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THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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MRS. BESANT, INDIA, AND LABOUR.

MRS. BESANT'S REPLY.

HOME RULE FOR INDIA LEAGUE,
1 ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI.

To the Editor of THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

SIR,—I read on p. 1364, in your issue of June 14th, the following:—

"WHAT HAS MRS. BESANT SAID?"

"It is reported that Mrs. Besant in India expressed approval of the Rowlatt Acts and declared the Government justified in shooting on the people?

"In this country she is widely regarded as a champion of the oppressed Indians. Now that she has arrived in England we hope that she will make her position clear."

I have never expressed any approval of the Rowlatt Acts; I analysed and condemned the Drafts of the Bills in seven carefully written articles in my paper *New India* on February 11th, 12th, 13th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 1919, pointing out more fully than any other writer has done, their subversal of all civil liberty. Bill 1 was withdrawn; Bill 2 was largely modified, thanks to the steady opposition of the Indian elected members. When it passed into law, I wrote two more articles, on March 28th and 29th, in which I pointed out the evils remaining, and concluded that in its improved form, "the Act is unworthy of a British Government, and is a wrong inflicted on a loyal and law-abiding people. It will promote anarchy, the defiance of all law among the ignorant, who will be unable to distinguish between law and law."

The Government left in the Act, as passed, no clause which could be directly disobeyed. Mr. Gandhi therefore advocated the breaking of other laws selected by a committee. This I strongly opposed, saying it would lead to riot and bloodshed—as it did. In the course of the controversy, a statement of mine that there was "nothing in the Act which a good citizen could *resist*" was changed to "could *object*," and some antagonists, ignoring all I had written before and after the passing, represented this as meaning approval!

As to the second statement, in commenting on a particular incident, where some thousands of men, trying to break into a station, were stoning a handful of soldiers who were guarding the gates, I said that if a crowd used brickbats soldiers would reply with bullets. I have also refused to condemn the Government of India while it was faced with open revolt, when trains were being derailed, wires cut, stations set on fire, Indians and Englishmen murdered; it is said they went to excess in restoring order. I have said there should be a commission of inquiry after peace is restored, not before, and if the officers have used excessive force they should be punished. But while a Government, on which the lives of the people depend, is attacked with force, I hold it to be justified in meeting force with force. If it has abused its power let it be judged when the lives of peaceable citizens are safe.

ANNIE BESANT.

THE FACTS.

Mrs. Besant, in this reply of hers, seems to us largely to support the charges that have been made against her in India. It will be observed that she answers the statement that she declared the Government justified in shooting on the people, as follows:—

"In commenting on a particular incident, where some thousands of men trying to break into a station, were stoning a handful of soldiers who were guarding the gates, I said that if a crowd used brickbats, soldiers would reply with bullets."

In the issue of *New India*, dated March 31st, Mrs. Besant wrote commenting on the Satyagraha or passive resistance movement:—

MRS. BESANT AND GLASGOW.

"Such a movement cannot restrain a crowd from violence when it is opposed, and as a Government's first duty is to stop violence—as in Glasgow the other day—before a riot becomes unmanageable, brickbats must inevitably be answered by bullets in every civilised country."

MRS. BESANT AND WELSH MINERS.

In the April 7th issue of *New India* Mrs. Besant repeated and defended this statement of hers, and added:—

"When South Wales mining riots were put down by the soldiers no one dreamed of objecting."

These statements show clearly enough where Mrs. Besant now stands politically. In regard to home affairs she is a Tory of a peculiarly truculent type, and since her views regarding the organised workers of this country are thus prejudiced, it is useless to expect from her an enlightened regard for the oppressed Indian masses. It was reported in *The Daily Herald* the other day that only merchants are eligible for the Indian Home Rule League which Mrs. Besant founded, but even that League is too advanced for her now, and, according to *The Times*, she has resigned from it. The relationship between the Home Rule League which is in India and the one which has offices in the Adelphi is not yet clear to us. We notice that in her paper, *New India*, Mrs. Besant is attacking Mr. Tilak, the veteran Indian agitator.

In a letter to *The Times of India* which appeared on April 24th, Mrs. Besant wrote:—

"Do they, then, think that it is more merciful to give a mob its head, after it begins throwing brickbats, until—say at Delhi—it had broken into the railway station, and struck down any resisting railway officials, than to stop it at the very outset of violence at the cost of less than a score of lives?.... I say that when a small handful of soldiers and police is face to face with a mob of many thousands, and the mob begins to pelt them with brickbats, it is more merciful to order the soldiers to fire a few volleys of buckshot, than to allow the violence to gather strength, until, either the town must be given up to mob rule, or machine-guns and bombs be brought into play. It is a terrible alternative, but any Government worthy the name has to face it."

We would ask: "Is this Theosophy?" But Mrs. Besant has long schooled us to feel no surprise at her advocacy of violence *by Governments*. She was an enthusiastic supporter of the war and her great effort was to secure that Indians should be freely admitted to the British Army, and to induce the Indians to enlist.

Mrs. Besant continues:—

"I desire to change the form of government from an autocracy to a responsible government, and that by law-abiding means alone. Mr. Gandhi has opened the door to revolution, and that strikes at the King's Government and it aims at breaking the tie between India and Britain. Indians must choose between rallying round the King's Government to defeat revolution or helping revolution passively or actively. Every Home Rule League, being pledged to the British connection, to the crown of King George V., and the law-abiding methods alone, must choose the first....

"Mr. Gandhi's theory is that of the 'Resist not *evil*' of the Sermon on the Mount. As the Bishop of Peterborough said, no society that accepted its teaching could hold together for a week. It is a doctrine for the *Yogi* not for the State....Mr. Gandhi, by introducing it here in India—where the old caste system had sensibly assigned *yoga* to the spiritual only, and had appointed the Kshattrigas to rule, defend, and keep order in the State—has done deadly mischief at a critical time...."

(Continued on page 1378.)

TO BRITISH LABOUR.

June 21st, 1919.

COMRADES,—The Confederation Generale du Travail, the Socialist Party of France, and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, and Socialist Party of Italy have sent a call to British workers to join them in a 24 hours' General Strike against the armed attack upon the Socialist Governments of Russia and Hungary, and the capitalist politics of Versailles.

This appeal comes from the official Labour and Socialist Parties of France and Italy, which are equivalent to our Trade Union Congress and Labour Party and all the various Socialist Parties of this country.

It is therefore a most important appeal and the strike in France and Italy will undoubtedly take place on a great scale.

In this country the forces of Labour are more powerfully organised than in any other. We here should therefore be in an even stronger position than the French and Italian comrades to take successful strike action.

Our movement strongly condemns the intervention against the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary. The principles of our movement are most emphatically opposed to those of the Capitalists and Politicians of Versailles, who are using the League of Nations to crush the workers' movement in all countries. Warships are actually sent to attack Russia flying the League of Nations' flag.

Nevertheless, our British working-class movement, which is the strongest in the world, the movement which should have led the way in this crisis, has hitherto failed to respond to the appeal from France and Italy. The officials of organised British Labour have answered that no strike can take place without a ballot of the Trade Union members.

The French and Italians reply by asking that the ballot shall immediately be taken: but matters remain at a deadlock.

We believe that the Labour and Socialist Movement whole-heartedly endorses the object of the strike, and we call on the Movement to rise to this great occasion and take decisive action.

The Russian Soviet Republic has held its own against the forces of the internal and external capitalist reaction for more than a year and a half, and the Hungarian Communists are victorious on all fronts. Lloyd George himself has admitted that the Russian Counter-Revolutionaries had given up the fight against the Soviets and only returned to the struggle on promise of Allied aid. The Hungarian Soviet Republic was established without a blow, because the capitalist political parties gave way to it in their bankruptcy.

The only menace to the Workers' Communist Republics in Russia and Hungary, and to the growth of Communism throughout the world, comes from the workers in the Allied countries, who are allowing themselves to be used to fight Communism, as soldiers, seamen, shipbuilders, dockers, and by working to provide munitions and supplies for the counter-revolutionary war.

We call on British Workers to cease from aiding the counter-revolutionaries and to take a decisive stand on the side of the Socialist Republics.

If the strike take place in France and Italy on June 23rd, as originally announced, we call on British Workers to strike on that day, without waiting for any Committee or Conference to give the word. If the French and Italians postpone the strike in the hope of getting the support of British Labour, all efforts should be bent towards bringing into line the official Labour Party Conference at Southport on June 25th to 27th.

If the Labour Party fail to realise the historic importance of the occasion and evade its responsibility, then action by the rank and file will become a vital and imperative necessity.

Comrades, let us act now; in order that we may not be guilty of the massacre of our Russian and Hungarian comrades, which will undoubtedly follow if the counter-revolutionaries succeed; let us act in order that we may retrieve the already tarnished reputation of our movement; and that we may join in the glorious struggle to establish the International Commonwealth of the Workers.

ALBERT INKPIN, *British Socialist Party.*
D. A. DAVIES, *South Wales Socialist Society.*
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST,
Workers' Socialist Federation.
L. COTTER, *Socialist Labour Party.*

FORLORN HAPPINESS.

By Garshine.

Translated from the Russian by Sidney Arnold, author of "Some Internal Problems of New Russia"

A young woman with a little boy of five years old walked in one of the quietest streets of the town. Her face, when she looked at her son, expressed the most intense pride and happiness.

He played with a hoop, rolling it along with a stick; sometimes it went smoothly without a stop, or again it fell, but all the time the echoes of his childish laughter sounded through the empty street like the carolling of a lark soaring aloft.

An old man, with weary countenance and coarse toil-worn hands swollen from constant labour, happened to meet the woman and the little boy. He politely stood aside to let them pass. His tired eyes gazed long and earnestly at the boy and then at the boy's mother, but especially at the boy so joyfully chasing his runaway hoop.

He felt perplexed and envious at the sight of so much happiness.

"What foolish game is this?" he thought. Only a little boy quite a baby and yet so joyous, like a bird in springtime. "I was also a child once," his lips murmured, and his toothless mouth broke into a smile, but a smile expressive of bitterness and malignity.

To him it was an extraordinary thing that a child should play happily beside a mother, who, instead of being indifferent or angry, looked at him with gladness and pleasure. Ah, those were the favoured ones of the earth. Want and misery were far removed from them.

The old man sighed heavily, his eyes became more sunken and his whole countenance overcast with a veil of sadness. He thought of his own childhood. Yes, he had been a child once. But fortune had not smiled on him as on that little boy. His early life had been a chain, the links of which were misery, want and neglect. He tried to remember one day, one hour, of careless joy, but in vain.

His mother had always been busy, working hard to sustain her existence. She was a widow and from morning until night she drudged and slaved for her family. She had no time to waste on loving words or proud glances. When he was the age of that little boy with the hoop he was already working, and so on to this day of his old age he had known no life but the life of hard work, suffering and destitution.

Well, shrugging his shoulders, he was not starving and he was still able to work. Therefore, he should be contented. But he felt aggrieved that he had missed the happiness of childhood. His heart was filled with regret for his wasted unhappy boyhood.

II.

The next day and every day the old man went to work as usual in the factory where he had spent his whole life. All the time his mind was occupied with thoughts of the happy little boy rolling his hoop accompanied by his proud smiling mother. In spite of his ceaseless labour the phantasy of forlorn happiness grew more and more real to him. He lived in a world of dreams. In imagination he was that little boy playing with a hoop, and he had a mother who, instead of scolding and beating him, lavished on him a passion of love and tenderness.

The factory was hardly visible owing to the dense cloud of smoke which enveloped it like a fog; neither could the voices of the workers be heard, so loud was the constant hammering of the machines. Yet the old man was happy with his dreams. Subconsciously he lived, in a world of his own, the life of the little boy he had met in the street.

One evening, returning from work, he found an old hoop on a rubbish heap. A feeling of delight came over him and his heart trembled for sheer joy. He looked around, cautiously, lest some one should see him, and then, clutching the hoop shyly, he carried it to his poor cabin. How he loved the old hoop! In his leisure time he held it in his hands and looked at it tenderly as if the sight and touch of it gave him the greatest delight. He worshipped it as the emblem of all the happiness which had been denied him in his childhood.

III.

One morning, as the sun was beginning to weave its golden web and the birds to sing their morning songs, the old man for the first time in his life, took a walk in the forest. He carried his hoop with him.

The holy quietness, the clear atmosphere, the heavenly voices of the birds and all the thousand delights of nature, astonished him. His eyes were wide with wonder and surprise as he gazed on the trees and the wild flowers. He hung his hoop on the branch of a tree and, like an explorer, wandered about discovering fresh beauty at every step. Never had he dreamt of all that lay within a few miles of his work.

He came to an open space where the sun shone on the dewy grass, making it glisten and sparkle like a carpet of diamonds. His heart was filled to overflowing with the strangest sensations. He buried his face in the fresh moist earth, and tears, he knew not whether of joy or sorrow, filled his old eyes.

"How lovely! O! God how lovely!" he muttered. And he had been a stranger to all this beauty!

As he walked back, a happy thought came into his head. Yes, he would roll his hoop and be joyous like the little boy. He would try and capture some of the happiness he had missed. The songs of the birds invited him to gaiety, and to a glance of the joy of life.

He laughed, long and loud, the cracked shrill laugh of an old man. He rolled his hoop as he had seen the little boy roll his, but in a furtive, apologetic manner, as if he feared that some one might see him and report him as being mad.

Every morning he returned to the forest. Once there, he shook off his years and became a happy little boy. During the day he looked on the world with kindly but indifferent eyes; was he not a child whose real life only began when he played with his hoop and shouted for joy amongst the birds and trees?

One day he played and shouted so long that he got very tired, and, lying down on the grass, fell asleep. He contracted pneumonia and died lonely and forsaken in the hospital attached to the factory.

But he died with the delusion that he had been a happy child; in imagination, he tasted all the delights of which he had been cheated in his miserable childhood.

ANOTHER DEATH TRAIN.

Dear Editor,—The harrowing accounts of the "Death Train" which have appeared in *The Daily Herald* in England and in *The Liberator* in America throw a lurid light on the measures against revolutionaries adopted by Koltchak. In asking the hospitality of your columns, I wish to point out that it is wrong to assert that Koltchak's "Death Train" is an atrocity without precedent. It had a precedent in the early stages of the world war when the Czarist Government deported the Jewish population from what used to be Russian Poland at the approach of the German hosts. In those days people (and they were not even revolutionaries) were thrown pell mell into trains, regardless of family ties, children being separated from their parents, wives from their husbands. These trains were directed to distant territories of the Russian Empire, only to be sent back by the local potentates, who refused to have anything to do with these unfortunate deported Jews. The conditions of over-crowding, starvation, filth, disease, and death were the same as in Koltchak's "Death Train," and the committees of wealthy Jews, who had arranged relief parties along the route of these trains, were not allowed by the Czar's minions to enter the carriages or even to hand in the food and other comforts which they had provided for their poor co-religionists. Probably it will never become known how many people died an agonising death or were driven insane before these trains were allowed to disembark their passengers, or what was left of them.

A Constant Reader
of The Workers' Dreadnought.

* * *

Tom Johnson of the Irish Labour Party, shrewdly observed the other day, that the Soviet System offers the only solution of the Ulster difficulty.

ART AND THE SOVIETS.

By Eric Verney.

Is the development of artistic talent encouraged under the Soviet régime? Are facilities provided for the widest possible education of the Russian children on artistic lines? What regard have the Soviets for the great steps forward in art that have been made in Russia during the last few decades? These are but some of the many questions which deeply concern all those who are studying the Soviet system in connection with art, education, and æsthetics.

Tolstoy tells us that hitherto the rich have monopolized art, and made their pleasure the criterion of beauty. Art has become impoverished as it has grown remoter from the poor. He tells us that the emotions of the idle are more limited than those of the workers. The art of modern society is certainly inclined to be unnatural and insincere, and is to a great extent fabricated and affected.

The Russian Revolution has given great emphasis to the new era of *living* art; art that is human, and speaks of something stronger than the bonds between rich and rich—something that unites man to man and nation to nation.

It may be argued that modern art largely emanates from the artisan classes, who range with the exploited. This is true, but therein lies the moral. When the workers are sufficiently educated æsthetically by the introduction of music and painting in the elementary schools, as is now being done in Russia, then the undeveloped talent of those who have artistic gifts will assert itself everywhere, and art will come to the fore in the lives and institutions of the workers.

In Russia, where in the past an artist has often sold his work to the wealthy in order to exist, there is now art for *every one*. When we realise that art is not a trade or profession, but an expression of feeling, it becomes plain to us that it should be accessible to all. In Bolshevik Russia great moves have been made towards the artistic education of the workers, and especially the children. Lunacharski's guiding principles are the combination of artistic and technical education. The Commissariat of Instruction has its music, theatrical, and decorative art sections, which are under the direction of Madame Oulianovna, in conjunction with many famous painters, musicians, and *litterateurs*, who, thanks to the efforts of Maxim Gorki, have deserted the "Intelligentzia," and thrown in their lot with the Soviets. The plays of Rolland, Brieux, Ibsen, and even Shaw are being boomed in the theatres of Moscow and Petrograd. The fact that the theatrical and operatic season opened with great gusto last autumn in these towns, and that Chaliapine, Lydia Yavorskaya, and other notable artists are as popular as ever shows that the enthusiasm for things artistic is great. It is worthy of note that great care is exercised by the present Government, to preserve the already existant works of art, and Lenin has ordered the erection of monuments to Wagner, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Borodin, and other masters.

The anti-Bolshevik journal *Les Annales* reproduced some Futurist mural designs executed by Petrograd workmen. Here, again, the Soviets are giving great encouragement to the development of Futurist and Cubist art, although, of course, all Schools have the utmost freedom.

Bakst and Stravinsky having pointed the way to unexplored realms of beauty through their music and painting much is being done by the Russian Commissariats of Instruction and Education to popularise this conception of art.

One of the reproductions in *Lès Annales* represents sailors with a red flag drawing off from a sinking battleship. Another shows a workman bearing a banner inscribed: "Long live the Red Army!" whilst a third, a peasant woman with wheat and a sickle, is perhaps the most impressive, as it symbolises the very essence of the Revolution, *i.e.*, the land. The sheaf of wheat, the sickle, and the rays of the sun, are all parts of the Soviet emblem. A fourth design shows workers with implements marching forth unflinchingly to die for the Revolution.

These pictures, hundreds of which decked the great buildings of the Nevsky Prospect during the days of November, 1917, express but one phase of the artistic faculties of our Russian comrades. There has always been a wondrous sense of beauty inborn in the Russian peasantry, which has reflected itself in the peasant handicrafts, insurpassable in their splendour and artistry. But under the new Soviet schemes this artistic strain in the people will spread to the industrial proletariat.

CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM IN IRELAND.

Everyone knows that there was a Rebellion in Ireland in Easter Week, 1916; that the Rebellion was put down with merciless severity; that many people were executed, and many more imprisoned. Fewer people in England realise that so far from the extraordinary coercion of the crisis having been steadily relaxed since that time, as might have been expected, the number of raids, imprisonments, deportations, and so on, was actually much greater in 1918 than in 1917, and promises to be greater still in 1919. The following tables have been prepared from the daily newspapers published in Ireland, each item having been submitted to the Censor. In a large number of additional cases the Censor refused press publication.

Twenty baton charges took place during the General Election.

The raids, of which the numbers given in the tables (11 in 1917 and 260 in 1918) are not raids on 260 separate houses merely, but raids which were made on 260 separate dates; raids which were often taking place simultaneously in various parts of the country. Thus in the raid of September 5th, 1918, the authorities raided and seized the stock of about sixty Dublin newsagents, as well as attacking in the same way newsagents in Clonmel, Drogheda, and Letterkenny. On April 26th, 1918, the police seized shot-guns in shops in Youghal, Dungarvan, Waterford, Omagh, and Ballyvary, and raided private houses in Letterkenny and Castlerea. The shops have been commonly raided in one

1917.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
Arrests	6	37	10	16	22	8	19	84	6	82	55	4	349
Raids	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	*	—	3	3	1	11
Baton and Bayonet Charges ...	—	—	—	2	1*	3	2	1	2	3	3	1	18
Proclamations and Meetings,									[General.]				
&c., Suppressed	1.	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Deportations	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24
Papers Suppressed	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
Courts-Martial	1	6	2	—	—	2	—	1	9	4	10	1	36
Sentences	3	19	27	14	2	22	7	50	37	9	60	19	269
Murders	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	7
Total Violations each month...	11	86	41	32	27.	37	34	137	56	101	131	26	719

* Wholesale raids.

1918.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
Arrests	7	92	213	93	123	171	120	81	84	61	49	22	1107
Raids	—	3	1	11	18	20	27	29	96	14	29	12	260
Baton and Bayonet Charges ...	1	9	12	5	1	3	11	6	1	3	5	24	81
Proclamations and Suppressed													
Meetings	—	1	1	1	—	20	Many	2	1	1	5	—	32
Deportations	—	—	—	1	77	—	6	4	2	—	1	—	91
Papers Suppressed	—	—	—	5*	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	3	12
Courts-Martial	—	—	2	1	6	13	4	10	6	10	6	4	62
Sentences	3	51	238	119	32	123	127	67	96	71	32	14	973
Murders	—	—	2	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	6
Monthly totals	11	156	469	238	257	351	295	201	287	161	118	80	2624

(* 28 denied foreign circulation.)

The above tables only deal with incidents arising from what is called political crime. There was little ordinary crime during this period and in both the years under review the great majority of the Judges of Assize, before whom all serious crime is brought, made special mention of the general absence of crime in Ireland. Thus Mr. Justice Gibson, at the County Wicklow Assizes of 1917, said that the country was in its ordinary peaceful and satisfactory condition. Mr. Justice Ross, at Waterford City in 1918, said: "There is actually no return of any crime in connection with the city," and Lord Justice Madden, at County Fermanagh, said there was nothing to suggest that the county was in anything but a satisfactory state.

Nevertheless, proclamations were issued declaring illegal meetings, traditional assemblies, processions, celebrations, and, in some districts, even fairs and markets. Thirty-six courts-martial were held in 1917, and sixty-two in 1918, at which British officers, without juries, dealt out summary "justice" to political offenders. A travelling Crimes Court was also set up, consisting of one, two, or more magistrates appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.

The Irish police carry not merely batons, but often rifles fitted with bayonets also. They have made baton charges upon the people for such trivial reasons as the cheering of Sinn Fein prisoners. In Cork the police charged with bayonets an unarmed procession which was proceeding to pray beside a national monument for the Irish leaders executed in 1916. At Galway, on July 10th, 1918, a girls' camogie (Irish equivalent of hockey) match was stopped by a baton charge. At Clare on August 29th, 1918, schoolboys shouted "Up De Valera;" the police charged with batons, several persons were injured, including an old man who happened to open his door, and a boy was arrested.

district, the houses in another. On June 20th civilians were stopped and searched in King's County. On June 25th houses were raided at Foynes, and whilst at Westmeath soldiers wrecked the Sinn Fein Hall. The raids frequently take place at night. On August 23rd, 1918, there were raids in the night at Bagnelstown, the police forcing their way into the rooms where women were sleeping; in Donegal County Irish college students' houses were searched, and the military raided houses in Kerry, seizing £69 in silver from J. J. O'Shea, £63 in silver from Mary B. Mahoney, and £76 in gold and silver from Mortimer O'Connell.

The elections did not escape interference: at Mid and South Tipperary on September 20th, 1918, the delegates assembled to select Sinn Fein candidates were searched and their names were taken. At Ballyconnell, West Cavan, on November 30th, the premises of Bernard Rudden, Director of Elections, were raided, and the canvass books and lists of electors were seized. At Balbriggan the police tore down Sinn Fein election posters. The same thing happened at Arklow on November 28th, and election literature was seized in many other districts. In Dublin on December 6th the Gaelic Press was raided, and not only was the literature seized, but the machinery dismantled. In North Donegal the Sinn Fein election agent had his motorcycle seized, a theft calculated to hinder his election work.

In spite of such persecution Sinn Fein triumphed in the Elections, and thirty-three of the successful candidates were actually deportees, lying untried in English prisons during the contest.

All sorts of offences have been created by proclamation. Many people have been sent to two years hard labour for speaking at public meetings (without regard to the words spoken) because public meetings were prohibited, and some people were actually sent to prison for three months after having listened to speeches. On October 1st, 1918, a boy who had carried a Sinn Fein flag was sent to a criminal settlement for one month. On October 13th, 1918, a lad was imprisoned for a month for whistling derisively at the police, and a young man was imprisoned for five months, it being stated that he had been in the company of boys carrying a Sinn Fein flag. One man was given two years hard labour for singing National songs. Seventeen girls and women were sentenced who spoke in Irish or were collecting for memorials to men killed by the authorities. Sentences of one to three months imprisonment were given for entering certain areas without permits or for being out during prohibited hours.

A FORTNIGHT'S FRIGHTFULNESS.

The Irish Labour Press has compiled the following record of British atrocities against Irish Labour and political movements between May 23rd and June 5th. The information is taken from the Irish daily press and therefore, owing to censorship difficulties, is far from being complete:—

Raids and searches	27
Arrests	22
Prosecutions	26

Sentences totalling 11 years, 9 months, and 1 week. (Including 7 years' and 2 months' hard labour, and sentences on seven girls at Cork for leaflet distribution and seven girls at Killarney for selling Labour Day flags.)

Fines totalling	£3 5 0
Fixtures proclaimed	15
Occupations by military	11
Prisoners released in ill-health..	22
Prisoners released on ground of illegal conviction (no compensation)	3
Reported ill in jail	24
Property seized	£7,390 0 0

Other illuminating incidents of the occupation may be summarised as follows:—

Extraordinary military activity in co. Tipperary, wholesale raids and searches, heliographs and carrier pigeons employed. Transport Union Meeting at Cashel broken up by District Inspector. People coming from Thurles Fair held up and searched. Two race meetings and a sports gathering prohibited.

A large consignment of tanks and field guns landed; 4th Reserve Battalion Gordon Highlanders, fra' Aiberdeen awa arrives in Dublin. Cork boy of 17 dangerously ill, released from Belfast Jail after serving sentence of 12 months' imprisonment, re-arrested and sentenced to 3 months, receives sentence with cry: "Up the Republic."

RUSSIAN REFUGEES.

The Hon. Secretary of the Russian Delegates Committee writes:—

"A few weeks ago several Russian political refugees were suddenly arrested, locked up in Brixton Prison, and ultimately deported, no charge of any kind being preferred against any of them, and in spite of the fact that they were all waiting for an opportunity to return to Russia as soon as possible. On making inquiries we were assured that the boat carrying them was bound for Odessa.

To our great surprise we have received a letter from one of the unfortunates from an "Internment Camp" in Turkey that five of them were taken off their boat at Constantinople, and interned in "Fort Chanok," Turkey. They are being kept there without knowing what the authorities intend to do with them or where they are going to be sent to next.

What my Committee is anxious to know is: (1) If it is the policy of the British authorities to get rid of the Russian political refugees? In that case all they have to do is to give facilities to all those willing to return to Russia and I doubt if there will be any left in this country. (2) If Russians are a danger to the British community, and they are to be interned, why are they to be taken to Turkey and interned there?

We hope our English friends will see and understand the fate meted out to us and will not fail to use their influence on our behalf."

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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GERMANY AND THE PEACE.

Now that Germany has agreed to sign the capitalist peace terms we expect to see the speedy triumph of the German Communist Revolution. The Government which has replaced that of Scheidemann differs little from his. It is purely bourgeois. It can never satisfy the people: it lacks the courage to find an effective way for them through their present terrible trials.

DENIKIN GETS THE ORDER OF THE BATH.

Koltchak has had serious reverses. The Red Army is driving him before them and now Denikin seems to be supplanting him in the Allied regard. Denikin has been presented with the Order of the Bath on behalf of King George. But, more important still, he is being supplied with large quantities of munitions. We believe that the hope of Soviet Russia's enemies is to strike a mortal blow at her by reinforcing the strength of Denikin and other counter-revolutionaries, whilst the main strength of the Red Army is engaged with Koltchak. But we believe Soviet Russia will win in spite of the tardiness of the western workers to join her in the fight for the Industrial Commonwealth.

THE TWENTY-FOUR HOURS' STRIKE TO SAVE THE SOVIET REPUBLIC.

France and Italy have postponed the 24 hours' general strike in order to gain British co-operation. Their delegates will be at the Southport Labour Party Conference. As we go to press we learn that the Labour Party will endeavour to defer the question to the meeting of the Trade Union Congress in September.

The pretence will be that the Trade Union Congress is the appropriate body to undertake the work; the reality is that the Labour Party Executive does not want the strike. What does the rank and file say about it?

THE WINNIPEG DEPORTEES.

When the British subjects who are to be deported from Canada to this country arrive we must give them a great reception. They will be able to tell us of the growth of the Revolutionary industrial movement in Canada.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK RAID IN U.S.A.

The Russian Soviet Representative, Martins, and his committee published the first issue of a magazine, *Soviet Russia*, giving the truth about Soviet affairs: 100,000 copies were printed of the first issue. As a result the police raided Martin's office and arrested him with many other comrades.

A BOMB PLOT.

Comrade Davies of the Sheffield W.S.F. was employed at the gas works as a chemist. Whilst there he brought home chemicals to experiment with, which is a usual thing for the chemists there to do. On leaving the gas company's service he packed the things up to return them, but called on our comrade Carford on the way, and in talking left it too late to return the things that evening. He left the parcel, intending to fetch it another day and take it to the gas works; but then came the royal visit and a raid on Comrade Carford's house for Bolshevik literature. The police found the chemicals—and a bomb plot emerged. Evidently Comrade Davis proved to the satisfaction of the Court that he was not guilty of a plot to blow up the King, for otherwise he would have been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. As it is, he has been fined £20 for stealing the chemicals. Since the gas company did not prosecute, the conviction seems to us illegal.

It is, in our opinion, a mere "frame up" charge. £20 is too much for a working-class family to pay. We should be glad therefore to receive donations toward the fine. These should be sent to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

A WARNING TO MINERS.

THE RESULT OF THE COAL COMMISSION.

Justice Sankey, the "independent" Chairman of the Coal Commission, has adopted an interesting method of showing his independence: instead of showing the traditional impartiality of chairmen he prepares his own reports. On the last occasion the Government adopted Justice Sankey's Report, though it represented the views of a minority of the Commission. We suspect that Justice Sankey's reports are formulated in conjunction with the Government. We therefore anticipate that the Government will introduce legislation on the lines of Justice Sankey's report, such legislation being subject to modification under pressure by royalty owners and mine owners during its passage through Parliament.

We emphatically dissent from Justice Sankey's proposals, which we regard as, on the whole, most prejudicial to the workers. We urge the miners to offer a strenuous opposition to the Sankey scheme. We regret that the Miners' representatives appear to have considered the Sankey Report very slightly when they issued their report containing the misleading statement that they were in substantial agreement with it, though the matters on which they express dissent strike at the very kernel of the scheme. We can only conclude that the learned professors appointed from outside sources have been responsible for this flabbiness of utterance, which, though it may be exceedingly gentlemanly, tends to create a false atmosphere of general assent to Sankey's infamous proposals, an atmosphere with which the Miners will presently find it most difficult to contend. The Lloyd George Government is only too well versed in the art of making it appear that it is granting a great privilege to the workers, when, as a matter of fact, it is shackling them with coercion.

It is interesting to notice in passing that the mine owners represented on the Coal Commission join Sankey and the miners in advocating the nationalisation of the actual coal, because its owners sometimes obstruct its working by the mining capitalists. The coalowners have not yet spoken, but they may, perhaps, be bought off without much protest if sufficiently high payments are guaranteed to them in lieu of their present royalties.

MINERS REFUSE TO COMPENSATE MINERAL OWNERS.

The Commissioners, even Webb, Tawney, and Sir Leo Chiozza Money, who were appointed by the Government to represent Labour, are agreed that the mineral owners shall be compensated. Only the miners' representatives dissent from the general chorus, and say that they are only willing to compensate the mineral owners except by way of compassionate allowances to small royalty owners whom expropriation would deprive of a living. We regret that the miners' representatives have not taken a similar stand in regard to compensating the mine owners.

SANKEY WOULD COMPENSATE MINE OWNERS.

Sankey recommends that all the coal mines themselves shall be nationalised after three years, "fair and just compensation" being paid to the owners. The price to be assessed by Government valuers, with appeal to a special tribunal. The collieries, with their buildings, plant, machinery, stores, &c., are to be bought "at a fair price," and the mine owners will get a further opportunity for extortion through the proposal to repay in addition the expenditure incurred in development after a certain date with 6 per cent interest. Other "movable property" will also be purchased "at a fair price." The bill will be heavy and the cost of scrap iron will be greatly inflated! The managing directors of companies and other officials are, moreover, to remain on for five years at their present salaries, "together with any increases awarded from time to time."

HEAVY CHARGES ON THE INDUSTRY.

The consumer will pay heavily, very heavily, for all this compensation, and the miner will pay by Government refusals to raise his wages.

"In fixing the pit-head price under State ownership," says Sankey, "the following items shall be provided for:—

"(*a*) A fair and just wage for all workers in the industry.

"(*b*) The cost of materials, &c.

"(*c*) Upkeep and management, and development work.

"(*d*) Interest on the bonds to be issued as the purchase price of the coal royalties and coal mines.

"(*e*) The contribution towards a sinking fund to redeem the bonds.

"(*f*) A profit for national purposes."

So there are to be in lieu of the old profits of the mine owners two profits laid upon the backs of the workers and poor consumers now: a profit for the late owners called the purchase price; and a profit for national purposes, or, in other words, relief for the super-tax and income-tax payers, for from no one else will it be possible to wring increased taxation to pay for still further wars!

The working-class housewife will suffer from the payment of these profits, as though Britain were actually running the gauntlet of a blockade!

The coal owners are putting in a claim that the coal shall only be vested in the State provided the mine owners are guaranteed possession for at least sixty years, even should the leases they hold at present expire before that time. Sir A. Duckham is suggesting that instead of buying out the mine owners the Government shall form them into a trust, guarantee them 4 per cent dividend, and make up the sum if profits fail. Additional profits to be divided between (1) reserve, (2) another 2 per cent dividend (like drunkards these dividend hunters must have another nip), (3) "of the remaining profits one-third may be used for paying further dividend on shares [there they go again!], but the other two-thirds must be used to reduce the price of coal."

The capitalist class will fight every ditch and bring up all sorts of fancy schemes before agreeing to release their pelf. Duckham, by the way, suggests pit committees at which wages are *not* to be discussed!

WORKERS SUBMERGED BY PROFITEERS. SHAM WORKERS' CONTROL.

Sankey says that "half a century of education" has produced in the miner the ambition to take their "due share and interest in the direction of the industry to the success of which they too are contributing." "They too"! How kind of Justice Sankey to concede that the men who get the coal, covered with black, crouching in narrow seams, lying in water often enough, risking their lives, tattooed with blue-black from perpetual abrasions caused by falling coal, actually, actually contribute, "they too," something to the success of the dividend-holders' industry—"they *too*"!

But what share of "direction" is it that Sankey adjudges to be the miners' due. Briefly this is his scheme:—

1. Local Mining Councils, consisting of the manager, under-manager, and commercial manager, four members elected by ballot vote of the workers, three members appointed by the District Mining Council. The members are to hold office for two years. These Councils are to be advisory. It is provided that if the manager refuses to take the Council's advice on questions of health and safety these questions shall be referred to the District Mining Council. We conclude, therefore, that the Local Mining Councils are only intended to advise on questions of health and safety.

2. District Mining Councils, with chairman and vice-chairman appointed by the Minister of Mines (such officials are never drawn from the workshop!), and 12 other persons, 4 of the 12 to be elected by ballot of the workers, 8 to be appointed by the National Mining Council.

Of the 8, 2 shall represent consumers; in iron and steel districts 2 at least shall represent those industries; in shipping districts at least 2 shall represent coal exporters; 2 shall present the technical side of the industry, mining, engineering, &c.; 2 the commercial side, purchase of material, sale of output. All members to hold office for three years and be paid a salary. District Council to meet at least monthly.

3. National Mining Council, elected by District Mining Councils, on a basis of 1 representative to every 5,000,000 tons of output, with a minimum of 1 member for each district. Members elected for three years, to meet at least yearly.

4. Standing Committee of 18 elected from members of National Mining Council, 6 to retire annually and not be eligible for re-election next year. Six shall represent the workers, 6 the consumers, 6 the technical and commercial side of the industry.

5. A Minister of Mines, appointed by Government, must be a member of Parliament, and said to be responsible to Parliament as other Ministers are supposed to be, shall superintend the District Mining Councils and be chairman of the National Council. He shall be entitled, after consulting the Standing Committee, to veto any resolutions from Local or District Mining Councils. Therefore he has the power to crush the will of democracy should it manage to carry any resolutions on these Councils.

The workers on every Mining Council are placed by the scheme in a hopeless minority. On the Local Councils they are 4 to 6; on the District Councils they are 4 to 10; on the National Mining Council they can only be if elected by other representatives; on the Standing Committee they are 6 to 12.

(Continued on page 1377, col. 3.)

A MESSENGER FROM MOSCOW.

The information contained in these articles was brought by a messenger of the Third International who left Moscow on May 20th and came to England via Petrograd.

PART III.

HOUSING.

As our comrade from Moscow was dealing with cost and standard of living in present-day Russia we were led naturally from the discussion of food to rent and housing. "In housing," he said, "we had the first example of the socialising of existing things." All the houses in Soviet Russia now belong to the community; private property in housing has disappeared. Rent, as we know it here, a fee for the use of the house, has disappeared; the rent paid by Russian Soviet tenants is calculated only to cover repairs and the local rates.

In the case of houses of moderate size occupied by a single family and suited to its needs, the occupiers, whether they are owners or tenants, are left in possession. In large house blocks, which are most common in Russia, accommodation is rationed on the principle that before any one has two rooms every one must be able to have one. The great houses, that once belonged to the aristocrats are in many cases used now for public offices, art schools, clubs, and so on.

Housing affairs are organised by district committees, each house block having its own house committee.

SCHOOLS.

We questioned our comrade on certain allegations that there is disorder in the Soviet schools and that the children are unmanageable. He laughed at the idea. "No, no," he said "there is no disorder, though there was a little trouble with some of the teachers at first." When the Revolution broke out counter-revolutionaries offered the teachers full wages to remain away from one; many accepted the offer and remained away till the counter-revolutionaries, finding that the revolution did not collapse, as they had hoped, grew tired of paying and the truant teachers returned. Some of the teachers disliked the new educational methods which had been introduced in their absence, and some were still hostile to communism, therefore they gave as much trouble as they could and created all sorts of difficulties. But gradually their hostility disappeared, their active or passive resistance became at first a dull, unwilling obedience, giving way little by little to a real interest, which is being quickened by the great educational opportunities opening out to them.

THE THEATRE.

Soviet Russia is working hard to popularise the theatre and a system of committees called the Proletkult has been formed to deal with this matter. Proletkult is a composite word, denoting, of course, proletarian culture—there is now a prolific manufacture in Russia of new composite words to serve new needs. The Proletkult organises in all districts schools where workers are educated in music, dancing, and the mimic arts. When these students are sufficiently trained they play in company with the old actors. There is a demand for theatrical artistes which it is difficult to supply and no actors are unemployed.

The price of theatre tickets is low and the tickets are offered for sale first through the factories, workshops, offices, wherever work is carried on. Only if any tickets are left after the work centres have been supplied are the tickets put up for general sale. Only then have the hostile bourgeoisie who refuse to work an opportunity to buy theatre tickets. As a rule the workers have bought up all the theatre tickets and only a few cinema tickets remain; indeed it is evident that presently it will only be possible to attend places of amusement if one is willing to work.

The theatres are becoming more and more popular: the cinemas less so. The general view in Russia is that the cinema should not be used for drama but for scientific purposes: for revealing the growth of plants, the depths of the sea, and so on.

The Soviets regard the theatre as a valuable means of social and artistic education: hence its popularity.

THE PHONOGRAPH AND PROPAGANDA.

The phonograph is much used for propaganda. There is a widespread desire to hear Lenin speak; to hear Trotsky, Angelica Balabanoff, Zinoviev, Alexandra Kollontai.

Russia is an enormous country, the only way for the mass of people to hear these speakers is by the phonograph, and requests for the records of their speeches come in a growing stream from all over Russia. The records are set going in barracks, parks, and open spaces. Our visitor recently heard a speech by Kollontai in one of the squares of Moscow.

THE CHURCH.

And what about religion? Our comrade told us that no one fights religion in Russia now, but the Church is losing its hold upon the people. Always the servant of re-action, it tried to control men and women by childish terrors and superstitions, from which the people, filled with a zest for genuine knowledge, are now emancipating themselves. The priests sedulously taught that the images of saints on show in the churches consisted of the incorruptible mortal bodies of holy persons and were possessed of superhuman power. The Church tried to use the popular awe of those saintly bodies against the Revolution. Therefore, the Soviets of many districts arranged for a public investigation of this question.

The people of the neighbourhood flocked to the ceremony, delegates were sent from the surrounding villages to bring back reports, cinema operators were in attendance to take records of the scene so that no one might remain in ignorance of the truth.

Then, in order that no profane hands might touch the sacred bodies, the priests themselves were called upon to unfasten the coverings. The saintly bodies turned out to be mere rag dollies, their clothes being stuffed with all sorts of odds and ends, including ladies' stockings!

"Is this the origin of the stories of the looting of churches, the murder of priests, and violation of nuns?" we asked our comrade. "Probably, in most cases," he answered, "though it is true that early in the revolution two bishops were killed by the mob, one of them at Kiev."

We asked whether all the clergy were hostile to the Soviets; our comrade replied that many of the minor clergy had made common cause with the Soviets and were working for them, not as priests, but in other capacities. The Soviets might have established a Church and priesthood under their own auspices, and many of the priests would have liked that; but the Soviets consider religion a private affair and refuse to set up any State Church.

We questioned our comrade respecting an alleged massacre of Anarchists which was said to have taken place early in the Soviet regime. He explained that the anarchist groups at that period had become strangely swollen and it was discovered that both robbers and thieves of the ordinary criminal type, and bourgeois counter-revolutionaries, were finding it convenient to enrol themselves in the Anarchist ranks. The Anarchists had been given arms because they fought with the Communists against Kerensky. Because of those arms the robbers and counter-revolutionaries were now joining the Anarchists. These anti-social forces began to organise daylight robberies, raiding houses, distributing the clothes, bedding and furniture to the people and keeping the money and valuables for themselves. The public had just waked up to being indignant that the Soviets allowed this to happen, when at 12 o'clock one night, the Soviets suddenly posted troops throughout the city, and by 4 A.M. all the Anarchists had been arrested. The Anarchists were divided into three sections: the genuine Anarchists, the counter-revolutionaries, who turned out to be ex-officials of the Czarist regime and their sons; and lastly the thieves. The two latter sections were, of course, disarmed, and the trouble ceased. The genuine Anarchists were glad to be rid of their unpleasant companions. They are at present supporting the Soviet Government.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

To be Concluded.

A WARNING TO MINERS.

(Continued from page 1376.)

The "consumers," whom most of us think of as the mass of working-class housewives, are, in the mind of Justice Sankey, the great manufacturing employees and the Women's Co-operative Guild, which has long been hoping for representation on such bodies, will probably be crowded out however strenuously it may fight for inclusion; whilst the housewife, as such, the woman who is taught to fear as a dictatorship the Soviet system, which would give a voice in this, is a mere cipher here.

STRIKES TO BE ILLEGAL.

The bogus share of control that is offered to the miners is counter-balanced by the attempt to make striking a legal impossibility. Says Sankey's report: "L. The contracts of employment of workmen shall embody an undertaking to be framed by the District Mining Council, to the effect that no workman will in consequence of any dispute affecting a district, join in giving any notice to determine his contract, nor will he combine to cease work, unless and until the question in dispute has been before the District Mining Council and the National Mining Council and those Councils have failed to settle the dispute." (This clause is repeated in Clause LXIV.)

"LXXI. No national alteration of wages shall be made without the consent both of the Minister of Mines and the Standing Committee.

"LXXII. The contracts of workmen shall embody an undertaking to be framed by the District Mining Council to the effect that no workman will, in consequence of any national dispute, join in giving any notice to determine this contract, nor will he combine to cease work, unless and until the question in dispute has been before the National Mining Council and that Council has failed to settle the dispute: provided that, on the written request of thirteen members of the National Mining Council, the Minister of Mines shall convene a meeting of the Council within one month."

These clauses are designed to fetter the workers and prevent them taking action. If obeyed they would so far postpone strikes that they would rarely happen; whilst the sympathetic strike would disappear, and whenever immediate action should be necessary the workers would find themselves powerless *if they chose to obey the contracts imposed on them by force majeur.*

Eventually such contracts are always broken. Why make them?

The scheme is an attempt to clip the wings of the miners and to place them in the subservient position hitherto occupied by the soldiers, sailors, and police—a position from which they are struggling vigorously to escape.

Will the miners submit to the plan? We think not.

TOM MANN'S ENGAGEMENTS.

For July and August bookings apply 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3. North of England, and Scotch and East Coast town branches note specially.

Jack Tanner is open to take speaking engagements; he is now in Wales.

THE SINKING OF GERMAN WARSHIPS.

We are glad the German warships have been sunk: there will be the fewer ships for capitalism to use against the workers' revolution. That the Red Flag was hoisted as well as the German ensign is a good sign. We regret some of the poor fellows who took part in the plucky enterprise were shot or drowned as they left the sinking ships.

Mrs. BESANT, INDIA, AND LABOUR.

Continued from front page.

Mrs. Besant here shows that her outlook is fundamentally anti-democratic: she believes in the caste system, the rule of the many by the few. Her words prove her to be one of those who are able to adjust their religious doctrines to the convenience of the ruling class.

She says that Gandhi and his companions in the Satyagraha movement opened the door to revolution, and that the Government's only alternatives when the people desired to enter the railway station were either to fire upon the crowd, or to deliver the town to "mob rule."

But how did the violence first arise? Was it not that the followers of Gandhi had announced a day of fasting and prayer to protest against the Rowlatt Acts, and that the people in conformity with that idea tried to enforce the closing of all shops and suspension of all business, including that of the railways, and the soldiers at the bidding of the Government were there to keep the railway stations open and the trains running? Was it not a general strike in which the Government intervened, and by its intervention, aroused the people to violence? Is it not the Rowlatt Bills and the oppressed unhappy state of the Indian people which has opened the door, if it is yet open, to Revolution in India, rather than anything that Mr. Gandhi has done? But Mrs. Besant is "pledged to the British connection, to the Crown of King George V." Therefore, when she thinks the British connection in danger, she says: "Let us....drop all criticism of Government action, and stand firmly by the Government...."

To the Indians the British connection and the throne of King George V. are of lesser importance than their own well being: the absurdity of Mrs. Besant being treated as a representative of the Indian people is therefore manifest.

Mrs. Besant further replies that she did not approve the Rowlatt laws and that her statement that "there was nothing in the Act which a good citizen could resist" was changed to "there was nothing in the Act to which a good citizen could object." We are glad Mrs. Besant does not approve the Rowlatt Acts, but she evidently tolerates them since she says there is nothing in them that a good citizen could resist, and in the letter to *The Times of India*, which we have quoted above, she expressly disassociates herself from those who disapprove all "passive resistance," "because such disapproval condemns many of the noblest struggles in history." The Rowlatt Bills give power to imprison Indians for long terms without fair and open trial and without the right of appeal or any redress for damage or violence committed by the authorities. They may be imprisoned for possessing any literature considered by the authorities to be undesirable, without its being necessary to prove they intended to use it for a wrongful purpose. They make it a punishable offence to associate with any one imprisoned or placed under police supervision, even though the association be not political and be purely for business, social or family reasons. In all this Mrs. Besant finds nothing that a good citizen could resist! She condemns Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues, who decided as a protest to disregard all the coercive Indian legislation "not supported by moral sanctions," and who began their protest by selling forbidden literature in the streets—a very dreadful offence it appeared to Mrs. Besant though she was rather a rebel herself once—in the days of long ago!

In regard to the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme Mrs. Besant has turned a complete somersault. At first she said it was unworthy of being offered by England or accepted by India. The scheme, of course, contains within itself the admission that it is not intended to give self-government to India: the Bill which has materialised from it is intensely anti-democratic and reactionary.

MRS. BESANT ON BOLSHEVISM.

Why does Mrs. Besant support it: is it because she desires to shelter behind any bulwark against Bolshevism? All real opposition to the Rowlatt Acts ceased on her part when the Viceroy promised they should not be used except against anarchic or revolutionary movements, though surely she might realise it to be important that even a person suspected of being a revolutionary should have a fair trial.

In condemning the Satyagraha passive resistance movement in *The Times of India*, April 21st, Mrs. Besant said:—

"I ventured to urge before this movement was started that its logical result was riot and bloodshed, and to point the danger of a revolutionary movement here. Surely what had happened in Europe was warning enough, and I even noted the elements here on which Bolshevist propaganda might work."

In view of all this we protest against the introduction of Mrs. Besant and her associate, Mr. P. B. Wadia, to the Southport Labour Party conference as persons who are entitled to speak for India and especially for Indian Labour.

When the Government desired to allay the fears of British workers against the capitalist intervention in Russia, Kerensky was brought before the Labour Party Conference to advocate intervention as a Socialist and a friend of Arthur Henderson. President Wilson was used to popularise the war, and to cover the Allied Governments with a coat of democratic whitewash when popular faith in them was flagging, and Socialists were asked to look to him as their leader whilst his Government was imprisoning Socialists.

Are we now to see Mrs. Besant brought before another Labour Conference to whitewash the Government of India and to lull any indignation which may be aroused by past and future happenings there?

It is time the British Labour movement ceased to run after ndividualists with a capitalist outlook instead of settling down to the class struggle in real earnest.

FOR ERNEST TOLLER.

Our readers will recall the able criticism of the Berne Conference by Ernest Toller which appeared in our columns. Whilst still a student Toller became President of the Soldiers' Council of Germany. He took a prominent part in the Spartacist rising in Munich and became President of the Soviet Republic there. When the Communist forces were defeated, he was reported killed, but, though probably wounded, he fortunately managed to escape.

To secure his arrest Scheidemann's bourgeois Government restored the barbarous ancient practice of putting a price upon his capture. Now he awaits the fate of his fellow Communist Levine, who was recently shot by the German Government. Toller is barely 25 years of age.

The Socialist students of Paris, through their Secretary, Comrade Perrier, send a pressing appeal to students the world over for a strong agitation to save Toller's life.

Have the Socialist students of British Universities even realised Toller's existence! How narrowly that little Channel confines our horizons!

THE C.L.C. AND DENNIS HIRD.

It is said that J. H. Thomas, M.P., and others of the N.U.R. are objecting to Dennis Hird, the Principal of the Central Labour College, and are working for his expulsion on the ground that his teaching is too revolutionary. The re-opening of the C.L.C. is being delayed on this account and the South Wales Miners are said to be considering buying out the N.U.R. and running the College as their own venture. It would be regretable if the Railwaymen should be deprived of participation in the C.L.C. on account of the reactionary tendencies of their Executive.

What have Mr. Thomas and the N.U.R. Executive to say about it?

CARDIFF.

The 'Dreadnought' can be obtained from:—

A. BANKS,
Carmarthen Street,
Canton, Cardiff.

M. CLARK,
26 Wood Street, Cardiff.

WHAT SORT OF NATIONALISATION?

Mr. Shapurji Saklatvala writes:—

"The educated workers of the world have come to realise that it is *their* concern, rather than that of any other group in society, whether industries as a whole, or some of them, shall work for individual profits governed by the law of competition alone, or whether they shall work for national service as a national asset with no preferential profits to a few individuals in the State....

"The object of nationalisation should be the saving of the profits now paid to private shareholders, in order that the workers in industry may enjoy a life of comfort and enjoyment, instead of one of unmixed drudgery; the consumer, that is to say, society in general, having the benefit of the balance, either in lower prices or as profits transferred to the general revenues of the community....

"In the capital account side of industries, like railways or coal mines, nothing can be gained by exchanging royalty and rent "rights" for a stock on which the nation has to pay an annual revenue as interest or sinking fund....

"The working and maintenance of "nationalised" industries should pay no profits to private concerns or individuals, otherwise the scheme of so-called nationalisation must remain not only a huge farce, but even a huge deception and plunder.

"In nationalising railways what do you nationalise? If you wish to repair or erect railway stations, signal boxes, or bridges, you will go to private contractors and pay them profits, you will directly, or through your contractors, pay profits to merchants dealing in bricks, stone, timber, glass, cement, iron and steel, paints and varnishes, &c. If you wish to repair or extend a railroad you have got to pay heavy profits to some steel rail company. If you want carriage wheels or springs you have to pay a heavy private profit to some individuals. To build carriages for your "nationalised (?)" railways you will have to pay profits to private individuals trading in timber, iron, brass, fittings, tapestry or leather (for cushions), window glass, lamp fittings, &c. So what are we really about to nationalise, and where are we stopping national money from running away to private dividend-earners?

"Similarly for coal mines, you will keep on paying profits on all buildings, and plant required by your collieries after what you term nationalising them. You will keep paying profits to dividend distributors on coal cutters, boilers, pumps, haulage equipment, electrical equipment, and every little thing that a colliery requires. Where, then, is real nationalisation with any real economic object or purpose served thereby?

"Now, suppose you do not agree to any such patchwork and deceptive forms of nationalisation which keep feeding private profiteering at every turn. You will require to nationalise your railways and coal mines in such a manner that you will also nationally produce all your requirements, and these also you will produce from materials, and raw minerals brought under national possession and not allowed to remain under private ownership. Your nationalised railways and mines will then have the requisite number of nationalised iron and steel factories, glass factories, brick yards, electrical and mechanical equipment factories, all under nationalised non-profiteering control, and all in their turn possessing national stores of raw materials required. This, and this alone, would mean an effective, real, and *honest* nationalisation of railways and mines, the other being merely an eye-wash. If you are not prepared for it, then plainly vote against it, but not for any make-believe nationalisation.

"So far I have merely pointed out to the reader what real nationalisation ought to be as against patchwork nationalisation of coal mines and railways. The thoughtful reader might, however, take himself further forward. He may ask, where, then, shall we stop? Nowhere, if you really adopt a sincere and progressive scheme, in place of a deceptive, patchy, stagnating form of nationalisation....A complete nationalisation would then, in your opinion, lead to socialisation of all industries? In my opinion it would not logically stop before that, and must even go beyond it till the Sovietisation of industries is reached.

"In nationalising a concern here and there you do not eliminate private profit, in socialising it you leave the matter of control somewhat in doubt, and a conflict between the producer and consumer remains, in the Sovietisation of industries you not only solve the control difficulty, but you harmonise the interest of the producer and the consumer within a given society...."

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By F. P.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

As was mentioned before in these columns, a desperate fight is now being waged to force all workers in and about the mines to join up into one union—the South Wales Miners' Federation. In order to secure this result, the opposition of vested interests in the various craft unions has to be met. In the week commencing June 16th the Colliery Clerks struck, but not in a body, for various increases in wages and recognition of their union.

The attitude of the Miners' Federation was not sympathetic, an action which may seem a negation of trade union principles to the minds of others than miners.

The position is just this. One of the immediate and most important objects of the S.W.M.F. is the perfection of the organisation by including in its ranks all grades of workmen helping in the production of coal.

If support is given to the clerks in fighting by means of their craft union they will surely win. Then they can point to their craft basis of organisation as being responsible for victory. Their deduction would be wrong, for obviously the victory would have been won, not by their organisation as *Clerks*, but by the help of the miners. Therefore if the craft basis is to be destroyed, the Clerks are to be shown that the craft union weapon is of no use and must be abolished in favour of one Industrial Union. It is a truism that before any human institution can be destroyed its futility must be apparent. The withholding of support from the Clerks is a means to this end. This course has been fully justified by latter events, for news has been received that the Clerks intend to join the Miners' Organisation. The Federation will now be in a position to give the coalowners a certain time to settle the Clerks' dispute, and if unsatisfactory, then the whole force of the organisation will be with the Clerks.

To the vested interests let it be said that the time has gone when the workers can be split up into different groups. The advantages of such a policy go directly to the employer alone.

To those trade unionists who may be shocked by the attitude of the Miners in being willing, if necessary, even to "blackleg" the Clerks, remember that static principles cannot guide the Labour movement. Conditions surrounding us decide our actions. All these actions must be considered as *means to an end*. Our ultimate end in view is the socialisation of industry and one of the most important means to that end is the organisation of the workers by industry. The Miners' *immediate* end is Industrial Unionism, then, if we have enough faith in it, all means to that end are justified. Even the blacklegging of the Colliery Clerks is justified on that score.

Let us not quibble about the violation of lifeless principles, that were born when numerous craft unions in one industry were quarrelling about each other's rights. Let us keep in mind our goal, if we have sufficient faith in its justice and inevitability we shall not be afraid to use any and every means to realise it. All changes in human society violate cherished beliefs. The introduction of machinery destroyed domestic contentment, but all will agree that machinery can become a great blessing to humanity.

ROYALTY ON THE SHAKE.

It is very significant that now the country is seething with Labour unrest the members of the royal family are travelling about the country, displaying themselves in all their pomp and splendour. They hope to divert the attention of the workers from things that matter, in the same way that a pickpocket, while having a light from your cigarette, proceeds to pick your pocket. Oh, yes! there is usually a close relation between industrial unrest and the love of kings for peoples! It is not a coincidence that the Prince of Wales is coming to the Rhondda Valley on June 24th. The Rhondda Valley is the centre of revolutionary fervour in South Wales. Contrary to such arrangements in the past, workers' representatives are invited to meet the Prince. At least two Trade and Labour Councils have decided that their officials are not to accept the invitation to attend the function. Also, the feeling is so strong against the coming of the Prince that the Urban Council has decided not to allow a penny piece to be spent in celebrating his visit.

He intends to go down a mine, which is being made fit and pretty to receive him. For a whole week the pit has been polished up, lamps shined, buildings white-limed, roads repaired with gravel, and in many other ways made to look different for the time being. The men resent this action very much, for they know the Prince will have a distorted impression of a miner's life. If the Prince was a man—and we are told he realised his manhood in the trenches—he would not consent to come here, for he will be a very unwelcome guest. Unfortunately, there are still many people and not a few who are Socialists (?), who are happy to bend their knee to the frown of a prince and strew flowers in the path of a princess.

INCOME TAX.

A local strike has recently occurred as a result of the authorities imprisoning two miners for non-payment of income tax. The strike is now over and the dispute will be made a national one. There is every hope that it will lead to drastic action to abolish the principle of income tax. This strike shows the spirit of the men, which is full of hope.

THE FRENCH IN RUSSIA.

(Communicated by the People's Russian Information Bureau.)

The following report of the Debate in the French Chamber on the French defeat in the Ukraine appeared in *L'Humanite*, June 12th:—

M. de Kerguezec (Recorder of Budget of the Fleet), who had been sent by the Commission, together with M. Charles Meunier (a Conservative member of the French Chamber), to the Black Sea to investigate, gave an account of the terrible conditions prevailing amongst the French Black Sea Squadron, and at the bases of Tarente, Irea, Corfu, and Salonica. The sailors were in rags and half starved. From there he went to Sebastopol and to Odessa, where he found with our troops the "more than famous" volunteers of the Russian army who are fighting with us. Out of about one thousand men there are hundreds of colonels and dozens of generals, indeed out of two thousand men there are 1,900 officers.

Lafont said that in Odessa during the French occupation, France was represented by the "famous" consular agent Henaut, who issued orders in the name of the Allies, and who is now in Paris and has not been arrested, although he has compromised and degraded the policy of his country. According to Lafont the people in Odessa were starving. Pillaging, thieving, and shooting took place under the paternal eye of French generals who must not intervene against the reactionary groups who indulged in these terrible excesses. M. Henaut took part in these excesses. ("I shall investigate," M. Pichon murmured.) Lafont in describing the evacuation of Odessa said: "The troops were there, but you had no army that had any of the fighting spirit required for battle! The soldiers also were asking: 'What are we doing here? What right have we to be here at all?' If you were obliged to leave Kherson let me remind you of the reason: it was because the 21st colonial and the 56th infantry regiments at Tiraspol had refused to advance. Engineer corps had gone over arms and baggage to the Bolsheviki. This happened, not because French soldiers have ceased to be brave; they are ready to suffer and to die for an ideal, for a just cause: but not for your incoherent politics, and not to protect the disgusting excesses of your officers and consular agents." In conclusion Lafont denounced the attempts of the Entente to restore the monarchy in Russia.

* * *

L'Humanite, June 15th.—A telegram from Budapest says that Tchitcherin (Russian Commissary for Foreign Affairs) has sent the following wireless to Bela Kun:—

"Please notify Radek that the Ukrainian Soviet Government has appointed him as plenipotentiary to Berlin and that, as retaliation for his illegal arrest by the German Government, the German Consul in Odessa and several other nationals of Germany have been arrested."

Amsterdam, June 14th.—A Bolshevik wireless announces that as a result of the recognition of Koltchak by the Entente a large Japanese army will be dispatched to Siberia against the Red Army.

THE SWISS SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

MacDonald's Vain Appeal.

Following the visit of Longuet, MacDonald, and Buxton to Berne, the Executive Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party has issued the following manifesto:—

Comrades, the Executive Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party met at Berne on June 4th. Longuet, MacDonald, and Buxton, who had come from a conference with the Italian Socialist Party on the fundamental principles of the International, wished to hold a similar conference with us.

They desired to know with what the Swiss Socialist Party reproaches the International and why they have left it. They asked whether the Swiss Socialist Party considers a united proletarian International desirable.

In reply the Swiss Socialist Party enumerated the reasons already brought forward at several of its congresses, especially that of Berne in February, 1919. The Swiss Socialist Party explained that, whilst recognising the great desirability of a united proletarian International, the reasons which forced the Swiss Party first to criticise and finally to leave the Second International still exist. The Second International still holds to the idea of the patriotic political truce. It still desires to bargain with capitalism and with the imperialist bourgeois governments. It does not carry on a genuine revolutionary class struggle and shrinks from revolutionary action.

The Swiss Executive further declared that the International cannot be restored by paper resolutions. Moreover the resolutions of the Second International are often hostile towards the struggle of our comrades in Russia and Hungary, whilst they magnify the work of bourgeois democracies.

The Swiss Socialist Party will never belong to an International which courts the bourgeois democracy of Wilson and seeks to destroy the proletarian revolution of Russia and Hungary. The Swiss Party will only belong to a proletarian International which, whilst taking into consideration the varied needs of the fight and adjusting its tactics to the peculiar conditions of each country, nevertheless maintains the principle of the class struggle and takes its place beside the comrades of Russia and Hungary, who are now engaged in a tremendous class struggle; in a fight which is ours as well as theirs, and in which their defeat will be our defeat also.

Unless these conditions are fulfilled it is useless to talk of the Socialist Party re-uniting with the Second International. The Swiss Socialist Party desires not words, but deeds.

June 5th, 1919.

PROSECUTION OF WALTER PONDER, CHAIRMAN EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Walter Ponder was obliged on Wednesday, June 18th, at 2 o'clock, to answer charges of soliciting money in Victoria Park and of selling various literature at same place.

There were six summonses, one relating to asking for money at "Hands Off Russia" meeting, and another for selling THE DREADNOUGHT at same meeting.

Four more summonses are for soliciting money and for selling literature as follows: 'British Soldiers in Russia,' 'Bolshevism in Industry and Politics,' 'Independent Working-Class Education,' 'Jim Foster's Philosophy,' and *Solidarity*.

The accused was called at 2.20 P.M. and only two of the summonses were decided. After examining prosecuting witnesses several comrades were examined: Norah Smyth, Arthur Childs, Alf Wood, W. McCartney, and others.

The accused in speech for defence made, I think, a speech unheard in recent years in a London police court. The economical, political, and legal conditions of society were laid bare. He declared for Anarchy. Law was based upon private property. Justice (real) was impossible in present Courts of Justice, seeing that laws were made by capitalist class to maintain private property. Education (as such) was in the hands of the governing class. Altogether a complete indictment of capitalism.

On the first summons, that of selling DREADNOUGHTS, he was fined £1, alternative of 5 days'. On the second charge he was fined £2 or 7 days'. Accused refused to pay fines and at 4.15 P.M. obtained an adjournment of fourteen days. The other four summonses will be heard on June 30th. Time will be stated later.

A remark made by a woman with summons in Court whilst case was being heard immensely tickled the writer. After case had been on about an hour and a half she said: "I wish he would give some one else a chance." W.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA MEETING.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE,

SUNDAY, JUNE 29th, 3.30 p.m.

To express our solidarity with the

SOVIET REPUBLICS

AND

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

And to support the 24 Hours' Strike proposed by the French and Italian Socialist and Labour Parties.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

"PEACE-WORK."

My soul rejoiceth gloriously at the near approach of peace. On all sides, Henry, I see the harbingers of goodwill, the forerunners of mercy, the messengers of hope. I see that last, that just, that final peace which will set the feet of mankind in the right path, paved with good intentions. Needless to say, where that road leads.

Peace! The "Daily News" poster in front of me tells of the Black Watch getting the wind up and refusing to be shipped abroad.

Peace! The "Herald" poster says "Race Riots in South Wales." And they run Cardiff pretty close in Liverpool and Poplar.

Peace! To-night's "Star" tells me that China revolts against Japan. And of the rest of the world, here it is, condensed in a few promising paragraphs:—

Canada: Police and strikers in collision at Winnipeg.

France: Strikers upset two trams and set fire to them. Prospect of general coal strike.

Australia: Complete deadlock in the shipping strike: 20,000 workers idle in N. S. Wales.

America: Nation-wide strike of telegraphists called for.

Italy: Strike disturbances at Naples.

Malta: Unemployment riots: troops fire on unarmed mob: several killed.

China: Police charge strike rioters at Shanghai.

Ah, my friends, does not all this give out great hopes of peace, now that Prussian Militarism is crushed?

Cast your eyes on the list, friend Dubb. "Race Riots in South Wales." Who are the rioters? White and coloured, Henry Dubbs. Do *you* see white and coloured Profiteers going for each other in Park Lane?

"Police and Strikers in collision at Winnipeg." Where does the Profiteer come in here? You'll find him in the Club reading the Peace Terms.

"Strikers set fire to two trams (in France)." You don't catch strikers setting fire to the—er—shall we say Mr. Fat's motor car? Mr. Fat is probably taking the air at Nice or Biarritz, or speculating in Parisian lingerie.

Look down the list as often as you like, Henry. You won't see any of our kind-hearted capitalists having a hand in it. You won't even see them being shot down as "riotous strikers" or an "unarmed mob."

Whilst the working-class police and the working-class military are shooting and bludgeoning working-class strikers (or *unarmed* mobs, as the case may be), where, I ask, once more, is our friend, Mr. Fat?

Whilst working-class Britons were going "over the top" to let daylight into working-class "Huns," where, I ask, for the twiceth time, was our friend, Mr. Fat?

Whilst over in Russia—but let Neil MacLean, M.P. (May 29th), speak for himself and for all of us:—

"I have not yet heard or seen in any paper the name of any gentleman amongst those in these records which I have of shares who has volunteered to go out to Russia to fight for his investments."

And again, Neil, if you please:—

"There was an invitation for volunteers. As I have said already, not one of the men whose names I have here—and I have the names of 1,500 British shareholders in Russia—has volunteered to go to Russia to fight for his investments there. If they want to fight for their money, or if their money is worth saving, LET THEM GO AND FIGHT FOR IT."

And Private Fat, will surely enjoy it. Do not the papers come out with these rich, juicy headlines: "Denikin's Move. South Russian Bolsheviks afraid of tanks."

Isn't it funny? Afraid of tanks. Ha, ha, ha! And the War Office will tell us why (*Daily Express*):

"War Office, Friday, June 6."

"A Russian newspaper prints the following:—'British Tanks are about to be used to assist General Denikin in his battles against the Bolsheviks. At a recent demonstration in South Russia by five of these *modern* weapons of war, the tanks travelled about nine miles per hour. One of them was directed on TWO LARGE HUMAN-SIZED TREES, BOTH OF WHICH WERE UPROOTED. THIS TANK, TURNING SHARPLY, TOUCHED UNEXPECTEDLY A THIRD TREE, WHICH WAS ALSO PULLED OUT BY ITS ROOTS. THESE VALUABLE WEAPONS ARE IN A SPLENDID STATE.'"

Hurry up, Private Fat, and smash the Bolshies. And you, Henry, get behind and cheer.

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.

There are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia:—

FRIDAY, JUNE 27th.
Custom House.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 28th.
Great Push against Conscription and Intervention in Russia, and for a People's Peace in Lewisham and Camberwell.—Meetings at 3 P.M. in the Lewisham Market Place, and at 7 P.M. at Grove Lane, Camberwell. Speakers: Miss Birch, Mrs. Walker, Harry Pollitt (7 P.M. only), and G. C. Bhaduri on 'India.'

SUNDAY, JUNE 29th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M.
Trafalgar Square.—3.30 P.M., Joint "Hands Off Russia" Demonstration (see advertisement).
Dock Gates, Poplar.—7.30 P.M., Miss Birch, G. C. Bhaduri on 'India.' Chair: Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, JULY 4th.
The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JULY 5th.
Great Push in Holloway District.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, JUNE 27th.
Public Hall, Canning Town.—7.30 P.M., "Hands Off Russia" meeting.

MONDAY, JUNE 30th.
20 Railway Street.—7.30 P.M., Poplar W.S.F. Business meeting. 8.30 P.M., Reading Circle.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JULY 1st.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somer's Road.—3 P.M., Miss Stephenson,

THURSDAY, JULY 3rd.
400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee.

SUNDAY, JUNE 29th.
Peckham Rye.—3 P.M. and 6.30 P.M., "Hands Off Russia" Committee of the South East District will hold meetings addressed by prominent speakers.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held at the

PUBLIC HALL, CANNING TOWN
(near the station),

on Friday, June 27th, at 7.30 p.m.

To protest against Allied Intervention in Russia, and to demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Russian territory.

Speakers: Melvina Walker, Harry Pollitt.
Chair: Sylvia Pankhurst.

Admission Free——Come and fill the Hall.

CRYSTAL EASTMAN

(JUST RETURNED FROM BUDAPEST)
will speak on the
"Revolutionary Movement in Hungary and America"
at the
Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane, Strand)
on FRIDAY, JULY 11th, at 7.30 p.m.

SYLVIA PANKHURST IN THE CHAIR.

Doors open at 7 p.m. Admission by Silver Collection.
COME EARLY.

AMERICAN C.O.s.

In the U.S. House of Representatives on March 3rd, the Hon. William E. Mason said that the U.S. War Department issued a confidential Order, under which conscientious objectors were to be dealt with as a problem of military discipline, the officers being forced to treat C.Os. as recalcitrant soldiers. As a result American C.Os. have been beaten, prodded with bayonets, immersed in filthy latrines, held for 15 to 45 minutes under cold shower baths, fed on bread and water, and placed in solitary confinement. The three brothers Hofer were kept partially dressed in a dark underground dungeon where water leaked in from the sea, two of them died of pneumonia, and the body of one of them was sent home dressed in military uniform. Mr. Mason submitted memoranda showing that seven C.Os. at the Camp Funston Guardhouse were given raw food and told to cook it in the latrine. Other prisoners were told by Col. Barnes, the Provost Marshall, that he would be tempted to pardon them if they would "beat up" the C.Os. The C.Os. were dragged out of bed every two hours during the night, placed under cold showers in the middle of the night and many times in the day, and brutally assaulted, pricked with bayonets, thrown to the ground, their heads banged and their faces rubbed on the ground. This treatment was continued after they hunger struck by way of protest.

At Fort Jay C.Os. were kept without shoes and half-clad in small dark, verminous, cellar cells; their wrists shackled to iron bars. They were fed on bread and water. Every alternate fortnight they were put for a fortnight in the prison yard, with an axe for chopping wood, raw food, cooking utensils, and shelter at night, the idea being to treat them as though on a desert island. They are sentenced to this sort of treatment for periods of 20 and 30 years.

At Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, C.Os. were kept in dark basement cells and handcuffed to the bars for 9 hours a day. They were subjected to much violence. They hunger struck and were forcibly fed.

DISMISSED FOR BEING A TRADE UNIONIST.

In our report of the case of the Building Workers' Industrial Union the A.S.C.J. (Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners) was referred to as the A.S.E. and the United Order of General Labourers was called the National Union of General Workers. We regret these errors and present our apologies to the societies incorrectly named.

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, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

HOLIDAY CAMP, Newdigate, Surrey. Good Food, Scenery and Fellowship. 30s. per week. Send stamp.

WANTED. Socialist Comrades in Wendover, Tring, Bucks, to communicate with comrade there. Apply by letter to Box 111, WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

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.).

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to Work and old enough to Vote? [Advert.

FOR 2/6 POST FREE.
THREE MARVELLOUS PUBLICATIONS
ON BIRTH-CONTROL.
Thoughtful Working-class People are following the lead of the Upper Classes and getting wise on Limitation of Family.
From J. W. GOTT, Secretary, LIBERATOR LEAGUE, 61, DORSET ST., BRADFORD.

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