

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

ORGANISE

THE WORKER

EDUCATE

THE ORGAN OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES SCOTLAND

THE REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL WITH THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN BRITAIN.
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THE POLES' PROTEST.



THAT LAZY ATTITUDE.

While the bosses' papers are daily carrying editorials exhorting the workers for the love of Mike to produce more and work harder, the workers with quiet indifference are assuming a lazy attitude.

No man wants to work for the benefit of another (who is able to work himself) unless he is forced or fooled to do so. The barbarian and feudal mode of exploitation consisted mainly in forcing the producers to work; the Capitalist method of exploitation is by means of fooling.

In the Zoological Gardens of Paris are a number of big turtles. Any one desiring a ride on a turtle pays 10 cents. for a leaf of lettuce. This lettuce is placed on the end of a stick and kept dangling in front of the turtle's nose, and the poor turtle ambles around the show ground with the big human parasite on his back and his eyes on the lettuce. Plain case of fooling.

The worker under Capitalism is in the same position as this poor turtle. He has a bunch of parasites riding on his back and urging him on with a piece of lettuce under his nose.

The fooling of the worker is perpetrated by filling him up as a child with the master class ethics. Work hard and you may get your lettuce. But the parasites on his back are continually increasing and getting greedier all the while. Of late they have eaten part of the lettuce that they otherwise would leave for the turtle at the finish of his course, and as a result the poor turtle is hungrier than ever.

Now, animals are animals, and react somewhat similarly to stimuli. If anybody in the Paris Zoological Garden had thought out a smart idea of painted lettuce leaves or having them made artistically like the flowers on a lady's bonnet, and tried to dangle such an artificial leaf in front of the turtle's nose, there wouldn't be many more rides connived out of the turtle before he would get wise and lay down on the job.

The same with the worker. This artificial bourgeois stimuli that the bosses' papers are chuck full of is not like the real lettuce he used to get when he had money in the bank and was the proud possessor of real estate lots. He now discovers that the lettuce is not the same old lettuce that enticed his forefathers to work, and he also discovers plenty of parasites on a long line waiting for a chance to get a ride on his back.

The worker is the same old worker. But it requires real lettuce and not painted promises to make him carry his burdens. While the parasites are lamenting the laziness of this human turtle and his newly acquired tendency to lay down on the job, which of course is very bad in the eyes of those who wish to ride on his back, there is really only one way in which the dilemma may be solved, and that is by putting a nice new leaf of lettuce on the stick. But the bourgeois riders have no more lettuce to give away, and what they really want is for the turtle to carry the whole bunch of parasites on his back for no lettuce at all.

Polish Imperialist: "Help, help, the Bolshies are coming!"

International Labour: "It serves you right, my friend, and I hope you get smashed."

An Appeal to Scots Communists.

By A. GEDDES.

As a delegate to the recent rank and file Conference held in London, and from which sprang the British Communist Party, allow me, as one of the 85 who voted against affiliation to the Labour Party, to place before your readers my impressions of the above Conference. At the outset our group was attached to the Communist Unity Group, and were represented at their recent conference held at Birmingham, just prior to the recent rank and file convention. At that meeting we were unanimously of opinion that there should be "no affiliation to the Labour Party," and I challenge the late Executive of the Communist Unity Group to deny this, and that we made it clear that they should not even allow it to appear on the agenda. Not only did it appear on the agenda, but this was also tacked on: "All bodies participating in summoning the National Convention are pledged to abide by its decisions on 'points of tactics,' and to merge their organisations in the new Communist Party," etc. We should like to know who gave Bell, M'Manus, Paul & Co. powers to pledge the Communist Unity Group to such a binding proposal. But may be I should not labour this point overmuch; it may, along with the other things, be a question of "tactics" with the tactic greater than the principle. Greenock Workers' Social Committee refuses to be bound by such a pledge, and treat it in the same way as the Communist Party intend to do about taking the oath, i.e., to take it and to break it if necessary. However, to let us proceed.

We have now, whether stillborn or abortive, a Communist Party (if I may leave out Sylvia's Group) agreed on affiliation to the Labour Party, and the question before the revolutionary workers of Scotland is can we or can we not support this Party? I say emphatically we can not. There is nothing this new Party can do inside the Labour Party that a revolutionary body, understanding their Socialist philosophy, could not do outside it. Hodgson (B.S.P.) and others who spoke in favour of affiliation maintain that the Labour Party is the political expression of the Trade Unions. I disagree, but for the moment let us accept that statement. Have we not as revolutionaries always attacked the milk and water Socialist who believed in reforms under Capitalism, and have we not pointed out to those individuals that they were never getting to the root of the problem, but were chopping away at the branches? Therefore I put it to Hodgson & Co. that the same thing holds good as far as the Labour Party is concerned. If it is the political expression of the Trade Unionists, and if it derives its strength, numerically and financially, from the Trade Unions, the best place to attack it is at its root, i.e., inside the Trade Unions, thereby cutting off its sources of supply, and, if I may put it, prevent the disease from spreading over an indefinite area, instead of curing it after it has spread. One significant thing about the discussion re affiliation to the Labour Party is that out of the 29 delegates who spoke on this subject 23 spoke against affiliation, and these represented every industrial centre in the Kingdom. This should give us a stimulus to go forward, boldly knowing that we can rely on a large number of workers to rally under a real revolutionary programme. I feel that this is no new party, but simply an old party with a new name and with new parrot cries. Comrades in Scotland, we must call for a Scottish Conference open to every worker who accepts (a) the Soviet, (b) Third International, (c) Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and who pledge themselves to no affiliation to Labour Party. No time must be lost, and to this work we must apply ourselves at once. I appeal to all groups, such as S.I.P., Life Communist Group, Social Committees, and all unattached revolutionaries to make it their duty to see such a convention in the very near future. Scottish workers, stand solid for no affiliation to Labour Party. Let us establish a Scottish Communist Party, with your groups in every locality, becoming as it were the eyes of the working class. Everything that should arise on the industrial or

political horizon should be discussed inside your group, a policy formed, and then every Communist should become an ambassador for Communism inside the Trade Union and inside the workshop. Be insistent in our propaganda inside the unions, form groups inside, and so divert finance, etc., from the Labour Party to your Communist Party. Then a special bureau should be established inside the new party to deal specifically with literature, leaflets, etc., specially suited for the army, navy, and police force, and to see that such leaflets, etc., reached their destination. That is work for Communists who believe we will have to meet Capitalism stripped off all its camouflage, showing its teeth, as it is in Ireland at the present time. Let us take the lesson of the "Red Train" in Russia to heart, and begin now to sow seeds of discontent among the armed forces of Capitalism, so that when the crisis arrives we shall have an abundant harvest. There is an abundance of work for Communists to do. Maybe it will not take you into the limelight, but nevertheless serious and essential work of an arduous kind and of a kind to test your revolutionary integrity. That work can only be done by secret organisations inside your groups, with policies determined by conditions and suited to your localities.

Have we learned the lessons of 1914-18, when Capitalism seized our literature, took away our presses, etc.? Are we preparing for the more momentous struggle of the future, when Capitalism will be fighting for its very existence. That is the work of your Communist Party, and not worrying whether or not you should ally yourselves to a reactionary Labour Party, who are only the hired charlatans of the bourgeoisie, and whom you will have to fight as bitterly in the immediate future as the Russian workers had to fight Kerensky and the Germans, Ebert, Schiedeman & Co.

Comrades, we must have that Convention, we must have that Scottish Communist Party, therefore use the columns of the "Worker" and the "Socialist" to that end, and by so doing we will be able to gather together under one banner all the straggling elements of revolutionary Socialism with a common objective and a united front, carrying the fiery cross of International Communism amongst the working classes and preparing ourselves for "The Day."

Set the Prisoners Free—Continued.

stirring prayer, God Save the King. These guests of his Majesty being so much interested in the welfare of his host, noticed that the Irish rebels did not give honour to their King, as they remained sitting during the appeal to heaven for Mr. Wetton's salvation. The result was that they—the prisoners—sent a deputation to the Governor asking him not to allow the Sinn Féiners to attend the concerts, or there would be trouble! Thereupon the Governor requested the undersirables to stay away from the concerts in future. It is enough to make the angels weep. Patriots! Prigs of Peterhead! Just imagine these patriotic outcasts of society objecting to the presence of the Irish Rebels. It is so ludicrous that comment would be beside the point. But the subject would be a good one for a cartoon (What do you say, Charlie?).

Now, fellow-workers, prove to the workers of Ireland that you are with them in the fight despite all the twisting of the Leaders of the Labour Party. Let this be the test,—“Robinson must be free.”

Get busy in your trade union branches and committees—“Robinson must be free.” The live members in the Trades and Labour Councils must raise the question at once,—“Robinson must be free.” Something more than lip-service is wanted. Must Joe Robinson remain in that hell for other seven years? Think of it: If he were imprisoned in Ireland the Irish Republican Army would soon solve the question. The Irish Republican movement asks for your help in this—“Robinson must be free.” Let your answer be heard and felt.

C. DIAMOND.

Set the Prisoners Free!

Dear Comrade,—I desire to draw the attention of the workers in Scotland to the position of a comrade of the Irish Revolutionary movement, who is at present serving a term of imprisonment in Peterhead. At present when Ireland looms so large in the eyes of the workers in this country, many of your readers will learn for the first time that one of Ireland's most valiant sons has been pining behind prison bars for the last three years in Peterhead Prison.

The full details are as follows:

Joseph Robinson, a young man well-known in Irish Republican circles of Belfast, Dublin, and Glasgow, was first arrested in June, 1916, charged at seven different courts in various parts of Scotland. Each time he appeared on a fresh charge, such as common house-breaking, and other ridiculous charges. After many months of the torture of solitary confinement in Edinburgh Castle, also the ordeal of the third degree in the most vile form night and day, the authorities failed to convict him. Robinson was then interned in Reading Gaol as a dangerous person.

With many other Irish prisoners, Robinson was released in December, 1916, but only to be arrested in November, 1917.

In connection with the charge, two young lads were also arrested. For some time they were not brought to trial, owing to the fact that the police authorities lacked evidence, just as they did on the previous occasion of Robinson's arrest.

But Joe Robinson sacrificed his chance of liberty rather than allow his two young comrades to be broken in health and spirit in a prison cell. On coming to an understanding with the prosecuting fiscal that if he plead guilty the boys would go free, Robinson appeared for trial at the High Court, Edinburgh, on the charge of sending explosives, etc., to Ireland.

Lord Chief Justice Scott Dickson presided, and sentenced him to ten years' penal servitude.

Note that Dickson was Carson's chief lieutenant in this country, and he certainly would not be unbiassed in dealing with a political opponent.

Robinson after being sentenced was taken to Perth Prison, where he suffered the worst form of cruelty imaginable.

For no apparent reason he was put in an underground cell, with no clothes except shirt and trousers and socks. He had no bed, bedding, or food for about a fortnight.

Shortly afterwards he was removed to Peterhead, where he has remained since.

John Maclean, who was also an inmate of Peterhead, was released, the Government evidently being afraid of what might happen at Glasgow where George Barnes was being opposed by John Maclean. But the Government made no attempt to release Robinson who was Sinn Féin candidate for the constituency of Mid-Dornie. As a protest, Robinson and his two comrades, one who has since been released, went on hunger strike, which they carried on for fourteen days. They were eventually persuaded by the prison chaplain to give up their heroic fight.

It might be of interest to you to know the difference in treatment the prison authorities make between political offenders like Robinson and habitual or long service prisoners. The habituals are allowed to meet together in games, draughts, cards, etc., reading, and general discussions at nights; but the treatment such as Robinson had to endure when at Perth is the lot of an Irish Political offender. And when on hunger strike the most laborious tasks in prison were allotted to them. Their conditions becoming so serious that after four days without food of any kind they almost collapsed at work, and had to be removed to hospital. Since then the only change has been an increase in the rations. Another little incident is worthy of mention from. From time to time there are concerts and lectures given in the prison at which all prisoners are allowed to attend. It is customary to close these functions with the prisoners exercising their vocal powers in that soulful

(Continued at foot of previous column.)

Moscow and London.

By KARL RADEK.

At the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party a ghost had appeared—Camille Huysmans, the secretary of the Second International, who had declared that the Second International was about to remove its chattels to London. Why this removal?

From the continent, one half of which is already in flames of the Proletarian revolution and the other half is feeling already the quaking of the earth beneath the tread of the Labour battalions—from this continent of the rising sun of the world-revolution, the Second International is obliged to flee. The Second International was founded with the object of furthering the cause of the revolution, but in the process of its development it has turned into an instrument of counter-revolution and therefore it had become the mortal enemy of the Revolution now unfolding.

One workers' party after another is leaving the Second International. Of the Continental parties apart from a few would-be cabinet ministers of small states, such as Holland, for instance, only the party of blood-stained Noske, the executioner of the German workers, is left. The old European continent is lost for the Second International. For the bankrupts of this counter revolutionary organisation there was nothing left but to turn their eyes upon the centre of capitalist counter-revolution. And just as all the capitalist states of Europe, having lost faith in their strength, look to British and American capitalism for help, so does Huysmans attempt to save himself in the Noah's ark of Messrs. Lloyd George and Wilson. They see in England and America the centre of a healthy Labour movement, because there the majority of the workers are not conscious yet of their own power and trust the leaders who betray the working class, selling their bodies to the capitalist governments. The Huysmans hope to find a safe shelter in countries where Labour leaders like Henderson or the old knave of Gompers command yet influence.

At the same time the bankrupt politicians of the Second International cast furtive looks at heroic Soviet Russia, at Petrograd and Moscow, at the Congress of the Communist International. And no wonder! Whilst English capitalism is the prop of the counter revolution of the world, the Russian Proletariat represents the vanguard of the World Revolution and Russia the fount of the future federation of European Soviet Republics, the main reservoir of human power in the fight against the capitalist counter revolution.

History imposed upon the Russian Proletariat the necessity of being the first to accomplish the proletarian revolution, and although it is younger and less experienced than the proletariat of other countries, nevertheless, just because it was the first to hoist the banner of the revolution, the first to carry it into effect, it has become the teacher of the proletariat of the world. It goes without saying that the word of the Russian proletariat is not the last word of the revolution, that the Russian proletariat will have much to learn from the proletariat of other countries when the latter will have taken up the fight against their exploiters; for the present, however, it has said the first word from which the proletarians of other countries have to learn, and they hurry across land and sea to the Congress of the Communist International and do not halt in the face of tremendous difficulties. Amongst the delegates of the Communist International there are comrades who upon their return from the first Congress had fallen into the hands of the White Guards, were sentenced to death, but had miraculously made good their escape. There are among them workers who though not yet Communists, have overcome unheard-of obstacles in order to see with their own eyes how the Russian proletariat is fighting, in order to find out what the Communist International can teach them. We are opposing the Communist International to the Second International, the International of Action to the International of Phrase. Every delegate

to the Communist Congress can prove, through the experience of his own life, that in the midst of the old world now going under in madness a new working class is rising, new leaders are being born who are ready at any moment to lay down their life in the cause of the workers.

We are firmly convinced that in this fight the call of the European proletariat will be answered also by those workers on whom the ghosts of the Second International, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, are pinning their faith. The English and American workers are making their first step on the road to Revolution, but they too are already in the grip of a wide fermentation, and their distrust of their leaders is growing. Equally the influence exercised on them by Communism is growing. At the same conference of Scarborough which was addressed by Huysmans, the workers have declared for the unconditional liberation of India, Egypt, and Ireland. What does this imply? It implies that the workers comprehend that the policy of oppression pursued by the ruling classes of England in the colonies is pregnant with the greatest misery for the English workers, that it is drawing them into a new war and will yet increase the burden of taxes, and that it is driving to rebellion the peasants of the colonies on which England is dependent for its raw material and cereals.

However, for the English bourgeoisie to abandon the colonies would mean committing suicide, and it will never consent to such a course. The English workers will therefore be faced with the alternative: either to rise against their bourgeoisie so that in their struggle for liberation they may win the confidence of the peasants of the colonies, and in the future obtain from them all they need in a friendly way of proletarian intercourse; or the English workers may continue to serve the interests of their bourgeoisie, in which case they will become the "object" of the revolutionary policy of the world proletariat, the object of revolutionary policy of society in revolt. If as yet the English workers in their majority are still the flunkies of their bourgeoisie, history that had condemned the world-bourgeoisie to death, will compel them through war and famine to rise against their masters and join for the sake of their own safety the ranks of the militant revolutionary proletariat of the world.

Moscow and London now two world poles, two emblems. The one is the emblem of the new world of Labour born into the light of the day in terrible pain, and the other is the emblem of the world of exploiters and capitalists collapsing in utter decay of rottenness and filth.

At the moment of the meeting of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the London of the exploiters is threatening the Moscow of the proletarians of the whole world with a new war. It wants to hold back the proletarian sword raised at perfidious white Poland. It tells the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia—"Dare not touch the Polish landlords and capitalists because they are a part of our capitalist army." On its part the Communist International of the proletarians will tell the Russian workers—"Do not waver in the fight against the enemy who had flung himself upon you with the help of world-capital in order to interrupt your constructive work, to hinder the building up of a new free life; fight this enemy and we proletarians of all countries will help you."

We are convinced that the help rendered by the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to the Russian workers in their fight against White Poland will prove more effective and mighty than the assistance which Lloyd George and Millerand may offer to White Poland, because the guns they may send to Poland are made by the workers, and boats and trains that are to carry munitions are in the hands of the railway men and sailors, the exploited workers, our brothers and allies.

Moscow and London are now world poles, but the foundation of London is the very same Labour which in Russia had freed itself and in England is striving too with all its soul to become free. The ground beneath the London of the capitalists is shaking, and therefore this London, the centre of counter-revolution of the whole world, is going to be transformed to become the centre of the World-Revolution.

FREE SPEECH IN DANGER!

Comrade R. C. Hamilton, Chairman of the Socialist Information and Research Bureau (Scotland), was "booked" on Glasgow Green on Sunday, 15th August, for "obstruction," while addressing a Socialist meeting. He and others will speak.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE BUREAU

on Sunday first, 22nd inst., on the Green, and vindicate the right of Free Speech now menaced by the authorities. Meeting will commence at 1 o'clock.

All who are interested in maintaining the right of Free Speech, and who are willing to support the above Comrades, are requested to roll up and show the authorities that such petty persecution will not be tolerated.

All those who are prepared to act in defence of this fundamental right please communicate with the Secretary, S.I.R.B., 196 St. Vincent St., Glasgow.

Speakers are particularly requested to give their services for this and subsequent meetings.

FREE SPEECH

and

DAMN THE CONSEQUENCES!

—X—

"WORKER" MAINTENANCE FUND.

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—X—

COMMUNIST PARTY.

A PUBLIC MEETING will take place on Sunday, 22nd August, at 3.30 p.m., in B.S.P. Rooms, 4 Cumberland Street, Paisley, for the purpose of forming a Branch of above Party. All unattached Comrades and intending recruits invited.

—X—

Who is it speaks of Defeat?

I tell you a cause like ours

Is greater than defeat can know

It is the power of powers,

As surely as the earth rolls round

As surely as the glorious sun

Brings the world moon wave,

Must our Cause be won!

Francis Adams.

—X—

If war is declared,
The need for a revolutionary press
Will be realised generally.
But the war between the workers
And the bosses is always on.
Send us the sinews of war,
And hear the bosses
Yell for an armistice.



August 21, 1920.

All communications to be sent to the Editor, National Council's Offices, 31 North Frederick Street, Glasgow, and must reach this office not later than Monday. Advertisements are received till Tuesday morning.

Communications must bear name and address of sender, not necessarily for publication.

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WORKSHOP COMMITTEES-- W.I.U. UNITY.

(To the Editor of the "Worker.")

Comrade,—It is in no mere sentimental strain of mind that I pen this brief epistle. Rather regard me as a worker who echoes your own cry for solidarity.

To me the above subject speaks volumes. No doubt you have already been in receipt of correspondence of a like nature. That being so, then I am in good company. I am not ignorant of the relations existing between the two organisations in the past. I know that hard things have been said on both sides. But what of that? It is a truism that "nothing is so constant as change." Conditions have come along gradually calling for another and closer phase of relationship. Why? The "Worker" itself supplies the answer. In the issue of 31st July I find the following under "Our Appeal":—"The condition of the rebel industrial movement is not so good as it should be." Has the lack of cohesion not something to do with this? A divided camp. And reading further: "We must excel them (Right Wing) in solidarity and power of organisation as well as debate."

How can we if the two most revolutionary industrial organisations in this country continue to be so reactionary in ignoring that conditions have demanded for some time back a united workshop? Criticism is a useful weapon when properly handled, but pretty often it is misapplied and becomes carping. The time has flown for a mere battle of words keeping us sundered. That is all which separates us. Only quibblers would say other.

What about that Unity Conference? Is it not worth consideration? No scornful smiles, please. I am in deadly earnest. Aye, and others are like minded, I know. Criticism will come, but what would you—even the rose has its thorns.—Yours fraternally,

"PITMAN."

NOT OUR JOHN.

The Economics of Socialism, written for the Free Press by John MacLean. Why, bless your heart, John MacLean lives in Scotland and knows something about this subject! What a poor miserable subterfuge to link up the honoured name of a ripe scholar in economics with the drivel in the Free Press.—O.B.U. Bulletin.

Do not tire of well doing.
Our Maintenance Fund is
Beginning to slacken.
Have you done your bit?
If not, send for collecting sheet.

WORKERS, ATTENTION!

Meeting to discuss Constitution will be held in "Worker" Office, Thursday, 19th August, at 8 p.m. All Workshop Groups invited to send Representatives.

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By THE EDITOR.

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.

FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON VIOLENCE.

In last week's "Forward" the Editor replies to our criticism of his attitude re Colonel Malone, Parliamentarianism, and Red Guardism, and ends by reaffirming his position that the advocacy of minority Red Guardism "is criminal treachery to the Socialist cause."

If that is so, then the Bolsheviks and all the Communist Parties of Europe are guilty of criminal "treachery to the Socialist cause." Perhaps that is why they are so fiercely detested by the boss class, but perhaps on the other hand the boss class hatred of Communism is due to the fact that they realise that Socialism only becomes formidable when it equips itself with the necessary power to achieve its ends.

Let us deal with a few slight errors on the part of Mr Johnston first before we start to grapple with the fundamental question at issue. Mr Johnston says:—

"Colonel Malone, it will be remembered, advised the workers to boycott the polling booths, and he advised Red Guards as the remedy for the ills and sorrows of the working class."

This is painfully inexact. Malone did not suggest Red Guardism as the only alternative to Parliament. Indeed he merely mentioned it in an aside from his main criticism of Parliament, with which Mr Johnston did not—and we venture to say cannot—deal. But to leave the impression that the remarks above quoted will leave—perhaps unwittingly—in many minds that Malone's only alternative to Parliament was Red Guardism is not justified. He did not rule out industrial organisation and action.

Nor is the following reference to our position quite correct:—

"To this the 'Worker' makes criticism. It says I have accepted the traditional view of the functions of Parliament: that I do not know the subject from the inside, as Mr Malone does."

We did not say that. What we did say was:—

"Mr Johnston defends the traditional view of Parliament. It is not a view which he arrived at after political experience. It is a view which is part of the inherited political outlook of everyone in Great Britain. Mr Johnston, like everyone else, accepted that view first as part of the traditional political thought of the society in which he was born, and only began to find reasons justifying his belief afterwards."

We repeat this statement, "that the popular view of Parliament is not a result" of mature political thinking, but the blind uncritical acceptance of the point of view imposed upon us through the Capitalist control of the sources of education and information. Mr Johnston accepts it, Malone has outgrown it, hence our preference for Malone.

In answer to our charge that he was defending the "prevailing Capitalist theory about the political system," we have a somewhat clumsy attempt at side-stepping in the following paragraph:—

"Any theory the Capitalists have about the prevailing political system is that it is highly desirable the Capitalists should be left in control of Government. I defend no such theory. I attack it. I want the common people to control the existing political machinery of the country."

Mr Johnston knows perfectly well that there is a Capitalist theory about the political system known as political democracy. This theory is the political reflex of highly developed Capitalism. It pretends that the people by their votes can effect any social change whatever. It is a false and lying theory, as false and lying as the pre-

vailing Capitalist theories about the industrial system, and how a Socialist can scout what the Capitalist economist says about the industrial system as being "dope," and accept what the Capitalist political theorists say about the political system as being gospel passes our comprehension.

Then we are told that the late Kier Hardie, "who knew more about the potentialities of Parliament from a working class point of view than Mr Malone knows, steadfastly advised the workers to control the machinery of Government through the ballot box."

He certainly advocated that, because Kier Hardie, like most of the political Socialists of the last generation, accepted without question the Capitalist "democratic" theory that anything the people desire can be obtained through Parliament. That only proves that Mr Hardie was typical child of his generation, and we have no guarantee that had he lived through the experience of war and the Bolshevik Revolution that his point of view would be unchanged.

The merest amateur in astronomy to-day knows more about certain phases in astronomy than Galileo, and the newest recruit to the Socialist movement knows more about certain phases of the Socialist movement than Kier Hardie merely because he has at his disposal the new experience gained in the struggle during the last few years. Besides, a doctrine should be tested by reference to the facts, and not to the great men who have believed in it.

We are then treated to a nice little dissertation as to what can be accomplished in a municipality. Well, the foundations of Socialism may be getting laid in some municipality for all we know, but we venture to doubt it. The utmost that any municipality can do is to administer Capitalist laws. That some small improvements can be effected this way we do not doubt, and if Mr Johnston's argument is that if reforms can be effected through the municipality they can also be effected through Parliament, we do not dispute him. If a Labour Government goes to Westminster to make a small improvement here and a slight reform there, we do not suppose that they will meet with the frenzied hostility of the boss class. They will probably get the support of the enlightened Capitalists. But a Socialist majority in Parliament knocking the mighty from their seats is what we are discussing, and that is something very different. No one denies that certain small reforms, which do not challenge the system, can be passed by Parliament and the municipalities. But can a fundamental social change be brought about through these agencies? That is what we are discussing, and instancing municipal reforms is beside the point.

The crux of our criticism of a fortnight ago was that the political Socialists could not show us how the machinery of Government can be captured through the ballot box. We are waiting patiently for an explanation of how it can be done.

For instance, the machinery of Government as outlined by Mr Johnston is as follows:—

- The Army and Navy.
- The Law Courts.
- The Secret Service.
- The Wireless Stations.
- The Food Supplies.

Let us look at these for a minute. All the agencies above mentioned are in the hands of the employing class. How did they get there? The first three, for instance. Did the people vote to give the ruling classes control of these things? By no means. When that machinery of Government was being developed the people had no vote. The boss class of the day organised the Army, Navy, and Law Courts as instruments of repression, without the consent of the people.

Generation after generation the young men of the employing class have automatically filled up the pivotal positions in the Army, Navy, and Law Courts as they become vacant. Parliament has no control of the process. It is purely automatic.

These positions are the special preserve of the boss class in virtue of its economic power. And it was only after all the pivotal positions in the administrative side of Government had been staffed by the tools of the bosses, it was only after the Government machine had been rendered useless for working class purposes, that the politicians said: "We are all democrats now. We'll give every male a vote at twenty-one and every female at thirty." They did so because their control of the administrative side of the Government machinery renders a vote about as useful to the worker as a railway ticket with a permanent block on the line.

We emphasised all this a fortnight ago when we said:—

"The Labour majority, if it were seriously intending to challenge Capitalism, would speedily find that the Capitalists-minded bureaucracy and judiciary had independent views on the subject.

It would discover that while the army, led by Capitalist officers, its outlook moulded by Capitalist militarism, was doubtless willing enough to obey a Capitalist Parliament, that there is not the slightest ground for supposing that it would obey a Socialist Parliament unless there had been developed previously an (1) intensive anti-militarist propaganda amongst the rank and file of the army, and (2) an independent nucleus of physical force groups forming the cadres of a Communist Army."

That is the point we want dealt with. Talking about majorities and minorities is beside the point. Are the pivotal men of the Capitalists entrenched in the Government machinery going to use that machinery to break the back of their own class? Are the Law Courts going to support you? Are the Capitalist-led and Capitalist-doped soldiers going to use "defensive violence" against Capitalism or against the Socialist Government. Suppose Parliament is dissolved as the Duma was dissolved, what are we going to do? Pass resolutions and talk? We will be able to do little else if we do not in the meantime organise for a physical force struggle.

It may be asked what our attitude to the Governmental machinery is. Our attitude is that it cannot be controlled by the workers. It has got to be smashed by direct action. The armed forces have got to be disintegrated by propaganda, and the training of men in military tactics has got to be gone on with. That is the way all revolutions have occurred. The previous State machinery was smashed, and a new Government machine responsive to the will of the new ruling class was set up. In this country this means Soviets instead of Parliament.

We are told, for instance, by "Forward":—

"A minority unequipped with the resources of modern warfare cannot by violence overturn a majority so equipped."

That is true, but it is equally true if we turn it round and say, "A majority unequipped with the resources of modern warfare cannot by violence overturn a minority so equipped."

That lifts the question away from majorities and minorities altogether, and makes it a question of the relative organisation on both sides. The way to weaken the armed might of the Capitalist minority is the way outlined above. The vote cannot do it.

We did not specifically raise the question of majority and minority in our last criticism, but as the "Forward" has we are prepared to follow it. It says:—

"If we get a majority of the people backing Capitalism (or as the 'Worker' puts it, 'If the bosses can secure a majority of a hundred thousand fools') then the people are entitled to get Capitalism, and if the minority uses violence, the majority are entitled to use violence in return. And the majority will win. They have ex hypothesi the big battalions; they have control of the machinery of Government; they will win."

It would be well before answering this to re-

print the passage in which the phrase about the fools occurs:—

"As the working class gets revolutionary we may expect the Capitalist state to use the utmost violence against every form of working class organisation. Are we prepared to allow them to do this, because they have a majority of fools at their back, or are we prepared to organise defensive violence to protect the organisations built up and controlled by the active workers?"

An answer to this would help to clear the air. Is the Editor of the "Forward" prepared to allow the organisations of the workers to be suppressed by the official and unofficial gun-men of the bosses merely because the bosses have got a majority of feeble-minded to support them?

Now, as to the question of majority and minority in reference to social change.

It is evident from a study of history that pretty considerable changes have been brought about without the consent of the majority. The enclosures of land in the 16th and 18th centuries were carried through against the will and against the interests of the mass of the people. They were carried through by a minority on behalf of a minority, and the social changes following on these enclosures were tremendous. This, I think, proves quite conclusively that what determines victory in a social struggle is not merely numbers but power of organisation between the contending classes.

The democratic system treats everyone on an equality. A million elderly spinsters have equal voting power with a million miners. But it should be obvious to anyone that the million miners have greater social power through the fact that they work in a key industry than a million spinsters. So with the working class as a whole. Their position as the creative factor in industry gives them a tremendous potential power. What is wanted is that that power shall be organised industrially, that it shall be protected militarily, and the opposing power of the enemy disintegrated at the same time, so that when the climax of the struggle is reached the power at the disposal of the working class will be greater than the power at the disposal of the enemy.

The conclusion come to by "Forward" is as follows:—

"The proposal to inaugurate minority Red-Guardism is a proposal to start a half-baked and foolish insurrection, which can only result in disaster to the flower of the working class, and is therefore, in my opinion, a piece of criminal treachery to the Socialist cause."

Now no one proposes to "start a half-baked and foolish insurrection." No one knows better than those who support adequate working class preparation for the revolution that revolutions cannot be manufactured off-hand. The armed struggle will arise out of the industrial struggle. The industrial struggle will arise out of the increasing burden of misery that a bankrupt Capitalism imposes on the workers.

To-day the struggle is intensifying. It is hastening to its climax. Are we going to make adequate preparation so that when the time comes we will give a good account of ourselves? Or are we going to meet the most fiendish robber class of which history has cognisance with merely a ballot in our hands. An armed social struggle at home may claim its tens of lives, but if Capitalism gets a fresh lease of life through our cowardice and lack of preparation, then the imperialist wars that arise out of the contradictions of Capitalism will continue to claim their millions.

"WATCHWORD OF LABOUR."

(IRELAND'S FIGHTING LABOUR WEEKLY.)

Articles on National and International Affairs.

All Scots and Irish Rebels should read it.

* * * * *

ENLARGED TO EIGHT PAGES. TWOPENCE.

FIFE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

CONSTITUTION.

1.—Aims:

- (a) The overthrow of the existing state of capitalist production and exploitation.
- (b) To replace same by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (expressed meanwhile in the workshops and social committees) as embodied in the Soviet form of government.

2.—Principles:

- (a) The setting up of working-class institutions as the ruling power.
- (b) All rights to the workers and no rights to any other than workers.
- (c) That any person who does not work neither shall he eat nor vote.

Tactics:

To organise and commit the revolutionary forces within the area to the following tactics—

- (1) TRADES UNIONISM.—(a) Complete control by rank and file, i.e., local autonomy; (b) officials appointed on terms of immediate recall; (c) unions to be made class-conscious and an aid to revolutionary power in the class struggle.

- (2) WORKSHOP COMMITTEES.—Irrespective of creed, sex, nationality, or craft distinctions, delegates to be appointed representing the various departments at the point of production, to form Committees (Workshop, etc.). Duties summarised as follows: (a) to fight anything considered as an encroachment on that which has already been wrested from the employers; (b) to establish potentially within the workshop the Soviet form of organisation; (c) all committees to be linked up for the purpose of intelligent, directive, revolutionary effort; (d) every situation and crisis at the point of production or elsewhere to be utilised and exploited at its highest revolutionary value.

3.—Parliamentary Action:

Repudiating the institutions of Capitalism: Participation in Electoral action shall be limited to the agitational and educational value that can be extracted therefrom.

4.—Membership:

Individuals, group or social bodies, may join the League on acceptance of the Constitution as herein stated.

5.—Fees:

Groups to forward remittance of 2d. (twopence) per month per member to Central Executive Fund for propaganda purposes, etc.

6.—Representation:

Groups and branches in the League will send two delegates to the Central Executive meetings monthly, fortnightly, or when an emergency arises

7.—Composition of Executive:

To be composed of one chairman, one secretary, and one treasurer (all unpaid), and two delegates per branch (irrespective of numbers). Tenure of office for chairman, secretary and treasurer to be four months, with immediate recall if unsatisfactory. Retiring office-bearers to be eligible for re-election.

8.—Affiliation:

The Fife Communist League to be affiliated to the National and International League if and when formed, provided that the constitution of same equals or excels the constitution of the Fife Communist League.

Groups and bodies in the Fife area agreeing with above constitution and desiring to affiliate—please communicate with Secretary, J. B. STORIONE, 11 Nimgall Street, Lumphinnans, Cowdenbeath.

[The above Constitution drawn up by the rank and file Communists in Fife, is well worth studying. We hope to publish a series of articles dealing with this Constitution in the near future. —Ed., "Worker."]

International Notes.

Labour Still Dreaming.

When the Allied Capitalist Governments, after attempting for years by every treacherous medium sanguinarily to overthrow the first Socialist Republic, at long last declared their intention of making peace with Russia, Labour leaders—the “sane” ones, you know—splashed tens of thousands of gallons of ink about in the Labour and Capitalist press in more or less sincere thanksgiving.

It is true that this sham “peace” offer is an old Capitalist trick, which coincided strangely enough with the failure of the Polish offensive and the utter rout of their satellite’s armies.

To a plain Socialist there was food for thought in the coincidence; but not for Henry.

The day following the Allies’ peace offer—or order—to the rapidly advancing Russians, a beligerent threat was sent forth announcing the Allies’ intention of supporting the aggressive Poles by every means in their power if the Russians didn’t stop.

Since then it has been a case of blowing hot and cold alternately, and poor old Labour doesn’t know which way to take it. Less than a week ago our only Socialist daily and our largest Labour weekly despairingly attempted to justify their waning faith in the innate goodness of mankind and our Capitalist masters in particular.

This peace, they said, must be the first step towards a general peace of Europe, in which Allied Capitalism will not appear as the sabre-rattling dictators, but in which neutral and enemy Governments alike will join to work out plans for the general harmony of mankind.

In these foggy illusions dwell our leaders and our press.

Churchill’s call last week for continued war on Soviet Russia with the aid of German “courage, virtue, and honesty” (he refers of course to the bloody Junker-Militarist gang) should have jerked Labour out of its illusions. But it didn’t.

What Daszhinski Said.

It will be interesting to know what will be the effect on Labour faith in Capitalist “peace” overtures, of the statement of the Deputy Prime Minister of Poland, M. Daszhinski, who is reported by this morning’s press as stating:—

“The armistice demanded by Poland is necessary for the reorganisation of our army. . . . Thanks to the good offices of the Entente powers, Poland, in return for a few concessions in Silesia, will receive from Germany a large part of the arms and ammunition which ought to have been handed over to the Allies in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. When these munitions have arrived we shall be ready to renew the struggle.”

It is time our Labour leaders were rudely awakened from their pleasant illusions in regard to the benevolence of Capitalism towards the first Socialist Republic. Only in the clear recognition of the class war and no compromise can the proletarian movement go forward.

FRANCE.

Hero Worship and Laissez-Faire.

The French Socialist and Labour movement is just now celebrating throughout the length and breadth of the land the sixth anniversary of the death of their great leader, Jean Jaures.

These celebrations have taken on an almost international character. At the inaugural meeting of the new British Communist Party, established in London last Saturday, the first act of the delegates at the suggestion of the chairman was to stand in silence for one minute in honour of the great French leader.

The German Socialist Party sent Ledebour as their representative to take part in the celebrations, but in spite of the fact that Ledebour was an inflexible opponent of the German Government during the war, the French Government refused to allow him to come to Paris.

Jaures was an orthodox French Socialist of the

type that is now blocking the path of the revolution. There has been a century of development in the European Socialist movement since 1914.

If French organised Socialism wants an outlet for its energies and substance, let it rescue the cream of its young advanced leaders now languishing in jail without definite charge, let it curb its bloody reactionary militarism at work against the workers in Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria, let it force the release of the thousands of Russian prisoners suffering hell in Algeria. But it is easier to celebrate the dead.

RUSSIA.

Petrograd Elections.

The elections to the Soviet of Petrograd have just taken place. It will no doubt be a surprise to some Henry Dubbs to learn that there are such things in Russia as elections, and the old capitalist gag that Russia is governed by the dictatorship of a handful of Bolsheviks, supported by German gold, ought long ere this to have received its death blow.

The present Soviet of Petrograd represents 562,400 electors with 2,214 delegates, of which 1,579 are Communists, 63 Candidates, 85 Communist Sympathisers, 463 No Party, 5 Menshevists, 2 Anarchists, and 17 Social-Revolutionaries.

The soldiers, sailors and militia elected 558 delegates, of which 491 are Communists, 18 Sympathisers, 19 Candidates, and 27 of No Party.

The Sovietists (143,000 votes) have 391 delegates, of which 278 are Communists, 4 Candidates, 7 Sympathisers, 99 No Party, and 3 Menshevists.

The Craft Trade Unions elected 325 delegates, of which are Communists, 11 Sympathisers, and 54 No Party.

The students and the housewives were the least advanced, each electing only about one-third Communist delegates.

ITALY.

Ancora Sangue.

The state of sporadic strikes, armed rebellion, and general unrest continues throughout Italy. The daily Socialist press has a special column for “il quotidiano eccidio” (the daily death roll).

How many deaths to-day, writes UMANITA NOVA.

“Two, five, ten? More perhaps? . . .

Bah! What does it matter? The usual daily death roll. Without them the great press would become insipid.

The daily shooting has become a national habit.”

And the great trouble is that the people are homeless, workless and starving. The same people who fought throughout the long years at the bidding of Capitalist masters for every abstract virtue, on the promise of a “land fit for heroes” for those who survived the massacre.

The Italian people have now few illusions left. They don’t demand a “land fit for heroes.” They only want enough bread to keep body and soul together.

At Randazzo the people gathered before the Town Hall, demanding that the grain gathered in the neighbourhood should be used first to satisfy local needs. The crowd was unarmed, and threatened nobody. That did not prevent an attack by carabinieri using machine guns, in which there were several deaths and over 100 wounded—amongst the people, of course.

In Sicily, where there are practically no Socialists among the untutored peasants, the Peasants’ League of Lentini has decided to blockade the countryside, refusing to allow any person or vehicle to go in or out of the prescribed area.

There have been collisions with the public forces. The action is taken against the requisitions of grain.

Reaction against Military Shootings.

At Monte Rognifoli street shootings have taken place. There are three dead and numerous wounded reported.

Everywhere the military are shooting down unarmed workers. The laconic telegrams stating “four dead; three dying; one hundred wounded” are beginning to tell on the nerves of the workers.

At Turin there has been a mass reaction against the kind of militarism that is being turned loose on the workers. Large numbers of the workers have struck work in protest against the shootings.

The workers of the F.I.A.T. Automobile Works left work at nine in the morning, proceeded to the centre of the city, overpowered and disarmed a number of gendarmes. In the Corso Vittorio Emanuele a company of the Royal Guards were disarmed after a violent resistance. At Porta Nuova a rifleman and a Royal Guard were disarmed. Before the Cafe Ligure a group of officers were dispersed.

And while the leaderless proletariat struggles in its misery, one hundred and fifty of the best leaders of the Italian Socialist Party swear revenge to high heaven and . . . continue to sit in the Capitalist Parliament.

PERSIA.

Puppet Cabinet Resigns.

Important news arrives from Persia. The old Cabinet which acted as the tools of British Imperialism has resigned in spite of the desire of the Shah to prolong its power, and the new Cabinet, presided over by Mouchired-Daulah, appears to have decided to obey the London Mandarins much less willingly.

In its declaration of 3rd July, the President of the Council has announced that the application of the Persian Treaty of August, 1919, will be provisionally suspended pending the re-opening of Parliament.

Moreover, many of the political leaders (including several ex-Cabinet Ministers) who had been deported by the former Cabinet owing to their opposition to the British “Agreement,” are being recalled from exile. This looks like more trouble for British Imperialism in the Near East.

FRANCE.

Diplomacy and Vested Interests.

To those people who, not having read Morel’s “Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy,” do not realise the interplay between Diplomacy and Big Business, the appointment of the new French Ambassador should be instructive.

The new Ambassador, M. Charles Laurent, is not only the President of the Metallurgical and Mining Industries; in addition to the interests of the Smelting Companies he represents with the same authority the big Banking Trusts.

M. Charles Laurent is the President of the Pays du Nord Bank, and administrator of the Credit National.

He is President of the Thomson-Houston Company, President of the Societe Commercial pour l’Industrie Electrique, President of the Construction, Metals, and Electric Federations (C.G.P.).

In addition, therefore, to being Ambassador for the French people—mainly workers—M. Charles Laurent might be described by any sceptic not named Dubb as the Electricity Ambassador or the Banks Ambassador.

No doubt, too, the big transport concerns have confided their interests to this safe representative of French Democracy, for, as a matter of fact, M. Laurent is Administrator of the Orleans Railway Company and . . . the Suez Canal.

The name of M. Charles Laurent and his like do not figure in the Peace Treaties. But a glance at his record gives us an insight into these great vested interests that really pull the strings that control the antics of the Lloyd Georges, Millerands, Schiedemanns, Nittis, and Hugheses.

Look out for

“THE COMMUNIST,”

Official Organ of the new Communist Party. The paper for all real revolutionary workers.

Out to-day (Thursday).

12 Pages—2d.

Publishing Office—21a Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.2.

Workshop Notes.

NAVVIES VERSUS THE BOSS CLASS IN FIFE.

A dispute has taken place here with the above men. Until recently they have been paid at the rate of 1/5½ per hour, and have struck work solidly in demand of 1/10½ per hour, and are keeping up the fight.

The bosses here are sticking close together, united against the common foe—the working class. They are endeavouring to split the navvies up, and preach the old story, "We can't see our way to give you the increase." The local Town Council consider the navvies' demands to be fair, and have asked the bosses to concede to their demands. But the bosses remain adamant. It is hoped that the navvies will not lie down and let their bosses win the day, but put up a stiff fight, and let the workers of other trades and industries see what navvies can do.

BAMBOOZLING THE BOILERMAKERS AT BABCOCK'S.

Life at Babcock's must be a "thing of beauty and a joy for ever" to anyone who is possessed of a sense of humour. If the wages are not good the fun is plentiful. This week's comedy, however, outtops anything we have ever printed about Babcock's. It is an almost unbelievable farce. It concerns our good friends the boiler-makers. We have not yet tried to penetrate the thinking apparatus of those aristocrats, and perhaps before we are through with this story our readers will be wondering whether they have any thinking apparatus to penetrate at all.

Some time ago the marine shop in Babcock's was a happy home for platers. They had not too much work to do, and as they knew all the grips and signs they got on fairly well together. The other men in the shop did not look upon them with a favourable eye. They were suspicious of the masonic ju-jitsu that was constantly going on, and considered, as one of our correspondents puts it, that "the platers' antics were enough to make a wooden horse spew blood."

Some time ago a new gaffer was appointed over the platers. He is a brother of the craft all right, but the platers objected to him and came out on strike. Some of them crawled round to this gaffer, however, before they were long out, and pleaded for him to give them their jobs back after the strike, which shows how revolutionary they were.

The strike was unofficial, and the District Committee of the boiler-makers refused to sanction it; so when the platers went back to Babcock's in search of work and were offered the jobs of the men out on strike, the District Committee gave them permission to fill the jobs. The new platers gave the rest of the marine shop even more amusement than the old gang. One of them was running about offering other men money if they would make him a shovel, while the antics of some of the others had the other elements in the marine shop in hysterics laughing at them.

In the meantime the platers on strike outside had gone over the heads of the District Committee to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council had made the strike an official one, and had sanctioned strike pay. Now the fun became fast and furious. Here were platers out on strike awaiting their strike pay, and here were members of the same union occupying their jobs, with the sanction of the District Council. So after some hesitation the platers who had taken the jobs were pulled out. They, however, have no grievance with the firm. They are not out on strike. They are getting no strike pay. And so craft union comedy stands at time of writing.

Now Babcock's is chock full of rebels of various shades. Every colour of Socialist thought is represented there from the pale pink of the Catholic Socialist Society to the green Socialists of the

We could name many shops with a good deal fewer professed rebels than Babcock's shelters, where there is much more activity. Are we going to get a stir in Babcock's? If so let the various groups send a representative to the meeting on Thursday first in the "Worker" office.

THE RENT STRIKE—TWO SHOPS TO BE MASS PICKETED.

We do not believe that the rent strike is going to inaugurate a new heaven on a new earth, but we wish to give it as our considered opinion that every rebel should participate in it. Fundamentally the rent strike is a strike against the Capitalist state, and we have always insisted in these columns that the workers in this country have got to be accustomed to using their mass power against the State on every possible occasion. Rebels ought to encourage and not discourage this tendency. Anyone can be a wet blanket, any coward can use Socialist philosophy as an excuse for refusing to participate in any form of activity calculated to endanger his job, but the true Socialist is he who fights alongside his class all the time.

In some shops that we could name the rebel element are lagging behind the rest of the shop in their desire for action. This is creating a bad impression. The Socialist element should always be first in the fray when issue arises.

Most of the shops will strike solidly, but the strikers must not take the day purely as a holiday. Here and there mass picketing will require to be done. There are some workers who will crawl through the flames of hell to get to their work. There are some plants which, through a process of selection, have come to be almost wholly composed of these creatures. Such a plant is Singers', Kilbowie. We understand that there is to be no strike as far as this plant is concerned.

We suggest to the workers in Dalmauir and Clydebank that this plant has got to be stopped, and hope that a mass picket will be there in the morning in case the workers of Singers' persist in their shameful policy of creeping into work on the 23rd of August.

We would also call attention to Hydepark Locomotive Works. Nothing is doing here, and the workers from other plants will have to take the Hydepark men gently by the hand and lead them away from their work for one day at least.

SCOTTISH LABOUR COLLEGE.

The Fife, Kinross and Clackmannanshire Miners' Association, having granted three bursaries, to attend a ten months' course, at the Scottish Labour College, Glasgow, held the preliminary examination in the offices, Victoria Street, Dunfermline, on Thursday, July 29. Twelve applications sat the examinations. The following have been selected as most worthy in the final of merit:

John Welsh, 88 Church St., Cowdenbeath.

John McArthur, 71 W. High St., Buckhaven.

John Bird, 55 Balgonie Terr., Bowhill.

The students will commence their studies in the beginning of September, when the College opens for day students as a permanent institution. Alex. Angus, headmaster, and James Clunie, member of the College Staff, acted as the examiners.

ONLY A PASSING PHASE.

"The Communist outbreaks in Germany, even if as serious as they are depicted, is only a passing phase." . . . The Allies can afford to stand by." ("Age," March 24, 1920.)

The Flood, the Black Plague, the Red Armageddon, the human dead meat piles of Genghis Khan, the periodic Bartholomeus, the eruptions that have overwhelmed cities, the earthquakes that have swallowed them, the tidal waves that have swept them and their population into oblivion, the cyclones, tornadoes, droughts, floods, pestilences, and periodic wholesale human battues designated "wars," all these are merely "passing phases."

KILMARNOCK WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Meetings, St. Marnock Street, at 8 p.m.—Thursday, Aug. 19, J. V. LECKIE; Thursday, Aug. 25, J. McLEAN (Bridgeton).

THE VINDICATION OF DIRECT ACTION.

The war crisis last week was enlivened by the formation of the Labour Council of Action brought into being to organise a general strike against the war. The movement was headed by several Trade Union dugouts, who have been spending all their time during the last two years declaiming against direct action for political purposes. The moment that the crisis became acute the same people who had been pouring cold water on the idea of direct action were forced into a position of either remaining aloof from the struggle, thereby alienating the sympathy of the bulk of the workers, or of coming in and heading a movement in whose principles they did not really believe.

THE ADVENT OF THE POLITICAL STRIKE.

As a result they have gained some little glory, but there would have been no movement and no glory at all if the rank and file had not been saner than the leaders, and had shown their common sense by refusing to take the petty bourgeois denunciations of direct action seriously. Mr J. H. Thomas and other leaders will no doubt endeavour to minimise the value of the new tactic, and to confine its use to safe channels. They are already protesting that they do not intend to do anything drastic or unconstitutional, and that really no one should take alarm at the new development.

However, the working class movement is not going to be hampered and restricted in its growth by the J. H. Thomases, and whether any of the moderate men like it or not, the step that was taken last week is likely to have consequences that neither the bosses nor their Labour lackeys will like. Hitherto the organisations of the workers have been mainly concerned with questions of wages and hours. Questions outside this scope were regarded as completely out of the province of working class organisation. It was regarded as legitimate to attack the boss who had the temerity to try to break the standard rate of wages, while on the other hand it was regarded as wicked and seditious to interfere with a Government which was pursuing a policy calculated to endanger thousands of working class lives. The policy inaugurated last week marks the tentative beginnings of a new policy on the part of the British working class.

No matter how horrified the Labour leaders may be at the idea that their policy contains the germs of Sovietism, the fact remains that it is so. They have formulated a Labour foreign policy, and have threatened to back up that policy by a general strike against the Government. They have preferred mass action to constitutionalism; they have set up a Labour governing body alongside of and in antagonism to the Capitalist governing body, and that policy in other hands than theirs will be developed towards Sovietism. The Labour leaders may have been insincere, they may have been popularity hunting, but the policy that they helped to initiate is a sound one if backed by proper organisation, and if they hesitate, as doubtless they will, then the task of developing that policy will fall to other people.

THE STATE AND THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATIONS.

If working class organisations are going to be constantly interfering with the Government on questions of national or international concern, then the complaint of the reactionaries that they are arrogating to themselves powers of Government is absolutely correct. The Government is not likely to concede the right to interfere without a struggle. It means that the workers' loyalty must in future be to his own class organisations and not to the Government, which is the class organisation of the employing class. Between these organisations a struggle is bound to develop, until either the workers' organisations are crushed and the individual worker becomes the serf of the great trusts, or until the State is smashed and the workers' organisations take its place as the framework of a new working class state. And whether we like it or not, a Govern-

(Continued at foot of Page 8.)

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN

Arrangements for demonstrations are now completed. The Committee have done their part of the work; it now rests with the ex-service men, widows and dependents to do theirs by turning out in large numbers on Sunday first. For the benefit of those who are not aware of the arrangements I will repeat them:—Assemble in Hanover Street, off George Square, at 1.30 p.m. March off at 2 p.m. headed by Clyde Workers' Silver Band and union banner en route to Nelson's Column by way of St. Vincent Place, Buchanan Street, Argyle Street, Trongate, Saltmarket, through the Green to Nelson's Column, where meeting will be held. Although the demonstration is under the auspices of the I.U. it is not confined.

At the meeting on the Green arrangements will be made as to what action the ex-service men will take in connection with the rent strike.

As a crisis is now approaching in connection with the rent war, we of I.U. feel that it is time the ex-service men took a more active part; therefore we propose forming a mobile column, to be prepared to go anywhere and do anything at a moment's notice. Ex-service men who are willing to take part in the fight are requested to hand in their names at 98 Bishop Street, Anderston, Glasgow.

Ex-Service Men as Paupers.—It has been repeatedly stated both in the press and in the House of Commons that there is no ex-service men being treated as paupers. I am quite prepared to give the names and addresses of three who have been admitted to the Poorhouse within the last fortnight. I am also in a position to give the names of quite a few who have to sleep in stairhead closets. Here is one case I would like to quote as a sample of how a grateful country treats its heroes. Mr Wm. Stark, 357 Eglinton Street, S.S., Glasgow, late sergeant Royal Scots, enlisted 9/9/14, age 20, received gunshot wound right thigh, was in Sheffield Hospital in England. Mother was sent for and remained three weeks. During that time Mrs Stark states that she noticed a great change in her son. He was not the bright lad he used to be. There was a dull look about him, and he indulged in morbid fancies. Ex-Sergeant Stark was removed to Stobhill Hospital, and while there he was visited by his father and mother. The father noticed that there was a strange look in his son, and commented on it. It seemed as if the lad's mind had become affected. Wm. Stark was discharged from Stobhill with a pension of 14/- per week for gunshot wound. After his discharge he got worse, but the parents tried to hide his condition. The father died, and the mother was unable to screen her son any longer, with the result that a doctor was called in, and in due course the lad was removed to Hawkhead Asylum. The surprising part of the matter is that the powers that be state that the lad's condition is due to him dabbling in Spiritualism. This the mother emphatically denies, but even if he was dabbling in Spiritualism I have yet to find that it is a cause of insanity. If it is a cause, why is Sir Oliver Lodge and Conan Doyle allowed to be at large?

We have been in correspondence with the Ministry of Pensions on the matter. We have done our best to get at least the lad's pension of 14/- per week paid to the mother, but so far we have been unsuccessful. Colonel Malone has now got the matter in hand. Mrs Stark was asked to call at the Parish Council Offices, Carlton Place. She did so, and owing to what she was informed there she called at this office. We at once got in touch with the Parish Authorities, and received the following reply:—

Jas. Cox, Secretary.

Wm. Stark, late Sergt., 14729, Royal Scots.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 26th inst., addressed to my assistant in the above-named case, undernoted is a copy of letter received by the Medical Superintendent of Govan District Asylum from the Ministry of Pensions.

Re Wm. Stark, late Sergt., 14729, Royal Scots.

Sir,—With reference to the case of the above-named man, who was classified as a service

patient from 3rd March, 1920, it is regretted that as the Medical Branch of the Ministry are of the opinion that his insanity is neither due to nor aggravated by service, he must be transferred to the pauper class from the date of this letter.—I am, Sir, etc.

I am writing the Ministry of Pensions with regard to payment of his pension. Up till the present I have not received any payment of the pension; the case only became chargeable as from the 12th inst.—Yours truly, for John Mitchell, Inspector of Poor, A. Baillie.

Below is a few copies of testimonials received:

Jim Morton, Southern Amateur Athletic Club, 82 Paisley Road West, Glasgow, 16th April, 1920. To whom it may concern, that William Stark, late Royal Scots, has been an active member of our club for four years before he enlisted, and was without doubt as fine an athlete as ever boxed in Glasgow for years, being a very intelligent as well as a physically built lad. He took part in various championships as well as several contests, which needed extraordinary endurance, as on many occasions remarks were passed of his well built figure, also his great staying power, and I have never met any one who was not pleased to have known him.—Yours faithfully, Jim Morton.

The following was received from pre-war employer, Messrs Dawson, Ltd., general contractors and warehousemen, 45 Cadogan Street, Glasgow. To whom it may concern, this is to certify that Wm. Stark, late Royal Scots, 357 Eglinton Street, was employed here as a furniture remover for about three years previous to September, 1914. We found him a steady worker, honest and trustworthy. His state of health was excellent, he being a strong athletic lad, in first class condition for heavy work of this kind.—Dawsons, Ltd., David Maxwell, managing director.

VINDICATION OF DIRECT ACTION.—Contd.

ment drawing its strength from the workshop and the Trade Union is for all practical purposes a Soviet Government.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING CLASS POWER.

To the Labour leaders such a development as that which we have outlined above will be exceedingly distasteful, but a growing section of the working class have got it into their heads that the industrial organisations should be used to protect working class life in all its varied phases, and that idea translated into action has great potentialities.

If, however, we are going to use our industrial organisations to interfere in State affairs, we will have to strengthen them very considerably. The general strike may be all right as a threat, but Governments will get contemptuous of such threats through time, and we will sooner or later require to take action. Last week the calling of a general strike was unnecessary, but if it had been called it would have exposed some very grave defects in working class organisation. Indeed, if it had been successful it would have been because of the indignation of the workers, and not because the movement had at its disposal any means for making such a strike successful.

To-day there is little organic connection between the rank and file of the workers and the organisations which represent them industrially. The only bond between the average man and his union is a cash one. The Trade Union structure is such that it is difficult for the man in the workshop to take a keen interest in the affairs of his organisation. He is interested in what is going on where he works. He is interested in getting as good conditions of life as he can possibly get, but the Trade Union branch is remote from the workshop. Its business is usually of the deadly routine type, which, while being very necessary, occupies far too much attention at present. The men meeting at the branch have very little connection with each other, except

BRANCH NOTES.

DUNDEE.—Comrade Richardson reports that the Fife trip was not the success anticipated owing to the speakers failing to turn up, but quite a few members were enrolled. Comrade Wrattin opened his week's campaign on Sunday. The branch had their Hands off Russia Banner on view. Comrade Wrattin laid it in thick and heavy. The audience numbered about three thousand, and they listened patiently to the address. The collection amounted to £2 5s., and lit. sales realised 19/3. New members were enrolled. Comrade Logan will be in Dundee for the week end, and good results are expected. Dundee ex-service men are very backward, but they buy the lit., so there is still hope for them.

DARVEL.—This branch has been lying low for some time, but the rent imposition has given them a new lease of life. Propaganda meetings will be held throughout the district, and a determined effort will be made to waken up the "Henrys." Note the Secy's. address—R. Thorburn, Ammetta Place, Darvel.

PARTICK.—Meeting of Partick Branch held in Scotstoun on Thursday, 12th inst., and the most urgent business was gone through. First on the agenda was the prize draw, which went to R. Welsh, 44 Main Street, Shettleston. Circular letter from Nat. Secy. re cruise and demonstration was gone into. The members agreed to do their best to make the cruise a success. The members pledged themselves to turn out en masse to the demonstration on the 22nd, and it is hoped that all ex-service men in Partick, Scotstoun, and Whiteinch will be there to show the powers that be that they have something to contend with. All ex-service men wishing to join should get in touch with the local organiser, H. Lindsay, 56 Kelvinhaugh Road, Overnewton.

COATBRIDGE.—Three very successful meetings of the branch were held on Sunday, when Comrade Cheyne expounded the doctrine of Revolution and the necessity of all ex-service men in the district joining the I.U. of Ex-S.M. The sales of literature amounted to £1, and the collection to 33/-. All ex-service men who wish to join are earnestly requested to get in touch with P. Scullion, 73 Henderson Street, Coatbridge.

that they belong to the same trade. They mostly toil in different workshops, under different conditions, and the formulation of a course of action is difficult.

But in the workshop men are associated by the very mechanism of production. All grades of workers enter into relations with each other, co-operating together for the profit of the same firm. Their antagonism towards the bosses is most clearly felt at this point, and just as they co-operate together for productive purposes, so they should co-operate together as a class for the purpose of winning their emancipation.

The need for presenting a unified front to the employers was never greater than it is to-day. We are coming to the end of that period of arbitration which commenced during the war. The workers have gained nothing from this arbitration. Their position to-day is as hard as it was when that arbitration started. Arbitration may offer the officials a quiet life, but it gives the workers no hope of being able to extract themselves from out of the social quagmire in which they are sinking.

We are at the parting of the ways. Either a re-entrance into a policy of conciliation with the employers, with despair and disillusionment as its only fruits, or the striking out on an aggressive industrial policy. The first policy is an easy one, but it leads to slavery. The second policy calls for energy and sacrifice. It means leisure given up to creating efficient organisation in the workshop, to using that organisation to bringing the unions together, in giving the greater unions a democratic constitution and a Communist objective, but in the end the results will repay the sacrifice if the revolutionaries show themselves capable, not merely of contemplation—a distant ideal, but in taking immediate steps to bring nearer its attainment.

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