

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

THE WORKER

ORGANISE
EDUCATE
THE ORGAN OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES SCOTLAND

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper. A TONIC FOR THE HOPELESS, A SCOURGE FOR THE SPINELESS.
Edited by JOHN S. CLARKE.

No. 120. 12th MARCH, 1921 Price 2d.

National Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees.

8 Victoria Bldgs, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester.

Dear Comrade,—A National Conference of all unofficial bodies embracing Workers' Committees, Shop Stewards' Committees, Reform Committees and Vigilance Committees is being convened for the purpose of reviewing the position of the Movement relative to the various industries operating throughout the country.

The N.A.C. has recently met with representatives of the Miners from five different areas, the Dockers, and the Scottish Movement.

It is generally accepted that the time is ripe for a unified National Movement, embracing all the unofficial movements in all Industries.

At this conference, a policy will be outlined whereby Committees operating at the point of production, and groups working inside the Trade Union branches, can co-ordinate their activities through a National Committee.

The N.A.C. or National Committee will be elected at the Conference on a basis of two representatives from each of the following areas: North England, South England, Scotland, Wales.

You are invited to send two delegates as representatives of your committee to the Conference, which will be held on Thursday, March 31st, commencing at 10 a.m. and continuing each day until Sunday, April 3rd, at the A.S.E. Institute, Stanley Street, Wicker, Sheffield.

Attached is a Provisional Agenda, embracing the main items. Your committee is requested to submit any amendment or resolutions to the Secretary, together with names of delegates appointed, not later than Monday, March 28th.

Delegates requiring accommodation, should write to F. Peart, 26 Nettleham Road, Woodseats, Sheffield.

A representation fee of 2/6 will be charged to assist in defraying the expense of the Conference.

—Fraternally yours,

T. KIME, Secy.

PROVISIONAL AGENDA.

1. Chairman's opening remarks.
2. Election of standing orders committee.
3. Election of credentials committee.
4. Secretary's report.
5. Correspondence.

6. Reports of local committees. (In this connection, secretaries of all local committees are requested to send a written report, not later than Monday, March 28th.)
7. Report on the Red International.
8. Report on the relationship of the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee movement to the Communist Party.
9. Consideration of Draft theses.
 - 1—"The World Revolution and the Immediate tasks before the Industrial Organisations of the British Workers."
 - 2-The Unions and Dictatorship.
 - 3-State Ownership and Control of Industry.
 - 4-Unemployment.
 - 5-The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
 - 6-Relationship to the Red International.
10. Draft Constitution and Rules.
11. Election of—Secretary; President; N.A.C.
12. Constitution and Rules.
13. Any other business.

Note.—In sending reports of committees, alterations and amendments, Local Committees should outline any suggestion with regard to the operation of the Workers' Committee Movement to their section of Industry.

"COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM"

By Bishop WM. M. BROWN.

Analysed and Contrasted from the viewpoint of Darwinism and Scientific Socialism. Newly Revised Second Edition 200 pages.

"Communism and Christianity" has been warmly received by the American workers. The book is meeting with pronounced opposition from the entrenched interests. Members of the chamber of commerce are threatening the author and trying to suppress the work.

Price 1/-. Six for 5/- postpaid.

International Reply Coupons purchasable at any post office accepted for single copies. Postal money orders payable in New York should be used when ordering six or more copies.

Published by the MODERN PRESS, Box 205 Madison Square, NEW YORK, N.Y., U.S.A.



First Congress, Russian Revolutionary Trade Unions.

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By the Editor



"MORNING STAR'S" VISIT.

For the last six weeks the city snobs, prigs and parasites, lean and fat, freckled and pimply, male and female, have been receiving lessons in the arts of boot-licking, belly-crawling, bending, simpering, dust-eating and looking-soft. "Morning Star," alias "Dawn of Morning," otherwise Prince of Wales, the big chief without papoose, whose papa reigns over a bigger collection of murdering, scalping, thieving savages than ever followed the celebrated "Sitting Bull" (who was certainly a man to look at) is coming to Glasgow. As a matter of fact this redskin chief ought to be in town by the time this is printed. Buffalo Bill, unfortunately, is dead, so part of the show won't be able to show up. However, the personality of the heir apparent doesn't interest us very much, for only little minds are interested in little things. Unemployment and Ireland are two very big things which ought to interest everybody with a soul, but they don't; or else there are a great many people without souls. Our city fathers with grandfather Paxton at the top, have consistently buried the local unemployment question in order to waste precious time and money in learning to perform the great grovel before young Albert-Edward-Christ-knows-what-Windsor. With them is the most blackguardly, slum-edited, liar in existence, the "Daily Record," exhorting the populace of Glasgow to cringe, and fawn, and halloo at one pale-faced blood-brother of an American aborigine, simply because he is expected to be, if accidents don't happen, the ruler of the British Empire one day. The Councilor-baillie-journalist-boss clique who run the circus are experts at the game of stinking servility themselves. They learn it gradually when they don't suck it in with their mother's milk. Watch them, reader, if you get the chance.

See the male snobs smirk and crowd forward to touch the prince (not for cash but merely to brag about it) and watch the female ones, decked up in furs, feathers and war paint like squaws at a witch-hunt, bending their knees and pulling faces as though they were chewing chunks of Epsom salts. The knees have to be bent at the correct angle—too many degrees one way or the other being "bad form" or "vulgar," don't y'know! But the men can't bend forward too far—right on the floor itself they may slobber and lick the muck off the royal "eezyphits" without being accused of bad taste (unless the prince has been treading where he shouldn't).

Perhaps this horde of sycophants will treat their royal guest to a tour of the factories. Here's a chance for some of the pretty girls of Parkhead. Why not? Teddy is looking for a "click" and the cry has gone forth "the prince must have a free choice"—and surely to God it's time our royal blood had some vigour instilled into it?

Some, or rather one, of our soney lassies lassies could do the trick alright—and be queen into the bargain, a pretty one by way of a change. What a romance! "From Beardmore's to Buckingham Palace," by Lizzie McNab, or "My Life in the Wigwam of 'Morning Star'" by Jeannie McAteer of the Brigton "redskins." Funnier things have happened (Sir Harry Lauder for example) and funnier things could happen (the same Sir Harry exhibiting signs of brain-power, we'll say). We're a bit fed-up with royal prodigies who never seem to develop from their first infancy naturally, but merely continue living until they reach their second. Teddy, for instance is coming all the way to Glasgow to play with those silly little guys called boy scouts, who look as much like "scouts" as a barber's pole resembles a periscope. A game or two of "tuck-in-yer-tuppenny" might put some breadth on to our future monarch, and his offspring, if the result of a union with the "lower orders" might influence the royal family sufficiently to come over to our side at the revolution. Stamina will be required on that day. We humbly suggest, therefore, that the Lord Provost try and effect a real democratic match, and we are assured, as a further step toward the democratisation of the British monarchy, that a wedding breakfast will



be provided gratis by Dan Minnock of fish-and-chip fame—every chip corrugated by hand and embossed with the three white feathers of princedom, and then—God save the Prince of Wales.

ACHIEVEMENT!

There is no disputing the fact that the Prince has achieved some remarkable things which have, naturally, considering his station in life, brought him considerable renown. To begin with, he permitted himself to be born; and if one takes a good long look at the British working class it will be clearly seen that the future Edward the VIII. has that personality which marks him out as "one who was born to rule." While still young he descended the treacherous steps of a stoke-room ladder, and heroically faced the inferno with a shovel like a working fireman—and magnificently stuck it for a whole hour. A photograph of this unique occasion appeared in the "Daily Mirror." Not even Richard of the Lion's heart had tackled a job like that. Later on he assisted his father, and Mr Lloyd George, to win the war. This was a splendid example of filial piety. Father "drew the sword and swore it would never be sheathed" until the Huns were satisfactorily bashed, and the Belgians, Sinn Feiners, Indians, Egyptians, Bash-Bazouks, Checko-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, etc. had got

"self-determination." In this good work our noble Prince participated. The thrilling account of his adventures among the Redskins (not the Glasgow breed) during his perilous voyage around the globe has become, in the words of Jack Dempsey, "a household word." Which reminds us that on several occasions our royal guest has met Jim Wilde and Carpentier in notable ring contests, which he was not a principal. On one of the occasions he very nearly sat beside George Bernard Shaw, who wrote an epic poem on the last for the "Nation" (newspaper) and forgot to mention the Prince. It is history that he once shared hands with a real shop steward, but the suggestion that the S.S. and W.C. movement ought to have, in consequence, the "feathers" printed on its official notepaper was turned down at the Conference. The prince, we believe, is the British heir apparent who can claim the special distinction of having presented a small kangaroo to the London Zoo, and according to Monday "Citizen" his sister keeps rabbits, no natural history is in the blood. Volumes could be filled with stirring accounts of tremendous deeds and breadth escapes which our noble Prince has no connection with, but space is valuable. Anyway, here's good health to him, for after all it isn't his fault.

MORE OFFICIAL PLUCK.

Guy Aldred, Andrew Fleming, Jane H. Fals and Douglas M'Leish are the four latest victims of the British Treppoff, Sir Basil Thompson. The crime is alleged sedition, which was already a month old before the arrest took place. That "sedition" has caused no trouble is very evident and yet bail has been refused to the prisoners. This, we suppose, is the Scotch way of doing things. The other seven prisoners for "sedition" were all allowed bail—in England—but a strike was necessary to secure bail for Gallan Muir, and Bell when the Scotch police arrested them the first time. And this hole of reaction called the most progressive city in Britain.

THOSE EXTREMISTS!

In the "Scottish Critic," a monthly magazine of "Finance, Insurance and Commerce," March there is an article on Stock Exchange matters generally from which we quote the rubber:—

"When current commodity prices are contrasted with those ruling before and during early stages of the war, one is driven to the conclusion that the upward movement in rubber was shockingly overdone."

So shockingly in fact that while the "dear" in the trenches" were being bayoneted "strafed" the British Cabinet ministers while they were helping Germany to win the war by exchanging rubber tyres for Bosch machine guns. But see how calmly the rubber profiteers con-



having held the country up to ransom during time of danger, and nobody screams hand the time. They are suffering now, which brings us an illustration of the absolute insanity of the capitalist system, to say nothing of its hypocrisy. From the same article we extract the work of gleeful satisfaction that production has increased:—

"A month or two ago rubber fell to 10½ per lb. and the share market was very sick. It has been far from robust for a long time past, but two months ago it was absolutely limp. Stocks were heavy here as elsewhere, consumption had greatly fallen off, while production had been on a heavy scale. There was nothing enticing in the position or the outlook, but, as has so often happened in similar circumstances, the very blackness of the situation attracted buyers. Producers, too, took measures to reduce outputs and generally extend a helping hand to the industry."

That last sentence means that the "producers" (bosses) sacked the workers wholesale. This is called, by the parasites who manipulate on the stock-exchange, "lending a helping hand to the industry"... Was ever fouler hypocrisy known? Where the rubber is grown the lunacy of Capitalism is even more obvious. From the current issue of the "Malay Mail" we learn that the rubber estates representing a capital of £100,000,000 "are busy competing with one another and turning out rubber which is not wanted and at a dead loss to themselves, and are justly inviting the Government to legislate to prevent them continuing the industry." Think it over, and agree that every Capitalist who believes in Capitalism ought to be shut up in a lunatic asylum.

THE THINKER—AND PROPHET.

When you hear the twopenny patriot, the yellow journalist and the equally yellow "Labour" politician yapping about "order" and "constitutional methods" as opposed to the "impetuous methods of the hot-heads," just remind him that there are thousands upon thousands of people dying and starving because (1) of the continuation of the above idiotic system; (2) of his cowardly timidity in tackling the job of overthrowing it. The conditions "necessary for the final victory of the working class are here now—produced by the world war. The whole putrid system is in a state of collapse. Only the yellow-livered and black-hearted "Labour" leaders and politicians have power to prop it up and they are doing so. They are neither thinkers nor doers, except in so far as they think of their own interests first, and "do" the class they are supposed to fight for. Who advised the acceptance of the "Datum Line"? Where does the Datum Line come in to-day? Who besought the workers to "increase production"? Their so-called "leaders." For accepting the Government terms, the miners have got less than nothing—unemployment plus the miseries it brings in its train. For more production the workers have received more hunger, more nakedness, more anxiety, more contempt. Don't blame the Capitalists without blaming along with them the filthy fakir breed who led you like sheep into the shambles. These wretches ought to know the system upside down. It is their duty to make themselves acquainted with every fact in the organisation of industry. They ought to be able, after years of Capitalist intrigue, to warn the class whose money they live on, of the dangers ahead. Instead, they actually grease the pathway to facilitate the progress of the workers towards that danger. The filthy scabs that they are. These are the paltry creatures, who, together with their political brethren, speak patronisingly of Marx and Engels. Look at Thomas, look at Adamson, look at Brownlie—think of the exhortations of Hodges, and contrast the "intelligence" of such things with that of the man who wrote this thirty-four years ago:—

"And, finally, no other wars will be possible for Prussia (Germany) but a world war, a war so extensive and frightful as has been hitherto unthought of. Eight to ten millions of soldiers will

murder one another and incidentally devour Europe as would a swarm of locusts. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War pressed together into three or four years and spread over the entire continent; famine, epidemics, a partial return to savagery on the part of the armies and the masses of the people, brought about by acute suffering; demoralisation of trade, industry and credit, ending in general bankruptcy! An absolute impossibility to predict how all will end and who will be the victor. One thing is absolutely certain, general exhaustion, and the bringing about of the conditions which will be necessary for the final victory of the working class!

"This is what must be looked forward to when the system of competitive armament will have borne its inevitable fruits. To this pass, princes and statesmen, you have brought Europe, and if nothing else is left to you but to start the last great war dance, we may as well be satisfied with it. The war may, perhaps, force us into the background for the moment; may even take from us many a position we had conquered, but if you lose the forces which you are afterward unable to control, things might as well go as they will."

Everything almost as described has come to pass except that working class victory—which is coming, which has come to Russia—and the above passage was written in 1887, over a quarter of a century ago, by Friedrich Engels in his preface to "A Memento to the German Jingoists" by Borkheim.

And Mr J. R. Macdonald says that Communists are impetuous and do not look ahead.

THE VALIANT SIX.

Who, when reading the account of the execution of the six Irishmen at Cork last week, could believe that such calculated brutality could be exercised in the twentieth century, and by men who represent the culture of the university? Think of the studied callousness of taking them out two at a time and inflicting the mental torture upon the last pair by permitting them to hear the death volleys of their comrades. Not even the Bottomleyan conception of a dastardly Hun was ever capable of such a refined method of savagery. The German officer who shot Nurse Cavell was a hero in comparison with the thugs who rule Ireland, for he at least waited until his victim had fainted before killing her. Parts of the report read like a scene in medieval Europe instead of modern Ireland:—

"Nearing 7.45 Mrs MacCurtain, the widow of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, joined the watchers, carrying a statue of the Sacred Heart. A picture of the Sacred Heart had also been affixed to the barrack wall.

About ten minutes to eight a lady recited the Rosary in Gaelic, the women of the Cumann Na Mban and the inhabitants of the workers' cottages near by joining in the responses.

On the stroke of eight a volley of rifle fire broke the stillness of the morning. The silent spectators again dropped on their knees, lighted candles were held aloft, and the Litany for the dying recited.

It was then thought that the first volley had mercifully ended the six lives, but this belief was dispelled at 8.15 when a second volley rang out.

At half-past eight a third discharge of shots indicated that the remaining prisoners had paid the supreme penalty."

In spite of it all the heroes "met death like schoolboys on a holiday."

SOMETHING TO "BROOD OVER."

You all know what a brood-bitch is! To use the definition of the small school girl it is "a female dog which is used for making pups."

The bourgeois notion of womanhood is about on a level with the little girl's idea concerning the "female dog." They howl alright when the rumour is spread about women being "nationalised" in Russia—because it not only gives them

a club with which to beat Russia and Communism, but also affords them an opportunity of parading their pharisaism. Now the war hit France hard in many ways. It robbed her of a million or so of her youth at a time when she was known to be suffering from a falling birth-rate. A Parisian doctor recently suggested "obligatory maternal service for all French women" but there was no howl in the bourgeois press about it—no indignant oratory from the European bourgeois statesmen. Oh! no! "desperate diseases require desperate remedies" and the bourgeois ethicists will soon find a moral sanction for the institution of brood-women; if "national importance," i.e., capitalist necessity, requires it. According to "American Medicine," organ of the New York Medical Society, the French Government have taken up the idea and are busy propagating increased propagation by compulsory means, as keenly as our labour traitors lured the working class here into unemployment:—

"Just as military service is obligatory for men, material service as a duty toward the state should be obligatory for women. In France men are compelled to do military service for three years. A maternal service of three years being inadequate, it is suggested that women be inscribed on the role of motherhood from 18 to 40 years—22 years of service. During these years they will be compelled to make their maximum contribution to the state."

This is reducing human beings to the level of royalty with a vengeance, but with a different object in view. Royal stud farms are maintained chiefly to provide heirs to the throne, but we ordinary persons must breed images and likenesses of God Almighty to provide wage slaves and war sport for the ruling class. There would be no wars if there weren't sufficient mugs to fight them, therefore the breeding of mugs must become compulsory. But suppose this sort of thing had been suggested by Trotsky!!

THE NEW FACTOR.

Oh! beyond a doubt Mr Macdonald would easily have got in at Woolwich had it not been for the Communists. Make no mistake about it—the Communists could have secured Mac's return by merely keeping clear of the contest. Unity has justified itself already, it has brought into political life a new determining factor. What was done at Woolwich can be done elsewhere. The Party must hurry up and prepare for the first general election—the Thomas, Henderson, Shinwell type of politician can be hit in their weakest point.

BIG BURDENS AND LITTLE ONES.

The main topic for our legislators to discuss next week will be the Naval Estimates. Don't forget, reader, that we've just finished the famous war to end war. These are the days dreamed of by the Welsh Wizard when he uttered his celebrated "Never again!"

In 1913 Germany was competing with Britain in the business of building up a lick-creation navy. A cry of anger was raised because "our" own navy cost us for that year £48,000,000. The German Fleet is now either scrap iron or else helping to solve the housing problem of the mermen and mermaids at the bottom of the sea. Our expenditure therefore, seeing we have no rival next door, is to be reduced to £77,000,000 next week. Brainy folk we British!

The chief business of our M.P.'s this week has been to shower congratulations on Mr Arthur Hayday, M.P., whose wife presented him with the eighteenth wean last Saturday. Arthur has been twitted by some of his friends for "attempting to emancipate himself from the income tax authorities." His total income is £800 per year, and every child means a rebate. If Arthur is wise he'll hike himself off to France, as, judging from the subject matter of a previous paragraph, his services are urgently required in that country, and it's a thousand to one they'd waive the income tax to get him there. More power to his elbow.

Parasitism in the Labour Movement.

An Exposure.

We have from time to time commented on the salaries paid to Trade Union officials by a generous and short-sighted rank and file. We have never done this on the ground that the payment of large salaries imposed any very serious economic hardship on the individual members of the Trade Unions. It is obvious that no cutting down of officials' salaries is likely to enrich the rank and file as individuals. The whole case against the payment of large salaries rests on the fact that we are creating a class of petty bourgeois workers to overthrow capitalism. We have referred recently to the glaring case of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, and we now return to that subject in greater detail. Like the workers' wages the wages of the officials fluctuate with the selling price of steel. They have a basic salary below which they cannot sink, but above that their wages increase with every rise of steel prices. Here is a list of the beauties who have secured a "new heaven on a new earth" at the expense of the mugs in the above-named union:—

Organisers.—£150 base, advancing £20 per annum to a maximum of £300 plus the scale. The scale at the moment is 188½ per cent.

Below I give a detailed list of Central Office and Divisional Officials' salaries as at January of this year. John Hodge, £1,000 plus scale, 188½ per cent, £2,887; less £400 party salary, £2,447.

Central Office Officials.—Arthur Pugh, C.O. Secy., £660; plus scale, £1,905 15s. Robert Dennison, Assist. Secy., £425; plus scale, £1,227 3s. 9d. John Baker, Assist. Secy., £425; plus scale, £1,227 3s. 9d. Percy Cole, Society's Solicitor, £500; plus scale, £1,443 15s. Daniel Jenkins, £325; plus scale, £891 5s.

No. 1 Division.—James Walker, Div. Officer, £425 bare; plus scale, £1,227 3s. 9d. Owen Coyle, Assist. Div. Officer, £375 bare; plus scale, £1,082 16s. 3d. James Sinclair, Organiser, £225 bare; plus scale, £649 13s. 9d. John Mulholland, Organiser, £225; plus scale, £649 13s. 9d. J. Munro, Organiser, £225; plus scale, £649 13s. 9d.

No. 2 Division.—W. T. Griffiths, D.O., £425 bare; plus scale, £1,227 3s. 9d. Robt. Charlton, Organiser, £300 bare; plus scale £866. George Beadle, Organiser, £300 bare; plus scale, £866. George Morgan, Organiser, £225 bare; plus scale, £649 13s. 9d.

No. 3 Division.—Walter Dodson, D.O., £425 bare; plus scale, £1,227 3s. 9d. Moses Humberstone, Organiser, resigned. It is rumoured that Humberstone has a tailor's business. James Sweeney, Organiser, £200 bare; plus scale, £577.

No. 4 Division.—Jabez Hall, D.O., £425 bare; plus scale, £1,227 3s. 9d. David Martin, Organiser, £295 bare; plus scale, £851 14s. 4d. Mr Powis, Organiser, £225 bare; plus scale, £649 13s. 9d.

No. 5 Division.—Percy Whitehead, D.O., £400 bare; plus scale, £1,155. Mr Gordon, Organiser, £250 bare; plus scale, £721 7s. 6d.

No. 6 Division.—Morgan Rees, D.O., £375 bare; plus scale, £1,082 16s. 3d. Tom Llewlyn, Organiser, £200 bare; plus scale, £577. Geo. Davies, Organiser, £200 bare; plus scale, £577.

No. 7 Division.—John Brown, D.O., £400 bare; plus scale, £1,155. Mr Smith, Organiser, £250 bare; plus scale, £721 7s. 6d.

We cannot imagine a class of men in that position risking their secure position by leading the workers in any industrial struggle where they might come up against the strong arm of the capitalist state.

Like all other privileged classes, however, the bureaucrats of the Confederation are beginning to erect intellectual defences against the rank and file. The intellectual defences consists in supporting that dope agency called the Workers' Educational Association, a body which is so detached from the affairs of this wicked world that it is preaching the doctrine of impartiality in education in the midst of the bitterest class struggle in history. Now education may be im-

partial in some things. The W.E.A. may be able to supply its pupils with impartial astronomy, though we venture to suggest that there is an over-supply of stargazers in the Labour movement at the present time. It may give them a slight introduction to bourgeois culture, which may or may not reconcile them to the Calton, though we venture to say that with the scant opportunities and unsuitable environment of the workers at the present time, the teaching of general culture to the workers is about as useful as a missionary effort to convert the South Sea Islanders to an acceptance of Einstein's Theory of Relativity. Genuine culture cannot flourish on a basis of class degradation, even though the soil be watered by the maulin tears of the sentimentalists of the W.E.A. But in the social sciences the W.E.A. cannot be impartial unless it imports its tutors from Heaven. The W.E.A. tutors cannot stand "above the battle." They either stand by the workers or they stand by the employers. They cannot do both. And we fear very much that they are with the employers, otherwise the latter gentry would not plank down any assistance. The W.E.A. student is popularly supposed to be a searcher after truth. The various writers on the social sciences are also supposed to be searchers after truth, and if the worker searches long enough he will contract the necessary mental indigestion, and be exhibited to the world as a man whose mind has been "broadened." The thing is all right speaking in terms of eternity, but the worker has a world to win now. What he wants is a strictly partial class education that will make him an efficient fighter in the class struggle. That education has been gradually evolved by the growing experience of the workers in the class struggle.

The other stuff supplied by the capitalist universities is the deadliest intellectual poison. Indeed if a professor in the social sciences ceased to supply intellectual poison he would speedily lose his job. The W.E.A. brand of education makes for intellectual muddlement. It does not make workshop rebels. It makes dilettantes and hair splitters. It is therefore just the kind of thing that all vested interests require to buttress their authority. And the Labour bureaucracy is a vested interest. Hence its love for the W.E.A. On the other hand, the rank and file of the workers require education in the ethics and mechanics of the class struggle. They will be therefore well advised in shunning education selected by reactionary officials to buttress their parasitic position, and will support the Labour Colleges in every way.

* * *

Get Ready for the Big Fight.

More Government Treachery.

Is it just a coincidence that the first big industry which has to face the post-war wholesale reduction of wages is the Mining Industry?

Not at all. The attack on the miners is part of the policy of the entire capitalist class, who reckon that if the miners can be compelled to accept lower wages, the opposition of other workers will be broken.

A realisation of this ought to compel the miners to fight as they have never fought before. To determine that under no circumstances will they allow the shilly-shallying on this occasion which has marked most, if not all, the fights of the past. To see to it that they, and not well-paid officials, determine and control the policy of the fight; that they, and not the officials, shall approve of the settlement, and that no minority Rule shall be obeyed on this occasion (as was done in 1912 and 1920).

The coalowners, back by the Government, threaten to lock us out in April. If the lock-out takes place we must see that it applies to every one connected with the Industry. We would be worms indeed if we allowed any of our people to keep THEIR property intact while we ourselves are kept outside the gates. Let our motto be—All In or All Out.

The plot to force us on our knees has been

deliberately hatched by the coalowners and the Government.

De-control has to take place on March 31st, but the Coalowners are guaranteed their profits until September. This gives the Coalowners six months to fight the miner at the public expense. Isn't it a pretty game? The Coalowners have been shouting for de-control since the Armistice.

"Very well," say the Government, "after 31st March our control will cease."

"But miners' wages are too high," retort the coalowners, "you must reduce them prior to terminating the control."

"That would never do," say the Government. "In a strike for higher wages a Government may interfere for the purpose of cutting down the demands of the workers,—but it simply cannot shoulder the responsibility of actually reducing wages. Why, if we did that, the workers would see us in our true colours right away. No, dear Messrs Coalowners, the job of breaking Miners' wages must be tackled by you."

"Right you are," (from the Coal-bugs), "give us a grant of several millions and we'll guarantee to beat the miners to pulp."

"No need for a grant," reply the Government. "We'll continue to guarantee your profits for six months after control is removed. During that time you can call what tune you like, and we'll pay the piper. The workers won't protest because they won't understand, and the capitalists won't protest because they WILL understand—that we're fighting THEIR battle too."

There is only one really effective policy for the Miners to adopt, and that is to refuse to be locked out. To continue at work in spite of the Boss, and appoint committees to establish workers' control of the product.

Whatever policy may be directed upon, one thing is certain: The rank and file must be the closest possible touch with each other. We must have machinery to foil the defeatist tactics of the official gang. The various Reform committees provide that machinery, so each individual should link up with his district Reform Committee; and if there is not one, it is his duty to get one started and communicate with the writers.

Already something definite has been done. Communications are established between the Rebel groups in Wales, Durham, Northumberland, Scotland, Notts, and Yorkshire. This is not sufficient. The movement must be made all-embracing. There must not be a Miners' Lodge without its Reform Committee, nor a District without a Joint Reform Committee. In addition to this, there must be a Central Unofficial Committee for collecting and disseminating information.

Apart altogether from the coming crisis, it is absolutely necessary that we should start in earnest to secure rank and file control of our organisation. A new constitution for the Miners' Federation and its constituent parts is in course of preparation, and will be finally drafted for transmission through the official channels at an Unofficial Conference to be held in Sheffield on March 31st and three following days.

More particulars as to the proposed constitution and also the Conference will be given next week. Meanwhile, all mine workers are urged to leave no stone unturned in an endeavour to secure representation at Sheffield, as it will be the first All-British Unofficial Conference in the history of the Miners' movement, and will meet on the very verge of the greatest crisis which the Miners have yet had to face. Concentrate upon this Conference. Talk about it in the pit, and out of the pit. Discuss with your mates the possibility of sending a delegate or co-operating with neighbouring lodges in sending one. Never mind whether you have yet got a Reform Committee set going or not. Set one going as soon as you can, but in the meantime get down to this—Every District in Britain must be represented at Sheffield on March 31st and April 1st, 2nd, and 3rd.

W. J. C. KIRKENDALL

All interested should communicate with the writer through the "Worker" office.

Next week—M.F.G.B. Constitution.

Industrial Peace.

By E. Burns.

Trade with Russia; unemployment; Ireland; on each of these matters British Labour has decided to do nothing beyond asking its sixty odd Members of Parliament to talk. And in all probability they will talk; they will seize every opportunity (within the limits of strict Parliamentary respectability) to talk about these things. They will talk about them for hours, and (if Parliamentary procedure allows) they will do more—they will vote about them. And so it will go on for three years, or the duration of the rank-and-file's patience, whichever shall be the shorter. In the meantime the unemployed will have starved; the wages of the employed will have been reduced far below the pre-war standard; the Irish will have been exterminated; fresh attacks on Russia will have developed; there will have been a few more Amritsars in India, and probably also in Egypt; and then we shall have another General Election, in which the Constitutionalists will have another great triumph over the Revolutionaries. Lloyd George will have another great Coalition, and a few more of the Labour leaders will receive Privy Councillorships for their loyal services to King and Constitution.

What a pretty picture it is. All brotherly love and kindness (except of course for the Reds); all industrial peace and more production and profit sharing, and seats on Boards of Directors for "loyal" Labour. Yes, it is a charming picture—but it may not all work out according to plan. The whole scheme depends on the Capitalists being successful in keeping the present Trade Union leaders in control. These loyal leaders can be trusted to prevent any unconstitutional action, and to negotiate a compromise settlement if any awkward situation arises. Coal, railways, and all the other industrial difficulties can be got over by suitably-staged "negotiations." And if more serious political differences spring up—such as the shooting down of trade unionists—the loyal leaders can be depended upon to let off the steam in a few demonstrations and resolutions. It is a great thing for capitalism to have so many loyal Labour leaders about; but there might be the devil to pay if the rank and file began to see through their duly accredited leaders.

So the Government has to take action about this Red T.U. propaganda. Moscow attacking the British Government is bad enough; but Moscow attacking the Reformist leaders may spoil the whole canvas on which the pretty "Industrial Peace" picture is to be painted. Therefore a good few prosecutions are to be expected. It is true that it is not yet a criminal offence to advocate joining the Red T.U. International and leaving the loyal leaders out in the cold; but any old charge will do. The other day a policeman brought up evidence that a certain person had shown disrespect to the Prime Minister; soon evidence of disrespect to a trade union leader will be handed in to weight a charge of inciting to riot. This evidence will be enough to show how dangerous the prisoner is to the State.

If Government action is not enough, the Trade Union Executives will begin to act. When the resolutions from branches asking the Executives to affiliate to the Red T.U. International have filled twelve waste-paper baskets, the Executive will issue a manifesto denouncing the insubordinate groups which are weakening the "loyalty" of the rank and file to their duly elected leaders. And this manifesto will be published in full in the whole of the capitalist press, with suitable editorial comments.

On the other hand, the indictment of the leaders will not get such publicity. The capitalist press will not mention it; much of the so-called labour and socialist press will suppress it, loudly proclaiming their belief in unity and protesting against these attacks on people who have spent their lives in the service of the Labour movement, etc., etc. So it will be when any Executive has negotiated a "settlement" or has accepted an "offer" from the employers. But in the next few months it is going to be more and more difficult for the leaders to persuade the workers that they have negotiated a "victory." With the value of money falling, it is easy enough to get a nominal increase of wages which shows up as a victory on paper. It is going to be much more difficult now. All round there are going to be reductions in wages. The trade union organisations under their leadership. The policy of industrial peace will have been shown to be bankrupt. All the good feeling and all the brotherly love in the world will not disguise the one plain fact of a steady reduc-

tion in wages. And the workers whose wages are being reduced will not listen very sympathetically to the old, old story of taking the matter up in the House of Commons, and perhaps having a Great National Demonstration of Protest.

The lines of the coming struggle are already pretty clear; it will be a struggle between the rival policies of the Amsterdam International and the Red T.U. International—between the policy of negotiation and the policy of assertion. This struggle must be fought within the Trade Unions before any further stage can be reached. The victory of the Red policy will mean retirement into oblivion of those Trade Union leaders who see in the capitalist a brother-opponent of change; it may even mean the expulsion of Red groups from their Trade Unions. But the Trade Unions will recover from such temporary shocks; they will find that they can get on very well without their half-hearted leaders, and the expulsion of Red groups will only hasten forward the complete exposure of the leaders.

The conditions of the struggle are becoming more definite every day. And the moment towards the Red International is rapidly developing. But it is of supreme importance that this development should be conscious—that the contract between the policy of the Red International and that of the Amsterdam International should be fully understood. It is the job of readers of this paper to make it clear to the others. The essential feature of the Amsterdam International is class-peace. The bankruptcy of this policy must be shown up; its utter failure to safeguard the interests of the workers must be demonstrated, using the examples of the miners, the railwaymen, and the workers in every industry where any fundamental question has been raised. It must be pointed out that to present "demands" to the employers and the Government is, in plain English, "begging," if when demands are rejected nothing is done but to present the demand again, possibly a little modified so as to stand a better chance of getting the "demand" granted. The Trade Union leaders who are identified with the Amsterdam International are simply beggars, asking for favours from the capitalist class.

Against this slavish attitude the Red T.U. International sets the one fundamental idea of self-reliance. The workers will be saved, not by charity and alms, but by their own determination to control. The struggle for higher wages may work out without much disturbance of the class-peace; the struggle for control cannot. It is the keynote of the class-war; and as the demand for control becomes more keen, so the whole fabric of class-peace will collapse, dragging with it the Trade Union leaders, the Amsterdam International, the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, and Capitalism itself.

Why Reduction?

The ruling class is as helpless as the working class to remedy things under the present system, and it is for that reason that the workers must get down and study their position in society. Opening trade relations with Soviet Russia, or another war more bloody than the last, may for a brief period relieve the situation, but it will only be a matter of time until the situation is at least as bad as it is now, if not worse. No permanent improvement can be made as long as the present system exists, and only the overthrow of the capitalist system will bring life, hope, and happiness to the workers of the world. No government on earth can control the economic laws of the system under which they operate, neither can labour. It is the system that is wrong, and out of that flows all the ills of humankind. The tendencies to reduce wages are as much a result of the situation that now prevails as were the tendencies to increase wages during the period of the war, when labour was in big demand, due to the economic situation at that time. The law of supply and demand is now working overtime and against the workers, but it is a law that is part of the present system, and those who are being ground by it should realise this and their troubles will only end with the system that causes them. Economic laws are like the supposed mills of the gods—they operate at all times, and in this case they are grinding the workers exceedingly small.

The Pilgrims of Liberty

By Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 1825-1868.

[One of the editors of the "Nation," 1842. Escaped to America in 1848, where he became well known as a journalist; was elected a member of the Canadian Parliament, and assassinated in 1868.]

Beside a river that I know, shrined in a laurel grove,
I see my idol—Liberty, that wears the smile of Love;
Her face is toward the city, four paths are at her feet,
They bear her hymns from the four winds as rays converging meet.

By the four paths I see approach my idol's votaries:
Those from the highlands of the West, from Northern valleys these;
From Shannon shore and Slaney side yon other pilgrims throng;
Oh! wild around my idol's shrine will surge their mingled song.

And thither wends that wounded man, who bears the muffled sword
Once borne by the comrade true his kindred heart adored;
The sacred stains upon the blade are drops of tyrant blood:
He brings it now to Freedom's shrine, as loyal comrades should.

And thither wends the widow, with her fair son at her side,
The banneret, whose eye is wet beneath his brow of pride;
The sable cap around the staff his father bore is roll'd—
The shining Sun across the Green flings many a ray of gold.

The maiden with the funeral urn close gathered to her breast
Goes thither to give up the heart she loved on earth the best;
She girt his sword and gave him for Ireland's holy fight—
And once again to Liberty, Love yields her equal right.

The Artist, with his battle piece—the Poet, with his song—
The Student with his glowing heart, pour to the shrine along;
Where Liberty, my idol, sits on a shrine like snow,
By a gliding river that I love, near a city that I know.

Oh, long around my idol's throne may bloom the laurel trees,
The ever green and ever glad, they laugh at blight and breeze—
True children of our hardy clime, long may they there be seen—
Like our nation's banners folded, as deathless and as green.

Oh, long may the four pathways join beneath my idol's feet,
And long may Ireland's mingled men before her altar meet;
Oh, long may man and maid and youth go votaries to the grove
Where reigns my idol, Liberty, that wears the smile of Love.

Archbishop Mannix

Comrade H. A. Campbell, author of "The Crucifixion of Ireland," has received the following letter from Archbishop Mannix:—

Nazareth House, Glasgow,
25th February, 1921.

My Dear Mr Campbell,—I am glad to know that your pamphlet has been so widely read, and that it has gone into the third edition. What the people want is information. The working man especially is open to conviction, and inclined to be just. You have given him, in a most telling form, ample material for coming to an impartial and a decisive judgment.

Faithfully yours,

T. MANNIX.

The above pamphlet, issued by the Scottish Workers' Committee, has been sold in amazing quantities, and has received favourable mention abroad. The Sydney "Socialist" crystallised its contents in one of its recent issues, and commented upon it as follows:—

"In a finely written pamphlet just to hand H. A. Campbell, late Labour Organiser of Australia and New

Zealand, and now in Scotland, has given a vivid and terrible account of the manner in which the Irish people are now being treated by the British Government. According to Campbell, the brutalities and atrocities committed by the English troops in Ireland excel anything that has been attributed to German troops during the recent war. Almost weekly hundreds of men, women, and children are being shot at sight by human brutes in English uniform known as the Black and Tans. Other outrages, more especially against women and children, are being committed almost daily by the same vile and brutal creatures with the full approval of the British military officials. . . . The pamphlet, which consists of 35 pages, is one of the most damning indictments that has ever been written dealing with the position in Ireland and the infamous atrocities committed by British soldiers and the British Government's policy of frightfulness. If one quarter of what Campbell has written is true, the British Government stands condemned as one of the most brutal and as one of the most corrupt that has disgraced the twentieth century."

It is now in its third edition, and every effort should be made to get it circulated as widely as possible. "If one quarter of what Campbell has written is true," says the above. Alas! it is not only true, but Campbell has been unable to condense within 35 pages the hundredth part of the truth—and yet that which he has done makes the flesh creep and the blood boil. Order this booklet at once from 31 North Frederick Street. Price 6d.

A Nation Once Again.

By Thomas Osborne Davis, 1814-1845.

When boyhood's fire was in my blood,
I read of ancient freemen,
For Greece and Rome who bravely stood,
Three hundred men and three men:
And then I prayed I yet might see
Our fetters rent in twain,
And Ireland, long a province, be
A Nation once again.

And from that time, through wildest woe,
That hope has shone, a far light;
Nor could love's brightest summer-glow
Outshine that solemn starlight:
It seemed to watch above my head
In forum, field, and fane;
Its angel voice sank round my bed,
"A Nation once again."

It whispered, too, that "freedom's ark,"
And service high and holy,
Would be profaned by feelings dark
And passions vain or lowly:
For freedom comes from God's right hand,
And needs a godly train;
And righteous men must make our land
A Nation once again."

So, as I grew from boy to man
I bent me to that bidding—
My spirit of each selfish plan
And cruel passion ridding;
For thus I hoped some day to aid—
Oh, can such hope be vain?—
When my dear country shall be made
A Nation once again.

So long as one man plants, ploughs, and produces, while another plucks, plunders, and parasites on what that other produces, there will be no peace on earth.

It is the nature of a Government not to be ruled, but to rule. And as it derives its power from the army, it will never give up the army; nor will it ever renounce that for which the army is designed—war.—Tolstoy.

The Game of Fooling

In his dealings with labour the boss is a crook. He will swear with tears in his eyes to one truth to-day and another to-morrow. His object is to fool the workers that he may keep as much of the surplus as possible.

When the boss wants to cut wages, he will holler that wages must come down so that he can sell cheaper in the market, and when the workers go to him and ask for more wages, he has his newspapers tell them that he could not possibly pay them more because then he would not be able to compete. The only situation that would give the boss any chance of a show in the market is for the workers to work for one shilling less every day from what they got the day before.

The boss is fooling the workers right along on this market talk, and he is as artful as a slight-of-hand performer in a music-hall. Every time he is forced to pay higher wages he will increase the price of his goods. He even is artful enough to insert adverts. in the papers, saying that on account of an increase in wages the price will be increased proportionately to offset it. Public corporations have got this humbug down to such a science that they manage to load every wage increase over on the consumer.

Before the boss is forced to come across with a wages increase he claims that he cannot possibly pay it, because it would ruin his chances to sell in the market, or to compete with the other fellow or the other town or the other country, and all this kind of talk; but after the wages have been forced up he goes to the other extreme, and uses a ten per cent. wage increase as an excuse for a thirty per cent. price increase.

The position is this: There is a struggle always going on between the workers and the bosses about the division of the surplus. Whatever increase takes place in the workers' share, there must be a corresponding decrease in the boss's share, all other factors being equal.

The boss has advanced the money to pay the workers before the article is put on the market. That is his function. That is why he appears as boss. He advances the money to buy the raw material and pay the wages. The finished article belongs to him. He sells it in the market. When he realises a sum higher than what he invested in the turnover, he gives himself great credit, and likes to make out that he has brains. If on the other hand the stuff will not sell, he is a failure. This is called by the boss who invests his money "taking a chance," and it is on the strength of taking that chance that the boss claims he is entitled to all of the surplus.

The product on which the wages have been paid goes on the market.

Supply and demand regulate prices. Nothing else. Whether the boss has paid 1s. or 5s. an hour in wages on the article he puts up for sale has got nothing to do with the price it will fetch.

The farmer takes his chickens to market and asks as much as he thinks he will get. But the price of fodder that the farmer paid does not enter into the price he will get for his chickens. He sometimes has to sell at a loss, notwithstanding what he paid for his fodder. So happens also sometimes to the boss.

No capitalist would sell any cheaper in the market because he had forced wages down. When the capitalist goes to the market to sell he always asks all he thinks he can get. If he did not, he would be a fool. On the other hand, he could not add a wage increase on to a market price, because that might bring the price up so high that he found no buyers. What he does do when he reduces wages is to pocket a bigger profit, and when he has to pay higher wages, his profit suffers the loss. No individual boss can juggle with the market prices.

Small business men imagine that they determine their price in the following fashion: Rent 5, interest 5, labour 5, profit 5, the price of the article shall be 20. But nothing of the kind. What they do do is to find out what the article they wish to manufacture is selling for or can be expected to sell for, and then they figure out if it will pay them to manufacture on these prospects. If promising, they go ahead; if doubtful, they investigate some other avenue of business.

This nonsense of wages determining prices is the absurdest economy the bosses have ever spread for the confusion of their wage slaves.



The Spring "Offensive."

"Dope" and "Dabb" Phrases Analysed.

By A. W.

"You cannot alter human nature."

This retort is supposed, like Mr H. G. Wells's "poser" about the proletariat, to effectively close discussion. Before showing the fallacy of the statement, it is necessary to understand exactly what is meant by "human nature." Human nature in this sense really means human behaviour or conduct under certain circumstances,—that, for instance, man will always seek gain, will always be willing to take advantage of the weaker, etc.

Let us examine this more closely. I mentioned last week that everything was subject to change, and human nature must also change, else the whole basis of modern science is wrong.

Human nature does change from day to day, from year to year, often imperceptibly. One instance where it has changed very evidently can be observed any night at the theatre. Twenty years ago a visit to the pantomime meant the loss of one's temper, perhaps a few teeth, often your odd coppers, and almost certainly a few buttons. What do we find to-day? People go to the theatre, take their place in the queue, never dream of making a rush for the door as in the old days, and if there is no room they go elsewhere. Human nature has improved so far in regard to places in the theatre, not quite so much in the matter of tramcars, and in regard to money not at all.

The capitalists scratch and tear at each other to obtain the greater share of the spoil, and the workers are driven to the same performance in the hunt for "jobs."

Outside the work gates, though the scramble for jobs may be disciplined in queue form, nevertheless hunger makes it impossible for the unemployed to resign himself to circumstances. I was very much surprised to see in France the canal banks covered with heavily-laden apple trees. Why, I asked myself, are these not cleaned by the local children in a few days? Simply because they receive sufficient apples, and do not require to steal them. So with the girl in the sweet shop, so with all people who have not lived on the edge of starvation all their lives.

All then that is required to change human nature is to guarantee man against the terror under which he lives, viz., that when he is no longer able to work he will be left to starve. The only thing which prevents this being done is the fact that when he produces necessities of life, he hands them over to someone else to distribute, and the good kind gentleman who undertakes the direction of this heavy task, hands about one-quarter back to the producer, and keeps the three-quarters for his own private purposes.

When the workers alter that system, they will make it possible for human nature to adapt itself to the new surroundings, and to be altered beyond recognition.

British Trade Unionism and the Revolution.

By J. R. Campbell.

The British Trade Union Movement has reached a critical period in its development. It is confronted with problems that it cannot surmount by pursuing its old methods and organisation. It is now passing itself through a process of self-criticism out of which there must emerge new organisational forms, with new tactics and a new objective, otherwise the British working class will go down into a slavery and degradation surpassing in horror even the Inferno which it passed through in the early days of the factory system.

The trade unions had their origin as defensive organisations thrown up by the workers to protect their interests against the exploiting tendencies of rapidly developing capitalism. They were strongest originally in those occupations where the development of capitalism had proceeded to the greatest extent, where the separation between master and man had made it almost impossible for a smart workman to standard of life of the workmen was being challenged by the standard of life of the workmen was being challenged by the growth of capitalism. Such early unions were mostly confined to highly skilled workmen, they were local in scope, and conservative in outlook. Their principle activities were the conservation of methods of working and of the standard of life to which they had been accustomed. They were fighting to retain the positions they had already reached against the new power in industry which they felt to be crushing them. The ruling class met them with the most savage persecution, but the unions were rooted in the economic needs of the working class and ultimately survived the persecutions and won the right of combination.

The development of industry in the early part of the nineteenth century was accompanied by a considerable mental ferment amongst the working class. Schemes of social regeneration were in the air. The new industrial system was felt to be a colossal failure. The poverty of the masses was growing alongside the prodigious increase of wealth producing power, and all sorts of Utopian schemes were being sponsored in the hope that their speedy application would transform society. The trade union movement was infected with the prevailing spirit and several attempts were made to develop the workers' organisations as instruments of social transformation. The most notable of these experiments was that of the Grand National Consolidated Union, which was for a time under the influence of Robert Owen. The aim of the Grand National was to organise the workers as a class for the battle with capitalism. From the first, however, the organisation was torn with dissension, between those who desired that it should work for a social transformation by supporting Utopian schemes and those who desired to use it as a fighting industrial organisation. The mass of the rank and file were favourable to the latter policy, and the organisation was exhausted by a series of ill-conceived strikes, and gradually went down before the combined attacks of the employers and the Government. The reasons for the failure of the organisation were several. The means of communication between districts were slight; the craft spirit was strong; in fact, the material conditions had not developed to make class unionism anything more than a beautiful but impracticable ideal. One thing that might be noted in this connection about early trade unionism, both in its local craft form and in the trades unions of the Grand National type, was the financial laxity prevailing throughout the organisations.

The prevailing craft union forms of organisation were developed in the mid nineteenth century during a period of profound psychological depression as far as the mass of the workers was concerned. They were exclusive in character. The men who undertook the task of putting craft unionism on the national basis had not only experienced the failure of revolutionary unionism, but had also watched the blasting of the high hopes which for a time had been raised by the political chartist movement. To them, as practical men, the only thing that could be done was to organise the highly skilled men, limit entrance into the craft, build up big fighting funds, and pursue a conciliatory industrial policy towards the employers. The policy was successful for the skilled men who adopted it. Trade was expanding and it paid the employers to purchase industrial peace by throwing some small concessions at the skilled men, while submitting the unskilled to a more rigorous form of exploitation. While, however, it gave the skilled men concessions, it narrowed their point of view to what was happening within the confines of their own

craft. Each group of skilled men pursued a policy of "ourselves alone," and the British Labour Movement became a congeries of groups of skilled workers pursuing a selfish craft policy. The administration of high financial benefits and the negotiation on points of detail with the employers necessitated the creation of a class of full time officials, the forerunners of the bureaucracy which is hanging so heavily on the backs of the trades unionists to-day. The high funds engendered a spirit of conservatism, while the friendly society side of the organisation tended at times to swamp the industrial side.

The result of the foregoing development was that when the intensification of exploitation and the growth of consciousness among the unskilled forced the latter to organise, they organised apart from the skilled unions. Indeed, the early efforts of the unskilled workers to organise brought down upon them the withering contempt of the craft union leaders, who asserted that no form of trade unionism could exist permanently unless it was organised around some skilled craft. At the same time the miners and the railwaymen were gradually building up their organisations. In those industries there was not the highly skilled crafts that existed elsewhere. When the organisation was developed in the struggle it gradually aspired to embrace all grades of workers working within the industry. This is the position occupied by the N.U.R. and the Miners' Federation to-day, though it must be pointed out in this instance that some small skilled crafts in the mines and a part of the locomotive and administrative staff of the railways remain outside the organisation. Broadly speaking, however, it is easier for a man to shift from one occupation to another in those industries, and consequently it was easier to set up unions on an industrial basis here than elsewhere.

There are then roughly three forms of union organisation in existence: (1) The craft union form, which may be divided into crafts confined to a single industry (colliery enginemakers, for example) and crafts engaged in a number of industries (engineers, joiners, etc.); (2) the general labour organisations, which take in unskilled men and women working in every industry; and (3) the organisations approximating to an industrial form such as the miners and railwaymen. There are a few unions here and there which it would be difficult to fit into this classification, nevertheless it gives a fairly accurate picture of the forms of organisation prevailing in the British Labour movement.

In recent years there has been an enormous increase in Trade Union membership. Masses of workers acting under the pressure of economic circumstances have been flocking into the unions. Alongside this growth of union membership there has been a growth of the power of the paid officials. In most British unions the full-time officials are under the control of an executive of lay members, but the control is purely nominal. As a rule the executive is like putty in the hands of the paid officials, who generally function in the most autocratic fashion. The salaries paid to such officials enable them to live in a social strata far above the working class. In this atmosphere they generally become more bourgeois than the bourgeoisie themselves. The constant intercourse with the employers and the extra work and worry involved in conducting trade disputes engender in them a conservative state of mind. In all industrial upheavals the officials act as a restraining force, more intent on securing "peace at any price" than at securing the victory of the workers over their class enemies. The bureaucracy is now almost developing the characteristics of a separate class. They are beginning to organise their own organisation within the Labour movement, and are demanding more generous treatment from the rank and file. (Such an organisation is the Scottish Association of Trade Union and Political Labour Officials.)

Recent developments in the union movement have served to still further consolidate the power of the bureaucracy. For a long time the paid officials resisted any attempt to reduce the number of unions in the country by the process of amalgamation, fearing that a reduction in the unions would involve a reduction in the number of officials required to run the unions. Now, however, the pressure is becoming too great to be resisted, and the officials are being forced to come together and discuss amalgamation schemes. A notable feature of amalgamation schemes drawn up by the officials

is that great care is taken to safeguard the economic position of the bureaucracy by guaranteeing the officials their jobs for a long period of time.

In the last generation the development of industrial technique, and the consolidation of the forces of the employers has undermined to a very great extent the basis of many of the skilled crafts, and has rendered craft unionism obsolete as an effective force for advancing the condition of the workers. The result has been the growth of unofficial organisation working without and within the Trade Union movement, endeavouring to bring into being the industrial solidarity of all workers. Such unofficial organisation has embodied itself in different forms from time to time, and has worked along different paths to obtain the objective of industrial unity. One of the earliest attempts which was made to create the necessary unity was the effort made to develop one great union on a preconceived plan, by getting the workers to leave existing sectional organisations and fall into the places which industrial development and the architects of the one great union had decreed that they should fall into. This attempt came up against the powerful feelings of group solidarity animating the workers in the various unions, and while the ideal of industrial solidarity was spread and the weakness of craft unionism effectively exposed, no concrete organisation resulted. As a result of this propaganda there grew up the amalgamated movement, aiming at bringing about amalgamation by propagating industrial solidarity in the union branches. The amalgamation movement was largely confined to the branches of the unions of the engineering industry. In recent months, however, there has been a notable development of rank and file organisations working within the officials unions, particularly in the mining industry. The weakness of such unofficial groups is that they have not been in sufficiently close contact with one another, and as a consequence of this have often been pursuing divergent policies. There is a pressing need for the immediate linking up of all union groups working within the same industry, so that there shall be a common policy pursued, and also the linking up of unofficial union groups with extra union organisations, such as the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee movement. It is obvious that propaganda within the branches of the unions has a very limited value. A very small percentage of the membership of any union attends the branch meetings, and if the great masses of the workers have to be reached some other method has to be found.

The Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee movement emerged to prominence during the war as a result of the operation of several tendencies. There was the need keenly felt even before the war of developing some form of workshop organisation in order to remedy the everyday grievances arising in the workshop. The remoteness of the Trade Union branch from the workshop rendered this an urgent necessity. As the need for this organisation was being felt acutely at a time when the weakness of craft organisation was becoming increasingly apparent, and as most of the leaders of the new movement were industrial unionists concerned with creating solidarity and securing workers' control of industry, the workshop organisations tended to approximate to an industrial form from the start. The earliest form of such workshop organisation was the Clyde Vigilance Committees, starting as bodies having representatives of all the crafts in a workshop, concerned at first mainly with fighting non-unionism, but gradually taking on wider functions, until with the paralysis of official unionism during the war the Workers' Committees became the only fighting committee during the war that fulfilled three functions: (1) It acted as a substitute for official unionism. It functioned as an extra union organisation (2) propagating the solidarity of all workers within the industry and the adoption of the workshop as the unit of industrial organisation; and (3) urging the industrial objective of workers' control and management of industry in preference to the prevailing ideal of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. The post-war industrial situation calls for the intensification of the two latter activities, while in a crisis the Workers' Committees and the unofficial union groups may have to again act as a substitute for Trade Unionism if the official machinery controlled by the bureaucrats is not sufficiently responsive to meet the needs of the times.

Obviously the form of unofficial organisation will vary from industry to industry. In the mining industry in many areas official committees with considerable powers have been set up, and it is therefore the function of the unofficial organisations to carry on a struggle to capture the key positions in the local branches, the district county and national organi-

sations and the official pit committees. In the mining industry there is not the same need as in other industries for breaking down trade sectionalism and creating an atmosphere which will force reactionary sectional organisations to unite. Rather the struggle in this industry is being carried on to break down obsolete county formations, to develop a miners' industrial union in place of the federation of county unions, to limit the power of the bureaucracy, and to emphasise that the tactics of the organisation should be devoted to securing workers' control of industry.

In the engineering and shipbuilding industry, on the other hand, unofficial workshop organisation is vitally necessary for breaking down the spirit of sectionalism and consolidating the now scattered forces of the workers. In this and in other industries where sectionalism is prevalent unofficial organisation in the workshops and the branches must be developed.

In the transport industry, on the other hand, especially on the docks, permanent committee organisation on the job is difficult to get, but wherever possible they should be developed. In this industry, however, the Vigilance Committee, working through the union branch, will probably be the predominant form of rank and file organisation. No matter how much the forms of unofficial organisation may vary from industry to industry, all rank and file organisations, whether working within the branch or the workshop, should be linked up in a national organisation.

Though the form of unofficial organisations may vary from industry to industry their purpose is the same. It is to break the power of the reactionary bureaucracy, unify the industrial forces of the workers, and liberate the masses for revolutionary action. The bankruptcy of the capitalist order must be stressed. The futility of pursuing a reformist policy leaving the fundamental basis of capitalism unchallenged at a time when capitalism can only prolong its existence by imposing heavier burdens upon the workers must be emphasised. Workers' control and management must be preached during periods of industrial inactivity and during strike crises, not as an alluring but distant ideal, but as the way out. Every large scale strike or lockout has revolutionary possibilities which must be exploited to the utmost. The workers must be urged to shift the strike or lockout from a passive to an active basis, i.e., they must set up alternative political and industrial organisation to that of the employing class and government of the country.

The development of a strike, lockout, or unemployed crisis from a passive to an active basis lifts the struggle from the industrial field and makes it a struggle carried out on all planes of social activity, a struggle aiming at the destruction of the state power of the employing class and the substitution of a workers' state.

The effective waging of such an intensified struggle demands the creation of some mass organisation embracing the working class, an organisation that will undertake the waging of the struggle in every possible way until the capitalist state has been smashed, and the workers' organisations become the basis of the new state. Such a mass organisation of the workers based on the workshops, the unions, and the co-operative would be the Soviet or Workmen's Council. Such an organisation cannot be manufactured at will. It is a product of a social crisis, when the masses are in motion against the existing order of society, when they find the traditional organisations no longer capable of dealing with the situation. The idea that such organisation should be set up during a crisis must be propagated steadily within the workshops and the Trade Unions, so that the workers will be prepared for all eventualities.

The fact that the industrial struggle develops into the political struggle demands that the workers' organisations shall be under the guidance of a centralised disciplined party of picked revolutionaries, the Communist Party. Such a party must establish its party groups in the union branches and in the workshops with a view to capturing the organisations there for Communism. Without the establishment of those groups in the workshops and the branches and the establishment of their moral authority over large masses of the workers, the control of the industrial organisations by the party is an impossibility.

Great care must be exercised that the securing of such control within the workers' organisations does not lead to union or committee splits along party lines. Such splits would be dangerous at a time when the need for industrial consolidation is so pressing. The Communist factions must be prepared to work within the larger bodies, and accept their decisions so long as they are allowed freedom of propaganda.

The British Trade Union movement is, as we have seen, made up of different types of official organisation, supplemented by extra union organisation such as the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee movement. It is the work of the extra union organisation to gather together in the workshop and the branch all elements who are prepared to work for the consolidation of the workers' industrial forces, the break-up of the reactionary union bureaucracy, the acceptance of workers' control and management of industry, and the alteration of tactics accordingly. It is the work of the C.P. to secure through its workshop and branch groups the effective control of all official and unofficial industrial organisations.

With the achievement of the proletarian dictatorship the unions cease to be fighting industrial organisations and become organs for regulating wages, maintaining labour discipline, and drawing the masses towards participation in the work of industrial management. They are therefore "schools of Communism." The end of the process is that the organs of industrial management will be created by the workers' state, and the unions shall gradually fuse together and form a mechanism for managing the industrial processes of a society based on Communism.

The International break-down of capitalism and the intensification of the class struggle in all capitalist countries is creating an international class battlefront. The unofficial industrial organisations must work unceasingly for breaking down the insular outlook of the British worker, and the merging of the British unions into the only effective revolutionary international industrial organisation—the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. To this end the reformist leaders at home and their spineless international federation of Trade Unions must be effectively exposed, the unions disaffiliated from such a body, and united together in the Red Trade Union International, the fighting International of the toiling masses.

Pen-Pictures of Russia under the "Red Terror."

(A Journey Through Bolsheviki Land)

By JOHN S. CLARKE.

THERE HAS BEEN A DEMAND FOR THE RE-ISSUE OF THE ABOVE IN BOOK-FORM FROM ALMOST EVERY PART OF THE WORLD, AND IT IS PROPOSED TO ISSUE IT, CROWN OCTAVO, 300 PAGES OR THEREABOUTS, WITH UPWARDS OF THIRTY ILLUSTRATIONS (SOME OF WHICH HAVE NOT APPEARED HITHERTO) AS SOON AS A SUFFICIENT RESPONSE WARRANTS THE UNDERTAKING. THE ENTIRE BOOK WILL BE RE-CAST, MUCH NEW MATTER ADDED, AND ISSUED IN CLOTH COVERS AT, IF POSSIBLE, SOMETHING LESS THAN 5/-.

¶ There is scarcely one American Labour paper that has not drawn largely from it, and many entire chapters have been reprinted by "Soviet Russia," the last issue of which gave the place of honour to Comrade Clarke's thrilling story of the Kremlin.

¶ The chief value of the book lies in the fact that there is nothing to stale in it—it will be a vivid and entertaining narrative of scenes, incidents, personalities, historical tales and poems and descriptive writing, one hundred years hence. Facts and figures on the Soviet Regime which were accurate six months ago, are absolutely out-of-date to-day, such is the kaleidoscopic character of a "transition period." Clarke has studiously avoided these, and his book will, in consequence, remain, in the words of a critic, "an achievement in romantic but truthful literature."

¶ Readers will oblige by ordering their copy at once from me at 31 North Frederick Street.

JAMES M. MESSER, Secretary,
Scottish Workers' Committee.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY—Continued from page 12.

work that of a hair merchant. In consequence of such, he had to do a great deal of travelling, and having a keen taste for mechanics, he carefully examined all the machines he came across in his travels. At that time he was looked upon as a scab by all other barbers, because he was unscrupulous in his endeavours to put them out of business, appealing to passers-by with a notice like this above his window: "Visit the subterranean barber, he shaves for a penny"; at this time the price was 1½d. Having learned of the demands in the textile industry, he set to work, and after constant thought on the subject, he managed to work out a plan in his own mind whereby spinning could be done by water power. At this time he called in the assistance of a clockmaker named Kay, who made him a small model according to instructions.

Later on, finding that his model worked almost to perfection, he built a large one, and proceeded to his native town, Preston, where he obtained a room in the Free Grammar school, where he set about perfecting the machine.

At this time Lancashire was not a very favourable place to settle in with such a machine, due to the violence and indignation of the hand spinners. Arkwright and Smalley, a publican whom he had met, started a small factory; and in July, 1769, he obtained the patent for his spinning frame.

In 1770 they built another factory, at Cromford in Derbyshire, where the waters of the Derwent were harnessed for driving the machinery inside. This was the first spinning-mill ever erected to be driven by water power.

Now you will observe the difference between the spinning-jenny and the water frame, was primarily the fact that the former was a hand machine, and the latter driven by the flowing water, i.e., water power. With the latter was obtained much smoother motions and continual movement of machinery, which caused increased production and much better finished material; and this in a measure caused a displacement of labour and the gradual breaking up of the domestic method of production as a basis of industry. This, of course, caused extreme discontent within the ranks of the workers who earned their living by hand-spinning—because, they believed, their labour would soon be entirely displaced by machinery, which meant the death of the old-fashioned homestead. Nevertheless, the laws of social evolution remained in operation, despite the frantic efforts of the spinners in their despairing efforts to defeat them. The economic needs of the day had to be satisfied, and to accomplish this the introduction and development of machinery had to take place, as the old methods were too crude.

We had now the spinning-jenny and the water spinning-frame concentrated in mills and factories—the institution of the factory system. Despite those factors, a higher standard of machine was a necessary preliminary to the still further development of the factories, in order that the social requirements, not only of the population of these islands, but of other European states which were historically more backward in machine production in the 18th century, might be met.

(To be concluded.)

EXTREMIST IDEAS.

"Extremist ideas" brought the human race from savagery to barbarism, and from barbarism to the status of present civilisation.

"Extremist ideas" gave to the world science and enlightenment.

"Extremist ideas" transformed the log raft into the canoe, the canoe into the sailing scow, and those extremist ideas have taken us on the mighty steel leviathans of our day.

"Extremist ideas" found man packing commerce to market on his back. "Extremist ideas" caused him to domesticate animals and drag produce with oxen hitched to a cart or sled.—"Escalon Tribune."

There is no government which supports the Kremlin school of international thought and action. It stands alone as the advocate of a working class as against a capitalist solution of the international debate.

The wage worker voted to "Let the business men rule" and now this bourgeoisie dictatorship is unable to solve the unemployment problem.

Why is Amsterdam "Yellow"?

The Post-War Policy of the Miners' Federation.

For over two years the chief question on the lips of every capitalist has been—"Will the miners strike?" Ever since February 25th, 1919, when a strike to enforce their demands was adopted with a five-to-one majority by the miners' conference, the capitalist newspapers have blustered and threatened. But what have the Executive of the Miners' Federation done to inspire fear in the hearts of the capitalists? The Miners' Federation commenced their post-war campaign with a joint demand for an increase in wages and the nationalisation of the coal mines. In the course of two years they have passed through a hell of arithmetic and statistics far surpassing the old "Tariff Reform versus Free Trade" controversy, only to discover that they have been sold a Whitley pup for their nationalisation-and-workers'-control bull dog, and that their wages, instead of being increased, are now actually being decreased. Meanwhile the capitalists in their press, their propaganda associations and their blessed talking shop, have learned to despise the Federation and the Congress Parliamentary Committee.

In order to understand the reason for this change in the temper of capitalism, it is necessary to trace the gradual whittling away of the demands of the Federation.

The Miners' Executive first set out, at the beginning of 1919, with a demand, under threat of bringing the Federation out on strike, for wages and nationalisation—"a one and indivisible demand." The Government countered with the offer, which was accepted, of a Coal Commission to investigate this demand; the Government divided the indivisible claim into two—acceded to one, but withheld the other. The Miners' Executive still assuming that they represented a recognised body, and not an opposing class, compromised on their "nationalisation and workers' control" demand, and accepted Sankey, thinking that that half-hearted gentleman would make a better appeal to the Government: But the Government, being no half-hearted capitalist, summarily rejected the appeal after a cunning contemptuous delay, a delay which was calculated to tide them over the dangerous period of unemployment and disorganisation consequent on demobilisation. What is more, the Government increased the price of coal to compensate the mineowners for the increase in wages they had so obligingly supplied to the miners. As you were—for the miners; but not so far the capitalists. Through their press they gloated over the steadfastness of the Government and this first defeat of the miners.

The second defeat of the Miners' Executive occurred in the spring of 1920. The form of action which was decided upon "to compel the Government to accept the Sankey report," in the words of the Annual Trade Union Congress resolution in September, 1919, became, in the spring of 1920, "political action in the form of intensive political propaganda in preparation of a General Election." Thus was instituted the mighty "Mines for the Nation Campaign" which ended in mere talk and paper, and in which the demand for nationalisation was irretrievably lost.

Meanwhile the Government and the Miners' Executive had been playing a most complicated game of higher arithmetic, with mineowners' profits, wages, and costs of production as the counters, varying it every now and then with a rise or fall in the price of coal.

In July, 1920, however, the Miners' Executive decided to put forward another indivisible demand, this time for a rise in wages and a reduction—a large reduction this time—in the price of coal. The Government refused both these requests; the Miners' Executive thereupon dropped the demand for a reduction in price, and resorted to the calling of a strike to enforce their wages claim. The Government, after about a week's strike, succeeded in compromising the Executive into accepting an increase in wages dependent on the proceeds from the export trade. These proceeds quickly showed a reduction again: thus the miners are in effect back where they were in the beginning of 1919, but with this difference: In 1919 the Miners' Federation was regarded as a great and powerful organisation against which capitalism would have its hardest struggle; but after two years' alarms and excursions, demands and withdrawals, the Miners' Federation is no longer included in the daily hymn of hate of every good capitalist; for he knows that with its present constitution, it has

no fighting power, no effective leadership in case of another betterment strike, and that its Executive can still be relied upon to betray its class interests. He knows that it is affiliated through the Labour Party to the Second International, that appendage of the League of Nations, that bulwark of International capitalist solidarity; likewise he knows that it is affiliated through the Trade Union Congress to the Amsterdam International, the mainstay of capitalism; for has not Mr J. H. Thomas, M.P., affirmed that the Amsterdam International is in no sense a revolutionary body?

The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., indeed has hit the nail on the head: the Amsterdam International is not a revolutionary body; and the Miners' Federation executive and every other union executive affiliated through the Trade Union Congress to the Amsterdam International, are not revolutionary bodies. The Miners' Executive, and through it the whole body of the Federation, has been fooled by capitalism.

But this fooling can be stopped: the miners' policy is to work for control over the mining industry; to work through the Reform Committee in each district; to secure the revision of the constitution of the Federation in order, in the words of the Manifesto of the British Miners' Reform movement, "to permit at once of swift decision, action and control by the members, thus sweeping away the present autocratic domination by the present officials"; to work out the policy of the Miners' Federation so as to make it part of the revolutionary working-class movement; and to link up with the only revolutionary workers' International.

Frank Hodges once said at the beginning of 1920:—"We have ceased to talk revolution, and are prepared to act it." A whole year has passed, and Frank Hodges is still only prepared to act revolution. Compel him to act it, or else compel him to clear out by calling on the Federation to sever its connection with Amsterdam, and to link up with the World Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions at Moscow.

—o—

Peter Kropotkin

THE OPINION OF AN ANARCHIST.

[A prominent representative of the Russian Anarchists' group has written the following article.]

Peter Kropotkin spent his last years in a small town in the vicinity of Moscow. He took little part in our internal affairs, and we, on our part, endeavoured to give him as little trouble as possible in this respect. This, however, does not signify that Kropotkin did not interest himself in and was not aware of the relations between the anarchists and the Soviet Government.

On whose side was he?

The question, put in this manner, is difficult to answer. Was it possible for him to have taken one or another side? It would have meant division, and Kropotkin could not do that, he stood for unity. All the anarchist comrades that arrived from Europe, and visited Peter Kropotkin, returned somehow reconciled. His charming personality exercised an influence on all who came into contact with him, both adherents and opponents.

As to his attitude to the Soviet government, it is not easy to define it. In the summer of last year he was visited by some delegates of the Second Congress of the Communist International. Two of them, who were very critical in their attitude towards the Soviet Government, left him strangely tranquilised and enlightened. When asked what they would tell our comrades abroad after they left Russia, they replied: "With the Communists against the bourgeoisie; criticism of the Soviet Government within the labour organisations; a united proletarian front in the struggle against the bourgeoisie." This was also Kropotkin's attitude towards the Communists. Kropotkin never was and never could have been an enemy of the Communists. His enemies were the exploiting and propertied classes; and in their struggle with Soviet Russia, he could not but stand on the side of the latter.

New Russia and the whole of the proletariat have lost in his person a stalwart fighter for the oppressed of the whole world, a brave defender of the idea of union of all the toilers, a great teacher of universal Communism.

Industrial History. By J. Main.

THE GREAT INVENTORS.

Since the European war and the success of the Bolsheviks in Russia the idea that society is static in character, and that consequently Capitalism was an everlasting model, has in the minds of the majority of workers ceased to be a factor presenting insurmountable obstacles in their everyday aspirations and struggles for a freer and higher life. Old notions have been destroyed by the sweeping changes that have taken place in recent years, in the political, as well as the industrial sphere of our existence. The substitution of cabinet government in the place of parliamentary democracy has done a great deal to extirpate their faith in parliament as an institution capable of rendering assistance, or producing the means whereby they may solve the many grievances arising out of the slavish industrial system. During the past ten years and more, especially during the war, the methods of production have been to a considerable extent accelerated, and consequently the workers have observed the enormous increase in values appropriated by the capitalists, and simultaneously the ever-diminishing value of their real wages,—demonstrating positively to them the intensification of exploitation. Many workers know, through their knowledge of historical materialism, that changes in the mode of production reflect themselves in the social and political status of the masses. That the transformation of the tools man uses in extracting wealth from the resources of nature, makes a step forward in the progress of the human race towards a higher form of civilisation than at present exists. We are able to gauge how far mankind is removed from the past by tracing the improvements in tools or instruments of production, from crude and simple to the highly complex and technical machinery of the present era. One of the earliest industries in this country was the textile, and, the classic industry, we can refer to as making this country the "workshop of the world," the natural birthplace of capitalism. It was in textiles we had the beginnings of the machine process which ultimately displaced the old hand method of production, the domestic period of industry. Many of the pioneers as far as inventing that machinery was concerned, were men of the common people; and since history as presented to us by all bourgeois writers is more or less a record of the adventures of monarchs, princes, and their hirelings, it may be more edifying to give a short sketch portraying the service those pioneers have rendered to humanity, and the bitter struggle some of them had to live.

Hargreaves and the Spinning-Jenny.

While we were still slumbering in the domestic period of industry between the 15th and 16th centuries, the treadle spinning wheel was still in use; that the little stone houses were to be seen wherein the husband aided by the rest of the family spun the wool for the market. Growth of population and the opening of the continental markets, created a demand for textiles; but before it was possible to supply this demand certain improvements and inventions had to be added to the already existing tools. No longer could the ordinary hand-driven mechanism produce the desired quantity of goods, and a striking example of economic evolution is to be seen in the development of this industry, an evolution that has made Britain the pioneer of the present industrial system of production—a system that crushes and mutilates thousands, aye millions, of human lives under its revolving wheels; a system that has created the bloodiest war that has ever taken place. And whilst this state of affairs goes on, wealth in abundance flows continually into the coffers of the idle rich. You can well understand what a vast avenue to exploitation lay before the early or rising factory owners at the birth of the factory system. The spinning wheels of the domestic period could not satisfy the needs of the intensified material demand of an ever-growing market. About the year 1730 John Wyatt, realising the keenness of the situation, set to work attempting to erect some kind of machine somewhat different from the spinning-wheel. He thought that a pair of rollers might be made to perform the same function as the finger and thumb of the spinner in supplying the wool-cardings to the mechanically-moved spindle. In a small village near Lichfield he worked this idea out, and in the year 1733 he constructed a small model, about 2 feet square and there for the first time was spun the first thread of cotton without the aid of the human fingers in the process.

At a later date he met, and became partner with, a

foreigner named Lewis Paul who, like himself, had taken an interest in the possibilities of this work, and improved a little on Wyatt's machine. This was patented in the year 1738, and in the year 1741 Paul and Wyatt started a small factory at Birmingham for spinning cotton yarns with the improved machine. As can be expected, it was on a comparatively small scale, only employing ten girls; and, laughable as it may seem to us at the present day, the machinery was kept in motion by two donkeys. They kept pulling round a horizontal bar which caused a vertical shaft to revolve. Later on a Mr Cave, proprietor of the "Gentlemen's Magazine," carried away with Paul's and Wyatt's concern, started a factory in Northampton and employed fifty operators to work the two hundred and fifty spindles that were fitted up therein. But, as happened with Wyatt's, this establishment did not stand long. It changed hands and ultimately was scrapped. It was discovered that spinning by rollers was not successful, due to the fact that too much was taken out of the material, with the result that no market could be found for its acceptance, despite the enormous demand of the moment.

Coming now to the year 1764 when the machine of Lewis Paul was being finally put aside as of no more value, another inventor stepped forward; this time a weaver of Blackburn, named James Hargreaves. While he was sitting in his house, one of his spinning wheels was overturned, quite accidentally, and he observed that the way it fell caused it to continue revolving. Seizing the roving he fed it on to the spindle while the wheel remained in this perpendicular position. The idea then occurred to him that if a number of wheels were fixed in the same position and the means obtained for holding the rovings of all, a saving of labour power would take place. Like every other member of the working class, Hargreaves had a bitter struggle to maintain the existence of himself and family, and was very heavily handicapped in the task he had before him, having seven children to provide for. It was only during his spare moments he could apply himself to the construction of his new spinning machine. In abject poverty, surrounded by all the evils that accompany such unfortunate circumstances, it took him three years to complete his task; and under such conditions of want the Spinning-jenny was ultimately completed, the pioneer machine of one of the finest pieces of machinery in existence. Owing to his poverty Hargreaves was compelled on many occasions to make and sell several parts, or rather sets of the machine before he could patent it. This, of course, as can well be understood was very disastrous to him. But this was not all his troubles, nor the end of his misfortunes, as we shall see.

Just at the time when he had achieved his object, one of the family mentioned his success to outside neighbours, which created both curiosity and indignation, with the result that the spinsters (as they were then called) of the countryside smashed his machine to pieces, and threatened his very life if he dared make another.

Not giving up hope, he removed to Nottingham; and in the year 1768 he managed to erect a small spinning mill; and by 1770 he succeeded in obtaining the patent. On every side the rising factory owners enriched themselves at poor Hargreave's expense, while under bitter circumstances of want and misery he was struggling to keep in motion his small mill. In 1778 he died 'midst the hunger and want into which he was born, after giving to the human race all his life's work. For there is no doubt that his spinning-jenny gave the industry of the time a great impetus, and thus at the same time broke down the barriers to further development, which were synonymous with domestic industry. Yet his reward was poverty, the reward which is granted to the worker genius even to-day—as then—by a vicious system based upon private ownership and the exploitation of man by man.

Arkwright and the Water Spinning-Jenny.

During the time of Jimmy Hargreaves' trials and troubles, and quite independent of him, there was another son of toil, named Richard Arkwright, who was busily engaged on a similar venture. Like every son of the common people he was sent to work at an early age, and he started as an apprentice barber. During the time he was working as such, and after he completed his term of apprenticeship, he became very skilled in the art of hair dyeing, a very important branch of the trade at that period. With a considerable amount of thrift he managed to save enough to enable him to start a small shop of his own, making a very special part of his

(Continued on page 10.)

Irish Engineering Union.

WEEKLY NOTES.

It is evident that Mr Sam Bradley, O.D.D., sees the "writing on the wall" so far as the existence of craft unions is concerned in Ireland, judging by his recent letter to the "Worker." There was a time when men of his sort ruled the roost here, but fortunately for Ireland and its workers the eyes of the people have been opened, and, alas for Mr Sam Bradley, no one here paid any attention to his "few facts."

It seems a coincidence that the letters from Mr Bradley and Mr W. Alexander should appear together in the last issue of the "Worker," and one need not be very brainy, after reading these communications, to know what sort of an organisation the A.E.U. and the class of officials which it possesses.

We read in Mr Alexander's letter that last year a ballot of the members of the A.E.U. for or against payment by results was taken, and by a large majority the members voted against this principle. "To-day," he says, "we find nearly every worker on the Clyde working (or rather forced to work) for payment by results, while thousands are walking the streets idle, and can get work only by the sweating system of this payment by results policy, and yet our E.C. are doing nothing to put a stop to this and thus relieve the present situation." It is scandalous treatment this to be meted out to the members of the A.E.U., and goes to show that the workers in the engineering industry who joined the I.E.U. acted in their best interest. The only hope for the workers on the Clyde is to form an Industrial Union as Mr Alexander suggests, to be composed of all the iron and metal workers, and to scrap, as Mr Alexander also suggests, the A.E.U.

In referring to the strike in the railway shops in our report last week, we forgot, when pointing out that the action taken by the members of the I.E.U. was in accordance with the wishes of the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress, as proved by their letter, to mention the fact that on the Thursday previous to the men handing in their notices Mr Bradley, accompanied by the Secretary of the Inchicore Branch of the A.E.U. and the President and Secretary of the Inchicore Branch of the Boilermakers' Society, called to the offices of the National Executive for the purpose, as they said, of seeking their advice as to the action that should be taken by their members. They met Mr T. Farren, the late President of the Irish Trades Union Congress, and a member of the Executive. He told them in his opinion it would not be judicious for any of the railway shopmen to strike, owing to the fight that was then being waged by the locomotive and traffic men on the question of the carrying of munitions of war on the Irish railways.

He said he would bring the matter before a meeting of the National Executive, to be held that evening, and would let them have a definite reply as soon as possible.

That evening the Executive considered the matter, and on the following morning letters were sent to the Secretary of the Inchicore Branch of the Boilermakers' Society and the Secretary of the Inchicore Branch of the A.E.U., in which they were informed of the opinion of the National Executive. The general body of the workers of both these organisations did not learn anything of the contents of these letters until after the meeting of our members, which was held on the following Monday at Inchicore.

On the morning of that day our Shop Stewards in the three railway shops waited on our General President and General Secretary with reference to the action that our members were to take, and, accompanied by these two officials, the Shop Stewards went to the offices of the National Executive, where they met Mr Farren, who advised them "that to strike at the present time was not at all in the interests of this country or its workers," and also informed them of the wishes of his Executive. It was agreed there and then to act on the advice tendered, and to advise our members accordingly.

There can be no doubt that the strike of the railway shopmen was organised for the purpose of smashing the I.E.U. in its infancy. One very

prominent member of an amalgamated union, when our union was started, gave us six months to live, and, with a strike, three months, and it seemed rather a strange coincidence that the strike of the railway shopmen should take place in or about the end of the latter period. The officials and members of the I.E.U. have no cause to feel ashamed of the action they took, which was a perfectly straight one. We did not do as Mr Sam Bradley and the other three gentlemen did, go to the National Executive and seek advice, and then afterwards act in direct opposition to same. We felt that it was our duty to consult that body, and, having done so, to act strictly in accordance.

Mr Sam Bradley says the bosses in Ireland are taking full advantage of this section of the union to try and split up the forces of the workers. There was no necessity for a union such as the I.E.U. to be started in order to split up the workers here, for, God knows, they were already split up enough through their membership in the various amalgamated craft unions. Those who organised the I.E.U. have never been friends of the bosses. Rather they have always been found in the front when a fight for better wages or better conditions of working was necessary for the workers.

Unfortunately the same cannot be said of those people who at the present time are crying crocodile tears because of the split which they say exists among the workers owing to the I.E.U. being in existence. Never have the workers employed in the engineering industry in Ireland been better organised, and as a result in such a position to safeguard their interests when necessary. He is a good general who selects his own time and place to give battle, and our E.C. it will be agreed acted as good generals when they refused to allow Mr Sam Bradley and others of his crowd to force them into a fight at a most inopportune time.

Mr Sam Bradley says the General President and General Secretary of the Irish Engineering Union were men who were always preaching for an amalgamation of Trade Union movement. We agree. They did a good day's work for the principle of the amalgamation of the various Trades Unions in the formation of the I.E.U.

Mr Bradley speaks of the slogan "Ireland for the Irish." Have not Irishmen a right to live in their own country, Mr Bradley? Certainly we are determined to secure that right whether you like it or not. You know that up to the present Irishmen have not had the opportunities for bettering their position in Ireland, owing to their membership of unions such as the A.E.U. We have no objection, let us say, to a worker from any other country coming to Ireland, but we certainly do object to the practice of preferential treatment being meted out to them. We are quite willing to work alongside them, and take our chances provided they are prepared to do the same.

Mr Bradley knows quite well that, in the South of Ireland, there is no bitterness existing between the workers. One has to go North to find this, and he need have no fear that what happened in Belfast during the recent pogrom with hardly one word of protest from our so-called Labour leaders will ever occur here.

It has been said that our Executive is a self-constituted and self-elected body. This is not so. Every member of the Executive and the general officials have been selected by the full membership of our union. Mr Bradley cannot say the same so far as his selection for the position of organiser in the south of Ireland for the A.E.U., for it is a well known fact that he was pitchforked into that position without the members of that organisation in this area being consulted in any way. Self-determination with a vengeance, Sam.

At the last meeting of our E.C. it was agreed to accept the invitation extended to our organisation by the national shop stewards' movement, and Brother Redmond has been appointed to act as a fraternal delegate at the Conference to be held in Sheffield at the end of this month. We hope that, as a result of Brother Redmond's attendance at this Conference, that closer co-operation will exist between that movement and our organisation.

A.E.U. and Education.

Under the auspices of the A.E.U. Industrial Unionist Group a Conference was held in 550 Argyle Street, Glasgow, on Saturday, Feb. 26, 1921, for the purpose of considering the proposed educational policy and other matters of concern to members of the A.E.U.

Comrade Jas. Ness, who presided, outlined the position taken up by the National Conference of the A.E.U. He pointed out that the National Conference had agreed that the time was now ripe for the A.E.U. to formulate an educational policy of their own, and that they instructed the E.C. to draw one up for submission to the members.

This work, the Chairman held, was work which the members themselves ought to do, especially the members who claimed to be Marxians. If left to the E.C. the scheme would be on the lines which would make for the education of a few potential Labour fakirs, and not, at least, as our group would desire it—the rearing of class conscious workers, taking their place intelligently in the fight for working class emancipation.

The Secy. read correspondence dealing with work already done by the group in opening up communication on this subject with the Scottish Labour College and Central Labour College, also with other members in different parts of the country, showing that we were being successful in awakening interest in this very important question.

The Conference proceeded to discuss the different items on the agenda, and the following programme was finally adopted:—

Educational Policy:

(a) That the A.E.U. be responsible for allocating 3d. per member per year for educational purposes, a proportionate amount to be allocated to districts according to membership.

(b) That District Committee appoint a Sub-Committee, which will function as an Educational Committee. This committee shall bring into being a class on the request of any 10 members, Educational Committee to be enlarged by one representative from each class.

(c) Curriculum to be similar to Scottish and Central Labour Colleges.

(d) Teachers and text books to be supplied by Scottish Labour College or Central Labour College.

(e) A fee of 2/6 per member attending the class will be charged, and handed over to the Committee.

After the above policy was agreed to, a discussion took place as to ways and means of bringing it into being. Agreed that each individual make himself responsible for at least a nominal sum to enable group to print leaflets containing our proposal; also that we advertise the fact through the Socialist press that these leaflets are in existence. Agreed that we send leaflets to comrades who request same, also supply A.E.U. Branch Secys. to enable branches to arrive at decisions.

The next item on the agenda was the Red International. Comrade Ness related to the Conference and the work already done by the group on behalf of the Red International. He also stated there were now permanent officials appointed doing the work which the group had previously been doing, and asked the Conference whether we should leave this work to the permanent officials or still carry on. After a discussion on the leaflets issued by this new permanent committee and the treatment those leaflets received in the branches, it was agreed that we ask the E.C. for a detailed statement as to the A.E.U. relationship with Amsterdam, and that the E.C. be pressed to issue ballot papers for or against affiliation to Moscow. Also that branches be pressed to remit the question of the International to District Committees for their consideration.

Having exhausted all the items on the agenda with the exception of the alteration of rules, the Conference decided to adjourn and make the question of rules alteration subject matter for a special Conference, to be held on March 12 in the same hall at 3 p.m. Secys., Jas. Henderson and D. S. Morton.

Literature and Revolution in Russia.

By **LEBEDEV POLIANSKI.**

Last week a brief account of the publishing activity of the Soviet Government was embodied in the Editor's article as a reply to Stephen Graham's sneer at the deplorable state of literature in Russia. The following article came to hand two days after we went to press last week. It deals most comprehensively with the question, and completely bears out the testimony of the Editor of the "Worker":—

When the October revolution broke out in Russia the bourgeoisie of the whole world raised a cry that the Bolsheviks were barbarians, that they would destroy the old culture, the old scientific institutions, publishing houses, schools, etc.

Even a superficial acquaintance with the actual situation of literary work in Russia will show how much conscious lying and class hatred there was in all such assertions. Two or three weeks after the revolution and immediately after the establishment of the People's Commissariat of Education steps were taken towards the organisation of a literature publishing department, which within a very short time, and in spite of all the difficulties due to the civil war, developed very broad activities.

Russia in respect to culture is one of the most backward countries in the world. The masses of the peasantry were kept altogether out of touch with and away from literature. Popular libraries contained only such books as were strictly selected by the Czar's censors. They were chosen with a view to strengthening the foundations of reaction, autocracy, orthodoxy, and of nationalism. Many scientific works were prohibited, and almost all books were beyond the reach of the common people because of their price. There were the Zemstvos, it is true, which tried to give the people good books, but they always met with all kinds of obstacles on the part of the authorities. It is natural that under these circumstances the People's Commissariat of Education was compelled to take upon itself the task of acquainting the people with the literary treasures created by the progressive elements of Russian society in its struggle against the Czar's regime.

In this sphere Russian literature has some immortally beautiful works which in respect to art as well as in their burning protest against the oppressive tendencies of the old regime can fire the hearts of men with an enthusiasm for a bright and happy future. Russian literature has always been a chronicle of the miseries and struggles of its pre-eminent men of the people.

At the end of December, 1917, the Russian Central Executive Committee issued a decree monopolising all Russian classics, and the People's Commissariat of Education worked out a plan of its publications. The decree stated: "In the selection of works editors should be guided, besides other considerations, by the closeness of connection of the respective books with the interests of the working people for whom they are intended. All issues of such books, complete editions or separate volumes, are to be prefaced by explanatory statements by authoritative critics, historians of literature, etc. For the editing of such popular books a special commission is to be created, composed of representatives of pedagogical, literary and scientific organisations, special experts and delegates of labour organisations. The task of this controlling and editing commission consists in ratifying plans and projects of editions and commentaries presented for its approval by the editors." Having adopted all measures to make the publications of the Commissariat of Education respond to the spirit of the people while keeping in touch with strict scientific requirements, the editing commission was confronted with a third problem, that of low prices. The decree stated: "Popular editions of the classics must be issued at cost and be circulated at low prices and even gratis through libraries serving the labour democracy." At that time of course there could be no question of issuing new literature. On the one hand the painful conditions of war with German Imperialism and the nascent tremendous struggle against the

counter revolution made it impossible to write seriously, to think out and analyse the rapid changes of events. On the other hand those who stood aside from the great struggle of the labouring masses against the bourgeoisie produced nothing, and had they done so, they would not have been able to yield anything except malicious libel and abuse of the Russian proletariat and of the great October revolution.

In order to acquaint the people with the great cultural achievements of the past it was decided to issue the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgeniev Dostolevsky, Guncharov, Grigorevich, Ostrovsky, Uspensky, Zlatovitsky, Reschetnikov, Levitov, Saltykov, Chekov, Nekrasov, Nikitin, Nadson, Plestchetyev, Fet, Surikov, Ryleyev, and others. These were poets and novelists, and among other works of the critics of literature the following were issued: Bellinsky, Tschernivsky and Herten. The publication of the works of Lavrov, Mikhailovsky, Dobroliuboff and Piserev were contemplated. The works of Lavrov, the ideologist of the Social Revolutionists, were given over by request of members of the party to the S.R. publishing office for scientific preparation, which has already published twenty books out of the fifty he has written.

A literary commission was formed of that group of the Russian men of letters who were not swept away by the then prevalent current of sabotage, i.e., Brusov, Bloc, Veracev and others became members of the committee. Brusov was asked to prepare a new edition of Pushkin, Zhukovsky and Nekrasov. An art commission was formed including among others Benois and Graber, well known historians of art. As a result of these efforts we now have editions of the works of the above mentioned authors not mutilated by the blue pencil of the merciless Russian censure. To what ridiculous extremes that was carried may be seen in one of Nekrasov's poems, relating the story of a peasant who had hanged himself. The words of the old editions were "he sat," whereas the original had been written "he hung." Instead of "ston" (groan) in one poem was the word "son," meaning dream. Many parts were entirely eliminated, others rewritten. Now the original has been completely restored, and the Russian people may read the real Nekrasov, the real Pushkin, the real uncensored "Resurrection" of Tolstoi, and many other literary works.

But as the preparation of new editions requires much time and more peaceful conditions of work, a part of the classical literature was reprinted from old plates—the commission of course selecting the best.

All this literature was published during 1918, and the first part of 1919. Every classical author was printed in accordance with the degree of his popularity in editions of from twenty-five to one hundred thousand copies, and was sold at a price of two roubles fifty copecks for a book of 600 pages at a time when bread in the open market was sold at four roubles a pound.

Much foreign literature was also published, as for instance Anatole France ("The Gods are Thirsting"), Romain Rolland ("Jean Christophe") Merime, Walter Scott, Giovanni Olai, Zola ("The Sinners"), Upton Sinclair ("The Jungle"), Voinich and others. Simultaneously with the publishing of fiction steps were taken to offer to the people scientific and popular scientific works. N. Ryzanov began to issue a complete edition of Plekhanov's works under the general heading of "Library of Scientific Socialism." Among other works of the collection were published some of Bebel's books and many of Kautsky's works written when the latter was a revolutionary Marxist; a full collection of Marx's and Engel's works was started, of which several parts have already been published. Two large volumes of Bogdanov's and Stepanov's Course of Political Economy were also published, as well as a History of Russia by Pokrovsky in five volumes, and an almost complete edition of the works of the well known Russian historian, Klutchevsky. Many books on the history of the Russian revolu-

tionary movement and of the revolutions in Western Europe were also published, among them the works of Jaures, Aulart, Bloss Louis Blanc, Aeretier, and others.

At present several series of popular scientific books are being issued. This work is carried on in collaboration with the following authors: Professor Timiryashev (Botany), Madame Timiryashev (Physics), Walden (Chemistry), Wolf (Mineralogy), Mikhailov and Blaschkov (Astronomy), Berg (Geography), and others.

In this series were republished some of the admirable works of the botanist, Timiryashev, "Charles Darwin and His Teaching," the famous "Life of Plants," etc. Some more of his books and pamphlets are ready for publication.

Under the general title "Theory and Practice of a Uniform Industrial School" there appeared the pedagogical works of noted Western European and American pedagogues, in order to give an opportunity to the pedagogical world of breaking away and emancipating itself from the prejudices of the past, and becoming acquainted with the situation of advanced pedagogical ideas. In these groups were included the works of Seidel (Zurich), Kerschesteiner (Munich), Gurdite (Munich), Gerlach (Bremen), Hansburg (Bremen), Ferrier (Geneva), Hall (America), Findly (Manchester), Beadley (London), Montessori (Rome), Schultz and Rule (Germany). To these works should be added contemporary Russian works on the Industrial school by the Russians, Blonsky and Levitin.

Besides the publishing organisation of the People's Commissariat of Education, there existed that of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, which mainly published propagandist and political literature, and of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, which published exclusively scientific Marxist literature.

In the spring of 1919 these three publishing enterprises were united in the State Publishing Offices.

By this time the revolution had deeply permeated our immense Russia, presenting colossal demands for propagandist literature, leaflets, posters, and other material. Naturally owing to these conditions and also because of the scarcity of paper, the publication of classical authors was shifted to a secondary place. But pamphlets were published in two hundred thousand copies each, and such necessary books as the "ABC" of Communism, by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky (a book of 340 pages), was published in a million and a half copies.

By this time there began to appear the publications of other People's Commissariats. Many books, pamphlets, leaflets and posters were published by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and People's Commissariat for Military Affairs.

At the present time the State Publishing Offices have so widely developed their activities that their work can only be judged by catalogues and the "Book Bulletin" published by the Central Book Chamber. From books on swine breeding and horse shoeing to scientific modern works and utopias of social life thirty to fifty years hence—all have been included in the range of work of the State Publishing Offices.

Its publications have a large circulation from five thousand to hundreds of thousands of copies according to the respective subjects and the reader for whom they are intended. Technical scientific books are published in five thousand copies, scientific ones in ten thousand, popular books in fifty to hundred thousand and more. But even with such a circulation Soviet Russia experiences a lack of books, and for a private individual it is most difficult to obtain these. We have now about fifty thousand libraries, and to every one of them the Central Printing Offices (the distributive organ) has to present one copy or more of each publication according to the

*Petrograd branch of the State Publishing Offices, according to its report up to January 1, 1921, has published altogether 1,107 books amounting to a total of 49,649,600 copies of fiction, 18 magazines, in 1,435,000 copies and 20 miscellaneous books, in 417,000 copies. The Moscow branch has published a no less number and variety.

library and the book in question. And how many more books ought to be distributed among the army and out of the way places where printed works have not yet penetrated in sufficient quantities.

Only now with the termination of the war, when we can set to work to re-organise our paper industry and re-establish the efficiency of our printing offices, and when our comrades have the possibility of doing literary work, shall we be able to satisfy this great need of ours to its full extent. And our people so revere books and so thirst for them.

Three committees have been created and are at work: (1) For the investigation of the imperialistic war, (2) for the history of the Communist Party, and (3) for the history of the Russian Revolution. And in the future we shall know much of the truth that has as yet remained concealed from us.

Having enumerated, as far as space permitted, the different publications and specified their numbers, we should like to call the attention of our readers to another side of the question, namely, to the work done by the working class—especially to the proletariat and to the writers it has produced.

It goes without saying that the revolution has not been able to bring forward worker-scholars, and that it is not scientific work we shall have to deal with. The worker of Western Europe gains some stray crumb of knowledge—just enough to enable him to manage his machine and do his work—but the Russian proletariat has lived outside the pale of enlightenment and only a few individuals—party workers, have been heretofore enabled to obtain connected information, and that almost exclusively in the domain of politics. Now all—in a greater or lesser means—participate in the Soviet papers published in almost every ouyzed town. The entire paper, sometimes without any help on the part of the committee and intellectuals, is conducted by them alone—leading article and news, feuilleton and literary department. In many places the papers are conducted entirely by the new fresh elements born of the storm and stress of our proletariat revolution.

On the other hand the worker sections have done some considerable work in the sphere of fiction and poetry. With the aid of "Proletcult" (Proletarian Culture) and independently of it a number of proletarian writers have arisen, among whom must be mentioned: Gaster, author of a collection of poems and stories entitled "The Poetry of the Labourer's Effort"; Bessalko, author of the novels "In an Unconscious Way," "The Catastrophe," and the stories "Life," "The Childhood of Kouska," of the "Stone Cutter," a drama; Samotnik, "Under the Red Flag"; Sado-fieff, "Dynamo Verses"; Pomorski, "Flowers of the Rising"; Kirilloff, "The Dawn of the Future"; Berdnicoff, Arski, Tichomiroff, Kaj, Tarasoff, Omtsol, Kousnetzoff, Gerasimoff, Alexandroffski, Lokhtin, Malashkin, Stepanov, Belotzerkoffski, Kassin, Rodoff, Philippchenko, Kotomki, Eroshin, Loginoff, and several others.

The peasantry have also produced poets from their midst: Orleshin, Kloneff, Yessenin, Klitchkoff—men of great talent, and several secondary poets. There exist editions of Poets of the People named after Nikitin and Sourikoff, the peasant poets.

An ideological struggle is waging between the proletariat and peasant poets. The former are striving to depict the communistic outlook, while the latter are still cherishing the old petty bourgeois ideology, although of course somewhat revolutionised.

Before the October revolution the poets wrote principally of the hardships of life and exploitation, cursing their slavery, dreaming of the struggle for a happy future; sometimes their dreams were of the country and of a snug bourgeois ideal. Reflecting the ideas of their own class the worker poets revealed not so much their own communistic ideal but the ideas of a democratic-revolutionary outburst; but after the October revolution their poetry from being purely revolutionary changed into revolutionary communistic poetry.

The worker no longer curses the town as a

vampire that sucks his blood. The town is a great bridge to the triumph and emancipation of man—a gigantic forge where a new and happy life is forged. In the town the worker-poet sees the dawn of a new and superbly beautiful era. The factory is no longer a place of exploitation. In the factory "every man has become an enthusiastic poet of the sounds of the forge and harp strings; a titan with strong wings, a titan of the dawning future."

Labour does not kill the thought and feelings of the worker. No, on the contrary it will vanquish everything and create new laws. The machine is no longer a tool of subordination, its din and noise are songs, a mighty call to life, sunshine and struggle, and the poet-worker identifies himself with and merges with his machine. "We are made of iron," says the proletarian poet.

Without abandoning its militant propagandist features, full of the certainty of its triumph, the thought of the worker is beginning to bring forth ideas of the creation of a new life, to realise the power of the proletarian collective, to draw deeply for its themes, giving them a social philosophical tendency, in order to organise more thoroughly and firmly the feelings and thoughts of the proletariat in its victorious path towards the communistic ideal.

The peasant poets are still singing of their fathers, but not as dumb slaves cursing life, but as free eagles. They still love to sing of peasant life and nature, but among them too the thought is beginning to take root of transforming the tilling of the soil, and new ideas are forming of changes in their mode of life, relations among men and general outlook.

And lastly we should like to speak of our new reader. In former times only "intellectuals" were to be seen about book shops or with books in hand, and only rarely, very rarely, a worker or provincial happening to be in town. Now, however, every delegate from the provinces to the "Soviet Congress" or "Congress of the workers of land, forests, and transport," or any other gathering, unfailingly rummaging among shops and stores in search of literature. He obtains permits and vouchers, abuses red-tape, agitates for the country and province if he does not get enough, and finally, laden with books, takes up his seat in the railway car tranquillised, with the idea that you can get the books you want in the end, even if it is a hard job. He gets books on agriculture, horticulture, glancing with a sigh at the scientific books and muttering to himself, "Cursed bourgeois, it is your fault that I don't understand what is written here." He keeps guard over his books, keeping a look out on the luggage shelf, afraid that some one should not take his treasure by mistake. After carefully perusing the pamphlet on the breeding of cattle, he turns over the pages of the "Communist International," fearing to soil them, and remarks, turning to his neighbour, "What a head that Lenin has."

Labouring Russia is reading, thinking, and building up a new life—re-measuring, comparing, and loving the book—its friend the while.

There was a time when Nekrasoff asked in his famous poem: "Will the time ever come when our peasants will buy on the market not the foolish stories about Blucher and Milord, but the works of Biefinsky and Gogol?"

Yes, we have crossed the bar. The people are buying and reading the "Communist International."

ATTENTION! ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

Glasgow and District May-Day Committee.

The usual Meeting of Delegates will be held on Saturday first, March 12, 1921, at 3 p.m., in the Tinplate Workers' Hall, 9 Watson Street, near Glasgow Cross.

All Delegates are requested to be present, as these is Business of Importance. Those Societies which have not yet affiliated might do so at once. Full information can be had from the Secretary, JOHN M'DOUGALL, 239 Crookston Street, Glasgow, S.S. We mean to break last year's record.

Manchester Unemployed Committee.

On Monday, Feb. 28, the committee activities commenced in the Whitworth Hall, Openshaw. This hall has been granted to the committee by the Authorities. There is accommodation to seat about 800. The hall has been crowded every morning this week, where the policy of the committee is being determined. On Wednesday morning a deputation visited the Board of Guardians to demand £3 per week for all married men and widows with a family, 5/ for each child, 45/ for all single men and women. The possibilities of such a scheme astounded the respectable gentlemen on that public body, and they proceeded to point out what good work they had done during the past twenty years. This resume was cut short by the deputation who supplied facts of destitution in the district. The Guardians were glad to see the back of the deputation and promised to go into the matter and make enquiries regarding the relief in other districts.

The matter is not going to end there, as this was looked upon as a preliminary canter. Information was to hand that the City Council was meeting on the same day, and forthwith the deputation went to make enquiries to see if there was anything doing. The Labour gents on the Council condescended to interview the workless, and appeared from the doors of the luncheon room smoking fat cigars. One gent suggested a meeting with the employers, and the spokesman immediately told him to sit down. The deputation asked the Labour gents to move the suspension of standing orders to discuss the unemployment problem, and to demand a town's meeting. The gents did not think that any good purpose could be served by this means, and as they had more important business inside the chamber they proceeded to go. At this moment about 400 of the unemployed arrived and endeavoured to get into the "Free" visitors' gallery. They were informed that one of them could have a ticket to go in, but they could not allow the lot in. Police arrived on the spot and the men finally dispersed. The Labour gents have proved to the unemployed of Manchester that there is "nothin' doin'." Do they suppose that the matter is finished? Let them wait and see. The activities of this committee have only just started.

The Red International.

LOCAL ORGANISERS.

Persons anxious to render assistance to the above should get into touch with the following organisers:—London and District—H. Pollitt, 85 Central Park Road, East Ham, London; Sheffield and District—A. Booth, 14 Lauder Street, Pittsmoor, Sheffield; West of Scotland—W. Leonard, 18 Aberfoyle Street, Glasgow; East of Scotland—R. Foulis, 32 Robertson Avenue, Edinburgh; Lancashire—F. Jackson, 29 Clyde Street, Rochdale; Doncaster—F. H. Heavyside, 13 Wainwright Road, Hyde Park, Doncaster; North-Eastern Area (Pro. Tem.)—G. Harvey, Miners' Hall, Wardley Colliery, Polaw-on-Tyne; South Wales (Pro. Tem.)—T. Watkins, 5 Pentre Hill, Cilfrew, Neath, South Wales; Midland Area—W. Brain, c/o 159 Birchfield Road, Birmingham; Coventry—W. H. Chalmers, 19 Raglan Street, Coventry; Nottingham—H. King, 9 Gamble Street, Nottingham.

Barrister (to the wife of his bosom)—"Amelia, my love, I want you to secure all the lockfast places in the house, and put all our valuables out of reach."

Wife (in alarm)—"Why, darling, what is wrong?"

Barrister—"Oh, nothing—only the burglar whom I got off yesterday through my brilliant defence says he's going to call this afternoon to thank me personally!"

Correspondence.

PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

(British Bureau.)

8 Victoria Buildings,
St. Mary's Gate, Manchester.

APPEAL TO THE WORKERS OF GT. BRITAIN.
Comrades,—By this time the bulk of the workers of Great Britain will have had the opportunity of considering the case put forward on behalf of the "Red" International of Trade and Industrial Unions.

Several cases have been brought to the notice of the above Bureau where the members of trade union bodies have not received the manifestoes published, and this is possibly due to some over-zealous supporter of the Amsterdam or "Yellow" International.

Despite the efforts of the Yellow reactionaries the propaganda which has been carried on by the Bureau on behalf of the Red International has met with a considerable amount of success.

Every post brings fresh evidence of the desire of the workers to line up with the new fighting organisation: the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions.

Knowing the economic position of the mass of the workers the Bureau has up to now issued no general financial appeal, but it has, nevertheless, been felt that the workers of this country should be prepared to give financial backing to their moral aspirations. To those branches who have already voiced their desire to link up with the Red International, a special appeal is made for support.

Many Trade Unions make provisions in the rules for the striking of a levy for propaganda purposes and, where this is the case, we suggest that a small levy be struck on behalf of the British Bureau of the Red International. Where no such provision is made we suggest that a similarly small contribution be collected in the branches, the shops, etc., or, alternatively, a grant from the local funds.

No large individual contribution is expected, but we confidently await the results of this modest call.

All contributions to be forwarded to the office of the British Bureau, cheques and postal orders to be crossed.—On behalf of the Bureau,

GEO. PEET, Corresp. Secy.

MORE ARRESTS.

13 Burnbank Gardens,
Glasgow, W., 7/3/21.

Comrades,—Most of you are aware by this time of the raid made on the Communist headquarters, and the arrest of Comrades Patrick and McLeish. The charge was one of sedition, based on an item in the manifesto published in our paper, the "Red Commune," and signed by them as secretary and chairman of the Group. A large quantity of literature was seized, all books pertaining to Group business, and, of course, all our money. Contemporary with this procedure, Comrade Guy Aldred was arrested in London, brought to Glasgow and charged as publisher of the "R.C.," besides other indictments. Comrade Fleming of Shettleston, the printer of same, was also arrested.

Our comrades are remanded for an indefinite period, pending consideration of bail, and will probably be brought before the High Court.

The object, Comrades, in calling your attention to our misfortune is to appeal for financial assistance to help carry on the fight (our fight and yours). A maintenance and defence Fund has been started, and should your sympathy mean anything to you we, the undersigned, will be pleased to receive any recognition however small at the Communist Rooms, 13 Burnbank Gardens.—For the G.C. Group,

A. R. HAINING, Secy. pro. tem.
J. PARKER, Treas. pro. tem.

(To the Editor of the "Worker.")

Dear Comrade,—Regarding our scheme to take £1 guarantors into the band, a conference will be held in International Halls, S.S., 29 Main Street, on 9th April, at 2.30, to explain the situation. Monies now will be greatly accepted, so send your quid now. We will hold a lecture recital in St. Mungo Halls on Sunday, April 3, at 6 p.m., where we will inaugurate our scheme, so turn up and give the Socialist Band your support.

FOR SLAUGHTER.

The cattle went by my home as usual that morning on their way to the slaughter-house, a mile hence. I heard, as I heard every day, an hour or so before high noon, the shuffling of the many feet and the shrill cries of the drivers; noted, as I noted every day, the drifting cloud of dust; and knew, as I knew every day, that another melancholy caravan had gone the way of death.

This day, however, as I sat at table, I heard a second drove go by. There was the same shuffling of many feet, the same sharp cries, and there, out of the window, the same drifting cloud of dust.

"Some more cattle to-day?" I queried.

"No," said my wife, "it's the college boys in the training corps. They march by here once in a while, you know!"—John H. Holmes.

A soldier was asked in the usual way what his religion was. He didn't seem to understand the question.

"Well, where do you go on Sundays?" asked the officer.

"Rat-catching, sir," was the unexpected reply.

"All right," commented the officer with admirable presence of mind; "put him down R.C."

REVOLUTIONARY ENGINEERS!

On SATURDAY, 12th MARCH, 1921, at the W.I.L.U. HALL, 550 ARGYLE STREET, Anderston Cross, Glasgow, the adjourned meeting of 26th February will take place, commencing at 3.30 p.m.

Agenda—

Reports from Districts.

Alteration to Rules of A.E.U., etc.

Those who have not lined up—COME. If not,—why not?

JOHN HENDERSON,
D. S. MORTON,

Joint Secys of Glasgow A.E.U. Group

DAVID MCKENZIE, 10 WILSON STREET,
PARTICK

ALL CLASSES OF SEWING MACHINES
REPAIRED AT MODERATE CHARGE.

MINERS' UNOFFICIAL MOVEMENT.

A CONFERENCE, with a view to extending the above movement throughout the country, will be held in the CO-OPERATIVE HALL, BATHGATE, on SATURDAY, MARCH 12th, at 5 o'clock.

WM. KIRKER, Bowhill, (Scottish Secy.) will be present.

All active members of the Miners' Union are invited to attend.

JOHN PORTER, Stoneyburn.

SCOTTISH WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Bath Street, Central Halls, Sunday First at
6.30 p.m.

JOHN S. CLARKE.

The Revolution of 1905.

War—The Ochrana—Azeff and Gapon—Gapon's
Death—The Duma.

SILVER COLLECTION.

THE RED INTERNATIONAL of Trade and Industrial Unions.

TRADE UNIONISTS!

Present-day conditions in the Labour world display the imperative need for a United and Effective International Organisation. You are therefore invited to attend

A MASS MEETING

of Trade Unionists to be held on Sunday, 20th March, at 2 p.m., in City Hall, Glasgow.
Further particulars next week.

COMMUNIST PARTY

(Section of the Third International),
Anderston Branch.

Sunday First, at 6.45 p.m., in Hall, 569 Argyle St.
Speaker—JAS MAINS, Edinburgh.

Solos. Questions. Discussion.

Communist Party of Great Britain,
(PAISLEY BRANCH.)

LANTERN LECTURE entitled— "THROUGH
BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA WITH A CAMERA," will
be held in CENTRAL HALLS, PAISLEY, on the
10th MARCH, 1921, at 7.45.

Lecturer WILLIAM PAUL

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDUSTRY.

A GUILD CONFERENCE is being called by the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council and the Glasgow Building Guild, for SATURDAY, 19th MARCH, at 3 p.m., in ST. ANDREW'S (Berkeley) HALL, Charing Cross, Glasgow.

Speakers—

Mr. ROBERT SMILLIE, Pres. Miners' Fed.
Mr. S. G. HOBSON, Secy., Nat. Building Guild.
Mr. R. PAGE ARNOT, Secy., Labour Research
Department.

Chairman—Mr F. Fawcett, Chairman, Glasgow
Building Guild.

An ample opportunity will be given for questions and discussion. Delegation fee, 2/. Visitors admitted to Balcony. Silver Collection.

Invitations have been sent out to every known Trade Union Secretary or Industrial Group. Any Secretary not receiving invitation should write at once to the Conference Secretary, JOHN WINNING, 1 Newlands Drive, Partick, Glasgow. Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees should avail themselves of this opportunity to discuss how best Industry can be immediately run by the workers themselves.

.. AN INTERESTING COUNTRY! :

You can see exactly what is happening
— in Russia by being present at the —

City Hall, Glasgow. Sunday, 13th March
At 6.30 p.m. Doors open at 6.

WILLIAM PAUL
will deliver A LANTERN LECTURE:—

THROUGH SOVIET RUSSIA WITH A CAMERA

Note: The Lecturer was with the Red Army and thoroughly explored Russia during his recent visit. He took hundreds of pictures. They will show Russia's fight for the children; on the Red Front against Wrangel; snapshots from the famous Baku Conference; through the Ukraine, etc. These were so important that they were seized by Scotland Yard

when he returned to this country. Due to the prompt action of the So. Wales Miners' Fed. and the Nat. Union of Railwaymen, the valuable pictures were returned to Wm. Paul. They will be shown at the above Lecture. MUSIC BY

CLYDE WORKERS' SILVER BAND
Conductor, John Peckham. Secy., Wm. Campbell

SILVER COLLECTION: Read "The Communist"
Printed by Kirkwood & Co., 127 Stockwell St., Glasgow, and published by the Scottish Workers' Committee, 31 North Frederick St., Glasgow. J. M. Messer, Secy.