

MILITARISM
AFTER THE WAR

DR. V. H. RUTHERFORD

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By

DR. V. H. RUTHERFORD

(M.P. FOR BRENTFORD 1906-1910)

AUTHOR OF "COMMONWEALTH OR EMPIRE"

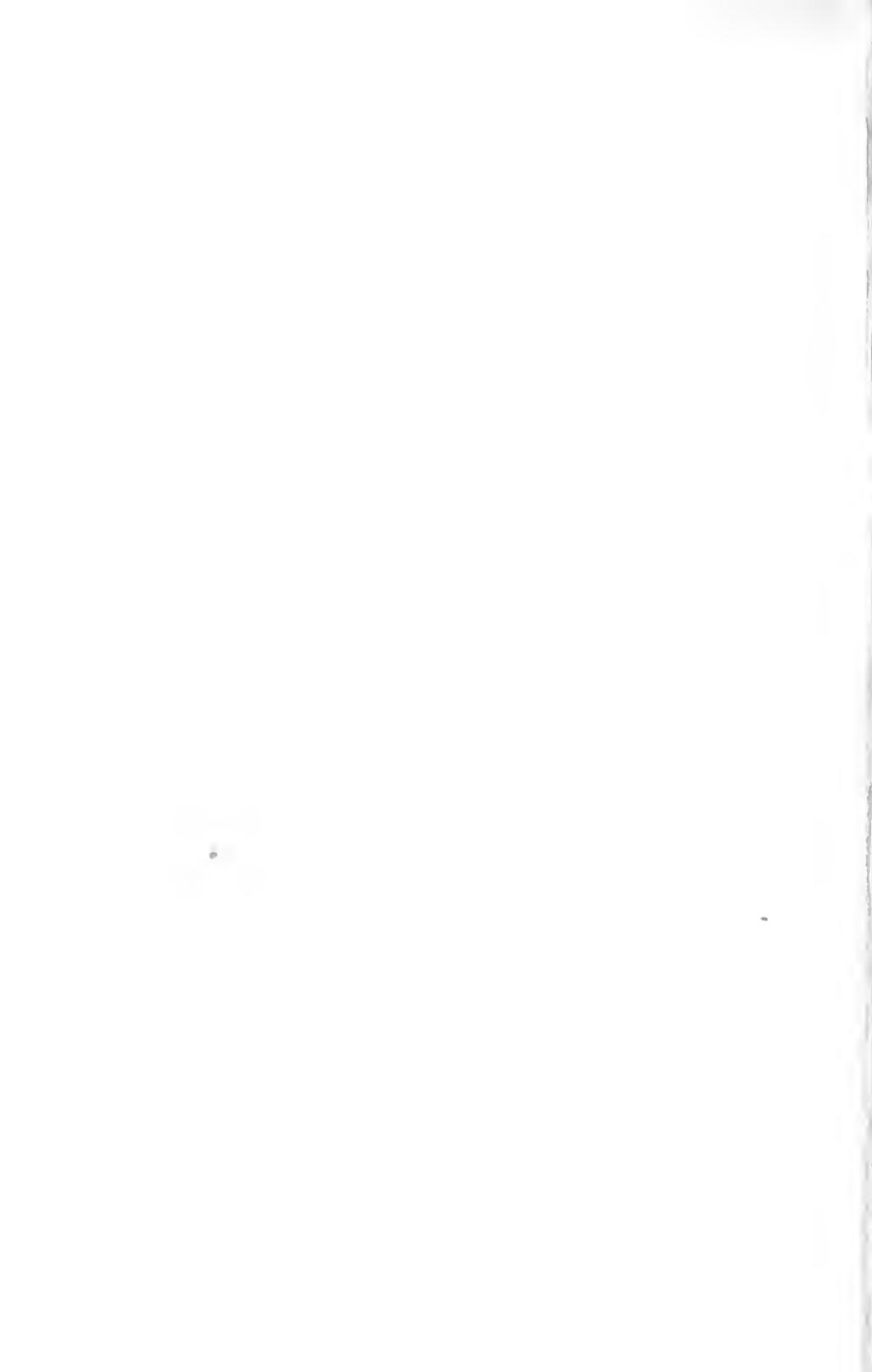
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Militarism After the War

CHAPTER I

THE HOUNDS OF HELL

Now tell us all about the War,
And what they fought each other for.

To the future historian must be left the difficult task of apportioning the balance of criminality for the Great War. Here and now we can only set out the general aims of the Great Powers which inevitably led up to the conflagration of 1914.

Imperialism, which we may define as the ambition to form an Empire by force and Militarism, which may be defined as the machine to make, extend and keep an Empire, have been accepted by statesmen and diplomatists throughout all time as part and parcel of the order of things. In these affairs of "high policy," the peoples have practically never been consulted, and with the exception of a few philosophers and saints the morality of Imperialism

and Militarism has never been called in question until recent days. Mr. Gladstone, for instance, in 1884 said, "If Germany is to become a colonizing Power, all I can say is, God speed her! She becomes our ally and partner in the execution of the great purposes of Providence for the advantage of Mankind." Following in his footsteps, Mr. J. Chamberlain declared, "If foreign nations are determined to pursue distant Colonial enterprises, we have no right to prevent them"; and Sir Edward Grey in 1911, referring to Germany, said, "If it is the wise policy not to go in for great schemes of expansion ourselves, then I think it would be morally and diplomatically wrong to indulge in a dog-in-the-manger policy with regard to others." Behold the great leaders of Liberalism and Toryism giving their blessing and sanction to Imperialism. For Germans to build up an Empire in China and South-West Africa by murdering Chinamen and Africans was "to become an ally and partner" with Great Britain and France "in the execution of the great purposes of Providence for the advantage of Mankind." Had not Great Britain and France built Empires also by murdering Chinamen, Africans, Boers, Moors, Indians and Irishmen, all to the glory of God and for the advantage of Mankind?

Why is German Imperialism now the subject of vilest denunciation and anathema by the successors of Gladstone and Chamberlain and Grey? Why the

quick change, the right-about-face? Because German Imperialism crossed British Imperialism, French Imperialism and Russian Imperialism. As long as Germany was satisfied with acquiring "spots in the sun" outside the preserved precincts of the other Imperial Powers, then all was well. Together they could work hand-in-hand in ripping up China. Separately they could tear Africa to pieces without falling out amongst themselves until Germany felt that she was not getting a fair share of the African spoils, and that her commercial interests were being jeopardized by the greed of England, France and Italy in general, and France in particular. Whether the Great War was nearly precipitated when British Imperialism swallowed the Boer Republics and the Kaiser sent his famous telegram to President Krüger is open to consideration. A few years later, in 1905, when the German Emperor, in a speech at Tangier, challenged the secret Anglo-Franco-Spanish understanding for the partition of Morocco, and again in 1911, when Germany despatched the *Panther* to Agadir to protect her interests there, the European storm almost burst.

Into the history of the sordid struggle for Morocco between competing Imperialism and Capitalism we cannot fully enter here. It forms one of the saddest and most revolting chapters in secret diplomacy and Imperial perfidy. It is faithfully and fully set out by Mr. Morel in *Ten Years of Secret Diplo-*

macy with all its bearings upon the Great War. To put it briefly: Defeated by Germany in the Franco-German War, and forestalled by England in the possession of Egypt and the Suez Canal, France sought fresh fields of expansion and exploitation in Africa and Asia, in which she was encouraged at different times by Bismarck and Lansdowne. Morocco, rich in minerals, lay next to her Algerian Empire, and offered an easy and tempting prey. The long-drawn-out feud between Great Britain and France over Egypt, which nearly broke into war about the Fashoda incident, was composed by the Treaty in 1904, when each contracting party declared that it would not obstruct the action of the other in their respective conquests. At the same time as this public Treaty was made, England entered into a secret arrangement with France and Spain for the partition of Morocco between France and Spain, Spain—as the weaker Power—to take the coast opposite Gibraltar. On the protest of the Kaiser, referred to above, a Conference of the European Powers was held at Algeciras in 1906, and the integrity and independence of Morocco and the economic liberty of all nations in dealing with Morocco was guaranteed by the Act of Algeciras. Then followed financial strangulation, heavy taxation, civil war, and the occupation of Morocco by French and Spanish troops, when Germany made her second protest against the deliberate infraction

of the agreement reached at Algeciras, and demanded compensation from France for the sacrifice of her interests in Morocco. By the Franco-German Convention of November 4, 1911, Germany gave up her interests in Morocco for 107,270 square miles of the French Congo, ceding to France 6,450 square miles of German territory in the Upper Cameroons, whilst France added Morocco to her African Empire, comprising 219,000 square miles and 8,000,000 Moors.

The painful revelations in all these tortuous dealings are, that killing is no murder before the conscience of Imperialism and Capitalism; that the European Powers did not recognize the Public Right of Little Nations in Africa to live, however much they later on professed to believe in the Right of Belgium and Serbia to live; that the spoiling of the Egyptians by England was condoned by the spoiling of the Moors by France and Spain, and the spoiling of both by the spoiling of Tripolitans by Italy, and the spoiling of Egyptians, Moors and Tripolitans by the spoiling of Congolese by Germans; that International Murder—the murder of Little Nations by Big Empires—was no crime, as long as the financial and territorial interests of the Competing Empires were squared.

To those who believe in Divine Retribution, the Great War came as a just punishment upon Europe for her devilry in Africa and Asia, and to teach her that Imperialism was an offence against God

and Man. To Englishmen the patent fact stands out that Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the British Government, of which Mr. Lloyd George was an illustrious member, backed the French Government in its murder of Morocco, and risked plunging Europe into war.

Africa—the Partition of Africa—therefore, was one bone of contention between the Imperial masters of Europe which inevitably led up to Armageddon. “They fought each other for” Africa, for a redistribution of territory there, for markets and for raw materials. As an outcome of the War and the Peace, Germany has lost all her African Colonies, whilst Great Britain and France have enormously extended theirs.

If German lust for dominion had been limited to Africa, one might safely conjecture that an accommodation would have been arrived at with Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, etc., which would have avoided war between them. Unfortunately, Prussia at an earlier date was as badly bitten with Imperial expansion as her neighbours. By force of arms she added unto her territory Western Poland, Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace and Lorraine. The acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine, as fruits of the Franco-German War, was a false step on the part of Germany, which ultimately led to the Great War and her undoing.

Proud France, Imperial France, Economic France

could not accept the permanent loss of these provinces, so rich in mineral wealth, so entwined in national life and sentiment, and so valuable as a military recruiting ground. From the moment that Bismarck snatched these territories from her, her whole heart and mind was set on a war of revenge for their recovery. French Imperial policy in the years between 1871 and 1914, though often diverted by foreign adventure in Africa, Asia and the Pacific Isles, never forgot and always reverted to Alsace and Lorraine. Slowly but surely she built up an Alliance with Russia and an *Entente Cordiale* with England. Alone, she knew that she was no match for Germany. With the Russian steam-roller and the British Navy, she felt that she was more than a match for her enemy. Perhaps her African acquisitions were also made with an eye to raising native troops with which to win back her lost provinces.

Hemmed in on all sides, on land by France and Russia, and at sea by Great Britain, Germany on her part made Alliances with Austria and Italy. Thus Europe was divided into two armed camps, and war became only a question of time and opportunity, although German diplomacy worked incessantly to break down the Franco-Russian Alliance.

So far as France was concerned, *la pièce de résistance*, the chief work, the crowning object of the War, was Alsace and Lorraine. In the Great War

they fought each other for Alsace and Lorraine. If there had been no coal and iron there, the Capitalists would have done their best to prevent the War, for Capitalism knows no country, not even its own, and national sentiment leaves it cold.

Coal as a goal in the Great War is slowly coming to light. Both German Capitalists and French Capitalists wanted more coal and iron than Nature had bestowed upon their respective countries. The coal-fields of the North of France and of Belgium became part of the war-aims of Germany under the all-powerful influence of German Big Business, whilst French Capitalism coveted their neighbours' coal and iron pits, and made M. Poincaré inscribe them in the Secret Treaty of 1917 with Russia as part of the spoils of war. They were beautifully included under the title of "Natural Frontier," which would cover the coal of the Saar and Ruhr Valleys and the iron of Lorraine.

In the negotiations with Germany about the Indemnity, France made no secret of her aims. Her policy was to raise the Indemnity beyond the capacity of Germany to pay, so that the "sanctions" of the Treaty of Versailles should come into operation and French troops should occupy the Ruhr Valley, and French Capitalism should exploit the Westphalian coal-mines, probably to the point of their exhaustion.

Coal also formed a powerful inducement in Poland's

seizure of Upper Silesia in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles and in defiance of the Allies, who had made so many sacrifices for her emancipation. In this Polish coup the connivance of the French Government was patent, its object being to rob Germany of Silesian coal, zinc and iron mines, and to hand them over to Poland, who would exploit them with the aid of French Capital.

Besides African Colonies with their rich stores of raw materials, and Alsace and Lorraine with their vast accumulations of mineral wealth, what else did they fight each other for?

Into all the megalomaniac schemes of German Imperialists one cannot go. Whether they had visions of an Empire stretching from Antwerp to Calcutta and Sumatra is idle to discuss. Whether India was the real goal of Pan-German ambition is purely speculative. India has always been the Italy of Asia, the cynosure of Imperial eyes, the object of rhythmic invasion. Imperialists, like moths, have always been caught by the glare of India. British and French Imperialists fought for the Star of the East, when Britain won. Napoleon, nevertheless, revived French hopes of an Indian Empire, and got as far as Egypt and Palestine. Baulked in India, French Imperialism turned to Siam, for which war between France and England trembled in the balance in Rosebery's time. How often Great Britain and Russia have been on the brink

of war for India is recorded in history. We only mention these things to illuminate the common aims and ambitions of the European Powers, and to express no surprise if Germany was tempted as well as the others.

What we are certain of is that Germany wanted Mesopotamia with a "corridor" leading from her own confines through Constantinople to Baghdad and then, according to Lord Curzon, on to Persia and India. Great Britain and France also wanted Mesopotamia and other ill-considered trifles like Cilicia, Syria, Palestine and Persia, while Russia was intent on Constantinople, for which she had fought before and was prepared to fight again, as well as for choice bits of Asia Minor.

These four Great Powers, Germany (with Austria as her brilliant second), Britain, France and Russia (with Serbia as her spear-head), like vultures, had been sitting round the bedside of "the sick man of Europe"—the Turkish Empire—for a long time impatiently awaiting his death, and, whenever occasion occurred, picking off bits of his foul and superfluous flesh just to whet their insatiable appetites. Great Britain, Austria and Russia had been particularly attentive in this respect, Egypt and Cyprus falling into the mouth of the first Power, Bosnia and Herzegovina into that of Austria, and Roumelia and large parts of Macedonia into Bulgaria. Tired of waiting and unable to restrain themselves any

longer, they pounced upon each other in mortal combat "according to plan," converting this fair earth into a bloody cockpit of which even his Satanic Majesty might well be ashamed.

The Secret Treaties between Great Britain, France and Russia revealed the aims of these Powers in respect of the Ottoman Empire, and the Peace of Paris (Sèvres) reveals how the corpse has been dismembered and distributed amongst them.

The following extracts from the Secret Treaties are the most enlightening: "Now the British Government has given its complete assent in writing to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople within the limits indicated by us, and only demanded security for its economic interests and a similar benevolent attitude on our part towards the political aspirations of England in other parts." According to the above telegram dated March 5, 1915, from the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Russian Ambassador at Paris, England's traditional policy of keeping Russia out of Constantinople was bought off by getting another chunk of Persia as per Memorandum of the Russian Foreign Office (March 4) 1915: "The neutral zone in Persia established by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 is to be included in the English sphere of influence."

According to Memorandum dated February 21 1917, Asiatic Turkey was to be divided as follows:—

“ 1. Russia obtains the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, Bitlis, etc.

“ 2. France obtains the coastal strip of Syria, the Vilayet of Adana, etc.

“ 3. Great Britain obtains the southern part of Mesopotamia with Baghdad, and stipulates for herself in Syria the ports of Haifa and Akka.”

The Treaty of London concluded between Britain, France, Russia and Italy and signed on April 26, 1915, allotted to Italy as her share of the spoils for entering into the War, in addition to the Trentino, Trieste, Istria, Dalmatia, the Dodekanese, Libya in Africa, and the province of Adalia in Asiatic Turkey.

After the Revolution the Russian Soviet Government denounced the Secret Treaties with their immoral and loathsome policy of grab, renounced the great temptation of Constantinople—Tsarist Russia's dream for centuries—renounced all claims to the North Coast of Asia Minor, denounced the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 partitioning Persia, and thereby set a noble example to England, France, Italy and Greece, which these Superior Powers have not hastened to follow, but, on the contrary, have deliberately outraged in the Peace of Paris. Whatever crimes Revolutionary Russia may have committed, she is at least free from the greatest of all crimes, International Murder, of which England, France, Italy and Greece have been guilty in the

Peace of Paris and in the conquest of Turkey and Persia.

Before dealing with the Peace of Paris, the mind is tempted to wander into the groves of contemplation and to wonder at the extraordinary fact that the Turkish Empire, around whose carcass and for whose carcass the European vultures were fighting, should have taken sides in the conflict. Bitter experience and common sense should have dictated to the Sultan and his advisers a policy of strict neutrality, not only of strict neutrality, but of armed neutrality and careful conservation of every energy in order to defend their Empire from the victors, who would in all probability have been too exhausted to assail it. "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad" seems, however, to have repeated itself in the case of the Turkish Government, and now the Turkish Empire is shattered and scattered among the conquerors.

True it is that the Turkish Treaty—"The Treaty of Sèvres"—permits the Sultan to remain in Constantinople, but in reality only as a State prisoner or Puppet of the Western Powers with a gendarmerie under Allied supervision and control, without an Assembly, Constituent or otherwise, without any power of taxation or financial control, which passes into the hands of England, France and Italy, without adequate representation on the International Commission, which in future will govern the Straits,

and without any territory save for a tiny strip round Constantinople up to the Chataldja lines.

Constantinople, the greatest prize, for the possession of which Europe was plunged into war, is now to all intents and purposes part of the British Empire, for it is under the domination of the British Navy and of the Triple Control of England, France and Italy, England being the predominant partner.

European Turkey, including Adrianople and the Bulgarian district of Kirk-Kilissé, passes to Greece and Constantine, whose attitude in the War was so equivocal, while Asiatic Turkey is devoured by Greece (Smyrna), Italy (Adalia), France (Syria) and England (Mesopotamia and Palestine). Mustapha Kemal Pasha with the Turkish Nationalist Party has a precarious hold of Anatolia, and by force of arms is seeking to oust some of these military marauders and to keep the Turkish flag flying.

On January 5, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George said: "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race." Referring to the decision of the Allied Powers to maintain the so-called sovereignty of the Sultan at Constantinople, M. Millerand, the Prime Minister of France, said: "This decision emphasizes their desire to conclude with the Ottoman Empire a just treaty which takes into account the legitimate rights, interests and aspirations of

Turkey—a peace based on the principles of right, liberty and justice for the victory of which the Allies fought.” Behold how the actions—the Turkish Treaty—of these men belie their fair words, and dishonour their respective countries. Behold how many wars and “rebellions” have already arisen out of their derision of “right, liberty and justice” for populations “which are predominantly Turkish in race.”

Lest the writer should be misunderstood and labelled “pro-Turk”—and a label, unfortunately, settles so many questions of right and wrong with too many people—let it be perfectly understood that the great principle for which he contends is that “self-government” should apply equally to Turks and Christians, and that it is wrong—a crime—for Christians to govern by force lands and peoples, “which are predominantly Turkish in race,” and that Nemesis will follow in riots, rebellion and war—as well as in reflex action—farther afield, as we shall see when we speak of India and the relations between Indian Moslem subjects and British Christian overlords.

According to the Turkish Peace Treaty, two new States are recognized in Asiatic Turkey, namely, Armenia and the Hedjaz, about which volumes can be written and will probably be written, exhibiting the cynicism, the insincerity and the callousness of British and French Imperialism and Capitalism.

Next to Belgium, Armenia was the best stalking-horse for Allied propaganda during the War. If German "frightfulness" in Belgium failed to inflame the passions of Allies and Neutrals to white-heat, then the Armenian tap of Turkish atrocities was turned on. America and the world was given to understand that the Allies were fighting to free Belgium and Armenia from the unholy grip of German and Turkish Militarism, and American opinion, slow to move and suspicious of British, French and Tsarist Militarism, was undoubtedly influenced by this propaganda, and America finally came in to save the Allies in general and Armenia and Belgium in particular. What does America and the world see now? Belgium hopelessly tied to the chariot-wheels of French Militarism, and Armenia, tattered and torn, ploughing her lonely furrow of freedom.

Armenia is an "acid test" of Allied policy. It was the only part of the Ottoman Empire unoccupied and unprotected by Allied forces after the Armistice. By the Peace Treaty, Cilicia has been partitioned between Turkey and France, and the indigenous Armenians have been harried by both, thousands being driven from their homes by the French as well as by the Turks, to struggle with cold and famine on the inhospitable mountains.

To President Wilson was left the unenviable task of adjusting Armenia's frontiers and adjudi-

cating territory to her in the Turkish provinces of Bitlis, Erzerum, Trebizond and Van. But the Treaty is so far Armenia's "scrap of paper" tendered to her by the Supreme Council of the Allies, who failed to protect her, and then, coward-like, threw the responsibility of their failure upon the nascent League of Nations.

In reply to this request to undertake the "mandate" for Armenia—a mandate rejected by England and France, who had arrogantly assumed to themselves "mandates" for Syria and Mesopotamia by armed force against the wishes of the inhabitants, while Armenians were crying out for a Mandatory Power to help them—the Council of the League asked the following vital questions: (1) What are the final frontiers of Armenia going to be? (2) What access will she have to the sea? (3) Who will expel the Turkish armies from the New Armenia? (4) What financial guarantees will the Supreme Council of the Allies give to the Mandatory Power, which the League of Nations is prepared to find?

With England, France, Italy and Greece seizing with both hands vast neighbouring territories, the question naturally arises, Why was Armenia neglected and deserted, with none so honest or so brave to do her service? The answer of the late Lord Salisbury was, Because battleships could not be got over Mount Taurus. The real answer comes witheringly back, because the Capitalists of Europe do not

consider Armenia "good business." Armenia may have a soul to save or a contribution to make to the social, spiritual or intellectual life of the world, but what are these to the Imperial Profiteers, who run Empires for profit and not for sentiment? What they want is cotton, copper, coal, gold, oil, rubber, etc., something that will give a handsome return on their money. All else to them is dust on the muckrake, even human life, unless peradventure it can be used as cheap servile labour.

History is replete with the heartless perfidy of Imperialistic Capitalism, but the behaviour of the Supreme Council of the Allies towards martyred Armenia will stand out for all time as the consummation of Capitalistic cruelty.

If this terrible reproach upon the "Big Two"—France and England—entailing as it does that they were either clowns or cowards in the hands of "Big Business," requires further justification, let us examine their conduct towards the Arab Prince, the Emir Feisul. In the destruction of the Ottoman Empire he played an important military and administrative part; his armies fought side by side with the British, and his subjects co-operated with ours in the administration of the newly won territories. As a valuable ally and as an Arab Prince his reward was to have been the acquisition of large Arab territories delivered from Turkish misrule. In other words, the "spoils of war" in

his case were to harmonize with the war-fledged formula, "self-determination," namely, an Arab State for Arabs. But "Not so," said the French Capitalists and Imperialists; "that does not suit our book: we must have all or nothing. Feisul must go and self-determination with him." Accordingly France sent an ultimatum to Prince Feisul, demanding his recognition of (1) France's self-conferred "mandate"; (2) France's occupation of his railways; (3) French paper currency; and without waiting for a reply, so considerate and chivalrous are the dealings of European Powers with weak Eastern Potentates, despatched an army of 80,000 French and negro soldiers to take possession of the Damascus-Beyrout railway. With only 40,000 trained troops at his disposal, Feisul judged discretion to be the better part of valour, gracefully retired into exile and appealed (in vain) for the intervention of the League of Nations; in vain, because the League was under the domination of France and England.

This high-handed action on the part of France disturbed some British Imperialists in the House of Commons. They felt that France had behaved badly to our Ally and that Great Britain had allowed France to break Britain's pledge to King Hussain and to Emir Feisul. They actually raised a debate in Parliament and were saying nasty things about French Imperialism when the freest Assembly in

Christendom accepted without protest the autocratic ruling of the Speaker, that criticism of the policy of an Ally would not be sanctioned. It was on this occasion that Mr. Bonar Law, the Leader of the House, staggered humanity by declaring that England must not complain of France, because France was only doing in Syria what England was doing in Mesopotamia. In other words, Mr. Law confessed that "mandate" was mere camouflage for "conquest"—to deceive the democracies of the world—and that the Governments of Great Britain and France had divided the spoils of war regardless of the pledges given to King Hussain and Prince Feisul, regardless of the public rights of the inhabitants, regardless of the fine principles of self-determination, freedom and independence for which they protested they had waged war, regardless of the active hostility of the Arabs, who hated British and French domination and exploitation only slightly less than Turkish, and regardless of the disastrous consequences their action must have upon the League of Nations and the Peace of the World.

The wrong-doers, the blood-guilty, the "road-hogs"—to use the language of Mr. Lloyd George—of the Garden of Eden are not the Kaiser and the Tsar, but the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France. "For a supreme offence against international morality," according to Article 227 in the Peace of Versailles, the Allies proposed to

arraign the ex-Kaiser. Who is going to arraign Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand "for a supreme offence against international morality"? and for making war upon Arabs, Persians and Turks, and in conducting war against women and children as well as old men, with all the methods of modern barbarism?

What was England doing in Mesopotamia two years after the Great War was ended? Conquering it, occupying it, and holding it with nearly 100,000 troops. But surely the inhabitants regarded our troops as "saviours" and welcomed them with open arms? No! not exactly! for the inhabitants took up arms, mostly rifles, and attacked our soldiers, killing some and wounding others. Since November 1, 1918, to October 1920, the (official) casualties had been:

			Killed.	Wounded.
British soldiers	..	..	83	106
Indian soldiers	..	..	823	2,370
Arab soldiers (estimate)	..	..	2,700 (?)	5,500 (?)

With shame one reads official statements that Arab villages had been subjected to air-raids, so that innocent mothers and babes would be numbered among the killed and wounded. How many God only knows.

In Syria the casualties must have been considerable, for the Syrians have put up an equally good fight against their French invaders, and are still

disputing the occupation of their country by French and negro soldiers.

In passing it is humiliating to be compelled to observe that British and French Militarism in no way differs from German Militarism. All are "baby-killers," all treat pledges as scraps of paper, and all lie to their respective democracies as to the causes, conduct and aims of war.

But what did they kill each other for, far away in Syria and Mesopotamia? The British and French people had no grudge against the people in the Garden of Eden, and certainly no fear of an invasion of England or France by Syrians and Mesopotamians. Syria and Mesopotamia were not competitors with England and France for World Power. There was no possible cause of quarrel whatsoever between these Eastern and Western peoples. Their soldiers had fought alongside of ours in the Great War. No declaration of war had ever passed between their respective Governments, but, on the contrary, the Government of Great Britain had guaranteed "self-government" to the Arab chiefs before they entered the war against Turkey. Then what, in the name of Heaven, did they kill each other for after the Great War was over? Let General Gourand answer. Speaking at Marseilles on French policy in Syria he said, according to *La Democratie Nouvelle*:

"Nous sommes en Syrie pour garantir l'exécution du mandat Français, et nous resterons en

Cilicie tant que l'exécution du Traité de Sèvres l'exigera : nous resterons donc en Syrie parce que si nous n'y étions pas, d'autres y seraient à notre place. Ce serait alors l'éclipse de notre prestige et de notre influence dans la Méditerranée orientale, dans le Levant et tout l'Orient. D'ailleurs, et il faut qu'on le sache en France, *le Syrie est un pays très riche. . . .* Pour résumer d'un mot : *L'affaire payera. Voilà pourquoi nous devons rester en Syrie et pourquoi nous y resterons.*"¹

Hence, according to this distinguished General, French soldiers were in Syria (1) to maintain French "prestige"—blessed word to cover ambition for World Power ; (2) to keep England out ; (3) for profit, because the country was "very rich," and its exploitation would be a "paying affair." Whatever lies the diplomats might tell the people about the Great War, "to make the world safe for democracy," there is no doubt about the truth that General Gourand blurts out that the Little Wars

¹ "We are in Syria to guarantee the execution of the French Mandate and we shall remain in Cilicia as long as the execution of the Treaty of Sèvres demands it ; we shall remain then in Syria, because if we were not there others would be there in our place. That would, therefore, be the eclipse of our prestige and of our influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, in the Levant and all the East. Besides—and it is necessary that one should know it in France—Syria is a very rich country. . . . To sum up in a word : The affair will pay. Behold why we ought to remain in Syria, and why we shall remain there."

in Syria, Mesopotamia, etc., were to make the world safe for Profiteers.

They killed each other far away in the Middle East because the rulers of Great Britain and France were Imperial tricksters and gamblers, and the British and French people their subservient dupes and tools. They killed each other for corn and oil, because the land was flowing with milk and honey and oil. Adam's temptation and fall may or may not be a fairy-tale, but there is no fairy-tale about the temptation and fall of the British and French Governments. Bitten by the Serpent of Capitalism, bitten by lust of Empire, bitten by ambition for World Power, they ate of the forbidden tree, and eating, broke not only the Ten Commandments of Moses, but what is equally important to the people, to Democracy, the Fourteen Points of Wilson.

To what further depths of dishonesty and degradation Imperialistic Capitalism drags a Government and a nation the following answers to questions in the House of Commons reveals:—

THE FUTURE OF MESOPOTAMIA.

October 25, 1920.

Mr. RAPER asked the Prime Minister if His Majesty's Government have yet decided when they propose to fulfil their pledge of granting self-government to the Arabs in Mesopotamia.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE replied that it " appears necessary " to await the recommendations of the new High Commissioner (Sir Percy Cox) " before making a statement as to the next step to be taken to give effect to the fixed policy of His Majesty's Government of setting up an Arab state in Mesopotamia."

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE: Is the arrangement whereby High Commissioners in Mesopotamia are responsible to the Secretary of State for India and to the Government of India to be permanent?

The PRIME MINISTER: I hope not.

Mr. RAPER asked what is the full scope of the powers and instructions given to Sir Percy Cox.

The PRIME MINISTER: Sir Percy Cox was not furnished with precise instructions, but he was given a wide discretion to frame proposals for giving effect as soon as possible to the policy of His Majesty's Government of setting up an Arab State in Mesopotamia.

October 26, 1920.

Mr. ALLEN PARKINSON asked the Secretary of State for War the number of British and Indian troops, respectively, at present operating in Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkey and other Eastern theatres; and what is the approximate monthly cost involved.

Mr. CHURCHILL: The following are the present strengths of British and Indian troops respectively, and the approximate monthly cost in the areas

named : Mesopotamia and North-West Persia, 17,500 British and 83,000 Indian troops ; cost £2,500,000. Constantinople, 11,000 British and 8,000 Indian ; cost £495,000. Egypt, 12,000 British and 14,000 Indian ; cost £265,000. Palestine, 6,500 British and 18,000 Indian ; cost £610,000.

Mr. PARKINSON : Is the number of troops being reduced and the monthly cost in the near future ?

Mr. CHURCHILL : There does not seem to be any chance of any reduction in Mesopotamia for some months to come, as the troops are actively engaged in quenching the rebellion in Mesopotamia and in the disarmament of the tribes which will follow from the suppression of the rebellion, but I hope that in the next financial year the garrisons will be substantially below what they are at present.

Mr. LAMBERT : Does the right hon. gentleman assume that the operations are going on in Mesopotamia for some months to come ?

Mr. CHURCHILL : I think it is highly probable.

Sir W. JOYNSON-HICKS : Does the right hon. gentleman really mean to say that it will take three months of time, money and men to quell a rebellion merely in order to hand the country back ? Surely we might do it at once.

Mr. CHURCHILL : I have heard nothing of the transfer of the country back to the rebels.

One notices in passing the madness of sacrificing

the lives of British and Indian soldiers and of Arabs, as well as of British and Indian and Arab treasure in continuing to occupy and conquer Mesopotamia, when "the fixed policy" is to set up an "Arab State in Mesopotamia." One notices also the profound ignorance of the Minister of War of the policy of the Government of which he is the *enfant terrible*, and that his "certain liveliness" is diametrically opposed to the withdrawal policy of the Government.

The most startling revelation in these answers is that our Imperialists have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing by the lessons of the War. Their psychology is still the same. England's Little Napoleon insolently denounces Arab resistance to British conquest as "rebellion" and Arabs as "rebels." When Germany conquers Belgium she is called a "hog" by her Imperial neighbours, and Belgians who resist her "patriots." Britons who resist the threat of German invasion are called "heroes" in the hour of danger, although a grateful Government and a Capitalistic society forget to treat them as such immediately the danger is past. But Arabs and Irishmen, who are they that they should resist the fatal embrace of British Imperialism and the tender tyranny of British Capitalism? They are "rebels," declares the Lucifer of British Imperialism. Away with them, shoot them, and if you cannot shoot them, bomb their women and children and burn them out of house and home.

“Hath not an Arab eyes? Hath not an Arab hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?”

Mesopotamia has been, or is in process of being, Indianized or Egyptianized with a highly paid service of British Bureaucrats possessing despotic powers, supported by and enforced by British bayonets, paid for by British taxpayers for the benefit of British and French Capitalists. Empire for oil, International Murder for oil, is now the sacred mission of the Christian Powers in the East, who almost fell to blows between themselves, but finally composed their differences by agreeing that a British syndicate should take 75 per cent. of the oil and a French syndicate 25 per cent.

Speaking of oil, M. Briand, the Prime Minister of France, said: “International politics to-day are oil politics”; and M. François Delaisi, in the Paris *Le Petrole* (January 1921), wrote: “There is no doubt that a Lord Cowdray or a Lord Curzon does not act from love of humanity or of his race. These same chiefs, who risk their repose or their fortunes for a dream of impersonal grandeur, are capable of allowing the men who work in their factories or

on their boats to die of consumption or of drink in the slums of Liverpool or Glasgow. . . . For the success of their vast design they are capable of fomenting revolution in Mexico, of sowing civil war in Asia, and in order to crush a competitor, to set fire to Europe or the world. From this point of view their Imperialism is a universal danger."

The Government of the United States of America (both the Wilson and Harding Administration) has sent Notes to the Allies specifically dealing with oil and cables, the latest Note (April 1921) being in the following terms:—

" 1. America protests against the San Remo agreement between France and Britain for the division of Mesopotamia in oil supplies.

" 2. The United States takes the standpoint that Yap should not be included in the Japanese mandate over the former German islands north of the Equator."

Oh come! all ye soldiers, and reason together! Was it for this that you volunteered or were conscripted? Was it for this that you left all and followed the British flag?—that for two years after the Great War to destroy Prussian Militarism you should be the cruel instruments of British Militarism in Mesopotamia, that you should wade through fields of blood to Empire, that you should be the catspaw of Capitalism in search of oil wells?

If only "the dead" could speak!—"the brave who are no more!" the "unknown warriors"

who went forth in a spirit of exaltation to fight Freedom's battle and to make an end of war and conquest. What would they say? "By the living God, you mock us, and though you raise a Cenotaph to our memory and garland it with flowers and tears, your rulers have hardened their hearts like Pharaoh and turned our Golgotha into a valley of dry bones!"

Oh come! all ye taxpayers, and reason together! Why are you paying through the nose in taxes? Before the war taxation per head of the population was £3 10s.; in 1920 it is £21 6s. Why are you suffering from financial anæmia with all its attendant evils? Why are you threatened with pernicious anæmia and national insolvency? Because the Coalition Government without a "mandate," without your sanction, has squandered vast millions in Mesopotamia, Russia, and Ireland, on Imperialistic Capitalism run mad. Confining ourselves to Mesopotamia, the Government has sunk huge sums in mining, land, and in building cantonments. From a purely speculative point of view, how many taxpayers stand to get any return on this expenditure, or any jobs for themselves or their children? Is it not all a bloody gamble for a handful of Profiteers? By peaceful persuasion and ordinary trade methods, could not the potentialities of Mesopotamia in oil and corn be secured for the world's needs?

Oh come! all ye workmen out of employment,

and ye ex-Service men, who cannot get a job and for whom jobs were to be kept open! Reason together! Why is there slackness of trade and unemployment? Because, in addition to the waste of national resources in riotous living at home and abroad, a Capitalistic Government has occupied the years after the Peace in killing Russians, Arabs, Turks, Irishmen, etc., who, living and in peace, would have kept you busy making clothes, cutlery, boots, agricultural implements, railway engines and carriages, etc., which they would willingly have exchanged for cotton, corn and oil. Dead men do not give much employment to anybody but gravediggers, and very little to them.

Oh come! all ye workers of all nations, and reason together! Did you know that you were killing each other to reduce each other's wages, to reduce real wages all round? that Englishmen and Frenchmen were shooting Germans and Arabs, and Germans and Arabs were shooting Englishmen and Indians and Frenchmen, for the sport of Capitalism? that one of the inevitable fruits of war would be reduction in real wages as well as unemployment? Behold millions of workers on short time and millions more out of work, standing in long queues outside labour bureaus in all countries, victorious and vanquished, while their families starve at home! Why? Because of the War, with its destruction of life, with its destruction of property, with its damage to vast

territories, with the soil uncultivated and imperfectly cultivated for years without man-power and without fertilizers, with capital destroyed and credit undermined, with trade and industry—national and international—handicapped all round. Because of the Blockade during and after the War, which reduced the foodstuffs of our enemies, reducing thereby their vital capacity as workers to work; which prevented the raw materials of industry entering enemy territories, preventing thereby recovery of industry as well as of man-power. Because of the Peace, which by its exactions and severity further trammelled German industry and practically ruined Austria. Because the War, the Blockade and the “Peace of Paris” together hit industry and reduced real wages in Germany.

Now mark the consequences. British Capitalists with tears in their eyes come along to British Labour and say, “As we cannot compete against cheap German Labour, we are compelled to lower your wages.” When will the workers learn that the injury of German Labour is the injury of British Labour? that Labour all the world over stands or falls together? Oh! ye workers of the world! Would it not be better to unite and slay your hereditary enemies, Capitalism and Militarism, than to impoverish, starve, enslave and slay each other?

Oh come! all ye members of the Council of Action! What wait ye for? To stop a war with Russia

you were prepared to declare a General Strike, which might or might not lead to Civil War, depending largely upon whether the Government of Little Napoleons and Big Business used the soldiers as blacklegs and strike-breakers. Reason together! What difference in international immorality is there between waging war against Arabs for oil wells or Russians for dividends? or against Irishmen for God only knows what? Why not strike to stop British and Indian soldiers from killing and being killed in Mesopotamia, and for British soldiers and police from murdering and being murdered in Ireland? Have the courage of your convictions. If it is justifiable—the writer thinks it is—to down tools to stop a murderous war against Soviet Russia, which is as fully capable of hitting back as the Bullies of Europe, is it not much more justifiable to down tools on behalf of weak Arab tribes and the brutally treated Cinderella of the British Empire, who can only feebly retaliate?

In the annals of History your sacrifices for the weak should be counted unto you for righteousness, more noble and more praiseworthy than similar sacrifices for the strong. Future generations would acclaim your action as disinterested and epoch-making, for you would have dealt a knock-out blow—one almost fears to use the language of blatant Imperialism—to the twin dragons of Capitalism and Imperialism. Your action would be sanctified by

proving that Internationalism—the Brotherhood of Man—is higher than Nationalism—the Selfishness of Man. Your exalted action would open the door of a New World—the Co-operative Commonwealth—in which Capitalism and Imperialism would be treated as the Enemies of Man.

Oh come! all ye citizens of Great Britain, and reason together! What shall it profit a nation if it gain the whole world and lose its own soul? Is the Soul of England not in danger? As a nation has not the Devil taken us up into a high mountain and tempted us with World Power? by which sin Germany fell, the Napoleonic Empire fell, the Spanish Empire, the Turkish Empire, etc.? Shall the British Empire not fall too? God made the nations and man made the Empires. Is the good work of God for ever to be interrupted and mocked by the arrogance of man?

Oh come! all ye bishops and archbishops and clergymen and ministers of all denominations, and reason together! You work and pray for a spiritual revival. You lament the indifference of the people to religion. You behold Mars, Mammon and Bacchus as the gods most in favour since the God of Love was buried in a shell-hole somewhere in Flanders. You have seen Christianity and Civilization dashed to pieces in the Falls of War and in the Rapids of Reaction. How far you are responsible for the general debacle is a matter between you and your

conscience. One thing you do not seem to see is that the Law of Environment makes vain all your efforts to save the Soul of England. Great Britain is in the iron grip of Imperialism and Capitalism, which deny and outrage the God of Bethlehem, and which use religion and missions as cloaks for their evil deeds. When the Church denounces these systems as inimical to God and Man, then it will have found its *métier*, then it will begin to live and move and have its being, then the Sermon on the Mount will ripen into clean personal and national living, into Peace and Goodwill to men.

When one employs the expression "Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia," one ought to differentiate between the peoples and their rulers. To suggest for a moment that the peoples of these respective countries, or a majority of them or any large number of them, wanted North Africa, Alsace and Lorraine, Constantinople or Mesopotamia and their approaches and surroundings, would be not only far from the truth, but ludicrous. If these places had been put up as Prizes in an Open Competition, a sort of All-World Tournament in which the Competitors were to struggle with each other with lethal weapons in a vast arena or Coliseum, and in which not only the bodies and lives of the competitors were at stake, but also the well-being and livelihood of all the nations which they represented for generations to come, is there anyone outside of a lunatic asylum

who believes that a single nation would have entered ? Apart from the masses of the people, apart from public opinion, apart from the Church, which always denies its Founder when war is on foot, considering the soldiers and sailors alone—the men who are set aside as the bloody instruments of man's inhumanity to man—does any sane person believe that the rank and file, the ordinary soldiers and sailors of any of the nations, would have voted openly or secretly in favour of competing in this Great International Fight ?

Wars are not made by the peoples, but by their rulers. Mr. Wilson alone amongst the rulers had the courage to put this vital truth when he said, " We have not quarrelled with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering the War. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools."

The Great War was not made by the German people, nor by the Russian people, nor by the British people, nor by the French people, but by their

respective rulers, as representatives or captives of Imperialistic and Capitalistic systems. To the rulers North Africa, Alsace-Lorraine, Constantinople and Mesopotamia were quite big enough Prizes on which to stake their all, or rather, one should say, to stake the "all" of their respective countries—the fresh, honest, innocent, vigorous life of the young, and the treasure of all.

The all-important lesson of the War, therefore, is the need to change the systems of Imperialism and Capitalism, which inevitably led to the Great War, and which by the Imperialistic and Capitalistic Peace of Paris will lead to more wars. If the democracies, the peoples of Europe and the World, fail to take this lesson to heart and to wipe out these systems, then the War has been fought in vain; Capitalism has won another crowning victory and Democracy has suffered another crushing defeat.

The Great War was no more "inevitable" than any other war which preceded it for the Balance of Power or for the clashing interests of Competitive Capitalism. It was no more "inevitable" than the Napoleonic Wars to build a gigantic French Empire; it was no more "inevitable" than the Imperial wars for the Partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria; it was no more "inevitable" than the Crimean War, when France and Russia tried to peg out "spheres of influence" on the decomposing body of the Turkish Empire,

and when Great Britain "backed the wrong horse." It was no more "inevitable" than the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866, when the Imperial Houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern struggled for the leadership of the German States. It was no more "inevitable" than the Franco-German War of 1870 for "glory" and the consolidation of their respective dynasties on the part of the Emperor of France and the King of Prussia. It was no more "inevitable" than the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, when Russia made a bold bid for Constantinople, and had it in her lap only to lose it again through the jealous interference of British Imperialism, which for the second time "backed the wrong horse."

In all these wars the democracies had no quarrel with each other; Austrians, Britons, French, Germans, Russians and Turks alike were the ignorant and miserable tools of their criminal rulers, and killed each other for the sport of kings and the profits of Capitalism. The saddest reflection of all is that these poor soldiers went forth to fight in the firm belief that they were loyal and intelligent patriots, that they were doing their respective countries a good turn, and that they were possibly improving the hard lot of their peoples, instead of realizing that they were fighting on behalf of competing Imperialism and Capitalism, and that they were doing their respective countries infinite

harm by forging for themselves and their children's children fetters of economic, political and social servitude. Given a higher standard of intelligence, the peoples would have turned their swords against their lords and masters instead of warring against each other.

The time for Democracy to speak out and demand her rights has come, or be for ever dumb. The rulers of Europe have made and are making fools of the people, as they have done many a time before.

The "hidden hand" of Capitalism in the fabrication of modern wars requires no Röntgen Rays for its discovery and illumination. Take the history of Africa in recent times. The British conquest and occupation of Egypt was for "bondholders"; the Partition of Morocco between France and Spain, for "minerals"; the carving out of the Congo Free State by Belgium, for "oils, nuts and other products"; the formation of South-West and East Africa by Germany, for "raw materials"; the destruction of the Boer Republics by Great Britain, for "gold-mines" and "cheap servile labour"; the slaughter of Matabeles was for the "appropriation"—Imperialists do not use the word "confiscation" except when speaking of homelands wanted by British labourers for small holdings—of their lands, in order to pay dividends to shareholders in the Chartered Company of South Africa; the

hacking to death of Tripolitans was to give Italy "a spot in the sun."

With regard to the bloody scramble and total disregard of native rights and liberties in Africa, the *Cambridge Modern History* observes: "It is idle to censure the inevitable or to pass judgment upon destiny; the European nations have resembled other conquering races in their brutality, violence and rapacity. . . . It is enough to note the fact that in the world-wide struggle for life, wealth and power the Europeans have for the moment proved their indisputable predominance; three quarters of the world have come under their sway; and the independence of the remainder is held by a precarious tenure." Later on I shall show that Labour cannot accept this easy and soulless doctrine of "inevitableness," and is out to combat the brutal "struggle for life, wealth and power."

Here I only point the moral that in Africa the "brutality, violence and rapacity" of Belgian, British, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish Capitalism and Imperialism have not staggered the peoples of Europe like German "frightfulness" did during the War, although they were every whit as frightful, partly because of the moral cowardice which fears to denounce one's own agents, partly because the truth or half the truth was never told in the Capitalistic Press, and only leaked out

in letters or confessions of soldiers in dribblets, months after the events had happened, and largely because to kill, rape or steal from a native African was not considered so great an offence against the elastic code of Christendom as to kill, rape or steal from a European. In England we heard a great deal about the "horrors of the Congo" at one time, and public meetings of protest were held to relieve the Nonconformist, or maybe the National, conscience; but, as Mr. Bonar Law would say, it did not lie in our lips to denounce the crimes of Belgians, for Englishmen perpetrated the same crimes in Egypt, Rhodesia, etc., and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was constrained to characterize acts of the British Government in the South African War as "methods of barbarism."

Barbarism is part and parcel of Imperialism and Capitalism. There is no such thing as "civilized warfare" or "civilized conquest"; all warfare and all conquest is barbaric. You cannot have Imperialism and Capitalism without barbarism. They are related as cause and effect. All through the ages they have been the great forces of man's enslavement and destruction, whether practised by Persia, Assyria, Greece, Carthage, Rome, Spain, Turkey, France, Great Britain, Russia or Germany. German Imperialism and Capitalism may have been more barbaric than Roman, Russian or British, though it would take a lot to prove anything more

barbaric in the history of war than the British Blockade, which Mr. Lloyd George in a lucid interval described as "a cordon of death," to slowly but surely starve to feebleness, disease and death millions of men, women and children; aye! and unborn babes, whose mothers could not get enough nourishment to bring their offspring into the world in normal health and strength, so that they died like flies.

What Labour and Democracy have to realize is that all varieties of Imperialism and Capitalism are evil things, that they are all unjust and inhuman, that they are all opposed to Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood, that they all make Democracy and Civilization impossible.

To talk of Democracy—government of the people by the people and for the people—whilst these anti-democratic systems are in existence is mere mockery, as stupid and deceptive as the claim of the organ-blower to making the music. Democracy blows and pays all the time, while Capitalism calls the tune and collects the money. Democracy to-day, except in Russia, may be likened to the barrel-shaped, emphysematous, short-winded, short-sighted, long-tempered jolly-boy always performing for the amusement and benefit of the proprietary classes. Let us get down to bedrock. Not only is Democracy impossible, but Civil Liberty is impossible where Imperialism and Empire hold sway, and Economic

Justice and Economic Liberty are equally impossible where Capitalism reigns.

If Solomon in all his wisdom or Marcus Aurelius in all his reflective glory revisited

“ This little spot which men call Earth,
And with low-thoughted care confined
And pestered in this penfold here
Strive to keep up a frail and feverish being
Unmindful of the Crown which Virtue gives,”

one can easily imagine what their verdict on the Great War would be. “Vanity of Vanities, All is Vanity” would be their cold and considered judgment. Dean Swift would illuminate this verdict by comparing Man unfavourably with the Horse. Robbie Burns would denounce Man’s Inhumanity to Man as making countless thousands mourn. Edgar Allen Poe, especially in view of future wars, would add his quota by representing man’s infernal genius enclosing civilization in a steel cylinder with a descending circular saw supported by aeroplanes dropping bombs, poison gases, cholera, typhus and plague germs in myriads, and from which human escape was impossible. Southey would lament :

“ And Everybody praised the Duke
Who this great fight did win.”

“ But what good came of it at last ? ”
Quoth little Peterkin.

“ Why that I cannot tell,” said he,
“ But ’twas a famous victory.”

Whilst the clergy of every denomination and of none, and of every nation and of none, were preoccupied in composing and dedicating Hymns of Praise to the "unknown God," whom they were positively convinced at last was Mars, the disciples of Darwin and Huxley would be denouncing the application of the doctrine of "The Survival of the Fittest" to the Kingdom of Man as inhuman and immoral.

In the Romanes Lecture at Oxford (1920) Dean Inge raised the question of "Progress"—whether the world is getting better or worse or merely revolving in a vicious circle. All thoughtful men and women are not only asking the same question, but devoting their lives and energies to understand the meaning of life, the meaning of history, the causes of wars and revolutions, of industrial and economic conflict and unrest with a view to struggling intelligently, persistently, and resolutely, for "Progress."

Labour's view is that the end of Capitalism and Imperialism is the beginning of Progress.

So far we have endeavoured to explain the chief causes of the Great War by reference to North Africa, Alsace-Lorraine and Turkey, and events which have transpired in the Turkish Empire since the Armistice, and the conclusions at which we have arrived are : (1) That the systems of Capitalism and Imperialism (Militarism) were responsible for the Great War as well as for the wars arising out of the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. (2) That

Capitalism and Imperialism are common to great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, etc., as well as to Germany, Austria, Turkey etc. ; to all the Empires in fact. (3) That until these systems are overthrown wars and armaments will continue to plague the world. In a word, Capitalism and Imperialism are the Hounds of Hell, and Democracy must either overthrow them or continue to be overthrown by them.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH AND FRENCH MILITARISM—AFTER THE WAR

ONE does not wish to forestall the verdict of History upon the Great War, but judged by its fruits it seems to have been a great failure, perhaps the greatest failure of any war which the world has ever known. Instead of humanity being afflicted by seven mighty Empires—Austrian, British, French, German, Russian, Turkish and Japanese—it is now only afflicted by three—British, French and Japanese, with their satellites, the new Greek, Italian, Polish Yugoslav, etc., Empires. That this substantial reduction in the number of competing Empires must be all to the good, many would argue. It must mean more liberty, more progress, more peace for mankind.

Although the argument looks good on the face of it, experience is rather against it. Were liberty, progress and peace developed and consolidated under Napoleon, when Europe from Madrid to Petrograd and from Berlin to Athens was dominated by the French Empire? Or was it necessary for

all the European Powers to league together to smash the French Empire because it was a danger to liberty, progress and peace? Monopoly of power, political, social or economic, has always been, and from the nature of the case must always be, a danger to society. Since America declined to be a party to the outrageous Peace of Paris and left Europe to stew in her own juice, the "Big Two"—France and England—have used their monopoly of power to crush freedom, economic and political, throughout Europe and the Middle East. They have successfully spread their net of Militarism and Capitalism over three continents—Europe, Africa and Asia. America alone is free from their devouring tentacles. In Europe there is none to dispute their sway except Soviet Russia, and Democracy has to thank the Soviet Government for withstanding all their attempts at restoring Imperialism and Capitalism in Russia and keeping them at bay. Africa is entirely under their control and domination and exploitation, while in Asia, Japan actively and China passively remain to resist them, although already they have punched some nasty holes in China's side.

The intention of the French Government is to use their "mandated" territories in Africa for raising large (500,000) native armies, in order to carry out their Imperialistic designs in Europe. To carry out this intention would be to contravene

the League of Nations Covenant, which forbids "military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory," and would be a great crime against civilization, from which France would probably be one of the worst sufferers.

Verily the Great War was for World Power, and to-day it is divided between England and France. Well may the United States of America shake the European dust from off her feet! Well may she refuse to sign the Peace of Paris and shun the League of Nations, which by Article 10 confirms this division of World Power! Well may she retire to her tent to take counsel with herself how to meet and defeat this monstrous menace to the world! Well may her Capitalists and Imperialists sound the tocsin of alarm and rattle into barbarism, meeting force by force, militarism by militarism, navyism by navyism, aeroplanes by aeroplanes!

England and France have given themselves over, body and soul, to the gospel of "The Big Stick for Big Business." Little wonder if America and Japan should follow in their train. Little need to speculate upon the future, when the "Big Sticks" strike, which will prove the biggest.

"Could the Great War have ended in greater failure than this?" will be the question asked by our children's children.

In the previous chapter we painted the picture

of British and French Militarism run mad in the Turkish Treaty, and in their bloody scramble for Asiatic Turkey. In this chapter we might paint a picture of Europe as a result of British and French Militarism run mad in the German Treaty—the Treaty of Versailles—and in the other Treaties of Paris dealing with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc., and in the continuation of the Blockade for months after the Armistice, and in the many wars against Revolutionary Russia, and in the economic war, which they have conducted with such disastrous results. But as this picture has been so well painted by Keynes (in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*), by Brailsford (in *After the Peace*), and by the Labour Party (in *Labour and the Peace Treaty*), I shall content myself by giving the broad outlines, referring my readers to these authorities for the details.

The Peace of Paris is unjust and must be revised because its terms (1) are not in agreement with the conditions of the Armistice; (2) are opposed to the principles for which the Allies declared they fought; (3) involve more wars; and (4) spell the ruin of Europe. I shall take the last first, as it is the most immediate, and sufficient in itself to compel complete revision and recasting of the Peace.

In Europe, brought to the verge of ruin by five years of fearful carnage, the Treaty offers no remedy, no scheme of reconstruction, not even repose. This

is the greatest crime of omission committed by the Peace concocters. Faced with a starving and bankrupt Central Europe, the Supreme Council treated it in the same callous way that the priest treated the man who fell among thieves and was left to die by the roadside. Worse still ! Clemenceau and Lloyd George, instead of acting like good physicians, called in to save a Europe suffering from loss of blood and starvation, the result of war and blockade, broke every law of physiology, economy and morality by more blood-letting and more blockade, as if their deliberate intention was to kill and not to cure. They imagined that the economic destruction of Germany and Austria would somehow or other, by processes unknown to human experience or science, work out to the advantage of France and England. They seemed to think that their countries, like parasites, could flourish on the decaying industries, falling exchanges and enfeebled energies of their late enemies. They saw no crime, no immorality, in their designs to crush and enslave economically the German and Austrian peoples for the follies and crimes of their rulers. They foresaw no Nemesis, either economic or moral, visited upon Frenchmen and Englishmen for their inhuman and unscientific policy. Little did they know or care, so that their immediate aims might give them a momentary, a Pyrrhic victory.

Now, with unemployment and starvation stalking rampant through the land, with factories idle or on half-time, with a world shortage of goods, with all the nations wanting goods but with no money to buy them, with the system of international exchanges broken down, the simple truth is slowly filtering into the minds of the Imperial wreckers, namely, that Europe has a corporate life, that all the members of the European family depend for health and life upon one another, that the impoverishment, the atrophy, the decay of one member leads naturally and inevitably to the impoverishment, atrophy and decay of all the other members.

Before the War, Germany was the best customer of Austria, Belgium, Italy, Norway, Russia and Switzerland; she was the second best customer of Great Britain, Denmark and Sweden; and the third best customer of France. Britain sold more goods to Germany than to any other country in the world except India, while German goods imported into England were greater than from any other country in the world except the United States.

Hence, bad trade in Germany destroyed trade, disorganized industrialism, poverty, unemployment, low value of the mark spell bad trade, poverty, unemployment, debasement of the currency for all the other nations of Europe, England included.

Again, Germany supplied her neighbours with coal, her coal output having grown from 30,000,000 tons

in 1871 to 190,000,000 tons in 1913. Further, Germany supplied a great deal of capital—about £1,250,000,000—to oil the wheels of international industry, £500,000,000 going to Russia, Austria, Bulgaria, Roumania and Turkey. Germany supplied organizing brains as well, so that she was the economic pivot upon which a large part of European industry depended. In a word, Germany was the chief workshop of Europe. Therefore the prosperity of Europe hinged upon the prosperity of Germany, and a bankrupt Germany meant a bankrupt Europe.

Apart from the economic and industrial damage resulting from the War, which in itself was enormous, but from which Germany with her wonderfully industrious and intelligent workers could have recovered in time and paid a reasonable Indemnity withal to the Allies, the Peace has destroyed most important industries directly or indirectly, and shaken the foundation of its economic system so profoundly that Germany and Europe, locked together, are rocking on the brink of bankruptcy and social revolution.

In seizing Germany's Colonies and her merchant fleet, Great Britain has deprived millions of Germans of their means of livelihood by navigation and trade. The recoil of transferring German merchant-ships to England for nothing is seen in empty berths in the shipbuilding yards, and heard in the monotonous

and demoralizing tramp of the unemployed in the streets of our great centres of ship construction.

France, by exacting too high a tribute of coal, has ruined many German industries dependent on coal which, according to the Peace terms, cannot obtain sufficient coal to keep them going. By these and other acts, and by holding the Indemnity sword of Damocles over their heads, the Peacemakers have delivered such a knock-out blow to Germany's economic stability that she can neither buy and import the 12,000,000 tons of foodstuffs, the raw material necessary for the life of her people, nor the raw material needed for her manufactures and industries. Terrible as has been the sacrifice of life and health by the Blockade during the War, and nine long months after the Armistice by the policy of a "cruel and pitiless British Government," it will be a drop in the bucket compared with the millions of German men, women and children sentenced to unemployment, starvation and death by the cruellest and most pitiless Peace the world has ever known. The coal tribute has proved to be a boomerang hitting not only Germany, but England. Flooding France and Italy with German coal has robbed England of two important markets, producing a slump in British coal, and precipitating a coal crisis of the first magnitude.

If Bolshevism is the enemy to Europe and the world—we know it is not—as trumpeted by Capital-

ists and Imperialists, then Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Company as propagandists beat Lenin. Capitalism is on its trial, as it has never been before. The Peace is the extreme of Capitalistic greed and Imperialistic madness, and as at present conceived and in process of enforcement is leading straight to national and international insolvency. Given bankruptcy, Lenin's task is done, Capitalism is smashed and Europe is won for Socialism or Communism. Why should the Labour Party, either in England or France or elsewhere, seek to revise the Peace Treaty? Would it not give Capitalism another chance? Might it not save Capitalism for many a long cursed time to come? We shall answer these questions later.

Speaking of the Indemnity at Birmingham—the Mecca of Tariff Reform—Mr. Lloyd George said, “Germany must not be allowed to pay in a way which would inflict greater damage upon the country receiving the payment than if she did not pay at all. For instance, Germany could pay in (cheap?) goods, but what would that be to us? It would throw hundreds of thousands of workmen out of work . . . and, after all, only in goods can she pay. . . .”

Behold the economic necromancer on the horns of a “dilemma.” Firstly, Germany can only pay in goods, a basic truth in conformity with economic law. She has not got the gold to pay with. Secondly, if she pays in cheap goods she will throw hundreds

of thousands of British and French workmen out of work, according to Lloyd George, but not according to the laws of economics, which tell us that goods, whether cheap or dear, are paid for by goods; that is to say, that hundreds of thousands of British and French workmen would find employment in making goods to pay for the goods produced by German workmen. Thirdly, if Germany sends "dear" goods, British Capitalists and British manufacturers would take advantage of the occasion and raise their prices correspondingly, so that the poor British consumer, instead of getting any benefit out of the Indemnity, would be cursed by higher cost of living. Fourthly, the 12 per cent. Export Duty—raised to 50 per cent. by the London Conference—clapped on to German goods by the economic babes of London and Paris, would be paid by British and French consumers in "dearer" goods.

Italy wants to trade with Germany, and has already denounced this Export Duty. Seeing his chief in a hole, Sir Robert Horne tries to pull him out by suggesting that Germany shall send her Indemnity cheap manufactured goods—by the *Emden*, I suppose—to China, India, Africa and South America, which countries would pay France and England in raw material. But during the War and since our politicians have been busy smashing German trade and expelling German commerce from all these countries. Now they have discovered

how foolish was this policy, they launch into another, which will secure German trade in these parts for "forty-two years," which, in other words, will at the end of forty-two years give Germany supremacy in World Trade and Economic Power; for during that time British and French trade would die in those parts from lack of demand, and British and French unemployment would mount beyond human endurance.

British Labour, in the first place, could not be guilty of Mr. Lloyd George's total disregard of the moral aspect of the Indemnity problem, and could not be a party to aggravating and intensifying the poverty and discontent in Central Europe by exacting a tribute which must necessarily fall chiefly upon the working classes of Germany and Austria. In the second place, British Labour recognizes that if Germany pays in goods, neither cheap nor dear, but as a gift, a tribute, then hundreds of thousands of workmen will be thrown out of work. In the third place, British Labour will be no party to the 12 per cent. or 50 per cent. Export Duty or to Sir Robert Horne's legerdemain. Finally, British Labour says to British and French Capitalists, "Thank you for explaining to us that a German Indemnity means damnation to us and to French Labour as well as to German Labour. Let us waste no more time or temper in discussing it, but let us rather help Germany to recover, for by so doing we shall

help ourselves and the world to recover." British and French Labour might go farther with reason and say to the Capitalistic Governments of England and France, "Your Peace is worse than your War, for it condemns Europe to poverty, unemployment, starvation, disease and death. Make way for Labour Governments, or take the consequences."

German Socialists proposed, by volunteer labour corps and with German material, to repair and reconstruct the ruined towns and coal-pits of Belgium and France; but the French objected to bringing German labour to do the rebuilding.

In the words of the *Observer*, "The Allies have taken another and a deeper plunge into chaos," for which Mr. Lloyd George in particular is responsible, for it was he who proposed at the London Conference (March 1921) regarding Indemnities that the Allies should take 50 per cent. of the price paid for all German goods sold in Allied markets, assuming that the German Government would pay back the 50 per cent. to the German exporters out of taxation. This "mad" and "monstrous" proposal—I am still using the language of the friendly *Observer*—has been embodied in a Reparations Bill by the British House of Commons, and worse still, has been supported by marching the Allied Armies farther into Germany.

Let us now briefly examine this whole ominous procedure in its political, economic and moral aspects.

Politically it is hopelessly impracticable, for no German Government could live one day that proposed to recoup the 50 per cent. to the German trader, who would be told to sell his goods in America and in neutral countries where he would be paid the full price. But supposing, for the sake of argument, that the German trader was such a fool as to sell his goods to us at half-price, then economically, as goods are paid for by goods or service, British traders would only be able to sell half the amount of goods to Germany by this plan, British trade with Germany would be cut down by one-half, and British unemployment, so far as it arises out of slack trade with Germany, would be doubled. Further, Holland and Belgium, who do a big transit business between Germany and England, would be adversely affected, and therefore less capable of buying British goods. British shipping would be badly hit by this explosive bullet, and American shipping immensely benefited. "The commerce between the United States and Germany already shows a very remarkable increase."

The Free Trader naturally and scientifically points out that if the British consumer must have German goods he will pay the German Indemnity by paying 50 per cent. more for them. What a pass Mr. Lloyd George's ignorance of economic laws has brought us to, that the British people by his bungling pay up instead of Germans!

Let us follow Mr. George's economics to their logical conclusion. Our National Debt is round about £8,000,000,000, costing us over £300,000,000 annually in interest. If a 50 per cent. tariff on German goods will bring in a big sum every year to our national revenue, why not put 50 per cent. duty on all goods coming from foreign countries and make the foreigner pay instead of the British taxpayer? Behold the *reductio ad absurdum*.

Into the intricacies of making a new Customs Line through the heart of industrial Germany, of fixing tariff rates agreeable to all the Allies, of appointing German, French, Italian or British Custom officers, of collecting the taxes, of avoiding smuggling, which, one could imagine, would be as easy as winking, one cannot enter here. The dislocation and damage to German trade resulting from this proposition would certainly impoverish Germany, and reduce her capacity to pay the Indemnity, as well as to reduce her capacity to produce and to purchase. By Germany's impoverishment Great Britain as a maritime and industrial country would be the greatest sufferer, while France, being chiefly an agricultural country, would suffer very much less.

Politically and economically it is a new war against Germany, in accordance with French policy to dismember Germany, and to bring the Rhineland within the economic orbit of French tariffs and later

on within the French political system, as part of a Napoleonic Empire. Ethically it vitiates every canon of international law, which forbids the annexation of territory and the destruction of national liberty for debt. Further, it violates the Fourteen Points, on the acceptance of which Germany surrendered. And lastly, it creates another "Alsace-Lorraine," for which Germany will live to fight another day, with possibly England on her side.

This blow to the League of Nations may well be fatal. First, because it ignores the League as an arbiter between the big nations, and secondly, because to invite Germany to become a member of the League in face of this invasion and annexation of her territory would be only adding insult to injury, and without Germany the League would be no League, but simply an instrument to be picked up and thrown away at the whim of the "Big Two."

Well may the *Observer* denounce this policy as "madness." "It is madness which, if long pursued, will bring the fundamental mortal interests of this country (England)—trade and employment and the commercial basis supporting our Imperial structure—into direr peril and jeopardy than has ever been known. . . . We shall inflict more vital and permanent injury on ourselves than we can wreak on Germany. . . . It would penalize more and more the innocent—the Germans who were children when the War broke out and have never known any

responsibility for the Hohenzollern system. It discourages all moderate opinion in Germany that might otherwise have worked for the constructive peace of the world, and for that full restoration of economic interdependence, world trade, and universal exchange, which we ourselves need more than Germany or any other country needs it. The whole method only stimulates German militarist reaction on the one hand and Bolshevist feeling on the other. These two extremes are tending more and more to make common cause with each other and with Russia. Nothing can result from it in the long run but catastrophe for Europe and ourselves."

The failure of the "Big Bullies" at Paris to realize that their Herculean task was to save Europe and the world by saving Germany and not by destroying her, by removing the Blockade the day after the Armistice was signed, by pouring food and raw material into Germany, so that the morale, the strength and the working capacity of her people might be restored and her industries renovated and tuned up to top production, was repeated in regard to Austria-Hungary and all along the line.

Again, instead of endeavouring to save Austria from economic and political extinction, as they might have done by creating an economic Federation of Danubian States on the one hand, and sanctioning union of German-speaking Austria with Germany

on lines of self-determination on the other hand, the Peacemakers neglected the one and forbade the other, so that Austria should surely die. The tragedy of Austrian men, women and children dying by slow degrees of starvation baffles all description. Always thinking strategically and imperially, instead of economically and sanely, they have indeed cut off Germany's "corridor" to Constantinople—an unnecessary procedure in view of Germany's conversion from a military and monarchical State to a Democratic Republic—but in so doing they have reduced Austria and Hungary to uneconomic units, a drag and a danger to European life and prosperity.

To complete their sinister work, they Balkanized Central and Eastern Europe by the Peace of Paris. For Balkanization there will be found many apologists, some even amongst Socialists. The logical applications of the sacred and democratic principle of "self-determination" even to the smallest nation must be ethically right, however unsafe and unsound in a world governed and controlled by Imperialism and Capitalism. Before the War, for Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania and Greece to run their nationalities separately and to insist too strongly upon their "public rights" as "Nationalities," in face of the mighty Empires of Austria, Germany, Russia and Turkey, which did not believe in "Nationalities" or in "public rights," but only in "might," was ethically right, but practically wrong. Their policy

in a world governed on the Imperial doctrine of force should have been, "Together we stand, alone we fall." Their only chance of "Independence" from the Powers surrounding them was a Federation with self-government in local affairs.

After the War, with their neighbouring Empires either wiped out or converted into Socialist Republics, they can enjoy the pleasures and privileges of "Nationality" and "self-determination" with fear only of French and, to a lesser degree, British Imperialism. They are naturally asking themselves whether, in view of French Imperialistic Policy, their "Independence" is safe, and whether Federation or a Minor *Entente Cordiale* would not be wise. But, however the War may have changed the world regarding Imperialism, pure and simple, Capitalism is still in the saddle, and it is economically, therefore, the best policy for all these "Nationalities" to join together, and also with Czecho-Slovakia and Austria and Hungary, in a Free Trade or Economic Union.

When both the hounds of hell, the hound of Capitalism as well as the hound of Imperialism, are laid by the heels, it will be time enough for the "little Nationalities" to claim all their "public rights." But meanwhile let us hope that the Light of the Higher Life, the Fuller Life, the Nobler Life will have broken through the crusted craniums of the rulers and the peoples, and that they will

learn that the spiritual, the intellectual, the cultural, the economical, as well as the material well-being of man can only be attained in Internationalism, in a Commonwealth of Free Nations, in the Brotherhood of Man.

After all the cruel agony of prolonged years of persecution and exploitation at the hands of Austrian, Prussian and Russian Militarism, Poland's headlong plunge into the dark and stormy waters of Imperialism is a great cause of disappointment to her friends, and a sad illustration of the insidious and corrupting power of Capitalism over the Government, Press and public opinion of a Modern State. In her aggressive wars against Soviet Russia, Poland has acted at the bidding of France, France finding the sinews of war and officering the Polish armies.

The policy of France with regard to Poland is two-fold : (1) To use her as an instrument to destroy Soviet Russia, because the Soviet Government declines to acknowledge the debts contracted by Tsarist Russia, debts largely due to Frenchmen ; and (2) to make Poland a strong military buffer State, lest Russia should one day join with Germany in a war of revenge.

Since the defeat of the Central Empires, France—Chauvinistic France—has been the Dictator and Evil Genius of Europe, with England—Jingo England—acting as whipper-in. Revenge, craven fear, and vaulting ambition have been the mainsprings of

her policy, and until they are replaced by the spirit of goodwill, trust and co-operation, there is no hope for Peace in Europe.

It is needless to dwell on the fact that Poland, ravaged and disease-stricken by the Great War, is now paying the added price of her own foolish Imperialism in financial and moral bankruptcy.

Another chapter in Imperial perfidy has been written in Persia by Great Britain both during the War and since the War ended. To understand the situation in Persia at the outbreak of hostilities, the following summary of recent history may be useful¹ :—

By an almost bloodless revolution the Shah granted a Constitution on August 5, 1906, and in October of the same year the first Majlis, or National Elective Assembly, met. On the death of the old Shah in January 1907, trouble at once arose between the new Shah—a reactionary—and the National Assembly over financial control, the National Assembly gaining the upper hand. Then came the Anglo-Russian Convention on August 3, 1907, “partitioning” Persia into “spheres of influence,” Russia taking the

¹ For the details of Persia's fate, readers should consult *The Persian Revolution*, by Edward G. Browne, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and *The Strangling of Persia*, by W. Morgan Shuster, an American citizen, who was appointed Treasurer-General of Persia, with four financial expert assistants, also Americans, to put the national finances in order.

Northern part and England the Southern with a neutral zone between, without consulting the Majlis, and causing the profound resentment and distrust of the Persian people. Up till June 1908 the Constitutionalists were making reforms in spite of the opposition of the Royalists, when "the Russian Minister and the British Chargé d'Affaires called on the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs and threatened the Government with Russian intervention if the opposition to the Shah's plans and wishes did not cease. The Russian Minister took the lead and framed the threats and demands, and the British representative merely announced his Government's approval of the Russian Minister's words, according to Mr. Shuster's account.

On June 5th the Shah practically declared war on the Constitutionalists by arresting some of their number, by collecting troops, arms, and munitions, by seizing the telegraph offices, by declaring martial law in Teheran, and by placing the Russian Colonel Liakhoff in supreme command. On June 23rd the Parliament buildings were bombarded by Colonel Liakhoff and Persian Cossacks, the Nationalist forces outnumbered and overwhelmed, and "well-known Nationalists arrested, strangled or imprisoned." The Tsar's Government of course "disclaimed" Colonel Liakhoff in face of European criticism. Defeated in the capital, the Nationalists were successful in Tabriz, Isfahan and Resht, and the North,

until April 29, 1909, when a Russian force took possession of Tabriz. Eluding the Royalist forces under Russian officers, the National Army entered Teheran on July 13th, when Colonel Liakhoff surrendered. The Shah was deposed and exiled, his son, aged twelve, proclaimed his successor, and a Regent appointed. Thus Constitutionalism was restored and the new Majlis opened on November 15, 1909, but unfortunately under "the open hostility of Russia and the scarcely less injurious timidity of England, so far as thwarting Russia's evident designs upon the success of the Constitutional Government in Persia was concerned."

Russian forces were increased in the North, and Great Britain sent an "ultimatum" on October 16, 1910, "practically demanding that a number of officers of the British Indian Army should be placed in charge of the policing of the Southern roads and trade routes under the supervision of the British Government and at the expense of Persia."

Thus between the Russian Bear in the North and the British Lion in the South, the lot of the Persian Cat was not a happy one. It was made much worse by the fact that the ex-Shah was permitted by Russia "to escape from Odessa, to cross through Russia, to embark on a Russian steamer, traverse the Caspian, and land in Persian territory with a suite of uniformed officers and a consignment of guns and cannon," and to plunge Persia into

civil war again. Against her internal enemies the Nationalist forces were able to cope successfully in two campaigns, so successfully, in fact, that the Russian Government evidently came to the conclusion that her intrigues to place Royalist puppets on the throne subservient to Russia must give way to naked and unabashed aggression by Russian troops. Ultimatums were delivered asking the Persian Government to dismiss Mr. Shuster, Sir Edward Grey advising the Majlis to give way; but, to their everlasting honour, the trustees of Persia's Parliament and Persia's public rights and liberties refused, and the steam-roller did its deadly work.

This act of International brigandage on the part of Russia was condoned by Great Britain lest, forsooth, we should displease that Power and drive her into the arms of Germany.

After the fall of Tsarism during the Great War the Revolutionary Government denounced the 1907 treaty and withdrew its forces from Persian soil. Bolshevik Russia has been charged with many crimes, falsely or truly, but from the great crime of Imperialistic Capitalism, common to all the European Powers, she is fortunately free. To Persia the Bolshevik Government said the same as to Finland and to the Baltic States. "Go free; enjoy Independence to your heart's delight, for we shall not oppress you or inflict our rule over you as

Imperial Russia did aforetime. Develop your own resources and your own culture. We shall be glad to exchange goods with you, as well as ideas."

This excellent example of Bolshevik Russia one naturally expected that Imperial Britain would follow by denouncing the dishonourable and disgraceful Treaty which partitioned Persia, and at the same time by withdrawing British troops from Persian soil. Oh no! nothing of the kind. Our Government of honourable men, representing liberty-loving Englishmen and Englishwomen, simply declared the foul Treaty of 1907 "in abeyance," and endeavoured to replace it by the 1919 Agreement, which if accepted by the Persian people would mean that Persia would become a second Egypt, a servile appendage of the British Empire, with its army organized and officered by Britons, its finances manipulated by Britons, the construction of its railways secured by Britons, and every department of State controlled by Britons.

During the War a British Army occupied Persia—a crime against Persian Independence, many argue, comparable to Germany's occupation of Belgium—and although more than two years have passed since the Armistice, the army still remains in occupation. The military pressure has been so powerful that the Persian Government has swallowed the "Agreement," and Lord Curzon, our gentle and genial Foreign Minister, protests, when challenged

in the House of Lords, that the process of compulsory feeding will cease and the army will be withdrawn if the Persian Parliament refuses to ratify the "Agreement."

Two terrible consequences followed upon the British invasion of Persia: counter-invasions by the enemy (Turks) and later by the Bolsheviks, who naturally retaliated by striking at the British Empire for the wars our rulers were insanely conducting and abetting against Soviet Russia.

The Persian Government sent representatives to the Peace Conference at Paris requesting to be heard, and seeking (1) compensation for damage done by the invaders, and (2) recognition as an Independent State. Alone the British Government opposed—the Government chiefly responsible for Persia's bitter sufferings during and after the War—and although all the other Governments were willing to admit Persia's claim to be heard, it was turned down at the instance of Mr. Lloyd George.

Let us get down to the real reasons for this extraordinary conduct and cowardice of the Prime Minister. Unfortunately for Persia, she is one of the gateways into India, affording an easy coast-route through Baluchistan. In consequence, for more than one hundred years British Imperial policy has been to support Persian Independence, and to maintain Persia as a "buffer" against any advance of Russian Imperialism in the direction of our Indian Empire.

During that time England naturally found favour in the eyes of Persians. Then came the 1907 debacle, when the two Imperial Monsters divided Persia between them, and when both became hated by Persian patriots.

With the withdrawal of Imperial designs by Soviet Russia, England has reversed her early policy of backing Persian Independence to one of strangulation and absorption on the Egyptian model. The reason for her early policy was strategic, to protect the Indian Empire, whereas the reason for her present policy is chiefly Capitalistic, because there is oil in Persia, and profits to be made in building railways, etc.

First, Persian Independence is respected and preserved by British Imperialism out of fear of Russian Imperialism, not out of love of freedom or respect for the rights of a little nationality. Secondly, it is torn in twain by British and Russian Imperialism acting in consort; and thirdly, it is sacrificed to the Gargantuan greed of British Capitalism, which knows neither freedom, nor nationality, nor honesty, nor honour.

Could Imperial cowardice stoop lower? Could Imperial bullying go farther? Could Imperial hypocrisy be more contemptible?

In conclusion let us note the immoral and illimitable implications of Imperialism. Because of our Indian Empire we are involved in committing crime

upon crime, in laying the " mailed fist " on Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Palestine, Egypt, Somaliland, Aden, Mesopotamia and Persia, as well as Afghanistan, at different times.

Since the above was written Lord Curzon, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated in the House of Lords on July 26, 1921, that the Persian Government had refused to ratify the Anglo-Persian Agreement (which practically made Persia a British Protectorate), and that in consequence British and Indian troops, officers and advisers were being withdrawn, and the offer of £2,000,000 as a loan lapsed. At last the integrity and independence of Persia is recognized, and a stain removed from Britain's escutcheon.

British Militarism in Ireland, India and Egypt (during the War and since) will be treated in the chapter on Labour and the British Empire.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE HOUNDS OF HELL

Now we know where we are, the vital question arises, Which Political Party is going to save Great Britain, Europe and the world from Capitalism and Imperialism ?

The Conservative or Coalition Party is hopeless. It believes in Force and nothing but Force, in Conquest for Markets, Empire and World Power, in exploitation of the masses by Landlords, Capitalists and Profiteers, as well as in the exploitation of weak nations and races by the strong and powerful nations and empires.

“ Freedom,” “ Self-determination,” “ Public Rights,” “ Little Nationalities,” “ A World made Safe for Democracy,” and all the “ Fourteen Points,” and even the League of Nations to enforce Peace, are all “ damned nonsense ” in the opinion of most good Tories, Conservatives and Coalitionists except Lord Robert Cecil. Freedom, to these gentlemen of the road, during the War simply meant freedom from the powerful competition of Germany in the

international struggle for markets and World Power. Of course they were out to smash Prussian Militarism, but not as "Militarism" itself, not as an evil itself, but only as a competitor and menace to British Militarism, to the British Empire and to British Supremacy in the World.

Fear and jealousy, and not love of Freedom or Democracy, were the mainsprings of Conservative action in the War. Hence our Alliance with the Tsar, the greatest of all despots. If the Conservative or Coalition Party had been out to make the world safe for Democracy, it would have welcomed and helped the Revolutions in Germany and Russia, instead of making terms of Peace to humiliate and enslave the new-born German Democracy, and instead of backing every monarchical, capitalistic, military and anti-democratic upstart to upset Russian self-determination.

The policy of the Coalition and Conservative Government towards Russia may be taken as the "acid test" of its attitude towards Democracy, rightly struggling to be free from Militarism, Monarchy and Capitalism. With the exception of the Russian people all the democracies are heavy losers by the War and the Peace, and yet next to the reactionary French Government the Coalition Government has been Democracy's most hostile and stupid opponent. I say "stupid" deliberately—it was Disraeli who first described Conservatives as the

“stupid party”—because their antagonism only consolidated the ranks of the Russian people, and made clear to them that British Militarism, next to French Militarism, was the greatest danger to Democracy the world over. There are many other “acid tests,” however, of the affection of the Coalition Party for Militarism and Capitalism besides Russia. There is Militarism in India, Egypt, and most violent and frightful of all in Ireland; there is the conquest and annexation of Mesopotamia; the rape of Persia; the seizure as part of the spoils of war of the German Colonies; the recognition of slavery as forced cheap labour in British East Africa; and then, to come right home, the fear to make a levy on Capital in order to reduce the National Debt; the support of Landlordism by the Agricultural Act; the comparative neglect to find land for “heroes,” and the extravagant prices paid to landowners for land; the Dyestuffs Bill in favour of a few Capitalists; the New Protection Bill in the form of “Safeguarding Key Industries” to make the rich richer and the poor poorer; the breach of faith with the miners to nationalize the mines; the responsibility of the Government for a large part of Unemployment, and the abject inadequacy of their efforts to cope with this gigantic evil; the rise in annual expenditure on British Militarism from £92,000,000 in 1914 to £280,000,000 in 1920, not to mention the wastage of £100,000,000 on Denikin, Wrangel & Co., and

£100,000,000 in Mesopotamia and untold millions in Ireland.

With regard to Unemployment the ineptitude of the Coalition Party is frankly confessed in the "King's Speech," February 15, 1921, in the following words: "Unemployment may be alleviated but cannot be cured by legislative means." Behold a half-truth, which conceals the truth. The causes of Unemployment are Capitalism and Militarism, which can be changed by "legislative means"—nationalization, for example, combined with a policy of Peace, Disarmament, Internationalism and the League of Nations. To expect Tories, Coalitionists or any but a few Radicals amongst Independent Liberals to apply these remedies would be tantamount to expecting the leopard to change his spots. These great remedies for the great diseases of society can only be properly applied by the Labour Party, as we shall indicate presently.

The estimated expenditure for 1921 on armaments by air, sea and land amount to £210,000,000, which will be followed as usual by "supplementaries." Why this vast expenditure, when our competitor in arms lies crushed? Competition in armaments against America is ruled out as "unthinkable." The only answer remains that the coercive policy of Mr. Lloyd George in Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ireland, Palestine and the Rhine demands it. Under his reign of riot and expansion the British Empire

seethes with more discontent and disaffection than in the worst days of Lord North.

The Conservative and Coalition Party is the kept party of the hounds of hell, and its prime function is the Protection of Capital and the Exploitation of Labour at home and the annexation and exploitation of weak nations and races abroad. It is the British counterpart to the Junker Party in Germany. It believes in the "survival of the fittest," and the fittest, in its opinion, are the few with the broadest acres, the longest purses and the biggest Berthas.

Righteousness, justice, mercy, magnanimity—attributes of God Himself—applied either to individuals or nations form no part of Tory or Coalition psychology. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity to them signifies surrender of their social, economic and political privileges. Social service and a Co-operative Commonwealth is anathema in their eyes. Every man for himself, and every nation for itself, and the devil take the hindmost, sums up their religion.

What about the Liberal Party? Can it save Europe and England? By a courageous application of the principles Peace, Retrenchment and Reform, it might ameliorate the economic sufferings of the people, it might assuage International and Racial hatred fostered in Europe and the world by the Post-War Reactionary Governments of England and France; it might improve International Ex-

changes and Trade; and it might soothe some of the Imperial sores in the British Empire, but it has no remedy for Imperialism and Capitalism. Its dependence upon Capitalism for party funds, and its implication in Imperialism, render it unfit and incapable to heal the wounds of the War, for which the Liberal Government of 1914 was to a considerable extent responsible, as we now know from Mr. Lloyd George's admission that the war was "stumbled" into.

When the history of the Liberal Party comes to be written, its permeation by Imperialistic Capitalism will be found to be the main cause of its decline. Even Gladstone failed to resist its subterranean power and its entangling influences, and the conquest of Egypt is the crime that sullies his otherwise honest and honourable career.

Under Rosebery's malign leadership, Liberal Imperialism got a still stronger hold on the Party and reduced its Liberalism in proportion until a greater man—Campbell-Bannerman—restored its Liberalism in the South African settlement and in the Trades Dispute Act. Then came the deluge under the Liberal Imperialism of Asquith, Grey, Churchill and Lloyd George, who led the international race in bloated armaments, who made and renewed Alliances with reactionary and Imperialistic Governments of France, Russia and Japan, who tore up Persia like a scrap of paper, who squeezed territory

out of China, who failed to make good Home Rule for Ireland, and who feared Carson so much that instead of putting him in the dock as a conspirator they put him in the Cabinet, as an example for Sinn Fein to follow.

As a Nemesis of the War, the Liberal Party is rent in twain. The Coalition Liberals sold their souls for a mess of political power, and for more than two years have coalesced with their political enemies in reducing Liberal principles to rags. With the formation of separate Coalition-Liberal organizations throughout the country their return to the fold is as likely to happen as the return of Liberal Unionists. Their chief is a political gambler of the first order. Where Chamberlain failed he has succeeded, for he has not only captured Asquith's seat, but Arthur's seat and Bonar's to boot. Once having tasted of power under the massed battalions of reaction, he is not likely to risk anything for political principles, which he holds as trifles light as air. Besides, has he not sucked "the wild and poisonous berries" of Limehouse? And suffering from auto-infection and megalomania, has he not found a permanent asylum in Berkeley Square, where Jeremiahs and those who "toil not, neither do they spin," are wont to gather together? His jeremiads against Labour and Socialism on Balfourian lips would be fit subjects for laughter and ridicule; on Mr. Lloyd George's they only produce

the nauseating reminder of the dog returning to its vomit.

Whether the Independent Liberals can pull themselves together, can cast off their leanings towards Imperialism and Capitalism, and produce a programme to command the support of the enlightened electorate, is doubtful—under Asquith and Grey one might almost say impossible. But apart from leadership and party loyalty, does not a bigger question arise than the life and future of a political party, namely, whether it is good for our country and the world that the progressive forces should be divided into Independent Liberal and Labour Parties? The best of the past may belong to the Liberal Party, but surely the future is with the new and enlarged Labour Party, which justly claims to be not only Nationalist in the highest sense of that word, but Internationalist.

The "Manchester programme" of the Liberal Party—not entirely accepted by that Party—being a very mild dose of Socialism adapted to the sensitive palate and squeamish stomach of Capital, would it not be to the highest interests of social and human progress for Independent Liberals to join the Labour Party, whose Socialism is of a more substantial and satisfying character, and alone guarantees a permanent solution of industrial and economic unrest? In the absence of proportional representation the folly of division in the progressive parties becomes

patent at every parliamentary election, where there is a three-cornered fight, and a reactionary is frequently returned to Parliament by a minority vote. But even if this anomaly were removed by the adoption of proportional representation, and the House of Commons made a true reflex of the will of the people, which it is not to-day, the Three-Party system tends to confuse the electors, and to make political education much more difficult. With such gigantic evils as Capitalism and Imperialism to fight, has the time not come for Independent Liberals to sacrifice their *amour-propre* and to come over and help the Labour Party?

With regard to tactics and the next General Election, I am inclined to say, "Damn tactics, and stick to principles." We are told that without an act of renunciation on the part of many Liberals, or without an accommodation between Free Liberals and Labour, hundreds of seats will be presented to the Coalition, and Lloyd Georgism will be empowered for another five years, during which time the "old world" of "slums," "unemployment" and "entrenched selfishness" would wag along, and Capital would "tear up the rails" of Peace for "oil," "coal," or "cheap labour." We are told that electoral audacity without proportional representation means more donkey-work for Labour, rebellion in Ireland, India and Egypt, European anarchy and, in all probability, another World War, from which,

of course, Labour would suffer most. We are told that electoral discretion without any sacrifice of principle would yield Labour and Free Liberalism a working majority in the House of Commons, with which they could begin building the "New World" of healthy homes, security of employment, social service, self-determination in the British Empire, European Reconstruction, and World Peace. We are told these things by good Radicals like Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Massingham, and that Liberals are prepared to work with Labour after an Election. Then why, in the name of Heaven, cannot Liberals throw in their lot with Labour altogether, and save our country from the hounds of hell?

The historic parties being "tied" to Capitalistic Imperialism, there remains only the Labour Party to save civilization from barbarism and ruin. The assertion of Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George and of other members of the Coalition that Labour is unfit to rule, seems rather amiss, if not impertinent, after they and their party and their ruling caste have filled the world with affliction and reduced Europe to ruin. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. The Labour Party had no hand in the fatal Imperialistic and grabbing policy of our rulers as well as the other rulers of Europe which inevitably led up to the Great War. On ^{the contrary,} the Labour Party protested against our A-^{liance} with the Tsar, the head of as dangerous

a military despotism as the Kaiser's. Lest Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill forget, let me remind them that without the British Alliance the Russian military party would never have dared to throw down the gauntlet to German Militarism which let loose the wolves of War. The responsibility, therefore, of these critics of the Labour Party in the Great Crime against humanity was direct in that they and their party made the Russian Alliance, as well as indirect in that they and their party belong to the systems of Capitalism and Imperialism, which went for each other in the Great War.

Again, the Labour Party had no hand in the Poisonous Peace of Paris which has completed the downfall of Europe and which is Mr. Lloyd George's pet child. On the contrary, the Labour Party condemned the Peace, as an end of Peace and the seed of more wars, and demanded its Revision from top to bottom in accord with the famous "Fourteen Points" upon which the Armistice was signed and the Peace should have been built.

Yet again, the Labour Party had no hand in the brutal Blockade and war against Soviet Russia, the thrice-cursed policy of our modern mixture of Falstaff and Napoleon. On the contrary, the Labour Party called both off as disastrous to European reconstruction, and went to the extreme length of threatening "Direct Action," with all its attendant

risks of civil war, if the Government did not cease its fooling.

Again, in Ireland the Labour Party has consistently and persistently opposed the Reign of Terror initiated and effected with more than Prussian "frightfulness" by the Government of Superior persons. In fact, wherever the Government of all the talents or none have sown dragons' teeth of Militarism, the Labour Party has followed close on their heels in order to cut off the heads of the monsters which have sprung up. Labour has played Perseus to the Government's Dragon. In policy, in temper, and in environment the Labour Party is the only party that has a ghost of a chance of redeeming the situation, of healing the frightful diseases, physical, economic and spiritual, produced by the War and the Peace, and of applying right remedies to prevent a repetition of World Agony.

When Mr. Lloyd George and his friends charge Labour with incapacity to rule, it is worth while to analyse the reasons for the charge and to ask the question, What decides capacity to rule? From my short parliamentary experience "capacity to rule" or "fitness for office" depends chiefly upon the following tests: (1) Glibness of speech with a good parliamentary manner; (2) capacity of self-suppression, when one disagrees with the policy of the party; (3) friends in high quarters, ministerial, social, etc.; (4) capacity to subscribe to party funds.

Whether I have put these in order of merit or not I must leave to office-bearers and Cabinet-makers to say. Generally, I presume, capacity to put a good case or to criticize effectively is the first qualification for office and promotion. The higher tests of character, of mind, of distinguished public service in local government, seem to be secondary considerations in the lottery of picking out Ministers and understrappers. One frequently sees strong men, who have won their spurs in other fields, shunted in favour of men with money, with rank, with pliant backs, with a safe seat, or with frothy speech.

But some one will argue, with reason, that these are defects incidental to Parliamentary Governments, and that the real government of the country is carried out by the Civil Service which, while Governments come and go, goes on for ever.

The function of Government is (1) to determine the policy and (2) to see that the officials carry it out in the right way. Policy, therefore, comes first, and my claim is that, by the test of policy, the Labour Party is not only admirably fitted to rule, but that it is much better fitted than either the Tory, Coalition or Liberal Parties. The Labour Party may be deficient in effective criticism in the present House of Commons, may be short of star turns in parliamentary debate and platform oratory, but if these are serious defects, the next General

Election and the provision of higher Education for the masses will soon remedy them, and the Labour Party will possess as many shooting stars as the other parties. "Measures, not men," is the watchword forgotten by Liberals. "Policy, not verbosity," is Labour's watchword.

Locking back a little, is there any critic of the Labour Party who believes that a Labour Government would have invaded Egypt for the benefit of "bondholders"? or indulged in the South African War for cheap Chinese labour and gold-mines? or made War on Russia to restore Tsarism and to exact dividends? or organized a Reign of Terror in Ireland? or "staggered" into the Great War for Constantinople, Oil and World Power? Tories, Liberals and Coalitionists have had their chance, and have made a mad and a sad world. Labour must have its chance, and its policy is calculated to cure the madness and to turn the sadness to gladness.

LABOUR AND FOREIGN POLICY.

The first thing a Labour Government would do would be to end all the wars and sorts of wars in which the Coalition Governments have involved our country, by withdrawing our armies of occupation from Ireland, Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, Constantinople and the Rhine; by making peace with Russia, and, of course, recognizing the "Soviet

Government"; by replacing the Supreme Council of the Allies by a Council elected by the Assembly of the League of Nations, to which Austria, Germany, Russia, Turkey and the United States of America would be invited to send representatives, so that the League should be fully representative of all nations; by Revision of the Peace of Paris (preferably) by this new World Council; by Revision of the Covenant of the League of Nations in accordance with reason and the wishes of America, Italy, etc.; by co-operating with America, or with all the Governments of the world through the League of Nations, to rehabilitate the shattered finances of Europe; by immediate and drastic Disarmament either by direct agreement with America, France and Japan or, better, through the League; by dropping the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of which we know, and of any secret Alliance of which we know not.

This is a colossal although not a chimerical programme. It could be carried out by strong men with faith in Democracy. British Labour could do it. British Labour must try. British Labour must lead the way, because British Militarism is a great danger to World Peace, World Progress and World Freedom. Judged by expenditure in armaments and size of Empire held by force, it is the greatest and most dangerous Militarism in the world. The supreme duty of the Labour Party, therefore, is to smash our own Militarism, and to

extend the flood of freedom to every part of the British Empire.

The supreme duty of the French Socialists is to smash French Militarism, which some consider even more dangerous than its counterpart in England. That is the affair of the French Labour Party. England is in no position to criticize France.

What I have to say to my fellow-members of the British Labour Party is, that unless we smash British Militarism it will smash us as well as our country. How we have to accomplish this noble aim I shall deal with a little later, when we treat of the Remedy for Empire. As faint hearts and bitter-enders may take exception to the withdrawal of the British Army from the Rhine, the solid reasons for doing so are: that the presence of an army there is demoralizing alike to Germans and to our own soldiers, is delaying Germany's economic recovery by adding fresh financial burdens to her overtaxed people, and is altogether futile, as the terms of Peace have to be completely revised. British Labour must trust German Labour to carry out what reparations and conditions the League of Nations lays down without any more resort to physical force. The cruel and foolish policy of Lloyd George and Clemenceau and Millerand to put Germany in economic bondage would be reversed by a Labour Government for reasons which I have already given, but which I may repeat briefly, because the economic

and moral restoration of Germany is the most important step in the reconstruction of Europe, and essential to the well-being of France and England. Instead of trying to keep German goods out of England—any indemnity can only be paid in goods and not in cash—as the Coalition have been doing, Labour would encourage a free exchange of goods, which in consequence would give our manufacturers more orders and our unemployed more work.

Free Trade would be Labour's policy not only with Germany but with Russia and the world, and in order to avoid the crippling effect of the chaotic rates of exchange, arrangements would be made between the respective Governments to barter goods and to distribute them according to the needs of the peoples. What Capitalism had failed to do in its individualistic and competitive selfishness, Labour would achieve by International Socialism and Co-operation.

With regard to the chief bone of contention between Russia and Germany, and which little Greece badly wanted and still wants, and which now lies in the British Lion's mouth, Labour would hand over Constantinople to the League of Nations. It might become the home of the League, the great centre of Internationalism, and the hope of the New World.

The "mandate" theory—camouflage for "conquest and annexation"—beautiful invention of

Modern Capitalism under the directorship of the Heavenly Twins, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, has had its day, and must cease to be. All "mandated" territories must be restored to their rightful owners, the inhabitants; Mesopotamia to Mesopotamians, Syria to Syrians, Palestine to the dwellers in Palestine, whether Gentile, Jew or Arab. The League of Nations would naturally act as Trustee for these peoples and territories, freed from British and French interference and exploitation, and the precious stones and still more precious oil would be rationed equitably amongst the nations. Labour's policy for the stolen German Colonies would be to transfer them to the League, which would either return them to Germany or hold them in trust, fostering self-government, protecting the natives from exploiters and rationing raw material.

The principles of Self-determination, of National Freedom and Independence, would be fearlessly applied to Egypt under a Labour Government, and the Internationalization of the Suez Canal under the auspices of the League of Nations would relieve Egypt and England alike of all military and naval responsibilities in regard to this great waterway.

Labour would give short shrift to secret diplomacy, secret treaties and secret understandings, and would curtail the powers of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by creating a Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons.

Hitherto the world has been cursed by the rivalry in armaments of the leading European Powers. The financial drain of this malevolent and stupid rivalry is indicated in the following figures for ten years preceding the War :—

1905-1914.

	Army Expenditure.	Naval Expenditure.	Total.
	£	£	£
1. Great Britain	278,546,000	391,916,470	670,462,470
2. Russia ..	495,144,622	144,246,513	639,391,135
3. Germany ..	448,025,543	185,205,144	633,230,687
4. France.. ..	347,348,259	161,731,387	509,079,646
5. Austria- Hungary	234,668,407	46,803,394	281,471,801
6. Italy	141,518,105	81,702,376	223,220,481

During the same ten years the United States of America spent £262,627,554 upon the Navy and at the rate of about £25,000,000 a year upon her Army, although the number in the Army only amounts to about one hundred thousand men.

What volumes these colossal figures speak, if only the people had ears to hear and intelligence to comprehend them! Their very magnitude is a measure of the deception of Democracy and of the failure of the present systems of government responsible for them. The truth cannot be repeated too often that the democracies have no quarrel

with each other, and that they do not make wars, although, unfortunately, they pay for them and for warlike preparations not only in life and debt and taxation, but also in high cost of living, unemployment, reduction in real wages, and in the loss or postponement of great social reforms, which depend upon finance for their execution.

The common plea for this prodigal waste of money and labour and moral and intellectual energy on armaments, namely, that it is insurance against war and international piracy, has broken down in practice. Preparations for war have only proved inducements to war. The means to do ill deeds make ill deeds done. The best way to insure against war and international piracy is to get rid of the warlike and piratical systems of Capitalism and Imperialism and the Governments which represent them.

Two years after the War, the chief rivals in armaments are Great Britain, France, United States of America, and Japan. As the breeders of war have forecast that the next great war will be against what they are pleased to call the Yellow Peril—that is, between America and Japan primarily, with England and China dragged in on one side or the other—they are already whipping up their respective naval departments for the Naval Armageddon. What they would fight about God only knows. From past experience one might guess that it would

be the same old game for Naval Supremacy, World Power, islands in the Pacific as bases for submarines, or coaling stations, etc., or for minor material matters like "timber," "rubber," "oil," "phosphates" etc., so dear to the Capitalist's heart.

On January 1, 1912, the total first-line ship strength of the three great naval rivals is given as follows:—

		Ships.	Tonnage.
Great Britain .. ..	.. ..	532	1,601,652
United States .. ..	.. ..	330	766,733
Japan .. ..	.. ..	43	340,596

What should be the attitude and policy of the British Labour Party and a Labour Government towards the mad naval race? First, to tear up the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which has alarmed America, with or without reason, on the one hand, and given impetus to Japanese ambitions, with or without reason, on the other hand; secondly, to decline to enter into any competition in naval construction, recognizing that America has got both the men and the money, and that, if she is out to beat us in barbarism, she can do so; thirdly to co-operate with Labour in America and Japan to fight our common enemy—Imperialistic Capitalism; and lastly, to capture and strengthen the League of Nations, as the lifeboat for Labour and Civilization.

With regard to the Yellow or Asiatic Peril, Labour recognizes the historical truth that the White or

European Peril has created the Yellow or Asiatic Peril; that European Powers have acquired by militarism, and hold in subjection, vast territories and populations in Asia; that the subjection and exploitation of these populations by Europeans must end, or otherwise the Yellow Peril, which is only at its initial stage, will assume colossal proportions by China adopting European Militarism and uniting with Japan, and possibly India, to clear the Conquerors out of Asia.

When will Europe realize that she is the culprit? that her "brutality, violence and rapacity" in Asia, as well as in Africa, has been disastrous to Liberty and Public Rights, is beyond human endurance, and inevitably produces "reprisals"?

The depths of immorality to which the European Powers sank is well illustrated by a recent chapter in Chinese history. In 1895, when Japan (as the fruit of her victory over China) proposed to appropriate the Liaotung Peninsula, Germany, France and Russia assumed the rôle of good Samaritans and preserved China from her piratical neighbour. Two years later the scene was changed, and Germany led the European pirates in an attack upon the sovereignty and public rights of China, acquiring by the "mailed fist" a ninety-nine years' lease of Kiaochau; on March 15, 1898, Russia seized Port Arthur on similar terms; on July 1, 1898, Great Britain comforted her immortal soul with Wei-

hai-Wei ; and a little later France followed in the debacle by taking possession of Kwang-Chau-Wau. Italy also put in a claim for territory, but, her fist not being big enough, only received a snub instead. This process of ripping up China was too much for Japan, who took another round in the Imperial game of war for markets and pockets in 1904, defeating Russia and taking over some of the stolen property of that Power.

To meet the Yellow Peril, or rather to prevent the Yellow Peril growing and breaking against the White Peril, Labour's great function is to make good the promises of the War by restoring all the "Alsace-Lorraines" in Asia—Hong-Kong, Wei-hai-Wei, India, etc.—to their rightful owners, and by making common cause with Labour in the Eastern Hemisphere. The resources of Labour and of Civilization to find natural peaceful and appropriate outlets for Japan's overflowing population are not exhausted yet.

Anglo-American friendship and good relations are not only endangered by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but by the bigger issue with which it is intimately associated, namely, the Freedom of the Seas, which President Wilson failed to make good at Paris, and which more than anything else has pushed America into such active naval rivalry with us.

The fearful power of the Blockade established by the British Navy during the War thoroughly alarmed

America, and Mr. Wilson fought the wild beasts at Paris, in order to make the League of Nations the Mistress of the Seas, and the sole possessor of the right to declare a Blockade. His unfortunate failure is heard in the clang and the bang of the naval shipbuilding yards of America, Britain and Japan, and in the wild cry of the unemployed in the peaceful and peacemaking industries of these countries. Here again we realize how inseparably Foreign Policy is associated with Unemployment and how essential it is to meet America's just grievance against Great Britain on the high seas.

The Labour Party, by satisfying America on the burning question of the Freedom of the Seas, on the recognition of our War Debt to her, on the question of Ireland, on the revision of the Peace of Paris, on the transference of "mandated" territories to the League of Nations, and the rationing of raw material like oil, etc., amongst the nations, and on denouncing the Alliance with Japan, would remove all the grievances and causes of friction between us and our American cousins and lay the solid foundations of a lasting friendship and co-operation in world problems.

In the most vital department of Foreign Affairs, of Peace and War and Armaments, where Liberals and Tories have most blundered, the Labour Party is strongest, because it is free from the malevolent environment of Capitalism, and because it is in

fullest and heartiest sympathy with the struggling workers of other countries, with whom it will foster and develop the new spirit of Internationalism and Brotherhood instead of the old spirit of Imperial expansion and National enmity. In Foreign affairs, therefore, the Labour Party is better fitted to govern than either of the other political parties, and gives richer promise of Peace and Progress.

CHAPTER IV

LABOUR AND THE REMEDY FOR EMPIRE

THE Allied reply of January 10, 1917, to the United States laid down as amongst the essential terms of peace—

“The restoration of Belgium, Serbia and of Montenegro. . . .

“The evacuation of the invaded territories in France, Russia and Roumania.

“The restitution of territories formerly torn from the Allies by force or contrary to the wishes of their inhabitants.”

Behold the key to Labour's Remedy for Empire.

“The restoration of Ireland, Egypt and of India etc. . . .

“The evacuation of the invaded territories in Constantinople, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc.

“The restitution of Wei-hai-Wei, Hong-Kong, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, etc., formerly torn from China, etc., by force or contrary to the wishes of their inhabitants.”

It is all so simple. Why waste time in discussing it further? When the rulers of the Allies were in

a hole, when they were at the end of their financial resources, when their military machines were run down, when victory was vanishing and stalemate or defeat was facing them, they went on their knees to beg America to come and save them. With contrite hearts and penitential prayers they professed to President Wilson, who knew their past history (their public Alliances, their criminal conduct to weaker nations and races like Ireland, Morocco, Tripoli, etc.), that they had seen the error of their ways, that German Militarism had taught them a lesson they had never learnt before, namely, that Militarism was an evil thing in itself, that ambition for World Power was wrong, that the doctrine that "might was right" must end in their own destruction and in universal anarchy. Suspecting their sudden conversion to international sanity and morality, and fearing their Pharisaism, Wilson evidently pressed them to put their confession in writing. Hence the above declaration, and also the acceptance of the Fourteen Points by the Allies. In plain language, the Imperialistic Rulers of France, Italy, Russia, Great Britain and Japan condemned in 1917 without qualification or equivocation the old order of "right of conquest," and extolled in its place the new order (of the rights) of "nationality" and of "self-government." In 1919, by the Peace of Paris, the Imperialistic Governments of France, Italy

and Great Britain re-established the old order of "right of conquest," and knocked the bottom out of "self-government," as well as of the other "Fourteen Points." The "Big Three," in cheating, duping and betraying Wilson, have cheated, duped and betrayed America, without whose aid the War could not have been won, have cheated, duped and betrayed Democracy.

Confining ourselves to the British Empire, for whose governance we are directly responsible, the Coalition Government has magnified the old order of "right of conquest" by visiting upon Egypt, India and Ireland "Militarism" as bad as "Prussianism," and has mocked the new order of "self-government" by declaring a Protectorate over Egypt, by introducing finicking reforms in India, and by Partitioning Ireland against the expressed will and cherished longings of her people. The Coalition has cheated, duped and betrayed Democracy. Labour knows what "conquest" is, has suffered oppression from "conquerors" in the field of industry as well as in the field of politics and civil government, has tasted the bitter fruits of Militarism in times of strikes, has felt the cold steel of bayonets and bullets in its own flesh. From brutal experience and cold reason, therefore, Labour's hostility to the "right of conquest" is whole-hearted. To smite it hip and thigh, to restore the acquisitions and annexations of the past as

well as of the present to their rightful owners, to free the peoples from domination (foreign or home), to break the chains of servitude, to set the captive free, is the natural and happy province of the Peoples' Party.

Further, Labour is becoming more and more aware that the British Empire outside of the self-governing Colonies is not only a contradiction of Freedom, Self-government and Nationality, but is a hotbed of wage-slavery, a forcing ground of low wages and cheap servile labour.

British Labour has seen the powerful use British Capitalism has made of the difficulty of competing against cheap German labour by reducing the wages of British workmen, and the Labour Party realizes that depression of wages in Germany tends to depression of wages in England, that in fact the same law holds good universally, that depression of wages in one part of the world tends to depression of wages in another part ; that, in other words, low wages, like infectious diseases, have a tendency to spread and contaminate generally. In its struggle, therefore, for economic justice Labour is persuaded, and rightly, that the fight against Capitalism can only be successful by fighting Imperialism at the same time, and by making every unit in the British Empire free and self-governing.

It seems idle and illogical to argue that Freedom must be "within the Empire" ; that is to say, that

Britons have the right to dictate to South Africans, Australians, Canadians, Irish, Egyptians and Indians, etc., limits to their free choice and self-determination. Mr. Bonar Law said, "If the self-governing Dominions chose to say to-morrow, 'We will no longer make a part of the British Empire,' the Government would not try to force them. Dominion Home Rule means the right to rule their own destinies." We congratulate the Leader of Tory Imperialism upon his definite refusal "to force" Canada, Australia, etc., to remain within the Empire, and when the Labour Party refuses to "force" Ireland, India and Egypt to keep within the Empire, we shall expect to have his valuable support.

Labour's minor ideal may be to convert the British Empire into a Commonwealth of Free Nations, but its major ideal is a League of Free Nations, and the greater includes the less. Of one thing Labour is quite certain, that no Empire has any moral justification to use "force" or "compulsion" to keep or bind any nation within its boundaries. To use "moral suasion" with Indians, Egyptians, Irish, Australians, Canadians and South Africans, etc., to remain within a British Commonwealth of Free Nations is legitimate, but to employ "force" would be illegitimate, would, in fact, be "Militarism," the antithesis of Freedom, the curse of Humanity, and the cause of the decline and fall of every Empire which the World has ever known.

If Ireland and South Africa want Republics to-day and Canada and Australia to-morrow, not all the King's horses and all the King's men can prevent them. Peaceful persuasion may, kindness may, magnanimity may, a change in temper and tone on the part of arrogant and overbearing British administrators and politicians may. The only things that can permanently bind nations and individuals together are mutual respect, admiration and love. These things, the beautiful things of life, the Coalition Government has marred and mangled; England is no more respected, admired or loved, not even in the British Dominions. By its Carthaginian Peace for Central Europe and its wild orgy of military Terrorism in Ireland, Egypt, India, Mesopotamia, etc., it has destroyed whatever reputation England had for justice and honesty, and has made England the object of almost universal contempt. The Labour Party, cherishing the beautiful things in national life—respect for the ideals of other peoples, warm-hearted sympathy with their aims and aspirations towards self-expression and freedom, hatred of all the artifices, deceits and devilry of Militarism and Capitalism—must restore the good name of England and win the sympathy and confidence of Irish, Indian, Egyptian, South African. In that way alone can a Union of Hearts be brought about in the British Commonwealth and the current of public opinion towards Freedom “outside the Empire” be reversed.

The Great Adventure in the undiscovered land of Liberty, with all its glorious treasures of respect, and goodwill made by Durham in Canada and Campbell-Bannerman in South Africa, should be repeated by Labour in Ireland, Egypt, India, Mesopotamia, etc., and, if the final outcome should be complete Independence "outside the Empire," we shall not be grieved, because the boundaries of Freedom will have been enlarged, and the World enriched. The blindness of Imperialists seems beyond treatment. Their last and only argument, for instance, against Irish Freedom, against an Independent Irish Republic, is that in case of England being involved in war with some powerful adversary Ireland would take her opportunity of revenge for centuries of British cruelty, and would offer facilities to enemy submarines, if she did not actually join in a war of humiliation and vengeance. The converse proposition never strikes them, namely, that England's refusal to grant Irish Freedom "without reservations," and to acknowledge an Independent Irish Republic, must inevitably influence and incite Ireland to seize every occasion to injure and destroy her hereditary enemy.

To protect England from a justly irate Ireland, Labour would make friends with Ireland, by treating her as a free and independent equal, by confessing contrition for the awful excesses of

English domination in the past, and by co-operating with Irish Labour to free England and Ireland from Capitalistic Imperialism.

For purposes of clear thinking and treatment the British Empire may be divided into two parts : (1) Self-governing Colonies, making their own laws, managing their own affairs, even to taxing goods from Great Britain as well as from foreign countries, and in reality, though not officially, directing their own foreign policy. (2) Dependencies, to which are denied the sacred and natural right to govern themselves. To the first category belong Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland and South Africa ; and to the second, Gibraltar and Malta in Europe, India, Aden, Persia, Sokotra, Kuria, Muria Islands, Bahrim Islands, British Borneo, Ceylon, Cyprus, Hong-Kong, Labuan, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Wei-hai-Wei in Asia ; Egypt, Ascension Island, Basutoland, Bechuana-land, British East Africa, Central Africa, Zanzibar, Mauritius, Rhodesia, St. Helena, Tristan d'Acunha, Seychelles, Somaliland, Swaziland, Nigeria, Gold Coast (Lagos), Gambia, Sierra Leone in Africa ; Bermudas, Falkland Islands, British Guiana, British Honduras, Bahamas, Barbadoes, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad and Windward Islands in North and South America ; British New Guinea, Fiji Islands, Tonga, etc., in Australasia ; and the recently

“mandated” Mesopotamia, Palestine and German Colonies in various parts of the world.

Those belonging to the first category may be called “Commonwealth of Free Nations” or “solved Empire,” because they are free from armies of occupation and all forms of domination—could, in fact, create, if they liked, their own armies and navies—and because they enjoy self-government, based on freedom and democracy; while those in the second category form “unsolved Empire,” because they are held “within the Empire” by force, by Militarism, because they are subject to domination by Great Britain, and because their forms of government are alien and contrary to liberty and democracy.

It is important to emphasize the truth that Australia, Canada and South Africa only remain “within the British Commonwealth”—Empire is a misnomer for them—because they are free to do what they please apart from Downing Street; that, for example, they entered the Great War of their own free will, and their subscriptions to the British Navy are purely voluntary. It is a question even if they would be bound by decisions in London in regard to Peace and War. For instance, in case of Jingo England co-operating with Japan in a war against America, Canada and Australia would either stand “neutral” or fight alongside of the United States.

Before dealing with the "unsolved" part of the British Empire delineated in the second catalogue we are constrained to consider Ireland, which has been the most "insoluble" part of the Empire, and the grave of Imperial statesmanship.

LABOUR AND BRITISH MILITARISM IN IRELAND.

The suspension of the Home Rule Act (1914) was due to fear of "Ulster" and its English Military Allies. The province of Ulster is almost half Nationalist and Roman Catholic in composition, but a considerable Protestant and Unionist majority is concentrated in the four North-Eastern Counties of Down, Antrim, Armagh and Londonderry. Led by Sir Edward Carson and assisted by the leaders of the English Tory Party, a very formidable opposition to Irish Home Rule had been in progress for some years before the War. The so-called "Ulster" men armed themselves without let or hindrance, and Sir Edward Carson, with the open encouragement of Mr. Bonar Law, the present Lord Chancellor (F. E. Smith) and the Tory leaders, threatened to "break every law" rather than to allow "Ulster" to come under the rule of a United Irish Parliament at Dublin.

It is extremely important to observe that, though there is in Belfast a strong anti-Irish and anti-Catholic fanaticism, even amongst the workers, the Carsonite movement was not of purely local

inspiration. "Ulster" was used as a pawn in the game of British reaction. This came out very clearly early in 1914, when the Liberal Government having suddenly determined to move against Carson and check the warlike preparations in Belfast found itself confronted by the Curragh Revolt ; that is, by the refusal of a number of smart English regiments stationed at the Curragh, to go on service in Ulster except under conditions. It is stated that at one moment a warrant was issued against Carson, but that Redmond intervened. Henceforward the Liberal Government lay at Carson's mercy.

A month after the outbreak of the War, in placing the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book, Mr. Asquith simultaneously pledged himself "not to coerce Ulster." This pledge gave Carson all that he could desire. It meant that in any subsequent negotiation regarding the revision of the Bill in the light of the claims of "Ulster," "Ulster," representing a small minority of the people of Ireland, would be a contracting party, whose will could override not only that of the Irish Nationalists but also that of the British electorate.

Nevertheless the Irish people as a whole offered in August 1914 their support to Great Britain, believing the War to be one for Justice and for the Freedom of Nationalities. Several Nationalist M.P.'s enlisted, and two of them, Major Redmond and Lieutenant Kettle, lost their lives in Flanders, their

last words being a pathetic expression of faith in the cause for which they died, and in the identity of that cause with the aspirations of their own country.

A section of the Irish Volunteers—a body which had been formed as a response to the Ulster movement—objected to the recruiting policy of Mr. John Redmond, and the leaders of this section in April 1916 planned a rising in the streets of Dublin, which opened with the Proclamation of an Irish Republic to a somewhat sceptical crowd at the General Post Office. These young men, mostly scholars and professors, had not counted upon success against the British Army, but they calculated—and, as events proved, rightly—that their action in sacrificing their lives would create a feeling in favour of “romantic” Nationalism, and throw discredit on the pedantic policy of Mr. John Redmond and the Parliamentary Party. The rebellion was put down violently. Sixteen of the leaders were shot after summary trial by Court Martial, many others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and thousands of arrests and deportations—often of men who had no concern in the affair—were made throughout the country.

Sir Roger Casement, who had watched events from Berlin, crossed to Ireland on a submarine, was seized, placed in the Tower, tried for High Treason and hanged. At his trial as prosecuting

counsel appeared none other than Sir F. E. Smith, the politician who had assisted the "Ulster" rising against Home Rule, as "galloper" to the Carsonite forces. There was no moral difference between prisoner and prosecuting counsel. Both had advocated Direct Action—Casement on behalf of a weak nation, Smith on behalf of a strong political party. Casement was hanged, Smith became Attorney-General and afterwards Lord Chancellor.

The psychological effect of these events was very great. They involved the Nationalist Parliamentary Party in ruin and set Sinn Fein up in its stead. The causes of the Sinn Fein triumph were several, namely, discontent with Mr. Redmond's leadership, the conviction that no British party could be trusted to do justice to Ireland—a conviction that was greatly fortified by the difference between the treatment meted out to the rebels of Easter week and that accorded to Carson and his friends, who were now in high office in England—and finally, a romantic respect for the memory of the men who had risked and lost their lives in a forlorn but patriotic cause.

And yet the rising of Easter week was not of Sinn Fein origin. Sinn Fein, which dated from about 1904, had been merely a policy of passive resistance to British authority in Ireland. It proposed to liberate Ireland, not by force, but by patient constitutional and constructive effort and

“self-help.” Its central doctrine was non-recognition of the legality of the Act of Union, from which doctrine it followed that Irishmen should not sit in the British Parliament.

Previous to the rising Sinn Fein had sunk to so low an ebb as to be unable to pay rent for the offices which it occupied in Dublin. Now it was accepted by the Irish people as the only possible alternative to parliamentarianism, with which they had become disgusted. At the elections of 1918, Sinn Feiners were elected almost everywhere in Ireland by huge majorities, and these representatives of the people, instead of proceeding to Westminster, gathered together in the Dublin Mansion House, whence they issued “laws” and “decrees.”

Mr. Asquith, and subsequently Mr. Lloyd George, sought to recover their mistakes of 1916 by certain tentatives of conciliation. Many of the Easter-week prisoners were released, and in 1917 a so-called Irish Convention was brought together at Mr. Lloyd George’s instance. It was a body of a totally unrepresentative character, and the Sinn Feiners, who had been offered five seats upon it, refused to recognize the validity of its decisions. The Convention pronounced by a considerable majority for a moderate scheme of Home Rule for the whole of Ireland, but as the “Ulstermen” refused to sign the Report, nothing was done. Mr. Lloyd George repeated his dictum, “Ulster must not

be coerced," and forthwith proceeded to coerce Nationalist or Sinn Fein Ireland.

"Dail Eirann," the Sinn Fein Assembly, was broken up by force; Sinn Fein and the Gaelic League, a society formed for the promotion of the Irish language, were declared illegal and criminal associations. Mr. Duke, a Tory of decent tradition, resigned the Chief Secretaryship following upon the fiasco of the Convention. His successors in office were Mr. Shortt, Mr. MacPherson and Sir Hamar Greenwood, all of them characteristic creatures of the neolithic epoch in British politics, the epoch of the Lloyd Georgian Coalition.

Seizures of the persons and property of Sinn Feiners, midnight raids and arrests, became the order of the day. In 1918 and the early part of 1919 the number of the assaults against the elected representatives of the Irish people and their supporters ran into thousands. Then, of a sudden, towards the end of 1919, an extremist section of Sinn Fein began to retort by the assassination of policemen and other agents of the Crown, and so hated had the Government become, that it was found impossible to secure information against the criminals. At the end of 1919 these "gunmen"—Sinn Fein *francs-tireurs*—made an abortive attack on the life of Lord French.

Early in 1920 reprisals of an independent character were instituted. At the outset "small groups of

soldiers and police acted on their own initiative," but the process "speedily became systematized," and under Sir Hamar Greenwood became "part of the ordinary machinery of Government." The town of Thurles was "shot up," the Sinn Fein Lord Mayor of Cork was murdered in his bed in March, Tuam was sacked in July, and outbreaks of the military and police occurred at Kilmallock, Ballyanders, Ballah and many other places. Only in one case, that of Balbriggan, where two boys were hacked to death, did Sir Hamar Greenwood make the semblance of an apology, and even so he sought to minimize the disgrace and dishonour which his conduct had brought upon himself and Great Britain, by arguing that Sinn Feiners were the chief sufferers.

"The leading part of the campaign was allotted to the Black-and-Tans, recruited from demobilized soldiers to fill the gaps in the ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Their achievements were crowned by the burning of Balbriggan, and the merciless hacking to death—the phrase is literally accurate—of two of its inhabitants who refused to turn informers. Before Balbriggan, some eighty towns had been wholly or partially sacked. . . . But the Black-and-Tans have had no monopoly of this hellish business. Since Balbriggan, regular troops have burned Mallow and devastated Lahinch, where a man named Joseph Connole was done to death with

a savagery equal to that shown by the Black-and-Tans in the killing of Lawless and Gibbons.”¹

The culminating point of atrocity and counter-atrocity seemed to be reached on November 22nd, when a number of bands of young men entered the houses of fourteen British officers, who had been concerned in the Court Martial of Irish Volunteers, and killed the occupants in their beds. These crimes were avenged the same afternoon, when the military with machine guns attacked a crowd of five thousand innocent persons watching a Dublin football match, killing ten and wounding seventy.

Lest the writer—a Scotsman—should be considered a partisan of Ireland, which in his opinion is as much entitled to Freedom from British domination as Belgium is from German domination, he quotes from *The Nation* and *The Athenæum* of February 26, 1921:—

“Most observers of Monday’s attack on the Irish administration of Mr. Lloyd George will be struck by one singular characteristic of the defence. The Government made no attempt to repel the moral and political indictment of their policy. With one exception, Mr. de Valera’s accusation of the violation of women, Sir Hamar Greenwood allowed every specific atrocity alleged against his irregulars to go by default. This seems astonishing, but it is true.

¹ *The New Statesman.*

“Take first the accusation of violating the usages of civilized war, as laid down by the Hague Convention. Captain Wedgwood Benn adduced from such violations the taking and exposure of hostages, the infliction of penalties on the population for offences for which they were not responsible, the destruction of public property in revenge for private offences, and the seizure of private property when not demanded by the necessities of war. Sir Hamar allowed every one of these grave charges to pass. He was equally dumb before specific stories of misconduct. A County Court Judge stated, from the Bench, that in County Clare alone 139 criminal offences had been committed by the forces of the Crown. The Irish Secretary offered no denial or palliation of any one of these crimes. It was affirmed that the officers of the Crown donned civilian clothes in order the more freely to commit murder in them. Sir Hamar Greenwood did not deny it. He was told, on the authority of Cardinal Logue, that a certain encampment of Black-and-Tans was a ‘nest of bandits and homicides.’ He did not dispute the description. He was confronted with his admission that Cork City had been given to the flames by his auxiliaries, and told by Lord Robert Cecil that he dared not publish the military report on that crime because he feared for its effect on the maintenance of law. No Minister rose to repel the suggestion. He was

reminded of his denial of responsibility for the burning of the creameries, of his fiction on the incendiarism in Cork. He had no explanation to offer. Crimes against obviously innocent people—such as aged women and children—the murder of clergy, insults to highplaced Irishmen, instances of burglary, highway robbery and petty theft on the part of Auxiliaries and Black-and-Tans, and a state of widespread riot and indiscipline, were recited in detail. The only remedial measure that the Irish Secretary could recall was the dismissal or the unspecified punishment of fourteen men. He was told that his government was a failure, and that for one Sinn Fein outrage committed in 1919 fifteen were committed in 1920. He alleged a fictitious improvement in Ireland, only to confess that the Sinn Fein campaign was 'extending' to this country. He was asked for a policy other than one of force. He had none to suggest. . . . The Government would go on 'fighting the assassins' by imitating and outdoing them. . . .

"Why not admit that in the case of the British Government of Ireland we have committed one of the most fearful mistakes in history, that in using the sweepings of our Army to crush her by any means, foul or fair, we have behaved like barbarians and fools; and that in outraging the soil, the religion, the institutions and the character

of the Irish as we have done during the last four months, we have half ruined our own? ”

As the Government refused an Independent Enquiry, *The British Labour Party sent a Commission of Enquiry to Ireland*, and their Report will stand as an historical indictment of the Reign of Violence initiated and conducted by Mr. Lloyd George in Ireland immediately after the Great War to kill Prussianism.

While these events were passing in Ireland, the House of Commons was occupied with a new “ Home Rule ” Bill, which satisfied no party in Ireland. Its principal provision was the repeal of the Home Rule Act of 1914. The new Bill divided Ireland into two parts, and proposed to set up two Parliaments, one in Dublin and one in Belfast, thereby giving legal sanction to the fiction of “ two Irish Nations. ” Nationalists had always been prepared to agree to special safeguards for the Unionist majority of the North-West being incorporated in a Home Rule Bill, prepared even to allow the North-Eastern Counties to “ vote themselves out ” of Home Rule for a term of years, but the Government Bill went much further, constituting the Unionists of the North-East into a separate State, with a legalized veto on any further project of Irish Unity. In spite of the criticisms of Irish Southern Unionists, who objected both to the particularist character of the scheme and to its financial clauses (under

which practically every power of taxation was retained in British hands) the Government forced the measures through the House of Commons without any sort of amendment.

In the Irish debate in the House of Commons on March 23, 1921, Mr. Lloyd George confessed, "I have failed up to the present, and so have my colleagues."

As a people, Britons are deficient in imagination. How do Italians regard British brutality in Ireland? First, Italians say, "What business have British soldiers in Ireland? They have no more right there than Austrian soldiers had in Italy." It was Mr. Lloyd George himself who, speaking on "The Greatness of Little Nations," said of Belgium, "What business had German soldiers there at all? Belgium was acting in pursuance of a most sacred right—the right to defend your own home." Italians repeat Mr. Lloyd George's dictum, "Ireland is acting in pursuance of a most sacred right—the right to defend its own home."

Until the British Government recognizes this fundamental truth in its relations with Ireland, there is no hope for a satisfactory Irish settlement, and there is no hope of restoring the lost honour and reputation of England in the world.

What do our American cousins think of us? An "unofficial" Commission of men representative of all shades of American opinion was appointed

by the New York *Nation* to enquire into the Conditions in Ireland, and the Commission's conclusions are as follows:—

“ We find that the Irish people are deprived of the protection of British law, to which they would be entitled as subjects of the British King. They are likewise deprived of the moral protection granted by international law, to which they would be entitled as belligerents. They are at the mercy of Imperial British forces which, acting contrary both to all law and to all standards of human conduct, have instituted in Ireland a ‘terror’ the evidence regarding which seems to prove that—

“ 1. The Imperial British Government has created and introduced into Ireland a force of at least 78,000 men, many of them youthful and inexperienced and some of them convicts, and has incited that force to unbridled violence.

“ 2. The Imperial British forces in Ireland have indiscriminately killed innocent men, women and children; have indiscriminately assassinated persons suspected of being Republicans; have tortured and shot prisoners while in custody, adopting the subterfuges of ‘refusal to halt’ and ‘attempting to escape’; and have attributed to alleged ‘Sinn Fein extremists’ the British assassination of prominent Irish Republicans.

“ 3. House-burning and wanton destruction of villages and cities by Imperial British forces under

Imperial British officers have been countenanced and ordered by officials of the British Government ; and elaborate provision by gasoline sprays and bombs has been made in a number of instances for systematic incendiarism as part of a plan of terrorism.

“ 4. A campaign for the destruction of the means of existence of the Irish people has been conducted by the burning of factories, creameries, crops and farm implements, and the shooting of farm animals. This campaign is carried on regardless of the political view of their owners, and results in widespread and acute suffering among women and children.

“ 5. Acting under a series of proclamations issued by the competent military authorities of the Imperial British forces, hostages are carried by forces exposed to the fire of the Republican Army ; fines are levied upon towns and villages as punishments for alleged offences of individuals ; private property is destroyed in reprisals for acts with which the owners have no connection ; and the civilian population is subjected to an inquisition upon the theory that individuals are in possession of information valuable to the military forces of Great Britain. These acts of the Imperial British forces are contrary to the laws of peace or war among modern civilized nations.

“ 6. This ‘terror’ has failed to re-establish Imperial British civil government in Ireland. Throughout the greater part of Ireland British courts have ceased to function ; local, county and

city governments refuse to recognize British authority ; and British civil officials fulfil no function of service to the Irish people.

“ 7. In spite of the British ‘ terror,’ the majority of the Irish people having sanctioned by ballot the Irish Republic, give their allegiance to it, pay taxes to it, and respect the decisions of its courts and of its civil officials.

“ It would appear to your Commission that the Imperial British Army in Ireland has been guilty of proved excesses not incomparable in degree and kind with those alleged by the Bryce report on Belgian atrocities to have been committed by the Imperial German Army.”

American opinion has been so stirred, that another Commission—a Relief Commission—has been formed which is also “ unofficial ” but backed with the blessing of President Harding. A large sum of money is to be raised to restore the creameries and to rebuild Cork, etc. As the *Manchester Guardian* puts it, “ It is to be hoped that English people will realize the full ignominy of this charitable movement. It is as though Ireland were Armenia and we the Turks.” With our accustomed sang-froid and insular imperturbability we may try to screen our National humiliation by telling Americans and others to mind their own business, but that would be no answer to the grave charges against us, and instead of mending matters would only intensify

International acerbity and estrangement. It was Gladstone who thundered against Bulgarian atrocities and awakened the conscience of the world. We should therefore be the last people to resent outside criticism, which the Labour Party would meet by a reversal of the policy which has given just grounds for that criticism and condemnation.

The effect on World Opinion of the Irish policy of the Coalition Government may be summed up in saying that in the eyes of the world the horrors of British Rule in Ireland have surpassed all the Horrors of the German occupation of Belgium, and all the Horrors attributed to Bolshevism in Russia. Besides alienating American opinion and making an *Entente Cordiale* with the United States wellnigh impossible, it has blackened British Tradition of Justice in the Empire, so that India and Egypt can no longer trust our promises of self-government, and Canada, Australia and South Africa are heartily ashamed of us. It has shaken the British Empire to its foundations, and before the whole world England stands as a "whited sepulchre."

The British Labour Party should bring Peace and Contentment to Ireland by recognizing that England has no more right to govern Ireland than Austria had to govern Italy, by removing the armed forces of the Crown, by inviting Irishmen in Constituent Assembly to frame their own Constitution and to reshape their own National destiny. By

co-operating with Irish Labour, British Labour should bring about that change of heart and attitude between the Irish and English peoples which is so necessary to end the long years of bitter estrangement and misunderstanding, and to open up a new vista of sympathetic and enlightened reciprocal and international service.

LABOUR AND BRITISH MILITARISM IN INDIA.

India stands at the cross-roads of peace and war. She is determined to govern herself. "Partnership" with Englishmen in the government of their own country will no longer satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Indians. British domination has become intolerable, and self-respecting India will never rest content until British Rule is cleared out "bag and baggage." A few years ago, before the War, "Partnership" would have appeased the Indian appetite for "self-determination" maybe for many years, but now the policy of Indian patriots, who count the masses amongst their supporters, is "ourselves alone," "non-co-operation" with aliens.

Why this sudden and tremendous change in India's attitude to England, this revolutionary change? India has been stirred to her profoundest depths by the Great War. India has found her Mazzini and England has produced her Haynau. Some people say that history never repeats itself, but the history of Militarism is the same more or

less all the world over, and British Militarism is behaving itself as Austrian Militarism did in Italy, and producing the same effects. British Militarism is now repeating itself, and is doing in India what it did in the United States of America, what it did in Canada, and what it is doing in Ireland, namely, goading the people into rebellion.

Gandhi is India's Mazzini and Dyer is England's Haynau. By the massacre of four hundred unarmed and unresisting Indians at Amritsar and by the wounding of fifteen hundred more, General Dyer condemned British Rule in India. The failure of the Coalition Government to bring this firebrand of Empire to trial, to recall the Viceroy, and to dismiss the Secretary of State for India for their supineness after the massacre made this condemnation complete.

The harrowing story of the massacre is told in all its frightfulness by B. J. Horniman in *Amritsar: Our Duty to India*. The chronic discontent against our alien and despotic Government became aggravated during the War, when India was "bled white"—to use Lord Hardinge's expression—when the cost of living bounded up, when vast quantities of food were exported for the benefit of the armies, making a scarcity in India, when profiteering at the expense of the people was rampant, when the Government delayed to control food, when "pressure and persuasion" of a hard and cruel character

was carried out by British officials in recruiting for the Army, when the Government refused commissions to Indians, when "pressure and persuasion" of an offensive and oppressive nature was employed too often in extorting money from people unable to subscribe to the War Loans, when riots occurred in consequence. Political repression followed close on the heels of economic suffering. Under D.O.R.A. and the Press Acts all political propaganda for Indian self-expression was ruthlessly suppressed. Mahomet Ali and Shaukat Ali, two of the most popular Moslem leaders, were interned and their paper suppressed. Mrs. Besant suffered the same fate at the hands of Lord Pentland, once a Liberal. Gandhi was arrested and prohibited from entering the Punjab, wholesale arrests and imprisonments were made without charge or trial, and cases of madness and suicide took place in prison, where torture to extort evidence was practised.

The situation was momentarily eased by Mr. Montagu's declaration in August 1917 that the policy of the British Government was Responsible Government for India, by the release of Mrs. Besant, and by less repression. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Dyarchy was published, the Indian National Congress in a special session condemned it as "disappointing and unsatisfactory" and demanded a "Declaration of Rights" guaranteeing liberty of the Press, person, speech and association.

To this the Government of India replied with the Rowlatt Act—the “Black” Bills—which created new tribunals which could sit *in camera*, without juries, without preliminary proceedings for committal—which are provided for in the ordinary criminal law—and without any appeal from their decision, and with power of life and death or deportation to the Andaman Islands, a veritable hell. Besides these new Star Chambers, the powers of the Executive were enormously increased and the liberty of the subject entirely abolished. Agitation against the Rowlatt legislation—the denial of Justice—broke out afresh, but kept in peaceful courses until the Government of the Punjab arrested and deported Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, two of the most distinguished and beloved local leaders of the people. Immediately a large crowd proceeded to ask the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar to release their leaders. On their way to the Commissioner’s bungalow they were fired on by troops, and several were killed and wounded. Infuriated, they returned to the city, attacked and damaged or destroyed several buildings and killed five Europeans. “A lady missionary doctor, Miss Sherwood, was set upon by the mob, struck with sticks and fists, and left unconscious in the street. She was subsequently rescued by some Indians, who took her into a house, and cared for her until she was restored to her friends.”

“ For two days after this outbreak on April 10th the city was at peace. At 12.40 on April 13th General Dyer heard that a public meeting at the Jallian Walla Bagh was to be held that evening. But he took no steps to prevent it. He waited for it to assemble, and then he marched down on it with his force of rifles and machine guns. He would have used his machine guns, he declared, if he could have got them into the enclosure. But they were attached to armoured cars, which could not be got through the entrances. The thousands of helpless, unarmed people, some of them boys and children, were at his mercy, practically penned up in an enclosure from which they could not escape except over walls or through the entrances commanded by his soldiers. And deliberately, in cold blood, calmly directing the fire where the crowd was thickest, he fired upon them for ten minutes, until his ammunition was exhausted.” In answer to questions before the Hunter Committee, General Dyer said that after the firing he did not take any steps to attend to the wounded. “ Certainly not. It was not his job. Hospitals were open, and they could have gone to them.”

“ It was a horrible duty I had to perform. I think it was a merciful thing. I thought that I should shoot well and shoot strong, so that I, or anybody else, should not have to shoot again.” “ I think it is quite possible I could have dispersed

the crowd without firing, but they would have come back again and laughed, and I should have made what I consider to be a fool of myself." He admitted that the number of killed might have been four or five hundred, and he estimated the number of wounded at three times the number killed. "The same day he issued a Curfew Order, that all persons must be indoors after 8 p.m. and would go out into the streets at the risk of being shot at sight. Is it surprising that the wounded lay in their agony, that the dead lay putrefying in the hot atmosphere of an Amritsar April night, that the vultures and jackals came to tear the flesh from the bodies of the innocent victims of this dreadful holocaust, while the anxious relatives remained terrified in their houses?" "By his orders, for several days, everyone passing through the streets in which Miss Sherwood was assaulted was ordered to crawl with belly to the ground." Under Martial Law which followed the massacre "men were *publicly flogged in the street*" before being "tried or convicted" for assaulting Miss Sherwood. "On major charges 298 people were put before the Martial Law Commissions, who tried cases unfettered by the ordinary recognized rules of procedure or laws of evidence. Of these 218 were convicted; 51 were sentenced to death, 46 to transportation for life, 2 to imprisonment for ten years, 79 for seven years, 10 for five

years, 13 for three years, and 11 for lesser periods."

All the horrors and crimes perpetrated under Martial Law, how crowds were bombed and machine-gunned, in other parts of the Punjab, at Lahore, Gujranwala, Kasur, etc., would fill another chapter

Immediately after the massacre at Amritsar, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, allowed a telegram to be sent to General Dyer: "Your action correct. Lieutenant-Governor approves." The Government of India, "anticipating the enquiry of the Hunter Committee, rushed an Indemnity Bill by their official *bloc* through the Imperial Council, in the face of the strong protests of the non-official members. The result of this is that, so far as India is concerned, officials responsible for excesses and abuse of authority are immune in the India Courts from prosecution or civil suits for anything done under Martial Law in good faith."

A few honest British workmen whipped the Austrian tyrant when he dared to show his face in their yard, but the British tyrant was publicly presented with a sword of honour, and was hailed in the House of Lords and in the Imperial Press of London as a Saviour of Empire because he had taught Indian patriots a lesson in Prussianism and had struck terror into their hearts.

Many Indian leaders believe that the "crawling" order issued after the massacre has done infinitely

more harm to British Justice and British Rule than the massacre itself, that it has broken for ever Indian faith in either. The worst of the "crawling" order was that it was obeyed. In fear of her life—for the Punjab was under Martial Law, and Martial Law is no law—India "crawled" at the feet of England. East "crawled" before West. And now India is mad with anger, with resentment and rage, because her *courage* failed her in the hour of crisis and she "crawled" before her taskmaster. "Oh! this shame, this ignominy, this humiliation can only be wiped out by ending British Rule in India for ever," is indignant India's reply. They say that the worm turns on its attacker, but the Punjabi is no worm, India is no worm. Witness the eulogium passed in Parliament upon the Indian troops for their courage and magnificent services in every field of the War. For the moment the Indian Elephant lies low before the British Lion, nursing its wrath and biding its time for a suitable opportunity to crush its insensate and cruel enemy. May I remind the Coalitionists and Militarists—for they forget so easily their own half-thought-out dicta that cruelty begets cruelty—that crimes foster crimes, that frightfulness produces reprisals, and that if, in violent and increasing fury, Indians in their struggle for freedom perpetrate hideous crimes against English men and women, the responsibility will rest upon O'Dwyer (the Governor of the Punjab),

Chelmsford (the Viceroy of India), Montagu (the Secretary of State for India), Lloyd George, and the Coalition Government for failing to punish General Dyer, who butchered men, women and children in cold blood, and who disgraced the British flag as it has never been disgraced before. The massacre of Glencoe has been outdone in sheer callousness and criminality by the massacre of Jallian Walla Bagh. In competitive crime England has equalled Prussia.

If we were not involved in this hideous and miserable slaughter, if we had no share or responsibility in these diabolical displays of Militarism, if our honour were not at stake as a people and a nation who profess to be guided by Christian standards, how easy it would be to criticize and taunt Imperialists, and to prove that they are the breakers of Empire, that Militarism breaks as well as makes Empire.

Who are the breakers of the British Empire? Not the Labour Party, nor the members of the Labour Party, who go out to India as peacemakers and missionaries of freedom and self-determination; not Keir Hardie, nor Ramsay MacDonald, nor Josiah Wedgwood, who advocate Home Rule for India by Constitutional methods. They and their policy and their methods tend only to establish good relations and permanent ties of affection between India and England. No! the breakers

of Empire are the Militarist and Imperialistic Parties—Tories, Coalitionists and Liberal-Imperialists—who with the left hand offer a homœopathic dose of Morley and Montagu reform, whilst with the right hand—the mailed fist—they suspend every elementary right of civil and political liberty, arrest and imprison Indian leaders “without charge or trial,” establish Martial Law and Reigns of Terror which alienate, anger and drive to devious courses not only the intellectual leaders of the people, but also the masses, so that British over-rule is hated. The real breakers of the India Empire are the “full-blooded” “no damned nonsense” Imperialists like Curzon and Dyer, who are wedded to force and apply it with brutal thoroughness. The half-hearted and pusillanimous policy of Morley and Montagu, as representing the Liberal Party, only succeeded in putting in a pad of reform for the Indian to fall on, when wounded or murdered by the military machine.

All the political parties except the Labour Party have had their opportunity to solve the Indian problem, and have failed ignominiously. It is more than time that Labour had its chance, and Labour should succeed, because its policy is to allow Indians to determine their own form of government, and to co-operate with Indians in saving India from Militarism and Capitalism.

Other causes of the revolutionary change in

India are the treatment of Turkey by Mr. Lloyd George, who has consolidated the union between Mahomedans and Hindoos by angering Mahomedans in regard to the Khilafat, the Holy Places, and the Esher Report, which latter proposes to add insult to injury by using the Indian Army for retaining and exploiting in the interests of British Capitalism the territories torn from Turkey. In other words, India has to devil for England and for the English hounds of hell in some of the hottest and unhealthiest regions on earth; and England is a Christian, not a Mahomedan country. Well may honest Indians say, " God save us from Christian England ! "

The Imperialistic behaviour of the Coalition Government in Persia, both during the War and since the Armistice, has also alarmed Mahomedan and Hindoo opinion throughout India, so that Indians are driven to the conclusion that the real objects of the Great War were to destroy German and Turkish Militarism in order to give British Militarism a free hand to dominate the Middle East and to strengthen her paralysing grip over India. That is to say, that India's stupendous sacrifices in the Great War have been repaid by force and fraud, and Lloyd George or the King of England is the Kaiser of an Asiatic Empire extending from Constantinople to Singapore with outposts in China and the Pacific Islands.

Whether Gandhi will succeed in keeping the

National movement from violence is now the question. He, himself, is a Tolstoyan and Pacifist, but can he control the forces that he has created and keep them in spiritual and constitutional channels? The "non-co-operation" movement in other lands suggests that he may not succeed in preventing bloodshed. In fact, British Militarism will no more allow him and his followers a peaceful course of penetration than they did De Valera, Griffith, and the Irish Sinn Feiners. Our little Kaisers with flaming swords of fire will repeat the evil work which their forefathers did in America, which Austrian Imperialism did in Italy, which the Coalition crowd are doing in Ireland, and in consequence India may have her War of Independence as well as America, Italy and Ireland. The shallow-minded British Imperialists who opposed a United Ireland sang "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right." Perhaps they will now mutter between their teeth, "India will fight, and India will be right."

The only way to save India from bloody strife and England from perpetual disgrace is for the British Electors to send the Labour Party to power with an overwhelming majority, so that they can fulfil the pledges and promises of the Great War, and "restore India to Indians." The war has made this fulfilment irresistible, not so much on the grounds of the remarkable loyalty of India, of her whole-hearted co-operation and sacrificial service

in the War, strong as these grounds are, but upon the declaration of the Allies that the War was for "liberation from foreign domination." Great Britain cannot afford to pile up more "scraps of paper," and refuse the restoration of India to Indians. Excellent as have been the contributions of Belgium and Serbia to civilization, they are in no way comparable to those of India, either in Science, Art, Religion, or Philosophy, and the possibilities of 300,000,000 Indians promise more to human experience and human progress than of 15,000,000 Serbs and Belgians.

It is not for us, for British Imperialists, to say whether India is fit for complete self-government or not. That is a question for Indians. If they are satisfied with their fitness to rule their own country, that is their business, that is their responsibility. The British Labour Party has been insulted enough by the Imperialistic parties on their own fitness to govern Britain, and refuses to insult Indians by suggesting for a moment that they could possibly govern themselves worse than British-born bureaucrats. Besides, if there were any truth in the impertinent taunts of Imperialists, the fault would lie with Great Britain, because she had deprived Indians of initiative, of experience and of responsibility in government—had, in fact, reduced India to a servile State, and robbed Indians of the natural function of government.

British government of India may be good of its kind, but "good government is no substitute for self-government," as Campbell-Bannerman wisely said. I leave to philosophers, not to Imperialists, to decide whether "foreign" government can ever be "good." In my opinion, even with the best intentions and the finest efforts at disinterestedness, alien government, the government of one nation by another, cannot be good either for governed or governors. The atmosphere of subjection is poisonous, crushing all that is virile and worthy, and fostering all that is vile and ignoble. I am prepared to tickle British Imperialists by confessing that I think British overrule is better than Prussian or Russian overrule was under the Kaiser and the Tsar, but at the same time I must remind my countrymen that Britons have stooped and are now stooping to Prussian and Russian methods of "frightfulness" in the government of India.

Sir John Seeley's weighty judgment should be read, marked and inwardly digested by every Imperialist. The late brilliant Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge said: "We trust, indeed, that thanks to the control of English public opinion, the Indian Empire may stand at a higher level of intelligence, morality and philanthropy than the Mogul Empire which it has succeeded. But at best we think of it as a good specimen of a bad political system. . . ."

We doubt whether, with all the merits of our administration, the subjects of it are happy. We may even doubt whether our rule is preparing them for a happier condition, whether it may not be sinking them lower in misery, and we have our misgivings that perhaps a genuine Asiatic Government, and still more, a National Government springing up out of the Hindoo population itself, might not in the long run be more beneficial, because more congenial, though perhaps less civilized, than such a foreign unsympathetic government as our own."

"As a good specimen of a bad political system" the Amritsar massacre, or martial law with all its excesses and injustices, the Rowlatt Act, Legislative Councils with the most important subjects "reserved" to British officials, an Army paid for by Indians with only a few Commissions reserved for Indian gentlemen, an Education system without provision for the Education of the masses, and lack of legislation to prevent the exploitation of Labour by Capital, are quite enough in impartial eyes to condemn British Rule in India.

The failure of British Rule in India is nowhere more evident than in the conditions of Labour and in the relations between Capital and Labour. The Government of India has handed over the labourer body and soul to the sweet will of the Capitalists. The poverty of Indian labourers is proverbial, their long hours of labour are unhealthy

and demoralizing, their child-labour scandalous, and in consequence the masses are discontented, resort frequently to strikes and riots, and naturally attribute their misery to the British Government, which fails to father and protect them.

The Report of the Mesopotamia Commission is a complete condemnation of the present system of government of India, and flings wide open the door for self-government without reservations. When *The Times*, which we may accept as representing the Imperialistic wing of the British Press, and the *Manchester Guardian*, which is undoubtedly the most powerful advocate of Liberty in the British Isles, agree that "the broader question" involved is "the system of government" and the "reform" needed to prevent repetition of the blunders and gambling associated with the Mesopotamian Expedition, we seem to see an opportunity of India coming into her own. As the *Manchester Guardian* is a little more courageous in its criticism and recommendations than *The Times*, I quote from it first:—

"In the hands of this model bureaucracy, which has always been so scornful of criticism or advice from those at home, pure mismanagement became the order of the day, and every day. The Government of India and its military men proved themselves to be incompetent even to provide properly for the force which they themselves sent up the Tigris

and the Euphrates. The armament and equipment were on a scale intended for an Indian frontier expedition; the supply and transport was hardly organized at all; the importance of river craft was never realized; the medical arrangements were hopelessly inadequate, and resulted in much 'avoidable' suffering on the sick and wounded; and so expert was the knowledge and so thorough the care of these 'men on the spot' that the rations which were originally served out to the Indian soldiers were 'deficient in nutritive qualities,' and caused a serious outbreak of scurvy, which resulted in 7,500 casualties in nineteen weeks.

"We ascribe this sorry state of affairs to the long existence of the Government of India as a body which stands aloof and autocratic, uncontrolled by any public opinion. The officials stand in fear of their superiors, who have the power to break them, if they are rash enough to become importunate, and who are themselves almost wholly uncontrolled and stand in fear of no one. It is true that in the House of Commons a few members occasionally ask questions about isolated Indian topics and are usually given to understand that their interest in Indian affairs is something of an impertinence and a slight on the all-seeing wisdom of the Indian Government. It is precisely because the Government of India and its officials have no need to bear constantly in mind the need of satisfying

an exacting Parliament, reflecting a vigilant public opinion, that misdeeds like those exposed to-day can be committed with impunity and continued so long without detection. But England is far from India, and Parliament is weary and overburdened. We must look definitely for a remedy to India herself. We must give a greater share in the government of India to those Indians who are already capable, and growing ever more capable, of playing a part in the administration of the country. In that direction at least the British Parliament can make its voice heard. For if the Mesopotamia Report makes one thing certain, it is that we must rely on the growth of a public opinion in India, which implies an increasing share by native Indians in the administration of the country, to keep the Government of the country healthy and efficient."

The Times, in an article on "Defects of the Indian System," wrote:—

"The purpose of publishing the Mesopotamia Report was to prevent the recurrence of the same scandals under the same men or the same systems. There can, of course, be no delay in dealing with the individuals principally concerned; and if we turn this morning to the broader question, it is only because there is a risk that in clamouring for punishment the public may forget reform. It is of great interest that the Government are already

at work on the shortcomings of the India administration. That means, we take it, that they contemplate eventual change in three main directions. The most pressing need of the moment is for a revision of the system of Army control devised by Lord Kitchener, but in this matter the views of General Monro, the present Commander-in-Chief in India, will probably be awaited. The next necessity is for some further modification of the present centralized method of executive administration which concentrates too much detailed authority in the hands of the various officials of the Government of India, and allots too little power to the provincial governments; but this question is associated with the excessively minute control exercised by the India Office, a problem which has never yet been tackled. The third change will doubtless allot to Indians a further share in the control of their own affairs, but here again much careful preliminary investigation is required."

It is distressing to find *The Times*, which naturally claims to be up to date, suggesting that "much careful preliminary investigation is required" before Indians obtain "a further share in the control of their own affairs," in view of the fact that successive British and Indian Governments have been investigating and reporting on the subject since the days of Macaulay, Mill and Bright.

The British Labour Party is prepared to meet

all the subtle and unsubstantial and selfish arguments for the postponement of India's liberation. It will avoid the policy of procrastination and pusillanimity of the Liberal and Tory Parties, which have made British rule a byword in history, and which led to Rebellion in Canada and Ireland and a War of Independence in America.

The Imperialistic excuse that a self-governing India would fall an easy prey into the clutches of some ambitious Power like Germany, Russia, Japan or China—a China deformed by adoption of Western Militarism—is of no more value than that Australia or Canada might suffer the same fate, and yet, in spite of the Imperialists, Australia and Canada enjoy complete self-government. Germany need not be feared, first because she has no Navy, and only a tiny Army without means of communication so far afield, and secondly because the German Democracy has no wish to imitate the ambitions of its aristocracy. Russia has nobler work to perform for humanity in the field of Socialism than to go prancing over Asia in search of Empire. Russia's military pin-pricks in Persia have been in retaliation for British "offensive" against the Soviet system. From a possible attack of any Power or combination of Powers—White, Red or Yellow—the Labour Party would apply the Monroe principle to India—"Hands off" to all Imperial bounders—until India was prepared

to defend herself or, better still, until the League of Nations to Enforce Peace was well in the saddle.

"A free people are the best defenders of their own home" is a Lloyd Georgism forgotten by its author, but as true of Indians as of any other people in the estimation of Labour.

That India, being composed of many races, is not fitted for Liberty applies with equal truth to Great Britain, Germany, Canada and United States of America, which are all composed of many races with many languages. A nation is a state of mind, and India is as much a nation as any other with community of interest, which makes it one. As for fitness for Liberty, "Liberty alone fits for Liberty" is a Gladstonian dictum accepted by Labour. That Hindoos and Moslems would fall upon each other's necks and kill each other, if the British occupation ceased, is as likely to happen as that Roman Catholics and Protestants would tear each other to pieces under the Irish Home Rule Partition Bill of the Coalition Government. Self-government for Canada did not lead to religious riots. Responsible government and common national aims have a preventive effect upon racial and religious disorders.

The British Democracy has wakened up to the fact that India is the greatest political prison in the world, and declines to act as political gaolers any longer. From bitter experience, Labour knows

that limitation or denial of Liberty in one part of the British Empire means limitation or denial of Liberty at home. Better no Indian Empire than that Indian and British workers should be the slaves of the hounds of hell.

British Labour's reply to India's demand for Liberty and Independence is, "Hitch your wagon to a star"; follow your own course in the firmament of freedom; light the world again, as you lit it afore in Art, Literature, Philosophy, Religion and Social Evolution.

LABOUR AND BRITISH MILITARISM IN EGYPT.

BEFORE THE WAR.

Next to India, Egypt is the greatest possession in the British Empire which was taken by force and is held by force. To condense the history of this ancient and renowned centre of civilization—this early beacon-light in human evolution—into a few lines cannot be done with justice to Egypt. Her wonderful contributions to language, literature, writing, arithmetic, mensuration, geometry, scientific agriculture, including irrigation, to art, religion, morals, etc., are they not sung by Flinders Petrie and his colleagues? Softness in Egyptian character and luxurious living seem to have made Egyptians an easy prey to conquest by hardier races

—Ethiopians, Assyrians, Persians and Macedonian Greeks before the Christian era, and since by Arabs in the seventh century, and by Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth century. Egypt was one of the first provinces to be lopped off the decaying Turkish Empire in 1805 by Mehemet Ali, an Albanian subject of the Sultan who consolidated his rule as far south as Khartoum, and whose heirs were recognized by the Sultan of Turkey in 1849 as the rightful rulers of Egypt on payment of an annual sum of £675,000 to the Sultan's coffers.

The construction of the Suez Canal by a French Company in the 'sixties made Egypt the gateway to the East, and in consequence a tempting bait to France and Great Britain. At the same time the ruler of Egypt, Ismail I, full of extravagant schemes of development and dissipation, in which he was encouraged by reckless European money-lenders, ran up the National Debt to about £90,000,000. The financial conquest of Egypt soon led to its military conquest. First Ismail, to meet his embarrassments, sold a huge quantity of his shares in the Suez Canal to the British Government; then, at the instigation of English and French usurers, the Governments of Britain and France compelled him to accept British and French financial controllers, who took over the management of all Egyptian finances; then followed over-taxation and public discontent against foreign

interference, and a national movement to break the autocracy of the Khedive and get the government of the country into the hands of the people.

European commentators do less than justice to the truth when they describe this national movement as a mere mutiny of a few discontented Egyptian Army officers under Arabi Pasha. It would be just as true to describe Garibaldi's efforts for Italian emancipation as a mutiny of a few discontented Italians, or the Russian Revolution against the Tsar as a military rebellion. The historical fact remains that the Arabi Revolution was a complete popular success, that the Khedive was deprived of his power, and that the government passed to the National Assembly, which the Khedive was compelled to summon. So successful was this practically bloodless revolution, that the European money-lenders, terror-stricken lest the Egyptian Parliament would repudiate the debts of their autocratic ruler or fail to weather the financial storm, moved heaven and earth to stir the British and French Governments to stamp out the national movement by armed action. The French Government, to its honour, declined to have anything to do with so ghastly and infamous a proceeding. The British Government, on the other hand, tempted by the bait of the gateway to India in front and lashed by the bondholders' whip behind, bombarded

Alexandria, then landed an army, which crushed Egyptian nationality with "blood and iron."

This cruel and dastardly crime, this Murder of a Nation, alarmed the conscience of the world and the jealousy of the European Powers, to allay which Mr. Gladstone's Government disclaimed all intention of annexation and establishing a Protectorate, and announced that the occupation of Egypt would only be temporary and would cease when the finances were put in order and stable government established. The following dispatch of Lord Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was addressed to the Powers on January 3, 1883: "Although for the present a British force remains in Egypt for the preservation of public tranquillity, Her Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing it as soon as the state of the country and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit of it. In the meantime, the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed towards His Highness imposes upon them the duty of giving advice with the object of securing that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress."

British "advice" amounted to complete British Control under a British Agent possessing autocratic powers, with Egyptian Ministers as movable puppets of British "Advisers," and with a British Army of Occupation to enforce British Rule.

Lord Cromer, as British Agent from 1883 to 1907, instead of "teaching Egyptians to govern themselves," suppressed the Egyptian Parliament, flooded the country with British bureaucrats, and crushed every expression of Nationalism with a heavy hand. His failure to found Universities and to provide adequate schools for the people is unpardonable. To his credit, he pushed forward large schemes of irrigation, abolished forced labour (*corvée*) and the lash, and put the National finances in order. During his regime the Sudan was reconquered and administered as a British possession, and French antagonism to the British occupation was bought off by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. Six years after his retirement the Egyptian Parliament (the Legislative Council) was partially restored as a sort of sounding-board for Nationalist aspirations.

DURING THE WAR.

At the outbreak of the War, Egypt, which was technically part of the Turkish Empire, was proclaimed a British Protectorate without consulting Egyptians, and a member of the house of Mohammed Ali was made "Sultan" in place of the ex-Khedive Abbas, who went over to the enemy. Martial Law was adopted, the Legislative Assembly was suspended, and a strict Censorship of the Press, etc., was stupidly enforced, all causing bad blood

and the impression that the Allies were being defeated.

Contrary to the Proclamation that Egyptians would not be asked to fight against their fellow-Mahomedans, one-thirteenth of the population (1,000,000) were enlisted, at first voluntarily, and then, when the supply of recruits flagged, conscripted into the Egyptian Labour Corps, which were employed not only in Egypt but in Palestine, Syria, and even in France, and sometimes under fire. The provision and conduct of hospitals for these corps was altogether unsatisfactory and scandalous, and the death-rate exceptionally high.

The commandeering of food, fodder and animals without quick and just payment, the rise in the cost of living, the scourge of influenza, and the cruel abuses attached to Conscription added to the general discontent and unrest.

AFTER THE WAR.

This general discontent and unrest was fanned slowly but surely into Rebellion by the following acts of Mr. Lloyd George's Government: (1) The tightening of Martial Law and the treatment of Egyptians as a subject race in spite of the public declaration of Field-Marshal Lord Allenby that the aid of Egypt was the most important factor of success in the campaign against the Turks; (2) the refusal of Egyptian representatives at the

Peace Conference at Paris, the injustice and impolity of which was accentuated by the fact that the New Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz sent an Envoy ; (3) the refusal to permit the Prime Minister of Egypt, Rushdi Pasha, to visit London to confer with the Foreign Office, in consequence of which refusal the Egyptian Ministry resigned, and the country was without legal government for almost six months ; (4) the refusal of passports to the Delegation of Nationalists under Saad Zaghloul Pasha, late Minister of Education and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, which desired to present the case of their country to the Paris Peace Conference ; (5) the deportation of Zaghloul Pasha and three of his colleagues to Malta in March 1919.

Immediately the arrest and deportation of Zaghloul Pasha became known the Rebellion broke out, communications were cut, British officers were murdered in a tram South of Cairo, and British forces were besieged in Assiout. Competition in crime ensued, and reprisals were carried out by Britons on a scale of ferocity and cruelty only surpassed in Ireland. " Whole villages were wiped out," and Egyptian opinion consolidated against British Rule by British atrocities.

General Allenby endeavoured to soothe outraged Egyptian opinion " by releasing members of the Zaghloul Delegation, by dismissing the most unpopular British official in the Government (the

Adviser to the Ministry of Education), by inducing Said Pasha, a discredited politician, to form a Ministry; by transferring (July) trials arising out of the Rebellion from the Courts Martial to the Civil Tribunals, and by abolishing the Censorship of the Press—two concessions that have been indeed more apparent than real, since the Courts Martial had already imprisoned innocent Egyptians who were not released, while as for the Press, a tight hold was kept over it by suspensions and fines, and the Censorship was re-imposed wherever it was deemed expedient."

Since the March Rebellion was suppressed, discontent continued to break out in riots, in strikes among the students, the schools being under Martial Law even as to the curriculum, and most serious of all in industrial strikes, from which Egypt has hitherto been entirely free, the strikes combining economic with political grievances, as "most of the employers of labour (e.g. the water and tram companies of Alexandria) are foreigners."

"Too late" Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon awakened to their responsibility in the Government of Egypt. Not till May 1919 did they announce a Mission to Egypt (1) to enquire into the causes of the March Rebellion and (2) to frame a Constitution for Egypt under the Protectorate. Not till December—again "too late"—did the Mission sail.

In view of Britain's broken pledges to restore Egyptian Independence, in view of the promise of the Great War of Self-determination, which Egyptians, being simple and honest people, expected would be fulfilled immediately after the Armistice; in view of British Militarism breaking all bounds in Egypt, both during and after the War; and in view of the fact that Lord Milner, an Imperialist with a terrible record, was President, the Mission inspired nothing but distrust in Egypt and was boycotted by every section of Egyptian Society. The next stage is enough to make the Olympian Gods laugh. Unable to secure Egyptian evidence on the "spot," the Milner Mission begged on bended knee Zaghloul Pasha and his co-delegates to come to London to confer and take counsel together. Zaghloul came, and now the world possesses the Milner Report in a White Paper—Egypt No. 1 (1921)—and Zaghloul's reservations and alterations thereon.

The chief points of Lord Milner's scheme are an Alliance between Great Britain and Egypt which binds Egypt (1) to subordinate her Foreign Policy to Britain, (2) to submit to a British Army of Occupation in order to protect the Suez Canal, and (3) to accept Britain as the "Protector" of all foreigners in Egypt with the right to interfere in legislation and taxation affecting foreigners. These conditions deprive Egypt of every shadow of "In-

dependence" and subject her more than ever to the will or the whim of any British Foreign Secretary, who will always have the Army on the spot to apply the mailed fist, and who will be free from any interference of other Powers, whose "privileges" under the Capitulations will be handed over *holus-bolus* to Great Britain.

The reservations of the Egyptian Delegation, including the formal abolition of the Protectorate, were drawn up after consultation with Nationalists in Egypt and presented in October 1920 to Lord Milner, who refused to examine them on the ground that they could be considered by the respective Governments of England and Egypt at a later stage.

As Lord Milner resigned his position in the Cabinet early in 1921, the natural inference is that the Cabinet, which had a memorandum of his scheme before it since August 1920, refused to accept his recommendations, and that the Government has no other remedy for Egypt than force.

While Egypt burns, Mr. Lloyd George runs away from his principles! By delaying a settlement until after he has consulted India and the Dominions in Imperial Conference, he is adding fuel to the fire in Egypt, and shirking responsibility. When did England wait on Colonial opinion for its Irish policy? Why does the Coalition Government delay and defer to Anglo-Indian opinion? Is it afraid to set the pace in Egyptian Freedom, which the

British Bureaucracy in India would tremble to follow? Or is it "strategy"—in other words, Militarism—which keeps back the flood of freedom from Egypt as well as India and Ireland? Is "strategy" for ever to make England a bog to Freedom?

The reply of the Labour Party to this policy of pusillanimity, procrastination and Prussianism is Internationalization of the Suez Canal under the auspices of the League of Nations, withdrawal of the Army of Occupation, and fulfilment of British pledges by the restoration of Egyptian Independence.

"It is not to be thought of that the flood
 Of British freedom, which to the open sea
 Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
 Hath flowed 'with pomp of waters unwithstood'
 Roused though it be full often to a mood
 Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
 That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
 Should perish, and to evil and to good
 Be lost for ever——"

CHAPTER V

HOW?

CAPITALISM and Imperialism being evils in themselves and the fruitful cause of almost all our woes, Labour—mental-workers and hand-workers—has to make the awful decision of how to remove these evils and to reconstruct society on just and moral foundations. Has Labour to fight them with their own weapons or not? That is the question; with force and fraud, or with reason and righteousness? with picric acid and poison gases, or with pamphlets and points? with methods of barbarism, or with ballot-boxes? with carnal or with spiritual means? It is unnecessary to dwell upon the frightful consequences which would follow should Labour and Democracy determine to fight its enemies—Capitalism and Imperialism—with their own weapons. It would be Civil War in Great Britain. It might become Universal Civil War—Lenin's dream—by contagion or by plan, or both. This would be the Great Class War carried from the political, economic and industrial stage to the field of Mars. It would probably entail indescribable horrors, slaughter, torture,

disease and exhaustion, moral, physical and material, on mankind. Mr. Bertrand Russell believes that "the most probable result would be a warfare lasting for many years, taking the form of unprecedentedly bloody and brutal civil war in all civilized countries, involving universal starvation and ferocity, destroying the means of industrial production, reducing the population of the world by about 50 per cent., and leaving at the end an uncivilized peasant population terrorized by robber bands."

Personally I do not accept the "inevitable" theory as regards wars in general and this Great Civil War in particular. I believe that Labour and Democracy can win a "bloodless" victory by educating public opinion, by capturing Parliament, and by passing laws, which Capitalism dare not and would not avoid or disobey, although they spelt the death of Capitalism.

A short, sharp bloody Revolution, with a few crowned and uncrowned heads strewn about, may appear as nothing to those touched with war psychology, but who is going to limit the scope and character of the conflagration when once begun? Anyway it would be a gamble in human lives, an immoral proceeding to which Labour should give no countenance. Besides, it might end in failure, in riveting the fetters of Capitalism and Imperialism deeper in the lives of the workers, so that the sacrifice of life and treasure would be worse than useless.

Revolutionists cannot neglect the fact that Capitalism is in power, that all the engines of war are at its disposal, that the Coalition Government has made all the necessary preparations for a grand attack on Labour, that it has only to press the button and the whole phantasmagoria of murder would move in horrid phalanx of aeroplane, machine gun, tank and bomb against the proletariat.

According to Jesuitical teaching the end justifies the means. So that it behoves the advocates of revolution to make sure of their ends before resorting to bloody means ; in other words, to win the soldiers to their side and to make sure of their active co-operation. The officers, of course, belong to the Capitalist caste for the most part, and with rare exceptions would fight against Democracy. To win the soldiers means tuition and intellectual drill. The sooner, therefore, the revolutionaries open their continuation classes in the Army the better for their aims.

In the long run, the world is governed by public opinion. Even England, Tory England, landlord-ridden England, set in the silver sea of Capitalism, with all the external trappings of Democracy, is governed by public opinion. At the General Election after the Armistice public opinion was captivated by the prospect of seeing the Kaiser dangling in the air in a fit of suffocation, and his impoverished dupes paying the British bill of costs,

and in consequence Lloyd George got five years' power, which he has misused to hang Ireland, India, Russia and British Trade Unionism, and to make Mesopotamians pay in oil and British Labour in unemployment and reduction of wages the War Profiteers' Bill. Disillusioned public opinion is only waiting the next General Election to give the Great Betrayer the sack, and to entrust the Labour Party with five years' power. If in that time Labour quits itself well, grapples resolutely and intelligently with the Social, Economic, Industrial and International problems which the War and the Reactionary Governments have created or increased in intensity, Public Opinion will renew its trust and the Labour Party will have another lease of power to make good its pledges and promises. Ergo, why waste precious lives when the vote will do everything? The young bloods of Democracy, like the young bloods of Aristocracy, are spoiling for a fight, and a fight to the finish. Both are infected by War. Force, Supremacy, Paramountcy, Power, World Power—the Great Evils which the War was waged to banish—have got hold of their imaginations, and “killing being no murder” according to the gospel of Imperialism and as practised by Lloyd George and his colleagues in Ireland and elsewhere, these young bloods see no harm, much less any crime, in getting each other by the throat and making society at large pay for their devilry.

Lenin's lead on the one side and Lloyd George and Clemenceau's on the other have raised Mars to the supreme Godhead. Little wonder, therefore, that the hotheads of Labour and Democracy and the blockheads of Capital and Aristocracy want to have a scrap. Physical Force, Brute Force, Barbarism as a remedy is still in the ascendant, in spite of all the horrors and failures of the Great War, and if the Labour Party imitates the Tory and Liberal Parties in accepting this false doctrine, then the Labour Party is doomed to failure and the World to Ruin.

The apostles of "red" and "white" revolution would be well advised to re-read history and to count the cost before embarking on Civil War. In 1871 the Capitalists of France massacred 30,000 to 40,000 Communists, believing that their "dear brothers" were more dangerous to their "system" than the Germans at their gates. When property and power are at stake no sacrifice is too great in the mind of modern Capitalism. Let British Democracy make no mistake about it, that her aims and aspirations are more hateful to British Capital than Germany, and that, in the event of a trial by fire, she would be mown down with the same merciless cruelty as the Parisian proletariat.

The British Labour Party has done well to denounce the Third International and the Moscow programme of violence and Universal Civil War for the overthrow

of Capitalism. At the same time it is to be profoundly regretted that there is division in the party over the means to be employed to win the common goal, and that a not inconsiderable number have cut themselves adrift and formed a Communist Party. While Capital is clapping its hands over this division in the ranks of Labour, the right and left wings of Labour should avoid wasting their energy in mutual recrimination, and the right wing should go a step farther and insist upon the left wing enjoying the same freedom of speech as the orthodox "Militarists," whose thunder they have stolen. In the war of ideas let there be equal opportunity for all and equality of treatment, and let the people decide at the ballot-boxes which idea shall rule.

Public opinion has made mistakes in the past, and will make mistakes in the future; it is capable of action and reaction, of revolution half-way or all-the-way. My point is that the Labour Party can educate public opinion, can win power through the vote, and can exercise that power, peacefully gained without sacrifice of life or treasure, for the accomplishment of all its noble, social and Communal aims, for the extinction of the systems of Capitalism and Imperialism, and for their replacement by systems of Socialism and Internationalism.

What Lenin has accomplished by force plus reason, the British Labour Party can win by Reason alone. England may be slow, dull-witted and Con-

servative, but politically she is far in advance of what Tsarist Russia was, and will respond without the whip to Democratic ideals. Supposing, however, that the voters, misled by the Press, the Pulpit and the Pub—all agencies of Capitalism with rare exceptions—did not return Labour with a working majority in the House of Commons, what then? Has Labour to lie on the mat for another five years, while Capitalism picks its brain and muscle? After a Great War for freedom the continuation of economic and industrial bondage might well be beyond human endurance. What other remedy could Labour use besides force, besides blood and iron, besides red revolution, the cursed instruments of Capitalism and Imperialism? Passive resistance (the refusal to pay rates or taxes), non-co-operation (the refusal to recognize or co-operate with the Government), direct action (the refusal to work under certain conditions), are the resources of civilization still at its disposal and strong enough to gain its ends. Into the ethics of passive resistance, non-co-operation and direct action I need not enter further than to say that passive resistance has received the imprimatur of the "Nonconformist conscience," that non-co-operation—another phase of passive resistance—is not proscribed by law, and that direct action as defined above is perfectly legitimate. The practical success attending these methods is quite another matter. The Nonconformist strike against Balfour's

Education Act, which offended their conscience by making them pay for religious teaching which they did not like, was short-lived and unsuccessful. "Non-co-operation" with Government has been tried in many lands, especially when the Government is alien and despotic, with varying success. At present it is particularly on trial in India and Ireland, where the alien Governments, by their tyrannical methods, have driven and are driving non-co-operators over the boundary of passive into active resistance, and where, of course, the entire blame attaches to the Governments, for the simple reason that no Government has any justification to govern against the will of the people or without their consent.

Direct action for both economic and political purposes, however anti-social and anarchical, is legitimate and much more defensible than direct resort to arms, to war or bloody revolution. The General Strike is Labour's last weapon in a Capitalistic State, and cannot be relinquished until the State is converted into a Social Commonwealth. Its effectiveness is variable in different countries, and in the same country under different circumstances. The secret of its success, as illustrated, for instance, in preventing the Coalition Government of England making war directly instead of indirectly upon Russia, is public opinion behind it, proving again that public opinion governs the world in the long run.

Whether the threat of a General Strike would have prevented the South African War or not is very speculative, for public opinion at the time was poisoned by the Imperial Press and the Militant Church. Still more speculative is the question whether a General Strike in the countries concerned would have prevented the Great War. In the existing circumstances, with the unfortunate influence of Church and Press, the strikers would have probably been denounced as traitors, would have been shot down by their Imperial brothers, and would finally, as actually happened, have been conscripted as cannon fodder by antagonistic systems of Imperialistic Capitalism.

More and more, therefore, are Labour and Democracy led to the great truth that Ignorance is their greatest enemy, and Education their greatest friend. Cognizant of that truth, the Capitalistic Government of England has just delivered a knock-out blow at Labour by postponing and emasculating Fisher's Education Act—their own infant—the schemes of Continuation Schools, etc., to “remain in abeyance” ; higher school-age “withdrawn” ; finance to be “strictly limited” ; building new schools, especially Secondary Schools, “discouraged” ; fees at Secondary Schools to be increased, so that the children of working men cannot enter there ; and private schools—for the better classes—helped, etc.

Why are the peoples so easily fooled by their

rulers, and like sheep led to the slaughter by Imperialists, and to the wage-slavery market by Capitalists? Because in times of peace, and still more in times of war, their environment is incompatible with health, with knowledge and clear thinking. The people still perish for lack of knowledge. In times of peace the struggle for bare existence is so intense, so cruel and so demoralizing that the masses have neither the leisure nor the strength to think beyond what they shall eat and what they shall drink—and drinking is not conducive to thinking—and wherewithal they shall be clothed. With vast masses of the population underpaid and underfed, inadequately, insanitarily and immorally housed, an easy prey to poverty, disease and disaster, what chance has education, spiritual or intellectual? Perpetual motion on the brink of poverty degrades large sections of the community into little better than dazed insects. Besides, what chance is there of awakening thought and reason, when children are thrown body and soul into the whirlpool of labour and commercialism before either the mind is trained or the body is developed?

Ignorance, unhealthy environment, both of body and mind, is the *sea of ice* which congeals the warm current of democratic aspiration and ambition, and which fastens the good ship "Democracy" in the frozen embrace of Capitalism. The removal of ignorance is therefore the first step towards

Democracy's deliverance. Without education, without a quickened intelligence on the part of the masses, Labour cannot hope to win its own and to make even Direct Action successful. Lenin knows and acts upon this fact. His greatest and probably most enduring service to Russia is the spread and development of Education. Education is the foundation for successful revolution, as well as for evolution of the best. Labour's first duty, therefore, when charged with Responsible Government, will be to capture the schools and colleges and Universities for the children, making them public institutions in the fullest sense, free from financial and class distinctions and barriers.

This brings us back to Direct Action—the General Strike—as the means of combating Militarism and Capitalism, and from what we have said it would appear that without an enlightened proletariat and an intellectual soldiery, Direct Action would have but a poor chance of success.

In Italy (in October 1920) Labour, in reply to Capital's attempt to lock out the men, seized the factories, which they could only imperfectly carry on for many reasons, amongst which one was the want of control of the banks. Thanks to the Government, influenced by though not completely devoted to Socialistic Ideals, Labour gained a promise of a genuine share of control for Shop Councils, with the right to examine the Company's books. It is, of

course, only a small step forward compared with Russia's Revolution, but it will give Labour invaluable knowledge and experience in management, and enable her eventually with fuller control to avoid many of the mistakes of her Russian brothers, who have had no gradual transition from Capitalism to Communism, and who have been compelled by circumstances to go back to Capitalism with restrictions.

In England, if Labour followed the example of Italy and seized the factories and the mines, etc., she could hardly expect to win even the partial success of Italian Labour, because the British Government is overwhelmingly Capitalistic, and would be only too glad of the opportunity to use the Army, which with us is a Class Institution, to support Capital and to suppress Labour. In Italy the working man enjoyed possession of the factories and the farms without molestation from the military. In England the working man would be fired out by the Black-and-Tans. In Italy the workmen only yielded up possession on the definite promise of a sympathetic Government to secure for them a large measure of control. In England a hostile Government not only lied to the miners regarding the Sankey Commission, but called up the Reservists when the owners locked out the miners. In England, liberty-loving England, the Destroying Angel is still with us in the form of D.O.R.A. and the Emergency Powers Act.

Since writing the above, Italian Labour has had a rude shock. The Fascisti di Combattimento—a sort of Black-and-Tans with a large admixture of middle-class adherents—have been organized to fight for Capital and a Class War has been conducted by them against Labour with fearful violence and terrible results. Labour newspapers, Labour clubs, Labour organizations, Labour property, Labour meetings, Co-operative stores and workshops have been attacked systematically and brutally with enormous loss of life and property. The reign of terror has extended even to the General Election for Parliament, electors being molested and murdered, and ballot-boxes being tampered with and destroyed by the Fascisti. The Government attitude to this anarchy, to this civil war, was one of *laissez-faire*, just as it was towards the workmen when they took possession of the workshops. What the end will be no man can foresee.

Before British Labour follows the example of Italian Labour in seizing factories, it should follow Italy's lead in electing a House of Commons in harmony with Labour, and then improve upon Italian precedent by securing Democratic Control of Industry by Act of Parliament without imitating Militarism by forceful occupation of the factories with its inseparable risks of reprisals.

Foolish, indiscriminate and unjust charges are made against the Labour Party, especially by Mr.

Lloyd George, that its aims are selfish and sectional, that it is out to bless itself alone, that it is waging a Class War, that it is Bolshevik and heading for Revolution. As the workers, intellectual and manual, comprise nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of the population, the charge of selfishness and sectionalism is silly. To raise the standard of life of the nine hundred and ninety-nine is to raise the National standard and to bless the whole country.

If it is sectional and selfish to help the poor, the needy, the afflicted, the despised and rejected, and to build up a contented and merrie England fit for heroes to live in, then the Labour Party must plead guilty. While the old political parties lionize the Tyrant with the sword and the muckrake, and make it easy for him to rob the people at home and to spoil the Egyptians abroad, the Labour Party plays the part of the Good Shepherd, who protects the sheep from the wolves and is ready to lay down his life, if need be, in their cause and for their salvation. Whether the S.O.S. comes from the sweated seamstress or the hewer buried in the mine, or from Ireland or Persia tortured to death, Labour is always ready to rescue. To slay the Goliath of Militarism and the Cræsus of Capitalism is Labour's lot. The *Magnificat* is Labour's song: "He hath showed strength with His arm. He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their seat; and hath exalted the

humble and meek. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich He hath sent empty away."

That it is waging a Class War by constitutional means is perfectly true, but who commenced the Class War? Certainly not Labour. The Class War was declared in the ancient of days by the strong against the weak, by Cains against Abels, by monopolists of land and other sources of wealth against the landless and the labourers. The History of the Class War is the History of the World. The Kings went for the Barons, and the Barons for the Kings until the Barons won the day. The Middle Classes, the merchants, rebelled against the Upper Classes, the Aristocracy, until they won the day, in France in 1789 and in England in 1832. The poor labourer has kicked against the pricks, and had his revolution and won his political rights, though, by the way, he won them not by revolution so much as by constitutional means.

In France the agricultural labourer won more than political rights, for his revolution made him a peasant proprietor. In spite of the fact that the British agricultural labourer enjoys the full rights of political citizenship, he is still in a condition of economic servitude, which he can end at any Parliamentary Election by returning Labour to nationalize the land.

How far British women owe their political emancipation to "revolutionary" means is an interesting

psychological puzzle. One should like to credit British sense of justice as being much more influenced by women's arguments than by their brickbats.

As for the charge of "revolutionary," the British Labour Party is opposed to violence as a remedy, and is wedded to lawful and parliamentary action. Under great and frequent provocation, British Labour has exhibited admirable self-control. Sadly lacking in this cardinal virtue, it is your Capitalists and Imperialists who, believing in violence, are the real revolutionaries and Bolsheviks. British Labour has not declared for a Dictatorship of the Proletariat, whilst British Capital actually exercises a Dictatorship over the Press, Parliament and People.

Political rights do not embrace all the rights of man. Political liberty comes first, and in itself is a mighty achievement and necessary for the winning of Economic Liberty, but political liberty without economic liberty is like living on the mountain-tops, where the atmosphere is fortifying and appetizing and the spiritual outlook glorious, but where the pangs of hunger and the pains of exposure and unemployment make the heavenly prospect more maddening.

The great majority are in economic bondage, mere corks in the maelstrom of Capital, subject to its pitiless exaction and despotic dictation, without real control of their own powers and destiny. Eco-

conomic servitude, like political servitude, is bad, demoralizing and disastrous to human well-being, and therefore not to be tolerated. The War has taught us, if we did not know it before, that no man or no body of men, heaven-sent or earth-born, have any right to rule over any other men politically or industrially without their consent, unless they have been chosen by their fellows on a democratic ticket. The War has established for ever the principle of Self-government, and the Labour Party is bent on applying that blood-won principle to Industry.

If Industrial Self-government were ensured, what changes we should see !—hours reduced in accordance with physiological laws, wages advanced in keeping with economic justice, sanitary improvements carried out in harmony with health and decency, self-respect restored to the toilers, poverty and unemployment no longer stalking through a fear-haunted land, homes brighter, bitterness and class distinctions relegated to the evil days of industrial frightfulness, and peace and plenty smiling on a contented people.

Self-government is not only the natural solvent of Political Empire and of Military Conquest, but also of Financial Empire and Economic Conquest. The spirit of the War has settled that Empire, political and financial, is doomed, and that reparation and restoration must be made by conquerors, military or economic, to those whom they have spoiled.

Instead of putting these war-worn principles into practice, the Coalition Government has betrayed them by taking sides with Capital in the Class War, and in betraying them has shaken the confidence of the people in constitutional and parliamentary redress of their grievances, and has sown broadcast the seeds of Revolution.

The Labour Party, by its policy of Self-government wisely and fearlessly applied to both Financial and Political Empire, can restore confidence in Parliamentary Government, and save England from Revolution.

Of all the steps hitherto proposed or tried to ensure and enforce industrial peace—arbitration, voluntary or compulsory, co-operation and co-partnership, wages boards, conciliation boards, limitation of profits, etc.—none seem to promise so much as Nationalization with Democratic Control. These measures may appear too heroic to the timid and selfish, but

“Diseases, desperate grown,
By desperate appliances are relieved,
Or not at all.”

Nationalization has not proved so “desperate” an appliance in regard to postage, telegraphs, telephones, education, the Army and Navy, as to cause anything but a happy issue from its extension to railways, mines, armaments, and, most important and urgent of all, to land.

Nationalization of the land could not put us in a worse position than we were during the War in face of the submarine menace and the imperfectly developed and undeveloped condition of the land. Our present land system is incompatible with getting the most out of the soil, with agricultural development, with personal liberty, with national safety and with the democratic ideal of the land for the people. In nationalizing it the Labour Party would be strict guardians of the public purse, and mindful of the fact that land owes its value to the needs and the services of the people. Landlords need have no fear of Confiscation, a mean and contemptible trick which their class played on the people in appropriating public commons and lands by Acts of Parliament, when Parliament was a House of Landlords. Labour can be trusted where landlordism cannot, and where Liberalism and Toryism have egregiously failed.

The objections raised to Nationalization fall chiefly into two categories—the fear of Bureaucratic and Centralized control, and the destruction of incentive to work by the elimination of individual profits. The remedy for the first is Decentralization and Local Control by Elected Councils according to the schemes, for instance, proposed by the miners. The answer to the second is that the elimination of private profit would be the best incentive to work on the part of the many. Labour positively and

rightly refuses to work for the aggrandizement of Capital, for the benefit of the few. Why the multitude have toiled so long and so patiently for the advantage of the few beats one's comprehension.

Critics of Nationalization go farther, and protest that Nationalization would destroy personal Liberty. If their conception of Liberty is that private individuals should be allowed either in their individual capacity or in Combines and Trusts to profiteer to the extent of 20 or 50 or 100 per cent. at the expense of their fellow-citizens, then Nationalization will assuredly destroy personal liberty. If the railways and the mines were transferred to the State, in what way would the personal liberty of the owners and directors be interfered with beyond the profits going to the National Exchequer or to the whole community in lower fares and cheaper coal? In the early days of Municipalization of Gas, Water, Electricity, Trams, etc., the bog of interference with the liberty of the subject was raised by Capitalists, but it is never mentioned now, and no one proposes to restore these services to the sweet will and private benefit of Profiteers. Municipalization is only the little brother of Nationalization.

Fifty years after the railways, mines and land have been Nationalized, the bog of interference with the liberty of the subject will be as dead as a Dodo. In the Public Services, Consular, Educational, Postal, etc., captious critics never speak of liberty,

however much they may growl and grouse against State control and State inefficiency and long for the bad old days of private enterprise and Capitalistic exploitation.

John Stuart Mill, the Champion of Liberty, would be hard pressed to-day to prove what economic liberty intellectuals enjoy under Capitalism, which buys and sells their brains like dry goods, and casts them off like used bandages when it has sucked their brains. Capitalism gives no more security of employment, economic justice and independence to brain-workers than to hand-workers. He would be still harder pressed in the effort to show what Liberty poor nations and weak nations possess in a world of Capitalism, where Liberty alone belongs to the rich and powerful nations and Empires. Under Capitalism the primitive and predatory instincts of man and of nations have "free" and full scope. In consequence a few have "Liberty" to become rich, while the many are condemned to poverty; a few have "Liberty" to live in healthy homes with gardens "with herb, fruit, flower, glistening with dew," where their children can grow up in surroundings conducive to physical, intellectual and moral well-being, a perennial fountain of joy to their parents and a perpetual source of National Strength and welfare, while the many are condemned to herd together in habitations in which the rich would decline to keep their horses, without any of

the amenities of life, with influences degrading to body, mind and soul, in which the children are a constant care to their parents and a positive danger to National health, vitality and contentment. Under Capitalism we are condemned to a C3 population with Liberty to eat the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, and to drink beer to drown the will to strike, with a promise of compensation in a Paradise beyond the grave, which we are assured on the very highest authority will be reserved for the poor, while Dives has a good time in Hell.

Under Nationalization and Internationalization the primitive and predatory instincts of man and of nations will be fettered, and civilizing and social instincts developed. In consequence Liberty, Equality and Fraternity will come to reign on Earth, and the pleasures of Heaven will not be postponed to some dim and distant future.

Why the crowd, the consumers, allow the Capitalists to pick their pockets by overcharging, as they so frequently and systematically do, perplexes reason. Cumulative evidence, of which the most recent is the Report issued by the Sub-Committee under the Profiteering Act of which Sir William Beveridge was Chairman, proves that the public is at the mercy of the combinations of Capitalists in trade and industry, of Trusts, which destroy competition, fix prices, and fleece the people. The findings of this Sub-Committee were :—

1. That the excess profits duty is really being paid by the present consumers of soap.

2. That shareholders have received enhanced dividends, and large sums have been placed to reserves.

3. That there is a provision of the Finance Act allowing losses on reduced profits to be set against earlier excess profits.

4. That the United Kingdom's Soap Manufacturers' Association is now in a position to fix soap prices above the replacement value level without fear of competition.

Everyone agrees that the public must be protected from extortion, from soulless Capitalism and Profiteering. Everyone also agrees that combination in industry and commerce achieves great economies both of production and of distribution. Then how can these desired and just aims be better accomplished than by Nationalization ?

Ethically, Capitalism has not a leg to stand upon. Might is no more right in the financial field than in the political. Economic domination of Labour—mental and manual—by Capital is no more justified or tolerable than the domination of one nation by another—Belgium by Germany, Ireland by England. To suggest that Capitalism, the exploitation of the many for the profit of the few, is a beneficent system bringing out the best in man is a lie, for it fosters the vices of cunning, taking a mean advantage of the weak, of selfishness and cruelty, and suppresses

the virtues of compassion, generosity and magnanimity. Like Militarism, neither Peace nor Brotherhood has a place in its orbit. To both Capitalism and Militarism life is a perpetual struggle for existence in which morality takes a back seat or no seat at all, and in which the physically and financially strong play for their own hands and their own pockets in their own brutal ways. Instead of evolutionary systems, raising man to a higher level ethically, spiritually and intellectually, they are degrading. Combined, they have reduced the world to a bear-garden.

Speaking of Evolution and the struggle for existence in Nature with all its relentless fury and cruelty, I take my stand with my old teacher, Huxley, when he said in his famous Romanes Lecture, "Let us understand, once for all, that the Ethical progress of society depends not on imitating the cosmic progress, still less in running away from it, but in combating it." The Tory and Coalition Party is busy imitating the "cosmic process," the Liberal Party in running away from it, and the Labour Party in combating it. Oh! gentle elector, with the destiny of the world hanging on your action, which party will you vote for? A vote for a Tory, for a Coalitionist, for a Liberal, is a vote for Capitalism and Militarism, for Prussianism and Profiteering and Unemployment, whereas a vote for Labour is a vote for Freedom from these hounds of hell.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE great aims of Labour—Peace and Brotherhood—cannot be attained without the League of Nations. British Labour may chain and slay the British hounds of hell as Russian Labour has done, but unless French Labour and American Labour and Japanese Labour, not to mention German Labour, do likewise, the mad race of armaments will continue and more Armageddons will arise to mock humanity.

The alternative to the League to enforce Disarmament and Peace is Barbarism that will make the Great War pale into comparative insignificance. Already within two years of the termination of the War to smash Militarism, so insatiable, so conscienceless, so powerful is Imperialistic Capitalism, that it is getting busy in England, America and Japan for the Naval Armageddon. Unless Labour gets busier, and at once, Capitalism will beat it again as it has beaten it before and as it beat it in the Great War.

“ Why worry ? ” says the cynic. “ You have got

your blessed League of Nations, and what earthly use is it?" Little or none, I grant it, in its present shape and surroundings, but surely Labour's business is to reshape it and alter its surroundings, so that it can grow and function as the Parliament of Man. It is the old story, the instrument is no good without the spirit. Parliaments and the League of Nations are no good without the spirit of Labour—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity—and Labour must capture the lot.

Immediately British Labour has captured the British House of Commons, it will replace the Supreme Council of the Allies—the instrument of Imperialistic Capital, and the Great Disturber of the Peace—by the League of Nations, democratized and enlarged so as to include Germany, Russia and the United States of America. With America, Germany, and especially Russia, in the League, what changes should we see! The heights of Imperialistic Capitalism would be taken without the sacrifice of a British or Pomeranian Grenadier, without a hand-grenade, without a tank or submarine. Public Opinion would work the miracle with or without Lenin—better with—and then the Third International, with its unfortunate divisions in the ranks of Labour, would be avoided.

Public Opinion in the world is ripe for this, the greatest adventure in human progress, an adventure which the "Big Two," in their short-sightedness,

in their ineptitude, and in their gross selfishness, have done their utmost to render abortive.

To the collective wisdom and impartial judgment of the reconstituted League the Peace of Paris, with all its injustices and iniquities, would be referred for revision. Its many injustices and iniquities would be removed, and Europe and the world reconstructed as a Family of Nations, whose interests are interwoven and interdependent.

Disarmament, which the Allies have sought to rigorously enforce on the Central Powers but have neglected to carry out amongst themselves, would become universal by agreement under the auspices of the League. Armies and Navies and Conscription and International Murder would become nightmares and memories of a past and decadent age. Disputes between nations would be settled by an International Court. The even-handed justice of Law would take the place of the haphazard decisions of mortal combat, so degrading and disastrous to victors and vanquished alike. Law and Order would replace War and Anarchy.

The "mandate" theory, so dear to Imperialists and so ingenuously manipulated by the Supreme Council of the Allies for their own aggrandizement, would receive quick and decent burial at the hands of the League of Nations, and all "mandated" territories would be restored to the inhabitants to govern themselves under the protection of the League and, when asked for, under their advice.

The Empires of the world would naturally dissolve into their constituent parts, into Free and Independent Nations, or into Federations of Free and Independent Nations. The backward nations and races would also be allowed to taste the Divine Fruit of Freedom under a Commission of the League until they could swim themselves, free from the attentions of the Shark-Nations.

The Internationalization of the Suez and Panama Canals, of Constantinople and the Straits of Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora, of Gibraltar, would settle a lot of heart-burning in the Family of Nations, as well as the Internationalization of rivers like the Danube, which flows through many lands, and ports like Fiume and Dantzic, which are common to the commerce of many races.

Economic Freedom and Free Exchange of Goods and Raw Materials would be encouraged by the League of Nations. Quite apart from economic principles as to whether Free Trade or Protection is best for the democracies of the world, hostile tariffs and trade wars are part and parcel of the spirit of Militarism, which pits nation against nation in destructive instead of constructive rivalry. For one nation to fight another nation with hostile tariffs is only less foolish and less immoral than to fight each other with lethal weapons, and in the present Capitalistic system is only to take money out of the pockets of the people and put it into the

hands of Profiteers. To introduce into trade, which after all is an exchange of goods to the mutual advantage of all parties concerned, the spirit of Militarism is to defeat the purpose of trade, and is diametrically opposed to Internationalism. The natural barriers to Internationalism, race prejudice and ignorance, are big enough without adding to them artificial ones of a commercial and economic character.

The League of Nations would take in hand the rationing and distribution of raw materials, like oil and copper and cotton, etc., the cause of so much international friction and fighting.

The Slave Trade, Forced Labour, Sweated Labour, can only be stopped and prevented by means of an International Commission of the League of Nations.

The League of Peace—the lifeboat of humanity—has been badly built, imperfectly equipped, inadequately manned, and torpedoed by the Supreme Council of the Allies, so that it cannot serve its glorious purpose of saving civilization. The workers of the world, the democracies, therefore must unite to build and equip another lifeboat, broad-bottomed on the people's will, which will save humanity from the cataclysms which have hitherto afflicted the world.

Ring out old shapes of foul disease,
Ring out the narrowing lust for gold,
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

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