

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

THE WORKER

EDUCATE

THE ORGAN OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES SCOTLAND

Edited by JOHN S. CLARKE

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Organisation Notes.

BABCOCK & WILCOX.

There are queer rumblings coming from Babcock & Wilcox on the subject of bonus. There's a manager there who is up to every trick in the game. A really smart man in his own line of business. He plays always to keep the workers split up by giving preference to a particular section. On this occasion, we are told, the skilled men are being bought at the expense of the semi-skilled. If this is true, it's got to be stopped. Any effort to sectionalise the workers has got to be fought. No group can make any appreciable progress if the others are left behind.

Is it true that one of the leading Shop Stewards would rather have a smile from the manager than a rise in wages? If so, dump him; he'll never be of any use to the rank and file.

Build up a Committee that will fight the boss instead of appointed men who will fall down and worship him. Let the skilled men stand by the semi-skilled and both by the unskilled, and we'll soon hear of something big doing down at Babcock's.

DALMUIR.

More trouble at Beardmore's, Dalmuir. The timekeeping staff have threatened drastic action if their demand for a minimum wage of four guineas isn't granted. Good luck to them. We hope they win through. If the other workers do their duty and stand loyally by them they will win.

When a deputation from the Plant Committee waited on the manager regarding this demand, the manager tried to work off the ancient gag about the staff being in a different position from the manual workers. It won't do. Mr Campbell, you'll have to try a new one. The clerk has got to sell his power to labour just the same as any other worker if he wants to live, and the stronger his organisation the better his living will be.

Will members of the N.U.C. in other establishments take note of the fighting spirit of the Dalmuir staff, and follow their lead by linking up with the manual workers through Shop Committees? We want technicians, clerks, skilled men, semi-skilled and labourers to recognise their class interests and organise accordingly. Stick at it, Dalmuir; the others will soon follow.

GENERAL.

If you have trouble in the workshop, don't keep it a secret. Send it on to the "Worker" and let everybody know about it. The "Worker" is the paper for the workshop. Make use of it.

MINERS' NOTES NEXT WEEK.

NOTE.

We are run into considerable expense paying Postage Dues on Letters sent here with insufficient Stamps. Please note, 1d Stamp will not take a Letter with written matter inside, even if left open; 2d Stamp, open Envelope will take Printed Matter only.

S.O.S.

Fellow Workers.—Help the struggling quarrymen. A fierce struggle is going on in the West of Scotland between the quarrymen and their bosses. Negotiations having failed for 25 per cent. increase on wages (also a standard rate for labourers), the men, not being able to starve it any longer, have come out on strike.

The increase asked for would bring their rate up to about 100 per cent. over previous rates. The bosses selling prices has gone up 200 per cent. The cost of living is up 130 per cent.

The Union have on their hand a number of

labourers not eligible for strike pay. The bosses understand the telling effect this has in breaking the strike. We urgently appeal to our fellow workers on the Clyde and elsewhere to rally to the support of these men in their heroic struggle.

The employers have offered increases to the tradesmen, but still refuse to grant the demands for the labourers. They thought by doing this they might divide the men on craft lines, but the men are standing firm to one another, recognising that an injury to one is an injury to all. Money is wanted to carry on the fight. Send on your collections to "Worker" office, 31 North Frederick Street.



DISEASE—They ask for Houses.

CAPITALIST—Well they have got Houses.

TRADES UNIONISM, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, and WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

1.—Unions are necessary organisations in the economic struggle of the workers against their employers, since, in spite of their limitations, the unions are means for resisting and often improving the most inhuman conditions of labour. Nor are the unions transitory in character, since they can particularly as industrial unions become active means of revolutionary struggle, and a factor in the Communist reconstruction of society.

2.—The Trades Unions persisting in the defensive struggle against Capitalism do not materially improve labour conditions. The rise of wages is, in general, exceeded by the rise of prices, while the policy of compromise, wage agreements, and industrial peace weakens the fighting spirit of the workers.

3.—The Trades Unions arose during the epoch of small industry, with its consequent division of the workers into crafts or trades. The artisan conception prevailed that a worker's craft or skill was a form of property, developing a property and petty bourgeois ideology; and this, together with the circumstance that Trades Unions acquired power during a period of intense national economic development (1870-1900), produced the concept of limiting the proletarian struggle within the limits of Capitalism and the nation.

4.—Trades Unionism represented (and still represents) the upper layers of the working class, excluding the bulk of the unskilled workers; and where these workers are organised in Trades Unions, they are dominated by the concepts and practice of the upper layers—the "aristocracy of labour."

5.—The development of Imperialism merges the Trades Unions definitely in Capitalism, the upper layers of the working class being bribed with a share in the profits of Imperialism by means of slightly higher wages, steady employment, and labour legislation. The "aristocracy of labour" dominant in Trades Unionism accepts Imperialism, uses the unions to assist Capitalism in "stabilising" labour in industry, and becomes the source of the corrupt ideology of social Imperialism. The decisive factor in the collapse of the old International was the immersion of Socialism in Trades Unionism, with its practice of social-Imperialism, petty bourgeois democracy, and its fundamental counter-revolutionary tendency.

6.—Trades Unionism (as typically expressed in the American Federation of Labour) is impotent to improve materially conditions of labour or to conquer power, since the division of the workers into craft or trade organisations splits them into innumerable unions, each antagonistic to the other, making hopeless the struggle against concentrated Capitalism, which largely expropriates the worker of his skill, eliminates the craft divisions of small industry, and brings masses of the proletariat together regardless of particular occupational functions. The general mass strike alone is capable of decisive action against concentrated Capitalism; but Trades Unionism in form and spirit is antagonistic to the mass strike.

7.—Trades Unionism comes to realise its economic impotence, and proceeds to Parliamentary action, which, represented by Labourism (as typically expressed in the British Labour Party) is as impotent as Trades Unionism to accomplish fundamental conquests, since Labourism necessarily accepts the dominant union concepts and practice. Labourism unites with petty bourgeois democracy against the proletarian revolution—that petty bourgeois democracy which is seduced by Imperialism.

8.—The governmental form of expression of Labourism is State Capitalism, the merger in the state of the capitalists, the small bourgeois, and the upper layers of the working class dominant in the Trades Unions; the state is used to regulate equally industry and labour for purposes of Imperialism, the proletarian masses being compelled to accept this arrangement by means of deception and force.

9.—The tendency is for Labourism and Socialism to unite (either formally or by means of Trades Union domination of the Socialist Party) each necessarily accepting social Imperialism, since their activity is limited within the limits of Capitalism and the nation; and, under the ascendancy of monopoly and finance capital, the "prosperity" of a nation depends on Imperialism.

10.—Labourism becomes the final bulwark of defence of Capitalism against the oncoming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a merciless struggle against Labourism is imperative. But while politically Labourism expresses itself as State Capitalism and petty bourgeois democracy, its animating impulse and force is in Trades Unionism. The struggle against this form of unionism accordingly is an inseparable phase of the struggle against Labourism, proceeding—

(a) In general by the Communist party agitation to drive the unions to more revolutionary action.

(b) Encouraging every movement in the unions that tends to break the permanency of the bureaucracy, and placing control in the masses by means of delegates being subject directly to instructions and recall.

(c) By the formation of organisations such as the Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees, economic Workers' Councils, and direct branches of the Communist Party in the shops, mills, and mines, which are not alone means for moving the masses and the unions to more revolutionary action, but which at the moment of the crisis may develop the Soviets.

(d) By endeavouring to transform the Trades Unions into industrial unions, that is, a unionism in form paralleling the economic intergrities of modern capitalism, and in spirit animated by the struggle for political power and economic mastery.

11.—The agitation for and construction of industrial unions provides, in an immediate and practical way, the opportunity to articulate and mobilise the militant spirit of discontent developing in the old unions, to carry on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucracy and the "aristocracy of labour." Industrial Unionism, moreover, provides the opportunity of calling to action the unorganised unskilled workers, and to release the unskilled organised in the Trades Unions from their bondage to the reactionary upper layers of the working class. The struggle for revolutionary Industrial Unionism is a factor for the development of Communist clearing and for the grasping of the right.

12.—Unionism, trades and industrial, must not limit itself to economic strikes, but must acquire the concept and practice of the general political strike—co-operate with the Communist Party to develop the general mass struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois state.

13.—The concept that Industrial Unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of Capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer Utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be organised in industrial unions under Capitalist economic conditions. The upper layers of the working class, being the impulse of Labourism, will necessarily reject revolutionary industrial unionism; while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under Capitalism must in their industrial unions acquire the experience and technical management of industry, "growing into" the new society by the industrial unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the proposals of parliamentary Socialism—that the working class must gradually "grow into" Socialism by acquiring experience of state affairs and "absorbing" control of the bourgeois state. Each concept, in its own way, rejects the funda-

mental problem of the revolutionary conquest of state power.

14.—The conquest of the power of the state is the objective of the revolutionary proletariat. Neither the parliament nor the industrial unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the Soviets—mass action to rally the workers, organised and unorganised, in the open revolutionary struggle for power, the Soviets to constitute to mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of Soviets.

15.—After the conquest of political power and under the protection of the Soviet Dictatorship, Industrial Unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a Communist basis; and the stronger the industrial unions the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush Capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the government of Soviets functions geographically and politically; but alongside of itself it constructs a central administration of industry, wholly economic in character, equality in representation and functions, perfecting the organism of proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organised producers.

Issued by the International Bureau.

Propaganda for the Army

By RICHARD LEE.

The greatest menace the Social Revolution has to face is the Capitalist military machine. Our most urgent practical problem is how to overcome this force, or rather how to render it impotent in the hands of the master class.

My remedy used to be to dissuade men from joining the army. One has often denounced the men who would join an army bound for Ireland or Egypt. But after all these men are driven into the army by economic pressure. Churchill spoke the other day of the great task before him in getting together his new army. But he has great allies. Unemployment is one and the miserable housing conditions and stuffy factories are another. When he has got these refugees from vile Capitalist industrialism into his army, Churchill hopes to use them to smash their fellow workers, whom they have left behind. Are they going to play the Churchill game?

Some think that they are brainy in rebellion. Their experience in France has made them rebels, and rebels they will remain.

That is a very optimistic view which I do not share. Army discipline is a wonderfully effective thing, and breaks down many a rebellious spirit. Without some counteracting influence and some organisation the Capitalist clique will have their tools and use them in case of emergency.

I want to urge two methods of influencing the minds of Churchill's army. Firstly, in every crowd one has a few soldiers or prospective soldiers. Speakers should never let an opportunity pass of planting the seeds of rebellion. They should be told it is a dastardly thing to play the game of the masters, and help to bind the chains of the workers all the closer. They should be advised to choose loyalty to their comrades rather than servile obedience to an unscrupulous plutocracy. This advice is not constitutional, and it is not given by unconstitutional leaders. But it should be given at every Labour and Socialist meeting. For we fight an enemy who would tear up every scrap of the Constitution in order to uphold the Capitalist system. And on moral grounds we have no right to let

The Old Umbrella Mender. By Eugene Debs.

The author of this beautiful and touching story is Eugene V. Debs, the founder and first General Secretary of the American Railway Union, three times Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the United States, the most loving and eloquent personality in the world's Labour Movement, who to-day, at the age of 70 years, stands unflinchingly to his principles, and is undergoing a sentence of 10 years for refusing to be silent regarding the issues of the late war.—Ed.

It was a cold morning late in November last, just after the national election, and I was walking briskly toward my office. A stiff wind was blowing and a drizzling rain was falling. The threads in one of the ribs of my umbrella snapped asunder and the cover flew up, as it has a way of doing, and I was about to lower my disabled shower-stick, when I ran slap-dash into an old itinerant umbrella mender with his outfit slung across his back, and shuffling along in the opposite direction. He had noticed the ill-behaviour of my umbrella. It snapped from its bearing, even as he had his eyes upon it. Perhaps it understood. Anyway, he had not a cent. in his pocket, and he had not yet breakfasted that cold and wet November morning.

He was about 65. His clothes had evidently weathered many a storm, and besides being worn and shabby, were too light for that season. Overcoat he had none. Nor gloves, nor overshoes. Mine embarrassed me.

His hat had been brushed to a standstill. His shoes were making their last stand, and a protruding toe, red with the cold, seemed to have been shoved out as a signal of distress.

The outfit of the old fellow, carried on his back, was sorry enough to fit his general make-up, and if he had offered himself for sale just as he stood, including his earthly belongings and his immortal soul, he would have found no bidder nor brought a cent.

The face of the old umbrella mender lighted up with a kindly smile as he commented on the strange conduct of my umbrella in slipping a cog just as he happened to come along. I asked him by what evil magic he did the trick, and he laughed in a half-hearted way just to be polite, but it was plain that he had long since forgotten how to laugh.

As we stepped into the shelter of an adjoining

store, he sat down on the steps, and, drawing a threaded needle from beneath the lapel of his thin and faded coat, he began to sew the cover back into its proper place. His fingers were red and numb. A discoloured nail partly hid a badly bruised thumb.

He had difficulty in doing this bit of sewing, and it plainly distressed him. His eyesight was failing and his fingers were stiff in the joints. Yet he strove eagerly and intently to master their dumb protest. And he hoped, as he remarked, that he would be able to make an extra bit of money to provide himself with a pair of spectacles, now that favourable weather had set in for his trade.

Poor human soul, I thought to myself, as I looked down upon the weatherbeaten brother at my feet. A vagabond dog among his kind would fare better than this worn-out old umbrella mender in a civilised human community.

The warm clothes I had on made me uncomfortable as I saw him sitting there in rage mending my umbrella. The overcoat I wore made me ashamed of myself. Every time the umbrella mender looked up out of his rage I winced.

What crime had he committed that condemned him to go through the world in tatters, to be lashed by the merciless blasts of winter and tormented by hunger-pangs, and of what rare virtue was I possessed that entitled me to wear the best clothes and eat the choicest food?

Dared I call him brother? And could I call him brother without insulting him?

These were the reflections that agitated my mind and troubled my heart.

"Good morning," was the cheery greeting of a man who passed on the side-walk, calling me by name.

The old umbrella mender fairly started at the mention of my name. He had just completed his bit of sewing, and the threaded needle fell from his fingers.

"Excuse me," he said timidly, "is this Mr. Debs?"

"Yes," I answered.

"Eugene V. Debs?"

"Yes, brother."

"Thank God," exclaimed the old umbrella mender as he fairly bounded to his feet and seized my extended hand with both of his. There were tears in his eyes and his face was flushed.

"Of course, I know you now," he went on. "This is your home, and I have often seen your picture. But this is the first time I have seen you, and if it hadn't been for your umbrella snapping just as I came along I would have passed you by, and the chances are that I never would have seen you. God must have tipped off your umbrella to give me a stop-signal."

"Say, Gene," he continued, still holding me with both hands, "I am pretty well down, ain't I? About all in and making my last stand before shuffling off."

"But, say Gene, I never scabbed. Look at these hands. I'm an old rail and I followed the business for twenty-seven years. I broke and ran a freight train most of that time. Never got a passenger run because I was too active on grievance committees, and called a firebrand by the officials. I wouldn't stand for any of their dirty work. If I'd been like some of 'em I'd had a passenger train years ago, and been saved lots of grief. But I'd rather be a broken down old umbrella mender without a friend than be a scab, and worth a million."

A gleam of triumph lighted up his seamed and weather-beaten countenance.

"Did you belong to the A.R.U.?" I asked.

"Did I?" he answered with peculiar and assuring emphasis, "I was the first man on our division to sign the list, and my name was first on the charter. Look it up and you'll find me there. My card I lost in Ohio where I was run in as a vag. The deputy that searched me at the jail, took my card from my pocket, and I never saw it again. It was all I had left. I raised a row about it, and they threatened to lock me up again.

I was told afterwards that the deputy had scabbed in the A.R.U. strike?"

"Did I belong to the A.R.U.? Well, I should say I did, and I am proud of it, even if they did put me on the hummer and pull me down to where I am to-day. But I never scabbed. And when I cross the big divide I can walk straight up to the bar of judgment and look God in the face without a flicker."

"We had the railroads whipped up to a standstill," he said, warming up, "but the soldiers, the courts, and the army of deputy United States marshalls that scabbed our jobs were too much for us. It was the Government and not the railroads that put us out, and it was a very sorry day for the railroadmen of this country. Mark what I tell you, the time will come when they will have to re-organise the A.R.U. It was the only Union the railroad managers feared."

And then he told me the melancholy story of his own persecution and suffering after the strike. His job was gone and his name was on the black list. Five jobs he secured under assumed names were lost to him as soon as he was found out. Poverty began to harass him. He picked up odd jobs, and when he managed to get a dollar ahead he sent it to his family. His aged mother died of privation and worry, and his wife soon followed her to the grave. Two boys were left, but whatever became of them and whether they are alive or dead, he could never learn.

The old fellow grew serious, and a melancholy sigh escaped him. But he was not bitter. He bore no malice toward anyone. He had suffered much, but he had kept the faith, and his regrets were at least free from reproach.

He was a broken-down old veteran of the industrial army. He had paid the penalties of his protest against privately owned industry and the slavery of his class, and now in his old age he was shuffling along in his rags toward a nameless grave in the pottersfield.

Had he been an obedient corporation lackey; had he scabbed on his fellow-workers; had he been mean and selfish and cold-blooded, he would have been promoted, instead of black-listed, by the corporation, and honoured instead of hounded, by society. His manhood and self-respect cost him dearly, but he paid the price to the last farthing. His right to work and live, his home, his family and his friends were all swept away because he refused to scab on his fellow-man.

The old umbrella mender stood before me, proud and erect, and looked me straight in the eyes as he finished his pathetic story.

The shabby clothes he wore were to him Capitalist society's reward of manhood and badge of honour.

There was something peculiarly grand about the scarred old veteran of the industrial battlefield. His shabbiness was all on the outside, and he seemed transfigured to me and clad in garments of glory. He loomed before me like a forest monarch the tempests had riven and denuded of its foliage, but could not lay low.

He had kept the faith, and had never scabbed.

ON THE TOILET TABLE OF QUEEN MARIE ANTOINETTE.

This was her table, these her trim outspread Brushes and trays and porcelain cups for red; Here sate she, while her women tired and curled The most unhappy head in all the world.

—J. B. B. Nichols.

ON A GUILLOTINE AT MADAME TUSSAUD'S.

This was her frivolous majesty's final bed, A few planks of wood darkly splashed with red; Here lay she, till the big knife descended On her unhappy neck, and a rotten life ended.

—J. S. C.

Propaganda for the Army—Continued.

ignorant, untrained youths be used in a wicked and cowardly attempt to force the workers into submission by machine guns and aeroplanes. The other method is by means of literature and propaganda in the army. There are comrades who can do this effectually and persistently. It needs doing and doing now.

The Churchill gang have one form of propaganda which is hard to beat. I mean the bombs they drop from aeroplanes. The Royal Air Force does not contain many rebels. Its officers are usually men of the Churchill temperament. It is an admirable method of warfare, and especially against strikers can be used to some purpose. You can disperse a crowd without any unpleasant or dangerous contact. To charge with bayonets is a beastly business. But bombing is beautiful, and if you are a good pilot there is not much risk. Providence invented aeroplanes as a means of keeping lower races and the lower classes in order. They have been tried recently in Somaliland and in India. In Russia they have done some execution, but that country is too vast to subdue by this means. But a few aeroplanes will always quell a British mob. That is why we shall spend as much on our Air Force as we spent on the army before the war. The time may come when we shall have to stop building aeroplanes. The Air Force is a bigger military menace, and a menace to Labour, than any army, and even than the boasted tanks, racing 20 miles an hour. I want the workers to realise the actual foes they have to face, and find ways and means to frustrate their wicked plans.



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The International Bureau

RESOLUTION ON SOVIET RUSSIA.

A revolutionary action of the workers to force International Capital to make peace with Russia is a necessary condition to save Soviet Russia and to hasten the world revolution.

To further this action, the Communists of all lands must utilise every strike movement, every mass demonstration:—

- 1.—To place this aspect of their responsibilities to the Russian Revolution before the workers.
- 2.—To convince them that their interests are identical with those of Soviet Russia.
- 3.—To develop a strong feeling of revolutionary solidarity and revolutionary action the world over.

As the pressure of the workers upon the Governments is increasing, the tendency is for the Capitalist Governments to propose a compromise peace, with the object of disintegrating Soviet Russia from within. The latest proposal to take up commercial relations through reactionary representatives of pre-revolutionary co-operative societies that have since merged into the Soviet organisations aims at separating the peasants from the workers, and destroying the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade. Under the cloak of such manoeuvres a great military offensive is being prepared which must be prevented at all costs.

It is therefore essential that this International Bureau takes immediate steps to prepare an international demonstration strike against intervention in Soviet Russia. Such a strike not alone to demand ending the blockade and intervention in Soviet Russia, but to include political and economic demands adopted to the revolutionary requirements of the conditions prevailing in each nation. This demonstration to be supplemented by coercive strikes as the workers gain strength for such further action, in which special attention has to be paid to the expedition and transportation of war materials and equipment, propaganda being carried on to withhold labour in such instances.

The appeal to the workers for international strike action must not be made exclusively through the bureaucracy of the Trade Unions, but emphasis must be placed upon the masses in the unions, upon extra union mass organs and the creation of such organs if possible.

When the revolution again arises in Germany, or in any other country, of the international proletariat (especially the transport workers in Britain, America, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland) must be prepared for a general strike the moment the Capitalist powers attempt intervention. The Bureau is to take immediate steps for organising this action in time to prevent the workers being again forestalled by the Governments.

Answers to Correspondents.

"Yours for Revolution" (Dundee).—Hardly topical enough and too short for a magazine article. Try and deal with local affairs. Get a better pen name.

H. G. Wagg.—Thanks. We will deal with it later. 'No, it is not a joke, it is the real thing.'

"Red Cap" (Shettleston).—A bulldog and a stickleback are both "good fighters" also, but they've got damned few brains.

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By JOHN S. CLARKE

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language, the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures, but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice.—William Lloyd Garrison.

Was Koltchak the Victim of Allied Treachery?

The treachery of the British ruling class in the matter of breaking the tools that are no longer profitable, is traditional. It stares from every chapter in British history books. The execution of Dudley, the shooting of Admiral Byng, and Arthur on the doormat, are three cases selected at random. It has been seriously hinted, and sailors have added weight to it, that the blowing up of the Hampshire which sent Kitchener to his doom, was not without the odour of diplomatic intrigue. Now comes the latest example of this historic policy. Navy Ward, speaking in London last Wednesday, blamed Allied treachery for the death of Koltchak:—

"The Allies who had brought this man from the Black Sea to London here, and then taken to Peking, where he received his final instructions and ultimately to Omsk to carry out their policy under pledges which not even an ordinary gambler would repudiate, finally decided to withdraw their support. When his enemies demanded his life it is stated that the French General, the Commander-in-Chief of all the Allied forces there, surrendered this man to his enemies in the middle of the night. He was tried by three of the Red Army leaders, and within an hour this man, around whom centred for the time being the whole life of Russia, was destroyed in a backyard.

And I am told—although General Knox, who

misprints have occurred somewhere or else Col. John Ward is a very magnificent fool. On 26th February he said:—

"You cannot imagine the sadness of it to me. I pressed the Foreign Office to secure a definite statement as to the surrender of Koltchak to his enemies. I could not obtain it. MY QUESTION IN THE HOUSE REMAINED UNANSWERED, and the Press passed it over in silence. Only yesterday, without a previous notice, I shot in a supplementary question. Not one single paper—not even the "Times"—mentioned either question or answer. THERE MUST BE SOMETHING VERY MYSTERIOUS ABOUT IT. I am exceedingly anxious to know the truth."

In spite of this lesson he croaks "my country can clear itself of the charge," and later, "we never agreed to the surrender." Now, how does he know? He has been loafing about in England since months before his lamented cutthroat pal was snuffed out, and knows no more about the conditions obtaining at the Koltchak collapse than Mutt and Jeff do. We know nothing about it either, the critic will say. Granted, but by heaven we know something about British ruling class psychology, and we know instinctively why his question "remained unanswered"—and why there is really nothing "very mysterious" about it.

A much more mysterious fact is the spectacle of this wretch shedding crocodile tears over the well-merited fate of a pig like Koltchak, while the navvies he is supposed to represent in Parliament are being butchered by Capitalism every hour of the day. And perhaps the greatest mystery of all is that they continue to tolerate him.

Another Labour Crook.

According to the March number of "Solidarity, J. T. Brownlie, M.P., C.B.E., of the Amalgamated Union "HAS AGREED TO ACT AS 'LABOUR ADVISER' TO THE HULTON PRESS AT A SALARY OF £6 PER WEEK."

Brownlie is a name odious to the ears of Clyde men. Brownlie it was who boasted in Glasgow that he was part author of most of the Lloyd-Georgian anti-labour war schemes like the Munitions Act and Dilution of Labour Act. Brownlie's face adorns the Increased Production poster in company with Hodge, Clynes, Thomas, and Brace. Brownlie was made a C.B.E. for services rendered to Capitalists and their politicians while pretending to act in the interests of Labour. So much for Brownlie.

Hulton's is the firm that has been second only to Northcliffe's in its bitter denunciation of the working class. Hulton's told that many lies during the late railwaymen's strike that the compositors refused to set the papers one evening, and delivered an ultimatum to the firm. Hulton's "Sunday Chronicle" has been an open refuge to every Labour scab who desired a medium by which he could kick his own class. Blatchford was one of its shining lights during the war. When the I.L.P. honourably gave the cold shoulder to the miserable renegade and egotist, Burgess-Joe got a job from Hulton's. Now Brownlie has "clicked." Engineers, do something! Get your necessary thirty branches to call for a delegate meeting to investigate this latest act of treachery. One of your most powerful officials is selling himself to your bitterest enemies. Look at the mischief he can do—and will do. Are you going to be men or only tape-worms? No man can serve two masters. No man can serve Capital and Labour at the same time. Brownlie must be kicked out.



was our commander-in-chief out there repudiated it—that some of OUR ALLIES ARE MEAN ENOUGH TO TRY AND MAKE OUT THAT THE BRITISH WERE CONSULTED, AND AGREED TO THE SURRENDER. WE NEVER AGREED TO ANYTHING OF THE KIND. They must take responsibility upon their own shoulders; it does not belong to us."

Ward's solicitation for the pure and holy British is a subject upon which Aristophanes might wax eloquent. It is almost as comical as Adamson's attempt to imitate Asquith in the leader of the opposition's seat.

But surely the gallant Ward had not forgotten his speech at the Koltchak memorial dinner on Friday, 20th February!

It is printed, with other speeches, in the "New Russia" for 26th February. Either some serious

Let Us Pray.

We lift without comment the paragraph below from the "Freethinker," 7th March:—

"The Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., and Mr Jack Edwards, M.P., were the speakers at a Brotherhood Church demonstration at South-end-on-Sea. The chairman was a Conservative magistrate and a Deputy Mayor, and the singing was led by the Salvation Army Band. In the evening meeting the Rev. H. F. Stead was the speaker, and the music was supplied by the Presbyterian Church band. No one can complain of the 'Brotherhood' of such a delightful mixture, but the fraternity is very unlikely to stand a severe strain. 'General' Booth's bandmen playing the 'Marseillaise' does not herald the millennium."

* * *

The Democratic Earth.

While Britain is "making peace" with the Bolsheviks, which time the British press does not relax for one moment in its campaign of lies and calumny against Soviet Russia, the League of Nations is tremendously busy organising—banquets and dances. Think of it. Think of the unutterable humbug and cant of it, and remember that the famine is still slaughtering the population of Germany and Austria. Not only that, but "The Times" last week contained an astonishing account of the way in which the Hungarian militarists were preparing, apparently with Allied collusion, an army for operations against the Bolsheviks, and to reconquer Transylvania. It is now stated by the Budapest press that Admiral Horthy, the commander-in-chief, will, on May 1, be appointed Governor with dictatorial powers. Meantime, the moderate wing of the Hungarian Democrats have addressed to M. Camille Huysmans, secretary of the Socialist International, a moving appeal, reproduced in Monday's "Daily News." According to this 4,800 persons have been killed under the White regime, apart from 23 "lawful" executions; 2,200 members of the party have been arrested in Budapest, and over 15,000 men and women in the provinces. There are 26,000 persons interned in concentration camps. The sufferings of these persons and their helpless relatives are indescribable.

As we stated in our last issue, even blood-thirsty America has appealed for a mitigation of the White Terror.

When the day of final reckoning comes all the "Red" atrocities enacted on that day will be but a flea-bite in comparison.

The French strike was a disappointment, but it left hope nevertheless.

Portugal is stirring, but our "free" press takes care to smother the facts. The fact could not be hidden, however, that the Bolshevik element is powerful there.

From "Commonsense" of 6th March we read:

"In the Straits Settlements a Bill is being rushed through the Legislative Council ingeniously described by the G.O.C. as a 'DEFENCE AGAINST BOLSHEVISM' making all European British subjects and some non-Europeans between 18 and 41 liable to compulsory military training. The object of the Bill, as set out by the Attorney-General, is 'to establish in the Colony a compulsory Defence Force which, when called out by the Governor, shall be available either for the suppression of INTERNAL DISORDER or for the defence of the Colony in case of attack from without.' Persons may be called to serve anywhere in the Malay Peninsula."

They'll try it on here again directly. Bolshevism is a greater, i.e. more dangerous, enemy than Germany was. There was even a hint of the return of Conscription in Churchill's speech on the Army Estimates. Said he:—

"Contingencies might compel us to return to it, to bring the irresistible might of Britain into the field."

Equality of Sacrifice.

Strike for an extra bob per week and you are a grasping, discontented Bolshevik. Sell yourself for an extra £6 per week to the people who can use your information (we nearly wrote brains) against the workers, and you will be a "man who can see all round," or a "man who can keep his balance." This is how the "Daily Record" describes Clynes and Brownlie.

When a worker is ill and cannot turn out to work he is kicked out of employment like a dog out of doors. At the very best his wages are docked for the time lost. When a blackleg politician is "indisposed," like Sir Eric Geddes was recently, his "understudy" announces that the indisposition is "caused by the strain cast upon him by his devotion to the work of the State during the war." Note the "devotion," and remember that Sir Eric nabbed £50,000 for being "devoted."

Of course, there is no "strain" attending work in a shipyard or engineering shop. It isn't "brainwork" to perform necessary operations while standing on a plank suspended a hundred feet above ground, where one false movement means certain and horrible death. (We heard that sixteen men were killed in one week recently in the Fairfield yard.)

"Strain" is the result of over-increased production in chin-music, in the comfortable cushioned House of Commons. Fifty thousand for Eric and—. From the "Pall Mall Gazette," 4th March:—

"It is understood that Sir Auckland Geddes goes to America with a larger salary than has ever before been paid to a British Ambassador."

The "devotion to duty" of some of the "brain workers" would bring tears to the eyes of an alabaster mule.

* * *

An Example of "Brain Work."

"Directive ability" in action is a marvellous phenomenon. Only last week we derided in these columns the Profiteering Act farce. Almost the very words we used in our paragraph were uttered by the Blackburn Profiteering Committee when disgustingly tendering their resignations on Friday last. Their spokesman said the Act was useless for protecting the public.

"It cloaked the guilt of the big profiteers and set local committees to waste their time by pursuing small shopkeepers on pettifogging complaints over a few pence over-charge."

The committee's resignation was influenced by the conviction they could not render any public service."

And did they imagine that the precious Government didn't know that? Great Scott! The Government have profiteered like hell themselves—and have been abandoned victims of the profiteers. The report of the Profiteering Commission shows that. In the matter of quinine, for instance, the Labour Research Dept. summarises the report as follows:—

"The supply of quinine sulphate is practically controlled by a Dutch Corporation, the Kina Bureau, and agreed at the outset not to undersell the Dittlemen. The Government controlled price was 2s 11d per ounce, which the Dutch merchants inclined to think too high, and the British Quinine Corporation urged the removal of control, promising a fall in price. Accordingly the war contract was terminated in September; THE BRITISH QUININE CORPORATION BOUGHT THE WAR OFFICE STOCK AT THE CONTROLLED PRICE, and almost at once requested the Government to accept payment for the whole of it, although there was no immediate prospect of delivery. Simultaneously the Kina Bureau announced an immediate rise in the price of 3s 5d; THE BRITISH QUININE CORPORATION HAD THUS MADE A PROFIT OF £21,000."

This kind of trickery is called "building a fortune upon integrity, fair play, and business vision."

Remember the Lusitania.

"Attacking enemy commerce is a legitimate act of war."

"THE QUESTION OF SINKING ENEMY MERCHANT SHIPS ON SIGHT IS PERFECTLY JUSTIFIABLE; such ships form part of the lines of communication. As for sinking neutral ships, that is chiefly a question of policy. If the neutral is one to be feared, then it is naturally bad policy to arouse his indignation."

"The Germans acted up to their principle and sank many ships without warning. SUCH A DEFINITE RULE FOR SUBMARINE WARFARE IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE BEST."

"To abolish the submarine would be to compromise. This is generally fatal to strategy. If war is to be abolished these idealists should banish all armaments. The other alternative is to be provided with every weapon which modern science can devise, WHETHER IT HAS BEEN BANNED BY HAGUE CONVENTIONS OR NOT."

The above paragraphs, reader, are not taken from a speech delivered by Admiral Tirpitz. They are from an essay on Naval Warfare, which has been awarded a prize by the Royal United Service Institution of Britain.

—*—

The Miners' Left Wing

The demands of the industrial organisations of the working class are ever increasing, and as usual are met with Commissions and Inquiries, whose awards are never carried out. Yet the sectional method to obtain them is deplorable. The miners remember the 1912 strike and its failure although we gained a "Minimum Wage Act." Following this we had the formation of the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport Workers. The miners were inspired by the optimism of Smillie, and believed that the Industrial Revolution was not far distant. But alas for Bob! He was disappointed not by the rank and file. Of Smillie and his optimism we shall have more to say at a later date. The Triple Alliance existed only to threaten, and this was discovered by Lloyd George in conjunction with his Labour colleagues. It entirely funk the issue in the "Hands off Russia" campaign. During the supposed existence of the Triple Alliance, we had the spectacle of separate demands of the miners in March, 1918, the Railway Strike in September, 1918, where the rank and file of the other organisations had to determine their own initiative. Now we have the conclusion of the dockers' enquiry. But let us comment no further, as at the time of writing a great opportunity presents itself, if the left wing gets the "wind up." It may be asked, what composes the left wing? The left wing is composed of active Socialists, who take advantage of every opportunity to develop the class war. It is the duty of all left-wingers to support strike. Support the miners and dockers and you support yourself. Remember it is Direct Action versus Political Action. Political Action means the continuation of the present system, and miners know that if they wait for legislation to meet their demands, they will have to wait as they waited for the Eight Hours Act. (They had to take direct action before they got it.) So far as the miners are concerned, the left wing is most prominent in South Wales, Yorkshire, and Durham. In Scotland it is most pronounced in Lanarkshire, where it exists to ginger up Pit Committees and miners' agents. This is the only country that has so far initiated a five day week policy, and has celebrated May Day for the past two years by a general idle day. We have passed resolutions for a one big union, but, alas! we must wait on Pife and the Lothians for support, even for a Scottish Miners Union. To these fellows we say: "Pay no attention to your Adamsons and agendas for annual conferences. Get into the fight. Make the leaders get off their mark, and let the fight be one for control. Remember that courage and initiative, with a definite purpose in view, will go far towards securing the ideal."

H. GRIFFIN.

Unity and the Third International.

By Jacques Sadoul

Captain Jacques Sadoul was an officer in the French army, one of the French Official Military Mission to Russia, and became converted to Socialism, and renounced his adherence to the French bourgeois Government, and became a Bolshevik. For this he was tried recently before a Court Martial and sentenced to death. Needless to say it will take rather a long rope to reach him just at present.

Dear Comrades,

No people has ever sacrificed so many victims as ours on the altar of Patriotism, this monstrous idol. None has viewed on its territory such an accumulation of devastation, ruins and dead. The body of unfortunate France is only one immense sore. Its best sons have fallen; its richest provinces have been ravished; it is smothered under the weight of a frightful debt. More even than vanquished Germany, has France been crushed down by the Imperial butchery of 1914-18.

In no country has the war manifested with such ghastly evidences the ferocity, the stupidity, the arrogance, and immediate impotence of the ruling classes. In no country has the failure of bourgeois democracy and the inevitability of the Revolution made itself apparent with such impressiveness. In spite of the triumphant victory, and despite the pitiless peace, pregnant with future wars, the economic and political crisis is developing catastrophically. France—"the Banker of the world"—sees its finance in debacle. To-day it is the client, to-morrow it will be the subject, the enemy of Britain and United States.

Industry is in consumption; fuel and raw materials are lacking; the unemployed are increasing; the high cost of living condemns the bottom dog to physiological deterioration. The maintenance of the Capitalist system would not only entail a more insupportable subjection and exploitation of the working masses and peasants, but a still greater aggravation of the chaos, and, finally, the total decomposition of the social structure. It would appear now that the financial oligarchy which governs under the mask of parliamentary laqueys will only prolong its agony by precipitating the people into a new bloody adventure, and thereby consummating the ruin of all civilisation. For so much evil there is one remedy—the Revolution.

To escape from misery, famine and death, there is only one resource for the working class; to take into its own hands ALL power. The labouring masses alone, under the impulsion and direction of the industrial proletariat, better organised, more conscious, better armed, are capable of suppressing the antagonisms between classes by the systematic crushing of the bourgeoisie, and the antagonism between nations by the opening of frontiers; of saving and regenerating Humanity in co-operating in the organisation of the international community of the proletariat, whose efforts, methodically and scientifically combined, will be able to rebuild from the ruins heaped up by the war, then to give to productive forces a prodigious impetus.

The sincere observation of facts constrains any man of common sense to bear witness to the blessed fatality of the development of the proletarian revolution. Kindled at Petrograd and Moscow, the fire travels across Europe. The march of history led the Russian people to be the first to break their heavy chains. Imbued with the lessons of the Paris Commune, the Bolshevik Russian Communist Party took over the direction of the liberating movement at the moment when the compromising Socialist, in connivance with the bourgeoisie, were involved in machinations to strangle the Revolution. It has forged little by little, in the heat of the struggle, in light of facts, the new arms which will give victory to the proletariat of the whole world.

At the beginning of March, 1919, the first Congress of the Communist International adopted the thesis of Russian Bolshevism, reiterated that only the Dictatorship of the Proletariat could make it possible to break the resistance, economic and political, of the exploiters, to abolish the

bourgeois State machine, to make a clean sweep of the past, and to carry through to the end the progressive construction of the Socialist City. The Communist International emphasised further that Bourgeois democracy, the democracy of the slave-owners, is nothing else than the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie, i.e., a Machine destined to make possible the violent crushing of the exploited majority by the infamous minority of exploiters. It did not deny that on the road of Communism, the first stage is inevitably the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, i.e., a transitory form of the State, necessary for the violent and rapid crushing of the exploiting minority by the enormous majority of the population. It established finally that the parliamentary system of bourgeois democracy led the masses, in fact, away from the exercise of power, monopolised by a few kings of finance and industry; while proletarian democracy, on the contrary, by the regime of the Soviets, calls all the workers and all the peasants successively to the effective direction of public affairs.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the Republic of Soviets, these two words of command sounded forth by the Russian Communist Party, inscribed in letters of gold on the flag of the Third International are on the way to conquer the world.

The prestige exercised on the labouring masses by these devices is such that the leaders of the old official Socialist parties or Socialist Democratic parties, rotten with reformism and opportunism are obliged henceforth either to avow their treachery by passing to the services of the bourgeoisie, or to denounce their foolish hopes of solving the social problem by the collaboration of the classes.

At the Congress of Lucerne, as at the Congress of Berne, the High Priests of the Second International have shown themselves such as they are, incapable or imbecile, hypocrites or cowards.

Divided against itself, cut up with internal contradictions, the Second International is no longer anything but a vacillating shadow. Traitor to the proletariat, docile instrument of the Capitalist bourgeoisie it has become the Yellow International, condemned by the working class, reduced more and more to be the headquarters of corrupted parliamentary and tongue-tied functionaries.

One after another, the most vital elements of the world proletariat detach themselves with disgust from this organisation in a state of putrefaction.

To-day even the 700,000 members of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, the most powerful of the German political organisations, have just decided to adhere to the Moscow International. In the founding of the latter there took part the valiant Spartacist Party whose leaders, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were basely assassinated by the Junkers of Scheidmann and Noske, friends and accomplices of the Second International.

Captain Sadoul goes on to recall that the French have written some of the finest pages of revolutionary history—1830, 1831, and 1848, the glorious France of the Commune—and that theirs is a country predestined for revolution, a land sacred to communism and syndicalism. He asks them to be worthy of their past.

He points out that many groups have given their adherence to communism, while others, by the aid of the press organs, try to stimulate the rapid development of revolutionary tradition.

Captain Sadoul proceeds: "We see many groups and we see too many of them, comrades! This disruption among the men of the advance guard prevents all will and any common action. These fatal divisions condemn the efforts to sterility and the movements to defeat. Let us imitate our enemies! Against the working class they are closely united. To the reactionary block, let us oppose the revolutionary block!

And, first of all, it is necessary to ruthlessly break with the Socialist traitors, flunkies of the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand with the opportunist Socialists, who are to-day defending

bourgeois democracy and a parliamentary republic, and who are pretending to admit to-day, under pressure of the masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet regime, but who make thousands of reservations, hesitate, temporise, moan, so unnerving, delaying, and breaking all revolutionary enthusiasm."

Continuing he gives examples of their dangerous power, e.g., the general strike of 21st July, whose abortion had as a direct result the fall of the Soviet Republic in Hungary and the murder of the Buda-Pesth Communists. He points out how these renegades will desert the workers in the periods of crises, and that if they do not clear them out the cause will be betrayed.

The young French Socialist Party, repeating the error committed previously by the Spartacists, did not put forward its candidates. It thus neglected to utilise the electoral campaign for revolutionary agitation. It meant the abstention of a great number of the most conscientious workers. In boycotting the elections, these latter did not only wish to manifest their scepticism with regard to the democratic value of universal suffrage and parliamentary methods; they refused with reason to allow their voting papers to be scattered on lists, where communists whom they acclaimed, opportunists whom they distrusted, and social patriots whom they hated, found themselves mixed up in a paradoxical fashion. After this lesson had been given to certain of their leaders by the French proletariat, they (in Moscow) are all the more surprised that comrades, whose Communist faith and energy are undeniable, who were since 1917 putting sincere Socialists in a mood to quit the second International, to-day recoil from this step owing to reasons of opportunity, through a mystic respect for the sacred principle of unity. "Comrades," he asks, "will you remain superstitiously attached to the death to this unity, which, badly understood, has drawn you to commit so many grave mistakes? What then is this unity, without unity in doctrine or unity in tactics? And what unity of doctrine or unity of tactics could Communist Socialists realise with Socialist traitors or opportunist Socialists?"

"The unity of doctrine for us, Comrades, can only be the union of the workers, resolved to commence immediately the social transformation and to pursue it unto the integral constitution of a Communist society. The unity of tactics can only gather Communists determined to employ revolutionary action, the direct action of the masses, to take by force the political power, and the Capitalist means of dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Soviet regime, to realise the doctrine and execute the programme of the Third International.

This double unity of tactics and doctrine is the only unity admissible or possible. That is revolutionary unity. This unity it is your duty to establish against all those who do not admit integrally the revolutionary Communist doctrine and tactics, even if they have borrowed Socialist and Communist labels, and with those who adopt our doctrine and our tactics, even if they do not bear an orthodox label. The information—too rare and incomplete, alas!—which comes from France proves that amongst these latter, whether they call themselves Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, or Anarchist-Communists, agreement is reached on fundamental points. The divergencies are no longer essential, and understanding is easy to reach. It must be done without delay. Your efforts when dispersed are condemned to impotence, which would become excusable if it were prolonged.

The decomposition of the Capitalist regime, the absolutely inextricable situation into which the Imperialist war and the abominable peace have thrown the ruling classes, must assure an irresistible efficacy to the propaganda of a large party formed by the unification of all the revolutionary elements. The movement of emancipation is growing over the whole world with an unheard-of rapidity. Proletariat of France, come and add the strength of your concentrated action to the

Continued at foot of next page.

The Class-Conscious Study of English Literature

By VALERIAN ROEL.

From the weakness of an enervated, fraudulent, bankrupt aristocracy in Charles II. reign one type of literature developed, and that was the Restoration Comedy, a type of play removed from Shakespeare's in that it was more immoral, more aristocratic, more the product of a clique and not of a national demand. Its chief figure is WILLIAM CONGREVE, whose finest play, "The Way of the World," was produced at the close of the 17th century.

And what do we gain from that? Here there is a witty art, refined almost to the very extreme until it seems too subtle and too delicate for human understanding. There is, too, an absolutely flagrant immorality, together with an aristocratic tendency, ultra-royalist and definitely anti-democratic. The world of Charles II. was not very nice to look upon, and it is that world which the Restoration drama presents to us. The whole of existence seems taken up with risky amours, with drinking, and with obscenity, with dirt, and with disease. Even JOHN DRYDEN, who was as typical a figure of his age as any, and who was undoubtedly a genius, has left poems which simply could not be quoted in any decent book to-day.

Decidedly the art of the Restoration is a specialist art. If we desire to see the life that bred it, we have only to turn to our social histories, or to the "Diaries" of Samuel Pepys or of John Evelyn, although both of the latter were bourgeois rather than aristocrats. In drama the only man of the time who deserves complete remembrance is THOMAS OTWAY, a royalist, who yet wrote one of the finest revolutionary tragedies we have. That play is "Venice Preserv'd." It deals mainly with a revolutionary, Pierre, and his friend, Jaffier, who betrays the plot they have laid, through the impurity of his wife. The execution scene at the close, in which Jaffier stabs Pierre to save him from the shame of the gallows, is one of the finest I know in the whole of our dramatic literature. This tragedy is not well known, but that is no reason why it should not be.

Apart from the drama, one other must claim our attention, and that is SIR THOMAS BROWNE, who, however, stood apart, not only from the theatre, but from the very age he lived in. His merit lies in his style and in his philosophy—strange, fascinating, and with a charm all its own. Browne undoubtedly lived mentally and spiritually in ages far distant from that of the Restoration. As an index to his time he is valueless.

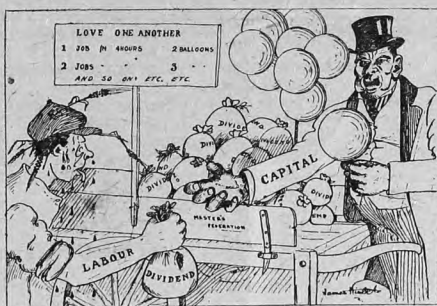
In 1698 came another Puritan reaction, centring itself mainly around the attack on the stage by a Rev. Jeremy Collier, but also intimately related to the growing power of the merchant classes and to their steadier, less Cavalier, and less abandoned characteristics. There was still as a basis for early 17th century society a certain sub-stratum of hard-drinking, immoral rakes who put terror into the hearts of the so-called honest,

God-fearing citizens of humbler means; but at the same time there was rising rapidly a class—commercial, worldly, but not so openly sensual—which was to set the tone for the following century.

The age from 1700 onwards for some fifty or sixty years has been designated the Age of Prose and Reason, and it produced a literature entirely different from that of the preceding decades, a literature, not inspired in the fullest sense of the term, but eminently readable and noteworthy in many respects. In the form of poetry it produced that so-called "classicism" of ALEXANDER POPE, who is, in a way, the key to his age as Dryden is of the preceding. In the form of prose it produced also the "sentimentalism" which, already gathering in the last year of the 17th century, became a kind of international fashion, and contributes not a little to the propaganda for the French Revolution to come. When at its best in England its most characteristic product was the work of STERNE, whose "Tristram Shandy" and "The Sentimental Journey" were translated or adapted into countless European languages and inspired writers in France, in Italy (Ugo Foscolo's "Jacopo Ortis" is directly based on Sterne's work), and even in Russia. They are well worthy reading even in our modern age. Sterne represents the sentimental school at its best. In later years it seriously deteriorated, until in a work such as MACKENZIE'S "The Man of Feeling" it has degenerated into mere maudlin affectation.

In France sentiment penetrated the theatre to produce a characteristic species of play called the drama, that is to say, neither tragedy nor comedy, but rather serious comedy or bourgeois drama. It abandoned the strict rules of the critics in leaving aside royal personages, who hitherto had been regarded as more suitable for serious treatment, and it endeavoured by various means to inculcate some "moral" idea in the story which it presented.

(To be continued.)



In the hive of human society, to preserve order and justice, and to lavish vice and corruption, it is necessary that all the individuals be equally employed, and obliged to concur equally in the general good, and that the labour be equally divided among them. If there be any whose riches and birth exempt them from all employment, there will be divisions and unhappiness in the hive. Their idleness is destructive of the general welfare.—Helvetius.

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The world's tyranny.—'Tis no uncommon thing for one half of the world to use the other half of it like brutes, and then endeavour to make them so.—Sterne.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY,
Glasgow Central Branch, 50 Renfrew Street.

An Interesting and Topical Address
will be delivered by
DR. TOM ESTERMAN
entitled

"The Labour Party and the Working Class."
A Study in Contemporary Politics.
Sunday, 14th March, at 7 p.m.

Doors open at 6.30. Questions and Discussion.

The Plumbers' Lockout

JOHN M'LEAN AND WILLIE GALLACHER
CHOSEN AS ARBITERS.

To appreciate the fight going on between the locked out plumbers and their bosses it is necessary to go back for a short period, when a new policy was adopted in connection with disputes. Previously, when trouble arose, the usual strike pay was granted, no more and no less. And, as there are two associations representing the operatives with different rules and contributions, you had one man getting twice the amount of benefit that the other was getting. This was a weakness, and played into the hands of the masters. So it soon became evident that the old Trade Union tactics were obsolete, and that if we wished to combat and defeat the effect of the close organisation of the employers new methods of attack must be devised. Consequently in all our recent disputes we have either paid full wages or augmented the strike pay considerably. This baffled the bosses completely. They were at their wits end. "Why," they said, "these men will never return to work if you give them their full wages when a dispute is on." And as a consequence in every instance they speedily capitulated and asked for terms, which in one instance was a written apology and a payment of £100. We got both.

Naturally such successes only sent the bosses closer into each other's arms, and made them determine either to break us or weaken us. So they think the present moment opportune. This is their "Der Tag." We think it will be their funeral.

The present trouble circles round the refusal of the employers to honour the Government scheme granting substantial increases to the ex-army apprentices. Our tactics were to strike four of the principle firms with the largest number of demobbed apprentices, and refuse to allow a re-start till the bosses agree to pay full back-money according to scheme. The master plumbers, assuming we would grant full pay to men on strike, decided to checkmate us by locking out all plumbers who were members of the Operative Association. However, their foresight has failed them. Instead of weakening our position they have strengthened it. Public sympathy is aroused and money is flowing in. Our members in the shipyards who are not affected have agreed to a substantial levy to augment the £2 per week of lock-out pay. We have also agreed to pay the apprentices their wages so that no one will unduly suffer.

At first the bosses refused to meet us. A sub-committee intervened of the Industrial Court. It consulted the employers, then the operatives, in order to see if there was a possible basis of agreement. But, unfortunately for the employers, there was none. The men will not allow the apprentices to be robbed of a few months' back pay. The Court pleaded with us to allow the matter to go before an impartial arbiter. We refused, saying we could not think of one. But on their pressing us and saying, "Surely, now, you could think of one impartial man," we gave them Mr John M'Lean, M.A., which they refused. "Give us some one who is not biased," they said. "Some one who would consider the masters' point of view as well as the operatives'." We considered again, and suggested Willie Gallacher, C.W.C. Our second choice was also turned down. We left it at that, saying the general public will be our arbiter. The felling of the locked-out men is ably and forcibly expressed in the historic words of Lieut. Buchan, V.C.: "To hell with surrender."

Probably before this is published the bosses will have completely and unconditionally given in. If so I appeal to all who were with us in the fight to send on donations to help to pay the wages of the apprentices. All subscriptions will be gratefully acknowledged by our Secretary, Thos. M'Menamy, 117 Smith Street, Govanhill.

Signed for the Committee,

JOHN WINNING.

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Clerk of the Court to Jewish witness: "What is your Christian name?" "Solomon Isaacs."

magnificent deeds performed for the salvation of humanity by the millions of workers, grouped under the standard of the Communist International! Powerful efforts of organisation, a whole period of preparation, of propaganda, legal and illegal, by word, by newspapers, by pamphlets, in the works, in the country, in the barracks, must of necessity precede the movement of emancipation. Do not lose an hour! But do not allow provocateurs paid by your masters to artificially precipitate revolutionary action. Prepare calmly and systematically for the struggle. Thus will you be assured of victory.

Proletariat of France, PREPARE!

Proletariat of France, UNITE!

Moscow, 7/12/19.

JACQUES SADOUL.

(Trans. by A. W. from "La Vie Ouvrière.")

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN

EX-SERVICE MEN.

A United Council of Ex-Service Men's organisations is now in existence. Up to date the following organisations are represented:—Limbless, Scottish Federation, International Union, Old Contemptibles, National Union, and the Parkhead and District Ex-Service Men's Association. A grand demonstration is being held under the auspices of the Grand Council to protest against the treatment of discharged men, widows and dependants. The meeting will be held in the St. Andrews Hall on Sunday, 14th March—Hugh Robertson in the chair.

Members of the International Union are requested to assemble at the Head Office, 98 Bishop Street, Anderston, at 12 o'clock, on Sunday, 14th March. Leave at 12.30 en route for St. George's Square, and there join the main procession, which leaves St. George's Square at 1.30, and march to St. Andrews Hall by way of St. Vincent Place, Renfield Street, Union Street, Argyle Street, and North Street. We expect to be successful in our efforts to have band and banner for that day, and we hope the members will make a good turnout, especially the ladies. Unattached Ex-Service Men are requested to join in; they will be welcome. All in sympathy are invited to give every assistance possible by parading in the ranks of the International Union. Discontent is rampant among the Ex-Service Men. Now is the time to utilise the rebellious feeling. See to it Boys that the chance is not missed.

N.E.C. meeting was held in the new Rooms, 98 Bishop Street, Anderston. Reports from branches very encouraging. Arrangements were completed for opening three new branches. Correspondence was read from Paris re the forthcoming International Congress. The Secy. was instructed to reply, and state that there was only one International Union of Ex-Service Men in the British Isles, as we understand that a member of another organisation is receiving letters addressed to the International Union. Steps are being taken to stop this proceeding. A committee has been formed to investigate the matter, and copies of the "Worker" are being sent to all Ex-Service Men's organisations in Europe.

Branch Secys. are requested to notify the Nat. Secy. as to arrangements made for May Day Celebration, as it is intended to form a May Day Committee within the Union. Branches are also requested to get down to it, and secure banner and band for that day if possible.

Comrade Cheyne gave report of the plumbers' strike, and it was agreed that we give every assistance possible. All our speakers are at their disposal. Employers don't exploit disabled men. Listen to the following circular sent out by a Technical Institute to employers: "The starting wage need only be a comparatively small one, say a matter of 50s per week, and you would, I think, get good work out of a man with experience gained here. All these men receive war pensions in addition, which, together with the money earned, enables them to live decently." 'Nuff said.

Lectures every Sunday
IN THE
PANOPTICON, 115 Trongate
Sunday, 14th March, at 7
TOM ANDERSON
"The Revolt of the Slaves."

PROLETARIAN SKETCH PARTY in
'Ragged Trousered Philanthropists'
Doors Open at 6 p.m.
Songs. Questions. Discussions.
Silver Collection.

ANDERSTON B.S.P.
"Follow knowledge wherever it leads." Our Speakers "point out the way" at the B.S.P. Hall, 569 Argyle Street, at 6.30 p.m.
Sunday First—
HENRY BERNARD (of "The Spur")
Subject—"Phases of the Sex Question."
Next Week—
PATRICK FITZPATRICK.
Subject—"The Drift of Revolution."

BRANCH REPORTS.

Anderston and Central.—Meeting held as usual. Delegate to N.E.C. gave report, which was adopted. Arising out of the report, it was agreed to form a committee, whose duties shall be to get sufficient funds to secure band and banner. The report was adopted. Secy. read monthly balance sheet, which showed the branch to be in a flourishing condition, both financially and numerically. Lit. Secy. was instructed to get twenty-four dozen leaflets from the Lit. Secy. of the N.E.C., same to be distributed free.

Maryhill.—There is no report from this branch, but I am informed that they are holding a large indoor meeting in the Masonic Hall, Wyndford Street, on Sunday first. Time, 7.30.

Cowcaddens. At last we have been successful in securing sufficient members in this district, and a branch is in course of formation. Ex-Service Men, widows and dependants of Cowcaddens and district are advised to get in touch with Comrade J. Robertson, 142 Renfrew Street, who is acting as Secy. pro. tem.

Govanhill.—Even Govanhill is not immune. As soon as hall can be secured this branch will be formally opened. Intending members of Govanhill are advised to get in touch with Comrade Wm. McKechnie, c/o McAleese, 73 Batson Street, Govanhill, who has taken over the duties of Secy. pro. tem.

South Side.—Usual weekly meeting held on Monday last. Business speedily gone through. It was agreed to remove to a larger hall, and the branch meetings will be held in future at 12 South Portland Street, near Suspension Bridge. Secy., J. Wardle, 65 Dale Street, S.S.

Milngavie.—Weekly meeting held as usual. The attendance was larger than ever, and although there was no speaker, we got a very good argument on "Should we as a revolutionary body support the Labour Party or I.L. Parties at an election." There was a good deal of discussion, but all to the same effect—that we have nothing to do with any milk and water Socialist who may come forward for election. The Secy. was instructed to get in touch with the S.L.P. in the Vale of Leven to see if an arrangement could be arrived at in connection with running a revolutionary Socialist at the forthcoming election in Dumbartonshire. The first dance was a great success, and was the means of bringing in three new members with more to follow. I think the above report proves that there is the right class of members in Milngavie.

Clydebank.—Usual weekly meeting held on Thursday night. The Propaganda Committee reported that the meeting in the Co-operative Hall was a great success. Dance Committee also gave report, which was considered very satisfactory. Clydebank report is short this week, but I hope to give more in the next issue.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.
Headquarters—13 Burnbank Gardens, W.
Sunday, 14th March, 6.45 p.m., The Hall, 9 Watson Street (near Glasgow Cross).
JOHN M'GOVERN
will speak on
"STUDIES IN CATHOLIC SOCIALISM."
Questions. Discussion. Collection.
GUY A. ALDRED Speaks
Wednesday, 17th March, Labour Institute, Ewing Place, Parkhead.
"SOCIALISM v. MUNICIPALISATION."
Thursday, 18th March, The Hall, 9 Watson Street.
"AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION: A CHALLENGE TO THE WORKERS' COMMITTEE."
Both Meetings commence at 8 p.m.

"NOTHING DOING."
Cries of "Nothing doing" greeted the announcement of the annual meeting of the Shipping Clerical Staffs' Guild at Liverpool that the port shipowners were likely to enrol clerks as special constables. The crowded gathering, in which women were represented, decided that no member should act as a "special."

Vale of Leven.—By the time these notes appear in print the branch in the Vale will be a reality. A large meeting is being held on Tuesday, 16th March, and is being addressed by our National Organiser and Dr. Esterman, so the success of the branch is assured.

Darvel.—This branch is going from success to success. Sean M'Loughlin is the speaker this week, and more like him to follow. Arrangements are being carried through for extensive outdoor propaganda during the summer. Officials are working day and night to make the branch the success it deserves to be, but members are not turning out to the meetings they ought. I hope this reminder will have desired effect.

London.—Signs are coming in to show that exposure re the Red Flag in the "Worker" bearing good fruit. East London Branch of N.U. are seriously perturbed; Peckham, Slon and Reading are shaking. The Boys are getting up with the D. and D. S. and S. Open propaganda is being carried on at Tower Hill and Victoria Park. The opposition is pretty strong but we invite them on to our platform, and finish it. Head Office for London—95 Minor E.C.1. Comrade J. Ginsburg, Organiser, E. London Branch Secy., Jack Blyth, 32 Ho Street, E.2.

J. COX, Nat. Secy.

Head Office: 98 Bishop Street, Anderston.

CLYDEBANK BRANCH OF THE S.L.P.

Under the auspices of the above Branch

A GRAND LECTURE

will be given in the
Co-operative Hall, Hume Street, on Sunday

By **COMRADE CARMICHAEL,**

Clyde Workers' Committee.

Following Sunday—Comrade Symington, S.L.P. Come and give the Revolutionary Organisation your support, and help to kill Capitalism. Doors open 6.30, commence at 7. Admission by Silver Collection.

PARTICK I.L.P.

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

in

Victoria Theatre, Whiteinch, on Sunday, 14th March, at 6.30 p.m.

Speaker—Ex-Private **J. R. CAMPBELL.**

Doors open at 6 p.m. Silver Collection.

A GREAT PUBLIC DEBATE

will take place at the

Louvre Picture Palace, Parkhead Cross, Glasgow.

Sunday, 21st March,
between

E. W. CANT

(National Organiser, British Socialist Party)

GUY A. ALDRED

(Representing the Shettleston S.L.P. and the Glasgow Anarchist Group)

on the subject

"SHOULD A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST USE THE PARLIAMENTARY MACHINE?"

Cant affirms. Aldred denies.

Chair will be taken at 2.30 p.m.

Questions allowed to both Speakers. Silver Collection. It is requested that Comrades en route to give a minimum of 6d as the expenses are heavy. Be early to secure a seat.

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