THE WORKERS'

# DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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## THE POLICE STRIKE.

Spirit of Petrograd! The London police on strike! After that, anything may happen. Not the Army, but the police force is the power which quells political and industrial uprisings and maintains the established fabric of British society. The Army may be behind, but for many a year we in this country have not known it.

And now, with Law and Order on strike, our homes are not robbed. We are not molested on the road, even the traffic regulates itself well enough! A triumph for the Tolstoyans!

Thousands of striking policemen go marching through the streets, striding along with a free swinging gait, buoyant, triumphant, without even a thought of fear or reluctance. Who shall blackleg them? In all England where shall bureaucracy find such a body of men? Few are in uniform, but everyone knows them; they are unmatchable. The Government has been striving these four years past to comb out all the biggest and strongest men to serve in the war. The Army never held a company of such men as this from poor Irish hovels, from far away English and Scotch villages, from all over the kingdom they have been assembled, chosen for their size; then drilled and trained for strength. They are badly paid, and, worse still, robbed of the ordinary freedom that is common to others; denied the right of combination; held under by a pitiless bureaucratic discipline, which gives them liberty only to boss the poor, and to be, if they desire it, the little tyrants of mean streets, whose testimony dovetailed and marshalled by counsel for the prosecution, always outweighs the testimony of lowly people.

But you belong to the working-class army now policemen; you have gained class-consciousness, now you go marching through the streets, with all the world agape at you. Bus drivers shout: "Good luck." And you, light-hearted, singing, call back to them to join you. Charwomen and work girls cheer you. Army officers look on grimly. "The Tommies will be striking to-morrow," says one of them. Who knows, who can foresee what will happen in this cataclysmic revolutionary time?

Down the Strand, up the Haymarket they march swiftly. At Piccadilly a halt, the ranks are broken, crowds collect and seem at last to be hesitating like untrained London crowds. "Vine Street." One hears the word passing to and fro in the crowd. "What are you going to do?" someone asks. "They've locked some of our men up in Vine Street Station, we are going to bring them out!" Policemen always guard the dreary detention cells; will they unlock their doors to-night?

Masses of men are gathered at either end of Vine Street and the narrow passage way is thronged. "Fetch 'em out!" "Fetch 'em out! many voices are demanding. Then a cheer. "When they saw we were coming to fetch them, they let them go! A file of men in blue comes struggling through the crowd. "We'll stick to you, mates!" "We'll stand by you." "Now for the specials!" "Have out the specials." The cries are louder. The special constables come out and with cheers they are carried away on men's shoulders. "Marlborough Street next. Marlborough Street." The procession reforms. There are no prisoners to release at Marlborough Street, only the special constables to call out, and presently they come. Then, the cry is, "Marylebone Lane next. "Next stop Marylebone Lane," and so the procession goes off around London.

Will the police ever again lose their sense of solidarity with the working class? Will they ever again allow their comrades to be victimised for endeavouring to organise them? A few years ago twenty-seven were dismissed from the Metropolitan Police and two from the City Police for attending a meeting in Hyde Park to organise the police, when off duty and in plain clothes. The sufferings endured by John Syme in his efforts to form the Police and Prison Officers' Union. But at last the strike was called because of the victimisation of another of their number, T. Thiel, provincial organiser of the Union, and delegate to the London Trades Council, who was dismissed for "grave breach of discipline in taking part in the management and being a member of an unauthorised association."

The foremost demand of the strikers was reinstatement of Thiel and *recognition of the Union*. They also asked for a permanent addition to their wages of £1 a week and 12½ per cent war bonus on all wages and allowances. The present rates of pay are as follows:—

Constables, £1 10*s*., with an annual increase at the rate of 1*s*. per week, to £1 18*s*.

Sergeants, £2 3*s*., with an annual increase at the rate of 1*s*. per week, to £2 7*s*.

Inspectors, £3 6*s*., with an annual increase at the rate of 2*s*. per week, to £3 14*s*.

In addition there is a war bonus of 12*s*. a week, with an allowance of 2*s*. 6*d*. for each child in the case of married men.

The strike has been speedily settled, but recognition of the Union, the most important demand is not yet conceded. There is merely a promise that some machinery shall be set up under which members of the force can bring their grievances before the authorities. The growth of the Union is certain to continue, however, and eventually, perhaps gradually, and at first informally, it will obtain recognition. It has been agreed to raise the scale of pay by 13*s*. a week in addition to the war bonus of 12*s*. and 2*s*. 6*d*. for each child of school age. A widow's pension of 10*s*. a week is also granted in addition to the existing child pensions of £12 a year. These pensions are miserably small. Why not make them adequate? We should like to know whether the policemen thought of the suffragettes when they invaded Downing Street and even went so far as to hold a meeting there. It is significant that soldiers were brought out to guard the official residence, and curious that Mr. Lloyd George should have said that the presence of a union or committee amongst the soldiers had largely caused "the trouble in Russia," and that the police are a semi-military force. When matters are so near revolution that a policeman's trade union will cause a revolution, Mr. Lloyd George, you will certainly not be able to prevent the creation of a union. But in any case the Union is an accomplished fact. To refuse to recognise it is to pursue an ostrich policy.

### CAVE *V.* CARMICHAEL.

The result of the Police strike eludes the public comprehension in its vital points. These are two. First, as the famous John Syme League placard has it "Policemen of the Nation Claim Right of Combination," and, this, of course, without restraint by official prescription. Secondly, that with the principle of collective bargaining operating; "discipline" itself shall be in the last determination amenable to the commonsense of the whole body.

Sir George Cave's talk with the Press on Saturday night appears greatly like ladling spilt milk from a littered floor. Carmichael was quite wrong; said he, in announcing the recognition of the Union, for the Prime Minister had expressly declared that to be impossible, in war time. Sir George said, too,—I quote the *Sunday Times* report: "I hope now the trouble is at an end." A really ingenuous thing to say in view of the Prime Minister's reported remark.

The present writer is one of the founders of the National Union of Police and Prison Officers, and seeks now to make clear to his readers his own reading of the situation immediately after the Great Police Strike.

Everything turns uncertainly for the moment upon the soul of the compact which is to be made between the Home Office and the Union representatives; as a working arrangement for the period of the war, and upon the character of the new Commissioner. If the Government insists on detachment from organised Labour, and that is accept ed I shall be glad. If the men insist on the re-instatement of every man victimised during the five years of the Union's fight for life I shall be glad. (This to carry full repayment of all deductions, of course.) If the right to resume publication of the Union *Journal* forthwith be claimed, and the claim admitted, I shall be glad. If, however, the men hold their Union to be unsafe if severed from the Industrial Unions, and organised Labour fights to have the Police Union attached to its body; the Government may reflect that the stupidity of four successive Home Secretaries is the direct cause of that alliance.

Ex-Inspector John Syme, and ex-P.C. John Wilkinson, the secetaries of the Union from the start, have both suffered under the "system" they are in revolt against, they must have justice done them, too.

Sir Nevil Macready; are you ready?

The Police strike strikes at the heart of Prussianism in Whitehall.

MOCASSIN.

## THE INTERNATIONAL.

According to the *Populaire*, a certain unrest is noticeable amongst the workmen of Western Germany, especially at Essen, Bochum and Barmen. They demand a 25 per cent increase in their wages, but the masters refuse to grant it because "it is not in the interests of the realm."

The *Volksrecht*, of Zurich, reports that Kautsky who wanted to go to Switzerland has been refused a passport.

### FRENCH OPPOSITION TO ALLIED INTERVENTION.

The *Populaire* prints a long article in which it vehemently opposes Allied intervention in Russia. In the article entitled, 'A "Useful" Crime,' occur the following passages:—

"The ex-majoritarians declare that the Allied intervention in Russia is a *useful thing*. We look upon it as *a crime*....Could these comrades [those in favour of intervention at the National Conference] allow themselves to be misled and to believe that this expedition held any other object save that of overthrowing the power of the Soviet and of crushing the workmen's and peasants' revolution in Russia?

"In the Party there are men whose feelings towards the monster Russian Commune are the same as those of the Versaillese [*i.e.*, of those who were responsible for the bloodshed of the Paris Commune].....

"The articles by Pax and P. F. have vigorously denounced the scandal of this intervention about which the Chamber has never been consulted and which was launched without a word of warning to the country."

We invite the British working-class to second the efforts of French Labour and pass resolutions against Allied intervention in Russia, and the crushing of the Russian Socialist Republic. Such resolutions should be forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary.

A. S.

### LENIN SHOT AT.

The outbreak of war saw the assassination of Jaures, the powerful French Socialist leader. Now, if Press reports are to be relied on, the assassins' hand has been raised against a greater Socialist, Lenin, whose wonderful strategic abilities and faith in Socialism and the people have enabled him to play a great part in the creation of the first Socialist Republic of which he is now Prime Minister. We hope the report that he is now out of danger is true!

### SOUTH AFRICA.

Comrade Bunting, the acting editor of *The International*, the organ of the South African International Socialist League, Comrade Tinker, the acting secretary of the League, and Comrade Hanscombe were arrested and charged with offending against the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1914.

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The following extract from the German *Kreuztung* is illuminating:—

"If England agreed to abandon her naval bases at Gibraltar, Aden, &c., Germany would guarantee not to create similar bases, particularly in regard to the Belgian coast, since there would be no further need for them when the liberty of the seas had been assured and England had reduced the strength of her Fleet to the needs only of a "sea police.' There is no obstacle, says the article, to the restoration of Belgium if England would give these guarantees and others ensuring Germany against economic reprisals. To guarantee equitable economic treatment for all an International Control Committee must be appointed. Germany's colonial possessions must be restored in view of their importance for German economical expansion."

### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS' NEW PLEA.

The Army Act, part 1, setion 68, part 2, provides that no offender shall be subject to imprisonment or detention for more than two consecutive years, whether under one or more sentences. The Act which makes this provision under section 17, subsection 1 and 2 of the Amending (Military Service) Act, 1916, is to be read with the Act of 1916 under which Conscientious Objectors are now imprisoned. It would therefore seem that it is illegal to imprison Conscientious Objectors for more than two years continuously for the offence of refusing to deem themselves soldiers. Moreover, prisoners who are of good behaviour are entitled to remission of one-sixth of the sentence imposed upon them. Therefore, it would appear that Conscientious Objectors sentenced to two years' imprisonment are entitled to four months' remission, if they are not guilty of misdemeanour in prison. Nevertheless, Conscientious Objectors are kept in prison for two continuous years and then brought into court and immediately sentenced to two further years' imprisonment. Fred. H. Sellar who was a conscientious objector to compulsory military training for youths in New Zealand before the war, has now with other conscientious objectors pleaded that a sentence of more than two years for the offence of refusing to accept military service is illegal.

* * * *

A conscientious objector in prison tells his mother that he cannot sleep at night for the tramping up and down and the terrible cries of the C.O.s in neighbouring cells. He writes: "Send me all the books you can to drown my thoughts." Another C.O.'s mother, realising the torture which solitary confinement is inflicting upon her own boy, says: "How wicked we have been to allow men and women to be kept like that all these years! If our sons buoyed up by a principle and with all their resource feel it so, what is it for those poor people who have no resources?"

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## A PRINCIPLE AND A VISION.

*The Strike of Co-Operative Employees.*

If the Co-operative Movement is to be of large and permanent value to humanity, its purpose must be to emancipate the workers from capitalist exploitation and to give them opportunities for training themselves in the co-operative management of the means of life.

Hitherto the Co-operative Movement has largely failed to achieve this purpose. It could not fully succeed as yet, because its operations have been carried on in the midst of a competitive capitalist world in the markets of which it has had to compete. But its failings are not wholly due to external circumstances. The Movement has lost much of its value by adopting the capitalist practice of paying dividends. It has lost more still by the fact that it has not recognised the paramount importance of co-operating with, and emancipating from, exploited servitude, the workers who produce and distribute the commodities on which it thrives.

Wages and hours in co-operative employment in many cases compare favourably, in some cases unfavourably, with those of average capitalist employment. Hitherto, there has been no big attempt to make employment in the great Co-operative Movement, something quite other, and incomparably superior to that in the ordinary commercial whirlpool. There has been no attempt to give the co-operative workers in co-operative industries control of those industries, or even to set up an equal joint control by producers, distributors and consumers.

And so, from time to time, disputes arise between the co-operative committees and their employees, and are as bitterly fought as those between the ordinary employer and employed. On August 29th there were 7,000 employees of the Co-operative Wholesale Society on strike and the dispute was spreading. At Crumpsall Biscuit Works 700 were out, only 20 working, at Silvertown, E., all the C.W.S. factories were closed, all the workers were out at Pontefract, Irlam, Slaithwaite, and at Halifax and Sowerby Bridge Flour Mills; 800 were striking at Middleton Jam Works, and workers were on strike at Trafford Wharf Grocery Packing Department.

The workers are striking firstly, for recognition of their Union, the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees; secondly, for increased wages.

Many who are prepared to admit the urgent justice of some of the wages demands are opposed to the strikers, from dislike of the A.U.C.E.

But surely everyone must concede that there are but two tests of the value of any trade or industrial organisation: firstly, whether the workers for whom it caters approve it and desire to join it; secondly, whether it is an effective instrument for improving the conditions of its members.

The A.U.C.E. undoubtedly satisfies the first of these conditions in a much larger measure than any other union open to the co-operative workers. The Co-operative Movement employs 120,000 people, of whom 10,000, according to the present-day standards of the various unions in question, are unorganisable, being managers or girls and boys under the age fixed for trade union membership. 35,000 are unorganised, 10,000 belong to various craft unions—clerks, shop assistants, bakers, boot and shoe operatives, and so on. 65,000 belong to the A.U.C.E., the civil membership of which stands at that figure apart from members who are in the Army or Navy, who bring up the total A.U.C.E. membership to 85,000. The A.U.C.E. is growing rapidly; eleven years ago it numbered only 11,000 members. To-day there are less than a dozen bigger trade unions in the country. The Co-operative Printing Works at Longsight, Manchester, employs 750 workers. 300 of these workers are members of 14 separate craft unions, the 350 were unorganised until six months ago, when the women and girls (most of whom were debarred by the rules of the unions against admitting women from joining the craft unions) appealed to the A.U.C.E. to organise them. 320 of the workers are now members of the A.U.C.E.; 300 are members of craft unions, and the remainder is still unorganised, but the A.U.C.E. hopes to enrol them. At Silvertown, East London, the A.U.C.E. has 750 members, the Millers' Union 20, the Dockers 3, the General Labourers 2 and there are 15 non-unionists and 20 persons in official positions. Such figures speak for themselves. It is impossible to submit that the A.U.C.E. is not wanted by the co-operative employees since the majority of the co-operative employees have joined it.

The proof that the A.U.C.E. is an efficient instrument for raising the status of its members is that the main charge against the A.U.C.E. is that it is too efficient an instrument, and that it is forcing the Co-operative Movement to provide better conditions than those which obtain in capitalist employ. If the A.U.C.E. is able to force the Co-operative Movement to treat its employees better than those of the ordinary private capitalist, that is an evidence of its usefulness; but force ought not to be necessary for the purpose of the Co-operative Movement first of all to emancipate its own workers. The Co-operative Movement has passed beyond the period of young adventure; it is no longer a fledgling with a capital mainly composed of ideals. It is a great and powerful organism, every day growing and expanding, acquiring farms and tramways, and building estates, and so on. This growth must not continue to be made at the expense of the employees. In Plymouth it is said that approximately 8 out of every 10 families are co-operators; as a working-class movement it should show that it has something better to offer to its workers than the ordinary capitalist concern. Yet it was in Plymouth, where co-operation is so powerful, that during a recent strike, gross sweating of girls and women by the Co-operative Society was disclosed.

On the C.W.S. estate at Roden in Shropshire 80 men and women are now on strike. A branch of the A.U.C.E. was formed there on a dark night last winter, the meeting being held out in the open, because the C.W.S. officials had refused a room in the old-fashioned capitalist fashion. The women in the tomato and cucumber houses are paid 20*s.* to 21*s.* a week, the men 33*s.* The women's working hours range from 56 per week in winter to 62 in summer. The majority of the workers are women, and it is the duty of the men, originally more skilled, to be in charge of the work of a given number of women—the women are becoming as skilled as the men. The A.U.C.E. is asking for 33*s.* a week for the women and 44*s.* a week for the men. Equal pay is not yet demanded. The employers of the C.W.S. in the old way of private farmers, argue that no advance in wages need be granted because the Trade Board rate for agricultural workers is being paid. Yet when the C.W.S. is applying for exemption from military service for its employees, it urges that, by intensive cultivation, it is producing three times as much per acre as other growers, and that, therefore, its workers are more valuable to the nation! The C.W.S. workers on strike are being blacklegged by the women of the Land Army, who being under military discipline dare not refuse. So the Co-operative Movement is using the State control of labour, something that is a partial form of Industrial Conscription, to grind down its employees.

The A.U.C.E. is attacked because it exists to secure better conditions for co-operative employees, and does not work directly at any rate, to get higher wages for workers in other employments. It were as logical to complain that the Shop Assistants Union or the N.U.R. had not obtained higher wages for the miners or the workers in the confectionery trades. But as a matter of fact the Co-operative workers can best help the workers in kindred trades by being organised, and acting compactly as co-operative employees. If the workers in other flour mills and grocery stores strike surely they will have a better chance of succeeding if the co-operative workers keep to their tasks and the private millers and grocers see their trade being captured by the C.W.S. and the Co-operative Store. If the Co-operative Movement is to be an instrument for breaking down the capitalist system and for establishing a co-operative commonwealth in its place, it is important that as capital's employees are attacking the citadel, co-operation should thus aid in the struggle. However little the C.W.S. and the managers of the retail stores recognise this position, and unfortunately the C.W.S. directorate does not possess the Socialist outlook, they are willing to reap any benefit that may accrue by their employees remaining at work when others are striking. But the co-operative employees must not then be expected to suffer all and reap nothing, to abstain from pressing for advantages when others are doing so and to have no means of securing advantages on their own account. It is neither right nor possible to expect the co-operative employees to be satisfied that the C.W.S. should grow tomatoes for munition workers earning upwards of £5 a week, whilst those who grow the tomatoes, the women earning 21*s.* a week and the men earning 33*s.*, cannot possibly afford to buy them!

The A.U.C.E. is accused of accepting members who might belong to other unions. We understand that the A.U.C.E. does not admit the charge which is made by unions whose members have blacklegged A.U.C.E. strikers. But, after all, the object of all industrial combinations of the workers is not to enhance the prestige of any particular organisation, but to create the most effective fighting force possible, a force which will obtain for the workers always more, more, more, till they gain control of the industry itself. Obviously, the employees of any firm can bring more pressure to bear on that firm if they are united in the same combination. If a typist is dismissed from the office of one of the C.W.S. factories, and all the workers in the factory at once withdraw their labour, her re-instatement will be speedy. The machinery of appealing to the National Union of Clerks to call out from the factory office perhaps two or three other clerks, who are easily replaced by non-unionists, or perhaps all the clerks employed by the C.W.S. is a much more cumbrous machinery, which is less likely to be successful, and because it is so remote and cumbrous the grievance will probably be allowed to pass without protest. Industrial unionism is the strongest form of working-class combination yet devised, and it has the great advantage of placing at the service of the weaker sections of the employees the power of the more numerous and essential, and therefore stronger sections. It is said that the A.U.C.E. is not an industrial union; its exact description is unimportant; the main point is that the combination of all co-operative employees in one union gives them the power of bringing pressure to bear on the employer, which is the main asset of the industrial union. Though the A.U.C.E. is called by its enemies "a blackleg union," its members have the satisfaction of knowing that they are organising industrially on the modern scientific method: the method that wins immediate benefit; the method that will persist when the old petty sectionalism has disappeared, right on into the time when self-controlled industries shall make up the industrial co-operative commonwealth.

In the meantime it is a serious matter that the A.U.C.E., which comprises the majority of the co-operative employees, and which is one of the larger unions in this country, was not represented at the Trade Union Congress. It is a serious matter that a group of craft unions, many of which, by the way, are not willing to accept as members the majority of the co-operative workers in their respective trades, should have made common cause with the employers—the C.W.S.—to crush out the union to which the majority of the co-operative employees belong. To combine with the employer is a flagrant departure from duty on the part of a trade union.

We may regret that the spirit of comradeship is not paramount in the Co-operative Movement; but, without bitterness or recrimination, we must take the world as we find it. We are emerging from Capitalism into Socialism: the struggle is harsh and many and many an idealist, contributing his or her part to the evolutionary accomplishment, will in person be broken by the war. Many and many an enterprise conceived in love for humanity and in enthusiasm for the emancipation of the oppressed, will be brushed aside and left derelict, but the ideal that launched it will live on. So, in the great struggle, if the Co-operative Movement as we know it to-day, should hinder the emancipation of the workers, who produce and distribute all wealth, it must and will be destroyed. It can only survive if it can be used as a weapon of attack upon the older capitalist forms which the future will abolish, and, above all, if it can be shaped to the fashion of the new self-governing forms of co-operative industry, which will form the pillars of the coming Socialist community.

In the great struggle the A.U.C.E. has, it appears to us, an historic mission. It is the instrument which shall eventually either refashion or destroy forever, the Co-operative Movement of to-day. We do not believe that it will destroy the Co-operative Movement; we believe that it will transform it. The struggle may be bitter, the pace slow, the greatest demands of the co-operative workers to-day fall miserably short of the status which should be assured, which will one day be assured, to every worker in the Co-operative Movement. The possibility of realising that ideal status to-day seems far away; but the movement grows; we are in the current of an upward moving evolution; the ideals of the human imagination, in the long run, dominate human society. Taken in the mass, humanity fashions the society it desires and human beings desire, in the main, the highest that they know. The pressure of the struggle for subsistence forces the forms of human society into many moulds, and the strong pressure of the rank and file workers in the co-operative industries and distributive centres will force the Co-operative Movement into a new and better mould. At present the pressure of the co-operative workers is exercised through the medium of the A.U.C.E., because it is the A.U.C.E. which has combined them. Should it fail at any time to give adequate expression to their needs some other form of combination will be evolved. In the meantime the A.U.C.E. has our cordial good wishes and our hopes that it will shortly receive the endorsement and support of the Labour Movement as a whole.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.



# Special Indian Supplement.

## The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

*A haven and refuge for the imperialist bureaucrat and a graveyard for working-class democracy.*

In asking our readers to pay close attention to this Report, we are inviting them to do what is the urgent duty of all British Democrats and Socialists. This is a Report presented to the Indian public, and through them to the whole of Asia, in the name of British Democracy, as a great lesson to backward Asia as to what politically forward Europe holds as an ideal. The Asiatics are bound to take this Report, signed by the accredited mouth-pieces of British rule in India, as the authentic expression of British ideals, unless Democrats in Great Britain openly repudiate it as a whole, or at least expose its most reactionary portions, and demand that they be expunged.

We propose to offer to our readers a few guiding hints, concerning the Report, in preparing which we have made full use of the advice and experience of some of our trusted Indian comrades, whose wish it is that the report and these criticisms shall be discussed by all Labour and Socialist newspapers, both at home and abroad; and that, having seriously considered the question, working-class organisations shall adopt a definite policy upon it which shall be embodied in resolution and in agitation.

This country is pouring out millions of human lives and thousands of millions of money under the guidance of a Government which tells us that all this sacrifice is for liberty and the disannexation of conquered peoples' lands which have been absorbed by ambitious imperialists. Let us see from the concrete shape of this Report what practical suggestions for the realisation of this ideal the Government offers to India in the name of the British nation. We are not concerned as to whether a backward reactionary, capitalist machinery of government is to be wholly or largely handed over to Indian Home Rulers, Rajas, merchants, landlords, and adventurers, or whether it is to be retained by a few privileged Britishers. We are anxious to see whether we are at last giving to India, or allowing India to take to herself, a governmental machinery which is or is not really and truly of the people, by the people, and for the people. We want to know whether the proposed machinery of government will enable the 330 millions of human beings of what is in the main a deeply cultured and ancient civilised race to take their seat among the brotherhood of peoples of the world, and whether the 38 million industrial workers and the 200 million food growers of India will be counted as equal human beings with councillors and statesmen.

One of our Indian Comrades, in discussing this Report, summed up his view of it by paraphrasing the following words from Mr. Winston Churchill's speech on the War's anniversary day, August 5th last:—

"If we endorse, or even admire, this Report as it stands, without giving to it the chastisement that it deserves, we shall doom our children to accept for all time, the British bureaucrat, the British exploiter, and the heaven-born British Imperialist who must govern other people's affairs, at their own valuation."

As we nodded our heads in thoughtful assent, our Indian friend interrupted: "Ay, and do not forget that, as all silence must mean consent, we shall read at the bottom of this valuation sheet the certifying endorsement of British democracy. If you feel that this endorsement is only a forgery in anticipation of your assent, you must come out and say so."

### THE REPORT.

*(Reference . p.=page; cl.=clause no.)*

By way of preface we start with the very last clause of the Report (p. 282, cl. 356):—

P. 282, cl. 356.—"The liberty of the world must be won before our deliberations over the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning."

What is the tangible meaning of this sentence? Is it not true that the liberty of the world can be won only by all nations giving up conquests to the children of the soil without unnecessary delay? Can the liberty of the *world* be won by Germany alone being made to give up some conquered territories, the area and non-German population of which are microscopically small compared with India?

### REPORT ADVISES OLD BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY BE MAINTAINED.

P. 223, cl. 276.—"We seek deliberately, when the purpose justifies us, to depart from popular methods of legislation, and it is obvious that *no device which conforms to those methods can possibly serve our purpose.* (What is that purpose?) [The italics and small capitals in quotation are ours unless otherwise stated.—ED.]

For this purpose *we have come to the conclusion* that we should employ the method now familiar to Indian institutions [we should say to institutions in all conquered and subjugated territories in the world.—ED.] of maintaining such a number of votes upon which the Government can in *all* circumstances rely, as to ensure the passage of the legislation that it requires."

Now this is a candid confession. An arch-bureaucratic official, who is Secretary of State for India without a single Indian vote being cast to put him in that position, goes to India to meet his sub-bureaucrats, each one of whom is similarly installed over a foreign people. After exchanging views with them he accepts the most notorious bureaucratic doctrine as his conclusion. We know scores of Liberal and Radical apostles of the people's rights and human liberty who succumbed to similar conclusions as soon as they were installed in a bureaucratic official position. The list of casualties is not only long, but cruelly unfortunate and, so far as our knowledge goes, does not show any survivors. But after having thus openly expressed this conclusion, why waste time and paper on making this Report?

If the basic principle of political institutions in enslaved countries is to be left intact in India, well, leave it, but why hold up before Asia a caricature of democracy and free institutions in the name of European progress and political civilisation?

If the Indian *is* British, he must be trusted to take care of all honest British interests in his part of the world, just as much as a Welshman can do in Great Britain or a Frenchman in Canada. If the Indian *is not* really British, then our rule over him must be a foreign domination for purposes and interests of our own, and this latter condition alone can be a logical explanation of Mr. Montagu's *conclusion.*

### WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF THE REPORT?

Why this Report? we ask again. Can the following puzzling sentence be an unconsciously given answer?—

P. 149, cl. 180.—"Further we have every reason to hope that as the result of this process, India's connection with the Empire WILL be confirmed *by the wishes of her people.*"

Is this Report therefore given out to create the appearance of such wishes before Britain's Allies and the Central Empires in discussing after-war hopes?

In four clauses are the following phrases: "As far as possible" (p. 155); "As soon as possible" (p. 155); "As far as conditions permit" (p. 156); "Councils will be made *more* representative" (p. 157); "In proportion as.... effect" (p. 157). Who is going to define the nature and prove the existence of limitations, and who is to be the judge of the limits being reached? Will it be the Indian, who claims restoration of all his natural birthrights, or will it be the Briton who claims a peculiar heaven-born right to control, teach, and overlord the Indian, or will it be some third party? "Government will remain *partly* bureaucratic" (p. 175). If the bureaucratic part has the ascendant power, does it make any difference if it is partly or wholly bureaucratic? The Report bristles with such phrases.

### THE COUNCIL OF STATE: SECOND CHAMBER.

In order to adhere to his definite conclusion, in order to create a foreign, irremovable, and invincible official government of paid and non-elected persons, Mr. Montagu, after creating intermediate councils of all sorts and varieties, devises a final instrument of bureaucracy in the shape of his "Council of State," the like of which no Czar or Sultan has yet invented, and where out of 51 members there will be only 15 *indirectly* elected representatives of the people! This proposed Second Chamber is put before the whole of Asia by a British democrat, belonging to a party which is known in Asia to have undertaken *some* day to mend or end the House of Lords. This confession of the underlying spirit of the leading Liberals must be carefully noted by our Labour rank and file.

P. 209, cl. 258.—"We might secure men for the upper houses who would not seek election or even accept nomination to a composite assembly, where the majority of members were of a different status from themselves; and so the second chamber might develop a conservative character which would be a valuable check on the possibly too radical proclivities of a lower house."

### CHECKS TO ANY DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Men who consider the representatives of a people too low to sit with them are to be given, not only a separate chamber, but higher and dictatorial powers to check the ultra-radical actions of a lower chamber, where already the Viceroy and his paid bureaucratic official lieutenants in the Executive Council have final and absolute rights! Then, again:—

"At the same time we bear in mind that as provincial councils approach *more closely to Parliamentary forms*, the need for revising chambers may be the more felt."

As long as you have shams and mockeries of people's chambers the Report will tolerate them, but as soon as any reality of parliamentary *rights* is reached, not only is the need of a Second Chamber felt, but a Liberal Minister is ready to provide it in advance. We should certainly like to hear the official Liberal Party views on this subject.

On p. 229, cl. 284, Mr. Montagu gives consolation to the people's representatives in the Lower House that though provision is made for the Upper House killing their measures, they may bravely keep on passing resolutions. He says "that in itself will mean that the significance of resolutions will be enhanced." May we ask, in whose eyes they will be enhanced? Will a future Subramanya Iyer be permitted to write the truth to the President of America, or will all the slaughtered resolutions of Indian democrats be produced every year before an impartial international tribunal of European, African, and Asiatic peoples?

### THE DEFENCE OF INDIA AND *THE ROUND TABLE* IMPERIAL MOVEMENT.

But this must be so, the fortified position of the British world-ruler must remain, "so long as the Empire is charged with the defence of India" (p. 256, cl. 323). Mr. Montagu just forgets to explain charged by whom? "Providence," reply the Liberal Party and all British Chambers of Commerce!

The Empire is charged with the defence of India! It means in practice the bureaucratic capitalist group that has seized the Empire for management, to the advantage of a few families in Great Britain, is to *defend* the rights of the self-same families in India *against* the people of India, when and as necessary.

In his grateful acknowledgements, Mr. Montagu tells us (p. 281, cl. 355) that one Mr. Marris (Inspector General of Police) has earned warm appreciation and gratitude by assisting in the task of drafting the Report. About the end of 1916 had not Mr. Marris earned equally warm appreciation and gratitude for assisting Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and Mr. Lionel Curtis, the representative of *The Round Table* imperial movement, in drafting a document that accidentally got into publicity, in which plans were elaborately set out for preserving British imperial and commercial interests in India? In advocating these plans, Curtis observed: "Let us do it, facing the fact that we cannot effect the changes advocated without provoking in India an agitation, which, as I judge, might lead to bloodshed."

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN BRITAIN AND JAPAN.

Now let us turn to a British document styled "Agreement between the United Kingdom and Japan—signed at London, July 13, 1911." In the preamble, describing the objects of the agreement, are the two following clauses:—

"(a) The consolidation and the maintenance of the *general peace* in the regions of Eastern Asia AND of INDIA."

"(c) The maintenance of the *territorial rights* of the high Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and *of India*, and the defence of *their special interests* in the said regions."

"Article I.—It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, *any* of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests."

"Article V.—The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be *arranged by the Naval and Military Authorities* of the High Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of *mutual interest.*"—Signed, E. Grey and Takaaki Kato.

**Continued on next page.**

# MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT.

(Continued from page 1071).

Even those British people who, animated by racial pride, believe that the British are fitted to govern over all others, must surely ask why the Japanese should be called in to settle matters affecting India in which Indians are not consulted. Moreover, it is surely a serious infringement of the rights of the people of this country that the conditions under which armed assistance may be given to defend Japanese interests in Eastern Asia and India shall be "arranged" by the naval and military authorities of Britain and Japan, the British people and Parliament apparently being ignored!

When India gets genuine self-government all treaties made concerning her without consulting her people will be set aside. When the British people get genuine self-government such treaties as this will become impossible.

When the cry of freedom began to be expressed audibly in India, the men who dared to ask for it were called extremists, as if to be a political extremist is at all a crime, and the Japanese Agreement was ushered in in its present form. To-day, when the Russian workers and peasants are seeking social and economic freedom from Czarist and foreign commercial thraldom, Japan is brought out to oppose them.

In other respects the "defence of India" is carried out by completely disarming Indians. An Indian army is maintained to safeguard British interest in India and has been used to carry on what we regard as Great Britain's depradatory missions in Afghanistan, China, Persia, Burmah, Egypt, Abyssinia, and other parts of Africa.

## THE INDIAN SOLDIER'S PAY AND PENSION.

There is a characteristic chapter on the Indian Army worthy of a tactful financier. On p. 261, cl. 329, you will read of increases and improvements in pay, pension, &c., all in percentages. Actual figures of pay and pensions are not given, and there is abundant prodigality expressed in ratios. For instance, we shall not say that a British Minister has increased his wages by £1,000 over an annual salary of £4,000, and that a British shoe-black by charging 3*d.* instead of 2*d.* has increased his income by about £25 a year, but we shall tell you that, whereas a British worker has been allowed a rise of 50 per cent, a self-denying Minister of the State has been content to raise his salary only by 25 per cent. The Report tells you, and other parliamentary papers tell you, that the Indian soldier in France is doing the work as well as a British Tommy, and is surrendering an equally valuable asset, viz., human life. But we are not told the exact difference in payment, nor are we told in this Report that in future the Rajas, merchant princes, and landlords will be taxed more and the Indian soldier will be paid as well as the British soldier. Here is a clever passage :—

P. 264, cl. 330.—"The Indian soldier who fights for us and earns promotion in the field can reasonably ask that his conduct should offer him the same *chances* as the European beside whom he fights."

This is typical of a certain sort of University trained business-man and "Liberal" politician. The Report refers to "the same chances," but not to the same pay or pensions to the soldier's bereaved family when he has given his life for you! The Report fails to give the figures. They are such that any nation might well be ashamed of them. But we have a Parliamentary paper before us which throws some light upon the Indian soldier's pay and pension. Question No. 42, by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, for Thursday, June 6th, 1918, is very lengthily replied to, and the plain answers disclose the facts that salaries to various grades are paid at 2*s.* 9*d.* weekly to about 6*s.* weekly, and pensions are granted subject to elaborate rules from 1*s.* weekly (for entire families, including children) to 2*s.* 6*d.* weekly. The reform Report promises *no reforms* in this.

## HOW INDIAN SOLDIERS ARE RECRUITED.

We are also not told much about the method of requisitioning human lives on these shadows of salaries. We have before us English papers from India (to wit, *The Times* of India, mail edition, March 2nd, 1918) which gives a Government press communique detailing "an account of the operations in the jungles of Manipur to quell the Kuki and Naga hill tribes who had given trouble in raising a corps of hillmen *for service behind the lines in France*." The British column "burned Ukha and other hostile villages, but the punishment was not enough." More columns were sent, we are told, "Mr. Cosgrave *met with little serious opposition*, and *destroyed* several rebel villages and a good deal of property." We suppose there are no innocent women, children, and infants among those hill tribes! The communique goes on to say: "Mr. Higgins had harder fighting, but he too has been successful in burning a number of rebel villages and taking their cattle and other property." But even this is not enough, and something additional is done. "They are half-nomadic and attach little value to their villages, but they will soon feel the effects of the *destruction of their food* supplies and of the harrying that prevents them from cultivating."

Now at this period, not only according to German reports, but our own also, the German Crown Prince had not left the western front, and the Bolsheviki had not migrated to Manipur, and Mr. Montagu was actually in India on a Liberal mission to give to Asia Light, Love, and Liberty in the name of British democracy and European culture! The Mesopotamia affair was an unfortunate muddle, and yet a few European sufferers being the victims, Mr. Chamberlain had to resign. This Manipur affair was really an "atrocity," but the British Labour Party has not even asked for Mr. Montagu's explanation, much less resignation. If such a "punitive measure" had been taken in Armenia or Kerman, Lord Bryce would have issued two volumes on '—— Atrocities.' This great Reform Report is silent about such abuses of British power in India! it offers no control over it to Indians. Nay, it even deprives them of the power to bring such incidents to light by an extraordinary additional power proposed to be granted to British Governors :—

## QUESTIONS MAY BE DISALLOWED.

P. 192, cl. 236.—"If a question is not objectionable in itself, but cannot be answered without harm to the public interests, the Governor should not disallow the question, but his Government should refuse to answer it on that ground."

Now, mark this additional power: "Power should be retained in the Governor's hands to *disallow* questions, the *mere putting* of which would be detrimental to the public interests." And the Governor, the head of the offending machinery, is to be the sole judge of public interests. He will have the power to conceal any atrocities, corruptions, cruelties, and injustices which might be perpetrated by subordinates!

## FAVOURED POSITIONS TO A FEW.

The part of the Report dealing with military matters proposes to give favoured positions to a few and to call this "advancement and liberty." Clauses 328, 329, and 330 grandiloquently tell you that in India, over a purely Indian army, the Indian British subjects cannot and shall not be the natural heads; but that a lucky few of them will get some kind of commissioned posts. The last sentence of cl. 330 on p. 264 confesses: "We feel sure that no measure would do so much to stimulate Indian enthusiasm for the war." Is this a key for our British comrades? Does it tell them why sometimes Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. George Barnes, Lord Milner, and Lord Curzon may consider it opportune and expedient to recognise some of the claims of the workers as long as they continue to fall short of real power.

Lord Morley's reforms did one thing successfully for the Government. They drove into silence men of sterling self-respect who would not submit to and waste time over farcical political forms of no value, and it brought into prominence a fairly large number of ambitious "Indian Liberals," to whom names, forms, and appearances would be quite as acceptable as realities to sounder men. Thus the Government soon got a host of obedient councillors and "people's representatives" who gave assent to measures enforced by Lord Hardinge, to which even D.O.R.A. is a kinder sister.

The Report gives every imaginable autocratic right of final decision, appropriation of money, over-riding people's representatives' suggestions, bills, or amendments, and of *suppressing* all inconvenient questions, to provincial and supreme governments, composed of Governors and Executive Councillors over whom not a fraction of 1 per cent of 240 million people has a controlling voice. After this Mr. Montagu calmly points out :—

P. 225, cl. 278.—"The Council of State will be the supreme legislative authority for India in all crucial questions, and also the revising authority upon all Indian legislation, we desire to *attract* to it the services of *the best* men....We consider that the designation 'Honourable' should be enjoyed by the members....it would be, as will be seen, the Council of State with which the Princes would be associated."

Then comes the wonder of wonders in the shape of an attempt to describe its democratic and harmless characters (p. 227, cl. 281) as "a revising body in which Government is in a position to exert *as little influence as it likes*." "As little influence as it likes" seems in this instance to mean "as much power as it pleases." We suppose to-day Belgium has also a system of government in which Germany "is in a position to exert as little influence as she likes."

## PRIVILEGED FOREIGN MINORITIES.

The people of the country are slandered, duped, or set aside, and foreign officials and merchants, and similar classes of native origin are to be the protected minorities with heaven-born rights. In its historical research from the early beginnings of British power to Lord Morley's attempt at reform, the Report frankly admits that no democratic or representative political institution or rights have been so far permitted to India. This policy must have a dire effect, and would have driven to desperation, ruin, or savagery any race save the mild, philosophical Indian, whose fatalist disregard of suffering kept him happy and hopeful. The Report itself admits :—

P. 109, cl. 130.—"It will be agreed that the character of political institutions reacts upon the character of the people....the exercise of responsibilities calls forth the capacity for it."

In face of this knowledge, the Report goes on to say :—

P. 119, cl. 144.—"We have seen it estimated that the number of people who really ask for free institutions does not exceed five per cent of the population. It is in any case a small proportion; but to the particular numeral we attach no importance. We are not setting about to stir 95 per cent of the people *out of their peaceful conservatism* and setting their feet upon a new and difficult path."

## MAJORITIES DENIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

There you are, first enslave a people, destroy their universally existing democratic system of panchayats, give them deceitful, unnatural, soulless "political institutions, which must react upon their character," deprive them of the "exercise of responsibilities" and thus undermine their capacity for it, and then refuse to bestir them from their slavery, called "peaceful conservatism," and continue to deprive them of their birthrights, as the path might be (that, too, in your own arbitrary opinion) "new and difficult."

The Report indulges in romantic quotations by one European from other silly or interested Europeans about the savage tribes, and Bhils, and castes, &c., It pretends to feel greatly for the right of minorities to be protected against majorities, as if the majorities are to have their normal and natural rights, and then deprives the immense majority of farmers and workers comprised in a population of over 300 millions of every possible right, under excuses as to their incapacity, as judged by an unappreciative capitalist traveller, set up by his own foreign friends as the Secretary for India. These millions of men and women capable of realising their own wants are described from the very outset, in the Introduction to the Report on p. 3, as, not only unable to express their opinions, but as "*not capable*" even of "*holding*" opinions. You can start railroads, open post offices, telegraphs, factories, mines, dockyards, fisheries; you can grow for your requirement wheat, cotton, jute, indigo, tea, opium, myrabolans, oilseeds, rice, &c. In all these activities you count upon fairly civilised labourers and farmers to the tune of some hundreds of millions. You are not deterred there by castes, separate religions, social superstitions, the presence of Bhils and savages, by "peaceful conservatism," or by the "inability of the people to hold opinion." But when it comes to giving a proper measure of rights, sufficient wages, human freedom, essential education, or sanitation, all these horrible factors hinder your honest democratic European convictions!

Even the educated Indian who is not suffering from "peaceful conservatism" is deprived of his administrative rights in *public matters*, though he fully exercises and retains his capacity for it in social and business matters, and is described on p. 181, cl. 222, as being without "experience of the power of dismissing ministers" :—

"Nobody in India is yet familiar with the obligations imposed by the tenure of office at the will of a representative assembly." P. 184, cl. 225.—"We must in fact measure the number of persons who *can* in the different parts of the country be *reasonably* entrusted with the duties of citizenship."

In practice such discrimination too often comes to mean men who will not, or dare not, expose official autocracy and incompetence, and who can even join the Government in the condemnation of outspoken and fearless critics. Therefore such "measurement" forms no part of a democratic constitution, "nor can the condemnation of *extremist* and revolutionary action be left only to the official classes" (p. 124, cl. 150). The sentence that follows mixes up political extremists with ordinary perpetrators of crime. In England extremists, like Halsbury, Carson, F. E. Smith, Northcliffe, and Lloyd George are extolled as true patriots with whole-hearted convictions, in India they are described as criminals only.

The same paragraph continues :—

"*Now* that His Majesty's Government *have* declared their policy, reasonable men have *something* which they can oppose successfully to the excitement created by attacks on Government and by abuse of Englishmen."

But, as we have seen, the new policy staunchly adheres (see p. 223, cl. 226) to the same old conclusion, viz., to "employ the method familiar to Indian political institutions" before the Report.

So where are we? Is it all jugglery to defy the new law of "self-determination," and to give to rampant despotism the garb of a people's will? And is this deception to be practised in the name

(Concluded on page 1074.)



# LABOUR CONDITIONS IN INDIA.

The new iron and steel industry in India happens to be in the hands of men who are held to be "extremely broad-minded and generous masters," nevertheless the average wage paid by them to adult men unskilled workers is less than 6*d.* per day. For highly skilled work in the rail department Indians are now employed at 10*d.* per day in place of British Trade Unionists who were brought out on contract at a wage of 12*s.* per day.

A 9 hour day has been instituted in the new steel works, but the Indian Factory Act permits a 12 hour working day and the 12 hour day is general in Indian industries.

Coal miners and flux carriers also get 6*d.* a day; in many other industries the wages are lower.

Indian manufacturers fix the selling price of their goods to Indian buyers at five or ten per cent. less than the price charged for imported goods. Thus saving the carriage from other countries and paying wages which, on the average, consist of pennies where European wages consist of shillings they have the opportunity to make enormous profits. Low railway rates aid them in the struggle for profit. The pre-war rates per ton per mile for railway transport in India and her principal European competitors were as follows :—

| | PENCE. |
|---|---|
| India .. .. | .150; per ton per mile. |
| Holland .. .. | .590 " " " |
| Germany .. .. | .637 " " " |
| France .. .. | .726 " " " |
| Denmark .. .. | .956 " " " |
| United Kingdom .. | 1.192 " " " |

Now that an effort is being made to develop India as a great manufacturing country, it is more important than ever that these things should be seriously considered by British workers both for their own protection and that of their Indian brothers and sisters. Workers, whether Indian or otherwise, who have been able to exist somehow on a mere pittance in a leisurely state of existence cannot have the stamina to survive the driving wear and tear of modern factory life on their old starvation basis.

The following petition presented to Mr. Montagu by an Indian society, but not mentioned in his Report, graphically reveals the unfortunate position of the Indian working-class. The petition has been supplied to us by the Workers' Welfare League of India. British workers, if you do not aid the Indian workers to raise themselves from their state of heavy oppression, you may shortly find their labour power used to oppress you!

## THE KAMGAR HITAWARDHAK SABHA.

*An Association for watching the interests of Indian Working-men.*

"KESHAVALAYA," DADAR,
*Bombay, 12th November*, 1917.

To the Right Honourable
EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGU, M.P.,
*His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.*

SIR,—On behalf of the "Kamgar Hitavardhak Sabha," an Institution for watching the interests of the working-men classes in this city, we have the honour to submit the following representations bearing on the general wants and grievances of the working-men classes, and to beg that they may receive your favourable consideration.

2. The Sabha is composed mainly of textile operatives in the city, and it has from time to time come forward to ventilate the grievances of the mill hands. The Sabha gave what support it could to Government, counteracting the strong opposition of the capitalists in the press and in Council Halls, when the Indian Factory Law was amended in 1912 and limitation of working hours was introduced in mills and factories. We believe our humble efforts in that direction at the time were appreciated by the authorities.

3. The total number of operatives in the Bombay Presidency is about 290,618 of which about 162,343 find employment in the 174 mills and factories in Bombay city.

4. Judging from figures available in blue books for the previous years no perceptible rise in the wages of these operatives is apparent whereas the prices of food stuffs as well as house rents have gone up by leaps and bounds.

5. The following, the Sabha submits, are briefly matters which vitally affect the working-men classes and which call for enquiry at the hands of Government, viz. :—

(*a*) Housing and sanitation;
(*b*) Inequitable rules and regulations in mills, such as holding of men's wages in arrears and their forfeiture;
(*c*) Medical help;
(*d*) Legislation for compensation in case of accidents;
(*e*) Free education of factory boys;
(*f*) Reduction of working hours;
(*g*) Need of Indian Factory Inspectors;
(*h*) Representation in Municipal bodies and Legislative Councils.

6. In connection with the housing problem the mill hands of Bombay submitted a few years back representations to the Mill Owners' Association and the City Improvement Trust, asking these bodies to construct cheap dwellings with recreation facilities in the vicinity of mills and factories in order to relieve the hard pressed, indebted, and resourceless men from the exhorbitant demands of landlords. Since then several appeals have been made but in vain.

7. Most arbitrary and one-sided rules, solely in the interests of the employers, and such as we believe have not been heard of anywhere, continue in force in our cotton mills; these inequitable rules call for an early and thorough enquiry.

8. The system of keeping back six weeks' wages in order to have a tight hold on the men, results in their loss of independence and in their meek submission to arbitrary conditions; the men put up with the oppression rather than lose their slender earnings. In plague times the Sabha has known of many pitiable instances in which the operatives have sacrificed their meagre earnings by flight to their villages rather than face death. The economic effect of this, the Sabha submits, is highly injurious to the men and the poor illiterate workers are driven to greater improvidence by seeking the help of money-lenders. Very few mill owners show any interest in this respect and no systematic efforts have been put forth to prevent their chronic indebtedness by starting co-operative banks for them.

9. The total amount of unclaimed and forfeited wages in our textile mills, taking a moderate estimate of say Rs.2000 per mill, comes approximately to the enormous sum of Rs. 174,000 annually for the 87 mills of the city. If the mill owners had any sympathy for their employees they could do much good from this hoard of confiscated money—the hard earned wages of sweated workers. The natural reluctance of mill authorities to volunteer information to Government officials about the internal working of mills and factories makes the Sabha apprehend that the figures above named are considerably under-estimated. In this respect, so far back as the year 1911, the Honourable Mr. John Ward, M.P., asking Your Honour in the House of Commons, made an unsuccessful effort at getting a return of forfeited and lapsed wages of mill employees.

10. Cotton mills in the city have no full time doctors maintained on the mill premises as in Bengal. General medical relief now given is more or less very perfunctory. The total number of accidents in mills and factories is increasing and there is great need of legislation in the interests of the working men such as Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Acts. In case of accidents no ambulances and first-aid appliances are available and all appeals made by Factory Inspectors for their provision have been made to deaf ears.

11. There is a systematic indifference on the part of employers in the matter of free education of factory children. Model Primary schools maintained by mill owners are badly needed within mill-compounds and in mill hand colonies, where the children could be fed and provided with books and clothing.

12. The climatic effect of working inside the mills on the operatives—mostly drafted from agricultural districts—tends to shorten their lives and they cannot stand comparison with the healthy lives led by out-door unskilled labourers who enjoy greater freedom of movement in open light and fresh air. The Sabha has come across very rare cases of mill hands reaching old age. Complaints are frequently heard among mill hands that they can see the cheerful faces of their children only once a week, that is when the mills are not working. The men leave early in the morning when their little ones are in bed and before they return home from work after lamp-light the children are fast asleep. In this respect the lot of mechanics and artificers working in Government, Railway and private workshops is better, in that they work from 8 to 9 hours and enjoy greater leisure. The shortening of working hours from 14 to 12 under the present Factory Act has in no way affected the wages of mill hands who are paid according to the actual work turned out. The Sabha is sanguine that even a further reduction in the hours of work will not hamper production but on the contrary add to the efficiency of workers, which would be a blessing in disguise to employers of mill labour who insist upon efficiency.

13. Under the present system of Factory inspection by a staff of European Inspectors without the help of experienced Indians more in touch with the workers, the Sabha submits, it is not possible to carry on inspection thoroughly and to grasp first-hand the grievances of mill hands where the requirements of the Act are evaded. The Sabha respectfully begs to point out the necessity of appointing a certain number of Indians, who have gained experience in mills and factories, as factory inspectors.

14. So far all representation on Municipal Boards, Legislative Councils and other Political Bodies in the interests of the working-classes has been by capitalists themselves, whose interests naturally clash with those of their employees. The helpless working man thus, without a voice in the administration of the country, has to compete with the capitalist class advanced and up-to-date in every method which their compeers in the West follow. In these circumstances the Sabha begs leave respectfully to suggest that in the consideration of any scheme of administrative reform the claims of the voiceless working-class population in the matter of representation may not be overlooked. It is, the Sabha submits, high time that some facilities were given to the labouring class of this country, so as to enable them to send representatives—men elected by themselves.

15. In conclusion the Sabha would pointedly refer to the illiteracy of the working classes who through ignorance are unable to organise measures for self protection and for the amelioration of their condition: for these compulsory education is, it is humbly submitted, a *sine qua non*.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servants,
H. A. TALCHERKAR,
S. K. BOLE,
S. M. PATIL,
*Hon. Secretaries,*
The "Kamgar Hitawardhak Sabha."

## INDIAN "LABOUR" CANDIDATES.

Indian Socialists, both in this country and in India, are anxious lest the British Labour movement should be used by Indian capitalist politicians to forward the setting up of governmental machinery in India, which, though it may be ostensibly tending towards Home Rule will give as its main product, greater power to Indian and Anglo-Indian capitalists to exploit the Indian workers. Some of our Indian friends have called our attention to letters which appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle* from Mr. Joseph Baptista, an Indian barrister visiting this country, who describes Mr. Lloyd George as a "thorough-bred democrat," and seems equally friendly to the policy of Mr. Lloyd George and to that of the Labour party, apparently recognising no distinction between them. Mr. Baptista wrote :—

"Personally I can easily get a constituency and in a Labour constituency I am fairly confident I can succeed. Mr. Lansbury and I are going to see Mr. Henderson to arrange for at least two seats.... I shall stand for one at all costs. The election expenses will not exceed £2,000. including not strictly election expenses. I shall rely on you to find the sum for me. Then as to the future sums, I require altogether one lakh (£6,666) including the £2,000 to keep things going in Bombay and here for four or five years. By that time I shall.... stand on my own legs here."

Our Indian Socialist friends declare that men like Mr. Baptista neither understand nor sympathise with the ideals of the Labour movement and are not fitted to represent the workers either of Britain or India whose cause is one. When the Czar dissolved the first Duma Professor Paul Miliukoff came to this country as a Revolutionary; to-day it is clear that though opposed to the Czardom he is a capitalist-imperialist of pronouncedly anti-socialist type. So, our Indian friends declare, it is with many of the Indian "Home Rulers." The Indian Socialists desire to establish a close solidarity not between the British worker and the Indian Prince and capitalist, but between the workers in Britain and India.

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## REVIEW.

'Songs of Freedom,' price 3*d.*, and 'The New Evangel,' price 2*d.*, by the late James Connolly, have been sent to us by the Socialist Party of Ireland, Liberty Hall, Dublin. From the first of these we take the following extract :—

BE MODERATE.

Be moderate," the timorous cry,
Who dread the tyrant's thunder,
"You ask too much, and people fly
From you aghast in wonder."
'Tis passing strange, and I declare
Such statements cause me mirth,
For our demands most moderate are,
We only want *The Earth*.

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### MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT.

(Continued from page 1072.)

of British democracy without an open challenge from British workers?

The rights of the majority are sometimes substituted by a benevolent despotism, but in the Report we do not find mention of any benevolence. The majorities are mentioned as existing, their happiness and contentment are taken for granted under a set of highly-paid foreign officials, who hardly understand the people's language, who do not condescend to live in the same part of the village or town with them, and through lack of proper appreciation, who openly calumniate the religious and caste systems of the Indians and their social and matrimonial customs, all of which have some points yet to teach to Christianity, European civilisation, and English class snobbery.

We are asked to take for granted that these majorities are politically impotent and unwilling to exercise any control over their executive officers. Yet, curiously, all patriotic Indians who desire to go among these majorities are said to possess no political instincts; all Indians who endeavour to consolidate the opinions of their countrymen and to give publicity to their sufferings are called extremists, whom we should condemn and suppress as criminal agitators. The majorities comprise vast groups of human beings. Let us convert all figures on p. 110, cl. 133, from percentages to actual numbers, and let us take India, British-ruled and nominally native-ruled, as one for purposes of people's rights. We shall find approximately 25 million living in towns, as against 29 millions in England and Wales, with a voting force of about 10 millions. Shall there be, say, 8 million voters among the urban populations all over India? There is a rural agriculturist population of 250 millions, and an industrial workers population of 38 millions, and domestic servants population of 6 millions. What representation does the Report propose to give to these 44 million workers and 250 million peasants?

### INDIAN SUGGESTIONS SET ASIDE.

Montagu and Chelmsford spend India's money in giving lengthy publicity to their own opinions, but they make scant reference to the views submitted by popular bodies. On p. 197 and p. 198, cl. 244, we are told that proposals for divisional councils are rejected, but we are not given the proposals because, say the authors of the Report, "We found at the outset weighty reasons for rejecting them." Thus Montagu and Chelmsford, disliking the proposals made by Indians in a Report of 300 pp., do not think it necessary to make the proposals public! One of these petitions sent in by an Indian Association for watching the interests of Indian workers we publish in an adjoining column. We are told that the proposed plan "would not satisfy *political needs*," and "would also have the effect of very largely depriving those who had had some experience of political matters and whose life is spent in the provincial capitals of many opportunities of effective political work." Thus the large majorities working under a system of economic enslavement are to be deprived of all opportunities in order to preserve the monopoly right of the city capitalist and the professional politician, carefully selected from the reasonable crowd that will readily condemn "extremist" criticism of Government methods, so that another Montagu may still be enabled to repeat in 1958:—

P. 215, cl. 265.—"So long as the people of India were content to leave their government in official hands, the system was well devised to the needs of the country, and was directed with astonishing zeal and success to beneficient ends."

The Decentralisation Commission, quoted on p. 41, cl. 45, of the Report, describes the capitalist position of the Government of India as a huge landlord and commercial magnet owning canals, railways, banks, &c. The Government is the largest employer of labour. But there is no proposal for Labour's amelioration from its most wretched plight of wages, hours of work, practical absence of housing and furniture that can be described as a home, deprivation of all benefits of sanitation and education. The eight Executive Councils are to have no Labour secretary, the eight ministries are to have no Labour Minister, the Councils are to have no Labour representatives, the Franchise Committee is to have no Labour member, and it is taken for granted to give no franchise to Labour, and to consider votes for them as an absurdity. Mr. Montagu, when on his mission, took with him a member of the House of Lords, and a member of the capitalist Liberal Party, took no one from the British Trade Unionist and Labour Party. As a consequence, the Report contains many meaningless platitudes. On pp. 268-9, cl. 338-9, we are told that an Industrial Commission is now sitting—without any Labour Party representative on it—which will advise the Government on "the extent and form of State assistance" to Indian industries, "with due reference to *Imperial* interests," but without any reference to the interests of united British and Indian workers.

"Conditions are ripe for the development of new and for the revival of old industries on *European* lines, &c." Not a word of organising, legislating for, and paying Indian Labour on European lines! "Although labour is plentiful, education is needed to inculcate a higher standard of living." There is no suggestion that the Indian worker shall have sufficient wages and proper factory legislation, an 8 hours day, or proper housing and medical facilities; he is to wait to improve his standard of living till his masters agree to pay more taxes and give him education, which for the last hundred and fifty years they have not found it convenient to do. In reply to Mr. King in the House of Commons, we were informed, not very long ago, that education cannot be spread freely in India all at once, as the question is mixed up with important political and Imperial considerations!

Here is another gem:—

"Labour, though abundant, is handicapped by still pursuing uneconomical methods, and its output would be greatly *increased by the extended use* to machinery."

Even Lord Leverhulme should now support the British trade unionists' contention that the output of Oriental labour would be extended by less fatigue and better feeding, that is to say, by immediately legislating for proper wages and short time.

The postmen in Mr. Montagu's service, who were on strike during his visit to India, were put down with the assistance of the Government's European servants. All services under him employ millions of human beings on 5*s.* to 8*s.* per week, that, too, paid at the end of each month. The Report contains not a word upon this.

### IMPROVED PAY FOR ANGLO-INDIANS.

But there are elaborate chapters (cl. 318, 319, 320, 321, 322) on improvement of conditions, pay, pensions, leave, and expatriation allowance for European servants, who are now paid by hundreds and by thousands of pounds yearly. There are actual substantial increases to a service which was notorious as the most highly paid service in the world. The Report says (p. 254, cl. 318) that the real pay of the Services must be brought "to the level which proved attractive twenty years ago." We are told (p. 254, cl. 319) that the old complaints "have been since aggravated by three years of war." Still no such considerations are mentioned in the Report for the most miserably paid service in the world.

### MONEY MYSTERIES.

Not only are increases proposed to the European employees, but, as usual, their right to adopt lawless (or above-the-law methods) is strengthened. The banking law will permit any law-abiding citizen's money to be remitted to England at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* per Indian rupee, but for the European servant in India his pension will be handed to him at the illegal rate of 1*s.* 9*d.* Why not give him an honest, open increase instead of this dodge? Imagine a rule in England as a subterfuge of ministers to increase their own wages, that a one pound note or coin presented by a minister from his salary or pension must be cashed by the public for 26*s.*, instead of the legal and customary 20*s.*

### PRIVILEGED ELECTORATE.

Now let us see how the rights of the minorities are to be "safeguarded" and "guaranteed." They are to have a voice from the beginning in everything. The Franchise Committee and other Committees are to be composed purely of this class. All councils are to be filled by their representatives. And who are these poor helpless minorities?—

P. 189, cl. 232.—"The general European community, whose material interests in the country are out of all proportion to their numerical strength."

Why not nominate a few non-elected members in our House of Commons from among our alien traders, like Russians, Turks, Germans, Japanese, &c., who reside here to control special financial interests out of proportion to their number?

"Special electorates will no doubt be required for the representation of the planting and mining interests, for the Chambers of Commerce, and possibly also for the Universities.... Where the great landowners form a distinct class in any province we think that there will be a case for giving them an electorate of their own."

The rights and privileges of all services are to be increased and strengthened. The people of India are groaning under the yoke of their "Servants," because these servants are not controlled by the people, but come out from outside to rule over a helpless people who are denied a word as regards their functions, salaries, qualifications, and ill-manners. This bare-faced position is now upheld as a great virtue of the European Service. A further huge deception is being attempted. As the new system is a pretence at democratic control by elected representatives, the European servants are to be all the more necessary and powerful to be able to train the people. Now it is a notorious fact that the Indian Civil Service man comes out from his University into a position where all his life he has not to submit to a single election, municipal or parliamentary. In very rare cases a Governor or Viceroy has had experience of election in the Lower House. But the bulk of Governors and 100 per cent of the European servants in India have not only no experience of franchise, elections, and administration controlled by people's representatives, but they have the greatest contempt for such systems. Some Indian friends have suggested to us that all Governors and principal heads of districts should be elected by the people of India from, say, members of the House of Commons, according to their career and attitude towards India in the British House. This, they think, would stimulate the zeal of English M.P.s regarding their parliamentary duty to India. They also suggest that there should be present in the House of Commons at least one Indian representative of each province in India, and that this committee of Indian M.P.s should have an advisory place on the Indian Council.

We do not ourselves expect much from this suggestion. We have less faith in Parliament and its members than have our Indian friends. We advise Indians to work to secure that all Indian administrators should be chosen by the Indian people and we would point out that whilst there is a good case for giving Indians the power to send representatives to the British Parliament, so long as the British Parliament governs India, yet the Irish have not found the sending of representatives to Westminster the solution of their discontents.

### "UNTOUCHABLES."

The Report greatly praises the British official, as well as the merchant and his offshoot, the Eurasian. The Indian Service is always admired by its members and those who select them and maintain them. By the Indian people over whom they rule, they are subject, we are told, to "vehement and *sometimes* malignant abuse." There is no impartial investigation of this difference of opinion. We are told of the Hindoo Brahmin creating "untouchables"; but the Report is silent regarding the appropriation by Europeans of public lands and donations for exclusive clubs and hospitals, where the most respectable Indian has no entrance, even as a visitor. Nothing is said of the high-handed manner in which the European enjoys the right in public railways of travelling separately from the "untouchable" Indian. The European commands reserved seats in churches and even in cemeteries apart from Indian Christian converts. The Report does not tell us how the European foreman drives his coolie subordinates in public services, in factories, mines, &c.

### THE NATIVE PRINCES.

In conclusion we must point out that the native princes are described as being "under British protection." Are the British people to continue to maintain reactionary Rajas and to protect them against their own People? These princes treat their State Revenues as private and personal revenues, spending them lavishly on palaces, pleasures, and entertaining and on giving presents to the British officials. Indian Rajas are not compelled by a legislative body to confine themselves to a civil list as British kings are obliged to do. Indian institutions have been, as it were, crystallised during a hundred years of British rule; they have not progressed and changed like the governmental forms in countries where the people are free to work out their own destiny. If the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were a genuine Reform document it would at least hand over the revenues of the States governed by Indian Princes to a Council of the people; leaving that Council to allow what it thought proper to the ruler, so long as the people might choose to maintain him.

### SELF-DETERMINATION.

We wonder why Mr. Montagu chose an Inspector General of Police to draft a charter of people's liberties. The old idea was to place such drafting in the hands of a jurist or Parliamentarian. The new idea is to leave it to representatives of the people—the workers in the fields and factories and the homes.

The British Constitution is itself already out of date; America, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and the overseas dominions long ago improved on it. The Russian Soviet system has cast all previous attempts at democratic constitutions into the shade. In setting up a new constitution for India the least that can be expected of British politicians is that they should offer the most democratic form of government that they know and understand. The constitution suggested in Mr. Montagu's Report is far from conforming to this principle.

### RESOLUTION.

*This organisation repudiates the proposals for Indian Government contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which fail to give any genuine measure of self-government to the Indian people, which are essentially anti-democratic not only as between the Indians and the British, but as between Indian and Indian and Anglo-Indian and Anglo-Indian. We demand that the proposals contained in the Report be withdrawn and replaced by a scheme of genuine democratic self-government for India.*



# SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

VI.—Contemporary Austrian Pioneers.

Socialists of every country, writes Emmy Freundlich in one of the issues of *Gleichheit* for November, 1917, have recognised that to exercise a decisive influence upon young people of all ages is of primary importance to the socialist movement. Efforts begun before the war to create socialist schools have been continued during the war. Referring to and commending attempts to give socialist education to those who have left school, she rightly contends that it is eminently desirable to influence children towards socialist thought during the school age, while their minds are plastic. But, she points out, it is not enough to say that socialist parents should educate their children in the socialist sense, for education, socialist education not excepted, is mainly work for specialists. The influences acting upon children in the State schools are by no means of a socialist character, and the writer says that the matter has been further complicated during the war. Owing to circumstances with which we are familiar in England, but which have been far more aggravated in Germany and Austria, owing to the continued rise in prices and to the influx of women into munition and other industries, children have been under-fed and neglected to an increasing extent. The capitalist society of the Central Powers could not look on supinely at this degradation of proletarian youth, at this impairment in the quality of the fighters and workers of the next generation and various attempts have been made to provide a remedy, mostly in the form of institutional education for proletarian children. The results are described as unhappy, as may well be imagined in the case of war emergency measures of this character. But not as a matter of war emergency alone, nay, rather as a permanent aim, we socialists, she insists, must aspire to have our own pedagogics just as we have our own economics. Before we can fulfil this aim, much practical experimental work will be requisite.

Thus far, apart from the quotations made in previous sections, we have given no more than a brief summary of our Austrian comrade's idea. The summary was worth making, even at the cost of some repetition, if only to show that like socialist principles and like economic and political conditions are, even in war-time, leading educational theorists in widely severed countries to enunciate like practical aims. But now that we come to actual achievements we must let Emmy Freundlich speak for herself, so that no one can suggest that we are fitting her facts to our theories. In Austria, she says, there has recently been founded an organisation known as the Friends of Children. It was initiated by a Gratz socialist named Affritsch, and its chief activities have hitherto been carried on in that city and in Vienna, furnishing practical results with which it is eminently desirable that the international proletariat should make itself acquainted. In the autumn of 1916 the Society was reorganised on national lines, and for the guidance of its activities it has formulated principles which sharply distinguish it from capitalist benevolent institutions.

"In the first place," continues the writer, "our constitution insists that the Friends of the Children is not a political organisation. We do not wish to engage in political activities, and yet we wish to create a socialistic educational organisation. This is an apparent contradiction, upon which our opponents fastened before the war, and which they will not be slow to point out once more when the war is over. But no real contradiction is involved. Socialist philosophy is too comprehensive to find its whole expression in the work of a political party, for it aims at the foundation of a new world. It follows that not everything which is socialistic need necessarily be political. If we wish to lay the foundations of an organisation for socialist education, we must inquire what are the main intellectual and moral bases of socialist philosophy. We find that the chief of these bases are the concepts of democracy and solidarity. Freedom and equality are the fundamentals upon which must be upbuilded the economic organisation, the political system, and the ethic of socialism.... How can we secure a practical advance towards the goal of our desires?....

"The Friends of Children is an association of parents. It is not a union of philanthropic individuals who want to take care of other people's children. The parents of the children who have to be cared for must unite, so that union may effect that which is beyond the competence of the individual. The parents themselves must originate the ideas, must determine their form, and must decide how they shall be carried out in practice. For this end they must themselves be educated, just as we workers have to educate ourselves for the tasks of industrial and co-operative organisation and for political activities. This association of parents must resemble an expanded family, consisting of persons who make common cause to enable each to give of his best.

"The educational method we apply is the old and tried proletarian method—the method of joint organisation. The children are united. It matters not whether it is for country excursions, knapsack on back; for afternoons in the playground; for a visit to a museum or a monument: all who go make up a community whose members are endowed with equal rights and have equal duties. All share in the preparations and in the tidying up; to each his appropriate task; everyone has an equal right to the communal belongings. The leaders are nothing more than the bigger comrades; they consult with the rest, and such authority as they possess is based solely upon wider knowledge and greater energy. Discipline is secured solely by organisation and example. With good organisation and good example, the right way of doing things comes as a matter of course.

"To promote the self-discipline of the will we divide the children into groups of ten. Each group elects its own group steward, who is merely responsible for the order of the group and for the satisfaction of its wants; like the shop steward (werkstättenvertrauungsmann), he is a leader freely chosen by the community. Punishments can be inflicted only by the children themselves, as decided in joint sittings. With us this American system has hitherto been applied solely in certain bourgeois educational experiments and in a few kindergartens, but it has remained quite alien to the general character of bourgeois education. Solely in the educational organisation of the proletariat does it find its natural place and its intellectual meaning, for here there exists the necessary spiritual foundation.

"Our methods tend to diverge more and more from those of bourgeois education. An education that recognises no other authority than the unified will of the community, an education that breaks new trail, must aim at awakening new faculties, and cannot continue to employ the ancient methods. Above all, knowledge must be secured by contact with practical life. In so far as we must have recourse to books, we find that there exist as yet few books which help us to build for the child a bridge between what it gains as it were instinctively out of the institutions of our educational organisation, and the philosophy of socialism which lies half concealed in all things. Necessity will create for us the poets and artists we need, and in due course this gap will be filled. At present we can do no more than dimly imagine what the new literature for children will be like. Every epoch has to create its own spiritual and literary embodiments, for children no less than for adults.

"In the organisations of the Friends of Children these new ideas are to an increasing extent being realised. Let me refer to one point as of especial importance. We wish the children to live as little as possible within narrow walls; we wish them for the good alike of their lungs and of their souls to make conquest of the open world, to become acquainted with all that moves and works in the open.

"In so far as is possible the workers must create what is needed for the new educational development, relying upon their own energies and availing themselves of their previous experience in the organisation of self-help. But where these powers do not suffice, where the collaboration of the unions and the co-operatives is not competent for the task, it may be necessary to have recourse for help to the local or central government. With us the workers are gladly endeavouring to do what is requisite, for they wish to provide for the education of their own children. State and municipality already incline to hand over some of the work of education to private organisations, and the working classes wish to play their part here, to receive their share in the grants, provided always that they are given freedom to work along their own lines.

"The fashioning of our children's realm makes vigorous progress, and hundreds of thousands are now receiving at our hands a happy upbringing, are having their health and their wills steeled for the arduous struggles and the great deeds of adult life. Our hope is that throughout the world, wherever the workers are organised, this children's realm may be created."

# WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

### THE BATTLE OF PLUMSTEAD COMMON.

Some weeks ago the Woolwich I.L.P. organised a demonstration at Abbey Wood with Ramsay Macdonald as principal speaker. The patriots of Woolwich, misled by one Stubbs, smashed up the meeting. The Woolwich Trade Unionists and Socialists, determined to maintain the right of free speech, organised a meeting for Saturday, August 31st, to take place on Plumstead Common. The "patriots" organised a counter-demonstration and issued a handbill quite compatible with their intelligence, wherein Stubbs was referred to as the winner of the battle of Abbey Wood. The thing was deliberate incitement to violence and I wonder why it is the authorities have not taken action under D.O.R.A. But then why should one wonder. The capitalist press glory in the "gentlemanly" manner in which the "patriots" demonstrated their love of freedom. And as usual the press freely lied. It was stated that the counter-demonstration was organised by the Local Branch of the Discharged Soldiers and Sailors Federation; whereas that branch took no action at all, as a branch, the opposition being run by a bastard organisation misnamed the Woolwich Workers' Society. It is also stated that the pacifist meeting was broken up by soldiers, whereas it was *not* a pacifist meeting, it was not broken up at all and most of the soldiers present were with the defenders of free speech. As one of the advertised speakers I went along and joined in the procession from Plumstead Common. When we reached the Common we saw the Stubbs crowd on the right and to avoid any direct conflict we turned to the left, and took up a pitch some distance away. The opposition immediately shut down and made their way towards our meeting. But the boys and girls were prepared and locked arms around the platform, whereupon Stubbs took up a position a few yards away. Comrade Jack Sheppard, one of our greatest stalwarts, received a nasty crack on the head and had to be taken away. Jack Mills, the fighting Chairman, had the narrowest escape of his life he has ever experienced. Whilst addressing the meeting a large flint came at him and just grazed his cheekbone. But Jack went on. About 100 silver badged men acted as stewards for us and uniformed soldiers locked arms and protected our platform. Grace Neal and a number of other great and good girls mounted the platform and faced the fusilade of stones, and Tom Rees burst into our meeting to render assistance. Tom received a very cold reception and we do not envy his position. In spite of what the Press says we held our meeting and the opposition got infinitely more than it gave. The quality, courage and determination was all on our side, and I say most emphatically that it is a good thing for Stubbs, Dacre Fox, and the other "lovers of freedom!" that our comrades maintained their coolness, self-possession and self-restraint. I am quite confident that the workers of Woolwich were ashamed, and disgusted with the actions of the patriots and the whole sordid business will react on them and as a direct result the revolutionary movement will be greatly strengthened.

### STRIKE OF LONDON TUBE WORKERS.

On Saturday, August 24th, London was startled by a sudden cessation of work on the part of the Tube workers who demanded that the women should receive the same pay as the men. The strike caused the writer to be too late for work, and falling in with some of the strikers I accompanied them to Chandos Hall where there was a general meeting of those affected. The meeting was splendidly enthusiastic, and both men and women appeared determined to fight to a finish to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work. The difference at present between the wages of the men and women amounts to 12*s.* 6*d.* per week. The question of wounded soldiers being unable to travel was raised and a discharged soldier stated that he and some of his comrades had intimated to the Railway controller their willingness to take out a train from Golder's Green to Charing Cross exclusively for wounded Tommies. The Railway controller refused permission for a train to be used for their benefit.

The Strike Committee went in a body to Unity House and were turned down. They then proceeded to the offices of the Railway Executive where they were met by a lad of 18 who informed the deputation that *he* could do nothing for them. From there a deputation waited upon the Ministry of Labour with the same result.

My view is that no success was gained at all and that although there was an apparent majority in favour of the committee's recommendation to resume work, a very powerful element thought that was premature. The net result is that Thomas will be able to say that he had succeeded in driving the strikers back to work. We shall look for his name in the next list of B.E. "honours?" The only redeeming feature is that the Strike Committee is still in existence, and is considering the setting up of an unofficial committee, analogous to the Workers' Committee, that shall represent all grades and both sexes of workers on the Underground system to work in conjunction with the Bus and Tram workers. We wish the committee success in its efforts.

### £5 A WEEK AND NO OVERTIME.

The workers in the various trades concerned in the Clyde shipbuilding industry are putting forward a united demand for a wage of £5 for a 54-hour week and have decided to cease working overtime. At a meeting of shop stewards in Glasgow on August 10th it was decided by the stewards in 39 yards to 9 to stop all overtime. It was decided to ask the employers to give their decision on the £5 per week by August 24th, but only a formal acknowledgment was received. Other shipbuilding centres are also moving; Barrow has stopped overtime and is demanding £5 per week. Belfast is not content to work a 54-hour week. A meeting was called at the Ulster Hall to consider putting forward a claim for 44 hours, but by a large majority it was decided to work only 40 hours, i.e., 8 hours a day on five days a week.

**Continued on back page.**

# WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

## LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6th.
Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—6.30.P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace and Votes for All in Tottenham.—Meet at 3 and 6.30 P.M. at High Road, Tottenham, corner of West Green Road. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and Mr. Mackinlay.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 a.m.
The Square, Woolwich.—7 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—7 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th.
Grundy Street, Poplar.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M. Miss Price.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th.
Great Push in Hoxton.

INDOOR.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th.
400, Old Ford Road.—4 P.M. At Home.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th.
29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—7.30 P.M., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

PROVINCIAL MEETINGS.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th.
Sheffield, Westbar.—11 A.M., Mr. Goldstein, Mr. Carford.
Sheffield, Rivelin.—3.30 P.M.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

### FEDERATION NOTES.

Mr Herbert Cole has generously given us the plates of Walter Crane's 'First of May,' which was one of his school prizes years ago. Will some generous friends provide frames for them? Herbert Cole has also given some of his own original works to sell in aid of the Ribiero fund. These include 'The Enchantress' and 'The Gift,' lithographs drawn on the stone by Cole himself. 'Nereid and the Sea Serpent,' a pen drawing tinted in water-colour, a line drawing, 'The Pale Cow,' to illustrate an Irish story; 'The Mirror,' an illustration to Shakespeare's Sonnet LXXVII.; a chalk drawing tinted in water-colour, and a chalk drawing, slightly tinted, to illustrate Zangwill's 'Grandchildren of the Ghetto.' We should be glad to receive offers for these charming drawings which will, of course, fall to the fortunate highest bidder!

GENERAL FUND.—Profit on Woodford Outing, £8 11*s.* 11*d.*; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20*s.* weekly), £5; Mrs. M. G. Almond, £2; Anon., £1 0*s.* 4*d.*; Mr. Boris Sarne (card), £1; Mr. F. C. Conybeare, 16*s.* 10*d.*; Profit on Bow Social, 16*s.* 2*d.*; S. Chandler, 10*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. F. G. Tompkins, 5*s.*; Mrs. A. Clarke (Peace), 5*s.*; Miss Birch, 3*s.* 11*d.*; Miss A. Selby, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Fox, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss G. Barnard, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. H. Long, 2*s.* 6*d*; Mr. J. Verstapper, 2*s.*; Miss Lillie Perkins, 1*s.*; per Mrs. Cole, 1*s.* COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £12 11*s.*; Mrs. Walker, £4 0*s.* 3*d.*; Poplar Study Circle, 3*s.* 6*d.*

### SOCIAL WORK

THE MOTHERS' ARMS.

Gifts of clothes and boots and shoes for children of all ages are urgently needed at the Mothers' Arms. Also soft white rags, old sheets, &c. Jam and pickle jars can be made use of. Flowers, plants and branches, eggs and fruit always gratefully received. All parcels to Miss Burgis, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

SOCIAL WORK.—Balance of Palladium Performance, £40 6*s.* 9*d.*; Mr. and Mrs. Sadd Brown, £11; Miss Scott Troy, £5; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver, (45*s.* monthly), £4 10*s.*; Miss Elsie A. Mason, £3; Sale of clothes, £2 15*s.* 3*d.*; Mrs. M. Gibson, £2 2*s.*; Mrs. Boswell (monthly), £2; East London Toy Factory, £2; Misses Gulland, £1 15*s.*; Nurse Hebbes (10*s.* weekly), £1 10*s.*; Mrs. Richmond (10*s.* fortnightly), £1 10*s.*; Mrs. Marion Judson, £1 5*s.*; Mr. Chas. E. Foster, £1 1*s.*; E. J. Cattle, £1 1*s.*; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; per Miss J. E. Weir, £1; Mrs. Neal, £1; Miss Jones, £1; Miss L. Usherwood, 12*s.*; Mr. Surtees, 10*s.* 1*d.*; C. Cottrell, 10*s.*; Misses Barrowman (5*s.* monthly), 10*s.*; Augusta C. Beard, 10*s.*; F. E. Fitt and friends, 10*s.*; Miss W. Turner, 6*s.*; per Miss Bendelsta, 6*s.*; Mrs. Gillies, 5*s.*; D. Wilkie, Esq., (2*s.* 6*d.* monthly), 5*s.*; Miss E. Canning, 5*s.*; Miss Green, 5*s.*; Mr. Thos. Downey, 5*s.*; Mrs. Grieve, 5*s.*; Stratford Branch Amal. Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 5*s.*; Miss Crabb (monthly), 3*s.* 6*d.*; Mollie Newman, 3*s.*; Mr. Stiebel, 3*s.*; Cathleen Shurr, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss M. Prentice, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. E. Shurr, 1*s.* 4*d.*; Mr. R. Cohen, 1*s.*; Mrs. Gull, 1*s.*; per Mrs. Thring, 3*d.* COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £5 3*s.* 3½*d.*; Misses E. and K. Lagsding, T. Barker and J. Watts (Green's Yard and Cubitt Town), £1 13*s.* 4½*d.*; per Nurse Hebbes, 9*s.* 3½*d.*; Nursery Box, 3*s.* 7½*d.*


## REMEMBER THE DATE!

YOU are cordially invited to our RUSSIAN "AT HOME," on Sunday Afternoon, SEPTEMBER 8th, at 4 p.m., in the Hall, 400 Old Ford, Road. E.3.

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Dear Friends of Humanity,—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the state, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late. S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.
[Advt

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### WORKSHOP NOTES.

(Continued from page 1075.)

DAVID KIRKWOOD.

T. G. Spencer, A.S.E., writes expressing the opinion that to refuse to take the vote on the election of A.S.E. Chairman because of the disqualifying of Kirkwood (as suggested in these columns some weeks ago) would be to play into the hands of the Executive. Further were the other candidates to resign it would secure Brownlie's unopposed return. Comrade Spencer suggests that the better way would be to participate in the ballot and to vote for any other candidate than Brownlie. We are not convinced. Quite 100 branches have decided to refrain from voting at all and were the other candidates to shew their disgust by withdrawing the position of J. T. B. and the Executive Committee would be untenable.

EQUAL PAY.

At the National Federation of Women Workers' Conference in Manchester, on August 31st, an executive resolution protested that women are excluded from War Advances made to men, and that the Minister of Munitions discriminates against the women in aircraft, and all wood work formerly done by men. The women 'bus conductors have shown the women in other trades how to get equal pay. We commend their example to Miss MacArthur and her colleagues.

The executive further reaffirmed its demand for four weeks furlough, on full pay, at the close of the war for the workers in trades where there has been excessive overtime; also for "adequate provision" during unemployment, and for "training" with maintenance to equip women who cannot find employment for new trades. These demands need stiffening and defining. What is "adequate provision"? What is "excessive overtime?" How and by whom is "training with maintenance" to be provided? The wisest demands for the workers to make on the question of unemployment seem to us to be that the hours of labour shall be shortened until all workers are absorbed into industry, and that whilst arrangements for the absorbtion are being completed unemployment benefit should be paid, as it now is in Soviet Russia, at the trade union rate of the previous employment, until work can be found at not less than the trade union rate. We advise the Members and Executive of the N.F.W.W. to study the Regulations on Unemployment Insurance adopted by the Russian Soviet Republic, the text of which appeared in our last issue.—S.

2*s.* AN HOUR FOR LEITH.

The Leith A.S.E. is demanding a flat-rate for its members of 2*s*, per hour to include all allowances save overtime, evening overtime to be charged time and a half and double time for Saturday and Sundays. The district officials of the A.S.E. are pushing this demand instead of leaving it to the officials as is usual.

### RIVETTING RECORDS OR WAR WORKERS AT PLAY.

BY A BARROW SHOP STEWARD.

The hooter howled, the usual mid-day hour's respite from our tasks had arrived. I proceeded towards the department where an attempt was being made to break rivetting records, listening the while for the clatter of the "Little Davy" to lead me to the spot. Eventually, I saw a-head of me the figures of workmen who had climbed upon any and every semi-built structure that offered a clear view of the record-breaking farce. I, too, climbed and gazed around.

Within a roped area nine or ten fires glared fiercely. The "potting lads" withdrew their rivets and flung them one by one to the feet of the men engaged in "holding up." These holders-up were on one side of a row of Howitzer firing beams. On the other side was a man alternatively wriggling for a position on his seat and being jerked about by a pneumatic hammer, which he clutched like one possessed of something akin to frenzy. This was the record breaker.

In this individual there was not to be seen the resolute intelligent workman, whose powers of observation and good judgment controlled all his actions; but the mere victim of a craze, a being driven by a mad passion over which he had no control which made him almost as pitiable as the harlot or the drunken sot.

Within the same roped area managers, foremen and naval and military officers were mustered. They reminded me of the street urchins who are to be seen playing round the hobby horses at any town's fair. Delighted smiles fluttered over their countenances as one and another held out his chronometer and timed the driving of some half dozen rivets. Solemn policemen, too, were there, who by virtue of their vowed allegiance to service, are prevailed upon to keep order throughout any farce the authorities may seem fit to devise. There were also works detectives—that grade of man-power whose qualifications are of such magnitude that they can only serve their nation as spies on workmen.

As I grasped the whole situation a feeling of disgust came over me. How could this sordid scene be reconciled with the nation's cry for the greatest utility of its man-power? Here was one man working at tremendous pace, with one eye on a heap of gold, his attendants and guard amounting in number to anything between thirty and forty men. The spectators who had taken up their position around the roped arena must have amounted to many thousands in the course of the day. All neighbouring work that tended to interfere with the making of rivetting records must cease, and thus did Barrow utilise its man-power.

I make bold to say that no director, manager, foreman or workman can claim to be serving the interest of the nation whilst taking active interest in such freakish escapades as making rivetting records.

The number of rivets headed by one man in a given time under such conditions cannot be taken as a deciding factor in estimating the amount of work a man should accomplish in any given time—none but a fool would suggest it. Even to think it is to acknowledge that we are to continue to be mere pawns in any game the capitalist seems fit to play—that the master realising that his horse can go faster will drive him thus. To this I say, No! emphatically, No! You and I, dear reader, are citizens of a great world, which offers great possibilities for our enjoyment. Enjoyment to which we have a sacred right. Once realising this and sinking our own trifling differences, uniting in one purpose the whole working mass of humanity—an end to which even you must play your part—then we shall be able to go forth and claim our own, and when that day comes, records or no records, it will be woe unto the parasite that says us nay. R. F.


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