

National Industry in England

By WILL IRWIN in OAKLAND WORLD.

"Within a few months the mines of England will be nationalized; a short time later the railroads will also be taken over by the nation; before long the great shipping industry of England will follow."

This was the conclusion reached by Will Irwin, the war correspondent, in a lecture on "Industrial Conditions in England, France and Belgium," given last night at the People's Institute of San Francisco, at Eagles' Hall in that city. The nationalization is Lloyd George's clever counter-move, he said, to block the workers' demand for nationalization and the joint control of industry by working men and employers.

"England is the most interesting laboratory for social study in Europe," he said. "England positively is going through an amazing change. The English are dreadfully slow in imagination and they are instinctively conservative. They are not alone in the clinging to old things. But when they learn what the right thing really is, they will go further. I believe, and sacrifice more for it than any other people."

Before the war English labor and capital had got into a very vicious circle that it seemed impossible for labor to break out of. Employers had set a maximum wage, which was for most of the major trades, thirty shillings or about \$7.50 per week, and union labor did not seem to be able to alter things. Unions might succeed in getting in the piecework system, but no sooner would workers be making more than \$7.50 a week than the piece scale would be lowered. Unemployment was chronic. The unemployed averaging 10 per cent. Under these circumstances, labor's creed became "restrict output," if a man worked hard, he could produce his week's quota by Wednesday night or Thursday morning and have the rest of the week off. England had little or no social legislation for the protection of workers as had Germany. Therefore she had the restrictive output to contend with as Germany had not, and she found she was falling behind Germany in production.

"The English government saw that it could not win the war with these restrictive practices in effect, so it sought and obtained an agreement with the union Government industry boards were formed to administer hours and wages, and the unions agreed to speed up. There was no longer any unemployment, and English labor had its first season of prosperity. Wages rose, and so did the cost of living, but if anything wages rose a little faster, so that the British workman was better off than he had ever been before. Women and children went to work also, reducing the number of dependents in the worker's family. And other things happened to show English workers the light. The Australian and New Zealand continentals came up and began to put ideas into the heads of the English. The English agricultural laborers in France saw that there the workers for the most part owned their own land.

"A journeyman printer I took a drink with put the growing English idea into words. He said: 'Yes, they signed for four years to save England, and now, God, they're going to have a piece of what they saved.'"

"A great and quiet growth came to the British Labor Party. The unions themselves, previously cut up into such complex systems that it would take a day's hard study to understand the arrangement, began to simplify themselves. In 1917 came the Nottingham congress, and the famous British Labor Party program, which, in my opinion, has an equal chance with the bolshevik system of becoming the Magna Charta of Labor.

"Lloyd George is a clever politician. He saw the growing power of labor and sprang a general election instantly and formed a coalition. That election was probably as unrepresentative an election as ever was held. The men at the front were given a chance to vote—polls were set up in the trenches, but a soldier at the front feels that he is in a different world. Scarcely a fourth of the soldiers voted. Many of the labor men who had been some direct actionists and refused to vote. Lloyd George made a which-wind campaign through England. After the election the majority of the workers said in a new tone—'Bilked again!'"

"Now during the war each shop had a shop steward, through whom the government did business. Of these shop stewards, all were young, many were radical and not a few were bolshevik in tendency. The spontaneous strikes that tied up all traffic in London were called by

these shop stewards—each calling out his own men. Suddenly the strikes fell to pieces. The reason for that was that they were simply spontaneous strikes. There was no organization at all, and strikes need organization as much as an army."

"The reaction from these strikes was a rush back to the labor unions with the result that the unions grew not only bigger but much more radical. America might be surprised to know that the English union men listen to the talks given by the American labor men that go over there for that purpose, listen and then put their tongues in their cheeks and say, 'Aw, that's what Grandpa used to tell us.'"

"The climax came when the coal miners, the railroad workers and the transport workers (the men who do the loading and unloading for England's great shipping industry) formed an amalgamation. These three unions were very strong, very radical and very able. Lloyd George, who had for a leader a wonderful Scotch mystic, they threatened Lloyd George with a strike on March 15, unless by that time their industries had been nationalized and put under joint control of workers and employers. Lloyd George is as a rule a very calm little man, but I saw when he came out to a meeting with the unionists that his hands were working nervously. He over did it then to postpone the strike until March 20, and by a curious coincidence, on March 20 the Coast Guards were brought back and paraded through the city."

"But Lloyd George knew he could not beat the unions, that the best he could do was to stall them off. He knew that the workers with the most just complaint and greatest popular sympathy were the mine workers. So he launched a sudden and wide and graphic campaign of muckraking. England had never been muckraked before—and as a newspaper man I must give Lloyd George credit for doing a thorough and workmanlike job. He had men of all classes, children and millionaires, reading the newspaper accounts of the pitiful wages and terrible conditions in the mines and saying 'Shame!' and 'We must put a stop to this!' That is why we are going to have England's mines nationalized within a few months."

"Not only that, but the Whitley plan of joint control is going to be tried out in all metal trades from the making of needles to the making of battleships. This is a system like the soviet system in form if not in spirit. Each local factory is to be managed by a joint committee of workmen and representatives of the employer, and each such committee shall send delegates to larger committees and so on up to a general national committee made up equally of representatives of labor and employer, which shall have central authority."

DOCTOR GOES CRAZY; SETS FIRE TO ROOM

Tacoma, June 21.—Dr. Hugh F. McCaughey of Winona, Minn., said to be one of the best known surgeons and physicians in southern Minnesota, died here tonight in an ambulance in which he was being rushed from a local hospital to the Western Washington hospital for the insane at Shelton.

While under the influence of drugs, it is stated, Dr. McCaughey became violent in a local hotel this afternoon, setting fire to his room and then breaking the furniture and windows.

DIES IN AGONY; KICKS SHOES OFF

San Rafael, Calif., June 21.—A majority of the witnesses fainting from the horror of the scene, when Joseph Rogers and Clarence Rollins died a terribly prolonged death on the gallows at San Quentin prison Friday morning, owing to bungling mechanism. Rogers kicked so wildly his shoes flew off, as his body contorted in agony, was suspended 15 minutes before he died of strangulation. Rollins died one minute sooner.

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UNDERTAKERS

DEATHS AND FUNERALS.

Burkhardt.—The remains of Miss Ruth Burkhardt, aged 26 years, will be forwarded this afternoon from Daniels & Bilboa's funeral chapel to Salt Lake city, Utah, where interment will take place. The remains will be accompanied by her father, John Burkhardt, mother and brother.

Pascoe.—The remains of Miss Ruby Pascoe, aged 24 years, who died this morning will be moved this afternoon to the family residence, 608 West Galea street, where the funeral will take place at a time to be announced in later papers.

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FUNERAL NOTICE.

Lavelle.—The funeral of the late Thomas Lavelle, age 34 years, will take place Monday morning, at 9 o'clock at the family residence, 1116 West Copper street, proceeding to the Immaculate Conception church, where high mass will be celebrated at 9:30 o'clock. Interment in Holy Cross cemetery.

LARRY DUGGAN
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GREAT FALLS FOR MOONEY STRIKE

The following Great Falls unions have voted in favor of striking to free Thomas Mooney, the figures denoting the percentages of membership who voted to strike:

Plasterers	100%
Machinists	99%
Machinist Helpers	85%
L. B. E. Workers	65%
Cooks and Waiters	99%
Sheet Metal Workers	99%
Roller-makers	75%
B. Ry. Carmen	90%
Painters	90%
Federal Labor Union	90%
Teamsters	75%
Engineers	99%
Cooks and Waiters	99%
Electric Workers	70%
Mill and Smeelters	70%
Carpenters	75%

Plumbers, voted in favor. The carpenters and mill and smeltermen are taking their vote over again and it is felt that the strike will also carry with them.

SCHIEDEMANN

(Continued From Page One.)

majority socialists, centrists and democrats have registered approval. Reports circulated say there is a plan on foot to sign the treaty "under protest," saying at least three reservations will be made—continued opposition to turning Wilhelm over to an allied tribunal for trial, a demand for fixation of a lump sum for indemnities and a plea for the immediate admission of Germany to the league of nations.

President Ebert, who was said to have decided to stand or fall with the Schielemann cabinet, has apparently changed his attitude. He has called the party chiefs together for a secret conference, obviously for the purpose of selecting the personnel of the new ministry.

Belief prevails that Ebert will be able to hold out and probably dominate the new government. Dr. Edward David, president of the national assembly, is the most likely candidate for chancellor. Opposition toward Noske is growing.

(Special United Press Wire.)
Weimar, June 21.—German political leaders suddenly decided last night to withdraw the note to the allies, in which further concessions were demanded. No reason for this action is advanced. The situation remains confused, but from the mass of conflicting incidents, the general impression prevails that the treaty will be signed.

President Ebert has failed in his efforts to form a new cabinet, owing to his inability to obtain the support of the majority of political leaders here. The conference of political chiefs, in which an attempt to organize the ministry was made, adjourned after a long session. Adjournment was forced by refusal of the democrats to join in the new government, unless certain further concessions were made by the allies. As a result of the deadlock, Ebert immediately dispatched a note to the allies, notifying them that he was unable to form the government and making the following demands: A flat sum of \$25,000,000,000 for indemnities; withdrawal of the allies' demand for surrender of Wilhelm and immediate admission of Germany to the league of nations.

The note will be delivered to the allies at Versailles by Secretary Von Haniel of the German peace delegation. If the allies reply to the note is favorable, it is regarded as likely that the democrats will join in forming a new cabinet, favorable to acceptance of the terms. Support of the democrats will apparently make this easily accomplished. In event of an unfavorable reply, it is believed Ebert will make another effort to form a cabinet without the democrats.

SURE TO SIGN.

Basle, June 21.—"As the signing of the treaty is now absolutely certain," the Berlin Gazette said, "the contents cannot refuse to take into account the ministerial crisis and grant delay, as it is impossible to sign before the time limit expires Monday."

THEIR ONLY REFUGE.

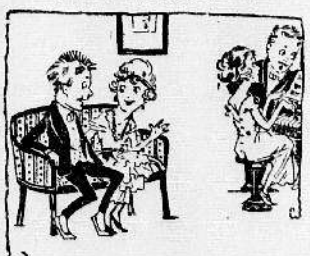
(Special United Press Wire.)
Bern, June 21.—Chairman Erzberger, of the German armistice commission, declared "Germany's only refuge now is the league of nations," according to a Weimar dispatch in the German press. The latest advice state they are now unanimously in favor of signing.

RECEIVES NOTE.

Paris, June 21.—The big four has received from Weimar the note demanding further concessions regarding the peace terms. It is expected they will answer this afternoon.

GOMPERS RE-ELECTED.

Atlantic City, June 21.—Samuel Gompers was re-elected president of the American Federation of Labor. Duncan elected first vice president, Joseph Valentine, second vice president and Frank Duffy, third vice president.



A WEATHER BEATEN BIRD
He (on sofa)—She told me it was her first year out.
She—Why, she's been out four seasons.
He—Well, I suppose she counts four seasons to the year.

America in the World Crisis

By JULIET STUART POYNTE.

The rising tide of revolution in Europe cannot leave America untouched. The collapse of the great despotism of Russia and imperial Germany has undermined the structure of international capitalism. They were the keystone of the arch of international "law and order."

Now that they have fallen the oppressed millions of Europe and Asia are stirring for the first time in history. There is an international power strong enough to keep down the lid of this boiling cauldron. But it must be kept down, says international capitalism, or we perish.

At all costs, whether of universal famine or bloodshed, a new power must be raised up mighty enough to do the work of capitalism and Kaiserism.

Revolutionary Russia is a dangerous neighbor for the starving and oppressed 300,000,000 souls of India. How long could the small British garrison of thousands stand against an awakened people with arms in their hands? Now they are permitted nothing more dangerous than a little stick, and their leaders are promptly shot or exiled for life for spreading the light among them.

And what of the imperialist last of Japan if the revolution infects China's hundreds of millions who constitute half the population of our globe? So much for the east.

In the west the menace of revolution is more serious. In undermining the governments of western Europe and especially of England it would be striking a death blow directly at the heart of international capitalism. And how long, ask the American capitalists, would we be able to hold out if socialism conquers the rest of the world and especially our staunch ally, British imperialism?

"We must go on or go under!" Thus we can imagine the Big Four declaring to each other over the table. To replace the old alliances which rested on militarist autocracy, we must form a new alliance resting on a militarist plutocracy. Call it a league of nations or what you will. It serves the purpose of organizing the remnants of the old order for the desperate and inevitable struggle with the new.

Democracies, even bourgeois democracies, have their drawbacks, however, as bulwarks of international capitalism. The progressing intelligence of the workers may enable them to seize enough political power to endanger the old order; England especially, the greatest stronghold of imperialism, is by no means an impenetrable fortress. It is quite possible that within five or ten years the views of political and industrial power will be seized by the workers.

Down tumbles the whole house of cards! Thirty millions of British workers will not care to rule over and exploit three hundred millions of their Hindu fellows. They will not be ready to police the Mediterranean and govern the near east in the interests of the British governing class.

The will not be interested to co-operate with American bankers and Japanese militarists in holding China in servitude, while her people are demoralized and her wealth plundered in the interests of foreign investors. They will not force conscription on Canada and South Africa and place themselves under military bondage as an international police force for the master capitalist. They will not be willing to starve millions of their fellow-workers of the European continent, men, women and children, in order to force them under the international capitalist yoke.

On the contrary, a British labor government set over night at almost any time would scrap the whole hideous imperialist structure, would give freedom to India and Ireland, would give food to Russia and Germany, would refuse to support the greedy pretensions of bourgeois France, would throw itself on the side of universal free trade and self-determination of nations, would assist in breaking down the wicked economic boycotts and blockades which deprive Europe of food and materials of work, would break up the Moloch of British militarism and navalism, and establish in its place the new social order so eloquently pictured in the program of the British labor party.

America would then be the last stronghold of capitalism. But capitalism is by its very nature international, and could not long survive in one country alone, no matter how benighted and reactionary.

Such is the terrible dream which haunts the troubled sleep of our American magnates, J. P. Morgan, Otto H. Kahn, John D. Rockefeller and all the lesser lights of American finance. We can understand, if we cannot sympathize with, their panic at the rapid disintegration of the structure that five years ago seemed built to endure forever. At home they find as little comfort as abroad. They coast to coast a vague rumbling is heard a stirring of the blind giant rubbing his eyes after his century sleep. Samson is ready to pull down the temple about him.

The specter of the general strike is lifting its head on the American continent, the final defiance of labor to organized society. In Seattle and Winnipeg it has met with great success. It is only a trial, only a rehearsal for "The Day" that is a successful rehearsal. More practice, more training, and even the industry of this mighty continent will be under the hands of the workers.

us replace the new urge for combination and organization with the old frontier spirit of individualism and personal competition. Let us raise every prejudice against the foreigner that can be created by an appeal to patriotism, to provincialism, to narrow, bigoted and ignorant nationalism.

The task is not difficult. Through all the world's history the most deeply rooted prejudice of the members of any social group has been that against the outside, the stranger, he who was not a member of the group. The Greeks called them barbarians because their strange speech sounded like "Bab-bab" to the Greek ear. The Athenians made slaves of them. The Romans enslaved them and cast them to the lions in the arena. Slaves in all times have been foreigners. The spirit of enslavement is the spirit that animates the cry of Americanization. It is the principle that fortified the Russification of Poland, the Prussification of Germany. These selfish and dangerous tactics are those of the Pan-Slavs, the Pan-Russians, the Pan-Germans, and the Pan-Americans.

The American labor problem is unique. It is a problem of race and nation as well as of industry. The American proletarian, the slave of machine and mine, is not only of a different social and economic class, he is of a different race, language and nationality from that of the master class. The ranks of labor from the most skilled crafts down to the most unskilled labor are composed of successive layers of differing nationality. After the native American of several generations, of whom few are found in the proletariat, come the Irish and Germans, more privileged members of the skilled crafts, the Jews of eastern Europe, who monopolize the needle trades, the Bohemians in the tobacco and other industries, the Poles, Slavs, Russians and Hungarians of the ranks of general unskilled labor in every variety of factory, production, mining and agriculture. Each group arrived handicapped by the tyranny and exploitation of the old world to take up whatever industrial burden was still left to carry. Each group was too apt to look down upon those that followed, to shrink from them and refuse solidarity with them. And at the very bottom, threatening the industrial security of all, is the negro whose tragedy it is to be the dregs of the industrial system, the waste which is used or thrown aside according to the needs of the moment.

Solidarity in such a diverse mass is difficult. The plan of the masters is to make it impossible. A false propaganda of Americanism is used to appeal to the unity and pride of the older immigrants and detach them from the newer ranks which, though weakest economically, are most threatening industrially. The false chauvinism and misceled patriotism of the war is the rallying cry for oppression and persecution.

What is the answer of labor to the false god of Pan-Americanism? Will labor allow this red herring to be drawn across its path, to mislead and delude, divide and rule? Unfortunately the tendency among the more skilled seems too much in that direction.

Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers the American Federation of Labor is making itself the tool of the worst nationalist reaction and is playing directly into the hands of those who plan to crush the workers. The ideas of Gompers are at least sixty years behind the times, or rather they date from sixty years before the war, and surely the labor movement has progressed a whole century during the war. The American labor movement is in the tragic position of being ruled by a leader, rather a despot, who is at least 160 years behind the times.

It was in 1850-60 in England that ideas similar to those of Gompers ruled the labor movement. The ideal was social peace, co-operation between capital and labor, abhorrence of revolutionary ideas, discrimination for political power, social humility and resignation. Humble, ignorant, unambitious, individualistic, with its nose to the ground, the trade unionism of that day crawled on its belly before rapidly developing capitalism.

From these similar principles spread into Germany through the agency of Schlieffen-Hellbach, and to this day a small group of narrow-minded unions, who adhere to the Gompers gospel, are lifting their voices against the powerful rallying cry of the class struggle raised by the social democratic unions. Even in France the "liberal" unions of the old-fashioned English model had their day, but long ago rallied to the gospel of socialism, no compromise with capitalist exploitation.

The labor movement of America is thus left with an anachronism on its hands. Gompers is a relic of past generations of dead hopes and disillusion, a corpse without life, spreading the virus of its own decay abroad. It is being used by the capitalist of all countries as the most powerful weapon against the rising force of labor. An American Federation of Labor mission is brought to England in an effort of Lloyd George and others to split the British labor party. A small chauvinistic group, gathered around Havelock Wilson and other apostles of Gompers, attempt to set up a small organization to oppose the militant labor party but are overwhelmingly defeated at the labor party congress. The Gompers party then travels to France and Italy with no more success. Their gospel is outmoded. The new order is developing too rapidly to be stayed by their feeble hands.

Here in America Gompers is the last hope of the capitalist junta that plans to hold out against the world. Gompers is ill. Who comes to inquire for him? The workers? The grateful spokesmen of the disinherited and oppressed? No! General Cornelius Vanderbilt of the New York Central, John D. Rockefeller of the steel trust, murderers of innocent workers and their wives and

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SATURDAY EVENING

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AT

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For Executive Board Member, Cascade District—Charles Heximer, Great Falls, Mont.

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