

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

THE WORKER

EDUCATE

THE ORGAN OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES SCOTLAND

Edited by JOHN S. CLARKE

No. 71.

APRIL 3, 1920.

Price 2d.

PAISLEY.

By MARCUS W. ROBBINS.

Who, in the struggle for existence,
We often read of dark and bloody crimes,
Planned by misguided men,
Have been beaten by their fellows.
And the injustice of it all,
Rankling in their hearts,
Calls forth the passions of the baser man.
Hence they would wage war against some king,
These are anarchists.

But not the only ones,
Far greater crimes are planned—
And, mark you, carried out—
Not upon some one man
Who, by the sport of chance,
Has been made a chief,
And ruler in society;
But against whole classes,
Women, children, men who toil.

Yet the ones who do the deed
Are not wild-eyed men
With the stamp of frenzy
On their brows;
But smug respectability,
With rotund form,
And cheerful smile,
Who have their pew,
And with a liberal hand,
Give to some mission
In a far-off clime.

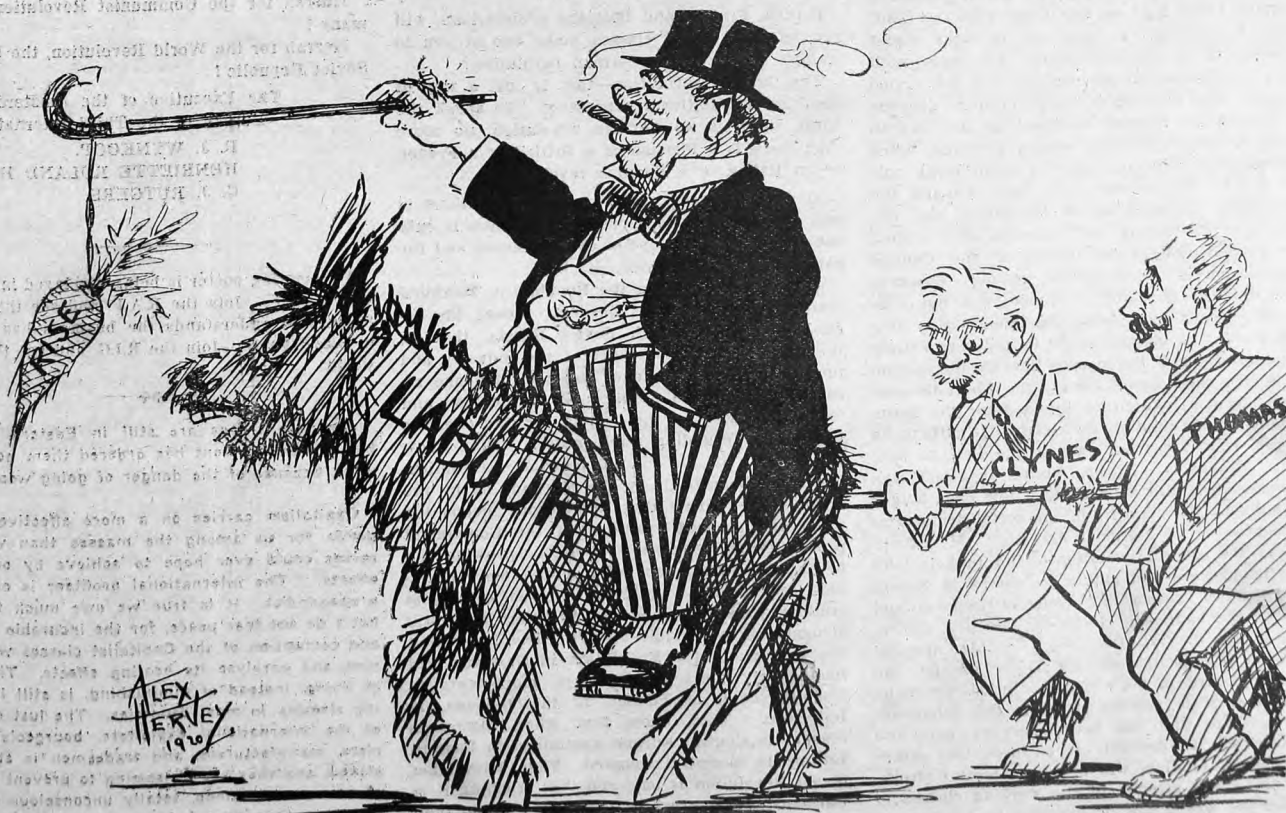
Yet they do not use the dagger
And with one fell stroke
Send their victim to eternity;
But they take the little child,
And, drop by drop,
Wring the life blood from him;
Prolong the agony of years,
Then turn this blood—into cotton;
Thence into coin.
These are also anarchists.

"Loyalty to one's country is not to its institutions or its office holders. The country is the real thing, the eternal thing. It is the thing to watch over and care for and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous. They are mere clothing, and clothing will wear out and become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rage, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is the loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal, it belongs to monarchy, let monarchy keep it."—Mark Twain.

The present position which we, the educated and well-to-do classes, occupy is that of the old man of the sea, riding on the poor man's back; only, unlike the old man of the sea, we are very sorry for the poor man, very sorry; and we will do almost anything for the poor man's relief—anything but get off his back.—Leo Tolstoy.

NOTE.

"The Worker" and other Scottish Workers' Committee publications can be obtained in the South Wales area from A. BANKS, 1 Carmarthen Street, Canton, Cardiff.



THE SPARTACIST REVOLUTION.

APPEAL TO THE BRITISH, THE FRENCH, AND THE BELGIAN PROLETARIAT.

Proletarians.—In a magnificent onrush the German proletariat has swept away the counter-revolution of the Kapps and the Luttwitzes. The reaction of the Junkers has been crushed by the dauntless courage of the masses who rose like one man. These workers' masses, divided against themselves, starved and miserable, trodden down by the Noske regime, lacking arms, deprived of their ablest leaders, have united in a superb fighting movement, and have displayed in the decisive instant the most splendid courage and initiative. Without an instant's hesitation the German proletariat has left the factories and stopped the means of transport and the public services; it has procured itself the arms it needed and by means of guns as by means of strikes, combining the two great methods of the class struggle at the disposal of the working class, it has achieved victory. From the first day, in the midst of the battle against the counter-revolution of the Junkers, another battle defined itself, like a flame burning with a fiercer glare in the core of a vast blaze. This flame was the war against the bourgeois regime served by the social democratic government, the war against capitalistic tyranny and oppression, the war for the deliverance of labour from exploitation, for the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the suburbs of Berlin, in Saxony, in Thuringia, in Wurtemberg, in Bavaria, in all Germany, but especially in the Rhine district and in Westphalia workshop councils spring up and endeavour to seize the power. The proletarians arm and form Red Guards. The industrial cities of the West change into as many fortresses, where the social revolution organises and increases its forces. At the same time the revolutionary wave sweeps down upon the rural districts, agrarian disturbances break out in Pomerania and in Mecklenburg, whilst part of the army, some naval divisions, and part of the police refuse to fight against the revolution.

The Ebert Government, mad with fear, sees the real enemy, sees Spartacus overthrown, decimated, crushed over and over again, again raising its head more terrible and threatening than ever. It sees the large masses of the Independent Socialist Party fight on one front with the Communist vanguard. It even sees in many places members of the Social Patriotic Party unite with them for demonstrations, strikes, and the armed struggle. And the fear of the government deepens as it sees the attitude assumed by the bureaucracy of the syndicates, which, however, much against their will, and only to avoid being submerged by the revolutionary tide, demand the immediate Socialisation of the mines, the disarming of the troops, the formation of a militia, the participation in the power of the Central Commission of the industrial unions; demands that, although in reality a manoeuvre of the trade union bureaucracy, shows the concessions this bureaucracy is obliged to do in order to satisfy the aspirations of the masses towards the system of Soviets, and unhesitatingly the Ebert Government decides to fight to the end for the maintenance of the Capitalistic system. It gathers its forces, it makes front against the Left to beat down Spartacus. Noske, whose dismissal was announced, it still maintained a few days longer in office by the majority of the social democratic delegates to the National Assembly. He calmly allows the counter-revolution of the Junkers take up its quarters and gather its forces in Silesia and Eastern Prussia, the Vendee of Germany, and Noske the hangman, Noske the butcher concentrates all the faithful troops at his disposal against Westphalia and the Rhine district, the flaming hearts of the social revolution, where by the hour it is gaining strength and splendour. It is there that the battle between past and future will be decided. It is there that either German Capitalism will receive a mortal stroke, or the grand attempt of the working classes to seize the power will be drowned in a deluge of

blood. And whilst tens of thousands of workers in those numerous cities of the Rhine district, which form one single immense industrial agglomeration, already are sketching out the political forms of the new society, whilst they restore order, start anew the public services, organise the first Red Army in Western Europe, the charge d'affaires of Britain and France congratulate the Ebert-Noske Government on its victory over the "reaction," and offer their support towards the destroying of the nascent Communist Republic, even as Bismarck, all but half an age ago, offered his support to Thiers toward the destroying of the Commune.

In face of the common enemy, the social revolution, conquerors and conquered forget their injunctions. Their antagonism of their interests your Government to strangle the German Revolution disappears before the universal interest of the Capitalistic class, before its instinct of self-preservation.

Already Lloyd George, Millerand, and Vandervelde have wiped out the score of their differences with the German bourgeoisie. Nay more: in order to save it they are prepared to shed the blood of the British, the French, and the Belgian people.

ALREADY BRITISH TROOPS AT SOLINGEN HAVE HELPED TO CRUSH THE SPARTACIST INSURRECTION.

Already the commanders of the Entente troops have deliberated at Mayence, Foch presiding, on the measures to be taken against the Communist movement in the Ruhr Valley.

Already the British charge d'affaires has informed the German Vice-Chancellor, Schiffer, that the Entente would not furnish any foodstuffs or raw materials to a German Soviet Republic.

Already the Entente has allowed the troops of the Government to traverse occupied territory on their march against the Communist insurrection, and to make use of this territory as a base of operations in the concentrated attack against the Red Army.

The solidarity which unites all bourgeoisie, all militarisms, is proclaimed openly, cynically, without any attempt to gloss the matter over. It behaves us to proclaim as openly, as energetically, solidarity of the proletariat.

British, French, and Belgians proletarians, will you let your ruling classes make use of you to trample to death the German revolution?

The German revolution—that is just a way of speaking a traditional expression. To speak the truth, there is no German revolution, no more than there is a Russian or a British or a French or an Italian or a Spanish revolution.

There is only one social revolution, as there is only one Capitalistic oppression, as there is only one Socialism, one hope of the oppressed and the exploited of all countries.

Our rulers know that the Republic of Workers' Councils established in Germany means the accord of Germany with Soviet Russia, that is, the marvellous development of the industry and the technique of the one, and the immense resources in agrarian products, in fertile land, and in raw materials of the uniting, melting one into the other, fecundating each other. They know this accord means the proletarian Revolution, invincible henceforth by the blockade as by the steel. They know that this accord means the rapid and assured evolution of the Communist production and culture, its radiance growing day by day more luminous, more serene, more irresistible, towards the countries where foul capitalism stinking with corruption and sweating blood, still struggles in a horrible agony. They know that the triumph of the Revolution in Germany will immediately start revolutionary movements in Yugo-Slavia, in Poland, in the Balkans, in Italy, etc. They know that when capitalism crashes in Central Europe, capitalism in Eastern Europe is mortally wounded. They know that Social Revolution is one, and that crushing it in Germany means crushing it in the germ in their own country.

French, British, and Belgium proletarians will you once more suffer yourselves to be gulled by your ruling classes? Will you be your brothers' murderers? Will you, by committing the abominable deed, prepare your own destruction for to-morrow?

Or will you profit by the lessons of six years of unheard-of sufferings of heart-rending experiences? Have you beheld the light that shines out of the East? Has the dawning of a new immense hope scattered the mists of your unconsciousness? Has it cleansed your soul, and strengthened your heart?

If so, you know what you have to do: to do immediately, to-day; to-morrow might be too late.

You must on a large scale, repeat for your German brothers and with infinitely greater firmness and vigour, what you attempted to do for your Russian brothers, and what, however insufficient and weak, still has contributed to their salvation.

British proletarians! remember the stormy magnificent meetings of the Hands-off Russia Committee. They were a force for the raising of the blockade.

French proletarians and soldiers! remember the men of the Black Sea Fleet, the dockers of Bordeaux. Their courage has contributed to the defeat of the partisans of military intervention.

Workers of the Entente! loudly proclaim your solidarity with the German Revolution!

Demand from your Governments the withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territory.

Railwaymen refuse to effect the transport of any troops or any arms or ammunitions to Germany.

All of you answer any attempt on the part of olution by extending and intensifying your own revolutionary activity. Make it plain to them, that if the international bourgeoisie is one in the defence of its ruined and rotten social order, the international proletariat is one in the heroic struggle for deliverance.

Boldly forward, Comrades!

At this instant the fate of the European Revolution depends on you, on your initiative, on your far-sightedness.

Hurrah for the Communist Revolution in Germany!

Hurrah for the World Revolution, the Universal Soviet Republic!

The Executive of the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International.

D. J. WYNKOOP.

HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST.

G. J. RUTGERS.

A recruiting poster is being displayed in Ireland, which states—Join the R.A.F. and see the world! Some who understand the business has written in pencil below—Join the R.I.C. and see the other world!

Japanese troops are still in Eastern Siberia, but the Government has ordered them not to go west, because of the danger of going west."

Capitalism carries on a more effective propaganda for us among the masses than we ourselves could ever hope to achieve by our own efforts. The international profiteer is our best propagandist. It is true we owe much to war, but I do not fear peace, for the incurable avidity and corruption of the Capitalist classes will survive and paralyse its healing effects. The cost of living, instead of diminishing, is still increasing steadily in most countries. The lust of gain of the international exploiters, bourgeois financiers, manufacturers, and tradesmen is still unslaked, and they are conspiring to prevent return of normal conditions, totally unconscious of the fact that they are preparing their own destruction.—Nikolai Lenin.

STARVATION AND THE STATE.

By WM. GALLACHER

The "Daily Herald" has made a staggering discovery of the dirty work contemplated by the Government, in the event of a miners' strike. According to their disclosure troops are to be used to blockade the mining districts, and the miners crushed into subjection by the threat of having their women and children starved to death.

Of course, Mr Lloyd George hastens to deny the allegation, but then Mr Lloyd George is the most prodigious prevaricator in Europe. He can tell a deliberate, calculated lie with a face as guileless as a Celestial cherub. He is the wonder of the age. The boss hypocrite in a land of super-hypocrites. He denies the "Herald" story; that means it's true.

But why should the "Herald" Editor be so astonished at this projected move of the Government? What else do they expect? Do they expect the bosses of this country to treat British strikers, who threaten their trade prosperity, any better than Austrian, Russian, or German workers? If they do they are in for a painful disillusionment.

If those responsible for the "Daily Herald" would give a little more attention to the Revolutionary movement, and considerably less to the muddle-headed vendors of Parliamentary wisdom who run the Labour Party, they would not be so thunderstruck at what is after all the natural development of the State under Capitalism.

In the present groggy condition of our finances a strike of the miners might well bring down the whole Capitalist state in ruins. Capitalism is face to face with bankruptcy, and its most valuable asset is coal. If the production of coal is stopped the exchange will go down with a run.

Capitalism will be unable to meet its debts, and the Red Revolution will enter in as receiver. The watch-dogs of Mammon are alive to the situation. They know what a miners' strike would mean, and they are prepared to crush it right at the start, if crushing it be at all possible.

The State must smash the Strike or the Strike will smash the State. Every effort will be made to sidetrack the miners, and hold off the issue in the hope that sooner or later the old wretched system may get stabilised. Compromise is the alluring pasture-land that will lead the workers off the road to Revolution. But only for a time. Soon even that will become barren, and then nothing will stop the last great fight between the dispossessed and their exploiters.

When the fight does come the chief weapons of the State will be brute force and starvation. The Capitalist class control the army and the food, and just as they have always been prepared to shoot the workers when the need arose, so also will they starve them without the slightest compunction, if such a course is necessary to retain their own position of ascendancy. We have never had any doubt about this at all. In fact we have continually asserted that the weapon of starvation would be the first the State would put into operation. Is it possible neither Comrade Lansbury nor any member of his staff has read "Direct Action"? We hardly think it is. Yet how else can we account for their expression of "horror" at the proposed action of the State. If they had taken the trouble to read that pamphlet, they would have found on page 22 a short examination of the State in its relation to the modern strike, in the course of which the writers say:—

"Several courses are open to the State. It can, for example, declare the strike illegal, and arrest all the active men. It can attempt to overawe the strikers by a display of armed force. If these measures are not productive of the desired results, it can proceed to kick the workers in the stomach. It can interfere with the food supply. In the case of an industry that is highly localised, as is the case with the mining industry, the cotton industry, or the engineering industry, it can blockade the affected districts, preventing food supplies reaching the striking workers."

The pamphlet has been on for sale for several months, and only cost threepence. We have seen it being sold at meetings in London, although we have never seen any notice of it in the "Daily Herald." Surely the industrial editor of the "Herald" has read it, and surely he of all others has made a sufficiently close study of the State to know that it will always be used to keep the workers in subjection.

The revolutionary knows what he's up against, and makes an effort to prepare for it. What is wanted is not condemnation of the State but organisation that will enable the workers, when the strike does come, to frustrate any attempt to starve and bully them into submission.

The greatest difficulty in getting such organisation is caused by those pitiable place-hunters, who strut around the Labour platforms and exhibit themselves as States-men. These Labour apologists for the State fool the workers all the time by giving them a totally misleading conception of what the State really is, and how it will perform when war breaks out between the workers and the bosses.

As an example of what happens, take the messages sent from Glasgow to the "Herald" the day following the exposure.

Those who sent them trumpet forth their indignation and—stop there. It's a sort of sensational thing, and may probably help to get them votes. That is the one great concern. They will make splendid capital out of it by publicly protesting about it, but they will do damn all in the way of helping to get organisation to deal with the situation when it does arise.

These embryo States-men will mislead the workers by talking about the "wrong" of such a thing as a blockade of the mining areas, when they ought to know that right or wrong doesn't enter into the matter at all.

Necessity knows no laws, and what will count will not be sentiment or morality, but power. If the State is strong enough to crush the workers by military might they will be crushed.

If it has the power to starve them into submission, protests from indignant Labourites will be of no avail.

If we would save ourselves from the terrors of militarism or the pangs of hunger, then we must acquire power of our own. We can never acquire power by delegating men to talk for us in the national joss-house.

We can only acquire power by organising in such a way that we can control the production and distribution industries of the country.

Organise in the workshop. Build up sound, effective Workers' Committees. Organise in the district where you live. Get a real, live Social Committee (or Soviet) formed there.

When each workshop has its Council and each district its Soviet, then the State may launch its most formidable attack. We will meet it on the solid front of working-class solidarity, with the sure and certain hope that the result will be the speedy triumph of the workers—a triumph that will usher in the dawn of the British Soviet Republic.

The Two Internationals.

By J. R. Campbell

From now until the end of the Easter Conferences the question of the International will be the foremost theme of discussion amongst all active Socialists. It is therefore fitting that a full and comprehensive statement of the position of each of the Internationals should be presented to the rank and file for consideration.

There has been a tendency on the part of the official group of the I.L.P. to misrepresent the position of the Third International, but in this volume are all the authentic documents relating to the formation of that body, which will furnish an effective antidote to efforts of that kind.

The book traces the growing division of the Socialist forces throughout the war, beginning with the setting up of the Zimmerwald Commission, and leading up to the formation of the Third

International. Not that theoretical divisions were not manifest in the Socialist movement before the war, but in practice people of divergent views continued to work together in the electoral activity which was the main form of Socialist activity previous to the war. But the war and later the coming of the Bolshevik revolution cleared the air, and showed the absolutely irreconcilable divergence of opinion between the two wings. The Zimmerwald Conference was merely a gathering of anti-war Socialists, differing from other sections, not so much in their attitude to general Socialist tactics, as in their opposition to the war. But in the subsequent conferences, held at Kienthal, a transition from Pacifist Socialism to Revolutionary Socialism was becoming evident, and with the breakdown of the Stockholm Conference it was decided to make a clean break with the Second International. In the book the manifesto calling the first meeting of the Third International, and also the subsequent manifesto giving detailed arguments in favour of the policy of that body are given in full. Students will have the opportunity of comparing this carefully written and scientifically argued document with the Macdonaldesque pronouncement of the I.L.P., where the failure of Parliamentary democracy is gravely attributed to "the wickedness of Mr Lloyd George," instead of being a phenomenon common to all countries caused by the development of financial Capitalism and expressing itself in the same political corruption everywhere. The Communist theory with regard to the State and Parliamentary democracy is excellently summarised by Mr Dutt. "The theory of the Communists begins with an analysis of the modern state as the machinery of class rule. The typical developed form of this machinery in Capitalist society is held to be political democracy. The ground for this is that political democracy serves to overthrow the last stronghold of pre-Capitalist privilege and allow free play for the forces of Capitalism, while at the same time covering the reality of bourgeois dictatorship with an appearance of popular consent which is rendered unreal by the Capitalist control of the social structure. Political democracy cannot affect the reality of social exploitation, because (a) whatever party comes to power must keep the machinery going—'the King's Government must be carried on. (b) No party that is fundamentally revolutionary can come to power in face of the Capitalist control of all the vehicles of political life and thought; the revolutionary Socialist must either remain in a permanent minority or else dilute his programme and become 'practical' in order to obtain power."

"The main strength of this argument lies in its appeal to the familiar facts of the present regime and its insistence that the existing abuse of the Parliamentary system is not accidental—'the wickedness of Mr Lloyd George'—but inherent. The case of the Communist is strengthened by his claim. The only suggested remedy of the political democrat is propaganda and education, the main organs of which are admittedly in the hands of the Capitalist class."

The book, by merely bringing into contrast the two rival positions and stating them fairly, will do more to show the crushing strength of the Third International position than a violent ex parte statement would do.

The most valuable part of the book for those who will be attending the I.L.P. Conference is the statement of the point of view of those organisations who desire a left wing conference of the advanced groups generally referred to as the Fourth International. The Second International stinks in the nostrils of all sections of the Socialist movement in this country. No one dare openly advocate adherence to that contemptible body. So the Fourth International is being trotted around to attract the attention of those timid spirits who want to appear revolutionary, while shirking the responsibility of going in for a definite revolutionary policy. The impression is being spread abroad that the Fourth International stands for a fairly homogenous policy, embracing the best elements of Third International tactics with those of the wavering centre. It would be a mighty queer mixture if it did, but an examination

(Continued on page 7.)



April 3, 1920.

All communications to be sent to the Editor, National Council's Offices, 31 North Frederick Street, Glasgow.

Subscribers' Rates—Weekly, 2d.; Quarterly, 2s. 8d.; Half-yearly, 5s. 4d. (post free).

The "Point of Production."

The way the robbery of the workers is carried out under Capitalism is indeed artful. The slave of old knew he had a master; the peasant knew he was tied to his lord and the estate, because these forms of slavery were open and barefaced.

Under Capitalism the exploitation of the worker is concealed. The industrial worker who has not become class-conscious imagines that he is free. The boss pays him for what he is worth, so where is there any kick? Therefore, he reasons that the trouble must be at the other end, and goes around crying for "cheap" things. Whatever he wants, it must be cheap. Cheap housing, cheap clothing, cheap amusements. And he generally gets what he is looking for.

The poor deluded worker who is not class-conscious wastes his time and energy chasing imaginary monsters thinking he is robbed as a consumer. It is first when he understands that he is robbed at the point of production that he will be on the right road to get his own back.

This is the position: The Capitalist pays every worker approximately what he is worth; but the value of the product the worker helps to turn out is many times greater than what the worker receives in wages. The difference between the cost of raw material and wages on the one hand, and the price obtained for the finished product on the other, is the bosses' profit. A worker is just as valuable to a boss as a horse or a power engine. He is not taken the same care of because horses and power engines are expensive, labour power is cheap. The horse produces a value to his owner over and above the fodder he eats. A power engine produces force over and above the value of the oil it consumes, and a worker delivers energy over and above the energy required to supply him with his necessities.

To the owner of a horse belongs the service a horse renders for his fodder; to the owner of a power engine belongs the service of that engine.

The hired worker can produce many times more energy in a day's work than what is required for his maintenance; this energy belongs to the hirer of the worker, and is expended in the manufacture of commodities.

The worker is indeed paid what he is worth, but he does not get the value of what he produces. This goes to the boss under the name of profit. The profits extracted from the workers maintain the Capitalist class and their hangers-on.

To kick against high prices with the object in view of living cheap leads to nowhere. There is more money in the world to-day than there ever was, but it is not coming round our way much. The only palliative to this is a strong organisation which can force the boss to pay more. But the roots of our misfortune are much deeper. They lay embedded in the system of production for profit, under which the wealth created belongs to the owners of the industrial equipment, while the worker gets paid in wages barely enough for his maintenance. The docile worker always asks the boss to pay him what he is worth; the class-conscious worker demands the value of what he produces.

"What did he die of, Mrs Maloney?"

"Gangrene, Mr Finnegan!"

"Well, thank hivin for the colour, Mrs Maloney!"

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.

The Scavenger and the Midden-Makers.

General Booth left England last week to tour Australia on a great Salvation Crusade. General Booth has been described as a "social scavenger." The General and his army are supposed to exist for the purpose of "rescuing the perishing"—not only in soul, but body. They "reclaim" the drunkards, wastrels, and pariahs of the Capitalist system—confining their attentions to the lower strata and leaving the 47,000,000 putrid perverts of the upper class severely alone. Last week a contributor appended a postscript to his report in the "Worker," asking what "line" he was on at £3 6s. per week, when, according to Sir C. Money, the "poverty line" is £5 3s. per week.

We are now in a position to inform him that there are others rather worse off in the world than himself.

He is an "aristocrat of labour" compared to the poor devils who have the misfortune to work for the greatest emperor the world has ever seen—King George.

On the Balmoral estates (Balmoral, Abergeldie, and Birkhall—no "housing problem" here) the outdoor employees are paid £2 5s. per week. Have a good squint at it. **Two pounds five shillings per week**—and they have the impudence to be dissatisfied with it.

"We learn that trouble has arisen among the outdoor employees on the King's Balmoral, Abergeldie, and Birkhall estates, says 'The Times.' It is stated that 90 per cent. of the employees on those estates are ex-service men, who have applied to Captain J. D. Ramsay, the King's Commissioner, for an eight-hour day and a wage of £3 per week."

They are ex-service men who fought for their King and (his) country; who believed that "surely this is worth fighting for"; who expected to find on their return to Blighty "a new heaven," or at least "a land fit for heroes to live in," and instead they are nosing around trying to pick up three quid a week from the regal toff they tried to die for. Papa is busy just now watching the Liverpool races and Lancashire football matches. He has just packed his heir apparent off (at an alleged expense to the country of £20,000) to Australia—to be banqueted, feted, fawned on, and lick-spittled by the parasites of the land of promise.

Because one class is despoiled of its wealth it is possible for parasitism to squander in useless tomfoolery the surplus that might be used in making "a land fit for heroes to live in." Exploited on starvation wages—£2 5s. per week—it is no wonder that men prefer to tread the paths that lead to moral degradation. Disillusioned and despairing, the worker is driven towards either Bolshevism, his saviour, or towards vagrancy and crime, his destroyers. Happy the man who finds in time the first path. He finds something to live and to work for. The other wretch drops lower and lower—pushed down by the blasted social tape-worms who sucked his blood for £2 5s. per week—until the gaol, the gallows, or—the Salvation Army gets him.

The Prince of Wales went off to tour Australia a fortnight ago.

Last week General Booth followed in his wake. "After the Lord Mayor's show comes the muck cart."

The Lucky Ones.

In the above paragraph we describe the people who have "tumbled" to the bread and circus game as "happy." Australia has its share.

In the "Sunday Post" a paragraph points out that—

"A message from Melbourne states that the Trades Hall Council has endorsed the motion of the builders' labourers to the effect that the Council shall take no share in the reception of the

Prince of Wales, on the ground that the proposed expenditure is being made in order to bolster up Capitalism.

The Council has passed a resolution requesting Unionists not to allow their children to participate in the welcome and other functions."

"You Takes Your Choice."

From an article on "Grotesque Revolutionaries in last week's 'Socialist':—

"In their wisdom these modern 'Spartacists' deem the time appropriate and their tactics quite compatible with the psychology of the masses. Can their decisions be enforced? Have they the workers' organised? Has sufficient spade-work been done by them to warrant their activities being appreciated and understood by the great masses? No! Nothing but the usual hot air, etc."

From the "leading article" in the same issue:

"These are the times when only Revolutionary action in every field of human activity will meet the demands of our task. Communists of Britain, the enemy are upon us! Reaction enthroned in the seats of the mighty, and armed to the teeth, is about to rally for the last great fight between privilege and progress. Are we to remain disunited and defenceless? Or are we courageous enough to face the situation squarely, and follow the example of Bolshevik Russia and Spartacist Germany?"

The Exploiter at Work.

Scene: The Hebrides. Time: Middle 18th Century.

(Source: A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772. By Thomas Pennant.)

Singing at the Quern is now almost out of date since the introduction of water-mills. The laird can oblige his tenants, as in England, to make use of this more expeditious kind of grinding; and empowers his miller to search out and break any Querns he can find, as machines that defraud him of the toll. Many centuries past the legislature attempted to discourage these awkward mills, so prejudicial to the landlords, who had been at the expense of others. In 1284, in the time of Alexander III., it was provided that "na man sall presume to grind quheit, maishloch, or rye with hand mylne except he be compellid by storm, or be in lack of mills quhilsk sould grinde the samen. And in this case gif a man grindes at hand mylnes, he sall gif the threttein measure as multer and gif anie man contraveins this our prohibition, he sall tine his hand mylnes perpetuallie."

The Fool Club.

Read the figures on Government expenditure for the forthcoming year which were given in our last issue. Then read the debate on "extravagance" in Hansard of last Thursday. Next, have a squint through the speeches in the House on the new Women's Enfranchisement Bill—and remember that the enfranchisement of thousands upon thousands of women voters proves how little the Capitalist class fear the power of the ballot-box—then read G. B. Shaw on Lady Astor:—

"The only woman in the House of Commons is just discovering what a pack of fools she is among."

We Bet He Was No Poet.

From the "Wills" column in Friday's "Daily Mail" we take:—

"Mr Robert Burns, Mossgeil, Southport... left £97,262."

The original Robert of the original Mossgeil merely left a starving "wife and weans"—and the fruit of his genius.

Gallacher v. Sir Bernard Pares.

It is becoming quite fashionable for the blue bloods to debate on Bolshevism with a Bolshevik. The accepted Bolshy, up to date, has been Gallacher. He has already entered the ring against the Solicitor-General of Scotland, Sir Charles Sarsfield, and Sir Bernard Pares. There was a time when a knight would no more have "broken a lance" with a "varlet" than he would have refused his knighthood. But they were "stuck up" bounders in those undemocratic days.

Sir Bernard Pares, K.B.E., we regret to see, repeated the hoary old chestnut that—

"The Bolshevik success would have been impossible but for aid from Germany."

Now, the next defender of Bolshevism who gets hit in the eye with that old nut might just try and remember these few facts.

In General Ludendorff's Memoirs, or "Confessions," as the Allies call them, he doesn't let on a bit about Germany's affection for Bolshevism. Instead he says: "Bolshevism hurt us whenever it was able." Again: "This (Bolshevism) and the activities of Prince Lichnowsky undermined the discipline of our army." Again: "Soviet Russia was able to shake the war efficiency of the German people in a way the Entente, in spite of the blockade and propaganda, could never have done."

Once again: An appreciable weakening of the spirit of our army came through soldiers who had been returned from Russian prison camps, and who now, after a long leave, were again sent to the front."

Ludendorff in July, 1918, went to von Kuehlmann and "told him of my hope yet to make the Entente eager for peace, and pointed out the dangers of Bolshevism."

Surely, reader, there is little dubiety about the meaning of the above passages.

But Ludendorff is not our only authority. We referred in our issue of 11th October last to the statement made by the German General, Hoffmann, to the representative of the "Chicago Tribune": "The German army on the Western front was not defeated by the Allies. We were defeated by an upstart called Lenin. No sooner was peace with Russia concluded (at Brest Litovsk) than swarms of Bolshevik agents entered Germany, and our country became rotten with Bolshevism."

We suppose it was in order to "aid the Bolsheviks" that Germany kept Karl Radek in gaol such an unconscionable time, and only released him when Lenin sent word that if he were not liberated at once every important German then in Moscow would be clapped into prison as a reprisal.

We hope, after this, that Sir Bernard will pension that old canard off.



Let us Burn the Old Labels.

By BORIS SOUVARINE.

After five years of testing—testing of theories, of tactics, of men, testing of facts resulting from the war and from the Revolutions of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary—what is the state of the old parties and groups who professed the same ideal of human emancipation, and directed their efforts to the abolition of wage-slavery? And, above all, what remains of the doctrines which inspired the actions of these groups?

The old formations have been upset. The classifications of former days no longer correspond to those of to-day. New currents have been felt, unforeseen affinities have brought tendencies into touch, which used to be unacquainted, or which irritated each other, while antagonisms have separated forces previously compact. Ruptures have broken up certain parties and new parties have been established.

In the whole International, analogous phenomena are apparent, and their diversity does not exclude, however, certain general traits which it is necessary to sort out and define. In France the complexity of these disintegrations and at-

tractions is greater than anywhere else.

The old Socialist schools are torn up and confounded in the new sections. Guesdists, Jaurelists, Germanists, and Herveists are associating in one or the other. In the course of the war new groupings, at present still in process of re-grouping, have been operating. Syndicalism has been the subject of as deep internal transformations, and these are still developing. The Anarchists are no longer able to regain their place, and they can be found far from each other in the dispersed clans.

If one observes men, as regards individualities, the changings of places they have accomplished are innumerable, and defy all description.

Finally, the confusion in doctrines presents an amorphous state of chaos. The least compatible principles are becoming allied, are becoming involved in the most heterogeneous combinations and in the most frightful discord. The theorists and the doctrinaires, far from setting themselves to clarify the involved views, which they are trying to make prevail, they acquiesce in a confusion where they find refuge for their frequent embarrassment and where the directing idea becomes

Under these conditions, what value do the old labels retain, turned yellow by time, or stained red by the blood of the victims of the war and of the revolution. "Socialists," "Syndicalists," "Anarchists," have fed the imperialist war, by their passive consent or their active energies given to the war chiefs. Others have quelled popular insurrections others have resisted the war and others have attempted revolution.

Socialist, Social Democrat: Lenin and Albert Thomas, Trotsky and Schiedman, Liebknecht and Bernstein, Debs and Macdonald, Vandervelde and Henriette Roland Holst, have all borne the same label.

Syndicalist, Trade Unionist: Legien and Pericat, Jouhaux and Monatte, Gompers and Tom Mann, De Ambris and Jim Larkin, have all borne the same label.

Anarchist, Free Thinker: Kropotkin and Landauer, Jean Grave and Nieuwenhuis, Cornelissen

and Malatesta, have all borne the same label.

The people, or its delegation, which is endeavouring to find its course of action, no longer understands these appellations, complicated with adjectives, distinguishing the sub-divisions. Each has its cortege of hopes and deceptions, of promises and of rancours. And why are men, speaking the same language, defending the same cause, manipulating the same activity for an identical end, provided with different names?

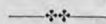
The men of social progress, who "go to the people," complain of finding them indifferent, refractory, and tired. But where are the clear words of command, the solid theses, the striking programmes?

If the pioneers of the Social Revolution wish to put the masses in motion, they must disentangle from the litter of the old formulae and the old groups fresh conceptions and a new organisation, which will reassemble the scattered forces of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Bolsheviks have understood this and it is such an anxiety which is betrayed by their proposal to establish everywhere "Communist Parties." They have drawn from the source of scientific socialism the qualifications embraced by the manifesto of 1848, which remains intact after seventy years of experience, and which perpetuates the teaching of Marx and Engels, with a power of persuasion increased a hundredfold by the confirmations and verifications of events.

Can we, in France, respond to the suggestion of the Russian Communists and form our Communist Party? Can we burn our old tickets and, exposing our views to the light of the great new facts which have dissociated and associated the militants, extract a doctrine which will give satisfaction to the men previously separated by abstract ideas?

(Translated by A. W. from the French "International Review.")



Read "DIRECT ACTION." Price 3d..

MINUS CAP AND BELLS

A Ballad of Old Renfrew

In Renfrew town lived a Yiddisher clown with a most peculiar bent—
A passionate faith in Soviet rule and the same in Parliament!
An expert mental gymnast he, and he headed a circus troupe,
Which he taught right well to "curry-the-creel," and loop the political loop;
And so many curious things besides, that it made the people gape
At Solomon Jacob Isaac Moses Aaron Jester-Ape.

He taught them how to stand on their heads, and hang by the hook of the knees,
From the tight-rope, tight-wire, parallel-bar, or the loftier still trapeze,
Till they got so used to looking at things so obviously upside-down,
That they took their clown for a Socrates and a Socrates took for a clown!
And though such ludicrous antics let them in for many a scrape,
They simply worshipped Solomon J.I.M.A. Jester-Ape.

Now his was a fierce volcanic soul with the lava aye on tap:
Of a character argumentative and glorying in a "scrap!"
Friend or foe was the same to him if they got him the least annoyed,
He would fight with the zeal of a thousand men and the wits of an anthropoid—
And the blood-drunk, hell-fired Malay "amok" could cut no sorrier shape,
Than Solomon Jacob Isaac Moses Aaron Jester-Ape.

He would tear with the fangs of the hairy breed that scramble from tree to tree,
With the rage of a monkey berserker in the tribe of the chimpanzee!
He would club with the club of a Stone Age man in the days of the human prime,
When Queensbury rules were a code for fools and common fairplay was crime.
He would charge his opponent with every offence from forgery down to rape,
Would Solomon Jacob Isaac Moses Aaron Jester-Ape.

And he roared for the dawn of the glorious day when the clash of blade on blade,
Would sound to his ears like the song of the spheres as he leapt to the barricade!
(But the thought made the mop on his Yiddisher kop stand upright hair by hair,
And he swore by the Gods if it ever came off, he'd look for a job elsewhere.)
The voice was the voice of Esau but—the spine from the tail to the nape
Was the spine of Solomon Jacob Isaac M. A. Jester-Ape.

He died as he lived in the course of time, and his spirit went to the skies!
For his heart was soft, if his skull was thick, and he made one compromise:
For Jehovah collected the shop-soiled soul from his masterpiece in clay—
Because—because it attended "school" every year on the black fast day!
He died as he lived for they swaddled his corpse in a mile of good red tape!
And that was the end of Solomon Jacob Etcetera Jester-Ape.

J. S. C.

A Changeable Professor.

By W. M'Laine.

The other Sunday Professor Sarolea debated with Comrade Gallacher at Edinburgh on the question "That Bolshevism is theoretically indefensible and in practice has proved a failure." A full report appeared in the "Worker" of March 20, and readers may refer to it. I was very much interested when a few days ago I was given the opportunity of reading a little book by Dr. Sarolea entitled "Count Tolstoy, his life and work"—interested because of the remarkable views expressed in it, particularly by one who opposes Bolshevik theory.

The book was written in 1912, and at the outset we are told that "the twentieth century will be the century of the Russian," and "no race has had a more tragic past and no race seems destined to a more brilliant future. ... At last, after a thousand years, the strong are coming into their inheritance."

The Professor, you see, was something of a prophet, and in 1912 he had a very remarkable understanding of Russia and the Russians.

"The mind of the Russian is directed to what shall be, and not to what has been. Hence that fearlessness, that incapacity to accept foregone conclusions, that unconventionality, that freshness of outlook which we admire so much in a typical Russian like Tolstoy. ... The Russians are born Democrats and Socialists. The Mir or Village Community is pre-eminently a Russian institution. For untold generations the peasants have lived in their little Socialist republics. In Russia the individual counts for very little. It is only by co-operation and association that the difficulties of life can be solved."

Dr. Sarolea evidently had no very great respect for Capitalism when he wrote this book, for he says: "Certainly the conditions of serfs under a good master would be far better than those of our industrial serfs in our Capitalistic age."

The most important part of the book for us is that part in which the events in Russia of 1905 are dealt with, and a long quotation is needed

because a short one would spoil the effect:—

"He (Tolstoy) assumed that a monstrous evil like Tsardom bound up with the vested interests of hundreds of thousands of bureaucrats and officials, could be efficiently dealt with by eloquent appeals and proclamations and 'open letters to the Tsar.' The revolutionists, on the contrary, believed that such an evil could only be done away with by violent methods, and in the case of the revolutionists themselves those methods meant the heroic sacrifice of their lives and property. To minimize the bloodshed, to increase the chances of success, the revolutionists took advantage of the temporary weakness of Tsardom paralysed by the Japanese War, even as the Russian reformers had done fifty years before after the disasters of the Crimean War. Tolstoy attacked them, both for their deeds because they were violent, and for their words because they were impotent, forgetting that the words were impotent mainly because they were not followed up with violent deeds. ... History will not judge the Russian Revolutionists as Tolstoy judged them. History will condemn the Constitutional Democrats or Cadets, not because they have been too violent and too daring, not because they believed too much in deeds, but rather because they trusted too much in words and manifestations."

"Insurrection is only justifiable when there is a large probability of success. ... An abortive revolution is only a riot, and a riot can only be dignified into a revolution when it is successful. ... The Russian revolutionists, mainly composed of aristocrats. ... Hypnotised by formulas and constitutional doctrines, they assumed that a great political movement is ultimately decided by manifestoes and speeches and public meetings. Had their political insight been equal to their enthusiasm, and to their rhetorical or parliamentary ability, they would have appealed to the people, to the army, to the church. ... But the Russian revolutionists failed to appeal to the people, they failed to win over the army, and

they despised to win over the church. Instead of fighting the battle on the streets, they fought the battle in newspaper offices, in political conventicles, and later on in the Duma."

(Black type mine.)

It is very evident from all this that Dr. Sarolea despised the revolutionary leaders of 1905 because they were not successful, and he gives his view as to why they did not win. But the Bolsheviks were successful in 1917, and all the things that Dr. Sarolea blames the men of 1905 for not doing they did, with the exception of appealing to the church. They won over the army, they appealed to the people, they fought their battle in the streets, and they backed up their words with deeds—wonderful and glorious deeds. Yet the Professor is not satisfied. Why? Is it because the revolutionists of 1917 were the workers? I think so.

It is a very remarkable fact that the British ultra-parliamentarian has nothing to say against the action of Cromwell and his supporters who removed the head of Charles I. He has nothing to say against the men who, led by Colonel Pride in 1648, prevented any member of the House of Commons who was favourable to Charles from taking his seat, and allowed only those who were against him to enter. He has nothing to say against the French Revolution of 1789, and if he agrees with Sarolea he only blames the Russian Revolutionists of 1905 because they were not violent enough. But, because the workers' revolution was and is a thing to be opposed, all the things allowable and praiseworthy in the others become horrors if thought about, spoken about, and particularly if practised by the working class.

Sarolea, writing in 1912, was a revolutionary and understood what revolution meant. That was because he looked forward to a professional revolution in Russia. Now that the Social Revolution has been accomplished he is a reactionary.

Do the grapes taste sour, oh good professor?

District Notes

GLENGARNOCK NOTES.

Glengarnock.—Three weeks have now elapsed since it was decided at the Kilbirnie Branch of the Iron and Steel Confederation to call meetings of the men in the workshop to get the opinion of the rank and file as to the proposed sliding scale. Up till the time of writing no meetings have been called, and the cause of the delay is supposed to be that the local officials are waiting for information from London, yet it would in all probability have been passed at the branch meeting without this so-called information, but for the fact that the amendment carried, i.e., that the rank and file should decide in the workshop where they would all have the chance of expressing their opinions and not a few at a branch meeting. How long are the workers in Glengarnock going to tolerate such humbug? Get a Workers' Committee card, get organised, and get into the fight. All this bungling is the outcome of the structure of your present day organisation, which allows the officials to run the show. For God's sake take a tumble to yourselves, and commence to look after your own interests yourselves.

Kilbirnie.—The strike in the textile industry is now in its seventh week, the demands of the men, the roughers and sorters, being a £4 minimum wage, representing an increase of 17s. per week on their present earnings. A general lock-out of the other workers in the industry has not taken place, and some of these workers are now opposing the action of their fellow workers because they are now unemployed, displaying the fact quite clearly that craft or trades unionism does not organise the workers but divides them, those responsible for the situation, the roughers and sorters, being members of the Miners' Union, whereas the other workers are members of the Workers' Union, with the result that some of these workers fail to recognise that the fight of one should be the fight of all.

Join the Workers' Committee! Buy the "Worker"! An injury to one is an injury to all!

JOHN CONNELL.

BOW, M'LACHLAN & CO., PAISLEY.

Genius they say is akin to madness, and an inventor we are told is a genius. That being so, we would most earnestly warn our unfortunate pleb, employed in Bow, M'Lachlan & Co.'s, Paisley, that if he has another brain wave like the one he had last week, nothing can save him. The housing problem will never trouble him any more. He'll get permanent accommodation in the near-by asylum.

For pure inventiveness he beats anything that turned up during the war. German and Bolshevik gold have got knocked out clean. The "Buddie" has got away from silly stuff like that, and begs to assert and otherwise impress on those who will listen to him that Gallacher is getting fifty pounds a week from the publicans for lecturing against prohibition.

Fifty pounds a week! That's all. Fancy Gallacher wasting his time for fifty quid a week! Tut! Will someone give that poor fellow a shake?

And will he while he's doing it tell him that the only payment that will ever satisfy a revolutionary is—Revolution? We know that the publicans are offering and paying ten pounds a week to any human worm that is prepared to wriggle in their interest.

But we also know that no man with the least spark of decency would prostitute himself by having anything to do with them or their dirty bribery. The publican isn't interested in supplying the workers with refreshment. He's out for profit, and he gets it by carrying on the rottenest "dope traffic" in this or any other country.

Gallacher has been opposed to the drink business all his life, and the dirty money in the possession of the whisky bosses couldn't get him to say a word in favour of it.

One worm in Paisley is surely enough, and we feel certain that the I.L.P. and Trades Council of that esteemed borough will congratulate themselves in having kicked out their specimen before he made his latest miserable squirm.

But the fifty quid story is typical of Bow, M'Lachlan's. It appears to be a hopeless place. They starve there all day and dream about their job at night.

HOPKINS ON THE HOP.

Lo, the dead has arisen. We really thought the District Committee of the A.S.E. had got itself buried in oblivion.

Members wag about unemployed, others suffer victimisation, and the gods of Carlton Place are dumb. But let the "Worker" dare to breathe on their gloss of respectability and special meetings are held to consider what is to be done about it.

Has Harry Hopkins nothing to do that he can be used to scrawl such a sorry epistle as the following:—

18 Carlton Place, Glasgow,
22nd March, 1920.

Dear Comrade,—The members of the Glasgow District Committee, A.S.E., have had their attention drawn to a paragraph in the issue of the "Worker," dated 13th March.

This refers to our Shop Stewards at Messrs Babcock & Wilcox, and I am now asked to request you to either to withdraw the remarks made, or to submit a full explanation for this reference, and reasons for same.

Thanking you in anticipation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HARRY HOPKINS.

As the one responsible for the original paragraph referred to, Hopkin's letter was duly passed on to me, but before worrying about explanations I would like to put a question or two myself.

Why does Harry Hopkins and his District Com-

mittee come to the conclusion that a reference to a group of skilled men letting down the semi-skilled must necessarily be a reference to the A.S.E.? Is it because the A.S.E. is the only skilled trade, or is it because the A.S.E. is the only skilled trade that lets the semi-skilled men down?

While working out an answer to these questions, will the District Committee kindly look after the real interests of its members, and get a resolution passed and circulated round the branches urging the members to help forward the Revolution by wholeheartedly supporting the "Worker."

WM. GALLACHER.

TWO INTERNATIONALS—Continued.

tion of the data supplied by Mr Dutt will reveal the fact that the policies of the bodies supporting this project are hopelessly irreconcilable. We have, for example, the German Independents, who are supporters of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet system, and who yet want to convene a left wing conference on the question of the International. Their decision at the last conference was to invite various left wing parties to form a bloc with a view to joining the Third International, the German Independents wanting to get a sufficient body of opinion inside the Third International to balance the "dictatorship of Moscow." At the other end of the scale is the British I.L.P., who ask the Swiss Party to convene a conference with a view to helping to bring into existence one all inclusive International, allowing the fullest autonomy and freedom of action and liberty of tactics to each party connected with it.

It is obvious that the new International that the I.L.P. Executive is hankering after is really the old Second International under a new name. It is to be an "all inclusive International," Noske and Lenin, Albert Thomas and Loriot, Troelstra and Pannenkoek, Arthur Henderson and Wm. Paul. As an organisation it will make the Tower of Babel look like an example of peace and harmony in comparison, but it will be worse than useless as a means of assisting the workers in their struggle with Imperialism. The national parties are to drift along in the way that has been trodden in the past—to compromise as they please, to prostitute Socialism as they please—and this is actually offered as an alternative to the policy of the Third International in one of the most revolutionary periods of the world's history. The I.L.P. are being invited by their Executive to support the old firm under a new name. If they do so they commit suicide as a fighting Socialist party and become a tool of the reaction.

Dutt's book will, we hope, be available before Easter. In the meantime place your orders, and be in time before the rush starts.

"The Two Internationals," by R. Palme Dutt. Joint Edition, Labour Research Bureau and Scottish Workers' Committees.

CORRESPONDENCE

(To the Editor of "The Worker.")

Dear Sir,—I note that your masterly writer on economics, Mr J. R. Campbell, in his article last week refers to the "Sheffield Federated Trades Council," and actually uses their spurious utterances as if the bleaters were acknowledged authorities. I am sorry the "Worker" has been so misled. We have a bona-fide "Trades and Labour Council," not that we are knee-deep in the Revolution through their efforts though. This Federated Trades Council your writer mentions is composed of "leaders" of small cutlery unions, whose function consists of collecting "dues" off the cutlers on Saturday mornings in the "boozers." The legal press used their patriotic vapourings during the war frequently, but now they don't, as they know everybody has spotted these freaks, and any reference locally to these minor blood-suckers and traitors only raises a huge giggle.

I could give the history of these Brownlie apes but your space is too valuable. Hoping you will give this publicity and thus correct an erroneous impression.—Yours sincerely,

EVELYN RAYNOR.

(To the Editor of "The Worker.")

WILLIAM PAUL AND PAISLEY.

Dear Comrade,—Allow me to endorse your condemnation of those responsible for the suppression of Comrade Paul's "open letter" when its insertion was sought in the columns of "The Socialist." I met a like fate during a controversy on the "Unity" question with the late Editor, Tom Bell, by a sudden change in the Editor's chair. I have read Paul's letter, and here tender the following comment for insertion in your next issue.

"We of the S.L.P.," Paul says, "are particularly proud of how we stood forth, before the war, in our splendid isolation and gloriously kept the principles of revolutionary Socialism pure and unsullied during a period of depressing compromise. We are prone to look back with pride to that period when we, alone in Britain, emphasised the industrial basis of Socialist Government." Such a statement is a clean and clear justification of the existence of the S.L.P. in the past, the present, and the future as long as it functions to pave the way to the Industrial Commonwealth for the "take and hold" force. In the S.L.P. we have the only sound working class political organisation. Having a "class" basis, it cannot be a "sectarian" movement, consequently all Paul's efforts to lower us to a "sectarian" level are automatically confounded.

"But the war," says Paul, "and the advent of Soviet Russia has lifted the S.L.P.'s theoretical conception of industrial government from the abstract realm of theory to the concrete plane of practice. The industrial character of Socialist Government is no longer an S.L.P. question—it has become the question of the hour and the immediate problem of the world. . . . The historical mission of our Party was to educate the masses regarding the industrial basis of future society. That mission was completed the moment the Soviet Government proved its superiority over Parliamentary democracy as a working class institution destined to emancipate labour." Such wild statements are almost hopeless. "The historical mission of our Party was to educate the masses. . . . That mission was completed. . . . All we've got to do now is to walk out with Paul and kindred and "take and hold" the means of production. It looks very nice on paper. But Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg thought to do the same thing, what happened? Is not the fate of our German comrades a severe enough warning to Paul and Co. that the education of the masses is not complete by a d— long way.

Pre-war conditions in Russia gave them a Tsar who was an absolute monarch. Their Parliamentary institution, the Duma, was a sham of a most unscrupulous ruling class manufacture. The whole country has been more or less under martial law. Violence was the only means available for Revolutionary purposes. Realising that agriculture—employed about nine-tenths of the people and two-thirds of the area of the Russian Empire, we can understand why the organisation of a physical-force body for revolutionary purposes was practically impossible before the war. When the war came Russia's ruling class, by organising and equipping the life-long rebellious and discontented masses of proletariat and peasantry for military purposes, were actually marshalling and arming the very forces who destroyed them when all the necessary material conditions prevailed. But the rough "theory" and make-shift "concrete plane of practice" of Russia will not pass for the "theory" and "concrete plane of practice" which seems essential for Britain. One is on a par with the rough "theory" and make-shift "concrete plane of practice" for constructing tin-can motor cars, the other is the "last word" in the respective spheres as necessary for the construction of a Rolls-Royce. Britain has a constitutional monarch. Our Parliamentary institution, the House of Commons, is just what the workers make it. Under Capitalism all economic progress brought social ills in its train, and the consequential social discontent is palliated by reforms, but never cured. The greed of the Tory landlord, the Liberal Capitalist, or this and that Trade Union labour-power trust is blamed by the rival "interests" for the social ills and conse-

quential discontent. Offering to the electorate a reform program which merely brings social conditions more or less up to the level determined by the ever improving economic forces, each "interest" vies with the other for the control of the legislative chamber in order to automatically protect their "own" interest at the expense of "the others." If the workers think the Tory is "our man," they go to him. If they desire the Liberal or Labour Party, they go to them. When the time brings the conditions that sends them to the S.L.P., then we must do our duty. Meanwhile we must continue our education and organisation of the masses for their mission while Capitalism continues its development, bringing the concentration of the intensified "means of production" into fewer and fewer hands, and forcing the sections of the owning class into one body, politically and industrially. The ever progressing material conditions are also producing an ever-growing class-conscious mass of workers in every sphere who will eventually be forced by circumstances to get together, politically and industrially, for their historic mission—the political overthrow of the Capitalist system and the inauguration of the Industrial Commonwealth. There will be no need to threaten the "representatives" as the Russian army delegates did the Petrograd Soviet for not getting a move on during the Kerensky regime. Unlike the Soviet, we would know the extent of our power, and act accordingly.

Paul says, the referendum vote "... rejects the idea, as everyone foresaw, that the Communist Party should discuss linking up with the Labour Party." Very good, "everyone foresaw" the result. Who was it proposed "the idea" at the Unity Conference that the Communist Party should "discuss" the question? It was Paul and his co-delegates from the S.L.P. Why did they propose "the idea" if "everyone foresaw" the result? No, friend Paul, it won't do. To me, it is plain, you and your fellows representing the S.L.P. were prepared to sacrifice the Party, even if it involved membership of the Labour Party, to attain your end. Why the Judas game? Why form a "new party" at all? Why don't the so-called revolutionary elements inside the "sectarian" B.S.P., the I.L.P., and such kindred, join the class conscious S.L.P.? We are all that a sound Communist Party ought to be. Why don't they join? I believe it is because an unconditional surrender to the S.L.P. is more than their stomach can stand. They want to have the making and shaping of a party, not to join an existing one.

Recently, at a "Conference of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees," it was decided to "link up" with the American I.W.W., who advocate, among other things, sabotage. Dave Ramsay proposed a resolution which was passed unanimously, advocating the "confiscation" of the means of production, thus automatically "outlawing" the Conference, including Hayes of the Police Union, who claims a "legal" status for his organisation. The chairman of the meeting was Arthur MacManus; the assistant secretary, J. T. Murphy. As S.L.P.'ers, MacManus and Murphy were co-delegates with Paul and Tom Bell to the "Unity" Conference. Adversity bring strange bedfellows.—Yours fraternally,

J. D. HALL.

THE WORKERS GET WHAT THE MILLIONAIRE PRODUCES—NOTHING. THE MILLIONAIRE GETS WHAT THE WORKERS PRODUCE—MILLIONS.

It is labour alone which bestows value. Every man has an undoubted right to all that his honest labour can procure him. When he thus appropriates the fruit of his labour he commits no injustice upon any other human being, for he interferes with no other man's right of doing the same with the produce of his labour.—Marx, "Critique," page 75.

Read "DIRECT ACTION." Price 3d..

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN

EX-SERVICE MEN.

N.E.C. meeting held on Wednesday. Reports from branches very encouraging. London Organiser reports the opening of two new branches and the appointment of Comrade H. le Feverik as Organiser for Bow. Comrade Feverik's address is 113 Parnell Road, Bow, E.3., and Comrade T. T. Saunders Arrandale, Nether Street, North Funchley, as Organiser for North London.

Our Ayrshire Organiser also sends in good report. Comrade Mackie, Organiser for Dumbartonshire, is getting down to it. We who know Comrade Mackie realise what that means. Discharged and demobilised men in Dumbartonshire would be well advised to get in touch with Comrade Mackie, Whitecrock, Clydebank.

I am pleased to state on the report of our Nat. Organiser that Maryhill is now solid for the International Union. Comrades Hannah and Cheyne were successful in talking over the Widows and Dependents' Branch of the Federation, also the men's Branch.

We are now re-opening Partick, and a meeting will be held in the Young Scot's Hall, 22 Maxwell Street, off Peel Street, Partick, on Thursday, 1st April.

The Terriers are being re-organised. How will they get the men. Note the following tactics of the class that matters. The Port of London Authorities have promised six days' extra leave with pay to all their employees who join the Terriers and complete the annual training. The Mersey Docks and Harbour Board are doing the same. Other employers will no doubt follow suit.

As regards the question of treatment allowance, I note that some English organisations are booming the action they have taken in connection with circular 20. We of the International Union do not believe in self praise, but we draw the line at other organisations claiming credit for our work.

Circular 204 was issued at the beginning of this year. We were lucky enough to get a copy before the Pension Committee had time to discuss same. We at once recognised the importance of the circular, and at once got in touch with the proper authorities. A letter of protest was sent to the local Pension Secretary. A deputation was despatched to interview the Regional Director. Protests were also despatched to London, and we received a reply that the circular was being modified. The Pension authorities in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London can bear out the truth of the above statement. Now that the circular has been modified to a certain extent, other organisations step in and claim the credit. We are not finished with this obnoxious circular. We refuse to be satisfied with modifications. Our aim is to wipe the whole circular out of existence.

The Pension Ministry have issued their second annual report. It looks all right on paper, but the actual realities are different. One item gives

food for thought, that is the increase in lunacy. The total number under treatment on 31st Mar. 1919, was 60,000. If the Medical Board system is not soon altered, I am afraid there will be a large addition to these figures. During the year there was a large increase of cases in which serious allegations were made against women, who were in receipt of separation allowance or pension, and in 6,602 cases allowances were declared forfeited.

A list of trades in which ex-service men may be trained is also given, but it does not tell you what becomes of the men who are supposed to be trained. One of our members, who has lost an arm during the great war, accepted training, and was sent to Wylie & Lochhead to undergo his course. When the year was completed he was offered a wage that would have made an office boy turn up his nose. Our comrade, who is a married man with a family, naturally refused, but what was the result. The firm sent in an unsatisfactory report, thus depriving the man of the bounty of 5s. per week that is granted to all men on completion of training. This training scheme is a disgrace and a scandal. The men are being fooled all along the line, and it is up to the organised working class to assist these men in securing justice.

BRANCH REPORTS.

Anderston and Central.—On Friday night a resolution against British intervention in Germany was approved. The branch date is fixed up for Friday, 26th April, in the "Fellowship Hall," 24 Portland Street. Tickets obtainable from Branch Secy., Comrade A. R. Manson, 87 Port Street, Anderston.

Cowcaddens.—Meetings of this branch are held in the hall, 124 New City Road (corner of Rosehall Street), at 12.30 p.m. Sundays. The Nat. Organiser opened the branch on the 21st inst. with an interesting address. Eight new members joined up. They are very enthusiastic, and are determined to make this branch a credit to the International movement. Ex-service men who wish to join an organisation with a kick in it will get in touch with the Secy., Comrade J. M. Robertson, 142 Renfrew Street.

South Side.—This branch instructed the Secy. to forward to head office at once the branch share of the "Joint Demonstration" expenses. Branch meets in the Tailors' Hall, 12 South Portland Street, S.S., on Thursdays at 7.45 p.m.

Vale of Leven are sending out deputations to get a hall. The big push will start when that item is settled. Secy., John S. Graham, 61 Milton Terrace, Jamestown.

Milngavie reports that it has been decided to hold their meetings on Mondays from now till the end of summer. Outdoor propaganda for the summer is in hand. Secy. is Comrade R. Brechin, 15 Woodlands Street.

Darvel has appointed half a dozen active members to accompany the Ayrshire Organiser on his "knocker up" tour round the sleeping areas. Ex-service men should communicate with John Gebbie, 17 E. Donnington Street.

Maryhill.—Branch has been successful in bringing about unity of an important character locally. A joint meeting of the men and women's sections of the Federation of D. & S.S. and of the I.U.X. held in the "Federation" Rooms, 205 Gairbraid Street, resulted in the combination of all three into one big branch of the International Union. As we are now the only opposition in the district to the "progressive" Kamerades, ex-service men should join up any Tuesday, Wednesday, or Friday at the branch rooms, 205 Gairbraid Street. J. Hughes, Secy., Partick, will meet in the Young Scots Society's Rooms, 22 Maxwell Street (off Peel Street) on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m. Success is already assured, but all sympathisers are invited to attend our meetings. Organiser pro. tem., Comrade Wm. Lindsay.

Bristol still going on, and intend a big push with outdoor propaganda during the coming summer months. Secy., G. Gilmore, 19 Brighton St., St. Pauls.

East London reports good branch meetings, Wednesdays, at the Carpenter Rest, 31 Old Ford Road, and are actively assisting the formation of branches in Hackney and in Stepney. The branch Secy. is J. Blythe, 32 Holme Street, Hackney Rd., London, E.2.

Several branch reports are not to hand at time of going to press. Branch Secys. please wake up!

J. COX, Nat. Secy.

Head Office: 98 Bishop Street, Anderston.

GRAND SALE OF WORK

In aid of the funds of the "Red Dawn" will be held in the

Kingston Public Hall, Paisley Road, on Saturday, 3rd April, 1920, 2 till 10.30.

Comrade John S. Clarke, Editor of the "Worker," will open the Sale.

Artists:—Clyde Workers' Silver Band, Wm. McGregor, Cartoonist; and Madame Rankine and Madame Kennedy will tell your future.

Come and share the bargains, and if you have anything to spare send it along.

MARY CAPLIN, Convener,

77 South Portland Street.

A Social will also be held in the same hall on Monday, 4th April, 8 till 2 a.m. Come with or without tickets.

IMPORTANT DEBATE

will be held in the

St. Mungo Halls on Tuesday, 13th April, at 7.45 p.m. prompt. Doors open 7.15 p.m.

Subject:

"SHOULD THE WORKERS DEVELOP A PHYSICAL FORCE ORGANISATION IN ADDITION TO AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION."

Aff.—J. V. Leckie,

Scottish Workers' Committee.

Neg.—T. L. Smith,

Workers' International Industrial Union.

Chairman—A. Robertson, M.A.

Questions. Silver Collection.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

GRAND LANTERN LECTURE—

entitled

"THE WORKER AND THE MACHINE" will be given by

W. M'LAINE, A.S.E.,

Tutor, Scottish Labour College,

In St. Mungo Halls, Sunday, 18th April, 1920.

Commence 6.30. Doors Open 6.

Silver Collection.

GOVAN CENTRAL I.L.P. PRIZE DRAW.

Winning Numbers are as follows:—1st, 1380; 2nd, 1282; 3rd, 8351; 4th, 9131; 5th, 9466; 6th, 5588; 7th, 8480; 8th, 8434; 9th, 5336; 10th, 6282; 11th, 8425; 12th, 5349.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY

(Paisley and District Branch).

GREAT PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

By J. V. LECKIE,

commencing

Sunday, 4th April, County Square, at 7 p.m.

Monday, 5th April, Abbey Close, at 8 p.m.

Tuesday, 6th April, West End Cross, at 8 p.m.

Wednesday, 7th April, Johnstone Square, at 8 p.m.

Thursday, 8th April, Renfrew Cross, at 8 p.m.

Friday, 9th April, Abbey Close, at 8 p.m.

NOTICE.

Industrial and Social Committee Meetings every Friday Evening at West Campbell Street and Sauchiehall Street at 8 o'clock prompt. Sunday Afternoons, Jail Square, 2.30. Workers' Committee Speakers will preside at above.

LECTURES EVERY SUNDAY

in the

Panopticon, 115 Trongate, Sunday, 4th April.

PROLETARIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS.

D. Hilley, Agnes Simpson, A. Auld,

also Junior Sketch Party.

Subject—"The Ten Proletarian Maxims."

Speaker—Nellie Fergie.

Doors Open at 6 p.m.

Songs.

Questions.

Discussions.

Silver Collection.

At the Dublin Exhibition held six or seven years ago one of the objects of greatest interest was the Somali Village. An old countrywoman who was walking through the encampment remarked to the neighbour who accompanied her "Thank God I was born at home."

Printed by Kirkwood & Co., 127 Stockwell Street, and Published by J. Messer, 9 Leyden St., Maryhill, Glasgow, for Scottish Workers' Committee.