisions of the Bengal State Prisoners' Act of 1918 may have the provisions of Part III. of the No. 2 Rowlatt Act applied to them, without any reference to the Investigating Authority. Part II. of the same Act will be applied to persons restrained under the Ingress into India Act, 1914, and the Emergency Legislation Continuance Act, 1915.

A person cannot escape the coercion of the Rowlatt Act, No. 2, by removing to a part of India where it has not been applied, for its orders are enforceable in any part of India.

We have compiled the above from the 'Text of the Rowlatt Report' Bills, published in *The Bombay Chronicle* of January 22nd.

Parliament As We See It.

LYOYD GEORGE ON THE PEACE TERMS.

Lloyd George's statement on April 16th, shows that the Allied Governments, and the British Government in particular, are determined not to abate their attacks on the workers' Government of Soviet Russia, or upon any other nation whose workers dare to assume control of the Government and to attack capitalism. The plan, as Lloyd George outlined it, is to support with munitions and equipment, Generals Denikin and Kharkov and Admiral Koltchak and, we suppose, any other who is prepared to rise up and attack the Soviets; also to mobilise against Bolshevism "all the forces of the Allied countries bordering on Bolshevik territory from the Baltic to the Black Sea—Poland, Czechoslovakia and Roumania."

Mr. Lloyd George made two very important admissions. The first is that the Allies are actually responsible for the inception of the counter-revolutionary warfare in Russia, and that they made it possible for these reactionaries to raise armies to fight the Soviets. He says: "They raised armies at our instigation, and largely, no doubt, at our expense."

The second important admission is that the counter-revolutionaries have plenty of food, though parts of Soviet Russia are starving. Why is this? Because the counter-revolutionaries and the Allies are to keep from Soviet Russia the grain of the Don, the minerals of the Urals and the oils of the Caucasus, and until recently the resources of the Ukraine also. Says Lloyd George of the counter-revolutionaries: "As far as food is concerned, they are very well off. The Don is a very rich country." Yes, it is rich, and its food stuffs should be shared with the industrial areas of Russia where food stuffs are so short.

Yet in conjunction with these admissions Lloyd George said: "We certainly disagree—I believe I may say every man in this House wholly disagrees fundamentally—with all the principles upon which the present Russian experiment is based. We deplore its horrible consequences—starvation, bloodshed, confusion, ruin and horror."

He was not frank enough to admit that these things are the consequences of the attempt of the Allied capitalist Governments to put down a government with which they disagree.

The story that approaches from the Soviet

Government to the Peace Conference had been made through the medium of Americans returning from Russia, Lloyd George dismissed by saying that if President Wilson "had attached any value" to the communications "he would have brought them before the Conference and he certainly did not do so." We are not concerned as to whether President Wilson or Lloyd George "attach any value to the communication"—we know they do not, since they are determined not to recognise the Soviet Government—We want to know what the toiling masses would think of the Soviets' proposals if they were disclosed to them.

The Prime Minister protested against the complaints that the Peace terms are being kept secret. He found all sorts of reasons for the present secret diplomacy, yet everyone must remember that he was one of those who during the war indignantly repudiated the Austrian proposal for informal peace discussions, because it was stipulated that, in the first instance these should be private. He told the House of Commons on April 16th that publication of the terms proposed by Bismarck to France, before they had been discussed by Jules Favre, would have strengthened the hands of the Communists. That is an interesting statement and reveals the anti-Communist trend of the Prime Minister's thoughts.

One sharp home-thrust was made by Lloyd George against his detractors; a thrust which he will undoubtedly use again, and with only too much justification; he said: "There are some who suggest that at the last election, I and my colleagues were rushed into declarations of which we are now rather ashamed.... These declarations were adopted I think by every political leader of every section." Someone questioned Mr. Asquith at East Fife: "Would you make the Germans pay for the war?" Mr. Asquith replied: "Yes, I am in agreement with what the Prime Minister said yesterday." "I think," Lloyd George added "if my Right Hon. friend (Mr. Adamson) will look at the speeches of some of his associates he will find statements which are very much of the same kind as this." Then Lloyd George went on to inform Parliament that it could repudiate the peace treaty if it chose, but warned the House that it would be difficult to do so when once the signatures were attached, as will be the case before the terms are disclosed.

Verily the Indian agitator is entangled in an appalling network of coercion!

The passage of these Bills has helped to precipitate an uprising in India; which is perhaps more serious than anything that has occurred since the "Mutiny." Banks have been burned, railway lines torn up, telegraph wires cut. The unrest has covered vast tracts of country in all parts of India. The movement began by a declaration of "satyagraha," or passive resistance to the Rowlatt Bills and other laws, led by the Indian agitator Gandhi. All classes and kinds of Indians joined in, and when the strikes, closing of shops and other demonstrations, which were part of the passive resistance movement, were met with force by the authorities, resistance which was no longer passive was offered. The industrial workers of Russia have played an important part in the rising; they will never again fall back to their old, dull subserviency.

Most important is the fact that in India, where they have been so strong, religious differences have been forgotten, various sects have fraternised, Hindoos have been admitted to the Mahomedan mosque.

Mrs. Besant is regarded by some people in this country as a leader of the Indian Home Rule Movement, but though she probably desires to see the lot of the Indians ameliorated, she is a very strong Imperialist. She was said at first to have given some support to the passive resistance movement, but *The Herald* has since reported that she has condemned it, has appealed for order, and emphasized the need for the British suzerainty. Evidently when things grew serious she was not prepared to stand by the agitation. To back out, as she has done is unfortunately but too common. We can well imagine the harsh, armed repression which is now being used to crush out revolt in India.

The Rowlatt Bills have stirred up the middle-class Nationalists, but they would have been powerless to create the present disorders, but for the masses of workers and peasants, who are left out of account in the plans of the average nationalist for the future self-government of India. Just

as in Egypt so in India, the workers and peasants have been subjected to forced conscription, and high prices have told heavily upon them. There is famine in several districts, and it has been necessary to open relief works. In the last quarter of 1918 6,000,000 people in India are said to have died of influenza. This enormous death-rate cannot be dissociated from the appalling poverty of the Indian people; 60,000,000 Indians live perpetually under starvation conditions, having only one scanty meal a day. The infant death-rate of Calcutta is 675 per thousand.

The Indian soldier is paid 10s. to 30s. a month; the pension to his widow is 1s. 2d. to 1s. 6d. a week. The British Government pays Indian postmen 10s. to 30s. The Indian postal rates are low, only half those charged in Britain before the war, but 95 per cent of the Indian people derive no benefit from this cheapness, because they are illiterates.

Indian railway servants are paid by the State from 10s. to 30s. monthly. The railways are mainly used by Europeans and the rich Indians and merchants. The passenger rates are one-sixth to one-eighth those charged in Britain, the freight charges are 25 to one-fifth of a penny per ton per mile, whilst in Britain they are 1.12 pence per ton per mile. In India further railway rebates are also given to importers.

Industrial labourers are paid as a rule from 3d. to 6d. per day. The masses who are thus unbearably exploited are rising to-day at the call of the Nationalists. Indians of all classes are uniting against the great oppressor—the British Government, just as in Russia all classes of Russians united against the Czar.

In 1909 Keir Hardie, in his book, "India," wrote: "There is no sedition worth mentioning in India to-day. What there may be ten years hence, unless there is a great change for the better, I would not like to predict." He also said: "If unrest spreads throughout India, a conflagration may one day break out in China, Japan, or even nearer home, which will set India ablaze and burn up the last vestige of British rule."

Is this prophecy about to be fulfilled?

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25th.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker. Cobden Statue, nr. Mornington Crescent Tube Station.—5.30 P.M., Miss O'Neill, Mr. J. G. Stone.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26th.

Great Push against Conscription in Hammer-smith.—Meet at 3 P.M. and 7 P.M. at the Grove (near railway stations). Speakers: Miss Birch, Mrs. Walker, and others.

SUNDAY, APRIL 27th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., John Syme.

"Salmon and Ball," Bethnal Green.—11.45 A.M. Mrs. Walker, Mr. J. G. Stone.

FRIDAY, MAY 2nd.

Tower Hill.—12 (noon), Miss O'Neill.

SATURDAY, MAY 3rd.

Great Push in Poplar and Bow.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25th.

3, Great Garden Street, Whitechapel.—8 P.M., General Meeting (London Section).

SUNDAY, APRIL 27th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., H. Pollitt, 'Reform or Revolution' Chair, Miss N. Smyth. Discussion.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee.

SUNDAY, APRIL 27th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee Monthly Meeting.

TUESDAY, APRIL 29th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Miss Stephenson.

THURSDAY, MAY 1st.

King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street.—6.30 P.M., May Day Reunion.

WORKSHOP NOTES.

BIG BUSINESS.

By A. S. TOOWARD.

A beautifully printed circular, apparently issued to all political parties, has come my way, and it is entitled "To ensure a durable peace Germany must not be allowed to keep a single military or commercial aeroplane."

After saying that the "Peace Conference is about to take steps to destroy Prussian militarism for ever," the circular adds: "This military suppression, however, is a mere moral satisfaction for the Allies, for behind it lurks, more threatening than ever, the danger of an aerial attack, if the Germans are allowed to possess a fleet of commercial aeroplanes."

And then we are told that: "At present, a bomb dropper built for the purpose, can be fitted under any type of commercial plane within an hour, thereby transforming it into a bombing plane." The reader, with his hair beginning to stand on end, is then asked to picture a big air-raid over the city at dawn. "We must choose," says this cheerful circular, "either the countries which are Germany's near neighbours must be prepared to accept the perpetual menace of an attack by a so-called 'civilian air fleet' directed against their wives and children, or this civilian air fleet must be suppressed."

Of course it is not suggested that such measures should be permanent. No! No! In twenty-five or thirty years' time, if the Germans behave themselves, they may be given back the freedom of the air. Truly a remarkable production, calculated to scare the wits out of a peace-loving people. But what is the object of it all? Does any sane person believe that Germany, which is fast going "Red," is likely to bomb London, Paris, Rome, or any other town? The Germans will be far too busy destroying the citadel of capitalism within their own borders to worry about any other country. And we might ask, in all simplicity: Is Germany the only country likely quickly to transfer civilian aeroplanes into bombing planes? From what we read of the squabbles over dividing up the spoils, it will not be Germany that will want to drop bombs!

It is when we get to the end of the circular that we begin to see a gleam of light. It is written by André Edouard Michelin of Paris and reproduced by the Michelin Tyre Co., Ltd., of Chelsea.

We need say no more.

COVENTRY SHOP STEWARDS' AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

I am instructed by my committee to forward you on a small report regarding May Day in Coventry. I enclose leaflet which will give you some idea. I am speaking on behalf of the Unofficial Movement along with our Comrade W. Gee of London, who will put out the right stuff. I have taken over the Secretaryship of the Coventry Workers' Committee, to try and bring it along again as it somehow got a little retarded whilst I was away in Birmingham. You might

let our Literature Secretary, Comrade Kenworthy, know whether you are having a special May Day edition of THE DREADNOUGHT and full particulars because we shall want a lot extra for May Day, although the workers in general are a poor hearted lot as regards fighting for better conditions, but anyway I can safely assure there will be a grand procession and response in Coventry on May 1st. They are keeping their children from school and all the Co-operative shops are closing, &c. I will in future periodically forward a small report of events in the Midlands.

"Yours for the Cause,"

TOM DINGLEY, Secretary.

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

At the time of writing the latest and most accurate figures for the Miners' Ballot on the acceptance of terms laid down by the Sankey Report are—

For the Sankey Award	143,477
Against	21,124
Majority for	122,353

This result was due to the fact that the rank and file were not informed as to the significance of the Ballot. The conception was prevalent that a vote against the acceptance of the Sankey Award carried with it the necessity of a strike in favour of the original Charter. The rank and file realise that there is very little hope at the present time of gaining the whole concessions embodied in the original Charter, due to the fact that the miners' fighting forces have demobilised. After being marched to the top of the hill in sight of victory the miners were asked to retrace their steps, and this action caused chaos in the ranks, and demobilisation resulted. The rank and file have now accepted the Sankey Award making the best of a bad job, until the forces can be re-organised to fight another day.

The result does not mean that the rank and file are not going to fight for their Charter in the future, or that they are less prompted by the justness of their original demands, but that organised forces must be brought into battle arrayed at another time, when great care must be taken to avoid a repetition of the recent thwarting of the original demands and intentions of the miners.

Nevertheless, if the present Ballot had resulted in a vote against the acceptance of the Sankey Award, it would have showed, in no uncertain terms, the dissatisfaction of the men with the recent compromise.

If the Ballot had been put in the light of gaining an expression of dissatisfaction with the terms offered, then there would have been no doubt as to the ultimate result, for the rank and file are, without doubt, keenly dissatisfied.

MAY DAY.

It is a disgrace to the miners that they allowed the May Day Demonstrations to be taken from them during the war, even without a show of resentment or a fight. For years past the miners held regularly Demonstration Days when work would cease enabling them to attend mass demonstrations organised by the Miners' Federation. At about the outbreak of war it was decided by the S.W.M.F. to convert the Demonstration Days, which did not necessarily take place on May Day

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 14d. —Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT. —15s. a week to every child in our midst as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, and £1 a week for everyone at 60.

MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

READ

"THE RED DAWN," a Monthly Magazine for Young Workers. Monthly, TWOPENCE.

CIGARETTES MADE BY SOCIALISTS.

Socialists who want a really good article should communicate with us.

GUARANTEED HAND MADE. FROM PURE TOBACCO. Made fresh daily. 5s. 6d. per 100 post free.

Packets of 20 for Clubs and Branches at special rates.

LYONS & SONS, 235, Franciscan Rd., London, S.W.

Phone: Central 3820 **TOYE & Co.** Established 1855

57 Theobalds Road, London, W.C.

Sole Manufacturers of Banners and Flags for Demonstrations. Metal and Enamelled Badges for all Societies. Medals, Collared and Buttons. Flags for Charity Collection Days.

MAY DAY SOCIAL.

CENTRAL LONDON PLEBS LEAGUE

Labour College, 13, Pennywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W.

THURSDAY, MAY 1st, AT 7.30 P.M.

TICKETS 1s. 6d.

Hon. Sec.: Ida Chaytor, 20 Denny St., Kennington, S.E.

into an Annual Holiday fixed for May Day. The war has intervened and prevented the programme being carried out, but in January last the S.W.M.F. decided to take the first Monday in May of this year as a general holiday, when questions dealing with the industry will be discussed at Mass Demonstrations. Local bodies of the miners are now making their arrangements accordingly, and there is every hope of the affair turning out a huge success.

Surely the working class deserve at least one day on which they can meet and discuss working problems. May Day this year will be an International working class holiday, when millions of proletarians will register their faith in International Socialism.

May Day this year will be more inspiring in face of the fact that millions of workers of the world have already emancipated themselves from the yoke of capitalism and call upon the workers of other countries to do likewise. The workers at their May Day Demonstrations should demand the withdrawal of troops from Russia, thus giving their comrades freedom to carry on their good work of complete emancipation from the tyranny and misery engendered by Imperialism. "Workers of all lands unite, you have nothing to lose, but your chains, you have a world to win."

RUSSIA.

At a meeting of the South Wales Council of the N.U.R. at Cardiff on Sunday, April 6th, many resolutions were passed in regard to intervention in Russia. The Conference endorsed the action of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the P.C. of the T.U.C. in taking joint action to compel the Government to withdraw our soldiers from Russia, and to at once enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government, who were earnestly seeking peace.

Also protesting against the Government seeking to obtain volunteers under the cloak of helping their comrades in Russia, for "we consider this is purely a political move to get a large army of occupation to fight the Russian Revolutionary Government."

But it is now getting too late for protesting meekly by harmless resolutions. Action is now needed, and let the machinery of the Triple Alliance set to work if it wishes to show itself more than "a paper movement." Action must be taken if British soldiers are to be prevented from being taken from a hot country like Salonika to the North of Russia. It is already known that this has been done, we imagine.

LEANEY'S LTD.,

WHOLESALE NEWSAGENTS.

City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought
9 and 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4.

(Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.)

Printed by J. R. Francis, 11 and 12 Broom's Buildings, London, E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.