

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

THE WORKER

EDUCATE

THE ORGAN OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES SCOTLAND

THE REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL WITH THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN BRITAIN.

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Jimmy and Georgie.

We have in the course of the last few years had the painful experience of reading the servile pronouncements of some of our star Labour leaders on current questions. But surely the most disgusting spectacle of all is that afforded by Mr J. H. Thomas in grovelling before the monarchy in the current number of "Pearson's Magazine." Every sane worker is getting heart sick of watching the pantomime antics of our Royal parasites, and doubly sick of paying for the clowning of such individuals.

From the monarchy there radiates outwardly a disgusting atmosphere of servility and snobbery, infecting all sections of the people, high and low. This spirit is a powerful barrier to all working class progress, and the present day advertising of the monarchy is deliberately undertaken to foster this reactionary spirit. But listen to the angyric of Jimmy:—

"Take first the question of the monarchy—a question of the highest importance not only in Great Britain, but to the whole of the British Empire. There can be no question among thoughtful people that the monarchy plays a large part in holding the British Empire together; loyalty to the King both at home and in the Dominions is more a religious than a political attitude, and it would require a very unwise monarch to change this faith in the hearts of the people.

Our present King has proved himself, during many political crises, to be an essentially constitutional monarch, and I have no hesitation in saying that, while such an attitude is adopted by the King, the question of Republic versus Monarchy will not arise.

If any evidence of this were required, it could be found in the unique position occupied by the heir to the throne—the Prince of Wales—during his tour of the Empire. It would be true to say that there has been no factor which has contributed more to the unity of the Empire than the Prince of Wales' visit to the Dominions, and this, let it be noted, immediately following the Great War, which very naturally left considerable suffering and disappointment in many lands.

There is some profound thoughts in that little quotation all right.

Take the great thought that his majesty plays a great part in holding together the Empire. Well, suppose he does. That is hardly a recommendation. The Empire is merely a structure in which a parasite minority amongst the dominant white nations holds down, exploits, and tortures millions of black, brown, and yellow men. To say that our mannikin monarch is partly responsible for holding this system of theft and murder together is to say nothing in his favour. It may interest Mr J. H. Thomas to know that the purpose of the active men in the Labour movement is to disrupt, not to solidify this capitalist plunder syndicate known as the British Empire. We are fighting not merely to

free the working classes of Britain from the robber rule of the British imperialists, we are fighting also to free every subject nation under the control of the imperialist cut-throats, and that means the complete break-up of the most villainous and hypocritical tyranny that the world has ever seen.

As for the loyalty to the king being a religious attitude, well, people with a grain of sanity in their composition will be agnostics towards that kind of religion. Men have worshipped many strange things in the course of history. Trees, stones, the sun, moon, stars, crocodiles, tigers, cats and dogs. They were supposed to be uncivilised in those days, but for our part we would rather worship the cats and dogs we find in the street than have any reverence for a nonentity like Mr Guelph Wettin.

In the article which we have quoted from Mr. Thomas also emphasises that there is little or no Republicanism in Britain. If he means pure and

simple Republicanism that is quite correct. But there is a growing movement against capitalism, and as a preliminary to tackling capitalism, the present state machine of which monarchy is a part must be cleared out of the way.

Perhaps J. H. T. would like to see Britain a home of king worshippers after the royalist cult had disappeared from the rest of the earth. Perhaps he wants Britain to be the happy hunting ground of globe trotters coming from all parts of the earth to view the peculiar people who tolerate the king business. But we are afraid that Jimmie's hopes will be completely blasted. He had better take the opportunity of being present at some of those nice little tea-parties at Buckingham Palace. They will soon be a thing of the past, and so will Labour leaders whose meanness of spirit, whose sickening flunkeyism, is a menace to the welfare of the class they claim to represent.



THE SOFT ANSWER.

BOSS: "When are you going to start work, my man?"

WORKER: "When the hell are you?"

Industrial War Approaching.

The nation is gradually drifting towards a great industrial conflict. The Capitalist press are hoping that the conflict will be avoided, though it is difficult to see how this could be accomplished. The miners' ballot has been overwhelmingly in favour of a strike, and the leaders have therefore to carry out the strike or indulge in the most shameful climb down in Trade Union history. The Government, on the other hand, will be a laughing stock if it gives in at the eleventh hour. Such a policy would only serve to further popularise the tactic of direct action, and with the whole Capitalist class of the country bringing pressure on the Government, a surrender on the part of the Government is absolutely unthinkable. Industrial war is almost certain, and the question is what are the rebel elements going to do about it?

THE ENGINEERING TROUBLE.

That the Government's resistance to the miners is merely part of a general employing class policy of refusing all further concessions to the working class is suggested very strongly by the trouble in the engineering trade. The quarrel between the E.T.U. and the employers is really only the excuse for a general lock-out in the engineering trade. Though the question at issue is of some little importance, it would never of itself cause a national lock-out, unless the employers had other ulterior motives in the background. For a long time it has been evident that a great period of depression was brooding over the engineering industry. The employers realise that this is an opportunity for weakening or breaking the engineering unions, and the trouble with the electricians has only given them a convenient excuse.

THE NEED FOR ACTION.

The lock-out and miners' strike will lead to a crisis of large dimensions, and it is absolutely necessary to realise that the working class movement is facing hopeless defeat unless it is able to throw up machinery to deal with the situation. The trouble in the Labour movement has always been lack of a co-ordinated policy between the various sections. Each section has pursued its own little policy in complete isolation from all the rest. Indeed the Labour movement has been merely a phrase. The movement has never moved in a body. Each little section has waged guerilla warfare independent of the other sections, and when the class struggle looms up on a larger scale there is no organisation to fight it effectively. We have of course a body calling itself the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, but the antics of this body has brought it into contempt with the Labour movement, the Government, and the employers. It is a thoroughly hopeless collection of Trade Union dugouts, and is absolutely incapable of taking the leadership in a time of stress. The Triple Alliance appears to some people to be a more hopeful body, though it has never been tested in an industrial struggle. It is, however, not sufficiently representative to be able to rally the whole Labour movement behind it. The most likely bodies for unifying all sections appears to be the local and national Councils of Action. The National Council is of course open to the objections that have been levelled against the Parliamentary Committee. Its leading members are well known to be weak-kneed and cowardly when they are not merely stupid, but the struggle, if it starts, will be fought out in the localities. From our knowledge of the composition of these bodies locally they are the most representative working class bodies that have ever been set up in the experience of the British Labour movement. Of course they include reactionaries. No body claiming to represent the working class can be otherwise at the present moment. We cannot, however, pick and choose in this matter. We have either got to make an ignominious surrender that will disgrace the working class movement of those islands in the eyes of the world, or we have got to fight with the human material at our disposal. We may regret its outlook, we may curse its weakness,

but as Communists we have no other alternative but to make the best of it. To do otherwise is to quarrel with history, and that is an unedifying spectacle at the best. The Councils have many defects, but those defects are the price that we have to pay for our past negligence, and there is no sense in sitting down and bewailing them in the midst of an unparalleled social struggle. The rebel element is already in those mass organisations in most districts. They should come together and formulate a policy for those organisations, and endeavour to get them to accept it. If we cannot do this in a period of bitter class struggle, then we are the sorriest gang of babblers who have ever hindered the self-emancipation of the working class.

EXTEND THE STRIKE.

If the electricians are locked out, if a creeping paralysis extends over the engineering industry, if the miners' strike takes place on the top of that, then the two issues should be made one issue, and the whole power of the working class should be devoted to winning a speedy victory. A long drawn out strike on a large scale is a sheer impossibility in those days of high prices. The struggle must be short, sudden, and effective. The strike must be extended as quickly as possible to the whole of the vital industries. Those industries must be tied up and the whole industrial life of the country paralysed.

THE TRADE UNION CONSTITUTIONS.

Of course there is the matter of the Trade Union constitutions to be considered. The National Council of Action has been very emphatic in laying it down that the work of the Councils has in no wise to infringe on the work of the official unions. This order is a manifest absurdity in the midst of an industrial crisis. If the workers are to put up a fight, then all constitutional red tape must be cut for the time being. The workers cannot go into the greatest industrial battle in our history wrapped up in red tape until they cannot move. All those marvellous rules and regulations that were drawn up by the staid Trade Union dugouts in the middle of last century have got to be politely ignored. It may hurt some people's feelings to see this sacrilege, but everything must be sacrificed to achieve victory.

THE WORK BEFORE US.

The main work that will be before the Councils of Action in the event of a crisis will be the creation of machinery to feed the workers, and the development of a workers' defence force to protect that machinery. The first step in the struggle would lie in calling out all the workers in the vital industries in support of the striking and locked out workers. The next thing would be the re-issuing of certain services, such as transport and power services, under the control, not of the employers or the Government, but under the control of the local Councils. Inventories must be taken of all the food supplies in the district, and means taken for the distribution of that food amongst the families of the working class. A special propaganda department could be organised for the dissemination of leaflets to the fighting forces. By those means we could meet the situation and win a speedy victory. The Government of this country has long regarded the working class as a flock of sheep, but if they are foolish enough to try and impose their present industrial policy on the workers they may discover that all sections of workers will shed their sheepishness and bring this gang of profiteers' puppets tottering to the ground.

IF WE FAIL.

If on the other hand the various sections of workers refuse to stand by one another, if the miners are clubbed and the electricians starved, then we shall be completely at the mercy of the employing class. They will then be able to carry out their profiteering policy, without any fear of working class interference with their plans. Coal

will be decontrolled, and the price shall be forced up to the general European level—an increase of at least 100 per cent. in price. The cost of living will continue to rise, and the workers shall be bereft of the power to force up wages in proportion. The rule of the bosses in industry will be more absolute than ever before, and a heavier load of oppression will be born by all of us.

The fight is therefore going to determine the future of Labour for the next few years. Whether we are to be occupied with building up our forces after a heavy defeat, or whether we will have demonstrated our solidarity, so gained confidence, that we will be gathering our forces for the final onslaught on Capitalism.

THE WORK OF THE COMMUNISTS.

It is obvious that there will be risks to be run in carrying out the policy outlined above, and those risks will have to be faced by the rebel elements as the fighting vanguard of the working class. It is a tremendous pity that the workers are facing this crisis under the national leadership of the British Kerenskies. The workers will fight under the control of those individuals nationally. But if the Communist elements as active they will be able to get control of the local councils, and so stiffen the general resistance. What is required above all things is co-ordinated Communist activity during the crisis. We see that the crisis is coming, then a meeting of all the rebel groups must be held to consider what is to be done, so that in the various localities the Communists will be able to show to the workers that they can supply the fighting leadership to make victory possible.

Shocking!

The following appeared in Thursday's "Evening Times":

STAGE NUILITY.

AMAZING SCENE IN A FRENCH PLAY.
In the stage version of "L'Homme Aux Roses" by the French dramatist, M. Henry Bastille, the orgy is to be represented ending with the carrying across the stage of an unclothed young woman on a large dish (says the Paris correspondent of the "Daily Mail").

Mlle. Agnes Souret, who recently won a French beauty competition, was offered the role of the young woman, but refused. According to the French weekly, "Le Carnet de la Semaine," light comedy actress has accepted the part.

Meanwhile English visitors to Paris through a revue at one of the best known music halls which is said to have the most undressed performance put on there for 25 years. A little jewellery is all the covering worn by one of the attractive actresses.

The moral of this is—well, there is no more. There would have been if the scenes described above had taken place in Petrograd or Moscow. And people of the type of the hypocritical English who are attending those spectacles would have deafened us with their shrieks of moral indignation.

SCOTTISH WORKERS' COMMITTEES (Dockers' Section).

c/o M'Kenzie, 154 Paisley Road W.
Dear Comrade,—I have been instructed by the Committee to forward to you for publication the following resolution, which was passed at the meeting to-day:—"That we, the Dockers' Section of the Scottish Workers' Committees, urge the officials of our Union to stand by the miners and support their claims by all means in their power as we consider their claims to be honest and just." Best wishes.—Yours for freedom,

FRANK RODGERS pro. tem.

Bolsheviki Russia is a nation of fanatical dreamers and wild-eyed theorists, but—they have compulsory labour and compulsory education, and with those two compulsions in force it will not be long until the whole world will have to hustle to catch up to backward Russia.

MILITARY MURDER IN IRELAND.

Murder is now one of the methods most favoured by the British Military Government in carrying out the provisions of the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act.

The undenoted were committed by the British Military and Police in Ireland:

In the twelve months of 1918 ... six murders
In the twelve months of 1919 ... ten murders
In the one month of August, 1920...eleven murders
In the eight months of 1920 (January
1st to August 31st ... forty-four murders

These murders do not include any men killed while engaged in armed conflicts with bodies of British military or police. It is the practice of British propagandists to represent as murder every such casualty on their side, although their forces are in every instance better armed than the forces opposing. Casualties suffered by armed Irishmen in such encounters are not included in this list or any similar list previously published in the Irish Bulletin. The term murder is used to describe deliberate and cowardly killing performed without provocation or justification by the British forces. The details of some of these murders would bring a blush to a savage, but are gloried in by the khaki braves who at present infest Ireland.

On August 27th, John Buckley, of Midleton, Co. Cork, was murdered by British troops while being taken as a prisoner to Cork gaol. John Buckley was secretary of the Midleton Sinn Fein Club. He and his brother, Bartholomew, were arrested by the British military. They were detained in the local barracks for six hours, and were then placed in a motor lorry for removal to Cork gaol. They were roped back to back. An escort of twenty British soldiers accompanied them. On the journey from Midleton to Cork one of the escort deliberately shot John Buckley dead, the bullet passing through his heart and into the back of his brother who was roped to him. The official report issued two days later stated that "John Buskley was shot in a determined effort to escape," and that his brother was dangerously wounded. No effort to escape was made or was even possible. John Buckley was murdered while a helpless prisoner in the hands of British troops. No action has been taken by the British Government against these troops.

On Monday, August 30th, a public inquiry was held into the circumstances of the death of a young man named Patrick Lynch, who was foully murdered by British troops in the village of Hospital, Co. Limerick. At that inquiry it was proved:

1. That Patrick Lynch was taken from his house at midnight by a patrol of British troops, some of whom were drunk.
2. That he was brought 200 yards from his house and there murdered.
3. That no attempt whatever was made by him to escape.
4. That he was unarmed and in the custody of seven fully armed British soldiers when the supposed attempt to escape was made.
5. That he, in fact, as the press reported, was wantonly and foully murdered.

The medical evidence proved that six shots were fired into his head at close range, no other part of his body was wounded, showing that the military had him completely in their power at the time he was supposed to be "trying to escape."

The British authorities put in no appearance at the inquest to substantiate their statement. The sisters and father of the dead man stated they would be able to identify the murderers. The British military authorities had, however, transferred them after the crime to another district. The following is the official announcement issued by Major R. J. Merion, General Staff British Military Headquarters, Dublin Castle:—This morning certain organs of the press reported that a man named Patrick Lynch had been murdered by troops in the village of Hospital, Co. Limerick. I have just been in communication with the authorities on the spot and they inform me that Lynch was shot trying to escape from arrest.

The latest aspect with regard to the publication of details by the Irish press of these murders is a threat of suppression by the authorities at Dublin Castle. In many districts throughout Ireland where British troops and police are daily engaged in murder, sabotage, and loot, military officers called personally upon the press correspondents in these districts, and have informed them that if they report anything which incurs the disfavour of the British authorities reprisals will immediately be taken against them. This policy has received the official sanction of the British Government. On August 27 a letter was addressed to the Editors of all Irish newspapers from the Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle, in which attention is called to the increasing frequency with which misleading statements, often untrue, and in any case calculated to aggravate disorder and disaffection, have appeared in the columns of certain newspapers, and points out if such breaches are allowed to continue the newspaper companies and the individuals concerned will be drastically dealt with as the circumstances warrant. The signature to this letter is Sir John Anderson, K.C.B., Assistant British Under-Secy. for Ireland.

In order fully to appreciate the meaning of this letter it is necessary to understand that Dublin Castle is the headquarters of the British Military Government in Ireland, and that from those headquarters are issued daily a number of official statements, the object of which is supposed to be the truthful representation of certain incidents in Ireland for the information of the world press. These official descriptions deal in the main with two classes of events:—(1) The so-called "outrages" of the Irish people; (2) the murders and other outrages of the British armed forces in Ireland.

In dealing with the first of these groups the British Military Government circulates reports sent from various parts of Ireland by its paid agents, and issues them in an effort to persuade the world that the Irish people are moved only by criminal instincts. In dealing with the second of these groups the British Military Government circulates reports prepared by these same agents with a view to explaining away or to justifying every outrageous act committed by its armed forces. In short, the official statements are ex parte statements of the most unscrupulous kind. They either distort the truth by the excision or emendations of essentials, or are broadly and ostentatiously false.

An official return issued on August 31 by the British Government places the number of civilians killed in Ireland from January 1, 1919, to August 21, 1920, at eighteen, and the number of civilians wounded in the same period as forty-nine. The complete list of casualties as published by the Irish press for the same period is forty-one civilians, who were murdered, and 562 wounded by police and military without provocation. No casualty is included in this which occurred in the riots in Belfast, Derry, and other places in the North of Ireland.

How much longer will the workers of Britain allow their Government to continue this bloody business? Do you realise the seriousness of the position? Why this apathy towards the Irish? We have had the pitiable spectacle of a nation watching, without making an effort to save, a man being slowly done to death in Brixton Prison. It must also be understood that there is sixteen young men in Cork Prison, all in as serious condition as the Lord Mayor of Cork. It would seem as if the British race has lost all sense of honour. Can the people of Ireland never look forward to the day when organised British Labour will act to their strong resolutions.

plenty of time to get them here for the Congress, Christiania is only a two days' journey, and the Government must have pressure brought to bear upon it immediately, if not by the Labour Party officials then by the rank and file.

J. S. C.

Russian Labour Delegation.

MORE BRITISH TREACHERY?

I have placed, be it observed, a question mark to the above sub-title. I do not wish to hurl any charges against British Labour leaders, but there is something sinister about their indifference to the fate of the good Russian Trade Unionists who are at present suffering semi-captivity on the dreary and miserable island of Vardo in the belief that British Labour organisations are moving heaven and earth to procure them free access into Britain.

The particulars are as follows:—When the British Labour delegation visited Russia they were not only permitted to enter that distressed country, but were handsomely received and specially privileged during their sojourn. A starving people not only shared their valuable food with them, but actually organised special excursions and entertainments on their behalf in order to render their stay as pleasant as possible under the appalling circumstances. Messrs Shaw, Purcell, Williams & Co., evidently appreciative (in Russia at least) of these exertions and sacrifices, cordially invited a similar delegation composed of Russian representative Labour men to visit this country as the guests of the Labour Party. This delegation, composed of Losovsky, E.C. member of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions; Sergaef, Chairman of delegation and President of All-Russian Council of Railway Workers; Anzelowitch, Secretary of delegation and President of Petrograd Council of Trade Unions; Lebdeff, E.C. of textile workers; Kisileff, E.C. of miners; Antoshkin, E.C. of Workers' and Employers' Union (shop assts. warehousemen, clerks); Lavrenteff, E.C. of Metal Workers' Union, together with their staff, including J. Fineberg, official translator, left Moscow on 7th August for England. They reached Vardo on the 14th, where I was being held prisoner by the garrison acting from instructions received from the British Government officials at Christiania. I was permitted to visit them on the small steamer which brought them from Murmansk, and myself drew up the telegrams which were dispatched to the "Daily Herald," the A.S.E., Miners' Federation, Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, Textile Workers, and the various sections of the Transport workers, asking them to facilitate the entry of their guests into England. After some days of waiting, it was decided that I should make an attempt to escape from the island and try to reach England in order to place particulars of their predicament before the people responsible for inviting them here.

The attempt was successful and on reaching Britain I immediately sent a wire to the Council of Action and got into touch with the "Daily Herald" Representative, who wired that paper first and forwarded a report later. Not a whisper so far has been heard from any quarter. Here are some thirteen or fourteen (three of them women) practically interned on a miserably small steamer on a bleak desolate rock in the Arctic ocean, anxiously waiting for the necessary permission to proceed to England which they believe the British Trade Union officials are trying to procure for them—and up to the present there is no evidence of a move having been made.

These men do not intend to come here as Bolshevik propagandists. They are anxious to get into touch with British Labour, to exchange ideas, to study British Labour conditions and methods of organisation, and to attend the Trade Union Congress which opened Tuesday last. They might not have dreamt of visiting this country but for the belief which they were led to entertain by the British Labour delegation, that there would be no obstacles to their access into England. British Labour is in bad enough odour with the militant Labour movements of the world. Every Trade Unionist should immediately raise this question in his branch, and get the various executives to act if only to save British Labour from the stigma of an odious piece of hypocrisy and treachery.

POSTSCRIPT.—As we go to press we learn that the delegation has arrived at Christiania and is awaiting word from this side. There is

(Continued at foot of preceding column.)



September 11, 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.

Subscribers' Rates—Weekly, 3d.; Quarterly, 3/1; Half-Yearly, 6/2. Post free.

Does the Boss Cheer the Communist?

The following is from last week's "Forward."

It is announced that a Scottish Communist Party has been formed. "It is the intention, in the Glasgow and Lanarkshire constituencies to oppose all Labour candidates at the next General Election."

Loud Capitalist and Landlord cheers!

There is evidently no satisfying our contemporary. A week or so ago it was saying hard things about a Communist proposal to boycott Parliament, now it is getting excited about a Communist proposal to contest elections. A Communist Party would have to be a super-human organisation to suit some people.

And then those loud Capitalist and Landlord cheers. We have never heard of Communists receiving them. If we did we would go and consult a mental specialist. But we would fill our paper for the next six months with instances of where Labour leaders have received such cheers for their treachery to their class. We have the fact that the provincial press has been copying the insanities of J. H. T. above mentioned amid a chorus of approval. No Communist has ever received that. If they propose to boycott Parliament, they are fools. If they dare to contest elections against the Thomases, then they are playing the capitalist game. In other words, the Communists should get off the earth and leave the world to the Labour fakers.

COMMUNIST PARTY FOR SCOTLAND.

A provisional Delegate Conference will be held on Saturday first in the Shop Assistants' Hall, 297 Argyle Street, at 3 p.m., for the purpose of discussing the formation of a Communist Party based on the Third International, and accepting (1) the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, (2) Soviet system, (3) non-affiliation to the Labour Party. Other points such as political and industrial organisation are to be discussed by the delegates at the Conference. The Conference will be non-binding. Basis of representation, 1 delegate to every 25 members or part thereof. Branches of organisations favourable to above are requested to bring credential cards signed by their organisation's secretary. Visitors will be allowed into the Conference.

John M'Lean (Bridgeton),
J. D. M'Dougall,

Acting Joint Secretaries.

A lot of intellectuals of the Politico-anarchist-socialist variety are just waking up to the fact that their parlour radicalism fitteth nowhere in the scheme of things which the logic of economic evolution is bringing in. Emma Goldman did not like the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie here and over in Russia she is reported to like the dictatorship of the proletariat even less. If she goes to heaven she faces the prospect of the dictatorship of the heavenly king, and if she goes to hell there is the autocrat of the horns and spear-head tail. Boo-hoo! Ain't it a cold and cruel world? Emma isn't alone in her dilemma.

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By THE EDITOR.

Some Epic Liars.

Perhaps we ought to say "prevaricators" or "perverters of the truth," or drag out one of Winnie's pedantic phrases, but we won't. The people we mention below are just plain unvarnished liars of the God-damned type and unpleasing magnitude.

From the "News of the World," August 29, the first printed putridity our eyes were offended with on landing in Britain, we pluck:—

"When Krassin and Kamenef were closeted together recently in the Cabinet room at Downing Street one of the Prime Minister's secretaries sought to solace the Soviet envoys by offering them a cigar each. The gratefully accepted, but were loth to light up in the chamber reserved for the consideration of the Empire's affairs. When assured that smoking in the Cabinet room was not a treasonable offence, one of them, after overcoming his astonishment, said, as he lit his cigar: 'Well, this is more we would dare do in Lenin's room.'"

Apart from the obvious fact that neither Krassin nor Kamenef are such simpletons as to make such a damaging admission to one of the Downing Street menials, we have ourselves puffed cigarette smoke under Lenin's nose, watched Radek and Bucharin do likewise, and incidentally heard Gallacher mournfully lament while performing a similar operation, "I wish to Christ this was a bit o' thick black!" and yet the Bolshevik monster never once descended from his throne of skulls to rebuke us for such an unpardonable act of lese majeste.

Another.

The most sanguine (sanguinary if you like) liar we have struck upon recently is the imaginative gentleman who drew up Messrs Cassell's latest book circular. Here is the star item:—

"Through Bolshevik Russia.

By Mrs Phillip Snowden. 5/- net.

We expect to issue this on 9th September at latest. Mrs Phillip Snowden, who is an extreme Socialist and a most brilliant woman, went to Russia to study Bolshevism at first hand. If she were prejudiced, it was strongly in favour of Bolshevism, but this book is a terrible indictment of it by one who attempted to see it in its most favourable light, at first hand, and who is also a brilliant writer."

Mrs Snowden, like her husband (who denounced the Bolsheviks as murderers in the "Labour Leader") hated and detested Bolshevism from the very beginning. She was, in other words, strongly prejudiced against Bolshevism, and so far from going to Russia to "study Bolshevism in its most favourable light," she made her antipathies so apparent and exhibited an hostility so undisguised from the moment of landing that the Bolsheviks looked upon her as an ignorant apostle of reaction, and watched her accordingly.

If Mrs Snowden is possessed of the least spark of common honesty she will repudiate the obnoxious flattery and misrepresentations of the ridiculous liar who has been engaged to boost the circulation of her "terrible indictment."

When the Capitalist class—the hereditary, ruthless, and merciless hater of Socialism and all its works—pronounces "an extreme Socialist" a "brilliant" person, one can be sure that that person is neither brilliant nor an extreme Socialist.

The Resurrectionists.

Sometimes the paid professional liars of Capitalism suffer from "brain" fog, and the capacity for original lying gets impaired. In this event an old lie is called up and mobilised for service.

"German" gold, you remember, became "Bolshevik" gold when that lie was resurrected.

Now the mentally poverty-stricken, brass-faced

liars are marshalling against the threatening miners the hoary headed, but somewhat mangy, fur-coat-grand-piano lies they incubated and propagated against the munition workers during the war. Last Thursday's "Evening News" copied from the "Daily Express," which received the information from a Newport paper, (the captain told the cook, etc.), the staggering almost incredible fact that—

"A miner often spends £40 on a week's holiday. Two local colliers had a week's holiday in London, and between them spent £70 on pleasure visiting the best hotels.

Tradesmen in the Aberilly district state that there is a great demand for fur coats for the miners' wives, the purchaser in but a few cases giving less than £30. Fifteen guineas is about the average price paid for women's costumes, while many of the miners' wives indulge in nothing but crepe de chene blouses and underwear. They think nothing of paying £5 for a hat. Hose at 20s a pair are also popular. In fact," says the head of one prominent establishment, "they don't know what to do with the money. We can get almost any price for our goods."

If a dirty lie has served the interests of the ruling class successfully during some crisis, it is evidently carefully pigeon-holed for future use. It is the same with religionists. Bradlaugh and Paine, Voltaire and Ingersoll, shrieking on the death-beds, periodically crops up in the religious press in spite of the fact that such a lie has been nailed to the counter over and over again.

We don't dispute that miners have paid £5 for a holiday. We know a man who never earned more than £2 per week in his life who spent more than that on a week's holiday (after backing 100 to 1 shot). The rottenness of the lie consists in its plausibility in conveying the idea that such extravagances and indulgences represent the normal social conditions of miners. According to Frank Hodges, the average miner's wage in 1919 is, in purchasing power, exactly equivalent to thirty shillings pre-war.

This is not disputed, but is, in analysis with the increased cost of living, backed up by the figures in the venal "Record and Mail" of last Friday.

The average annual earnings in 1913 was £42. The average annual earnings in 1920 is £220. The cost of living has increased since 1913 from 15 to 450 per cent. above pre war prices. Worked yourselves the comparative values of £82 in 1913 and £220 in 1920 (accepting the Capitalists' own figures) and then pause in admiration at the unspeakable mendacity of these fur-coated manufacturers.

Democratic Psychology.

Whichever way you look at the psychology of the Capitalist ideologists when they mouth their phrases about our "democratic country" the result is bound to be unflattering. They either know they are talking cant, in which case they are liars, bugs and hypocrites, or else they really believe what they say, in which case they are fools of the first degree. At the back of the mind of every bourgeois and hanger-on of the bourgeoisie is the firm conviction that working men are really of an inferior kind of cattle, that, without being compelled, ought to instinctively "be satisfied with the lowly position, etc." and so "keep their place."

If one individual is ambitious and "aims high," i.e., develops a desire to become an exploiter, a parasite upon other men and women, he is not only countenanced but honoured. He is trying to "get on." He has "push, energy, and integrity." They discover "probity, commonsense, and idealism" in his character. What they are really doing is welcoming a fellow thief whose cunning is equal to their own. If a collection of proletarians organise in order to "get on" and increase their standard of comfort they are ignorant, brutal, selfish, anti-social enemies of the community. Funny, isn't it? You see in the

case "getting on" means trying to reach a position where one can live by swindling the working class. That is commendable.

In the second case "getting on" means increasing the weekly wage by wresting a little of the Capitalist loot from the looters.

And because the looters control the methods of education, the press, the pulpit, and every other avenue of "public enlightenment," the Dubbs are besotted into the acceptance of an ethical code which is merely the echo of Capitalist interests. It is no offence against society for five people to pay £1,000 for their passage to America on a giant Cunarder, as reported in Saturday's "Times"; nor for Lord Devonport to travel on the Olympic at a cost of £100 per day. Add to this the fact that in each case these "business men" were not merely pleasure bound, but were, in spite of their affluence, actually chasing after more dollars, thereby proclaiming dissatisfaction with their own enviable economic circumstances, and you will appreciate our point that all the slaver about democracy is positive monkeyshine. There is no vitriolic denunciation hurled at ruling class prodigality and avarice, but there's a hell of a lure if a working woman or a working man's wife is suspected of having a fur coat in her possession, even though her husband has sweated, toiled, and risked limbs and life to provide her with it.

We commend these few remarks to that pretended follower of the Lord J. C. but really servile flunkey of the pite class, Bishop Weldon.

Although the servant of a master whose "kingdom was not of this world," and who professes to specialise in the sphere spiritual, he, like Father Vaughan, is continually poking his nose into affairs temporal.

His criticism of the miners is another example of the function fulfilled by our ethic-mongers. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the religionist, when he ventures to meddle with material questions, does so in order to sabotage the working class. Some day the working class will sabotage him.

The Bishop's Retort.

"I have as much right to criticise the miners as they have to criticise the church," said the meek and gentle Weldon. But he hasn't. He draws a huge salary and produces nothing. The miners produce the most powerful wealth in existence, do it with risk to life and under horrible conditions, and receive for their valuable and necessary work as much remuneration in a year as the Bishop gets for a few days' chin-music concerning a lot of prehistoric tripe adapted to the social intelligence of a Tierra del Fuegian.

What right has any parasite to criticise the plant or beast which nourishes it?

Alas! My Poor Brother.

When you put the French spud or turnip in your mouth this winter, let your thoughts hark back to the following little paragraph from the Glasgow "Evening News" of last Friday:—

"A recent visitor to the devastated regions of Northern France states that Nature has certainly not failed to do her part towards reconstruction, but has responded in a wonderful way to the plucky efforts of the returned farmers and peasants.

Some of these areas have produced greater crops than before the war, and the inhabitants have not only been able to supply their own needs, but are in a position to send supplies to other parts of France."

"Greater crops than before the war." But look at the manure! Natural manure, sulphate of ammonia, superphosphates, guano—what chance have these in competition with thousands of tons of rotten blood and decayed flesh?

The one time cannon-fodder fertilises the fields which yield new fodder for beast and man, and, reminiscent of Hamlet's gruesome pun, we might be nourished on the juices of our own brother.

And by the way the French Government is "considering the application of Germany for the removal of all the German dead, over a million of which are buried in France." The Germans want them conveyed to Germany and buried there.

We cannot understand the necessity for prolonged consideration, seeing how often we were told that all the German dead were gathered up and despatched to the corpse factory to be made into high explosives.

Ananias, Baron Munchasen, and Louis de Rougemont, compared to the high explosive liars of Capitalist society, are three gentlemen who couldn't have told a lie if they tried.

Stick At It.

After two months' absolute freedom from the inflictions of the Capitalist press we take somewhat badly to the imperative duty of wading through the British newspapers. The murder cases, divorces, political crimes, intrigues, deliberate falsifications, and articles on the industrial turmoil produce a nausea difficult to describe.

Every paper we have picked up contains column after column of drivel directed against the miners. Statisticians, economists, professors, clergymen, food fadists, politicians, authors, and even tragedians are prominently quoted because they have uttered some back-room or tap-room sneer at the miners. We could indulge a sneer at the workers ourselves but for a totally dissimilar reason. If the British working class would use their brains a bit more and stiffen their backbones these miserable cumberers of the earth would be decorating the car poles with a rope round their necks.

But once again it shows what a mighty instrument the sordid, subsidised, prostitute press is for evil.

The great mass is besotted by it—the so-called "moulding of public opinion"—panics are created by it, government officials from civil servants to Cabinet ministers are blackmailed into political crimes by it; in short it is the most powerful means of coercion and intimidation the Capitalist class possesses.

Study it for yourselves, and then send a sub. to the "Worker" office for the maintenance of a paper devoted to the truth, the worker, and the Revolution that one day will hurl this evil and the fiends who manipulate it into the perdition they deserve.

The Russian Retreat.

Many enquirers have tackled us for information relative to the "sudden collapse" of the Red Army advance. All we know about it, which doesn't amount to much, goes to prove that there never has been a "collapse." Wrangel in the south was advancing during the whole time we were in Russia, and very little attention was paid to him until he began to push towards a particular area, which swarms with the same kind of independent brigand bands, whose anti-Soviet guerilla warfare caused Trotsky so much time and trouble to suppress in the Ukraine. It was necessary, to prevent Wrangel's army joining up with these organised freebooters, which would have meant a recurrence of the trouble, to hasten troops to that quarter. This was done some time between August 8 and 25 and Wrangel was smashed.

But apart from this certain complications, which the Bolsheviks wished to avoid, would have arisen on the taking of Warsaw—complications which we are not at liberty to discuss—and Warsaw was not taken purposely.

When we left Russia the Red Army advance was at its most triumphant point—yet we knew on August 6 that it did not intend to capture Warsaw. So much for the Bolshevik rout.

—X—

Did you know that the dictatorship of the capitalist will continue until it is set aside by a stronger dictatorship—the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Industrial and Political Life in Soviet Russia.

"Turning now to the general conditions of industrial and political life, there can be no question of the sweeping character of the Russian Revolution. It has effected in the towns of Russia not only a change of political power, but a social transformation. The richer classes have been dispossessed of their houses and other property; the control of large scale industry has passed out of the hands of those who were formerly at the head of it. Large masses of the town population are now enjoying a share of the available national wealth (including house accommodation) greater than they enjoyed before; and new possibilities of life and culture are opening out before them; and this is true in a very special degree of the child population.

Social equalisation is, indeed, far from complete. There are certain classes which do better than others—e.g., the soldiers, those doing specially heavy manual work, and so-called "responsible workers" in the Central Government departments; persons who are making money by speculation—i.e., private dealing of any kind, but especially the sale of "controlled" articles illegally at market prices; and persons who are still able to sell valuable property which they possessed before the Revolution. Large numbers obtain special privileges, and some make fortunes. But when all is said, the material advantages enjoyed by the "new bourgeoisie" over and above the rest of the population are extremely small when compared with the advantages enjoyed by the propertied classes in every Capitalist country. Broadly speaking, a single standard of living has been established. The glaring inequalities of fortune which form so great a scandal in Capitalist countries, and which are maintained even in distressed countries such as Austria and Poland; the striking difference in economic position between the rich and the poor—these things no longer exist in Russia.

This equalisation applies to education and entertainment as well as to food, housing, and clothing. Opportunities of education are now open in the towns to large numbers of children and adults, from the elementary stages up to the University. In connection with the theatre, music, painting and sculpture, sports and physical development, means of pleasure and cultivation have been given to the workers on a scale unknown in earlier days. The greater part of the tickets in the principal theatres, which formerly the poor never dreamed of entering, are now allotted to the various Trade Unions for distribution to their members at low fixed prices.

We have been much struck by the enlightened policy of the Soviet Government in the matter of child life. It has consciously adopted, and is practically enforcing, the principle to which lip service has so often been rendered—that at any given time the life of the rising generation is of greater moment to the State than the lives of the adult population, and that consequently the children's claim upon all the physical and intellectual resources of the State must be satisfied before any other. The utilisation of the houses of the rich for "children's colonies" (which take the place of elementary schools during the summer) is one of the most striking illustrations of this principle.

—Extract from Labour Delegation Report

The above quotation is well worth noting and preserving in view of the clap-trap about the absence of democracy in Russia. In this free and democratic country inequalities of fortune and opportunity are the rule. A handful of parasites dominates the working masses in industry. A horde of kept intellectual prostitutes are engaged in polluting the outlook of the masses. This is democracy. But in Russia child life is sacred, opportunity is open, fortunes approach to equality—that has got to be remembered when we hear cant about the superiority of British democracy to Soviet autocracy.

Workshop Notes.

DENNYS', DUMBARTON.

For a loong time a considerable proportion of the working class of Dumbarton have been prostrating themselves before the head of the firm of Dennys'. This gentleman got it into his head that everyone in Dumbarton was prepared to eat out of his hand. He got rather a rude shock last week, however, at the hands of the joiners employed in his establishment. Those men had decided to put in for an increase in wages, and the "heid yin" in the shipyard evidently thought that he had only to arrange a meeting with the joiners, when he, accompanied with his Board of Directors, could talk sweetly to the men on this question. A shed was requisitioned, cleaned out, and filled with seats. A platform was fitted up, and everything was got ready for an orgy of "talkee, talkee." But the joiners had other views of the matter. They held a meeting, and decided not to meet the Directors. So the work of fitting up the shed was rendered quite superfluous as far as the Directors were concerned, and they are now bewailing the fact that, even in the Royal Burgh of Dumbarton, the workers are beginning to acquire an independent viewpoint of their own.

LYON'S GIRLS' STRIKE, LONDON.

By TOM BARKER.

Messrs Lyons & Co. are benevolent people. They only pay the tiny percentage of 42½ per cent. per annum, which shows their benevolence—towards themselves. The bees who collect this golden hoard are frail and underpaid girls. They are numbered like convicts, and are kept under the watchful eye of a rubber-heeled person, whose tyranny to his supposed inferiors and his obsequence to his bosses endear him to the hearts of the latter.

Messrs Lyons & Co. are a big firm, and they built their business out of "skinning." Every cup, carpet, and cake, all the bottles, brass, and blanc mange, the fine furnishings, all had their origin in the slender frames of their girls. And they were never backward at giving their girls a broad hint about making themselves attractive. And seeing that the wages paid were not really sufficient to keep body and soul together decently, we take it that the means of keeping attractive had to be obtained elsewhere. Messrs Lyons & Co. is run by a board of directors, the majority of whom have Saturday night military titles earned by conspicuous bravery on the home front. In fact their services meant as much to the Empire as one of their alleged cream puffs does to a hungry navvy.

Messrs Lyons & Co.'s directors are blest with wives—expensive ones. It costs more for cream for one of these lady's ugly pugs than it does to compensate (?) one of their ticketed female toilers for her week's work. And 42½ per cent. has to be produced so that more premises can be built, and so these silk-clad dolls can mince around among the habitually tired at Cowes, Goodwood, and Ascot. With their empty-headed, big-nosed husbands they will spend their winter at Nice, or Monte Carlo, gambling and eating up the golden hoard supplied by the pale and underfed, anemic and underpaid lasses in the Corner House and the other gaoles with the garish, brassy fronts and the brassy-faced gaoles. And these big, brave heroes, these jam-puff heroes, carry on their business, obtaining their gorgeous times by stinting and starving their girls. The bulk of the girls are right on the poverty line. It is only those who have homes who can really get along.

The poverty stricken are now at war with the luxurious. The girls have struck. One of their number, Mrs Sparks, was sacked for wearing her Union badge at work. Her sixteen years of hard work to keep Messrs Lyons' directors did not entitle her to the freedom of wearing her Union badge. No! She had been a number for 16 years, and when she ticketed herself as something more than a number, as a Union member, then

the million quid corporation with the 42½ per-centers, got alarmed and chased her out. They had visions of the fat pug eating skim milk, and their "donahs" washing their own dirty linen.

Mrs Sparks left, so did the rest of the girls. They had a meeting. A resolution was carried that they strike immediately. The brave girls went out. And they have shamed the milk and water unionists. Some of the eunuch officials of the Trade Unions have the temerity to question the action of the girls, and even to accuse their officials of dragging the girls out on strike. This type of person is beneath contempt. He is the person who would accept a 1d tip for opening the motor car door for the kalsomined dowager who owns the pug which we have already mentioned.

The press, ever on the side of the dividends, shouts, "Put the boot into 'em!" "Don't give 'em a chance to live!" "Down with their self-respect!" But of course, when the man with the big nose gives the order, the yelping pack snaps at the heels of the little band of heroines who are fighting for the "right to live."

Labour has its head in Russia. They cannot see, or do not want to see, the processions which daily wend their way through London streets. Brave and splendid girls that they are, insurgent and determined, they carry on their single-handed fight. Big police arrest the seven-stone girls, magistrates sentence them, but Unionism raises no protest against these enormities. If the girls lose then one can only think that London Labour ought to stop talking and get into its coffin. These girls are fighting against the system that produces the night scenes of Picadilly and Leicester Square. And Labour so far has shown by its lack of action that it is only a tame onlooker to the snarling pack, and the big-nosed gentlemen with the 42½ per cent. who is hollering, "Good dogs, nip 'em in the ankles! Sool 'em, sool 'em!"

GREEN GREENOCK.

On the lower reaches of the Clyde there stands that salubrious town noted for Slums, Sugar, and Shipbuilding. You will note I have mentioned Slums. 'Tis bad form, you know, for when any of the Capitalist rags, with their bourgeoisie outlook, speak of a town, they mention always the chief exploiting industries, but never condescend to note the kennels of the exploited wage-slaves. Wouldn't it be vulgar for one exploiter to say to another of the same kidney, "I was on holiday and the slums of Timbuctoo where the wage-slaves are kenneled are horrible, don't cher know." Ahem, being under and in a system of capitalism, can you blame a humble wage-slave should he ape his masters (who are God-sent and born to rule over the common herd), and should he write of an industry wherein his lot in life is to produce profits and be thankful that his kind master gives him work in a compound where their fame consists of building Dreadnoughts and their foremen are busily engaged cutting down the piece rates. At present there is a ship under construction for the Argentine frozen meat trade, therefore listen to the tale. When the sub-contractors were approached by a number of shipwrights looking for employment on the insulation sub-contract, they were informed that there was no extra money allowed on the job; they had orders only to pay the yard rate of wages. Result—Nothing Doing. The job boycotted. No shipwright allowed to start the job. The next step was that a shipwright took his tools aboard. He was at one time a foreman, and whether he was a foreman or a common five-eighth when he came to start the job was open to question. Of course, the shipwrights in the yard kicked up a shindy, and a deputation interviewed the management. Result—No satisfaction. After a series of dinner-time meetings, at one a resolution was passed that they refuse to work on the ship until the man was removed, but they were willing to work on any other job except the ship in dispute. The shipwrights went and interviewed their foreman, he sent for the manager, and they wanted to know what the trouble was about. The dispute and

the decision of the men was communicated to them. Again nothing doing. The manager pointed out that it was not fair, it was too sudden, etc. Also, he claimed the right to send the men on to whatever ship he liked, or where he liked. We had no say in the disposition of our labour. All the shipwrights left work that afternoon, and at a meeting resolved to adhere to their resolution to get that man removed from the ship. Along comes that oracle and erstwhile revolutionary shop steward, the shipwright's technical adviser, who after hearing all about it, along with a deputation met the manager of the yard, and also saw the manager of the sub-contractor firm. The yard management pointed out that it was the decision of the Master's Federation that no extra money in future was to be paid for that class of work, i.e., they meant to cut our wages although they did not say so. Also that if only we would start work again they would do their best, communicate with the contractors about the man, etc., etc. The contractors manager agreed that the man would be taken off the job meantime, until he got further instruction from his company. The deputation laid the result of the interview before the men, and after a bit of debating, etc., it was carried by a few votes that the men return to work. The next part was that the man in question knocked about the ship for a day or two doing nothing, then he was seen removing his tool box. Again there was a meeting called last Friday. The purpose was to hear a report from the Clyde District Committee, and a recommendation from that august body of super-intellects. The recommendation was that seeing on other occasions the firm whobuilt this class of ships do the beds of the refrigerating engines, we should just on this occasion allow the man to scab to help the bosses to get their ship, etc. The district representative, who also is branch secretary, moved an amendment, just to test the feeling of the meeting, that we carry out the recommendation of the District Committee, was washed out by the previous resolution that the man be removed and kept off the ship until the dispute was settled.

So that is how things stand at present. The recommendation of our District Committee that we allow a brother carpenter to scab and blackleg and the plumbers on the job who are handling blackleg work, i.e., the pipe racks, guide stands. The plumbers aver that they won't handle any wood, yet take them to pieces to help in the running of their pipes for refrigerating purposes. I suppose that wood being a growing tree at one time, grew into position, the holes for their pipes bored, bolted on to the ship frames, all by spontaneous combustion—I don't think.

J. C. T.

MARK WELL.

Since last week we have had a terrible time. We have undergone the tortures of the damned. We have been treated like old Hiram Abif at the building of King Solomon's Temples. In addition we have been tossed in a sheet, wrapped in a sheet and laid down for dead. Attempts were made to raise us. The first slipped, the second slipped, and the third time we were lifted up by the strong grip of a lion's claw and raised on the five points of fellowship. Our further adventures will enthral you next week.

"WORKER" MAINTENANCE FUND.

Already acknowledged	£91 5 2
The Bolshie Foundry, Johnstone	0 15 8
J. Carmichael, Bridgeton	0 4 6
Collection per D. Millan	0 5 0
J. R. Clydebank	0 5 0
J. O'Hara	0 5 0
Donation per J. G. Kilmarnock	0 2 6
Donation per J. G. Kilmarnock	0 2 6
Barclay's Boiler Shop, J. G.	0 17 6
Denny Workers	1 0 0
Jolly Beggars	0 4 0

£95 6 2

Talk about civilising Ireland, why we can't even build houses.

The Implications of Communism.-I.

By J. R. CAMPBELL.

All over the country to-day we find groups of men and women, organised for the destruction of Capitalist exploitation, tending to drop the word Socialism as a description of their objective, and to adopt in its place the word Communism. The question naturally arises in one's mind, is this merely a new fashion in phraseology, or is there a more fundamental reason for this attitude? The disgruntled cynic who hangs about the fringes of the working class movement is prone to give the first explanation. He insists that the word Communism is only a masked word concealing the same lack of practicability, the same intellectual bankruptcy. The cynic has his uses, chiefly as an example of what happens to a revolutionist who takes his own little personality too seriously, but in his interpretation of Communism the cynic is clearly in the wrong.

THE NEBULOUSNESS OF SOCIALISM.

Socialism is a word covering many conflicting theories and many fundamentally irreconcilable philosophies. There are dozens of different kinds of Socialism, and the only thing that many groups appear to have in common with each other is an intense hatred of each other's philosophy. It is a word meaning different things for different people, and for a man to proclaim himself a Socialist conveys no idea of that man's social creed to our mind until he tells us what kind of a Socialist he is. The Communists, on the other hand, are in general agreement on fundamentals, and a person's statement that he is a Communist ought to an enlightened person convey a very definite idea of his social creed.

THE TWO OUTLOOKS.

There are two different ways of looking at society, and according to the way we look at it our social philosophy will be affected. We can look at society that is the organised system of social relationships in two different ways. There is the working class way and there is the boss class way. The Communist understands both ways thoroughly, for every worker in his uneducated, class unconscious stage looks at things from the boss class point of view, and almost every Communist has passed through that stage in the course of his development. The boss class outlook is still the dominant outlook in society. It influences not only those who are on the side of the employing class of the country in an open fashion, but its influence is still tremendously powerful in the Labour and Socialist movement. Indeed a powerful element in the Labour movement, while talking of its determined hostility to Capitalism, still persists in regarding the world through the spectacles of Capitalist prejudice.

THE CAPITALIST VIEW OF SOCIETY.

The Capitalist philosophy looks upon society as being composed of persons with more or less equal rights and duties. There persons are from this point of view open to be convinced of the value of new social arrangements through an appeal to their reason and their moral sense. Social change is supposed to result from a change in rational and moral ideas. The new ideas are supposed to germinate amongst a small intellectually alert minority first.

The great majority of the people, bound with the chains of custom, are supposed to be sceptical of the value of the new ideas. They may even persecute them. The minority, however, persist, and gradually the unthinking mass is converted, the old institutions are scrapped or modified, and the irresistible power of the new idea finally leads up to a social transformation.

THE APPEAL TO THE COMMUNITY.

The Capitalist Socialism that accepts this view of social evolution is led to appeal to the general community rather than to a specific class. To it Socialism is not so much the objective of the working class in its fight for freedom as the end towards which the whole community is drifting. This type of Socialism, and it is still the dominant type in Britain, scorns the working class

appeal as being base and sordid, and appeals to the sentiments of all "reasonable" men. As the only thing that the whole of the people in modern society have in common is that they are consumers in varying degrees of industrial and agricultural products, this school of Socialism appealing to the community has got to show that Socialism would bring advantages to the consumer. It identifies nationalisation under the Capitalist state as being Socialism, and proceeds to prove that nationalisation of mines means cheap coal, nationalisation of railways tends to reduce fares, etc., etc. The status of the worker in industry does not occupy the attention of the protagonists of this school of Socialism over much, nor does the questions of how the boss class is to be overcome. The chief support of this school of Socialism is the little middle class man, with a fixed income, who is prone to look at things from the point of view of the consumer. He generally supplies the leadership to such parties, whose rank and file were mainly middle class muddleheads and aristocrats of labour with a lower middle class outlook.

THE WORKING CLASS POINT OF VIEW.

The working class point of view is very different from that outlined above. Society to the thinking man who looks beneath the surface is not an association of equal persons, but a body torn with the struggles of contending classes. The relative power of those warring classes is not merely a question of numbers. It is a fact frequently met with in social struggles that a numerically insignificant class may dominate other classes in virtue of their superior power. That superior power is compounded of many factors. It includes economic power and the greater solidarity, class consciousness, and national organisation springing from this economic power. This struggle between the contending classes is the dominant fact in society. It colours all social activity. Due to its influence the press, the schools, and the churches are so many instruments in the hands of the dominant social classes. The struggle for great ideals which has changed society according to the previous school of Socialist thought is explained by the fact that those ideals were but the spiritualised expression of the economic interests of the contending classes. Support or opposition was given to these ideals according as to whether they advanced, retarded, or consolidated the underlying material interests of the struggling class groups. Behind the war of ideas, emphasised as a factor of social change by our middle class Socialists, lies the war of the classes, which gives rise to the war of ideals.

THE CONFLICTING TACTICS.

It is obvious that those two philosophies of social development are in complete opposition to each other, and the tactics arising out of them are bound to be different also. There is sometimes, of course, a disharmony between an individual's philosophy and his practice. You get men who refuse to accept the class struggle in theory and yet fight it in practice, and men who accept it in theory and run away from it in practice. A good example of the first type was the late Keir Hardie, of the second Karl Kautsky.

But broadly speaking the two divergent philosophies gives rise to different tactics. The first leads to an acceptance of bourgeois political institutions as being final, and to the pursuit of every bourgeois will-of-the-wisp, while the second leads directly to Communism.

THE STATE.

The divergence may be noted in the differing attitude of the two schools toward the state. The bourgeois Socialists, as we will call the first school, regard the state as being an impartial body, whose function is to regulate the life processes of society with regard to the general welfare. This is purely a subjective point of view. It cannot be justified with reference to the origin of the state or the function that the state has performed throughout history. It merely results

from certain bourgeois elements being driven to camouflage the real nature of the state. They assume that the state should be above the classes, holding the balance equally, and then conclude that their wishes correspond with reality.

The working class Communists, on the other hand, hold that the idea of the non-class state is an absurdity. They insist that the state was born of the class divisions in society. That when society split up into antagonistic classes the state was gradually built up by the economically dominant class as a weapon for holding down the other classes. It has maintained this class character throughout the ages. It betrays this character to-day. It has always been the organ of a class and always will be. There cannot be a state which is an impartial body standing between the workers and the bosses. The state must either be a boss class state or a working class state. It must either suppress the toiling masses, or it must suppress the exploiters. It is the product of class society, the tool of the ruling class in that society. As we approach towards a non-class society, the necessity for the state will disappear and the state will gradually wither away.

The bourgeois Socialist view leads to attempts being made to capture the state through the medium of Parliament, in order to use the state as an instrument of social transformation. The Communist view is that working class organisations should be developed to such an extent that in a period of social crisis the workers will be able to smash the state machine of the Capitalist class, and set up in its place a working class state for the purpose of holding down the exploiters until the economic structure of a non-class society has been developed.



GLASGOW AND DISTRICT MAY-DAY
ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

COMMITTEE.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

A Special Meeting of Delegates will be held on Saturday, 11th September, 1920, at 3 p.m., in the Hall, 9 Watson Street, near Glasgow Cross. All Delegates are requested to be present, as there is business of vital importance—Finance.

Those Societies which have not yet forwarded their Affiliation Fees might do so at once, as Finance is urgently required.

Full information can be had from the Secretary, JOHN M'DOUGALL, 239 Crookston Street, Glasgow, S.S.



INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

I believe in a unified working class movement and the sound policy of mass action.

I stand for SOLIDARITY and VICTORY.

I head straight for the industrial commonwealth, with its life-sustaining industries socially owned, operated, and regulated under conditions determined by all concerned.

I am class conscious; my arms encircle the earth; I embrace all WAGE EARNERS; I make an injury to one the concern of all.

I believe Capital, being the product of collective Labour, has no rights beyond the one right of serving humanity.

I have no faith in arbitration; its degrading purpose of finding out how little we can exist on and "awarding" us accordingly is an insult to Labour.

I know unemployment as a brutal absurdity of Capitalism; men and women are rendered idle and forced to starve as a result of producing abundance; full markets means empty stomachs.

I believe in the organisation of Labour; not by Crafts, BUT BY INDUSTRIES. I stand for the one single organisation, the ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION.



NOTICE.

Meeting in "Worker" Office on Thursday first.
Business:

- 1.—Delegates' Report re Council of Action.
- 2.—Consideration of Industrial Crisis.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN

BRANCH NOTES.

PARTICK.—Branch met in the Young Scot's Institute, 22 Maxwell Street, Partick, on Thursday, 4th Sept. Four new members were enrolled. The Partick members are getting down to it, and intend letting the people of Partick know that the rebels in the West are very much alive. Financial report was submitted and considered satisfactory. Any ex-service men or dependents in the district who have any difficulty with their pension or allowance are advised to get in touch with the Claims Secy., Comrade D. Docherty, 80 Anderson St., Partick. Outdoor meeting will be held at foot of Dowanhill St. on Wednesday night at 8 p.m. Roll up, Boys, there is room for you all.

CLYDEBANK.—Outdoor meeting held at foot of Kilbowie Rd. on Wednesday night. Speakers, Comrades Wrattin and Cox. Comrade Wrattin's remarks seemed to be too strong for a section of ex-service men in the audience. Interjections such as "what do you know about ex-service men?" and "you are only a boy," etc., were hurled at Comrade Wrattin, but Comrade Wrattin was able for them all, with the result that an attempt was made to rush the platform, but the attempt ended in failure, and he speaker was allowed to finish in peace. Comrade Cox next made the attempt to speak, but like the first speaker he also met with opposition, but we overcame it all. Questions were asked and answered, but of all the nonsensical questions ever asked Clydebank is unequalled. Branch meeting was held on Thursday night, attendance fair. Some of the members who have been absent for some time are now rolling up again, and the prospects for Clydebank are rosy. Goodness knows, a strong progressive branch is needed in Clydebank, if only for the purpose of inculcating some sense into the idiots that frequent the foot of Kilbowie Rd. Comrade Hughes, who has been acting as Secy. for some time, has been compelled to resign owing to his inability to attend the meetings regularly. Comrade Mrs. Hemphill, 12 First Terrace, Clydebank, is the new Secy.

SOUTH SIDE.—Weekly propaganda meeting held at Gorbals Cross. Comrade Henderson chaired. Rousing addresses were delivered by Comrades Wrattin and McGregor, who pointed out the necessity of ex-service men linking up with the class to which they belong, namely, the working class, if they ever hope to achieve that which they were supposed to have fought for. Of course we had the usual patriotic interrupters from the adjoining model, carrying the usual load of 43-u.p. He was tolerated as long as he confined his frothings to the Rent Act, but when he remarked that King George (I suppose he meant Geo. Wettin, alias Geo. Windsor) was a better man than Jim Connolly, some of the boys from across the channel promptly fired him out. "Workers" were sold out and the collection was good. Outdoor meetings will be held every Friday night at Gorbals Cross until further notice. Next branch meeting will be held on Friday, 10th Sept., in the National Halls. Join up, Boys, and be in at the death. The boss class is shaking. One more good united big push and the whole gang of liars, hypocrites, and baby killers goes under.

MILNGAVIE.—Readers will be wondering how Milngavie is doing, seeing that no report has appeared for some time. Well, they are not so bad. The summer has been quiet, and it was hard to get the members together. They have been making headway, however, and are just about coming into their own. One of the members has been conducting a new system of propaganda. He has organised a Sunday Afternoon Debating Society, where all sorts of matters are discussed, but principally matters relating to the emancipation of the workers. Over 40 young men attend, and all are agreed that the only remedy for the existing trouble is the complete overthrow of the present system and the institution of a Republic on the Communist principle by workers' councils. Only a few weeks ago these self-same young men marshalled in fours for the purpose of smashing up our meetings, but instead of smashing up the meeting they stayed and listened, and marched back to town singing the Red Flag and the International. The rebels are doing their best to form a solidarity of the tenants for the coming rent strike, but, realising that it is as easy to organise for the complete removal of the screw as it is to kick against a turn, we have hopes of a more solid organisation for the entire working class.

EDINBURGH.—There is not much to report from Edinburgh, as about half of the members

are in hospital. A very successful meeting was held at Mound on Sunday night. Comrade Graham, an ex-service man, was the speaker, and a very successful meeting was held. The following correspondence has passed between the Secy. of the National Union branch and the Secy. of the International Union in Edinburgh:—

Comrade.—At our branch meeting this afternoon our meeting with your Union was discussed. The members were of the opinion that no useful purpose would be served by a Joint Committee, therefore they decided not to go any further in the matter.—Yours fraternally, Jas. Morton, Secy.

National Union letter crossed in post.

Comrade.—I am instructed on behalf of the above Union to inform you that, although both Unions are striving for the same object—"overthrow of Capitalism"—we seem, however, to absolutely differ as regards tactics. Therefore as a branch we think it is not to the advantage of either Union to proceed further meantime, but what could be done is that all branches of both Unions should bring pressure to bear on their respective Executive Councils to give this matter of fusion their serious attention, and very probably at least no harm would be done if both parties put the cause first. We feel quite confident that it would bring about amalgamation of both Unions. Wishing our comrades of the International every success in the cause, fraternally yours, M. Carlin, Secy.

WEST LONDON.—Comrade Jones, our organiser in West London, reports that the Union is progressing in his district. Shepherd's Bush Branch is going strong. Arrangements are being made to open up branches at Chiswick and Fulham. Want of premises is preventing progress in N. Kensington. One of our members named Comrade Turner has been arrested. This is the second arrest that has taken place, and the police threaten to make more if the I.U. do not cease their activities. I understand they even go as far as to threaten the officials in Glasgow, but that is not official; whether it is true or not is not worrying us. The following is an excerpt of Comrade Turner's trial as reported by Comrade Jones. The case was tried at Acton Court. Comrade Jones was the last witness, and on being called immediately stepped into the witness box. Comrade Jones refused to swear on the Bible, and was allowed to affirm. Cross-examined Comrade Turner asked—Were you at the meeting at Market Square, Acton, on 16th Aug.? Comrade Jones—Yes, I acted as chairman. Q.—Did you hear me state that if I met Lloyd George and Winston Churchill in the street I would murder them? A.—No; I have heard you say that if Lloyd George and Churchill caused another war they in your opinion would be murderers. Q.—Have you ever heard me say that we had revolvers, ammunition, and bombs, and all we were short of was artillery. A.—No; I have heard you say that the ex-service men have fought for the country, and now that they have come back they could not find work, and as a result of that they were starving, and many of them you expect had bombs, etc., and would not hesitate to use them if the Government forced them to do so.

The Prosecuting Council—You were at the meeting at Market Square, Acton, when these statements were made? Jones—I was at the place on the 16th Aug. when they were supposed to have been made. P.C.—You were chairman? Jones—Yes. P.C.—Were you at one time a member of the N.F.D.D.S.S.? Jones—Yes, I was a member and a full time organiser, and I was expelled in consequence of telling the truth and working along the lines of direct action. I realise that the only effective weapon the workers have of using against the Government and Capitalism is direct action. I realise that the ex-service men have fought for justice, and that nothing which constitutes an approach to justice was to be obtained otherwise than by direct action. P.C.—We don't want a speech. Jones—You asked me a question and I am replying. P.C.—Did you state outside Marlborough Police Court, when a Socialist was being tried for insulting language, that if he were convicted you would reduce the Police Court to ashes. Jones—No, I did not state that, but— P.C.—Alright. Further, did you state— Jones—What do you mean by further? Do you mean I have admitted the last statement, or are you trying to twist the truth into a lie?— P.C.—Do you believe in the policy of the International Union, that is to abolish Capitalism? Jones—Yes; I cannot see how the misery, wars, poverty,

and degradation can be either temporary or permanently abolished without aiming a blow at the root of the evil, that is at the basis of society as it is at present constituted. P.C.—No speech. Comrade Turner then addressed the Bench, and spoke about his military career, and showed them the difference between what he thought he was fighting for in France and what he really did fight for. The Magistrate then summed up, with a lot of soft soap. Said he was anxious to do anything for the ex-service men, and so was every one. He bound Comrade Turner over to keep the peace for 12 months, and find two sureties of £50. During that time he is not to take the platform. Comrade Turner is not going to comply.

"What is to be done," by one of our young rebels.—Fellow workers, we live in a very exciting time. Between Russia recovering and chasing the Poles, Irishmen on hunger strike and murdering one another in Belfast over Billy and Dan, the miners coming out on strike, Capitalism in a hell of a stew, now let us analyse the position. Russia gave Capitalism the order of the boot, and Capitalism is making the reply by the argument of physical force. See the bloody mess they are making of it! Deniken, Koltchak, Wrangel, and Yudenich have all been battered to blazes by the Red Army. Why? Because the workers are solid behind the army. Because the Russians are fighting for their country, and the white force are only hired assassins. Ireland is fighting for independence, and Britain, the mighty empire on which the sun never sets (because we can't be trusted in the dark), turns round and says nothing doing. Imagine after you ex-service men or ex-fools went out to free poor little Belgium from the terrible Hun. They also promised you a new world. I don't know about the new one, but they have made a bloody mess of the old one. Now, ex-service men, you have still to fight for the "new world." Line up with the miners and give Capitalism the biggest ever it got, and do not let it recover. Kick it all the harder. Get out of the Kamerads and the Federation. Join the International Union that is out to abolish Capitalism and establish a workers' Republic.

All communications to be addressed to the Nat. Secy., 91 Bishop Street, Anderston, Glasgow.

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WEEK'S MISSION by W. GEE.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
(Paisley Branch).

Sunday, 12th September, at Abbey Gates, at 7 p.m.

Monday, 13th September, at Abbey Gates, at 7 p.m.

Tuesday, 14th September, Head of New Street, at 7 p.m.

Wednesday, 15th Sept., at Abbey Gates, at 7 p.m.

Thursday, 16th Sept., at Abbey Gates, at 7 p.m.

Friday, 17th Sept., at Abbey Gates, at 7 p.m.

Come and hear the Socialist Dreadnought.

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