

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

ORGANISE

THE WORKER

EDUCATE

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A Question for Miners and Others

By M. BRIDGES ADAMS.

In a leading article in the "Herald" of 7th February, under the head of "Retiring Ministers," the position of Mr G. Barnes and Mr G. H. Roberts is dealt with.

It states that "the fight between Labour and the Coalition has not been a superficial one concerned with the mere pretence of party politics; it has been about the fundamentals of national life, and Mr Barnes and Mr Roberts . . . have ranged themselves unhesitatingly and consistently on the wrong side. . . That politically they have finished with Labour and Labour has finished with them is a matter of their own deliberate choice.

So much for the policy of Mr George Lansbury's paper on the position of Mr George Barnes and Mr Roberts.

Now, readers of the "Worker" may remember that in an article in the issue for 7th January of the "Worker" entitled "Education and the Youth of the Red International" I referred to a "Labour and Religion International Committee in connection with the Labour department of the League of Nations. The British section of this committee consists of Mr George Barnes, Mr George Lansbury, Bishop Gore, Mr Frank Hodges, and Mr Wm. Adamson.

I ask myself how Mr George Lansbury can be associated in a "Labour and Religion" International Committee with a man with whom British Labour has "politically finished."

Perhaps some of your readers may be able to help in solving this question. Some of the Scottish and other miners, too, may be able to throw light on what precisely are the activities of the "Labour and Religion" Committee, of which two such prominent miners' leaders as Mr Frank Hodges and Mr Wm. Adamson, M.P., are members.

The presence of Mr Frank Hodges on this committee interests me greatly. I first made his acquaintance at Oxford in the early days of the Ruskin College "strike" in 1909. He was one of the most ardent of the "strikers," strong in his support of the movement for "independence" in working class education, of which the Central

Labour College was an expression, as against the "co-partnership" of the clerical-capitalist-imperialist and ultra-Coalitionist movement so powerful at Oxford at the time, of which an important expression is the Workers' Educational Association—a movement supported by Lords Curzon and Milner, by Mr Winston Churchill, the two Archbishops and a host of Bishops, and by, among others, such eminent "Labour Leaders"

as Mr James Seddon, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mr N. Appleton, and Miss Margaret Bondfield.

Mr Hodges was at that time, and for some years later, I think, a believer in the materialistic conception of history. It will be interesting to gather from observation of the activities of the above-mentioned committee how those views may be reconciled with the high Anglican Catholicism of Mr George Lansbury and Bishop Gore.



The Indians have purchased the ground upon which the Amritsar Massacre took place to preserve as a place of pilgrimage.

—"Daily News."

CLYDEBANK BRANCH OF THE S.L.P.

A Grand

HANDS OFF IRELAND DEMONSTRATION

will be held in the

Co-operative Hall, Hume Street, Clydebank, on Sunday, 7th March.

Speakers: SEAN M'LOUGHLIN & TOM CLARKE

Doors open 6.30. Commence at 7 prompt.

Come and assist in the fight for your emancipation. Next Sunday—Comrade Carmichael, Clyde Workers' Committee. Questions and Discussion. Admission by Silver Collection.

William Paul and Paisley Election.

[Editor's Note.—There was a time when the "fighting" S.L.P. boasted—and justly so—that its official organ was open to the working class for the free expression of opinion, provided of course that such privilege was not taken advantage of to senselessly abuse individuals. Nothing could be more temperately written than the following critique of Comrade Paul's, yet the Editor of "The Socialist" refused to insert it. This refusal in itself vindicates Paul in the position he takes up in his letter re the asphyxiating effects of sectarian officialdom.]

Derby, 31st January, 1920.

TO THE MEMBERS, S.L.P., PAISLEY BRANCH.

Dear Comrades.—To be nominated, in these critical days, by a band of determined revolutionary workers to carry their banner in the political battle-line of the class-struggle is a tribute to the integrity and courage of the selected comrade. As you, the Paisley vanguard of revolutionary Socialism, have chosen me to champion the cause of Labour in the election now taking place in your town—in direct and uncompromising opposition to all comers—I beg to thank you most sincerely for entrusting me to defend such an important battle-front, which demands both great energy and a deep sense of responsibility. But, Comrades, I am compelled to refuse the honour which your nomination confers upon me. And I would dismally fail in my duty towards your branch and the S.L.P., also towards our revolutionary comrades in the "Left Wing" of the other Socialist parties in Britain, and towards the international movement in other lands, if I did not frankly and honestly state my carefully considered reasons for not standing, on this occasion, as the Communist candidate for Paisley. By declining to accept nomination, at the present moment, please do not think that I am running away from the fight. I am firmly convinced that we of the S.L.P. have serious work of vital importance to do at once—work of even greater importance than that of setting out to smash Mr Featherstone Asquith or to expose the dangerous fallacies of the Labour Party. Our immediate task, as revolutionary Communists, is not to enter into a political guerilla war with Capitalism, or to encourage any sectional attacks upon the ruling class, so long as the revolutionary ranks are split into a series of disunited groups. Our present task is rather to hold a Council of War with all those elements willing to wage the class struggle. In other words, our sacred and imperative duty is to prepare ourselves for battle by doing everything humanly possible to organise our forces by building up a united revolutionary army. When that has been done, then we can enter the battle arena with one policy and one aim, united and disciplined, and march forward to an inevitable triumph.

No one with the slightest knowledge of the facts can deny that the whole international Labour movement is, at present, passing through a severe crisis. The war and the Russian Revolution have thrust new problems and new responsibilities upon Socialism. How is the movement in Britain responding to these new problems and responsibilities? To-day we find that the revolutionary elements are scattered, and function only as impotent groups inside the various Socialist parties. They are split up and separated, not upon serious points of principle—they are split up as a result of each group being inside a party which cannot cast aside its traditional policy, but which steadily pursues the old partisan and sectarian bigotry which ingloriously distinguished the Socialist movement in this country prior to the war. Every political party develops a prejudice in its own favour. Paradoxical though it may seem, such prejudices are necessary to an organisation, in order to get that heroic loyalty and steadfast devotion without which no party could last for twenty minutes. Thus we of the S.L.P. are particularly proud of how we stood forth, before the war, in our splendid isolation and gloriously kept the principles of revolutionary Socialism pure and unsullied dur-

ing a period of depressing compromise. We are prone to look back with pride to that period when we, alone in Britain, emphasised the industrial basis of Socialist Government. We glory in that theoretical correctness which enabled us to postulate the passing of Parliamentary Government. And we know that it was this very problem which distinguished us from every other Socialist party in the country. But the war, and the advent of Soviet Russia, has lifted the S.L.P.'s theoretical conception of industrial government from the abstract realm of theory to the concrete plane of practice. The industrial character of Socialist Government is no longer an S.L.P. question—it has become the question of the hour and the immediate problem of the world. Thanks to the Bolshevik revolution we must no longer maintain our pre-war posture of scalping all those outside our ranks. The concrete realities of human existence have changed. We of the S.L.P. must go forth again on a new pioneering expedition. We must now gather together under one banner all the revolutionary elements scattered impotently throughout the various parties, and seek to unify them into united organisation. That is the last task of the S.L.P. The historic mission of our party was to educate the masses regarding the industrial basis of future society. That mission was completed the moment the Soviet Government proved its superiority over Parliamentary democracy as a working class institution destined to emancipate labour. The new task of the S.L.P. is to assist to organise the Communist Party, which will become the recruiting machine for the British Soviet Republic. For the S.L.P. to continue to exist after its historic task has been completed will mean a lingering, withering life, and finally an inglorious end. What we must overcome are the sectarian prejudices which our party has handed down to us. What we must decide now is whether the S.L.P. is greater than the revolutionary movement itself.

Every section of the British working class movement has been modified since 1914. No Persian Revolution g& shrdlu shrdl shrdl shrdl son, and certainly no political group, has passed through the terrible war and witnessed the various phases of the Russian Revolution without undergoing some sort of transformation. Some persons, like certain political organisations, have become cynical and reactionary, but others have gone forward. This development may be clearly discerned in the Labour and Socialist movement. Certain organisations ever alive to the need of adapting their tactics to the changing concrete realities of society, have moved rapidly to the revolutionary position as outlined by the Third International. But parties and organisations do not move automatically in response to the ideas which flow from the changed conditions and the social relations of the world. Political movements only keep adapting their tactics to the new conditions by the clash of wills, and struggles between individuals who compose such movements. It is in this way, through internal strife, that the revolutionary elements within the various Socialist parties are coming together under the standard of the Communist Party. And it is this very internal struggle, which is at present taking place in the Socialist movement of Germany, France, America, and Britain, that proves that some great change in the conception of revolutionary tactics and organisation is being hammered out on the anvil of criticism. In this country every active Socialist party has its internal struggle over new methods of policy. Within the I.L.P. there is a tempest raging. There we see the bona-fide proletarian section swaying deliberately to the left towards the Soviet conception and the policy of the Third International. The struggle is keen there, although the officials—always the conservative defenders of a party's traditional partisan policy—may devise methods of hiding this fact from outsiders. The result is that the defenders of the I.L.P.'s old policy are becoming increasingly intolerant in the process of fighting their members who demand a revolutionary policy. We can see how a similar internal struggle severely shook the B.S.P. over the

question of the Second versus the Third International. The B.S.P. did not pass through its crisis without losing some distinguished members—more distinguished, however, for their middle-class ideas than for their knowledge of the needs of a revolutionary organisation. We have seen also the steady and consistent development of the Workers' Socialist Federation from a suffrage organisation to one which now fearlessly proclaims itself a party of "International Communism with a Bolshevik policy." In South Wales and other parts of the country there are numberless local organisations, not affiliated to any national body, all of which are eagerly waiting to be called to a Convention from which will emerge a united Communist Party. No doubt someone may protest that several of these sections show freakish tendencies. This point may be readily admitted, but it must be borne in mind that inactive sectionalism is the parent of weird offspring. The pressure of a united Communist Party would level out local peculiarities, just as a virile policy, courageously carried out, would eliminate freakishness. Likewise on the industrial field there are large areas where vigorous and dauntless workers have transformed unofficial strike committees into determined revolutionary units, which now embrace the Communist policy as outlined over a year ago in the "Socialist." Just as the whole movement is clarifying and purging itself, as the result of internal criticism, how are we of S.L.P. meeting the grave issues which the war and Russian Revolution have raised? We, too, are at present undergoing a profound change. And here also in the S.L.P. there are two elements. We have those who desire to bury the past sectarian traditions, and who are anxious to rally all the scattered revolutionary sections into a united Communist Party in order to lift Socialism out of its theoretical debating club rut, and to place it on the path of revolutionary action. But here again as in all other Socialist parties, we meet a small unimaginative clique—the usual conservative officials—which sedulously refuses to move forward with the revolutionary needs of the masses. This group cannot forget the partisan feuds of the past, and would seem only to live in order to gloat over the sectarian differences of the present. This group not only seeks to maintain the old traditional policy of the party—which had its merits when in keeping with the old conditions—but it is also determined to set every obstacle in the way of preventing the unity of the revolutionary elements now merging towards the Communist Party. So determined is this obstructionist element in the S.L.P. to create disunity, even within our own ranks, that it is stupidly capable of descending to publicly insulting a distinguished member of the party in the "Socialist." Criticism is the health tonic of every revolutionary party. But vulgar taunts against anyone's physical limitations are cruel and vindictive, and do not serve any useful purpose in our movement. To charge anyone with being prematurely senile, and to deduce this from a mentally incoherent argument, may, to some people, be permissible, but it is certainly scurrilous to charge a comrade with senile decay because he happens to be bald! I draw attention to this even at the grave risk of being the second victim of an "Open Letter." It is regrettable that the "Socialist" should contain such criticisms. The present editor, who is my personal friend, is a comrade of sterling ability, and he need not descend to such tactics. At present the various revolutionary elements inside the different Socialist parties periodically organise unity conferences to discuss points of agreement and to examine points of difference. It is futile to show how important these conferences are to the movement in general. Nevertheless, at the last unity conference held in London on 24th January, at which matters of the utmost international importance were discussed, the S.L.P. was not officially represented and refused to send a delegate. Our National Secy. wrote to the conference and said:

"That as the result of the Referendum of our membership was adverse to the unity pro-

posals come to at the Informal Conference on June, 1918, my Executive decided not to be represented at the Conference called by you for the 24th inst."

The referendum vote on the formation of the Communist Party is now in the hands of the members. That vote shows an overwhelming majority in favour of uniting to form the Communist Party, but it rejects the idea, as everyone foresaw, that the Communist Party should discuss linking up with the Labour Party. Even had the members rejected the unity proposals, it is the duty of the S.L.P. to always send a delegate to defend and explain our party's attitude on any and every aspect of the problems at present being discussed in the revolutionary movement.

There are many other points one could take up to illustrate the general position already outlined. When the members discuss, at some future date, the stupid negligence of our officials—who by sheer incapacity have prevented us from becoming active participants in the work and policy of the Third International—they will realise what a humiliating spectacle the S.L.P. cuts in the eyes of our Russian comrades, who are sweeping the armies of Imperialism out of their Soviet country. Even an eleventh-hour desperate attempt to persuade the National Secretary to retrieve what was, in my opinion, a serious blunder ended in failure.

The same prejudiced policy is at work in the S.L.P. Press, especially in the literature dealing with Russia. One of our comrades, at great personal risk and expense, made a most adventurous journey in order to get our party in touch with the Soviet Government. He succeeded in his objective, and brought back many valuable pamphlets and important books. He was urged to try and get these published co-jointly with other Socialist parties of the left wing. But here again stupid sectarianism prevailed.

It would be futile, at this juncture, to go into many other phases of narrow-mindedness which are ruining the S.L.P. Bigotry and partisan jealousy is pursuing us like a Nemesis. The whole problem may be summed up by affirming that the S.L.P. is no longer responding to its international and revolutionary responsibilities. When we cast aside sectarian intolerance and honestly attempt to build up the Communist Party in this country, which will link up all the revolutionary elements in the land, then we will be in a position to challenge Capitalism in every field of its social activity.

It is for the reasons above stated, Comrades of the Paisley Branch, that I am unable to accept nomination to stand as your candidate in the election at present taking place in your town.—

With best wishes, yours fraternally,

WILLIAM PAUL.

SOCIALIST UNITY.

(To the Editor of "Worker.")

Dear Sir,—The timely epistle of Comrade Paul demands immediate consideration. Glasgow—a fitting place for such a gathering—being the Mecca of I.L.P. delegates to their National Conference, it is advisable that all branches respond to the call for a Socialist Convention, and instruct their representatives accordingly. Too long have schisms rent us asunder, too long have we preached against Capitalism's action towards the worker "divide and conquer" without making an earnest effort to combine our own forces. Now, in this transitory period there is a clear call for united action. Don't tarry, don't let petty jealousies, superficialities, apathy or inaction ending in stalmate prevail, but by strenuous endeavour, guided by a sympathetic attitude, feel that that consummation so much desired can be effectively brought about.—
Fraternally yours,

R. G. FOULIS.

[This refers to W. Paul's letter which appeared a fortnight ago, asking the various organisations to arrange that their Annual Conferences be held in the same city on the same date.]

IRELAND COMPLETELY PRUSSIANISED

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BRITISH WORKERS.

Comrades,—Do you know what is being done in Ireland in your name? Is it with your consent that martial law, one of the worst phases of militarism, is being instituted all over the country? Do you know that your soldiers, armed to the teeth, trench-helmeted, and accompanied by all the engines of modern warfare, are swaggering through our streets? As the professional bully, secure in his superior strength and skill, deliberately provoked his intended victim to a quarrel, thus gaining a pretext for murder, so your army is paraded through the streets of Irish towns in the hope of goading the people into some overt act that will afford your Junkers an excuse for an Irish Amritsar. Are you consciously a party to this jack-boot government?

Are you aware that the lives of Irish citizens are held in the hands of callow lieutenants, who as a result of too much wine or an attack of nerves may repeat the Phoenix Park tragedy or the Limerick murders on a wholesale scale? Is it with your consent that trial by jury is abolished in political cases, and that courts-martial have replaced even the appearance of fair and impartial trial? Are you aware that military raids are a nightly occurrence, and that men and women are dragged away from their beds in the middle of the night and spirited away to unknown parts without any trial whatsoever, either civil or military?

Do you know that Irish Trade Unionists are forced to obtain police permits in order to earn their bread?

If you know what is taking place in Ireland, it is your duty to act, and at once. If you are in ignorance of the real state of affairs here, it is your duty to enlighten yourselves. The plea of ignorance may have some justification for your indifference as to what your empire is doing in India and Egypt, but it cannot be recognised recognised regarding what is happening scarce a night's journey from the seat of your government.

British Workers, the responsibility for what is happening in Ireland, and for the terrible possibilities with which the situation is pregnant, is yours. It is your government and your army. I say your army advisedly: they are your soldiers, recruited from your class, your sons and brothers, bone of your bone, flesh of your flesh. Their arms and munitions are manufactured by you, you transport them to Ireland, and only with your aid and co-operation are they enabled to keep their heels on our necks. The Italian workers declared a ban on munitions going to the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia; can you not do as much for your Irish brothers, or at least to keep your own hands clean?

I say your government, advisedly also: because it is a government functioning with your passive, if not active consent. It is true that you suffer under the same Capitalism as we do, but you have the remedy in your own hands. Where with us the mailed fist is bare, with you it is encased in a shoddy glove; but the severity of our oppression is the measure of your enslavement. The remedy is in your own hands, I say. You are all-powerful. If you so desired—if you had the flame of liberty in your hearts and the determination of freedom in your vitals—you could sweep the Capitalist Junkers who rule you and your empire into oblivion over night. You have the strength to conquer, but we, as yet, can only resist being conquered.

While you are apparently content to turn your parliament into an adjunct of the music-hall stage while you are sapping your energies in deciding between the Tweedledee of the Coalition and the Tweedledum of the Labour Party, the four corners of your empire are dripping red blood which is watering the seeds of racial hatred, accentuating the division between nation and nation when the call of the new age is not division but the federation of free peoples.

Labour and Socialist propagandists preach against racial hatred, and call towards unity, but your apathy makes the task hard in Ireland. "Workers of the world, unite," cried Marx, and his cry has gone echoing down the years, but unity can only be accomplished between equals. While you passively agree to our suppression our unity contains the germs of its own decay. The Irish Socialist Revolutionary movement continually points to our common interests, our common burden, our common hopes. Can the Irish working class be blamed if they point to your soldiers and turn a deaf ear? International solidarity cannot be accomplished by your present attitude, a bayonet is not a soldering-iron.

The best men of our movement have given you sterling service. Connolly spent years of his life amongst you, pointing the way towards freedom. You allowed him to be foully murdered. Larkin fought your battles in every corner of Britain. Have you one word of protest against his exile?

Your Labour Party is a subject for jest in Ireland. You sent us a deputation and one of its members was a member of the government which shot Connolly, and all of them have been and are still silent on Larkin's exile. Our memories are long; is it any wonder that they are bitter? In a few days your parliament will vote on the military appropriations. Will your Labour Party oppose them, or will they vote payment for the army of occupation in Ireland? Of what use is their hypocritical sympathy to us, their acts give the lie to their words.

Take heed, British Workers, the score is mounting up. If your own wrongs will not force you to action, remember the fearful responsibility you bear, if your own chains do not gail you, remember you are condemning a million others, who feel the iron on their flesh, to wear them also.

As I write martial law is being enforced in Ireland's capital; the streets are in darkness as a protest, and out of the darkness comes the jangle of accoutrements, the tramp of armed men, the glint of bayonets. The darkness and its noises are symbolical of your government in Ireland. The moment is heavy with disaster, only the restraint of the people prevents a massacre. Take action now, rouse you, lest the ghosts of future Amritsars rise to indict you before the bar of the international proletariat in the coming day of the new civilisation.

EADMONN MACALPINE.

SOCIAL COMMITTEES.

A Central Delegate Meeting was held in the Templars Hall, 122 Ingram Street, on Saturday last, at 3.30 p.m. The meeting was well attended, delegates representing the Social Committees already set up, and comrades delegated by other bodies to attend and report back, with the object of linking up with the Social Committee in their district, or if such Committee is not already set up, to arrange about doing so.

Comrades, it is immediately and urgently necessary that Workers' Councils in the form of Social and Industrial Committees be set up in each district and workshop or factory as speedily and carefully as possible.

Meantime all Comrades are requested to carefully digest the contents of the pamphlet, "Direct Action," as therein is given a clear and concise method in setting about this work.

Comrades who pride themselves in having a full and intelligent knowledge of the class war are already engaged in a strong determined effort to see this work (the setting up of Workers' Councils) carried through.

Now, Comrades, it is not consistent with our belief that the work should be left to the few. Therefore, Comrades, get in amongst it. The fight we are engaged in is a Good Fight, a Bitter Fight, and we trust the Last Fight.



March 6, 1920.

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

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PRICES.

We have had an Armistice and a Peace, a Prime Minister's promise that the prices should go down, and a Profiteering Act, and prices to continue to rise. And, as the members of the Sub-Committee on Profiteering in Wool maliciously reported, the "only effect of the Profiteering Act in this trade has been that it has enabled the facts contained in this report to be brought to light." The official figure for the increase in the cost of living is now 130 per cent., but this is generally mistrusted both by Labour and by the middle classes, and a writer in the "Manchester Guardian" gives some figures which may be taken to represent the rise a little more accurately, at least to the housewife who has to do the purchasing, whatever the Government statistician, who has only to average figures and not to buy, may think about it.

In the three institutions of the Salford Guardians the weekly cost per head has increased by 190 per cent. between July 1914 and September 1919. These figures are of particular value, because in the first place it is cheaper to buy for members of institutions, and secondly, because their diet obviously will not contain many luxuries, and it will therefore approximate, as nearly as may be, to the "average normal consumption" beloved by statisticians. The increase, therefore, may under-represent the general increase, but it is hardly likely to over-represent it. Turning now to prices outside institutions, the first thing that we have to notice is that the greatest rise has taken place in the cheaper qualities of food, which are mostly consumed by the working class. The rise in the wholesale price of certain common articles of food is given below, and it must be remembered that the worker's wife, buying in small quantities, pays much more proportionately for she has the retailer's increased profit to pay as well.

	July, 1914.	Feb., 1920.
Sugar (cwt.)	16/10½	66/-
Flour (280 lb.)	28/6	44/3
Potatoes (cwt.)	6/4½	13/1½
Onions (case)... ..	7/9	23/9
Rice (cwt.)	20/1½	87/6
Oatmeal (240 lb.)... ..	27/1½	74/9
Tapioca (cwt.)	19/-	59/-
Currants (cwt.)	32/-	102/-

As to furniture, it is almost unobtainable at prices increased from 300 to 400 per cent., and the newly-married couple of the working-class, even if they can get a house, must expect to furnish it with orange boxes and Tate's sugar boxes at four times pre-war level.

WE DON'T ASK FOR YOUR PUBLIC OPINION; WE DO NOT ASK FOR YOUR SYMPATHY. YOU HAVE FAILED—FAILED UTTERLY TO ABOLISH POVERTY. ALL YOUR CHURCHES, ALL YOUR GOVERNMENTS, ALL YOUR INSTITUTIONS, ALL YOUR LAWS HAVE FAILED; YOU ARE AN ADMITTED FAILURE, ALL OF YOU. BUT, BY HEAVEN, WE ARE NOT GOING TO FAIL. WE ARE GOING TO ABOLISH POVERTY, AND DO IT OURSELVES, WITHOUT ASKING HELP OF AN EXCEPT OURSELVES.

—TOM MANN.

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By JOHN S. CLARKE

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

The "Labour" Government.

There have been some colossal hoaxes played across the people in the past, from the "end of the world" panic in the year 1,000 a.d. to the "League of Nations" of the 20th century, but surely never was there anything funnier in history than the description "Labour Party," under which masquerades some of the most hopelessly reactionary types possible to imagine. We are not referring to the Cadburys, Hemmerdes, Kenworthys, Moneys, etc., who have recently associated themselves with the Labour Party, although, in the event of a crisis, we know on whose side these are likely to be. The lickspittle "Labour Leader" is the thing we have in mind.

And lives there a worse specimen in the wide world than J. H. Thomas, M.P.? No, not even in America, the land of Sammy Gompers.

Quoted last week in the "Money Market Review," he stated at a conference that the executive of the N.U.R. have decided to support the Bill of the London Electric Railways, under which power is sought to revise the fares to meet increased charges:—

"This is a first recognition from the Labour side that the interests of the shareholders and of employees have something in common. Moreover, Mr J. H. Thomas, who is now one of the three men's chosen leaders appointed to share in management discussions, having 'equal powers to those of the general managers,' has been giving evidence of his sense of responsibility. Speaking at the Labour meeting, he referred to the above resolution of the men's union, and stated plainly that if new works are to be undertaken CAPITAL MUST RECEIVE A FAIR RETURN, and if Labour men generally OPOSE HIGHER RAILWAY FARES this means THAT THEY FAVOUR LOW RAILWAY WAGES. The concession from this quarter that capital must be treated fairly surely means that the labour bogey of the Home Railway market is being laid low, and that the first important step is attained towards admitting the railway companies into their fair portion of Britain's trade prosperity."

The same issue contains an article on "Bankers and Politics," in which the "Labour" Government is discussed as a possible contingency. How far the "Labour" Government is expected to make for the revolution by "opening the floodgates of anarchy," etc., will be seen from the following:—

"There is this consolation for the politically minded—that all history teaches that every time political power has descended—from the Crown to the nobles, from the nobles to the upper middle classes, and from the upper middle to the lower middle class—the strength and wealth and prosperity of the nation have steadily increased. Is there any reason to believe that history will not repeat itself if the Government descends to yet another class?"

We believe we are right in saying that "The

Statist" is popularly regarded as mainly if not exclusively the banker's organ. At least it so describes itself, and to judge by mere material consideration—to wit, the amount of bankers' advertisements it carries—there is prima facie evidence for supposing that it has the unqualified support of the banking community. In these circumstances, it is interesting to note that "The Statist" is at present unreservedly advocating the handing over of the Government of this country to the Trades Unions."

And while Haldane is coquetting with the idea, and suggestions are being thrown out that Lord Fisher might come along, we learn from last Friday's "Daily News" that Lord Riddell, as chairman at a lecture on Trade Unionism given in London by Mr E. T. Naylor, threw his influence into the scales also:—

"Paying a tribute to British Trade Union leaders, Lord Riddell said he would not fear a Labour Government."

Fear it? With the modern Trade Union leaders in charge? Pooh! We should think not. Did the lion ever fear a pack of jackals?

* * *

British Superiority.

The report has been issued giving particulars of the physical examination of British recruits by the Medical Boards during the period Nov., 1917, to Oct., 1918. It is a damning indictment of British Capitalism, and should be carefully kept by every propagandist in the movement. Lloyd George's C3 nation exists in actuality, and the cause is laid at the door of the putrid industrial conditions of this country. Nearly 2,500,000 men of military age were examined in this period with the following results. Only 36 per cent. could be regarded as up to the normal standard of health and strength for their age. More than 10 per cent. were judged as totally and permanently unfit for any form of military service. This means that only one man in three was found to be normally healthy, and that one man in ten was a physical wreck.

In commenting on the report, the "Daily News" (28/2/20) observes:—

"We learn from this mass of statistics and information that the grossest physical defects were most prevalent in industrial areas. A low standard of health, however, is not confined to the towns, and farm labourers, whose physique at 20 years of age is excellent, are middle-aged at 40, suffering from various disabilities, including rheumatism.

From all the regions dealt with there comes consistent and severe condemnation of the industrial conditions. Boys are set to work for long hours at too early an age in conditions which enfeeble their physique, and which, combined with bad housing and lack of time and opportunity for healthy recreation, produce the weedy, anaemic young men who crowd the cities, and who are 'oldmen,' if not worn out, at 40 or 45."

And this is the manhood of military age. These are the "empire-builders" of to-day—the "great people" of Mr Bonar Law. Note that the "grossest physical defects" were most prevalent in industrial areas, and think of the risks of Capital, which according to the odious J. H. Thomas "must have a fair return."

* * *

Labour's "Fair Return."

Labour's "fair return" for its services in producing the wealth of the world for non-producers

to wax healthy and fit upon is disease, maiming, and death. There are anxieties, poverty, temptations, and sorrows to be endured that the members of the idle and safe classes wot not of. During the month of January the following workers were destroyed by Capitalism:—

Railway Service	37
Mines	78
Quarries	4
Factories and Workshops	106
Docks, Wharves, etc.	20
Total, not including Seamen	248

There were also reported to the Home Office 18 cases of lead poisoning, 2 of toxic jaundice, 5 of anthrax, and 2 of ulceration—27 in all.

Does the "community" find an enemy in its midst, slaying like an angel of death its most useful members? No, it only shrieks angrily when someone is striking for a copper or two extra.

The "Hun's" Tutor.

Britain, the sanctimonious, is reputed abroad to be the most hypocritical country on earth. "Perfidious Albion" did not earn the name without reason. Her greatness is due to the Bible, said the old fat queen. Much more is it due to the piratical exploits of the barbarians our school histories call "heroes," and the slimy-tongued diplomats who have gone down to history as "statesmen." By "greatness," of course, we merely mean the acreage of the "hempire," which these thieves have at one time or another pinched from the rightful owners (for their own good of course).

Lately several representative British upholders of law and order have been shouting for a return of the cat-o-nine-tails. As a matter of fact the "cat" has never really been abolished, but in keeping with the British spirit its use has only been resorted to on occasions.

Perhaps the clamour for its more frequent application is due to a desire to copy the "frightful" methods of the cruel and unregenerate "Hun!" We copied his war methods very closely. Indeed we improved on them to a great degree. Why not copy his peace-time methods in the treatment of the criminal? Alas! sweet and saintly Britisher, you with the aureole of love floating around your brow, you with the buzz that burns with pity for the poor Indian—we mean Armenian, and the eyes that weep for the sorrows of Ireland—or is it Montenegro?—behold in the "Daily News" (28/2/20):—

"The passion for flogging has become an export, and presiding officers of British courts in occupied Germany, on account of the increase in juvenile pilfering, have introduced the 'birch.' It is interesting to hear that it is a form of punishment hitherto unknown in Germany, and the Cologne 'Tageblatt' reported the first of these cases under the caption, 'Britannia Docet' (Britain teaches). If the practice takes root it will be an interesting relic of our occupation."

Another "Fair Return."

Since the Profiteering Act (it ought to be called the Bunkum Bill) was passed, less than £900 has been grabbed from the "profiteers" by the tribunals and handed back to the police. Most of the cases were ridiculous—shopkeepers tried most seriously by the Tribunal Committee for charging twopence instead of three halfpence for some paltry article like a bottle of gum. The Imperial Tobacco Co. and the Coats' Thread Combine didn't apparently exist "in the meaning of the act." Mr F. W. Cook, at the Drapers' Chamber of Trade during the annual conference last week, gave a list of firms who had made prodigious profits in 1919. Here are a few of them:—

	1913.	1919.
	£	£
Bradbury, Greatorex & Co.	30,360	79,182
Crookers, Ltd.	3,722	59,480
Faudels, Ltd.	8,361	120,122
Fore St. Warehouse Co.	25,292	73,386
Foster, Pater & Co.	14,304	74,679
Hayes, Candy & Co.	11,902	64,396
John Howell & Co., Ltd.	10,680	over 80,000
Pawsons & Leats	7,639	42,699
Jeremiah Rotherham & Co.	59,692	307,638
Rylands & Sons (half-year)	66,305	308,699
Spencer, Turner & Baldero	37,706	107,365
Vyse, Sons & Co., Ltd.	35,529	75,036
Wilkinson & Riddell, Birmingham	40,273	77,555
Alliston & Co. (LOSS)	6,408	36,766
Wm. M'Laren, Sons & Co., Glasgow	9,140	45,154
Wm. M'Laren, Sons & Co., Glasgow	9,140	45,154
J. F. & H. Roberts, Manchester ...	18,331	60,838
Lister & Co., Ltd.	151,457	286,663
Edwards & Co.	5,855	23,928
Bradford Dyers' Association	279,611	911,258
Wm. Hollins & Co.	65,985	149,715

Let us trust there will be "greater prosperity" in this country when Premier Arthur Henderson bosses the roost.

Eugene Deb's Prison Life.

The same Puriton legacy of nauseating cant inherited by Britain is shared by her sister nation, America. One might say it was "transplanted" by the psalm-snivelling heroes and heroines of the Mayflower. A week ago the Government of the U.S.A., which sanctions the lynchings, mutilations, burnings, and imprisonment of thousands of I.W.W. men, does nothing to protect the blacks and banishes the Russian Socialists from its beastly midst, actually sent a kind of ultimatum to Hungary hypocritically insisting on a mitigation of the "terror"—a terror no worse than that operating in the putrid "Land of Liberty" itself.

One of America's most illustrious citizens, Eugene Debs, illustrious quite apart from the fact that he is a Bolshevik, is still penned up in the hideous bastille of Atlanta. Mabel Dunlap Curry, writing 7th February, thus describes his treatment:—

"I wonder if the members of your organisation and other fair-minded and justice-loving citizens know anything about the real conditions under which Gene Debs is imprisoned.

An impression gained ground in the early days of his confinement that he was a privileged prisoner. Such is not the case.

While at Moundville, W. Va., prison the warden at that institution was humane and fair, and gave Mr Debs the consideration due his years and the state of his health without violating prison rules.

But he was transferred from Moundville to Atlanta, Ga., and there he has been subjected to the most rigid prison rules. Labour publications that were being received by him at Moundville and that continued to go to him to Moundville after he was transferred to Atlanta, and which were forwarded to him by the warden at Moundville, have been denied to him. In fact he is not permitted to receive any publications or any packages from the outside. He is permitted to write only one short letter a week to his wife and a copy is made of that.

On his removal to Atlanta, Mr Debs received the treatment accorded the ordinary criminal prisoner. He worked in the clothing department the full day, and was locked in a cell fourteen hours out of every twenty-four with five other prisoners.

A friend visited Mr Debs in the Atlanta prison in September, and found him in such a state of collapse that she persuaded the warden to put him into the hospital. He had lost fourteen pounds since going there, and his heart action was very bad. He insisted he is all right, because he does not wish release on account of his health or his age, but for justice's sake.

The war is over and our alien enemies are free. Why cannot the prison doors now be opened for this great idealist?

It would be an awful thing for this champion of Labour and Peace to die in that Southern bastille while we are demonstrating Democracy and Brotherhood to the world.

To anyone whose heart is not entirely calloused with greed and selfishness and the intolerance

those vices engender the situation of Eugene V. Debs is truly affecting. It is hard to understand why a man who loves humanity and who has ever gladly made personal sacrifice in relieving the suffering of the poor and afflicted—whose heart goes out in tenderest sympathy to those in distress and misfortune, should be caged up for fourteen hours each day with convicts—and particularly in the face of the fact that so many of the real enemies of humanity who are making life such a struggle for so many hundreds of thousands by preying on their economic defencelessness to amass fabulous wealth for themselves are not only at large and apparently immune from punishment, but are classed as "respectable" citizens.

Organisation Notes.

SOCIAL COMMITTEES.

The clear weather is now coming on, and the Social Committees are urged to make immediate arrangements for summer propaganda. So far only Greenock and Dundee has given us any indications of what their arrangements are. In the meantime a propaganda meeting will be held every Friday at Bath Street. Time, 8 p.m.

Greenock Social Committee has been making great strides lately, both in carrying on propaganda locally and setting up committees in other districts. A Social Committee has been formed in Port-Glasgow and its prospects are promising.

The Anderston Social Committees are plodding along cheerfully, the Anderston B.S.P. being expected to link up in the near future.

The other committees are urged to get into full swing immediately.

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES.

Dalmuir as usual leads the way as far as workshop organisation is concerned, but it will have to look to its laurels. Other plants are getting busy. There is quite a stir up Parkhead way, of which more anon. Harland & Wolff's, Lancefield Street, are getting a move on. They have been unable to form a full Plant Committee, but are not despairing. They have formed a propaganda Committee, are holding regular meetings, and are distributing the "Worker."

A strong Dock Workers' Committee has been formed, and it already busy wakening up the dockside. A foothold has been obtained in Greenock amongst the dockers, and developments are expected there.

The Dundee Committee is going steadily forward, and will shake the city of Winston shortly.

P.S.—We have just heard from Edinburgh Social Committee that they are organising the unemployed in that district, and are desirous of other districts coming into line. The matter is being discussed at a meeting of Glasgow Committees, a report of which will appear next week.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY
(Glasgow Central Branch), 50 Renfrew Street.
SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES.

An Educative Address will be delivered by
COMRADE ARCHIE HENDRY
entitled

"APPLIED SOCIALIST THOUGHT"

On Sunday, 7th March, at 7 p.m. prompt.
Door open at 6.30 p.m. Questions and Discussion.
Next Week—DR. TOM ESTERMAN.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY
(Shettleston Branch).
GREAT PUBLIC DEBATE

In Camlachie Institute on Monday 8th March,
at 7.30 p.m.

Subject of Debate—
"IS THE I.L.P. POLICY THE BEST POLICY
FOR THE WORKING CLASS."

Aff.—John M'Lure, I.L.P.
Neg.—Arthur M'Manus, S.L.P.
Chairman—Mr W. C. Reid, J.P., Glasgow Fabian
Society. Admission, 6d.

A Debate at Motherwell.

"Will Personal Liberty be More Restricted under Socialism."

The above debate was held before a crowded audience in I.L.P. Hall, Motherwell, on 23rd Feb. The debaters were Comrade J. R. Campbell (Scottish Workers' Committee) and Mr Capener (Glasgow Unionist Association). The Rev. J. E. MacIntyre ably and impartially chaired. He said he welcomed the privilege of presiding over such an interesting debate, and congratulated the I.L.P. on their hall as a meeting place for comradeship and the discussion of serious topics.

J. R. Campbell said of late years there had been an increasing desire to find out what Socialism really was, and our opponents had been awakened to the necessity of making a case out against Socialism. There were two ideals as to how industry should be governed. One held that industry should be the private possession of a small group of monopolists, run for their profit; the other declared that the wealth produced by industry was the product of co-operative labour, and as such ought to be collectively owned and administered for social needs. (Cheers.) He hoped his opponent had no preconceived ideas of what Socialism was. The Socialist movement was constantly learning by experience, and the Socialism of to-day had changed just as industrial equipment, art, and science had changed from what they were, 25 or 50 years ago. He was not going to debate the Utopian Socialism of Owen or the Collectivism of the Fabian Society. His opponent was challenged to debate Socialism as put into operation in the Soviet system of Russia. (Loud cheers.) Socialism no longer involved ownership by the existing government; it involved complete destruction of the existing state and the creation of a new working-class state with an entirely different form of administrative machinery. The average man, being timid, was frightened by the bogies created by Socialism's opponents. There was no such thing as absolute liberty; the liberty of the individual was curtailed out of regard for the welfare of the social group to which he belonged. Liberty had two sides, negative and positive. The negative side is that man shall be free to use all his faculties so long as he does not interfere with the liberty of others; the positive aspect was that man should have the opportunity of using his faculties. The first was to a large extent guaranteed by the Capitalist state, but the last was denied him. (Loud cheers.) You are free to become millionaires if you like, but in actuality thousands were walking the streets in idleness. This negative liberty was of no value to the working class. Liberty should mean that each individual should be given the opportunity of full development, physically and mentally. According to the late Lord Rhondda, 7,000 working-class children die unnecessarily every week through poverty. Sir Charles Dykes before the Commission on physical training in Scotland stated that the average child of the worker was 1½ inches shorter and 16 lbs. lighter than a similar child of the middle class. According to Sir George Newman, inspector of English schools, 600,000 children attending those schools were undernourished, and could not derive full benefit of education. (Shame!) The Capitalist state denies to a large section even the right of becoming physically healthy individuals. All should have access to the great heritage of art, science, and literature by being given a chance of mental development. (Cheers.) Just as the worker's child is beginning to form its mind, it is seized upon, taken from school, dumped into an industrial compound, and, after working 7 or 8 hours per day, it is too tired mentally to pursue its education any further. Why should there be poverty with all the resources of civilisation at hand, abundance of fertile land, labour, and tools? The only liberty the worker had was to sell himself into wage slavery with the employing class. (Cheers.) He will starve if he does not get work, and he can't get access to the means of work except by permission of those who own the land and industry. He cannot fill his stomach unless he sells his liberty. We were told that under Socialism we would be dominated by a bureaucracy. But at the present

moment we were under the thumb of officials known as gaffers, under-managers, work-managers, etc., who are there to squeeze the last ounce of profit out of labour. (Cheers.) Socialism means collective ownership and control of industry by the producers, hand and brain. (Cheers.) This is no narrowing but an enlargement of liberty. It gives a voice in the control of industry and a share in industrial government to the worker. The officials are elected by him as his representatives, and work in the general interest. They would be in constant touch with local and national governing bodies. Science would be harnessed in the production of wealth, so that all would have plenty and the children at last be permitted to have equal opportunities of education. By organising industry, by compelling all capable of producing to contribute their share, by sweeping away the thousands of socially unnecessary employments, we would be able to reduce hours of work. If my friend does not believe in industrial democracy, by what means does he justify political democracy? Even here the mass of people cannot be said to govern the country. You have no control over your M.P.'s once elected—(loud cheers)—and they have no control over legislation which is determined by a small body of men called a cabinet. They say what legislation shall and shall not be discussed. The political parties subsist on secret party funds subscribed by big financial interests in order to control the cabinet. These big money-lords do not wait for a general election; if their interests are threatened they promptly apply the necessary pressure. Corruption makes democratic government impossible. Socialism offered instead of wage slavery, control over land and industry, equality of opportunity, the greatest scope for individuality. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr Capener in reply said he came as a friend of the working class, and if Socialism were the best means of abolishing poverty and offered greater liberty, by all means adopt it. (Cheers.) If not they as progressives wanted something they could really understand. We had come into a new era, out of a gigantic war. If there was as much misery and poverty as existed before the war, then the sacrifice of our dead had been in vain, and our victory was a great defeat.

The time had arrived for a proper understanding between employer and employed. The worker should have a rightful share in the profit of industry. If the women were not assured the necessities of life, they would not encourage children into the world. The Empire's duty was to see that Mr Lloyd George and Mr Bonar Law did more for the worker than they had done in the past. (Interruptions.) Nobody in the Socialist movement has an administrative policy. Sidney Webb says in "Socialism True and False" that men and women of the Socialist Party should deliberately set themselves by serious study to draw up application of Socialist principles to the actual problems of modern life. He was appalled to see how little had yet been done to settle question of democratic administration. Spargo was also quoted to show that Socialists were in the dark as regards economic organisation, methods of production and management. Even their teachers cannot tell you how the regime of fraternity and equity is to be worked.

What will take place? First of all officials will have to be elected; governing authorities, councils, and district committees. Under Socialism all would be workers, there would be no idlers or loafers. (Hear, hear.) How are you to know the idlers? There is only one way. Every man would have to be registered in his workshop so that if he didn't turn out in the morning officials would know where to find him. (Ironical laughter.) You could not go from Motherwell to Glasgow without having official sanction. Socialism tells you, you will have equality of opportunity. If there is a surplus of engineers, say, engineers would be told to go to other jobs; there would be no use for them as engineers. That is not equal opportunity. The workers will be the servants of the community; there must be strict discipline with severe punishments for infringe-

ment. There would be no volunteers for the worst work, so compulsory labour would be introduced as Lenin had done. You would have to do what the State official tells you. National Service had given us an example.

Men like Robert Owen spent hundreds of thousands in experiments. William Laing had started a colony in Paraguay, which turned out an abject failure because of human nature. Men would not do work appointed for them by Laing, and so discontent arose. Socialism painted beautiful pictures, but it was one thing to promise and another thing to fulfil. He hoped he had proved conclusively that Socialism would not give liberty in workshop nor equal opportunity. It would regulate your whole life, and you would not be allowed to worship God in your own way. (Dissent.) The Socialist Sunday School never mentioned God in their ten commandments or catechism. They also interfered with religion of other people's children, and tried to take them from their own Sunday Schools into those of the Socialists. (Liar!) Anderson's book was quoted that people must be weened from their religion to ours, that no sane man believed in the Hebraic annals, Christ suffering on the cross for sinners is ridiculous, "Christ was crucified because he was a member of the working class." (Cheers.) Offenders of the State must be given short shrift on the nearest lamp-post. Socialists taught class hatred, the negation of brotherhood. Common brotherhood presupposes fatherhood of God. Class hatred means friction and strife. Don't allow Socialism to take your individuality from you. Only by individuality is progress and initiative gained. Under Socialism there would be equality of remuneration, so that productivity would diminish with no incentive to work harder than your mate. Would anyone, say, study hard to be a doctor if he would get no more than a man who never studied at all. (Cries of "yes.") There will be deterioration of work. It is against human nature to do more than another for the same pay. (Feeble applause.)

Comrade Campbell said his opponent had delivered a prepared speech with selected quotations, and had not replied to a single point of debate. He had quoted Socialist books written 30 years ago, and had quoted an Utopian experiment, which had been ruled out at the very start as having nothing to do with modern Socialism of the Third International. (Cheers.) Why did not he draw his illustrations from the Socialist Republic in Russia? (Cheers.)

For the first time in history religious toleration had been given in Russia; those outside the Greek Church, who had been persecuted by Czarism, were now free to worship as they chose. Bolsheviks had even permitted the Salvation Army to carry on propaganda. Men like Professor Goode and Colonel Malone assure us that churches of all denominations in Moscow are open and filled. His opponent complained that Socialists had never gone into detail as to what Socialism really meant, and then went on to describe an imaginary Socialist state. Were not the workers registered now under the Insurance Act, which facilitated boycotting? In Russia it was true every able-bodied man had to render assistance to fight famine and industrial disorganisation caused by war and blockade. He justified compulsory labour for those who were so mean as to refuse to save the country from famine, and were parasites on the labour of others. Just now unemployment meant compulsory idleness. Under Socialism you would not be exploited for private gain, but would work for yourself and the community.

A Sunday-school teacher had been telling her class of little boys about crowns of glory and heavenly rewards for good people.

"Now, tell me," she said at the close of the lesson, "who will get the biggest crown?"

There was silence for a minute or two, then a bright little chap piped out:

"Him wot's got t'biggest 'ead!"

Dundee Shipyard Boycot

Five squads of riveters employed in the Stannergate Shipyard, on being asked to accept Clyde list rates, refused to do so, and immediately got in touch with their foreman with a view to drawing up a price list suitable. Arrangements with the foreman having been completed to the men's satisfaction, the management refused the price drawn up by the foreman, informing the men that they would have to accept Clyde list rate or nothing.

The men were thus turned on to the street. Meantime the usual Trade Union procedure was adopted, but with the usual results. The men were on the street for four weeks. One of the other shipyards, having a large amount of repair work on hand, thought that the men involved might find employment there. But judge of their surprise on approaching the foreman to be informed that he had orders not to start anyone from the Stannergate Shipyard. On the foreman taking the men into his office, he read over a list of names which had been sent him.

The Shop Stewards immediately called a meeting of all boilermakers in the Port, at which it was agreed to support the men thus boycotted, and to withdraw their labour until the employers raised the boycott. Thus by the 16th February all journeymen were on the street, and on Wednesday, 18th, a mass meeting of the apprentices was addressed by Comrade Hird of Dundee Workers' Committee. The apprentices agreed to cease work in sympathy with the men boycotted. Comrade Hird again addressed the men on Thursday midday and found them determined to fight, and now that the whole Port had stopped they were confident of success.

The employers had now realised their position, and offered the men their books, but stated clearly that they would not get employment in any shipyard in the United Kingdom. By the end of the week, however, the employers had agreed to raise the boycott; they also assured the men that a special rate would be paid for work done, and further that men would be paid time rates for screwing up their jobs when men can't be found to screw up for them. Thus assured, the men returned to work.

The apprentice question was then brought to the notice of the employers. They have been flooding the yards with apprentices (cheap labour). In the Panmure Shipyard they have 23 apprentice caulkers and no journeymen employed.

It is now quite common for employers to start apprentices at the age of 20 and upwards in spite of the agreement that no apprentice be started over 19 years of age. The bosses have now assured us that in future they will adhere to said agreement.

Thus ends an unofficial dispute, which has served a very useful purpose. The local men are determined not to be bound to Clyde rivetting rates.

H. R. H.

POTTED TRIPE

By CHARLES GARBAGE.

IV.—A CRY IN THE NIGHT.

Night was falling. The sombre heavens became speckled with the starry worlds that often bespeckle the heavens when night falls. The atmosphere was murky, for rain had been falling all day, but now, alas! as if to crown all, night was falling. But we forget!

Reader, we are in the suburbs of a great city. One of the biggest cities in Britain; a cold, dark-grey metropolis on the Clyde, which, for purposes of discretion shall be nameless. All was quiet, save for the buzzing of an electric tram, the honk-honk of a motor, and the usual noises of the street. An ear-piercing, soul-searing, spine-racking cry rang out upon the rapidly falling night. A weird and somewhat prolonged howl.

A door opened and a man, jacketless, bootless, hatless, and breathless darted into the street. His eyes blazed horribly and intensely. As horribly and intensely as a ninepenny Veritas on a municipal gas bracket. Unconscious of the rain which had stopped falling, he stood as if petrified, trying to pierce the cimmerian gloom of the night, which, by the way, had now completely stopped falling also. A figure turned the corner of the street. Once more a howl rent the air, and as the newcomer advanced through the fog the jacketless watcher ejaculated with a sibilant hiss, "Tis he! 'Tis he!" (twice just like that).

Another shriek rent the air, then a shrill whistle rent the air (evidently the rent restriction act was getting ignored here), and, when the newcomer, who was making all the noise, observed the hatless figure, he sprang forward with the agility of a grivet monkey. The two met. The recognition was mutual. The man who had waited silently through the breathless minutes, clapped his hand to his hip pocket with the dexterity of a big Bill Farnum or a W. S. Hart. He withdrew it with the speed of lubricated electricity, and presented a glittering three-penny bit to the other. "Gimme a 'Citizen' or a 'Times,'" he growled, "and say, me lad, who got in for Paisley?"

The following morning the sun might have been observed struggling up the eastern horizon—day was breaking.

The Volunteers.

Boy—

Father, I've seen the volunteers
Dressed out in red and blue,
And I should like to hear you tell
What they intend to do.

Father—

Why, they are our country's soldiers, boy,
And they intend to go
To fight our country's battles
Away in Mexico!

Boy—

Our country's battles, what are they,
And what are we fighting for?
I thought that folks were shot and killed
whene'er they went to war.

Father—

Just so, my boy, those volunteers
For glory and renown,
Will shoot and kill the Mexicans
And burn their cities down.

Boy—

The Mexicans? What have they done?
I should be glad to know.
I think I never heard before
Of serving people so.

Father—

Why, they're a weak and paltry race,
And all the papers say
They owe our nation certain sums
Which they refuse to pay.

Boy—

Well, Peter Jones is owing me
A sixpence for a knife;
Some night I'll go and burn him out
And take the fellow's life.

Father—

What, take his life! What do you mean?
That would be very wrong.
You would be tried for murder, boy,
And on the gallows hung.

Boy—

Then why not hang the volunteers?
Is it more wicked, then,
To shoot and kill a single boy
Than kill a thousand men?

—J. H. L. in I.W.W. Bulletin.

"Ceil Rhodes founded Boadicea."

CORRESPONDENCE

SCOTTISH MINERS.

Fellow-Workers,

At present we are being subjected to lectures from various labour leaders (especially what the "Daily Record" would term "Sane Trade Union Leaders") on what is known as workers control. One would naturally think this condition would obtain in Trade Union affairs, but such is not the case. Therefore the following resolutions and amendments for the annual conference of Scottish Mine Workers ought to be submitted at every branch meeting, and delegates instructed how to vote when the occasion arrives.

FIRST.

That no official be allowed to retain office after being elected to Parliament.

SECOND.

Send in nominations for representatives on the National Executive, these to be members other than agents.

THIRD.

That the following additions and amendments be submitted to the Annual Conference.

NATIONAL UNION OF SCOTTISH MINE WORKERS.

Rule 3.—Add—"No full time agent be eligible." Delete—"Or re-elected at the Annual Conference." And insert—"By ballot vote in the respective districts on the system of Proportional Representation."

Rule 6.—Delete all after the word "matters."

Rule 7.—Delete all after the word "emergency," and insert "the colliery committee have power to bring their colliery out on strike when agreed to at a general meeting of the members for the first week."

Rule 9.—Add "and shall submit themselves for re-election every three years to the district that elected them. Ballot to be taken on one day only. Ballot boxes to be kept open all day, and that day recognised as a general holiday."

Rule 11.—Add: "Circulars to be issued to all branches of the Union, calling for resolutions and amendments, the constitution to be placed on the agenda, final agenda to be in Colliery Committee's hands at least two weeks previous to conference."

Once more, fellow-workers, I appeal to you to be up and doing, so that we can make our organisation a fighting force.

R. LOGAN,

Ex-Member, Mid and East Lothian
Miners' Board.

TRADE UNIONISM IN INDIA.

Trade Union organisation is making considerable progress in India. Several railwaymen's associations have been formed in different centres, and are taking up the question of improved conditions and better pay, especially on the great Indian Peninsula and Bombay-Baroda lines. The telegraphists and postal clerks also have grievances, which they are taking active steps to get ventilated.

"The Tropic of Cancer is a painful and incurable disease."

"After twice committing suicide Cowper lived till 1800, when he died a natural death."

"Finally James II. gave birth to a son, and so the people turned him off the throne."

The Story of Robert Burns By John S. Clarke

A wonderfully condensed summary of the career and work of Scotland's peasant and genius.

Splendid Propaganda—Now on Sale.

Price Threepence. 2/6 per doz. of 13.
Published by Scottish Workers' Committees.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN

EX-SERVICEMEN

Since date of Congress the organisation seems to have taken a new lease of life. Applications from different districts continue to pour in; all are being attended to. A large meeting will be held in the Co-operative Hall, Alexandria, on Tuesday, 9th March. Business, to open a branch of the International Union in the Vale. Speakers, Comrade Dr. Esterman and our Nat. Organiser. Arrangements are being made to tap the other districts.

At last the Ex-Service Men have come to some semblance of unity on definite questions. A council of the various Ex-Service Men's organisations has been organised under the title of the Glasgow and West of Scotland District Council. A large demonstration is being held in the St. Andrew's Hall on Sunday, 14th March, at 2 p.m. Full particulars will be given in our next issue. That by the way, although some organisations are in earnest in trying to unite to fight definite issues, others are not. For instance, we have one of the committee stating in the Osborne Hall on Friday, 13th February, that the informal council was a good thing for their Union. I sincerely trust that is an isolated instance, otherwise the Council is doomed to failure. We of the International Union entered this Council in good faith, with no ulterior object in view, and I am sure the majority of the organisations done the same. As far as I know there has been only one exception to the rule, but even that exception is to be regretted.

Acting on instructions received at Congress re circulars 201, 202, 203, and 204, arrangements were made for a deputation from our Union to meet the Regional Council for Scotland. Comrades Burke and Logan were in Edinburgh on Tuesday, and had an interview with the Regional Director for Scotland. The Regional Director noted our complaints, same being forwarded on to the Ministry of Pensions, and a reply will be received in due course. Our members may rest assured that we will leave no stone unturned to get these obnoxious circulars withdrawn.

I am pleased to inform our members that after a long and wearisome search we have been successful in securing permanent headquarters. Same is now in course of preparation, and will be ready for occupation by the end of the week. The address is 98 Bishop Street, Anderston.

I wish to remind Secretaries that Branch Reports must reach me not later than the Friday of each week, otherwise they will not be inserted. For some time past there has been slackness in this matter.

Government and Municipal Authorities have been recommending the private employers to deal fairly with the Ex-Service Men. Why don't they pick the mote out of their own eye first? For instance, the Parks Department of Paisley are paying the ex-heroes the magnificent salary of 48/- per week, and some of these men, I am informed, have a wife and four children to provide for. A grateful country will never forget you!

Branch Notes.

Anderston and Central.—Usual weekly meeting was held on Friday night. Business, discussion of official report from Congress. All matters were carefully gone into, and the report was adopted, with the exception of the Bristol resolution, which was left over till next meeting.

Bridgeton.—Meeting held in the I.L.P. Hall, Canning Street, on Sunday last. Owing to want of time Congress report was left over. This branch is being hard hit, and is handicapped owing to so many of their most active members being in hospital. Arrangements are being made for summer propaganda. Comrade J. Gray is Secy. pro tem., and can be seen any evening between 7 and 9 at 5 Marquis Street, Bridgeton.

South Side.—Meeting held on Monday night in the B.S.P. Rooms, 19 Morrison Street, S.S. Business, official report of Congress. The whole report was adopted, including the Clydebank and Bristol motions. Comrade J. O'Hara was elected to represent the branch on the N.E.C., and Comrade J. Armour was nominated for N.E.C. Finance Committee. The question of representation on the L.W.P.C. is a burning one, and I am afraid the "high heid yins" are going to have it well slipped across them if they don't alter their decision shortly. We don't take these things lying down in the International Union. Two new members were enrolled with the promise of many more to follow.

Maryhill.—Usual weekly meeting held in the I.L.P. Rooms, Wyndford Street, Maryhill. Congress report and balance sheet was read and adopted. A committee was appointed to secure the large hall for the purpose of holding large indoor propaganda meeting, to be held on Sunday, 4th March. The Branch Secy. was instructed to write the Nat. Secy. re supply of speakers.

Clydebank.—The demonstration held in the Co-operative Hall was a great success, the hall being crowded in every part. Kirkwood was the

first speaker, and his remarks were confined to the housing question. Dr. Esterman followed, and denied that there was any such thing as a housing question; the housing question only existed in imagination. There were plenty of houses in the west end and other such localities. Comrade Hannah next addressed the meeting on the aims and policy of the International Union. This is Clydebank's first adventure, and the success will spur them on to greater efforts.

Paisley.—Usual weekly meeting was held on Friday night. Business re summer propaganda was discussed and arrangements completed for same. A very successful outdoor meeting was held at Abbey Close on Tuesday night. Speakers, Comrades A. Cheyne, J. Gormley, and J. Cox. The branch meets every Friday night at 7.30 in the B.S.P. Rooms, Cumberland Court. Secy.'s address—R. Hall, 17 Gauze Street, Paisley.

Darvel.—Still going strong; membership increasing. Propaganda committee working like hell, going from success on to success. A large demonstration is being held on Tuesday, 9th March. Speaker, Comrade Sean M'Loughlin.

London.—Comrade Ginsburg still continues to report good progress. London headquarters are booming. The eastern branch meets every Wednesday night at 8 p.m. in Carpenter's Rest, 31 Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green. Arrangements are being made with the Editor of the "Solidarity" for the insertion of organisation notes each week. We have affiliated with the May Day Committee in London. By next week we hope to have another branch or two opened. Full particulars will be given.

Milngavie.—Everything going well. After our victory in securing hall, we are running weekly dances every Tuesday night.

The Literature Secy. wishes to inform the secretaries of the various branches that the small pamphlet is now ready, and would advise branches to get a supply at once. They can be had at a cost that will enable them to be sold at 3d each. Several branches have omitted to send on reports.

JAS. COX, Nat. Secy.

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March Programme:—7th, John M'Govern; 14th, Guy Aldred; 21st, Patrick Fitzpatrick; 28th, The Lyric Choir.

HARLAND & WOLFF'S WORKERS at Lancefield Street Works have set up a PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE, which shows real signs of consolidating the forces in that section. Workgate Meetings are being held, and the Committee meets every Sunday in the Central Halls, Bath Street, at 3.30 p.m. Other Shipyards and Factories where no Committee exists are urged to fall into line, and set up Workers' Committees. Now is the time for co-ordination.—THE PRO-

By RAYMOND LEFEBVRE.

Vice-President of the Republican Association of Ex-Servicemen.

(Special to the "Worker.")

The solution of the anti-militarist problem in France requires a great deal of tact. I do not mean to suggest that the people is not anti-militarist. In actual fact the peasantry, which was extremely conservative before the war, has returned from the trenches inspired with a lively hatred of army life. This is the slowly burning passion of the cultivators of the soil; it is a hatred which may take a longtime to flare, but the flames will lick up everything in their path if we, the class-conscious Socialists, know how to fan them, if we know how to prevent the fire from being quenched. The rural districts are now the focus of the class struggle. The primary aim of the Republican Association of Ex-Servicemen has been the conquest of the rural districts. It is true that the association sprang to life in the towns, for the demobilised industrial workers were readier and more ardent than the countrymen; but our great ambition has been to win over the country towns and the villages. We are doing this, though the movement is slow. Everything moves slowly when we are working on the land. But in this case the slowness is due rather to the scantiness of our means than to any distrust felt by the peasants. Wherever we are able to carry on propaganda we gain adherents.

It is obvious that the Frenchman, without any hatred of the German will feel an intense dread of any future war. Consequently our men are by no means averse to the idea of conferring with the ex-soldiers of Germany as to the possibility of sabotaging war. But of course the French are afraid of being taken unawares. Sympathy is unanimous for the idea of general disarmament. As yet, however, there is no widespread understanding that a universal and complete revolution is the indispensable preliminary to universal disarmament.

The Republican Association of Ex-Servicemen has to compete with societies and political parties which are liberally supplied with funds. In many instances the disabled men are attracted to these organisations by the lure of immediate gain. This explains why it is that Maurice Barres, president of the Patriots' League, a man who lacked the courage to go to the front, a man who would be hissed off the platform if he tried to address an audience of disabled ex-soldiers, can none the less act as president of an organisation containing tens of thousands of disabled men who regard Barres with contempt. Obviously, the authority of such a president is slender. It rests upon what you in Britain term, I believe, "bribery."

It is plain that if the British, the Italians, and the Germans send large numbers of delegates to the forthcoming international congress of ex-soldiers (the prospects are already excellent), the argument in favour of our propaganda will be most effective—on your side of the Channel no less than on yours.

A word in conclusion. The general staffs have detailed and precise plans for mobilisation should war again break out. In such matters nothing is left to the hazards of the moment. Well, we on our side, we anti-militarists, must have a definite plan, so that we may all march together—Germans, French, British, Austrians, Italians. There must be no breach in our ranks. If we are ready, and if the governments know that we are ready, war will be impossible. What more can we want?—Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul.

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