

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

THE WORKER

ORGANISE

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THE ORGAN OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES SCOTLAND

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EFFICIENCY.

By "Melting Pot."

We hear a hell of a lot these days about "efficiency."

Books are written about it, and descriptions of "efficiency" decorate the walls of the big industrial institutions.

"Efficiency" means to go to it when the whistle shrieks in the morning, and pound through the day like a six-cylinder gasoline engine till quittin' time.

It means to hammer out of your system every last lick of work that's in you.

It means that the boss that hires you owns you, body, soul and breeches, and needs every bit of your brain and brawn in his business.

The masters of to-day must roll the wealth in by the billions, and the producers must grind like billy-be-damned to dig it up.

That's "efficiency."

When duly loaded up with "efficiency" you won't last long, for which you ought to be thankful.

Experts on "efficiency" calculate you will peter out at about 40.

After that you are not worth your soup.

Some have suggested that you ought to be chloroformed at 50 or 60, if you still persist in hanging around.

"Efficiency" means that you must not waste any of your energy on yourself.

Your energy all belongs to the lords that let you live.

It must go into grist in their mills.

That's why the sky-pilots preach against dancing, and going to the theatre, and card playing.

These things keep you up late of nights, and you are not able to grind as hard the next day.

Neither should you smoke.

It takes your mind away from your daily toil and lowers the standard of your "efficiency."

Let the boss do the smoking.

In the fragrant perfume of his choice Havana he can dream of all the coin that pours into his pockets from your "efficiency."

You were not made to dream.

You were made to grind.

Neither should you drink wine or beer.

It gets your soul up among the clouds, and makes you for the moment forget your work.

Let the boss have his wine.

You were intended for the water-wagon.

Look at the incalculable amount of wealth you must create to keep your masters going, and cut out every pleasure and play.

You must not only keep the masters in luxury, but you must also maintain vast standing armies to hold yourself in order.

Don't stop to figure what it costs.

It would stagger your senses.

You must pay for all the palaces and pleasures, million-quid bills and banquets, dog-shows, monkey-shows, and scandals.

Also for all the bloody wars.

No time for play for you.

The world wasn't meant for you to play in.

It's a vale of tears.

You should pray to God to forgive you for being here.

You should be thankful you have big bills to pay, so that God and the masters will let you stay here at all.

You must get a hurry on yourself to meet these big bills.

That's what "efficiency" is.

Go to it.

Some day you may come out of the spell.

You may learn how to produce and work without grinding yourself to death.

Then you will have time to play.

To do this you will discover that it will be necessary to put in your own pocket the wealth you produce.

There is no other way under the sun to do it.—Industrial Solidarity, Adelaide.



MOSCOW: ST. BASIL'S (see next page).

A JOURNEY THROUGH BOLSHEVIKI LAND.

XII.—The Ghosts of Golgotha.

By JOHN S. CLARKE.

"Fear not the tyrants shall rule for ever,
Or the priests of the bloody Faith:
They stand on the brink of that mighty river
Whose waves they have tainted with death.
It is fed from the depths of a thousand dells,
Around them it foams and rages and swells,
And their swords and their sceptres I floating
see
Like wrecks in the surge of eternity."
—Shelley (Rosalind and Helen).

Moscow is as unlike Petersburg as Glasgow is unlike Edinburgh old town, or as Derby is unlike Chester. Petrograd is a city of yesterday; Moscow is hoary with antiquity. Petersburg has broad streets and spacious squares; Moscow has gigantic squares but narrow streets. Petersburg is a "planned" city; Moscow is a growth of the centuries. Petersburg is European; Moscow is Asiatic. Petersburg rises out of the waves like a damsel smiling at the morning sun, with the dew of health upon her tresses and the bloom of youth upon her cheeks; Moscow stands upon its little river like a patriarch wrapped in thought, stroking his beard with contemplations of the past and forebodings of the future disturbing his equanimity. For here Occident meets Orient. West commingles with East. Antiquity and Modernity blend, and Futurity casts its lights and shadows on the Past and Present.

In Petersburg one cannot think of the remote past. The mind dwells upon Peter, its founder; on shipyards and merchandise; on Catherine and Voltaire; on Alexanders and Nicholas's; on aristocrats and proletarians, underground propaganda, nihilists, terrorists, "yellow tickets," fortresses, strikes, riots, and revolutions. Zinovieff called it the "cradle of the Revolution." It is more than that; it is the womb wherein was conceived that which shall become the greatest and most splendid race on earth. In Moscow one does not think of these things. One thinks of the Djenghis Khan and Tamerlane; of slit-eyed Tartars and Volga hordes; of "Terrible" Ivans and ghastly torture-chambers; of miracles and saints, and "priests of bloody faith."

Moscow is another Rome in many things. It is a Granada in others. It is a Constantinople, a Jerusalem, a Dublin, and a Glasgow rolled into one. This sounds very incongruous, but Moscow is incongruous. Moscow is almost indescribable. It is seen and heard, but more so is it felt. It is a city of grisly ghosts which weave around the mind cobwebs of a hideous past, and yet it is a city of resurrection where the mind is purged and stimulated. The crescent of Mahomet glitters golden in the sunshine at every corner; the cross of Christ-rears heavenward in every street; and the Red Flag of Communism flutters victoriously over a thousand roofs. Is not that an incongruity?

Both of Russia's capitals, however widely they differ, are perfect gems set in a crown of romance, and each evokes those sensations, those charming emotions, which sensitive spirits delight to feel. There is one old grey city wall in Moscow which slopes down a declivity upon which a tree-embroidered "square" has been built. At the foot of the square stands the "Delavaye Dvor" (our hotel), and the old wall spans the off-street nearby with a lofty arch. The very fiercest fighting of November, 1917, took place at this historic corner. From top to bottom the ancient arch, and most of the adjacent buildings, are pock-marked with bullet holes. Great scars disfigure the stone-work upon which machine-gun fire was concentrated, and gaping rents appear in the wood-work. Terrific battles have taken place at this identical spot before—but the missiles of that period were the swift, feather-tipped arrows of the barbarous Mongols. Why, one might ask, should this corner be an age-long sufferer from ruthless warfare? It is what military-minded people would call, I suppose, "a strategical point." Go

through the arch and follow the street ahead of you for two hundred yards, then turn up a steep but short incline to the right, and you will land in the Krasnaya Ploshchad or Red Square. One of the most magnificent open spaces in any city in the world, it is completely bordered on the west by the picturesque walls, tall and battlemented, of the Kremlin, with the beautiful Spassky Gate at the southern end and Nicholas Gate at the northern. Along the eastern side of the square are the one-time arcades called "Riadi," while at one end stands the solid red pile of the Historical Museum and at the other the weird looking Church of St. Basil.

A group of statuary representing Minin, the Nijni cattle-dealer, urging Pojarski, the prince, to free Russia from the Poles, and surrendering his fortune for this purpose, occupies some space in front of the arcades. It is very fine sculpture, and was executed by Martop, the Russian artist.

Opposite St. Basil's a walled, circular structure with gated entrance stands. This is the Lobnoe Miesto where the Tsars of olden time issued their proclamations and made momentous promises. On



N. BUCHARIN.

this walled platform in 1547 Ivan the Terrible fearfully promised to rule mercifully and wisely. Here he led the ass which the High Priest (Patriarch) mounted every Easter, and here he manifested the wisdom and benevolence of his later years by committing the frightful atrocities that make his name abhorred. In 1565 he commenced his infamous work on this very spot by executing Prince Alexander Gorbati-Schouiski and his seventeen-year old son. On the same day two other princes, a chief officer, and a royal cup-bearer were beheaded, and the Prince Scheviref impaled and left to writhe in agony for twelve hours. Five years later, on July 25, eighteen gibbets were erected, and many instruments of torture were displayed in the square among which was a huge cauldron suspended above a roaring bonfire. What was toward? You may doubt me, reader, but you cannot well doubt the historian, Karamsin. Let him describe the doings of that day:—

"On seeing these terrific preparations the people of Moscow were convinced that their last hour was come, and that the Tsar was determined at once to make an end of his capital and its inhabitants. Beside themselves with terror, they fled and hid themselves wherever they could, abandoning in their open shops both their merchandise and their money. Soon the place was

deserted, and nothing was seen but a troop of Oprichtniks (Ivan's Guards, literally 'flenders'—J.S.C.) ranged round the gibbets and the burning pile, in profound silence. Suddenly the air resounded with the roll of drums; the Tsar appeared on horseback with his eldest son, the object of his affection. He was accompanied by the boyars, the princes, and by his guard, marching in order, followed by the condemned, to the number of more than three hundred, like spectres in appearance, wounded, torn, bleeding, scarce able to drag themselves along. Arrived at the foot of the gibbets, Ivan looked around him; and being astonished to see no spectators, he ordered his guard to assemble the inhabitants and bring them to the square. Impatient at their delay, he ran himself to summon them, calling the Muscovites to witness the spectacle he had prepared for them, and promising them pardon and safety. The citizens did not dare to disobey; they came out of the cellars, of the hiding-places where they were concealed, and, trembling with fright, hastened to the place of execution, which they filled in a few moments; even the walls and roofs were covered with spectators. Then, with a loud voice, the Tsar said to them: 'People of Moscow, you are going to witness tortures and executions; but I am punishing traitors. Answer me! does my judgment seem to you just?' At these words loud acclamations were raised on all sides: 'Long live the Tsar, our lord and master, and may his enemies perish!' Ivan then ordered eighty persons to be drawn out of the crowd, to whom, as the least guilty, he granted their lives. The secretary of the privy council, unfolding a roll of parchment, then published the names of the victims. After this he made Viskovaty advance, and read his condemnation aloud. . . . The executioners threw themselves upon him, gagged him, hung him up by his feet, and hacked him to pieces. Maluta-Skouratof, descending from his horse, was the first to cut an ear from the sufferer.

The second victim was the treasurer Founikof, the friend of Viskovaty, also accused, upon very slight foundation, of treason. They poured boiling and iced water alternately upon the body of this wretched man, who died in terrific agonies. The rest had their throats cut, were hung, or hewn to bits. The Tsar himself, on horseback, with a tranquil air, ran an old man through with his lance: in the space of four hours more than two hundred men were put to death! Finally, their horrible duties accomplished, the murderers, bathed in blood, brandishing their smoking swords, gathered in front of the Tsar, with the cry of joy: 'Hoida! hoida!'* lauding his justice. Ivan, going through the square, examined the heap of corpses; but, though surfeited of murders, he was not yet surfeited of the despair of his subjects. He desired to see the unhappy wives of Founikof and Viskovaty; he went to their houses, laughed at their tears, and put the first to torture, demanding her treasures. He wanted also to put her daughter, aged fifteen, to the torture, but upon her cries of despair, he changed his mind, and gave her to his son, the Tsarevitch Ivan. She was eventually shut up with her mother and the wife of Viskovaty in a convent, where they all three died of grief.

The inhabitants of Moscow who witnessed this terrible day did not see either Prince Viazemski or Alexis Basmanof amongst the victims. The first had died under the torture, and as to the end of the second, in spite of the atrocities we have described, it may seem incredible, but contemporaries state that Ivan forced young Feodor Basmanof to kill his father. The tyrant rested for three days, for it was absolutely necessary to bury the corpses, but on the fourth he brought out upon the square new victims, whom he put to death. Maluta-Skouratof, chief of the executioners, hewed the bodies of those who were executed in pieces with an axe, and the bleeding fragments, deprived of burial, remained for eight days exposed to the greediness of the dogs, who fought over them. The wives of the gentlemen executed, to the number of eighty, were drowned in the river."

*A cry of the Tartars, by which they excite their horses.

That was but two days' work in the long reign of one of those pestiferous objects called Monarchs, which the earth has been cursed with for at least ten thousand years. No wonder that the little structure in the Red Square is named Lobno Miesto, which means, being interpreted, "place of skulls"—same as its more famous namesake, Golgotha on Mount Calvary.

That hideous carnage was but one incident in Ivan's bloody career; it happened in 1570. One hundred and forty years later Peter, surnamed the "Great," was Tsar of Russia. He is the hero of the children's schoolbooks. The bluff, genial, simple monarch who "worked in the shipyard" like "an ordinary man," who built Petersburg, and married "a commoner." Well, the people hated him so much for his beastly cruel tyranny that all over Russia they revolted against him. Even his own bodyguard, the "Streletsi" rebelled. Did the genial, homely Peter amend? Let us read a passage from Maxwell's "Tsar, Court, and People" (page 143), and remember that this tragedy was enacted, no doubt with a view to effect, at the scene of Ivan's previous public entertainment—in the Red Square, Moscow:—"Peter hurried all the way from Holland to superintend the slaughter. Seated on a throne, he witnessed the dying agonies of two thousand Streletsi, and when tired of the rack he compelled his nobles to complete the destruction with the sword. With the wine cup in one hand, a scimitar in the other, he swallowed twenty bumpers and cut off twenty heads in a single hour, and as if proud of the achievement, invited the ambassador to try his skill. Eighty of the guilty Janissaries were subsequently held up by the hair before the crowd and decapitated by the hand of the infuriated Tsar."

Such is one episode in the life of Peter the "Great." Providence is surely to be praised for making him "great." What might not he have done had he been bereft of this apocryphal quality of "greatness." Such days have happily vanished! Have they? No, reader, they have not vanished; the stage has been transferred elsewhere. The nature of an Ivan or a Peter, with all its attributes of ferocity, bestiality, and torture lust, malignantly animates the bodies and inspires the deeds of King George the Fifth's Black-and-Tan "Opritchniks" in Ireland at this very moment.

Like Mark Twain's "nobility" in the "Yankee at the Court of King Arthur," Peter had the redeeming feature of fervent piety. When criticised for this particular "severity," as the bourgeois historian describes it, he indignantly replied: "Let malice defame me, my conscience is clear. God is my judge." That he meant it we might be sure from the following fact. In St. Isaac's at Petersburg there is an ikon of the Techven Madonna. In Peter's time an old woman attempted to extract a jewel from it with her teeth under pretence of kissing it. The historian gravely tells us that Peter "ordered her to be burned alive, for, according to his lights, he was a religious and devout man." Perhaps that's why Ivan Ivanovitch was wont to shout "God save the Tsar," in days of old, even as Donald Macdonald yells "God save the King" to-day.

Out of the shadows of antiquity, from the morning of human cupidity and avarice, two sinister figures have crawled with crooked talons through history, leaving a trail of blood and fear most horrible which has not halted yet. The Monarch and the Priest. The one is symbolical of despotic or oligarchic power, the other typifies the sordid ignorance and fearful superstition of the credulous masses which maintains the power of the first. High in the streets of Moscow, where one may see the pallid, long-haired, degenerate-looking vendors of holy lies and pious impositions shuffle along like spectres from a remoter age, there hangs a woven streamer of scarlet hue with huge white lettering, which defiantly proclaims that "Religion is the opium of the People."

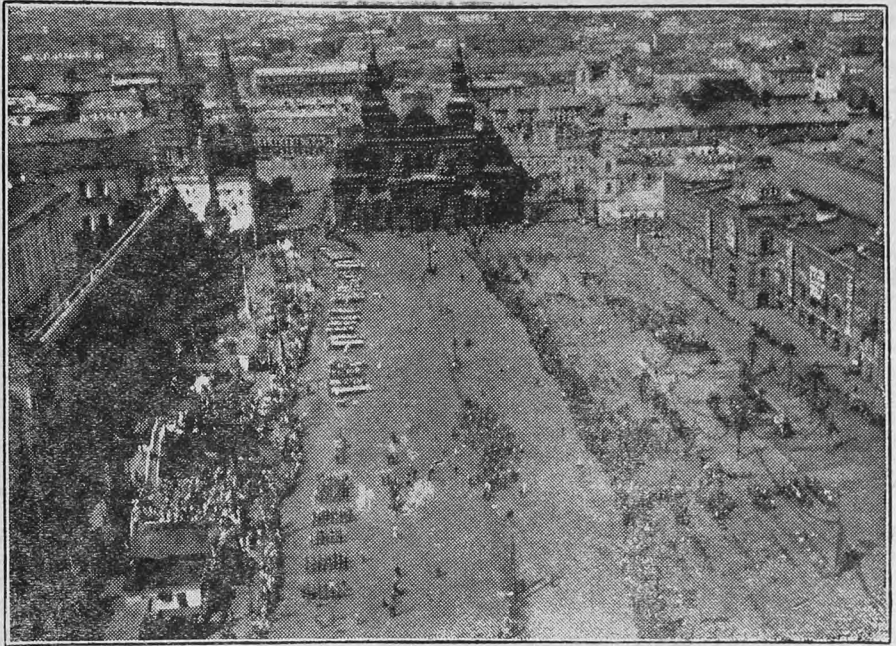
Though many still cross themselves a score of times on passing the church, yet nevertheless the people are rapidly assimilating the knowledge which elevates and enlightens, and learning to reject that which terrorises and deforms the mind. And just so sure as the last filthy tyrant, whose damnable atrocities were equal to any Ivan's though less spectacular, has been placed for ever beyond mischief, so will the last priest soon

vanish from the land once contemptuously known as "Holy Russia."

If Peter was a religious and devout specimen of the Tsarist profession, Ivan the Terrible was infinitely more so. He built scores upon scores of churches to the glory of God. One of them, as already mentioned, stands beside the "place of skulls" at the foot of the Red Square. A more bizarre and incoherent piece of architecture does not exist in Russia. It is questionable indeed if anything as curious and ugly exists on earth. Ivan had it built in 1534-84 to commemorate the fall of Kazan, an event in Russian history as important as the capture of Granada is in Spanish history, or as Waterloo is in British. Ivan watched its spiky spires and onion-like cupolas arise from a canopied seat on the Kremlin wall. Saint Basil the "Idiot,"* to whom the building is dedicated, was in all probability one of those half-mad hermits who, in medieval times, followed the calling of the early ascetics and still earlier prophets. Fletcher described them in the 16th century as "certain eremites who go stark naked, save for a clout about their middle, with their hair hanging long and wildly about their

many others. The most freakish crowd appears to have been the "Khlitovstchina" or Flagellators. In "the Russian Empire," Haxthausen describes their meeting in the following words:—

"On one day in the year the men, after their mad jumping and stamping, sink down about midnight upon benches, which are placed around, and the women fall under the benches; suddenly all the lights are extinguished, and horrible orgies commence. They call this svatni grokh—sine committed in running round together. A secretary of mine in Moscow, who had opportunities of becoming acquainted with members of the sect, described the Klisti or Klistovstchina as by no means harmless, but an extremely cruel sect. Among other things, he related that on Easter night the Skoptzi and Klisti all assemble for a great solemnity, the worship of the Mother of God. A virgin fifteen years of age, whom they have induced to act the part by tempting promises, is bound and placed in a tub of warm water; some old women come and make a large incision in the left breast, then cut it off, and staunch the blood in a wonderfully short time. During the operation a mystical picture of the



MOSCOW: THE RED SQUARE.

shoulders, and many of them with a collar and chain about their necks. . . . The people liketh them very well, because they are as pasquils to note great men's faults, that no man else dare speak of. Yet it falleth out sometimes that for this rude liberty which they take upon them, after a counterfeit manner, by imitation of prophets, they are made away of in secret as was one or two of them in the late Emperor's time, for being over bold in speaking against the government. . . ."

Somewhere under the intricate galleries of the interior, which is decorated in the arabesque style, the bones of Basil were buried, and with him there lies buried another "idiot" called Ivan, whose neck-collar and chain are still preserved. Russia has always been afflicted with religious maniacs from the very earliest times unto the present day. There were the "Old Believers," who once numbered seven millions; the Begslov-estnie or "dumb" believers, who never permitted one word to pass their lips after joining up; the sect of the Beatified Redeemer, who spent their lives looking at a picture of Jesus; the Soubotniki (not the kind which Gallacher joined), the "wizards of Novgorod"; the Skoptzi, who believed that Christ is still alive but sexless, and whose male members consequently castrated themselves; the Raskolniks and Dukhobors besides

Holy Spirit is put into the victim's hand, in order that she may be absorbed in regarding it. The breast which has been removed is laid upon a plate, and cut into small pieces, which are eaten by all the members of the sect present: the girl in the tub is then placed upon an altar which stands near, and the whole congregation dance wildly round it. The jumping grows wilder and wilder: at last all the lights are suddenly extinguished, and the orgies above described commence. My secretary had become acquainted with several of these girls, who were always afterwards regarded as sacred, and said that at the age of nineteen or twenty they looked quite like women of fifty or sixty. They generally died before their thirtieth year; one of them, however, had married and had two children."

In Peter the Great's time many edicts were issued against the "impostors who went naked and thrashed out devils with a knout," and which description seems to fit Saint Basil. Never mind, if the old dear actually shook his fist at the bloody Tsar himself and "told him off," we can well afford to ignore his weaknesses, and love him for his strength.

The quaint church in which his bones repose almost baffles the pen. It is impossible to describe so grotesque a structure. There are smooth-sided, ribbed-sided, and fluted-sided cupolas none of which are identical in size. The flutes are sometimes perpendicular and sometimes spiral, and the sides are made of tiles and bricks which differ from one another again. Some are smooth, some glazed, and some covered with scales. These very scales are variegated, not only in colour, but in shape—oval, round, and shaped like leaves.

*"One there was whom they called Basil, that would take upon him to reprove the old Emperor for all his cruelty and oppression done towards the people. His body they have translated into a sumptuous church near the Emperor's house in Moscow, and have canonised him for a saint."
—Giles Fletcher (written in 1582).

There are nine cupolas all painted different colours with the ribs and flutes upon them of a different colour still. The towers are four-sided, six-sided, and eight-sided, and the whole structure is a rough octagon. The golden crosses rise from crescents,* and these crosses have the usual second cross-bar placed slantingly below the top one. This idea of placing a crooked bar in the middle of the upright arises from a belief the Russians had that Jesus was lame through having one leg shorter than the other. A wall protects the western side.

There are fanciful tales told about the building of St. Basil's, as there are of almost every celebrated building in the world. One of them is that Ivan called the architect to him, after the work was completed, and asked him if there was such another church in existence. The man answered no! "Could there be another like it?" queried Ivan. "I alone know how to build such another!" replied the craftsman.

"Then put out his eyes that he may never build its like again elsewhere," ordered the Tsar.

He was to be blinded not for having produced a temple to God's glory, which resembles nothing so much as it does a gigantic bunch of carrots, onions, and Scotch thistles, but for having created an edifice which to the infatuated mind of Ivan was "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever." The story is a pure fabrication. The church was erected by one hundred and fifty German craftsmen and artists sent for by the "Terrible," who worked upon Tartar plans, and who have left behind them a monument of grotesque and barbaric artistry to fatigue the brains of people like myself, who nearly succumbed to intellectual delirium-tremens through the intoxication induced by studying it. The total lack of symmetry of the whole building, its weird curves, impossible angles, and multifarious colour-designs, is really due to a preposterous architectural conception. Ivan, it appears, wanted eight churches erected in the Red Square, and one stone and seven wooden buildings were actually built. This did not please him, however, so his artists conceived the idea of building one church and "glueing" another eight on to it. St. Basil's is in reality, therefore, nine churches in one. When Napoleon was preparing his artillery for bombardment he ordered "that mosque" to be undetermined and blown up because it interfered with the direct line of fire. The Cossacks arrived just in time to save it from destruction. The tower on the right hand of the picture was undergoing repairs during our visit, and the scaffolding poles partly obscured it. Napoleon the vandal would have totally destroyed it; the atheist Bolsheviks are carefully cherishing it and protecting it from the ravages of the weather. It is a historic marvel not to be lost without a pang of regret. When the November revolution was an accomplished fact in Petrograd, rumours came from Moscow of the Bolshevik insurrection there, and Lunacharsky, believing the church of St. Basil to have been demolished by the Communists' gun-fire, wept bitter tears and sent in his resignation to the Party. Once again, however, rumour was a lying jade, for St. Basil's was practically untouched.

There is one more interesting spot in the Red Square. A long strip of earth, fragrant with glory and hallowed with immortal memories. It lies in the shadow of the Kremlin's hoary walls, and the stunted lindens drop their leaves tenderly upon it. Beneath the sword above, which shrivels in the tropical heat of summer and droops 'neath the snows of winter, the heroic dead who fell in the Revolution are sleeping their eternal sleep. The "Brotherhood Grave," the holiest spot in Moscow. Beside them the citadel wall, whereon is hung the oriflamme they upheld, now blazoned with the story of their deed; below them the fantastic church of St. Basil's, and beyond them to the north the Iberian Madonna. Could a more romantic burial ground have been found! John Reed was in Moscow the eve before the funeral. Snow was thick upon the ground. Men were

*For two hundred years the Tartars were in possession of Moscow, and they fixed the crescents to the churches. When Grand Duke Ivan Vassilvitch drove them out of the land he let the crescents remain and fixed the cross on top as a sign of victory. The practice of fixing the cross on the crescent has obtained since then.

digging the two long trenches, and John peeped down upon them over the piled-up earth. Tomorrow five hundred proletarians were to be laid therein:—

"Here in this holy place," said a student, 'holiest of all Russia, we shall bury our most holy. Here where are the tombs of the Tsars, our Tsar—the People shall sleep.' His arm was in a sling, from a bullet wound gained in the fighting. He looked at it. 'You foreigners look down on us Russians because so long we tolerated a medieval monarchy,' said he. 'But we saw that the Tsar was not the only tyrant in the world; Capitalism was worse, and in all the countries of the world Capitalism was Emperor... Russian revolutionary tactics are best!'"

I stood there one burning summer's day with him whose privilege it was to enshrine in vivid prose the pregnant deeds of those who lay below. We both lifted our hats in silence. John was in happy mood that day. I was depressed. John was big and strong, hearty and boyish. I was ill, peevish, and pale. Life is full of mystery. In that thrice-blessed corner of Russia's sacred city John Reed himself now sleeps in dreamless slumber. It is almost unbelievable.

Pepper and Salt.

In consequence of the Australian marine stewards' strike and the continued deadlock, says a Melbourne message, sixty-two vessels aggregating 200,000 tons are now idle.

Visitor—"And does John Willie still work at the dispensing chemist's?"

Father—"No, the dispensing chemist dispensed with John Willie."

Two hundred Japanese Socialists met in Tokio recently to form a Socialist Federation. Their meeting was broken up by the police. Fifteen of the leaders were arrested.

Three thousand Calgoorlie miners have been rendered idle through the railway strike in Western Australia, and are demanding Government relief, says a Perth telegram.

Railway traffic between Vienna and the South has been suspended through a strike of the employees on the Gratz section of the Southern Railway, who are demanding a 40 per cent. increase in wages and other allowances.

The strike began without the least warning, trains being suddenly stopped between Murzzuschlag and Gratz. The passengers were furious, and attacked the engine-drivers and guards with revolvers and sticks, forcing them to take the trains to Gratz. There strikers awaited the trains, and a free fight followed between the passengers and the railwaymen, which was only stopped by the gendarmes.

If we are all equal, why do men toady to the boss?

Poverty is not half as degrading as servility.

Two men were boasting of the merits of their respective wives. "My old woman," said one, "won't enter a greengrocer's shop. She buys all our vegetables straight from the farm, so they are nice and fresh." "Well," replied the other, "my old woman does better than that. She went to the market-gardener and insisted on choosing a marrow that was still growing. 'How much for this one?' she says. 'Eightpence,' says he. 'Too much,' says she. 'What's the price of this little 'un?' 'Fourpence.' 'All right, I'll have it,' and pays for it on the spot. Then she says, 'Don't cut it now. I'll call for it this day week!'"

That giant profits are being made by the German coalowners out of Germany's obligations to the Allies is the declaration made in an outspoken "Vorwaerts" article.

The owners are paid by the German Govern-

ment 300 marks per ton for 2,000,000 tons delivered per month, and the Entente pays to Germany six gold marks per ton. The German owners thus get 600,000,000 marks per month, and the Allies get German coal at the world market price.

In other words, Stinnes and the Entente Governments combine to exploit the German miners, who receive only six gold marks per ton, and that only on paper, and the German public, which has to find seven milliards yearly to pay the owners.

Cincinnati, Ohio.—Probate Judge Patterson has ordered the sale of the fine forty-acre farm of the late Mrs Louise B. Pams in Montgomery County to raise money for the building of a "dog palace" as a home for "four pet puppies," under the provisions of her will. A caretaker will bathe and feed the dogs daily. The "palace" will cost \$50,000.

The education of Labour is the nightmare of the boss.

The workers will receive as much as they are able to procure by their own economic strength. Nothing else and nothing more.

If you want an "inconclusive peace" go into partnership with the boss.

Between the rails of the southward track, Mike smoked his pipe of clay, As "95" on time to Lyall Bay Sped noisily on her way. 'Twould take four steps to clear both tracks. These steps he did not take, Then number four approached unheard. Result—"An Irish wake."

Two farmers were discussing the eternal question of the cost of living. One was of the opinion that the city workers could reduce the same by eating horse flesh. "Why," he said, "shouldn't they eat horse flesh just as well as the flesh of cattle?"

"Rot," said the other, "you might as well say that because we wash our hands we should also wash our feet."

The masters of industry grin—the masses of industry groan.

The profiteers are always living in want,—the want of more.

"The essential characteristic of all government, whatever its form, is authority. There must be, in every instance, on one hand, governor, and on the other hand, those who are governed. And the authority of governors, directly or indirectly, rest in all cases ultimately on FORCE. Government, in the last analysis, is organised force. Not necessarily or invariably organised, armed force, but the will of a few men, or of a community prepared by organisation to realise its own purposes with reference to the common affairs of the community. Organised, that is, to rule, to dominate."—President Wilson.

"Common Sense remembers that it was 'A Long Way to Tipperary' in Belgium at the beginning of the war, and thinks that Louvain and Tipperary are not so far apart to-day. Common Sense does not believe that it is to the advantage of an Arab to be killed, and doubts whether the process is a pleasanter one for him if the killer holds a mandate over the Arab's country than if he has merely annexed it. Common Sense does not believe that the slaughter of debtors helps to pay their debts. Common Sense occasionally looks at a map. To think these things in the world to-day, and especially to look at maps instead of swallowing a Supplementary Estimate the moment we are told that our interests in Jupiter are in danger because the Man in the Moon controls the whole of his own planet, is to make a great number of enemies."—Arthur Ransome.

Communist Tactics and Unionism

The tactical problems connected with the industrial organisation of the working class are divided into two important phases, viz.,—those prior to the revolutionary seizure of state power by the proletariat, and those after the seizure of state power.

The first are problems of movement; the mobilisation of the masses for action and the conquest of power; the second deal with the more static administration of management of industry.

The failure to distinguish these two phases and the fundamentally different tasks to be accomplished, has led to a variety of mistaken valuations both of the trades unions and industrial unionism. For example, it is a mistake to think that the trades unions are of no value in the revolutionary struggle; it is a mistake to think that only the industrial unions can mobilise the workers for action; it is a mistake to think that, having achieved industrial unions, it is possible for a peaceful transition to Communism, or that industrial unions may not be reactionary. It is equally a mistake to forget that the growth of any of these organisations within Capitalism involves the production of a bureaucracy which may be a barrier to mass action.

The value of industrial unionism before the revolution lies mainly in the fact that it provides revolutionary slogans for action against (whether from within or without) the organisations which lag behind the integration of industry and familiarises the proletariat with forms of organisation necessary for the administration of industry after the revolution.

The principal problem before the International to-day is the extension of the revolution beyond the borders of Russia. In the countries west of Russia, industrialism is more highly developed, and has led to the extensive growth of industrial organisations. This phenomenon has given rise to the view that there is a fundamental difference in the tactics to be pursued by Communists in one country as distinct from another. This is an error. The problem which Communists have to face in every country is the same problem at bottom that the Communists of Russia had to face. The differences and difficulties, advantages and disadvantages, are incidental. Their problem was the mobilisation of the masses for the conquest of the state, the harnessing of mass movements and the direction of the proletarian action. Such also are the tasks of the Communists of other countries to-day. How shall they be carried out?

II.—CONSERVATIVE FACTORS TO BE OVERCOME.

It is a fact that the elemental movements of the workers in industrialised countries are mainly through their economic organisations; a fact which involves problems dissimilar from those where industrial organisations are practically non-existent. It makes the direct appeal of the political party to the proletariat much more difficult to attain. Herein lies a difference between the task of the Communists of Russia and that of the Communists of the Western industrialised countries.

Trades Unions are regarded as proletarian organisations. It is true that such they are, but it is also true that they have grown up in an age of Capitalism, under conditions that have limited their functions, shaped their constitutions and created vested interests, in such a manner that now the time has arrived for new revolutionary actions on the part of the proletariat; these organisations which they have created for their use have become so adapted to reformism that they are more often than not a hindrance to revolutionary action.

Modern Trades Unionism began its development in the industrial revolution in England in the 18th century, taking the form of simple craft unions. Its succeeding principal forms were determined by the industrial integration of the following century, which bears witness to the growth of national trades unions, organisations approximating to industrial unions, syndicalist unions, general labour unions, and women's unions. These developments did not follow each other in rotation, so that one cancelled the other. All these types exist to-day, competing with each other and battling with the industrial advancement of the age, even as this produces a definite tendency towards industrial union forms of organisation.

These developments have not been peculiar to England, but whatever industrialism has been developed, though it is

safe to say that nowhere have the earlier forms become so numerous or survived so long.

Now it should be observed that while the pressure of industrialism has continually modified the forms of organisation in keeping with its own inherent needs, forecasting the kind necessary for the effective administration of industry, the functions of the organisation have remained practically unchanged.

They are still engaged in the same functions of adaptation and modification of the workers' position within Capitalism, seeking advances in wages, providing sick benefits, insurance, social amelioration.

The greater they have become the more conservative has been their tendency. This applies not only to individual organisations, but also to the federations and confederations which the struggle has produced. (It is true that counter tendencies have arisen out of the economic changes of the age, forcing issues to the front which pass beyond the limits of the trades union constitutions. Of these I will speak later.)

Practically every one of these organisations started their careers as fighting bodies with hardly any funds and no vested interests, etc. They lived by fighting. Their officials remained in the factories, in constant contact with the life of the workers, and indeed were workers themselves; but once the organisations have grown in strength a special class of full time officials, free from the workshop experiences, is a natural consequence. Trades Union officialism became a profession, with its own peculiar psychology, vested interests, etc. Their function was to negotiate with the employers, their object to maintain an equilibrium between capital and Labour.

Contemporary with this development is the shaping of the constitutions of the many organisations, a factor of considerable importance in the psychological life of their members. Some organisations, feeling the need for specialists, make their staff practically permanent. After subjecting them to special technical preparations. Other make long periods of office for their officials, and often split the periods of election for various committees, having in view the continuity of policy, and making impossible a complete change of offices at one election. Centralisation grows apace, and thus that which should be an advantage to mass action under the above circumstances becomes a conservative force against action.

Systems of referendum are made a feature for forestalling action and putting off what is deemed the evil day. A Bill has passed its second reading in the British House of Commons to enforce state supervision of strike ballots.

The conservative factors enumerated are applicable to most unions as such. The growth of the many combinations or federations presents a variety of other factors of probably greater importance.

England presents the classic example of a multiplicity of federations. The simple form of federation is for two or more organisations having similar interests to make an agreement to act together, to establish certain agreed upon conditions, and to refer all issues to the joint committee established for the purpose. The price paid for such a unity is the creation of a means whereby action can be deferred and deferred, and oft times stifled. Grievances arise and demands for action pass through local organisations, local federations, back to the individual unions, on to the individual executives, and back again to the individual unions for reconsideration, referendum, etc. Much depends upon the leadership.

The simple form, however, is now out of date in advanced industrial countries. Any organisation may belong to a federation, and the federation may belong to other federations. For example, the British Transport Federation consists of 30 unions or more; this is affiliated with the Triple Alliance and also to the Trades Union Congress. The Miners' Federation consists of many county federations, is affiliated to the Triple Alliance and the Trades Union Congress. The Trades Union Congress, according to its constitution, cannot decide to lead strike action, though it may recommend a strike. Any such recommendation would have to be referred back to the unions, and then, if action was by chance decided upon, a special conference of executive committees of the unions involved would have to be called to lead it.

One of the best examples of the stifling of the impulse to action by the masses is in the history of the British Miners' struggle in the last two years. After months of effort the miners' demands passed through the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation through a Commission of Inquiry,

through the Triple Alliance, through the Trades Union Congress, back to the unions, through a special Trades Union Congress, to ultimately fizzle in a demand for a political campaign by the Labour Party. Although nearly two years have elapsed, and an overwhelming majority for strike action had been voted in the early stages of the proceedings, only compromises on wages have been conceded; and the political campaign on the larger issue has yet to be started.

Still more machinery has been created tying the unions to the State in advanced countries. The Whitley proposals in England, the Arbeiter Gemeinschafts of Germany, are examples of joint industrial councils pioneered by the State for the purpose of obtaining harmony between the employers and workers. The Whitley Council of England deal with some three million workers already, and although some of the big unions, such as the National Union of Railwaymen, reject the Whitley Report, they have accepted schemes of "joint management" which involve the same kind of activity.

Then there are the arbitration courts, local and national; the Trade Board schemes for the regulation of claims; and the Ministry of Labour—within the apparatus. Indeed, the more powerful the industrial organisations become the greater is their potential challenge to the State, and the more strenuous and subtle are the efforts of the Government to tie up the Labour organisations and make them part of the State apparatus for the prevention of mass action.

In all industrialised countries the above features are more or less developed.

III.—THE LIBERATION AND ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES FOR ACTION.

It must not be thought that the tremendous weight and complexity of machinery with which we have been dealing, has made action impossible, or forced every trade union leader to become a reactionary. It will be obvious, however, that to the degree such machinery has come into being, the spontaneous action of the masses has more to thrust aside to find expression.

The problems of liberation and organisation for action, therefore, vary from country to country according to the development of this machinery. America differs from England in this respect, and both may differ from Spain or Germany, or India or New Zealand. All differ from Russia, where the object of organisation is now fundamentally different.

To lay down the law, "Thou shalt on no account leave a Trade Union and join or form an industrial union," is as wrong in its rigidity as the opposite, "Thou shalt leave the trade union and form an industrial union."

In America practically 75 per cent. of the workers are unorganised. In view of the character of the American Federation of Labour to taboo the formation of new industrial unions or combinations, would be foolish to say the least. India has no industrial unions to speak of, except those created under the auspices of the British Government. Shall we foster these or urge the proletariat to create independent organisations?

To condemn the policy of leaving any union without qualification, is sheer negation. It needs no stretch of the imagination to conceive of mass revolt within some unions of the American Federation of Labour; for example, a break-away to the formation of a new body and leaving the minority stranded. Such action we could not condemn.

The great need, where the revolution has not been accomplished, is to get mass action for the conquest of power. It is the positive aspect of the situation we must emphasise therefore, and not the negative. The latter needs too many qualifications. We must say most emphatically, "Within all the Unions of the proletariat, whether trade or industrial, we must carry on the Communist struggle."

This struggle includes much more than propaganda. It involves (1) efforts for the replacing of reactionary leaders by Communist leaders, as a means for stimulating and encouraging the masses into action; (2) action directly among the masses, to get movement in response to the issues of the day.

This latter task brings up the whole question of extra-union organisation, particularly in view of the fact that the former is not universally applicable. There are Communists who believe the first policy to be all sufficient, ignoring the limitations and uncertainty of their activities in this direction. Valuable as the action may be, it would be folly to ignore the full significance and importance of the modern phenomena in the industrial arena. I refer to the numerous

"unofficial" movements, such as the Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees, Vigilance Committees, and the like. They are not mere local phenomena, but general phenomena, indicating rich resources of proletarian energy and creative capacity developed in the struggle for freedom. They are the means whereby the masses have from time to time shaken themselves free from the trade union bureaucracy or forced the bureaucracy into action. They reserve the attention of every Communist party for at least the following reasons:—

(1) They are the means of challenge and organised independent action of the masses (i.e. independent of the bureaucracy).

(2) Without channels are created through which the volition, generated by the grievances of the masses, can find an immediate outlet; it will be constantly dissipated in the complex machinery already illustrated. Hours of crises and moments of crises do not continue indefinitely.

(3) The magnitude of the industrial organisations in the various countries has made them into a standing challenge to the power of the State. The economic crises have forced them to make demands, such as nationalisation of various industries, control of various industries, etc.

These demands involve the development of new forms of organisation, corresponding generally to the forms indicated in the unofficial movements. As the issues produce ever more intense crises, the masses find themselves in the throes of a struggle headed by reactionary leaders. It is therefore necessary to have a means of stimulating, not only action where the bureaucracy is deferring action and dissipating energy, but also to have organic means of challenging and defeating reactionary leaders in the actual fights which are thrust upon them.

It does not follow that unofficial action or illegal action involves the destruction of the unions. On the contrary, it may happen that it will be the only way of saving some unions. The organisations as such may simply remain inactive till a crisis is over, then adjust themselves to the new situation.

(4) The transfer of the workers' organising and agitational activities to the workshops, etc., is of immense importance. It touches the masses far more directly and extensively, introduces new forms of activity, responsibility, etc., which by their operation make the workers far more capable not only of immediate action, but also of dealing with post-revolutionary tasks.

(5) It is necessary in order to familiarise the workers with the power of recall of elected persons, a feature non-existent in orthodox trade unions.

(6) It is of the utmost importance to facilitate in the development of general action by the masses, not only the break up of reactionary bureaucracy, but also the ascendancy of the Communist Party. The Communist Party can only assume real leadership of the masses through their economic organisations, and the displacement of reactionary officials. Experience has shown how the workers have spontaneously created the machinery to effect the latter long before they have become Communists. The Communist Parties, therefore, should encourage their growth, work within them, strive to attain the leadership of them, even as they strive and work within the unions.

The application of such a policy ensures, not only the provision of unique opportunities for propaganda for Communist ideas: it provides a process of clarification and development by actual experience, a process valuable to the working class. "Twelve months of revolutionary practice teaches the masses more than years of propaganda."

IV.—FORM OF PARTY ORGANISATION.

Communist tactics in relation to unionism are not completed by simply liberating the masses for action or striving for leadership in a general way. These, in addition to propaganda, etc., are essential. But to make them really effective, it is necessary also to be able to measure the actual immediate situation, to provide the right slogans and revolutionary programmes, the application of which will develop the revolutionary struggle. This requires of the Communist Parties that they fashion themselves in such a manner that their every activity strengthens them not only for conducting the struggle for power, but also the maintenance of power for constructive purposes after the conquest of the State.

There is no need to emphasise here again the need for

the formation of Communist groups inside the union branches, workshops, etc. The larger departments of organisation dealing with the districts and regions of the various countries now call for consideration.

The usual methods of the parties is to divide the country into certain territorial divisions, guided simply by geographical considerations, and without any regard to the manner in which industries are distributed.

This is a mistaken policy, and the American Communist Party has made a move in the right direction by organising the party with a deeper regard for industry than for State boundaries.

By the grouping of the branches of the party in districts, the dimensions and extent of which are determined by the geographical distribution of the principal industries, it will be possible (1) to feel the pulse of the struggle in the respective industries efficiently; (2) prepare special programmes for each important industry, in addition to the general programme of the party; (3) facilitate the election of specially equipped Communists to the central committees of the party, and the choice of Communist candidates for positions in the proletarian organisations; (4) develop efficiently the production and distribution of literature for the various classes of workers; (5) ensure the supply of exact information to the executive committee of the parties and safeguard misjudgment of crises.

Such district or regional organisation must, of course, be subordinate to the Executive Committee of the party. Decentralisation, even with specially equipped committees, must not be tolerated in any party, otherwise weakness and disintegration is bound to be their fate. With strong centralisation and expert committees in close contact with the struggle of the masses, its form is determined by the industrial integration in the country; such a party can measure, develop, and lead the working class to conquest.

V.—POST-REVOLUTIONARY TASKS.

It is not until the Communist Party has assumed what is virtually the dictatorship of the proletarian organisations that it is possible to give decisiveness and direction to the proletarian dictatorship. How such a dictatorship is to be attained before the conquest of the State has now been indicated, and we are brought face to face with new problems immediately after the seizure of the State power.

Movement of the masses into revolt is now the last thing desirable, and the most unnecessary. To revolt against themselves is the height of absurdity. After the revolutionary seizure comes the period for revolutionary stability, the maintenance of the new class domination, the development of institutions for the destruction and absorption of all other classes.

In this period the unions of the proletariat must play as great a part as previously. Now will be found the full value of the industrial unionists' activities. To the degree unionism has advanced towards industrial unionism will the path be easy towards the formation of the administrative machinery of industry.

The unions, having lost their old functions of coalition, must—where their form of organisation meets the situation—assume responsibilities of management, etc. This, of course, will vary according to the technical advancement of the workers. The shop committees' pressure on the unions has now behind it the weight of the proletarian state for the purpose of eliminating the sectionalism within the factories, and compels whatever unions that have become industrial unions now to move in that direction.

Here it should be observed that there is a great difference between the workshop committee in those countries where unionism is not highly developed and those countries where unionism is advanced. In the first it may be as in Russia, where they functioned as pioneers of unionism; in the west they assumed forms of extra-union organisation, and are not likely to produce an acute situation by challenging the existence of the unions.

The unit of organisation in the union and the factories must become the industrial unit, as in the case of the workshop committee. From that moment the dual existence ceases, and the workshop committee movement as a separate entity ceases to exist. Not that the workshop committees, factory committees, etc., are no longer in existence, but they are merged in the union organisation.

Herein the full value of the Communist groups in the union branches and the workshops, etc., and the form of the

Party organisation is also fully realised. At no period will it be more essential for the Communist Party to be at every point of industrial contact than in the reconstructive period after the revolutionary seizure of power. Then the need for exact information concerning industry, for discipline, for intelligent direction falls with full weight upon the Party, as Russia has well illustrated.

From each point of view, therefore, from the standpoint of the needs of those countries with the revolution to be accomplished therein, and from the needs of all countries which have to face the reconstructive period after the revolution, the tactics suggested in relationship to unionism are seen to have an ascending importance, ensuring the leadership of the masses in the assault on Capitalism, and the maintenance of Communist leadership, for the crushing of all capitalist elements in the majestic conquest of industry for Communism.

The Martyrdom of Ireland.

"A Law which is a Respector of Persons is no Law."

Clemency for Murderers and those who Outrage Them.

Mr Lloyd George, English Prime Minister, on August 25, 1920, telegraphed from Lucerne a reply to several communications asking for the release of Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, who had at that time been fasting for 14 days. In the course of his reply Mr Lloyd George said:—

"If the Lord Mayor were released every hunger-striker whatever his offence would have to be let off. A law which is a respector of persons is no law. If the Cabinet, therefore, departed from its decision, a complete breakdown of the whole machinery of law and government in Ireland would immediately follow. Whatever the consequences it cannot take that responsibility."

A law which is a respector of persons is no law, Mr Lloyd George said on August 25, 1920. The following are two of the minor examples of the manner in which English law in Ireland respects nothing but its own guilty agents:—

On December 24, 1920, Madame Constance Marchievicz, Member of Parliament for St. Patrick's Division of Dublin, was sentenced by court-martial to two years' imprisonment with hard labour for having organised and encouraged the formation and development of the Fianna na h-Eireann—the National Boy Scouts of Ireland.

On December 16, 1920, Constable Huddleston, Member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment with hard labour for having attempted to ravish a young girl at Limerick City, and when she, with the aid of her mother, escaped from him, he attempted to ravish the mother.

On February 28, 1920, John Hurley was sentenced to 15 years' penal servitude for having attempted to murder Detective Constable Wharton of the Political Division of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. Constable Wharton was wounded.

On December 22, 1920, Constable Henry Lenihan, Member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who had murdered James Dunne on July 6, 1920, at Ferns, County Wexford, was, at the instance of the Crown, not charged with murder but with manslaughter. He was found guilty, and was sentenced to 7 years' penal servitude.

British Ambassador and the American Government.

Looking for "Evidence" on which to compel U.S.A. to Suppress Free Speech.

The British Ambassador in Washington has frequently declared that he does not desire to interfere with the internal affairs of America or in any way to dictate American policy. The following telegram throws a certain amount of light on the sincerity of these frequent declarations.

The English Government has long desired to have the Irish organisations in the United States suppressed and President de Valera expelled from American territory. So far the secret diplomatic pressure brought to bear upon the Government of the United States by the British Ambassador has been unsuccessful. Americans failed to see that England has the right to decide as to what organisations and what individuals will be allowed to exist in America. For that reason Sir Auckland Geddes in a recent telegraphic communication with his Government makes the following request:—

"If any evidence available to prove that munitions or

(Continued on page 11.)

WHO SHALL CONQUER?

The Battle of the Internationals.

By J. T. MURPHY.

The struggle for the conquest of the world proceeds apace. Man may make his calendars, but history sweeps relentlessly along, making its own landmarks as its cumulative forces burst into the flames of revolution. Its intervening periods are characterised superficially by an appearance of peacefulness actually by vast movements, the mobilising of forces, the gathering of the masses for open conflict. The peacefulness is a sham. The struggle a grim reality.

January, 1921, opens in the midst of a period when the principal protagonists in the struggle are rallying, taking stock, re-organising. The arena of activity is stupendous. All the world is drawn within it. The narrow boundaries of nations are forever shattered. The age of iron and steel broke them once for all—laid the foundations of a world system. It has made the world a unit. All economic questions are now international questions. The international issue cannot be escaped. The "Russian question" has proved to be not a question wherein Russia "can be left to work out her own destiny," but an international question affecting the whole world. Unemployment is proven to be not a national issue, but an international issue.

National organisation has proven futile in every direction. Governments have been forced to combine, and none could remain neutral or independent. Britain dare not liberate Ireland. Ireland cannot become free without aid. The big powers have had to combine and the little powers have had to obey. International organisation has become the order of the day, and numerous international organisations are the result.

Thus there are internationals of manufacturers and internationals of workmen, the League of Nations, the Communist International, the Second International, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions.

These organisations make their alliances, pursue their interests, wage the struggle for the conquest of the world's resources in human and social wealth. These are the organisations representative of the forces which will determine the future of society, whether wage slavery shall continue or whether the workers shall yet be masters of the earth. From their power and influence none can escape. But the working masses of the world can decide which organisation they will support. We can and must decide who shall conquer.

Of the international organisations I have enumerated two are first class antagonists, fight upon fundamentally contradictory principles and for fundamentally different objectives. These are the League of Nations on the one hand and the Communist International on the other. The remaining organisations are either subordinate to, or supplementary to, them, or intermediate, assisting voluntarily or involuntarily one or the other. The one represents international capitalism, and the other the fundamental interests of the international working class.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

on its dreamy utopian side is the product of the little Bethel mind, which keeps its eye on heaven and forgets the realities of earth. In the realm of practical politics it is the international talking shop of capitalist democracy, where astute politicians of the big powers interpret the League of Nations' commandments (the 14 points) in terms of their imperialist governments' vested interests.

In theory it proposes to unite the nations of the earth. In practice it attempts to cover the imperialism of the Great Powers as they grab colonies and possessions from defeated enemies. Its existence is a mockery of its public aspirations. But its aspirations are the moral cloak to hide the machinations of the imperialists.

Examine it more closely. Its representatives are representatives of the various governments well selected from the victors and vanquished in the imperialist war. The govern-

ments are similar to the British Government which is a capitalist government, maintaining dictatorship of the capitalists. Its state machine with its army and navy, its schools and churches, its police and its lawyers, its weapon to prevent the accession of the working class to power.

Its policy is based upon the preservation of a class society of property owners and non-property owners, wherein the non-property owners or proletariat must be free to work or starve for the owners of property or the capitalist class. That is the dictatorship of capitalism. It is a system of unending terror, thrusting the workers into ever deeper misery and savagely repressing their every attempt to rise.

Upon such democracy the British Government is founded. Upon such democracy therefore is based the League of Nations. To support the League of Nations is to support the terrorism and dictatorship of the capitalists. It is an enemy of the working class aiming at the re-establishment of world-wide capitalism, which means always the subjection and enslavement of the workers.

True to its nature it has opposed the workers of Russia, who have dared to smash their capitalists. True to its hypocritical make-up it denounces secret diplomacy, and conducts its proceedings behind closed doors and refuses publicity. True to its purpose of keeping the workers in subjection it forms its Labour Bureau, and draws within it the leaders of the workers who are its preachers of "class peace," which means—Workers must not fight for the removal of the dictatorship of capital.

Such is the International of the capitalist class, which has as its mortal enemy

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

This is the International Party of the proletariat, leading the toiling masses of the world to the overthrow of capitalism, to the creation of a non-class society by means of a world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a world Republic of Workers.

It declares that the capitalist class is the enemy of the working class, which they must not conciliate but destroy. It proves to the workers from their own experience that capitalist democracy is a sham and a fraud, a means of blinding them to the real issues of their struggle. It bids and aids them to organise and organise and organise, to use every means in their power to gather strength and purpose to wage the insurrectionary struggle and seize the reins of power. It puts before the workers the ways and the means to abolish poverty, unemployment, and social misery. It flashes the light of social science across their path, reveals the nature of the struggle to the masses, denounces the gospel of "class peace," and brands the Labour leaders who preach it as traitors to the working class.

This International was born in the flames of war. Rising from the wreckage of the Second International, it relentlessly shattered every attempt to resurrect the old body with its "class peace" policy. Day by day its power grows, and the millions rally under its banner as its purpose and policy become ever clearer to them. There is no confusion in its message. Here it is:—

"There are two classes—the exploiters and the exploited. A perpetual war exists between them. There is no escape for the exploited from the power of the exploiters except by organising, by rising in their might, smashing the exploiters, crushing their power of resistance, and reorganising the world's husbandry under the world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat in a Federative Workers' Republic stretching over the earth. We are the International Party of the exploited."

Organising first the workers who saw these things clearly, operating as the vanguard of the working masses, it has now begun the task of mobilising the organised workers in their unions into the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions. Meanwhile the

SECOND INTERNATIONAL

has almost passed completely from the arena. All special enquiries concerning its remains should be addressed to the British Labour Party. It has ceased to count, while its leaders are falling back either into contemplation of another International, or into the

"YELLOW" INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS,

with its headquarters at Amsterdam. This organisation claims to have a membership of about twenty-seven millions. The numbers are formidable, but a few moments' consideration of its structure and principles will reveal its inherent weakness as a fighting organisation of the proletariat.

It is composed mainly of representatives from the Trade Union bureaucracy of the national federations. For example, its representation from the German and British Trade Unions accounts for seventeen millions.

The British Trade Unions are affiliated through the Trade Union Congress and the Federation of Trade Unions. There is local autonomy for these national federations, and these in turn give local autonomy to the unions which compose them. Even supposing such a body as the Trade Union Congress could conduct a strike, at what date with such an apparatus could a strike take place after the decision of the central body? But the Trade Union Congress is not a fighting organisation. It is a talking shop. It can make recommendations, but possesses no executive power to give effect to them.

It is obvious therefore that an International composed in such a manner so far removed from the masses is structurally incapable of conducting effective international action. It presents on the other hand a useful apparatus to the reactionary leaders to prevent action. It can give the appearance of doing things, make an unending series of negotiations which cut no ice through the continual references to various bodies. And that is a game at which Mr Thomas, its chairman, at the recent conference in London is an expert. It is a centralised organisation for the stifling of action, and not a centralised organisation for waging the struggle.

We need an International in direct contact with every nationally organised unit, which can quickly respond to the calls for international action whether such calls come from the leaders or the masses. Such an International the International Federation of Trade Unions is not and cannot become.

Its structural defects are supplemented by the adoption of a policy which is the practical application of the "gospel" of "class peace." It supports the League of Nations. Nearly every resolution at its recent congress in London which is not a protest appealed to the League of Nations and its Labour Bureau. It talked occasionally in the voice of Mr Finnen a lot of revolutionary phrases, but its practice is the practice of social patriots. Indeed, did not Mr Thomas declare that "the Amsterdam Federation is not a revolutionary organisation," that it was composed of the mildest mannered gentlemen who ever scuttled a ship? Unfortunate, but true. Their policy is the policy of those who scuttle the ship of Labour. Certainly we see no signs of them scuttling any other ship.

The unchallenged language of its leader Mr Thomas stamps the organisation and its leaders as worthless to the working class in its revolutionary struggle for power. What can be the value of any organisation to the working class which in the age of world revolution does not function as a revolutionary organisation? There can be no neutrality in the class war. Those who are not for the working class are against it. The organisations which do not move with us, move against us. Thus it becomes ever more necessary to break the Amsterdam Federation, to draw the masses and their unions into the

RED INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

which shall be an international of the masses guided by a policy true to the interests of the working class. It is useless to cry, "Workers of all lands Unite," "Use every means in your power for the overthrow of capitalism," and practice a policy which hands the workers over to the employing class. We need an international which shall unite the masses, which will pursue the policy of smashing the capitalist class, and which will be capable of playing its part in the administration of the world's industry when the enemy class has been removed from power.

Such an international shall the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions be made. It shall be and already is an ally of the Communist International in the battle of the Internationalists.

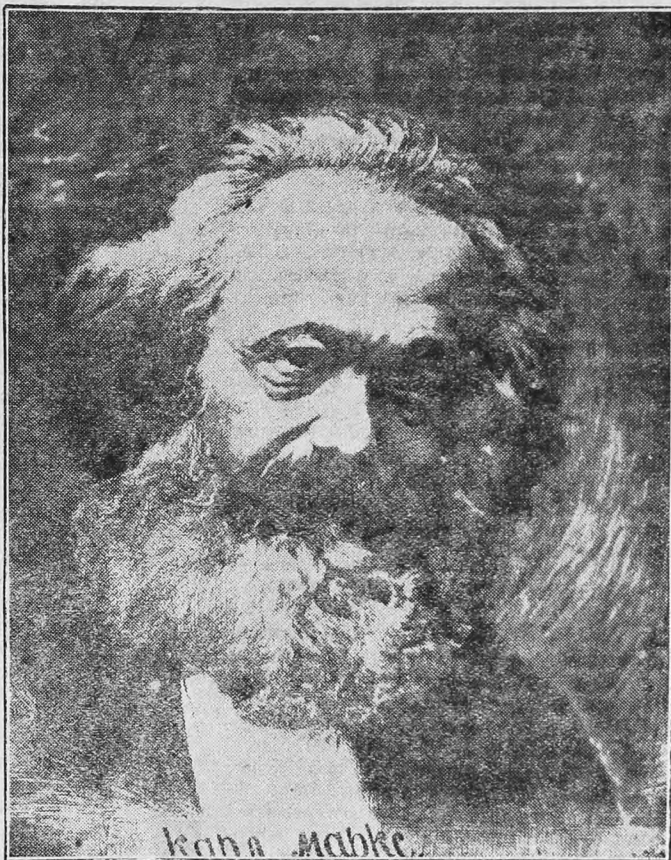
To the organised workers of Britain the issue is therefore clear and the alignment of the international forces too well-marked to be ignored. Plain to all the world we see the great alliances in the mighty struggle for the conquest of the earth.

"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS," THE "YELLOW" INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, THE REMNANTS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

versus

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE "RED" INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

which is in the making, plus ALL HISTORY. Need we ask, "WHO shall conquer?" We move on to victory and the immediate task before the organised workers of this country is to ensure the participation of their unions in the First Congress of the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions, convened for May 1st, 1921, in Moscow, the Present capital of the workers of the world.



KARL MARX.

STEPPING STONES.

By W. J. L.

I.—CARACTACUS.

Caer-Caradoc is hedged with steel:
And eager warriors grasp their swords
For death or freedom, as thy words
Caractacus! inflame their zeal.

Reminding them of British worth,
Still, as he went from man to man,
He told how stout Cafsibelan
Had driven the Roman Captain forth;

And bade them strive like stalwart peers
Of olden Valour!—Matters not
Although Misfortune named the spot;
Their fame hath overlived the years.

O great in battle, in defeat
Sublime, true freeman firmly brave,
Whose soul no Ceasar could enslave:
Thy glory Time shall not complete!

Report of the Proceedings of the Revolutionary International Syndicalist and Industrial Conference. Berlin, December, 18-21, 1920.

By TOM BARKER.

The Congress met on the 16th December at 10 a.m., being called at the initiative of the Freie Arbeiter Union Syndicalisten of Germany.

Fellow-worker Winkler (Germany) opened the Congress with a welcome to the visiting delegates, and expressed the hope that a common line of action would result from their discussion.

F. W. Souchy (Germany) said that certain organisations were unable to be present. The Spanish and Italian representatives were not present, as there was a wave of reaction in both countries, the leaders being in prison, and passports were not obtainable. Fellow-worker Pestana of the Spanish organisation was now in prison in Italy with Malatesta, had collaborated with the German delegates in putting forward an appeal for the conference, and the Spanish Confederation (while not represented) would support any effort towards the consolidation of the revolutionary industrial forces. Tcheco-Slovakie had sent instructions to the German delegation to represent their views.

Denmark was unable to be present on account of financial difficulties.

F. W. Rudolf Rocker was elected Chairman.

F. W. Augustin Souchy was elected Vice-chairman and Translator.

Credentials Committee.—F. W. Barweck, Germany; Plevier, Germany; Hardy, America; and Lansink, Holland.

Hour of Session to be 9.30 to 1 and 3 to 6.30.

Resolutions of Protest against the imprisonment of Fellow Workers in Argentine, U.S.A., Spain, and Italy were tabled for discussion, and ordered to be sub-edited for the later stages of the Congress.

The Credentials Committee met during the dinner hour and recommended the seating of the following delegates and with one vote for each country:—

George Hardy — America, U.S.A. — (I.W.W., 100,000).

Tom Barker—Argentine— (Federacion Obrera Regional, Argentina Comunista (including Fed. Portuana, 47,000; Fed. R. Transportes, 43,000; Prov. Fed. de Santa Fe; Union Agricolas, &c.).

Victor Godonecke and Jean Seppe—France — (Comite Syndicalist Revolutionaire, 300,000, — 961 groups).

Jack Tanner—Great Britain—(Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee Movement, 200,000).

B. Lansink, jun., and E. Bouwmann—Holland —(National Arbeid Secretariat, 40,000).

Fritz Kater, Max Winkler, Rudolf Rocker—Germany—(Freie Arbeid Union, 150,000).

Aug. Souchy, Fraz Barweck, Theodor Plevier, Gast Pogonski—(Tcheco Slovakia, 2,000).

Franz Severin—Sweden—(Svenges Arbeters Central Organisation, 32,000).

Total represented—1,027,000.

Guests present were Milan Miklauskoff (Communist Party, Paris), S. Belinky with Frau Hermann, Secy. (All-Russian Trades Unions), Frau Mirny (Russian Communist Party).

Fellow-worker Hardy dealt with the injustices inflicted upon the I.W.W. members in the U.S.A. The big trial in Chicago had resulted in 20 fellow workers receiving 20 years in prison; 33 had received 10 years; 33, 5 years; and 12, one year.

In Sacramento, 38 men had received two to five years; and two to 11 years, respectively.

In Wichita, 36 fellow workers had from one to five, and also ten years' sentence.

In Centralia eleven were sentenced to 25 years. Ford and Suhr were serving life sentences.

In Texas, Rangel and Cline had aggregate sentences of 99 years, and had already served 7.

Hardy dealt with the Criminal Syndicalist laws in the various States, and showed how utterly unscrupulous the American master class is when fighting the workers. He dealt also with the maltreatment at Centralia, castrating and hanging of Wesley Everett, and the hanging of Frank Little at Butte, Montana, by the creatures of the Copper Trust.

Barker (Argentina) gave a resume of the

happenings in the Argentine, the suppression of the unions, the closing of locals, the gaoing of the editors of "Baudera Roja" (Red Flag), of comrades Pacheco, Barrera, and Eva Vive. He showed how the "sociedades patronales" scabbed on their class, and were used to defeat the efforts of the "Quintas." He told the conference of the horrors of the prison at Martin Garcia, the shooting of the worker in Buenos Aires in 1919, and the brutal repression of the country workers' strike in 1919-1920.

Souchy (Germany) said that people outside of Germany thought that Germany had accomplished the social revolution since the Social Democrats, Ebert and Noske, had the powers of government in their hands. Fellow worker Tetens had received 8 years for distributing handbills among the seamen at Kiel. In the Ruhr district the Social Democrats had murdered over 1,000 workers, and in the small village of Werne 36 men had been shot. Comrades Rocker and Kater had been gaoled and released by the solidarity of the workers. There was now freedom of speech, press, and assemblage in Germany, but they could not tell how soon these few privileges would be swept away. There had been division between the political Communists and the revolutionary Syndicalists, the former sabotaging the efforts of the latter to bring about a general strike against the White Terror in Hungary. The Syndicalists in Dantzie had tied up munitions for the Poles to use against Soviet Russia. There were still men in German prisons from the German Revolution and the Spartacist uprising.

The following resolution was adopted among others:—"That this Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists held in Berlin herewith demands the release of all political prisoners from capitalist governments, and calls the attention of all revolutionary unions to concentrate upon the capture of the marine transport industry—capital's most vulnerable point—to effect general action for the release of all class war prisoners. We also greet all comrades behind prison walls, and will do all in our power to effect their speedy release."

The Conference then decided to open a general discussion upon the objective of the revolutionary Syndicalists, and to determine points of agreement. This debate—owing to many translations being necessary—occupied more than two days. The burning point was whether or not the revolutionary organisations should go to the Red Trade Union Congress to be held in Moscow on the 1st May, 1921. The general impression was that they should go; in fact, France and England were already pledged to affiliation to the Moscow International of Trade Unions. The fear of the Conference was that the politicians should attempt to subordinate the industrial organisations to their control. There was difference of opinion upon industrial structure between the Marxians of Holland and the I.W.W. and the Federalists of Germany and Sweden, but the Conference wisely agreed that the difference in industrial and economic conditions was largely responsible for the differing industrial philosophies, and that an alliance for fighting purposes was necessary between all the organisations. There was very minor differences in the social objective, and they were all of the opinion that the individual organisations were sufficient for the revolution and the re-organising of society.

After an exhaustive discussion, during which much valuable information was elicited, it was decided that a Committee be set up consisting of Comrades Hardy (U.S.A.), Lansink (Holland), and Plevier (Germany) to draft a general line of principles upon which all could concur. This was done, and then the resolution was discussed point by point until the following was adopted by majority vote, in most cases unanimously.

RESOLUTION.

(1) That the Revolutionary Industrial International be based on the class struggle and the domination of the working class.

(2) That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall fight for the destruction and removal of the economic, political, and immoral system of the capitalist regime and State, and stands for the creation of a free Communist Society.

(3) That the Revolutionary Industrial International declares that only the working class itself is capable of destroying the economic, political, and immoral system of slavery under capitalism, and only by the sharpest application of their economic power which culminates in Revolutionary Direct Action of the working class in attaining their ends.

(4) That the Revolutionary Industrial International stands on the basis that the construction and regulation of production and distribution is the aim of the economic and industrial organisations of each country.

(5) That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall be an autonomous body independent of any political body, and in case the Revolutionary Industrial International has decided upon some question and a political party or other organisation agrees to it, or vice versa, then the execution of the decision can be carried out together.

(6) That the Conference sends out a strong appeal to all revolutionary organisations of Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists of all countries to respond to the call of the Provisional Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions to attend the Congress called by then to be held on May 1, 1921, for the purpose of forming a permanent International of the Revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World.

A complaint by the Russian delegation against Delegate Souchy was ordered to be dealt with at Moscow, as there was not evidence enough to form any opinion upon. The German delegation expressed their entire trust and confidence in him.

RESOLUTION.

The following was moved by Delegate Barker (Argentine) and carried unanimously:—"The members of all the following revolutionary organisations are entitled to membership in the corresponding organisation in other countries without paying any transfer or initiation fee. They shall be accepted upon equal terms and enjoy full privileges therein:—

U.S.A., I.W.W.; Australia, One Big Union of I.W.W.; Mexico, I.W.W.; Chile, I.W.W.; Germany, Freie Arbeiter Union Syndikalisten; Tcheco-Slovakia, Freie Arbeiter Union Syndikalisten; Holland, National Arbeids Secretariat; Sweden, Arbeiter Centralorganisation; Denmark, Fagoposition Sammenslutning; France, Comite Syndicalist Revolutionaire; Norway, Norske Syndikalist Federation; Great Britain, Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement; Spain, Confederacion General del Trabajo; Italy, Union Sindical Italia; Argentina, Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina (5th Congress); Uruguay, Federacion Obrera Regional Uruguay; Canada, One Big Union.

COMMUNICATING COMMITTEE.

It was resolved that an International Committee be set up to communicate with similar organisations, and acquaint them with the results of this Conference. Delegates Rocker (Germany), Tanner (England), and Lansink (Holland) were appointed. The last named to be secretary with offices at Nassanhere, 101 Amsterdam, Holland.

It was resolved to ask organisations to make grants of money to pay for the working expenses the same to be forwarded to Delegate Lansink. This office will issue regular bulletins in the French language, and all organisations are requested to send in news of importance in triplicate, and also copies of all organisation papers, etc., to General Headquarters. The Conference requests that these proceedings be published in all newspapers and periodicals, and emphasise the point that all organisations be represented at Moscow in order that we may have an International of Revolutionary Industrialists free from political control, self-controlling and self-directing.

The Congress then adjourned, and agreed to carry on the work for the Proletarian Revolution, and hoping that all such organisations will work upon the lines of the objectives outlined, establish communication, and put an end to Capitalism and the State.

Martyrdom of Ireland—Continued from p. 7.

money reach Sinn Feiners from United States, effort ought to be made, I think, supply such evidence to me with view my taking up matter with United States Government and bringing greater pressure than has hitherto been possible to bear upon them in order to secure the suppression of the chief Sinn Fein organisation here and the expulsion of De Valera from American territory."

The Government which so easily found "evidence" that the Sinn Feiners burned the City of Cork are not likely to find any difficulty in supplying Sir Auckland Geddes with such "available" evidence as he wants.

Scotland Yard Officers and "Black and Tans."

"A Difficult Matter" to Protect Girls from Them.

In yesterday's issue of the "Irish Bulletin" were detailed some of the acts of terrorism committed against Irish women by English Military, English Police, and Black and Tan Constabulary. The English Government represents its forces in Ireland as chivalrous "war heroes," and scouts as coming from a "tainted source" all proofs of crime and outrage produced against them. There is, however, on record a warning uttered by some of the English Government's own officials in London of the penchant exhibited by the Black and Tans for attacking women.

On November 17, 1920, Mr Art O'Brien, President of the Irish Self-Determination League of Great Britain, received the following threatening letter:—

"You are given twenty-four hours to clear out of London. We won't allow you to live a free life in London at the price of Irish blood. We know you well. This is a final warning. Take heed, death follows.—(Sgd.) Black and Tans, 16/11/20. God Save the King."

Mr O'Brien sent copies of the notice to the Press and to the English Secretary for Home Affairs (Mr Edward Shortt, K.C.). On the following day two officers from Scotland Yard, whom Mr Shortt subsequently described as "two of our very best officers," were sent to Mr O'Brien's office. Mr O'Brien's deputy had no difficulty in convincing the officers that the threatening notice was delivered at the office by Black and Tans, and the "two of our very best officers" then asked to see the senior typist in the office. When she appeared the Scotland Yard officials told her that the Black and Tans had determined to raid the office and to cut the hair of the two typists. They advised that the office be closed early each evening. Mr O'Brien's deputy pointed out to them that as they knew the attack on the office was planned, surely they could prevent it. The reply was that the situation was "a very difficult one."

It will be remembered that Sir Nevil Macready had in the previous September stated that it was a "delicate matter" to punish constabulary guilty of murder and arson.

Accelerating Assassination in Ireland.

Major-General Strickland Provides Official Murderers with Handcuffed Victims.

On September 10, 1920, the "Irish Bulletin" (vol. 3, No. 8) published certain letters and documents written by officials of Dublin Castle. Together with the publication of these documents the "Irish Bulletin" made a series of charges. Most of these charges were explicit in the documents published. The "Irish Bulletin" also asserted that certain officials in Dublin Castle were the heads of a murder gang, and that these officials were highly-placed army and constabulary officers. The "Bulletin" called attention to certain phrases in the documents, which it stated referred to the existence of the murder gang. The phrases were unconvincing to anybody who was not already aware of the existence of this murder gang. The London "Times" (which had received photographic copies of the documents) stated editorially in its issue of September 14 that though the minor charges seemed to have been substantiated, the major charge of the existence of the murder gang was not proved. The members of the murder gang have hastened to supply adequate proof.

From September 10 to date eighty-four Irishmen who were suspected of being officers or active members of the Irish Republican Army have been assassinated in prison, in their homes, or on the public street. (This figure is exclusive of all casual killings, such as those at Croke Park, etc., by military and constabulary.) But the pace has been slower than the organisers of the murder gang intended. The leaders of the Republican Army were all to have been "removed" by Christmas. General Sir Nevil Macready, while

crossing to Ireland on the mail boat in the month of September after a conference with the English Cabinet, is credibly refuted as having made the boast, "By Christmas even the children in Ireland will be afraid to whisper the words, Sinn Fein."

The murder organisation having partially failed in its original plan, has now decided upon a more rapid method of removing those whom it suspects of being Republican leaders. The modus operandi most approved by the chiefs of the assassination group has been the killing of prisoners. Since September 10 the following men have been murdered while in custody:—

Sept. 21, James Lawless, Balbriggan, Co. Dublin; Sept. 21, James Gibbons, Balbriggan, Co. Dublin; Sept. 22, Thomas Connole, Ennistymon, Co. Clare; Sept. 30, John Connolly, Bandon, Co. Cork; Oct. 15, James Lehane, Ballymakeera, Co. Cork; Oct. 27, Michael Scanlan, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick; Nov. 4, John O'Brien, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary; Nov. 4, Thomas O'Brien, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary; Nov. 5, Michael M'Guire, Ardfert, Co. Kerry; Nov. 15, Michael MacMahon, Scariff, Co. Clare; Nov. 15, John Egan, Scariff, Co. Clare; Nov. 15, John Connolly, Whitegate, Co. Clare; Nov. 15, Michael Connolly, Whitegate, Co. Clare; Nov. 20, Rev. M. Griffin, Galway City; Nov. 22, Richard M'Kee, Dublin; Nov. 22, Peter Clancy, Dublin; Nov. 22, Conor Clune, Raheen, Co. Clare; Nov. 24, Michael Moran, Galway City; Nov. 26, Henry Loughnane, Gort, Co. Galway; Nov. 26, Patrick Loughnane, Gort, Co. Galway; Dec. 7, Denis Regan, Clashfluck, Co. Cork; Dec. 18, Jas. Looby, Dualla, Co. Tipperary; Dec. 19, William Delaney, Rosegreen, Co. Tipperary; Dec. 19, James O'Connor, Killeentierna, Co. Kerry; Dec. 20, James Hynan, Emly, Co. Limerick; Dec. 22, Ml. MacNamara, Cloonbeg, Co. Clare; Dec. 23, W. J. Shanahan, Emis Jail, Co. Clare; Dec. 26, James Hickey, Knocknagashel, Co. Kerry; Dec. 26, Andrew Moynihan, Rathmore, Co. Kerry.

The total, though not inconsiderable, does not satisfy those who have planned the assassination not of scores but of hundreds. In order to speed up the "removals" a new phase of barbarism has been added to the English method of waging war on the Irish people. On November 24 the practice began among both constabulary and military patrols of taking prominent townspeople from their homes and carrying them as "hostages" wherever the patrols went. These hostages were made to understand that if any attack were made on their captors they would be shot out of hand. This system of hostages was put into general practice in the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Roscommon. On December 19, 1920, this system of providing victims for the murder gang was regularised by the English army chiefs in the Southern Counties. On that date the following proclamation was promulgated in various Southern commands:—

"Owing to the treacherous attacks by armed civilians on military and police convoys proceeding by road, from Monday, December 20, 1920, Irish Republican Army officers or leaders in military custody will be sent as hostages with all transport moving armed forces of the Crown proceeding by road in the areas under martial law."

All the proclamations originated with Major Gen. Strickland at Cork. On Saturday, December 18th, the following telegram was sent by Gen. Strickland to the officers of all posts under his command:—

"In future a Sinn Fein Prisoner is to be taken handcuffed in the front of each lorry which comes into or leaves their areas."

On the evening upon which this telegraphic instruction was sent out to the posts under Major General Strickland's Command, James Looby and William Delaney were taken from Cashel Jail, where they had been imprisoned for four days, and were placed one in each of two motor lorries making up a military and constabulary patrol. The patrol traversed its district without being attacked. There was no excuse given for murdering James Looby and William Delaney. Nevertheless, as the patrol returned to barracks, both young men were shot out of hand. This incident explains with sufficient clarity the real object of the new barbarism. Men who are known to be members or are suspected of being members of the Irish Republican Army, are to be "removed" as at present by assassination in their homes. Men who have been arrested and are then discovered to be, or are suspected of being members of the Irish Republican Army, are to be "removed" after their arrest by the means provided in Major Gen. Strickland's telegram.

To the Comrades of Britain.

By TOM QUELCH (Moscow).

It seems as if the Red Republic will have a breathing spell of peace. All the wars are finished, the defeat of Wrangel, involving also the defeat of the lesser bandits and scoundrels in the West and in the South.

Here, in Moscow, naturally, there is great satisfaction. Everyone hopes that Russia will have time to recuperate, to re-organise the shattered industrial regions over which armies have tramped and tramped, spreading ruin and desolation. It is hoped that the vast schemes of social construction will have time to develop and to bear fruit. If comrades in Britain only knew how many little artifices teachers have to resort to, for instance, to get the shortage of pens and scholastic materials, they would realise how much peace and the opening up of trade with the Western world means. In education, in the care of children, in the care of mothers, in the training of the youth to fill their place in the Communal life, in the printing of the world's best literature, in the establishment of libraries, schools, universities, clubs, sports' associations, in the spread of the proletarian culture, our Russian comrades are doing a work which will astonish the world. That is true also of the development of the application of science to the public economy. Vast schemes there are, now being tackled in a tentative fashion, to electrify the whole of Russia by harnessing its waterfalls and waterways. Railways are also being re-organised, new systems of electrification being adopted. Also, there are housing schemes, town-planning schemes, sanitation schemes, transport schemes galore. Yes, Russia requires time in which to build, to create.

But Red Russia realises that, at best, it will only be a breathing space. The comrades here realise that World Capitalism will not leave Russia alone. They know that the war between the old order and the new will continue with all the hatred and power that the enemies of Communism can muster.

Russia has a little peace because of the valour and sacrifices of the Red Army, and the growing consciousness on the part of the world's workers that Russia is blazing the way for emancipation. That peace will not be for long. Some pretext or other will be made the excuse for further interference and further attacks by the capitalist classes of Britain, France, or the United States.

Under such circumstances it behoves the workers everywhere to be on the alert—to never cease their watchfulness. "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty"—and only constant vigilance will save Red Russia from the talons of its enemies.

But, comrades, what of Britain?

It is not enough to save Russia. The task of the British workers is to save Britain. Indeed, the surest way to guarantee the safety of Russia is for the workers of Britain to seize the robber gang who run the British Empire for their private profit and stop their bread tickets if they decline to do honest work. The workers of Britain must settle their home affairs as the Russian workers have settled theirs. Only by a social revolution will the unemployed question be solved, will sweating and adulteration be abolished, will it be possible to reach a solution of the rampant evils that keep the masses impoverished, degraded and in misery.

Britain is small. It is compact. It is industrially organised. Conditions are ripe for the taking over of the country by the working class. The workers outnumber their enemies. Their brains are as keen as the brains of their exploiters. They have as much sense of organisation as those who have hitherto mismanaged the country. They have been disciplined in the factory and know the power of combination. The task in Britain should be comparatively easy to what it is in Russia where the industrial working class is far outnumbered by the peasants and where the territory is so great.

If nearly a million workers could die in France and Flanders for the brigands and the bandits of commerce and finance, surely those that are left can strive and fight, and if needs be, die for their own cause. The Red Army did not hesitate to face all the powers of darkness and reaction. Are there no brave hearts and valorous souls in Britain?

The Whole Loafer.

By TRAVERS.

In response to the tramp's knock, the kitchen door swung open and the irritated face of a righteous housewife appeared.

"What do you want," she rasped, angrily, her warm breath steaming upward as it came in contact with the wintry air.

At this unwelcome greeting the man, after the fashion of a turtle, shrunk into his ragged overcoat.

"I—I am willing to do some work for a bit of food," he answered lamely.

"What! A big healthy man like you, begging," she scornfully cried. "My husband is a sickly person, yet he works steadily at only ten shillings per day."

"Ah, madam, this is distasteful—this begging, for I am a man of principle. Each day I search for work and without success."

"Oh, I know your kind," the woman scorned. "You will only work when you get big wages. If you would be satisfied with half a loaf when a whole loaf could not be found, you would not have to beg."

"Where does your husband work?" the tramp suddenly asked.

The woman stepped out on the porch and pointed over the snow-covered housetops to where a huge smoke-stack gave exit to a thin wisp of grey smoke. "He works in there," stepping back into the house.

"Thank you, madam. Now I can go there and offer to take his job for five shillings a day. Yes, I might be better off with half a loaf, only I hate to throw your husband out of work in these hard times."

Upon hearing these words, her scorn turned to fear and she grew pale.

"Don't fear, madam," the man continued. "I told you that I was a man of principle." With this he turned and shuffled away.

"Wait! wait!" she called. "I will wrap some food for you."

But the man did not wait, neither did he leave. What he did do was to seize a snow shovel that leaned against the house and attack the snow-covered sidewalk. Thus he paid in advance for the promised hand-out.

In "The New Psychology and its Relation to Life," by A. G. Tansley, the following passage occurs:—

"So powerful had become the class consciousness of the proletariats of the different nations of Western and Central Europe, even before the war, that it threatened, or was thought to threaten, the old primary division of mankind into national herds, by cutting across the boundaries of nations and welding together the proletariat part of the world. It used to be said, for instance, that if the governments of France and Germany declared a state of war between these nations the proletariats of each would throw down their arms and refuse to fight against their brothers. This, as we know, did not in fact happen. The national herd proved stronger than the international proletariat. The ties of common race, common language, and common tradition, the love of fatherland—in a word, all the bonds of the national herd—prevailed against the newer and as yet, at any rate, weaker ties of economic interests. But the circumstances of the test were all in favour of the national herd. Whether this intense heightening of national feeling will last or whether the 'Internationale' will arise rejuvenated and stronger than ever, we cannot yet tell. The issue will largely depend, no doubt, upon economic factors, on the rate of the economic recovery of Western and Central Europe."

Eden and Cedar Paul, in reviewing this work, add:—"The Marxist student should not fail to note that, in the light of the new psychology, class consciousness must be regarded as an affective or emotional state quite as much as or even more than it should be regarded as a cognitive or intellectual state. It embodies a subconscious urge no less than a rationalised understanding."

Ready next week. "THE STORY OF ROBERT BURNS" by John S. Clarke. Single copies, 3d; 13 copies, 2/6. Order from J. M. Messer, 31 North Frederick Street, Glasgow.

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By the Editor

SHARPS AND FLATS.

The magistrates of Glasgow ought to go in a body and have their interstitial glands attended to. Either that or they ought to sentence each to fourteen days' quod for fraudulent practices. They are either damned fools or damned rogues. They permit a "carnival" to be held in the Kelvin Hall, wherein the public are rooked by the biggest gang of twisters that ever collected themselves together in one spot—the biggest being in Glasgow Corporation itself for charging one shilling for the mere opportunity or privilege of being "touched" by the others—and after sanctioning the whole bag-of-tricks they proceed to fine one section for fraud.

All Palmists were fined on Friday last for "deceiving his Majesty's subjects." This is a crime that every dirty cabinet minister is guilty of. Every Lloyd Georgian liar who sits in Westminster because he was "going to hang the Kaiser" and "make a home for heroes," etc., is respected, while harmless spae-wives get it in the neck for telling yarns to people who know they are being swindled before they fork out. The writer went to the Carnival. He didn't patronise the Palmists but he got "touched" alright. The "greatest show on earth" put one over on him. Threepence was the price and he saw two scabby monkeys, a small tortoise, and a three-foot snake—leaving the booth wherein the phenomena were gathered, to be "deceived" again a few doors higher up. Threepence again, to see "the lady with five legs." This seemed interesting. It was a pomeranian pup with a small supplementary limb dangling from its left fore-leg. The "horse with its tail where its head ought to be," wasn't there, but the "transparent woman" was on view for another threepence. It isn't often one comes across a female so easily "seen through," but twice bitten—three times shy. I am still wondering what the hell I got for my entrance money of one shilling. Municipal enterprise is a marvellous thing. Wonder what "Forward" has to say about it.

OUR CONTEMPORARY.

"The Communist" came out last week with a column blank because the printer was too white-livered to print the article on Lady Snowden by Henri Guilbeaux which recently appeared in the "Worker." If readers of the "Communist" are curious they ought to apply to J. M. Messer for that particular number. There was nothing "libellous" in the article, but the "Communist" is printed at the wrong shop. One cannot imagine the "National Labour Press" printing anything likely to hurt the susceptibilities of Mrs Snowden.

GENTEE PROPAGANDA.

Gallacher's sneer at the Socialists who want "to get Socialism without annoying the capitalist class," is a shrewder utterance than many think. Anything calculated to shock the sensitive feelings of those very ordinary people who make a pretence of refinement in public, but are no better than anyone else in private, is called "hot air," or by some equally condemnatory name by the cultured Socialists of the middle class. It is sheer spoof, and particularly objectionable spoof, because these folk play tricks of the dirtiest description and clothe themselves with virtue at the same time. I do not know how the psycho-analysts would deal with it, but here is a case in point. The Nat. Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools, which is largely dominated by I.L.P. influence, issues a Hymn Book. At the tail end of the book, as an "appendix," it has three verses and the chorus of the "International." It is printed so that you can't see it

unless you look for it specially, and the vigorous stanza which reads:—

"These kings defile us with their powder,
We want no war within the land;
Let soldiers strike, for peace call louder,
Lay down arms and join hand in hand.
Should these vile monsters still determine,
Heroes to make us in despite;
They know full soon the kind of vermin
Our bullets hit in this last fight!"

is missed out altogether. We suppose it contains too much "hot air," and is perhaps a trifle too frank for the cotton wool revolutionaries of the "don't-hurt-the-capitalist" type. There is always the possibility of that stanza being seized upon by the police or by the "Competent Military Authority" as containing sentiments likely to "cause disaffection among the civil population and his Majesty's forces."

In such a case the song would be banned, it would become a criminal offence to sing it. We would like to ask the I.L.Pers who object to hurting the capitalists, if that is the reason why Mrs. Snowden prints only two stanzas of the "International" in her book on Russia and cunningly makes the one we have printed one of them. Such are your "clean" Socialists who don't believe in "hot air"—because it is a damn sight too honest for them.

UNDER CAPITALISM.

Imagine yourself a visitor from Mars, reader, and a student of British Civilisation. You come to the country of the victors of the Great War, the richest Empire ever known, etc., and you pick up the newspapers, the ordinary capitalist—controlled newspapers. Last week's will do—

"The King and Queen will stay at York Cottage until the end of this month. Things are very jolly there, and the King is shooting a lot over the Sandringham woods."

"London was tremendously full just before Christmas. Then came a stampede; to be followed by a return of the gay folk who didn't want to miss New Year's Eve at the Savoy and Ritz, the Berkeley and Claridge's, Carlton and everywhere else."

"The Prince of Wales yesterday spent the busiest and most strenuous day he has had since his return from Australia. In the morning he devoted nearly two hours to an inspection of the exhibits at the Department of Overseas Trade at the Old Bailey. After lunching at home he started out again for the ex-service men's carnival and exhibition at the White City. There he spent nearly three hours, visiting the stalls and numerous attractions, and when he left at 6 p.m. he was as smiling and gay and as interested in everything as when he STARTED HIS HARD DAY'S WORK AT 11 A.M."

"A pathetic story of a family's desperate fight against starvation on £2 5s. a week was told at the Mansion House yesterday, when a traveller named Henry Elijah Tanner, (28) was charged with embezzling £1 0s. 6d. and 2s. from his employers. He pleaded that he was driven to desperation by his family's want of food."

A detective described a visit to Tanner's home, and said the case was one of starvation. He found the wife and two children living in one room, an attic, for which 12s. a week was paid. All three were suffering from the effects of starvation. The place contained only a bed, a small table and a washstand, while the food in the house consisted of half a loaf and 3-oz. of margarine. The only means of subsistence was 9d.

The officer added that defendant bore an excellent character. Out of his £2 5s. salary he had to travel from Islington to London each day."—"Daily News," Thursday last.

"Two men whose destitution was reported by the Finsbury Unemployment Relief Committee wish to thank "Daily News" readers who have given them a fresh start in life."

Their names are Freeman and Groves, and they have respectively three and five children. The men were not only in the merest rags in lieu of clothing but were suffering from lack of

food. They start their new venture to-morrow. Freeman has the Mons Star."

And that's the kind of data upon which your report would be based on. Civilised? Give us the Stone Age.

THE SAVIOURS.

Sometimes the high and mighty muddlenuts tell the truth about one another. These junketeers, foxhunting, palace-dwelling, auto-owning, do-nothing louts are supposed by Henry Dubb to have a monopoly of brains. As a matter of fact they are just as Robert Burns described them:—

"When fate decided that their pockets were to be full, Nature equally determined that their skulls should be empty."

Mrs Asquith in "Maclean's Magazine" writes of the "peace-makers" in these terms:—

"Christening the four "Big" was fantastic! If any one of them had had any size or even a little greatness the stupid peace of 1919 could never have been perpetrated."

The Paris peace was weakened first by the unconscientious delay of an insensate General Election, brought about by the personal ambition of the British Prime Minister; secondly, by a breathless though natural desire for revenge in France, later by the complete collapse of America through its President on the one side and its people on the other—and ultimately by a general policy of greed, grab and intrigue, which reduced Versailles to a thieves' kitchen.

The worst qualities of every nation, instead of the best, were as violently visible as the flags flown from the ships.

The idealism which President Wilson brought to Versailles "was what all mankind was starving for and every country needed, but the men who made the peace did not fight the war, and as representatives of conquest they were not in the mood for peace."

And, she might have added, a starving Europe, a dozen odd little wars, a million British unemployed, and a rapidly extending Bolshevik movement are the chief ornaments in the butt and ben fit for heroes to live in, made by the barricaded prisoner of Downing Street and his hell-vomited pals.

THE IRONY OF FATE.

Yea, verily, while Davy of Downing Street, who has downed the whole of Europe, has to cancel his engagements out of sheer funk and daren't "come oot" of his dug-out, Mr De Valera, who is being "thoroughly searched for" by Basil Thomson's and Macready's bloodhounds (of the pekingese breed) calmly walks about Manchester and delivers speeches as if nothing was the matter at all, at all! Isn't it delicious?

TROT 'EM OUT.

If you know any dabblers in psycho-analysis, reader, button-hole them and send me the answer. Here is the problem:—

The qualifications of Christendom for a world task were that it gave birth to the great movement THAT HAD BROKEN DOWN BARRIERS OF CLASS AND OF SEX, and that Western science had bound the WORLD INTO A SINGLE UNITY, and taught THAT HUMANITY WAS DEEPER THAN RACE."—Miss Maud Royden at St. Andrew's Hall Conference.

"Chief amongst disqualifications were the extraordinary materialism and SAVAGE EGOTISM that characterised the Western nations. Our attitude that the WORLD EXISTED FOR WESTERN NATIONS TO EXPLOIT, and our silence when material wealth was put far above human life, made her wonder if Christendom was fit for any task at all.—Same lady, ten minutes later."

I have read both pars straightforwardly, then from left to right, backwards, upside down, and got someone else to read 'em, and either the lady's or my own bump of logic has downed tools.

The Arbroath Proletarian School sends fraternal greetings and good wishes for the New Year to all comrades the world over.

The Plight of Lord Weir.

A Reply from the Foundry Floor.

A new prodigy has arisen in our midst in the person of my Lord Weir of Cathcart—a veritable knight-errant of Industry. It is said by some in the noble company of sand-artists—a body largely responsible for his great wealth—that the title is too much for his head! Whether such is the case or not, there is no gainsaying his prominence to-day. But, like other great "captains of industry," that prominence is due, not so much to personal attainments of social value to the community as to the wealth, and therefore power, acquired at the expense of the wage-slaves employed at the Holmpark works and elsewhere. [Query: is he a captain of industry because he is a leader of men, or is he a leader of men because he is a capitalist?] He is probably no worse than the meanest "hand" in the foundry. He is certainly no better. When he girds on his armour, however, to sally forth and tilt a lance at Trade Unionism, especially the Moulders' Union, he is irresistible. We are reminded of an ancestor of his who is said to have lived some centuries ago—the inimitable Don Quixote. For though there is no delusion on the foundry floor as to the impulses at the back of my lord's conduct, quixotic indeed is his onslaught on labour organisation. Thus, while the great "kept" press seeks to cajole that part of the community who knows not, on their acquisition in the person of "The Weir of Cathcart," the opinions formed by the thousands who have passed through his works remain untouched. Weir's, Cathcart, is a byword with honest workmen, especially iron moulders all over Scotland.

Who is Weir, anyway?

Lord Weir is the type of the new industrial prince born of the great war—a type that owes its titles and fame to the capacity for exploiting a great national emergency. Like his compatriots he is arrogant, domineering and merciless in his economic relations with the working class.

Surrounded by a retinue of "scientific managers"—those modern prototypes of the early court favourites of the crown—workmen are regarded by him as so much raw material for manufacturing pumps! The refractory human element that separates the moulder from the pig iron, or the mechanic from the machine, he would fain suppress. His problem is to render the one as docile as the other, and for such a purpose have Bowling Clubs, Harriers, Hockey, and Whist Clubs been instituted, where periodically his benign personal mein may supplement the efforts of his lackeys. Thus, with apparently cheap overalls, and Weir's special dope in the shape of a monthly Bulletin, added to the "clubs" and such like "Welfare" work, honest men are expected to be robbed of their character and reduced to the category of worms! Should the sophistries of the disciples of "Taylorism" fail, force is the alternative, and there is no redress except from the pressure of the Labour Unions.

In the speech delivered by his lordship recently before the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce (as in the letters which appeared in the London "Times" of August and September), one listens to the same old plaintive tale of the iniquities and tyranny of trade unionism—especially the Moulders' Union, his pet aversion. Such diatribes no doubt leave the "hands" cold, since what they owe to their organisations only they alone appreciate. But let no one be lulled into a sense of security because of past achievements. These modern industrial upstarts, like Weir, are after flesh. They mean to have it. Their time is spent in scheming, designing, and laying plans or traps to scotch Labour's unions. They call it progress (?) and expense is no object. It were well to be ready to meet the onslaught presently being arranged, not by Weir alone, but by the entire employing class.

THE New-Old Era!

Amongst the many blessings (?) of the great war for freedom has resulted a new balance of power in industry, and British capitalists to-day are being compelled to re-examine their economic position. A rapid extension of production is the prime essential for the conquest of markets.

Without that the working of the industrial system is impossible. As often as competition brings about commercial stagnation new battles have to be fought again, and so we have substituted for the moment the Yankees and the Japs for the Germans.

That sighed-for and often promised period of prosperity will not come. As often as it seems about to be realised it vanishes into air, and to-day we are back to 1908. To-day, as in 1908, the burning question is: "What to do with the unemployed?" No wonder his lordship cannot sleep o' nights! His dreams are disturbed by this ever-recurrent problem of labour unrest, which is now taking more definite shape, and threatens the foundations of modern industrialism. Should the edifice go, what will become of his title, privileges, or power? And so he hies to the Chamber of Commerce to preach the dogmas of a superannuated political economy; to deliver tirades against all labour organisation, in the vain hope of arresting the coming crash.

As He sees the Problem.

Inverting the order of the phenomena to be analysed, as stated by his highness, but withal placing them in their proper order, we get the following main points of his lordship's speech:—

- (a) Impaired volume and efficiency of production.
- (b) Shrinkage of sales in products.
- (c) Foreign competition.
- (d) Increased cost of living.

As to (a), when Lord Weir talks of the obstructive policy of the Ironmoulders' Union as a factor in impairing production, he deliberately lies! He has been challenged time and again on this point when faced with the union officials, and has never been able to substantiate the claim. For the benefit of those engineers, ex-service men, and others, for whose welfare his lordship is pretentiously sympathetic, the following illustration will suffice:—

When the firm now controlled by Lord Weir started in Cathcart a number of years ago, producing pumps was then, as now, their speciality. At that time the following was the average time for production—

Three men took five days of 9½ hours per day to mould one pump, and one day to close it; therefore the total number of hours required for the production of one pump was 154½ hours. To-day a change has taken place, and the pump, which at that time took 154½ hours to produce, is now being produced as follows—Four men now make two pumps and close them in one day of 8½ hours. This means that the total number of hours required to produce two pumps is now 34, or the total number of hours to produce one pump to-day is 17; which proves that the Moulder has reduced the hours necessary to produce a pump by 137½.

Old time necessary to produce 1 pump, 154½ hrs. New time necessary to produce 1 pump, 17 hrs. Difference—137½ hours.

Although Lord Weir accuses the Moulders' Union of retarding production, the above statement should be sufficient to clear away any doubt in the minds of our fellow workers regarding same, and should also prove to them the fact, that while we have lessened the hours for the production of pumps, our wages have fallen considerably in relation to production.

In view of these facts one feels that our Noble Lord has proved himself worthy of one more title—"ANANIAS"

On the other hand the suggestion that "the employment market must be sufficiently elastic to allow the stoker or trimmer (displaced by the adoption of oil as fuel) to be absorbed in something else," immediately recalls the history of the great machine industry. The factory lords of a century ago whistled the same tune. Professor Jevons taught it in the universities. If you're thrown out of your job by a new machine or invention, go and learn another trade! But the proof of the pudding is in the eating. His lordship wants the advantages of a workers' re-

public with the emoluments of capitalism, which latter only accrue to the favoured few. He can't have it both ways. Were society organised on the basis of production for the benefit of the community, no such barriers as he suggests could impede the transference of labour power rendered superfluous by new inventions. But as long as private aggrandisement and exploitation prevails, labour organisation must remain as the one bulwark against the capitalist greed and rapacity that has neither soul nor honour where profits are concerned.

A change in the composition of capital is the normal method of increasing the volume and efficiency of production; to attain the maximum output per operative with the minimum cost. To seek increased output by extending the working day is reactionary and senseless. The experimentalist of industrial research proclaims it. When his lordship proposes to extend the working day he shows what honour or civic spirit he possesses. All this, however, is commonplace to him. In reality his pretentious interest in unskilled labour is dictated by the demand for cheap labour. The National Union of Foundry Workers are not too soon in seeking to organise the unskilled workers. The latter would do well to hearken and fall in line.

As to (b) and (c), these go together. Where foreign competition is a menace, shrinkage of sales follows. On the other hand the present political instability of the nations of the world—the aftermath of the Imperialists' banquet—renders inter-change of products difficult, or impossible. The "rate of exchange" is merely the barometer, not the cause of no trade. There are plenty of products available, but big business will not sell except on favourable terms. The wealth producers (i.e., the working class) have no concern in foreign any more than home competition. All competition for them is a curse. The inter-exchange of products can only freely take place when vested interests are removed.

A Little Lesson for "His Honour."

As to (d) cost of living, we vouchsafe here a little lesson for his lordship on the elementary principles of political economy, to teach him his P's and Q's. The cost of living, your highness, is not determined by wages—rather the reverse. Wages, as the price of labour power, is determined by the average minimum necessary to maintain and propagate the race of the labourers. Competition for jobs, as every worker knows, regulates in the last analysis this minimum.

The apparent manipulations of your cost clerk are really an anticipation of what the market will stomach, and may deceive himself and you by the appearance of things. Prices don't determine values. It is values that regulate prices. Thus wages don't determine the cost of living. It is the cost of living that regulates wages. Your "greatness" would fain pay the moulders half their present wages, but you know you dare not impair their efficiency; and so access to the industrial reserve army is what the noble lord is really after. But how does he propose to get it while maintaining the social peace?

His plan is to stabilise wages for a period of, say, one year. Having done so, he would scrap all the trade unions and impose payment by results (i.e., introduce the tooth-and-claw struggle among the workers). When the anticipated increased production has materialised and prices reduced, then he would stabilise wages on the new lower basis, and so on, ad infinitum. In other words, he would cheapen production to cheapen the workers until we were reduced to living on the proverbial smell of the rat's tail!

But there can be no stability under capitalism for either employers or wage workers. The very laws of economic development preclude such a possibility. Only when the dead hand of private control, with its class privilege and power, has been buried for good, will there be social peace. Until that day the working class must look to itself, organise in their labour unions, and, taking the tip from his lordship, PREPARE TO FIGHT.

DUGRANNER

WORKSHOP NOTES.

Dear Comrade,—In last week's Workshop Notes you deal with the N.F.G.W. and Paisley, No. 1 Branch. I was very much interested in the article, as it seemed to point to the existence of a rebel group in Paisley; and in view of the announcement of a grouping of general workers of about 1½ million strong, it seems to me that a linking up of the rebel groups, however so small, all over the country is essential if we are going to avoid the A.E.U. fiasco, with its long tenure of office, big salaries and bureaucratic control. The rebels in this district are as yet very few, but we intend to make a move straight away by making an attack on official salaries, which I think would be a good line, leading up to local control, especially financially, and immediate recall of officials.

As a set off we are arranging a meeting of Shop Stewards of the affiliated bodies, officially, hoping that we may gather material for unofficial action. I hope I am not imposing too much by asking you to make the best use of this, either by publication or by putting me in touch with likely individuals.—F.I.B.

A.E.U. GROUP OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS.

Dear Comrade,—In answer to your correspondent W.G., we herewith submit a statement in regard to our intentions towards the A.E.U. organisation.

In Rule 14, clause 13, of A.E.U. Rule Book, it reads thus—

"If, in the opinion of any member or members, any alteration or of addition to any rule or rules of the Society be necessary, he or they may lay the proposed alterations before his or their respective branch or branches. If in the opinion of members present the matter is of sufficient importance, a majority may direct that a summoned meeting be called to consider the suggestions, and at such summoned meeting a majority of those voting may adopt or reject the suggestions. If the suggestions be approved by a summoned branch meeting, the secretary shall enter them in a book supplied by the General Secretary for the purpose, and forward them to the General Office in time to be printed, not later than six months prior to the quadrennial meeting. Any branch initiating an alteration of rule must secure for it the support of two other branches."

The above rule, you will recognise, provides an opportunity to alter any part of rule book, and carry on that work of propaganda on behalf of Socialist Industrial Unionism. Under cover of the rules, we suggest an Alteration of Preface and Initiatory Address. Propaganda has been carried on, and alteration endorsed by branches.

Our intention is now to formulate again, under the cover of rules, an Alteration to the Constitution and Structure of the A.E.U. Starting with Rule—the Name—we suggest an alteration thus—"The Shipbuilding and Engineering Industrial Union."

As to Trade or Geographical Branch, we suggest the substitution of same by "The Industrial Branch." (Illustrated thus, in the local sense—Fairfield Branch, Weir's Branch, Beardmore's Dalmuir Branch, etc.).

The Industrial Branch to have direct representation to District Committee, Divisional Committee, National Committee.

As to the above, you will see that it involves the setting down to the work of drawing up of a set of Rules in conformity with suggestion.

THAT WORK WE ARE DOING.

When details are completed, we intend calling a meeting of all those who are in agreement with our policy. A copy of details will be published in issue of "Worker" previous to meeting.

Signed on behalf of Group, JAS. NESS, Chairman; D. CLARK; T. STEWART; J. HENDERSON, Secy. 433 Gairbraid St., Maryhill, Glasgow.

A SPLENDID VICTORY FOR DIRECT ACTION.

On Friday, Dec. 31, 1920, the Springfield Steel Co. decided, without consulting the men, that a cherished principle would be stopped, namely—refusing to pay the lying time worked for.

With the result that the Shop Committee before 9 a.m. tapped all the sources of importance whereby information could be gleaned, and they could get nothing definite. After breakfast was finished, a deputation went upstairs and saw a member of the firm, who confirmed the rumour that lying time would not be paid. The deputation reported to the men, and they decided to down tools until the firm caved in. A further deputation was appointed to visit the other foundry of the firm and tell them the decision of No. 1 Shop and the answer of the firm; but they decided to stand by the firm. (Someone insinuated "belly-crawlers.")

The deputation reported the decision of this shop; and, while it was disheartening, still they affirmed the decision formerly agreed, and expressed the opinion that they would not be called belly crawlers or worms, and would fight against the firm and the other workers. About 11 a.m. an official came on the scene, and the firm's manager was interviewed, but he could do nothing. We reported to the men.

By this time (12 noon) the men agreed to remain in the workshop until they were paid their lying time. As a last attempt at constitutional methods the deputation was instructed to interview the boss. The boss agreed to see us, and would be in in an hour, which made the men uneasy, and they made their way upstairs and

The Cripple Alliance



TO THE TUNE OF "THE RED FLAG"
DRAWN BY J.S.G. BATTING FOR J.S.C.

threatened to take forcible possession. The boss did not like this, and instantly agreed to see his co-directors. The men withdrew, and after a lapse of thirty minutes the men again boarded the place marked "private" in full force. And although the firm called in the assistance of the police—but that did not frighten the men—100 police would not have stopped them, so outraged were they. And the firm with such a hostile force against them wisely agreed to pay each man in the foundry 25/-. Now, Mr Editor, although we had to wait two hours past stopping time, it was worth the sacrifice, and at least demonstrated to the firm that the Moulders' and Labourers' in Springfield No. 1 were not prepared to accept the kicks and the blows of the management. And I hope a salutary lesson has been given to the firm and the others who worked—will waken up and fight as a whole the next time.

DUMFRIES HOSIERY WORKERS.

Comrade,—Under above heading I wrote a short account of the manner in which workers here had been led to defeat and left in a humiliating position by the officials of "The Workers' Union." Mr. Climie, the district organiser, replies in an article purporting to be refutation of the charge, and he challenges me to debate. I adhere to every word of my previous article, and in fact Mr. Climie bears out my statements, even whilst

he adopts the lawyer's idea—"when you've a bad case abuse your opponent."

I accept his challenge. Will he communicate with Will Gray, 8 Maxwell Street, Maxwelltown, or myself at 3 Whitesands, Dumfries, so that details may be arranged.

As to proving anything, well, Mr. Climie, you will have to take different lines if you even intend to try to show that T.U. tactics have not failed, not only in this particular case, but in the class war in general.

I offer only a few comments on this diatribe of a disgruntled T.U. leader. As it would be insulting the intelligence of the readers of the "Worker" were I to answer in detail. "What are the facts?" quoth Mr. Climie. Robert Burns said: "Facts are chiefs that winna ding," but then Burns had not met a modern Labour leader.

The girls were advised to cease work by their union officials, who assumed that they would be entitled to unemployment benefit of 12/- from Labour Exchange and 10/- out of work benefit from their union. What actually happened was that payment was refused by Exchange. My contention is that Mr Climie as a workers' leader had no right to advise as he did merely on assumption. A leader should be sure of his facts before attempting to lead. He proclaimed this fight to be of national importance, yet neglected to be sure that his fighters would have the means at their disposal to carry on. When he discovered his error he re-advised the girls to offer themselves for work, which apparently in the interval Mr Climie had discovered was non-existent. Is this true leadership, and did he not let those hosiery workers down? True, when turned off now they are entitled to unemployment benefit, and those who have paid 3d a week to 10/- union benefit; but that is not the main point, as readers of my previous report will observe. Let Mr Climie and his fellow T.U. officials rid themselves of their slavish worship of constitutionalism and their belief in the apathy of the rank and file, then perchance they may be able to recognise that a fight affecting one section of the workers affects all, and that strong unions such as N.U.R. should be given opportunity to signify their willingness to make common cause with their comrades in a weaker position.

Why the splutter as to the report that union allowance was to be 6/3 instead of 10/-? (And Mr Climie when you quote me do so accurately.) There was a statement to this effect in Dumfries "Standard" (Dec. 18), and I have yet to learn that you challenged it. I observe a letter over your signature in "Standard," Jan. 1, and you make no reference to this matter which evidently stirs you so deeply. Perhaps the dilatoriness in paying out union money may account for the belief being prevalent that union members will be lucky to get even "the miserable strike allowance." This "strike" may be only an incident so far as you are concerned, but I can assure you it is of infinite importance to the girls. What are you going to do about it? I await with relish the opportunity to debate the question before a Dumfries audience.—Yours for Revolution,

ALEC BAYNE.

✦ ✦ ✦

(To the Editor of the "Worker.")

Dear Sir,—Allow me as a Dumfries worker and a Revolutionary Socialist to place before your readers the true position of affairs in Dumfries. I will kick off with the unemployed. The comrades have been compelled to take up this question, and truly they have made a sorry mess of things. Taking into consideration the "White Guard" tendencies of the controlling spirits of this organisation, nobody wonders at the mess they have made. The authorities have started a few of the men on what they term emergency work, at the emergency wage of 1/2 an hour, while the figure locally is 1/6 an hour. Here's the sequel. The labourers on the town building scheme were to have had an increase on their 1/6 an hour, but the Council had this turned down, and have issued instructions that all further work undertaken by them shall be paid at the rate of 1/2½ an hour. So much for the unemployed question. I wish to say a few words re the hosiery

workers in Dumfries. I happen to have been a member of the Workers' Union up to this, and know something about its working in Dumfries. In the first place, let me correct Baillie Climie regarding his statements in the "Worker." The officials of the Workers' Union never advised the workers how to act. It was suggested by one of the girls that they should throw themselves on to the Labour Exchange, but the lady organiser refused to commit herself either way; further, Baillie Climie himself admitted to the girls that he did not know whether they were entitled to unemployment strike or lock-out benefit; and last but not least, Baillie Climie says that the Workers' Union are paying 10/- a week unemployment benefit to the girls who were contributing 3d per week to the Workers' Union Unemployment Fund besides their 12/- State allowance. As I have a few girl friends contributing to this fund who have not as yet received one penny piece, I should be glad to know when and where it is being paid out.—I remain yours,

F. H. DAY.

Communist Unity

A further meeting was held at Leeds on Saturday last of the Committee appointed to organise the Convention to establish a United Communist Party for Great Britain.

Those present included A. MacManus and A. Inkpin, representing the Communist Party of Gt. Britain; J. V. Leckie and J. M'Lean, representing the Communist Labour Party; and R. Beech and T. Watkins, representing the Communist Party (B.S.T.I.).

The Unity Convention was definitely fixed to be held in Leeds on Saturday and Sunday, Jan. 29 and 30. Representation will be of branches of participating organisations as well as of independent Communist groups willing to join the united Party, on the basis of one delegate for additional members above 25. Voting at the conference will be on the basis of one vote for every 25 members represented. Notices convening the Conference will be issued this week, and all inquiries and applications for delegates' credentials should be addressed to Albert Inkpin, 16 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 2.

J. M'LEAN.

CENTRAL HALLS, BATH STREET,
—Sunday, January 16, at 6.30 p.m.—

JOHN S. CLARKE.

Russia: Introduction of Christianity and
the Tartar Domination.

Latest authentic news of the world's affairs will
be given at the conclusion of the Lecture.

SILVER COLLECTION.

PAISLEY READERS NOTE.

THE ABOVE LECTURE

Will be delivered at the C.L.P. Rooms, 6 Causey-
side St., on Monday night at 7.45.

* * *

COMMUNIST LABOUR PARTY
(Anderston Branch).

Sunday First at 6.45 p.m. in Socialist Hall,
569 Argyle Street.

Speaker—TOM CLARK.

Next Week—Musical, Evening Lyric Socialist
Choir.

N.B.—Members are urged to be present at
Branch Meeting on Sunday first. Business im-
portant.

Obituary

The Vale of Leven Branch of the Communist Labour Party has suffered a severe loss in the death of Comrade Archie M'Lean. Comrade M'Lean died very suddenly on New Year's morning at Bonhill. For years he has been a keen advocate of a class union in the industrial field, and two years ago when the local branch was formed joined up, and since then has been a very active worker on the political field. He was one of the men responsible for the setting up of the local economic class, under the Scottish Labour College, and he drank deep at this fountain, being a regular student up to his death. The local branch of the C.L.P. claimed a lot of his time, and he gave it ungrudgingly. As a member of the literature committee he was for ever proposing schemes for the pushing of the "Worker" and other revolutionary literature. He was responsible for the sale of four dozen "Workers" in the workshop every week, and was continually pushing the sale of the Party's books and pamphlets. As shop steward in the moulding shop of John Brown's & Co., Clydebank, he did a lot of sterling work here, and was the means of stiffening up the worker's organisation. As the saying is: One of the men who make movements.

Of a quiet and unassuming nature, Comrade M'Lean was very little known outside a circle of personal friends and the local Socialist Group. No raising of cenotaphs to this soldier because he was fighting the battle of the oppressed. Had he been fighting the bosses' battle in the same spirit as he fought the workers, he would have had O.B.E.'s galore. As it is he was one of those men who will never be mentioned in dispatches, but who has been the means of helping to build up the world-wide Socialist movement that will ultimately bring about the downfall of Capitalism.

He was buried on Tuesday afternoon at Millburn, Renton, where a large turnout of local rebels attended to pay their last respects. His parents, to whom we offer our sympathy, have lost a good and dutiful son, the oppressed one of their noblest defenders and the Socialist movement, a staunch adherent. May the sword rest lightly on him.

Power! Power!! Power!!!

Labour power under capitalism functions as a commodity, offered for sale on the open market daily by the workers.

The capitalist class control the means of wealth production, and force the workers to sell their labour power at a price which affords them only a bare subsistence, while the ever-growing surplus product, made possible by the increasing division of labour and the development of machinery, serves to enrich further the master class.

Through machine improvement and efficiency methods, the margin between the workers' wages and the value of the wealth they produce increases enormously, and, therefore, the relative condition of the working class continues to sink lower and lower.

Thus we have the anomaly of starvation in a land of plenty, a distinctive feature of the capitalist system, which becomes more and more apparent to the working class; while the capitalists themselves are overpowered by the forces of production they have perfected but are no longer able to control, suffocated by the enormous mass of wealth they are no longer able to consume. The result is that the army of unemployed is increasing and will go on increasing this winter, and the master class may be compelled to give way to the economic and human forces around them.

In this crisis the only class that can take over the management of industries, is the working class, the class that must emancipate itself by getting control of the machinery of production and distribution, and forming the new society within the shell of the old, which means transferring the power from the master class to the working class.

This can be done only through an industrial organisation, whose programme is to unite the working class, and educate them for the purpose of taking the power away from the few; to meet the master class for the final struggle; to shake the chains of wage slavery; to establish Industrial Communism.

Let our motto be—"Go, go," after the organised, to bring them into our organisation, to strengthen our POWER, and be ready for the final clash between the master class and the working class, that the workers may win.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

LANTERN LECTURE

by

COMRADE WM. PAUL.

In Coatbridge Town Hall, on Sunday, 16th Jan.,
at 7 p.m. Doors open at 6.30.

Subject—"The Martyrdom and Triumph of
Labour in Russia."

Tickets, 8d. each (including tax), may be had at
Hall Door on entering.

Car to Baillieston Terminus, Char-a-banc to
Langloan, and Airdrie Car to Dunbeth Road, 65
minutes from Glasgow Cross, last Car returning
from Baillieston 10.12 p.m.

* * *

ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

GLASGOW AND DISTRICT MAY-DAY
COMMITTEE, 1921.

The first Meeting of the Delegates will be held
on Saturday, 29th January, 1921, at 3 p.m., in the
Tinplate Workers' Hall, 9 Watson Street (near
Glasgow Cross). All Delegates are requested to
attend, as there is Business of Importance.

If any organisation has not received an invita-
tion to send Delegate, write at once for full in-
formation to the Secy., JOHN M'DOUGALL, 239
Clockston Street, Glasgow, S.S.

The Employers are United. Why not the
Workers?

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN.

Branch Secys., Delegates, and Members are re-
minded that a Special Meeting of the N.E.C. will
be held on Saturday first at 8 Greenwell Place,
Govan Cross. It is imperative that there be a
large attendance, as business affecting the future
existence of the organisation will be discussed,
also arrangements for the forthcoming Confer-
ence. A General Meeting of the Membership will
be called at once. Members will receive post-
cards advising them as to time and place of meet-
ing, and admittance will be by postcard only.

JOHN COX, Sect.

* * *

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