

KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

THE WORKER

ORGANISE

EDUCATE

THE ORGAN OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES SCOTLAND

A TONIC FOR THE HOPELESS, A SCOURGE FOR THE SPINELESS.
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THE CRISIS IN THE MINING INDUSTRY.

By JOHN WREN.

With a splendid spirit of solidarity the miners have entered what is admitted by all to be the most serious crisis in their history. In previous disputes, when they were on the offensive fighting for an increase in wages or on any other issue, negotiations were generally of such a protracted character that by the time negotiations were completed, the rank and file had almost forgotten what the dispute was about. This state of affairs was brought about by the diplomacy of employers assisted by the short-sightedness of the miners' officials, who were always prepared to accept any proposal of the employers for delay and further discussion. In the present crisis everything is different. We do not find the press of the country urging the coalowners to agree to the settlement of the dispute by the "civilised" method of meeting round the conference table. Nor do we hear of the Trade Union officials pointing out to the employers that "direct action" is of no value, and that the method that ought to be adopted is the setting up of a local commission or an arbitration court. The Government, too, are acting strangely when we consider their attitude prior to and during the last strike. There is no calling together of the employers and lecturing them on the consequences of a stoppage in the mining industry, and suggesting that they should maintain the "status quo" while a small committee from both sides meet and further discuss the matter to see if an amicable settlement cannot be arranged. No, and even although the press wasted all the ink they possessed, the Trade Union officials shrieked until their throats burst, and the Government threatened the coalowners with the scaffold in an effort to try and prevent them from pursuing their policy, it would not have the slightest effect. The coalowners recognise the fact of the class war, and knowing that the only thing that matters is power, have decided to force the issue at the period when they consider their position is strongest.

No doubt they counted on taking the miners by surprise, and consequently unprepared. And if preparedness means sufficient money to pay strike pay for a few weeks, there without a doubt they could not have chosen a better time. But fortunately for themselves the miners no longer consider large funds a necessity before a stoppage of work can be faced. As a matter of fact, it is true to say that no body of men ever entered a fight with such determination as the miners have entered the present one.

The enthusiasm of the young men is unprecedented, and from the reports to hand this enthusiasm is not confined to any one area but extends to every part of the country. But while the miners are determined and prepared to make sacrifices in order to win the fight, they at the

same time realise that victory is impossible unless the rest of the workers rally to their assistance. This fact is also being recognised by thousands of railway men and transport workers, and at the time of writing everything points to the possibility of sympathetic action being taken by the National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport Workers' Federation.

In the meantime the miners must remain peaceful. The authorities will probably try their utmost to provoke a riot here and there to give them an excuse for drafting soldiers into the districts. In fact, without any provocation there may be soldiers and sailors sent into every district for the purpose of assisting in the work of preserving the property of the coalowners. Should this happen, then it will be the duty of every rebel to see that no action is taken which is likely to antagonise them. Everything must be done to win them over to the cause of the miners. To start and irritate a man with a machine gun before first of all trying to get him on to your side would be sheer madness.

But other very important preparatory work can be done in the interval. Strike Committees should be set up at every colliery for the purpose of co-operating with the railwaymen and transport workers if they decide to strike, and for urging sympathetic action should the conferences turn it down. In addition to keeping up an official connection with the headquarters of the union, it is essential that the rank and file in the various districts should have direct means of communication if a betrayal worse than that on the "datum line" has to be avoided. Already we know that some of the officials are in favour of accepting the owners' terms, while others, although against acceptance, are preparing the minds of the men for a compromise. In order to guard against any compromise being considered the officials of every branch should at once send a resolution to their respective headquarters instructing the officials to refuse to consider any proposal for a reduction in wages. This is important, because it will be observed that the question of a National Wages Board is being pressed by the officials as the important point, and if the owners were to agree to it, it is almost certain that a large number of the officials would be prepared to agree to a reduction in wages in return.

Let us clear the air of these matters at the beginning, so that no misunderstandings will arise later. If things turn out as we expect and the Triple Alliance acts at last, then the revolutionary situation that we have been waiting for will be here! With clear heads and resolute determination the workers will then be able to give capitalism the K.O.

Strike of the Blind.

BLIND WORKERS ON STRIKE AT PAISLEY.

Dear Sir,—Kindly allow me space in your valuable paper to draw the attention of the public to the condition of the blind workers employed in the Paisley and District Workshops for the Blind. This institution is one of the lowest paid of its kind in Scotland, and is the only one in which the blind workers are still compelled to work under piecework conditions. The National League of the Blind, which is the Trade Union of the blind workers, has been endeavouring for some time to obtain a similar standard wage of £2 15s. per week for all journeymen, and a proportionate increase for apprentices, but our application has been turned down by the Board of Management on two occasions, notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the Board are Trade Unionists themselves, and doubtless have claimed and obtained improved conditions from their employers, through their respective Trade Unions, but deny the same to the blind workers under their control.

In order to enforce our just and moderate claim this organisation on March 19 gave notice that, unless the claim was conceded by Saturday, March 26, the whole of the blind labour would be withdrawn. A reply was received on March 24, asking that the strike be withheld until the Board met the men, but no official of the National League would be allowed to attend (and this from Trade Unionists). The men met and rejected this unconstitutional offer, with the result that the blind workers are now out on strike as from March 26. There are two sighted basket makers employed in the workshop, and they too have come out in support of their blind fellow workers. It now lies with the general public of Paisley and district to support these blind men, who are striving to obtain a living wage, if £2 15s. per week can be called a living wage; at best it is but a mere existence. With regard to the blind being compelled to earn their living under piecework conditions, the National League of the Blind condemns the system as inhuman, as such a practice means blindness competing against sight. Can anyone imagine such a travesty of the term charity, when the blind employed in a Christian institution have such conditions, and this in a so-called civilised and Christian country? We ask the organised workers and the general public to support the blind in this struggle, and to use all their influence to bring it to a successful conclusion.—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

C. G. LOTHIAN, Scottish Organiser.

"I'm getting up an entertainment for some ex-Service men, and I want something really funny. What do you suggest?"

"Show them some battle scenes from the war movies produced while they were away."

National Workers' Committee Movement.

REPORT OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE

held at Sheffield from March 31 to April 2, 1921

At the opening of the Conference it was decided to devote the first day to special meetings of the various industries represented, in order to make a common policy to place before the Conference, and to draw up a separate constitution and rules as applied to the industry concerned.

The Miners were represented from So. Wales, Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham, Lancashire and Fifehire, and Nottingham. Dockers and Seamen from Grimsby, Hull and Liverpool. Engineering and Shipbuilding from Scotland. Building Workers from Liverpool and several parts of England. Letters were received from many quarters expressing regret at the inability to attend on account of finance and expressing solidarity with the cause of the Conference.

The Conference opened on Friday morning, and elected J. R. Campbell in the chair. In his opening remarks, the chairman said this was not an ordinary conference: we were there to hammer out a policy applicable to all industries. The British Trade Union movement was faced with the greatest crisis in its history. The unofficial movement for many years had been carrying on in a haphazard fashion, due to the fact that there had been a lack of co-ordination of policy. He further stated we were here to weld together the groups that existed in the various industries, and take the opportunity of forcing our policy in the existing trade union organisations.

Fraternal delegates were present from the London Council of Unemployed, Sheffield Unemployed and the Irish Engineering Union. After the preliminary items on the agenda were dealt with, the suspension of standing orders was agreed to, in order to discuss the immediate coal crisis. A delegate from the Scottish Miners opened the discussion and stated that events had proved the present capitalist system had failed to run the industries, and we should get down to discuss the possibilities of a national strike through unofficial action. We had either to accept the owners' offer right away or get down to a common-sense basis of making a fight to the last.

In the discussion this point of view was supported by other delegates, who stated that the Engineering and other trades were practically locked out by the organised Employers. The Unemployment movement was powerful at the present time and should be used to assist in the propagation of the overthrow of the Capitalist system. If the Triple Alliance should act, there should be sufficient enthusiasm in the rank and file to force a national stoppage. A programme was then formulated to develop the situation in all areas in conjunction with all work-in-class bodies, and sub-committees were elected to carry this into effect. At this stage of the Conference a letter was read from one of the officials of the South Wales Miners, sending fraternal greetings and stating that all the men were out in that district, solid. A delegate from the Yorkshire Miners stated that the reduction in wages was not very great in Yorkshire, and this was done in order to break the solidarity of the miners.

A general policy was agreed upon and machinery was put into operation to carry out the decisions of the Conference. This closed the business of the Miners' Crisis. The Conference then proceeded with the general business, Election of N.A.C., and officers.

J. R. Campbell was elected president, and T. Kime, Secretary. The N.A.C. was elected on the following basis: Two delegates from each of four areas; i.e., North and South England, Scotland, and Wales, on a basis of industry, and two representing other industries. This national council to be reviewed within six months.

The delegate from the London Unemployed addressed the Conference, and outlined the work done. The aim of the unemployed movement on a national basis, was the overthrow of the capitalist system, and to work in conjunction with the unofficial movement in the industries; and

stated that the unemployed organisations would take part in the revolutionary work in this and all crises. A national conference of all Unemployed organisations would take place on April 12 in London, and the delegate stated that he was instructed to convey fraternal greetings to the Conference and invite them to send two delegates to the London conference. Continuing, the delegate stated that there were 30 London Boroughs affiliated to the Council, and many of the men that had been active in unofficial workshop movements were now on the streets, and had therefore transferred their activities to the unemployment movement. Other speakers joined in the discussion, and it was decided to send two delegates to the Unemployed Conference in London.

A delegate from the Seamen addressed the Conference and emphasised the importance of the connecting link being established between the Seamen and the other industries, on the grounds of the necessity of supplying commodities in the time of a crisis, and appealed to the Conference to give every assistance in the establishing of the port committees as at present existed in some quarters. This was followed by a delegate from the dockers who welcomed the advent of a co-ordinated policy of rank and file organisation, which, he stated, was long overdue and would serve the assist the development of the committees in the docks. The various constitutions which were being framed at the conference and the issuing of membership cards, would be the means of bringing together the different departments of transport that were necessary in the time of a crisis such as the present, and for the further development of the idea of control of industry by the workers.

The general constitution and rules was the next item. It was decided that the name be "The National Workers' Committee Movement" with a sub-title to denote the industrial section.

Objective.

The objective of the organisation shall be the overthrow of Capitalism and the setting up of a Workers' Dictatorship under the protection of which a system of Workers' Control and management of industry shall be developed.

Method.

To work within and without the existing trade-union movement covering the various industries for the purpose (a) of bringing about rank-and-file control of their respective industrial organisations; (b) of changing the existing organisations into industrial unions.

Membership.

Membership shall be open to all those who accept the above principles and are active members of their trade-union organisations.

Structure.

- 1.—In all districts where more than one industrial section exists there shall be a district council composed of delegates from various industrial sections.
- 2.—There shall be a divisional council composed of delegates from all the divisional industrial committees within their respective division.
- 3.—There shall be a National Committee for each industrial section. Delegates from which shall form the N.A.C.

Finance.

The minimum basis of finance shall be 3d. per member per month to the District Council; 1d. per member per month to the Divisional Council; and 1d. per member per month to the N.A.C.

The details of drawing up the necessary pamphlets on sections of the movement was left to the N.A.C., also the issuing of membership cards, according to the decisions of the Conference.

The chairman called upon the fraternal delegate from the Irish Engineering and Shipbuilding

Union to address the Conference. He expressed fraternal greetings to the Conference, and congratulated the rebel movement on the action taken in establishing the movement on a sound basis. He outlined the working-class movement in Ireland, and the growth of bitterness towards the Capitalist class, the tyranny prevailing in Ireland; and warned the Conference to prepare for the same tyranny that will surely operate here as the struggle develops. The I.E.U. was formed last May with a membership of 400, and at the present time there was a membership of 4,500. They were fighting the craft unions in this country, and the officials of the unions in England and Scotland had done all in their power to boycott their members. The delegate then appealed to those present to endeavour to protect the members of the I.E.U. on this side. A resolution was moved, and ultimately carried unanimously, as follows:—

"That this conference of unofficial unions and workshop groups pledges itself to work in the workshop and in the trade union branches to secure recognition of the I.E. & S.U. throughout the Engineering and Shipbuilding industry in Great Britain."

Theses of the National Workers' Committee Movement:—

- 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.—Workers' Committees and Unemployment.
- 5.—British Trade Unionism and the Revolution.

The Theses were accepted as amended, copies of which would be sent to the delegates. This concluded the business of the Conference, the minor details and decisions of the Conference were left in the hands of the N.A.C.

Irish Engineering, Shipbuilding, Electrical, and Foundry Trade Union.

In a short time the effort of the British Government to partition this country is to be made, and is, I believe, doomed to failure. Common sense, even amongst the so-called hard-headed Ulster Protestant worker, will prevail.

The Partition Bill was introduced with a view of splitting the workers of this country. Unfortunately the Belfast shipyard workers again acted in the exact way that their bosses desired them to do, when they indulged in their pogrom work, and after all, what did they gain by same? No increase in wages, no better conditions of working, no guarantee of security of employment has come their way from those whose instructions they obeyed.

Their position, it cannot be denied, is weaker, and they are now almost at the mercy of the Belfast capitalist gang. They are looked on with contempt by every right-minded worker, and the barbarous, brutal, and unmanly treatment they meted out to their fellow workers will be long remembered to them. Their bosses will not think of their slavish obedience to them when they think the time opportune to reduce their wages or lengthen their present working hours. Unlike their unfortunate dupes they, the masters, will consider only their own interests and those of their class, and should the necessity arise will not hesitate to use the Crown forces against them as they are using those forces in the southern portion of Ireland at present.

The Ulster worker has always accused the worker in the southern part of Ireland of paying too much attention to politics and neglecting their duties as Trade Unionists. The boot is rather on the other foot, as events, especially those of recent date, prove. It is true that the southern worker has always taken an active interest in the welfare of his country, but, while doing so, he has never neglected his duties to his Trades Union, and has never stooped to the post-

(Continued at foot of next page.)

Boot and Shoe Operatives.

To Dundee belongs the honour of bringing into being an unofficial movement which tends to be a driving force in this most backward of Trade Unions. The officials of (which we will after this name as N.U.B.S.O.) are the most respectable reactionary renegade Labour loafers that ever sang "God Save the King." Its local officials are typical of their more renowned and compromising governors. You have no doubt missed the latest information about your General Secy. E. L. Poulton, O.B.E., J.P., and Chairman of Trade Union Congress, etc.

Now a few months ago it was noted in our monthly trades report congratulations were poured upon E. L. Poulton, and in fact the editorial related that we had become a distinguished union because of the election of E. L. Poulton to the chairmanship of the Parliamentary Labour Party, etc.

To our mind he has brought disgrace upon our union, which will take a lifetime to eradicate, when it is borne in mind that at the recent Labour Conference this intellectual hypocrite refused to hear a deputation of the unemployed on the question which they alone could realise. Just to refresh your short memories, my dear snobs, you remember how we were provided with ballot papers on the question, whereon we were asked to vote Yes or No, to give full power to our Executive Council to use direct action re unemployment. Now wisely or unwisely the union members decided by an 8 to 1 majority in favour of direct action. You will see the inconsistency at once when you bear in mind that E. L. Poulton as your paid servant refuses and ignores the wishes of the union, which voiced in no uncertain manner their practical sympathy with the unemployed. Not only does he treat the mandate with contempt, but uses his influence as chairman in giving words, words, words, instead of help. Don't be kidded, my fellow workers, by his wordy warfare about political action meeting the bill.

For instance, Clynes had the audacity in his congratulatory message to recent Labour victors in bye-elections to emphasise the point that political action was justified because of three more Labour men being sent to Parliament. They have been there a few weeks now. Reflect then on the statistics of unemployed. They, the Clynes and Poultons, etc., don't want to play with it. Can you afford to wait and pray?

I think it is consistent and logical to argue, if they (Council of Action) prevented war with Russia, why the hell can't they stop the class war—the war that goes on day after day under the capitalist system, the system that makes us animals instead of men? There can be small wonder then for this unofficial group making its appearance. It is a very desirable thing, and must be extended. These constitutional mongrels must be cleared out at the very earliest.

Irish Engineering—continued

tion that has always been taken up by his brother in the north when he has required his aid.

Nowhere, perhaps, in the whole world has so much toleration been displayed by one worker towards another as in this part of Ireland. The Catholic and Nationalist worker, it can be truthfully stated, has always been only too ready to help his fellow worker, no matter what his religious or political opinions might be. Whilst holding strongly to his own beliefs, he has never in any way interfered with those of others, the result being that there has always been complete harmony and the best of good fellowship in existence amongst the workers here.

It is to be hoped that the rude awakening which the Ulster workers will receive in connection with their position in the Belfast Parliament will make them realise that it is not to their interests to be continually hobnobbing with the employers, when the latter desire it, and that their position must be alongside the other workers in the new Ireland that undoubtedly is coming into being, looking after their own interests and those of their class.

Dietzen says, "Constitutionalism is the political expression of capitalism." Reason it out, my edge setting, dust swallowing, old boot mending, and stout kip lasting fellow workers, and refute it if you can. But I fancy I hear some of you saying, "That's alright, but what do you propose doing?" Well, we have only been a few weeks in existence, and in Dundee we are contesting the key positions of the union, and are in touch with another branch with similar intentions. The agreeable part of the contest in Dundee is that the local secy. is to be opposed by a known revolutionary Socialist, who in the first instance was approached by four young members to contest the position of secy and at once agreed. The local secy. has got the breeze up so to speak, and is trying to keep back the wild waves. Perhaps you don't believe it, fellow worker. Well, listen! The custom in Dundee is to hold the monthly meeting on the second Wednesday. A day or two previous to same in March the following note was sent to the shop steward in a certain workshop, and read:—Dear Willie,—Owing to my inability to get a hall, meeting will be deferred for a week.—Yours, etc., Alex. Brown, Secy.

The following week there was no word sent to this particular workshop, and incidentally this is where most of the unofficial group work. Enquiries were made at the shop steward prior to leaving the workshop, but no word of a meeting. However, knowing Brown to be Brown, and also knowing Brown had got the wind up, we, the rebels, decided to use a little bit of Red anticipation, which proved to be correct. Different halls in the town were scoured, and ultimately we got Brown and his subsidised oil painted Moir blowing bubbles in the air. The boycott was well planned but did not succeed, and guilt was written across their physogs. "The best laid schemes of mice and men," etc.

Nominations were in order at this meeting, and Brown is opposed. And why? Because we believe Brown hopelessly out of touch with the workers' conditions and vision. He is a commercial traveller, and left the industry some few years ago, with the result that being divorced from the hellish conditions that exist in getting a living at the boot trade he has got indifferent apathetic and inactive.

Not having to chew brass and shoe rivetts and swallow his peck of dust every day, it follows that he can't understand our point of view. His opponent, on the other hand, actually works at the trade, and knows full well the desires, disgusts, and environment of the boot and shoe operative.

Whatever the decision of the Dundee Branch be between constitutionalism (which has given the workers unemployment, war, poverty, wage slavery, etc.) or revolution, Brown or Clinton, this much is clear, that the unofficial group has come to stay. The mission of this group is to preach and organise discontent that it may first of all rid the union of the indifferent twisters and hangers-on. It has just reached us that the one-boot factory in Dundee is working 24 hours a week. That implies half pay, under feeding, more anxiety on the part of the factory workers. What is the cause? The cause is that this firm which works on the multiple shop principle find that they can buy Northampton boot manufacturers' stocks much cheaper than they can produce them at their Dundee factory. It consequently follows that this firm, being in business for profit, decide to work half-time in the hope of keeping the men they have from emigrating to other districts, hanging them on a peg as they would an old coat. Is there anything extreme about men who desire to alter this state of affairs, and who desire that those who will not be active will get to hell out of the way and not clog the wheel of progress? Have you anything to thank your officials, local or national, for? Where were they during the war? Recruiting and boasting like hell about how many men our union had supplied for cannon fodder. And the time you young fellows workers were in France and elsewhere fighting the German Hun they

were signing a two years' agreement with the English Hun, which bound you to a wage so disgraceful that I would not give it publicity. Then think of the conditions prevailing during the war, when the demand exceeded the supply of boot operatives, and you were let down by a pack of respectable negotiators. An agreement guaranteeing you a minimum wage is no use to you when you have no work. The fact of the matter is, my fellow operative, that these officials are more concerned about honouring an agreement and accepting capitalist morality than they were about your status in society or your immediate betterment. That is constitutional action. How do you like it? It has given you unemployment and starvation wages, and the boss class have factories full of material wealth in the shape of boots and shoes.

Can you honestly say we are extreme? If you do you are extremely docile. We are living in terrible times, my dear fellow workers, and we have got to examine our position in all seriousness. Thinking costs an effort. Make the effort for Christ's sake, and whether you wear a collar or a muffler to your work realise that you are of a class that is despised and treated with contempt not only by your enemies, the capitalist class, but also your local and national officials, who seemingly think that your destiny is to be exploited when opportunity affords, and that you pay them for shaking hands with your bosses and auctioning your bodies around a table in Hotel Cecil or some other slum. In all earnestness think less about your soles and more about your mentality. A report will be given by your delegates in Dundee who represented you at the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions, an organisation that will meet your requirements. Kilmarnock Branch is putting forward resolutions for affiliation to this body, and we must see they are supported at the Annual Conference.

In conclusion I would like you to know that at the last meeting the active group got the branch to endorse the following resolutions for Annual Conference. Watch carefully your report and see if you get the letter and resolutions as sent to E. L. Poulton:—

No. 1.—"The Dundee Branch of N.U.B.S.O., feeling that the time has come for a lead from the Executive on the question of May Day, move that the first May Day be observed as an annual holiday, the object being to solidify the forces of Labour."

No. 2.—"That Dundee Branch desire to move that no official shall hold office for more than two consecutive years, and must, to be eligible for nomination and election, be an actual wage earner in the industry."

Note.—The reason for this proposed new rule is that dissatisfaction exists because of the attitude of the permanent officials in adhering to payment by results, the opinion of this branch being that if said officials were paid by results they would have very little pay.

No. 3.—"The Dundee Branch desire an explanation from E. L. Poulton, Gen. Secy., on his conduct at recent Labour Conference re unemployed being refused a hearing, and also his opposition to the wishes of those who pay him and who emphatically balloted for direct action re unemployment."

The letter reads as follows:—

My Dear Sir,—As the whole of our February meeting was taken up by our Council member, Mr Blaikley, it is hoped this fact will excuse the belated appearance of our resolutions, and that they will get the treatment usually accorded resolutions for Conference.

The third resolution you will recognise as a personal one, and we refrain from criticism until you have had an opportunity to explain yourself.

We conclude, fellow workers, with the hope that we may hear from you if you are actively inclined. In the meantime watch and support Dundee.—Signed on behalf of Dundee Unofficial Group.

A. MILLAN, President.
JOHN CLINTON, Secretary,
43 Hill Street, Dundee.

CIGARETTE PAPER

By the Editor

BE PREPARED!

THE MAGNIFICENT SPIRIT ALREADY MANIFESTED BY THE RANK AND FILE RAILWAYMEN AND OTHER WORKERS TOWARDS THE UNSCRUPULOUS LOCK-OUT OF THE MINERS PROMISES TO CREATE A CONDITION OF THINGS APPROXIMATING TO A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN BRITAIN. CAPITALISM IS ALMOST HELPLESS; IT BECOMES MORE HOPELESSLY DEMORALISED EVERY DAY. ITS EXECUTIVE, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, IS THE MOST UNPOPULAR, INDEED DETESTED, GOVERNMENT SINCE THE LIVERPOOL ADMINISTRATION. THE INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL CRISES TO-DAY HAVE NO PRECEDENT IN BRITISH CAPITALIST HISTORY. ANYTHING MIGHT HAPPEN AT ANY MOMENT TO BRING THIS GHASTLY AND BLOOD-STAINED SYSTEM TO ITS WELL-MERITED RUIN. REALISE THIS AND KEEP COOL. THE IMMEDIATE TASK IS TO BUILD UP YOUR UNOFFICIAL COMMITTEES. "ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS' COMMITTEES!" (SOVIETS) MIGHT RING OUT ANY DAY NOW. THREE OR FOUR MILLIONS OF MEN LOCKED OUT, ON STRIKE, OR UNEMPLOYED IS A PHENOMENON THIS COUNTRY HAS NEVER EXPERIENCED. IT MEANS A STRANGLE-HOLD ON AN ALREADY DECADENT SYSTEM, AND A CRISIS OF UNPARALLELED MAGNITUDE TO THE WORKERS THEMSELVES. BE PREPARED AND SET UP YOUR COMMITTEES AT ONCE—DON'T WAIT UNTIL THE COLLAPSE OCCURS.

More Travesties.

Mr. Francis McCullagh was captured by the Reds in Russia where, as a member of the British Military Mission, he was assisting cut-throat Koltchak to spread the glorious blessings of civilisation—vodka, knout, and counter-revolution. He has returned to this country and written a book, price 18/- net (Murray), wherein he gives his experiences real and imaginary. Here is a nice little cameo of Lenin:—

"The best passport to his presence is the brand of Cain. Like a fiend in hell, instead of man born of woman, he gloats daily over the world's chronicle of red ruin. Dressed in rusty black, with trousers which were somewhat baggy at the knees and a general appearance of reasonableness and respectability. His head was bald, but with a dull, mottled, and not a shiny, billiards-ball hairlessness. His face broad and with a dim disturbing suggestion of Asia. Outlawed by every Government, anathematised by every Church, cursed by his millions of victims, he can never leave Russia alive; he cannot stay in Russia and live."

There y'are. Even Lenin's baldness has a revolutionary touch about it. We are off to see a specialist next week. Baggy trousers! Shocking! He cannot stay in Russia and live, and he cannot get out of it and live. No doubt this accounts for the monotonous frequency of his demise. "Gloating over the world's red ruin" is a bit far-fetched. Capt. McCullagh ought to have written "black and tan," not "red," and applied that part of his narrative to Sir Haman Greenwood.

Yanckle the vermin destroyer comes in for a share:—

Yurovsky (the Czar's murderer).—"His face was sallow, square, and not distinctively Jewish; and his eyes were greenish in hue and filled with a look of distrust; his hand clammy. A human tiger, a devil incarnate; too bloodthirsty even for the Bolsheviks."

We've read this before, several times, but it was about Jean Paul Marat.

"The people are like walking skeletons. No lights, no trams; a nightmare. It is one of the strangest sights I have ever seen, this great mass of wretched-looking people drifting into the centre of the city every morning, and then drifting listlessly home again in the evening."

'Orrible! all dressed up and nowhere to go!

'Orrible! and yet they wouldn't let Koltchak save them from—

Bolshevism.—"The more I learned the greater grew my horror of that vast and formidable conspiracy which aimed at nothing less than the overthrow of our Christian civilisation. The higher the veil was lifted the more intense became my fear of the monstrous figure whose lineaments were being gradually disclosed."

Oh! Christ! that anything should overturn thy glorious civilisation! Thy carnages, thy brothels, thy opium and other dope, thy howitzers, submarines and poison gas, thy venereal diseases, thy slums, and thy stunt politicians, all of which have their origin deep in what Capt. McCullagh calls "the legitimate desire for gain." Here it is, reader:—

"What frightens the Bolsheviks most of all is the well-founded suspicion that the very nature of man is working against them. All their attempts to abolish trading and that legitimate desire for gain which, after all, makes the world go round, are as futile as cutting water with a sword and expecting the fissure to remain open."

And they call it "civilisation," which is correct. But not Christian civilisation, surely. We have an idea that Christian civilisation was founded upon abnegation, not gain. "If a man sue ye and take away your cloak, give him your cloak also." "Labour not for the meat that perisheth." "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth." "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." "Sell all thou hast and give it to the poor."

"Some" desire for gain, as the Yanks say. No! no! Captain, Comrade Christ was more "Bolshev" than "civilised."

* * *

The Captain's Captivity.

Of course the "Daily Mail," when reviewing this eighteen shillings' worth (?), takes especial care to point out that its author "is not a propagandist." We can see that with half-an-eye, which, by the way, is about all the optic expenditure necessary for a work of this kind.

That his descriptions are accurate and based upon actual contact with the things described, is abundantly proved. One might imagine that his "vivid narrative" was the outcome of a mind disordered through weary years of cheerless and brutal captivity in a loathsome dungeon. But no! these fiends incarnate, these clammy-handed hu-

man tigers, bald-headed miscreants, and civilisation squashers didn't shove him into a dungeon:

"He was cut off and taken by the Reds, who did not maltreat him, and because he was well known as a journalist and promptly discarded his military rank, he was allowed to go about as far as any private person can do so in modern Russia. He visited the scene of the Czar's murder and gives a detailed account of that hideous crime."

Just as Lloyd George and his brothers-in-Christ permitted their war-prisoners to do in this country, isn't it not?

* * *

Another Picture.

While prominence is being given to Captain McCullagh's distorted portraiture of the Bolshevik leaders in the press, one looks in vain for equally prominent reference to Major Battine's article in the current "Fortnightly Review." Therein the gallant major describes the Bolshevik leaders as the ablest men in Europe. When two very pronounced British militarists write entirely opposite accounts, there is really no occasion for elaborate comment. Major Battine writes:—

"Whatever else can be laid to the charge of the Bolsheviks, it cannot be fairly asserted that they have been represented in their Cabinet by incompetent men. On the contrary, man for man, the Bolshevik leaders, in the teeth of terrible internal and external problems, have shown themselves the most capable of the rulers of Europe. They are perfectly aware of the weak points and difficulties which beset their adversaries, and exploit them most artfully."

In the Kremlin, as elsewhere, differences of opinion exist. There are known to be two currents—one which favours a cautious policy, and which would, at any rate, put off hostile intervention by arms or propaganda in the Western nations; the other desire a forward policy.

Trotsky is credited with sympathy for the most adventurous courses, and has certainly been indefatigable in his warlike preparations. His reorganisation of the Red Forces after their debacle in Poland, and his successful attack on Wrangel's troops, culminating in the capture of the Crimea, prove that he is an adversary whom it is rash to neglect or despise."

It is sufficient to point out that such extraordinarily efficient men as these cannot possibly be burdened with Capt. McCullagh's catalogue of vicious defects.

* * *

The I.L.P.

No one can read the comments of the I.L.P. officials who stand for the "position," without coming to the conclusion that whatever that nebulous quantity (the I.L.P. "position") might be, its popularity is due to sheer funk. Socialism to these folk means nothing more than a political atmosphere in which their own intellectual gig-lamps may shine with more or less brilliancy. It is an exploitation of human misery wrought by the wage-slave system, bringing political popularity, political careers, and minor safe positions to the exploiters. Not one of them dare mount a platform and attempt to show their dupes in what manner the "position" will eventually emancipate the worker from a ruling class bristling with accoutrements of war and in possession of the wealth of the world. Beaten on every argument, they are compelled time and again, either to surrender the field completely and foolishly or make pretence of believing in the Communist position "as a last resort." A more mischievous collection of frauds, cowards and innocents never made a class movement look more contemptible. Read Wallhead's speech carefully and look in vain for anything better than a studiously manufactured epigram or a witty definition. Evils are pointed out in plenty, fellowship is distributed with a lavish hand; but the only hope offered to a body-bruised and soul-racked world is the I.L.P. "position," which is not explained and cannot be explained—a position which isn't a position, never was and never will be a position.

* * *

Frauds.

To justify their own incompetence and impotency the spokesmen of the party are driven to

sneer at Moscow. It is "not even in this country," but in the next breath they are breathing panegyrics on Vienna, which is no more in "this country" than Moscow is.

"Conditions in this country are very different to those in Russia"! But who in hell ever said they weren't? That fact has been stated many a time in the "Worker." If local conditions and local conditions only, are to determine the entire plan of campaign in the war against Capitalism, then Vienna is as useless as Moscow. Indeed, an "International" of any sort is not requisite.

But, reader, an International which will betray the working class when the time for action arrives, is a very necessary political instrument for a bunch of tricksters whose vested interests are dependent on the perpetuation of the Capitalist system, and whose profession of "Socialism" is as empty as any other party cry in history—Home Rule, Protection, Free Trade, etc.

Open Confession.

The most convincing proof of this charge is in the abject collapse of the Second International and its explanation by Huysmans. Louis P. Lochner, the American correspondent, interviewed Huysmans last month in Brussels:—

"What do you think will come out of the Vienna congress?" I asked Camille Huysmans. "A nice resolution," he replied whimsically. "These men will all finally come together with us again. They claim, to be sure, that they represent a more radical point of view. But just look at the men individually! My good friend Longuet of France is more conservative than I am when it comes to action; Adler of Austria likewise. All of them may now clamour for more revolutionary action, but when they are faced to face with responsibility, they are more conservative than we are. No, Vienna is not to be taken seriously."

And it must not be forgotten that the Secretary of the ludicrous Second International is also the spiritual wet-nurse of the British I.L.P., Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

It Is Deliberate.

There can be no question about the absolute dishonesty of these people. Their assertion that Moscow dictation is obnoxious, is made with the express purpose of misleading people. The inference being that the Russians intend to control the Communists of the world: This is a bare-faced fraud. Russians would no more "control" Communists in Britain from Moscow than Austrians would control fakirs in Britain from Vienna.

And "Forward," which is alleged to stand for sober truth and deplores "rhetoric and hot air," permits an anonymous libeller on its front page to describe Communism as "the bomb and arson business"; narrow-gutted little prig.

A Challenge.

On another page an upper-class contributor, Dr. G. B. Clark, patronisingly offers a little education to the Communists:—

"When the war began, Russia was a century or two behind us in civilisation, and our new Communists do not realise the difference in the conditions of the two countries and the psychology of the two peoples. Nearly 90 per cent. of the Russian population are engaged in agriculture, and she has a surplus after feeding her people."

We shan't use any hot air in this instance, but merely make an offer to Dr. G. B. Clark. If he can prove that Russia's 90 per cent. of agriculturists succeeded in producing a surplus after feeding themselves on what they produced, between the years 1821-1921, we will cheerfully present the I.L.P. funds with a five pound note. Russia has maintained her revolution in the face of incalculable suffering—starvation not the least of it.

Another.

And we'll willingly offer another and another again to any member of the I.L.P. who can tell us the names of the Bricklayers, Engineers, Printers, Moulders, Soldiers, Sailors, Railwaymen and Miners' delegates who represent the workers in those industries in the Glasgow Council Chamber. If none of them accept the offer, then we advise them to desist, mouthing their damned lies to the people by describing a town council and a soviet as the same thing.

"And behold, it was very good."

From Buenos Ayres comes the satisfying news that a move has been made in this hot bed of iniquity towards purifying the social atmosphere:

"After Sunday, March 27, no priest, for any reason, will be permitted to administer Holy Communion to any married woman, girl, or child who approaches the altar without having completely covered the breast, shoulders, and arms with material that is not transparent."

They are determined that the Almighty's disgusting handiwork shall no more profane with its visibility the secret precincts of the holy booze and biscuit counter.

Sartoria.

And while Lenin walks about bossing the milky way with baggy pants, we read in the "Daily Dispatch" that:—

"The Labour Party are anxious to avoid the stigma of Bolshevism—hence we have Mr Clynes wearing evening dress in the House."

Mr. Clynes' adoption of evening dress is no more incongruous than Mr J. R. Macdonald's dining with the Kaiser and toasting the health of King George, which he did just prior to the great recruiting campaign. It used to take "nine tailors to make a man," but we'll wager that nine hundred couldn't make Clynes even look like one.

The Prevarication Bureau.

Up to the present the Capitalist press has been too busy justifying the lock-out of the miners, "on purely democratic grounds," to find time to hunt in the garbage bin for mud to throw at them. The Glasgow "Evening News" was the one exception in this quarter, actually taking the lead before the "Daily Record." The notices expired on March 31st, and on April 1st the "Evening News" printed this:—

"Extravagance itself has not completely died out to judge from a letter by a Kendal correspondent, who gives his name and address. He states that last Sunday he went with a London friend for lunch at one of the largest hotels in the Lake District, an establishment known as having the most expensive tariff of any in the neighbourhood. They found a party of twenty-two miners and their womenfolk from Wigan. Some weeks previously they had written for the tariff of the house. They turned up in a charabanc on Thursday night, and kept it, going trips every night, until they left on Tuesday night."

Note how the correspondent "gives his name and address." This is what Pooh Bah calls "a corroborative detail to give an artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative."

Crowns and Coronets.

Karl hasn't been able to insinuate himself into his old Austrian throne, and the attempt to restore Manoel to the throne of Portugal has failed as dismally. From Spain comes the cheerful news that the workers in many large towns have imitated the Italians by seizing the workshops, and running them during a lock-out. And Mr. Gordon Selfridge, one of our own home-produced plumes of the first magnitude, stated in public only last week: "In one or two generations the nobility of England will be forced to go to work." He omitted to add—"under the dictatorship of the working class."

Harland & Wolff's Matinee at Lancefield Quay.

During the last fortnight there has been a sort of subdued "excitement" prevailing at the wage-slave compounds which are controlled by Harland & Wolff. This excitement caused a great deal of palpitation of the heart with some of the slaves, owing to the fact of rumours to the effect that there was to be a "big pay off." However, these rumours were forgotten when the management announced that My Lord and Lady Pirrie intended visiting the compounds, accompanied by some others of the unemployed. The purpose of the visit of this "gang of tea-leaves," it was said, was to unveil a memorial to the wage-slaves previously employed with the firm who had been killed in the recent quarrel the capitalists of this country had with their German friends. Some evil-minded persons, when they saw the staging and other preparations that were being made, said they were going to play a revue, "The Passing Show or the Bone Head Working Man." But behind the scenes all was excitement. Things were indeed awkward. The management were arranging to suspend 50 per cent. of the hands. This meant ruin for the coming performance. They could hardly claim the loyalty of the "common herd" if it knew it was getting "sacked." So the foreman got word to delay issuing the notices until the following Tuesday night, when the entertainment was finished. Meanwhile the touring tribe of Pirries and Prigs were meeting with great success at Greenock and Govan, but found it impossible to fulfil their engagement at Lancefield Street on the Tuesday. The governor of this compound was very much annoyed, as this meant delaying the notices until Saturday.

However, the show took place on Thursday last, and was thoroughly enjoyed by the large audience present. The cease work sounded at quarter to five instead of half past five o'clock. That was good enough, and got payed full. This was sufficient to ensure a good appreciative audience. The programme was opened by monologues from Mister Lord Pirrie; this number was very commonplace. One of the star turns then appeared, a real live Field-Marshal in the person of Sir Wm. Robertson in "fool" uniform. He is at present on the unemployed list, but does not attend the "burroo." This artist created a very bad impression by stating "he was a worker." Next came an individual named Rebbeck, who was very amusing. He told some very funny stories. A good joke he told was "That during the war it was only with tremendous effort and persuasion he had been able to keep the great majority of the employees from rushing away and joining the army so great was the loyalty shown by the workers of Harland & Wolff's." Of course his modesty kept him from mentioning that the directors had also shown their loyalty during the war. They managed to pick up about six million of the best, not too bad considering the circumstances. Then came Governor Green; he is so green it's a wonder the cows haven't ate him long ago. This turn was a wash-out. Misses Lord Pirrie then performed a trick (unveiled the memorial). Next appeared a member of that species of slave which is generally exhibited on occasions such as this for the benefit of visitors. "It" has been employed with the firm for thirty-six years. "It" moved a vote of thanks to the artistes on behalf of the employees. Those present are not quite sure whether it was on behalf of the deceased or present employees.

It certainly sounded like a voice from the dead. Of course Stage Manager Green had carefully prepared this item, the main part which seemed to be a repeat of the words My Lord and Lady every sentence. Then to finish the bugle band in attendance sounded the "Last Post." Next morning "first post" the foreman delivered the oft-delayed notices. There was weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth; many are called and quite a few were chosen.

An Open Letter to the "Shipwrecks" of the Union of Shipbuilding, Engineering (?) and Constructional Workers.

By DAN MACLEAN.

PART II.

To see how ever present this connection between themselves and "capital," etc., is in the minds of the designers of the new "Looter's Charter," just turn up and ponder over clause 10 of rule 77, p. 112.

This revelation of the "fakir" mind reads: "Any member accepting an official position with the Employers' Federation shall forfeit all claim to pension, also all moneys he may have paid into this fund!"

"By their fruits ye shall know them!" Returning again to Mr John Hill's wild brag about his (presumably) successful efforts to "secure better wages and conditions for members," other than "fool-time" officials, we "stump" him by a very "slow" bowl from himself!

In the Govan "Pioneer" for Jan., 1921, under the heading "Employers Restrict Output," Mr Hill declares that "the cost of living has now gone up to 191 per cent. over pre-war figures, and our general advances of wages have only gone up 124 per cent. in the same period. Thus one pound sterling to-day is down to one-third of its purchasing power. In other words, if we had a weekly wage of £6 per week, that would be equal to our pre-war wage of £2 a week!"

Our average time rate to-day is £4 10s. per week. We require an advance of 30s. per week now to bring us up to pre-war wages! Now in the "Worker" for Sept. 11, 1920, the editor, basing his calculations on "figures in the venal 'Record and Mail' of the previous Friday, declared that 'the cost of living has increased since 1913 from 150 to 450 per cent. above pre-war prices!'"

On the following Friday, Sept. 17, the "Daily Herald" quoted from a Board of Trade leaflet headed "No. 153, a word to the wife," that "every miner's wife . . . knows that three Bradburys won't go as far as the old golden sovereign." "That is to say," the "Herald" penman remarks, "that the increase in the cost of living is something over 200 per cent!"

According to the "Daily Record" then the Board of Trade, and "honest" John himself, Mr Hill's "society," even through Mr Hill's successful efforts (?), has not "maintained," let alone "improved," the higher pre-war standard of life and "conditions."

The new "Looter's Charter" alone appears, prospectively (?) to justify Mr Hill's "tall talk" about "securing better wages and conditions for his (fool-time) members."

I suggest that on Mr Hill's own showing he is proved to have "an impediment in his truth."

Let me point out, too, that the new "Looters' Charter" nowhere reveals the "democratic" concern displayed two years ago by Mr John Hill about "the best interests" of the "young men"—the majority—whom he then heard "knocking at the door" of Trade Unionism, intent on "firing" the immemorial Ali Babas that have so long fooled the toilers, young and old, in "the best interests of capital, etc."

In the Boilermakers' Report for January, 1919, Mr Hill vowed that "the constitution and government (tut! tut! John, 'administration's' the word) of our society must be such that the members (i.e., the 'young men,' the majority) will have conscious control in the lodge and in the workshop!"

This will give to each member a feeling of responsibility. He will cease to be the tool either of an employer or of Trade Union officials. He will become a more intelligent workman and a better Trade Unionist than he is to-day." Mr Hill ends his "revolutionary" resolutions by assuring the dupes that "if they can secure the above reform (properly 'resolution') by some practical proposals you will keep the society abreast of the aspirations of our young men who are knocking at the door."

Mr Hill, with 14 other "banner bearers of democracy," as Mr Percy Urell termed them, is partly responsible for the now "Looters' Charter."

This "Charter" will not allow the "young men" even a "look in" at "conscious control . . . in the lodge," district, or Executive Council.

In "the lodge" the branch spy will "consciously control" the "young men" with up-to-date "aspirations." The district and executive posts require "qualifications" that will effectually disqualify or "burke" the young members, the majority, who "aspire" to "administer" their own affairs, for themselves, by themselves.

"The young men knocking at the door" were unheard of or unheeded by the bureaucratic ears of "honest" John Hill and his compeers when they sat scheming and planning the now "Looters' Charter."

In spite of John Hill's concern, seven-eighths of the members—the "young men"—will in the prospective "amalgamation" be a mute multitude of the "dispossessed" and disenfranchised, for even district committeemen must have 5 years' membership, and have "served" one year in some branch office before being promoted to the breathless heights of the District Council!

The wisdom of district technical advisers under the new "Looters' Charter" will require to have been "matured" by lying six years "in bond" (age?), and further "lying (?) three years in some branch office!"

The superhuman wisdom—or folly?—of an Executive Councilman can only be acquired by 10 years' participating in the "democratic" privileges—"prospective" privileges at that!—of the A.U. of S.E. and C.U., with at least 3 years' training in some "fool-time" office or other; in fact, the qualifications for "Councilmen" are a "mystery of iniquity," reserved for the consideration of "the general secretary and his assistant secretaries."

Clauses 5 and 6 of rule 30 inform the dupes that "no member of the union will be eligible for the position of Councilman who owns or is a partner in any business, and he must be working at the trade or a full-time official of the union at the time of his nomination (5).

None but past and present officers (Junkers?) who have held office for a period of at least three years shall be eligible for the position of a Councilman" (6).

Again, with sinister disregard for "the best interests" of the "young men," the majority, the 15 "little brothers of the poor (?)," the temporising committee, who sat scheming and designing the new "Looters' Charter" from "the 5th Jan., 1920," till near the end of Dec., 1920—over 11 months!—first proposed that the "young men," the majority, should skim through in little more than a month's time—say, in 12 or 15 hours!—the 126 pages, the 77 or more rules, and the clauses innumerable that constitute the new "Looters' Charter."

Let us return again to the "prospective" General Secretary of the U.S.E. and C.W. and his "qualifications" for piloting that unwieldy and disunited "union" through the soul-shaking times ahead—I allude of course to Mr John Hill.

The great wage war has been formally proclaimed as far as the shipbuilding and engineering industry is concerned. The hour is here. Is there a man? "Honest" John Hill foresaw the coming attack on his members' standard of life since at least August, 1919.

In the Boilermakers' Report for that date (Aug., 1919) "honest" John declares: "The plan of the Government, or the employers (which is one and the same) is to gradually reduce our war bonuses until they get us down to about pre-war level. They will prepare their own figures on the cost of living, and they will reduce wages accordingly."

Two months later, in October, "honest" John repeats his "ower true tale" of the coming wage

war in the Boilermakers' Report. "The Government," says "Comrade" Hill, "goes beyond the employers' refusal of betterment by laying down final terms that part of our present wages must be put in the scale so that they may be taken from us, shilling by shilling, as the beam falls to or below the fateful figures of 110."

"The Government" can't, of course, "go beyond the employers" in dirty tricks, John, for, as you are aware, they "are one and the same."

Two months later still, in Dec., 1919, "honest" John underwent a mental "revolution," for lo! in the December Boilermakers' Report our "Comrade" informed the credulous that "wages cannot be reduced, but stand every chance of being increased."

In the Boilermakers' Report for August, 1918, our consistent "Comrade" spoke his mind about the Committee on Production.

"The Committee on Production," says he, "which was set up as an impartial body to see to the fulfilment of the Government's pledges made to us, have now become accessories with the Government in their breach of faith to the Trade Union movement."

The Committee on Production, "Comrade" Hill means to say, were "twisters."

In the Boilermakers' Report for Dec., 1919, "Comrade" Hill, referring to the Industrial Court, remarked: "Personally, I favour giving this Court a trial. I am willing to place our case in the hands of such a Court for enquiry and await a reasonable period for their report. The evidence is all in our favour. We must win." "Comrade" Hill's faith is a "variable quantity," and unbased on experience and unrelated to reason.

In July, 1920, writing in the Boilermakers' Report of that date, the faithful Hill avows that "this Court was not established to give us their sympathy when we put up a good claim. . . . On the plea for an advance of standard rates I think our claim was good, but I don't expect the Court will meet that claim with cash." Not likely, John, seeing the "Government and the employers are one and the same."

In the Report for July, 1919, "Comrade" Hill, speaking of a conference with the Engineering Employers' Federation held at York some six weeks previously, avers that "we realised that the employers were not prepared to discuss, much less settle, either one thing or another. They came there to humbug us for two whole days and they succeeded."

In the Report for February, 1920, our simple "Comrade," after hoary experience of "Governments and employers," which he believes to be "one and the same," concludes that "National Conferences have always been a waste of time, and unless we can mend our procedure and our pace at these conferences the members will end them." They will not, alas! John, yet awhile; your query in the Report for March, 1920, at once asks and supplies the reason why.

"I wonder," said you, "does it ever strike you what a stupid lot of animals working men are?" "It does," "Comrade," and is proved by the fatal fact that the workers retain faith in your intelligence, honesty, foresight, "grit," and common-sense.

In a circular-letter to the members of the prospective "Amalgamated Union of Shipbuilding, Engineering (?) and Constructional Workers," dated 11th March, "J. Hill, J.P., appears as "General Secretary," and, after informing the members of the employers' "objectives" in the coming "offensive," "Comrade" Hill ends by saying: "In the meantime, we warn all our members against accepting any reduction of wages whether these attempts on their wages are direct reductions or indirect, in the shape of change of customs or the withdrawal of help or facilities for carrying on work. Any such attempts should be protested against, and the assistance of local and national officials called where necessary."

Against a deliberate and successful attempt to "lower the standard of life" John Hill to-day has nothing more effective to offer than a "protest" and the "assistance of local and national officials where necessary."

In the Report for May, 1919, when the present or coming danger was only prospective and afar off, our bold "Comrade" bragged that "if there is

any society which can stand on its own feet with all the world against us it is ours! There is no individual Trade Union can or has done more for its members than curs." A month before this in the April Report our fiery "ringleader" wrote: "This is a notorious fact, that stoppages of work and threatened stoppages have had more influence with certain employers and the Government (aren't they 'one and the same?') than all the reason and logic of a Socrates."

But to-day, and for the dark and threatening tomorrows in store for us, Hill, the fire-eater, has no more "lethal weapon" to offer than a "protest" and the "assistance of local and national bell-wethers—where necessary."

"Good Lord, deliver us!"

Truly, as a competent authority on industrial affairs, J. R. Campbell, declared in these columns on the 12th inst., "the British Trade Union movement has reached a critical point 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."

Where are you now, the "young men" (the majority) whom "honest" John heard "knocking at the door" of incompetent and servile bureaucracy more than two years ago? Can it be that you, too, like your bronze-browed and leaden-brained "temporisers" have fallen victims to the fatal malady of "officialdom"—"encephalitis lethargica," sleeping sickness? Surely not! Bestir yourselves, ye "young men," therefore, and at once "cancel," and forever, the whole damned pack of "fool-time" compromisers, whose hoary and only "policy" (?) is proved to be endless palaver and fatal procrastination "that maketh the heart sick," and ends always in defeat and the further "degradation of the wage-earners as a class."

Wake up "young men" and press on with but one aim, with but one battle-cry—"The administration of the people, by the people, for the people."

"Press on."

"One more point," remarked the lady who was engaging a cook. "I may tell you that I discharged my last cook because she was too friendly with a policeman."

"Oh, you won't find me friendly with no pleecemen, mum!" said the cook. "I was brought up to 'ate the sight of 'em, mum. All my family 'ave bin thieves and murderers and criminals for generations, mum. We don't 'ave no truck with no pleecemen, mum!"

Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation.

Eastern Section.

SUNDAY FIRST, 10th April, at 7 p.m. in
LOUVRE PICTURE HOUSE, Parkhead.

GRAND CONCERT in aid of Maintenance and Defence Fund for Guy Aldred and others. The following talented Artists will positively appear:

Coun. TOM KERR in "Song and Revolution."
HUGH M'MILLAN, Vocalist.
ETHEL NORMAN, Violinist.
WM. SAMUELS, Baritone.
JOHN SCULLION, Tenor.
JACK KISSELL, Humorist.
HELEN FERGIE, Elocutionist.
MARIE DAVIS, Contralto.

John Boyle, Tenor. John Campbell, Vocalist.
Jeannie Spencer, Soprano. Jas. M'Fadyen, Bass.

* * *

Rebels! the fight has begun. RALLY.

Doors open 6-30 p.m. — Silver Collection.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"BORIS REINSTEIN ON DANIEL DE LEON."

(To the Editor of the "Worker.")

Sir,—The article by Wm. Paul in "Worker" of March 26, has brought again to the fore the influence of the late Daniel De Leon's works among the leaders of the Russian Communists.

After reading over the article, "Boris Reinstein on Daniel De Leon," the writer of this letter has come to the conclusion that Mr Paul has had a dual reason for the publication of the afore-mentioned article. The first is, a desire on the part of the writer to influence the Socialist Labour Party conference in relation to the question of "Communist Unity"; secondly, to impress the readers of the "Worker" with the intellectual qualifications of the writer, by attempting to prove a similarity in the tactics advocated by De Leon and Lenin with the tactics pursued at the present by Mr Paul.

The whole article, superficially scrutinized, would lead one to the belief in the "revolutionary" posture of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and a vindication of the policy of the "Communist Unity" element recently expelled from the Socialist Labour Party.

Mr Paul seems to be obsessed with the idea that he is destined to be the "British Lenin."

Since his expulsion from the S.L.P., Mr Paul has on various occasions asserted his allegiance to the principles and tactics advocated by De Leon and Lenin. In discussing with Reinstein on the S.L.P. of America during his visit to Soviet Russia, Reinstein is reported by Paul to say:—

"The S.L.P. . . . died soon after De Leon was buried. In America it had passed into the hands of a few theoretical maniacs who had learned nothing from the great war, and who had even been unable to grasp the wonderful lessons which the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution made clear to every well-poised Marxian Socialist."

De Leon died in 1914. If, soon after De Leon's death, the S.L.P. "passed into the hands of a few theoretical maniacs, who had learnt nothing from the great war," can you explain, Mr Paul, why Reinstein, 5 years after the death of De Leon, represented the American S.L.P. at the first Congress of the Communist International in Moscow?

If the American S.L.P. is a "doctrinaire" and "fanatical" while Reinstein is a "well-poised Marxian Socialist" out for Communist Unity, does it not seem peculiar that he should represent the "retrograde" American S.L.P. at such a historical Congress as that held at Moscow in 1919? We await your reply with interest.

The writer continues his article with an attempt to prove that De Leon's works developed "a gradual leading up to the policy of the dictatorship as mentioned by Marx and Engels and as elaborated by Lenin" without producing the slightest evidence to back up his assertion. As a matter of fact, not only was De Leon conversant with the works of Marx and Engels in relation to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but he fully realised the social and political conditions which Marx alluded to when he used the term "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

And what is the condition in which the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" becomes an indispensable factor in the realisation of the Communist Republic?

Is it not a fact that Marx's writings on the above subject is in relation to countries where the proletarians are in the minority, not in the majority, as they are in this country at the present time? In his criticism of the "Gotha Program" of 1875, Marx makes himself quite clear when he says (he speaks here of Germany in 1875): "Between capitalist society and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Correspondent with this there will be a period of political transition during which the state can be nothing other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

A few paragraphs earlier in his criticism of the above-mentioned program Marx says: "First of all, in Germany among the 'working people' there are more peasants than proletarians." Does the dictatorship formulae applicable to countries like Germany in 1875 and Russia of 1921, where the majority of the working class consist of peasants and not of proletarians or industrial workers, hold good for countries such as Britain and America, where the "peasants" as a class are almost entirely obliterated? And then the writer proceeds to develop his arguments, attempting to prove the similarity of De Leon's tactics with his own in relation to Socialist unity. He mentions how "De Leon in opposition to the fanatics in his own ranks persuaded the S.L.P. to vote for Wm. Haywood." He mentions this without the slightest reference to the fact that Wm. Haywood at that particular time in 1906 endorsed the program and policy of the then I.W.W., and completed the political clause in the preamble of that organisation which latterly caused the Anarchist element, including Wm. Haywood, to secede from the original I.W.W. tactics and adopt the "bummery" anti-political tactics which was met with the uncompromising hostility of De Leon right up to the latter's death. The same hostility to the Anar-

chist anti-political actionists is evinced by Lenin in that brilliant little work entitled "Left Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder," in which quite a number of the leading lights of the "Communist Party of Great Britain" receive a lesson in tactics worth remembering from the man whom John Reed says "is a great admirer of Daniel De Leon."

And wherein did lie De Leon's greatness?

Was it in his desire for "Socialist unity," as Mr Paul would have us believe when he quotes partly and mutilates and destroys the whole sense of a paragraph in a speech made by De Leon in 1908? There is no need to reproduce here the cunning literary piracy practised by Mr Paul in his attempt to distort the works of De Leon and reduce it to the garbled, ambiguous phraseology of our own burlesque Bolsheviks. Sufficient be it for the reader of this letter to buy the pamphlet entitled "Unity," being an address delivered by De Leon in 1908. He will see to what depth an opportunist will sink for the sake of a political career.

After mutilating the context of his quotation Paul asserts that the reason why the above speech was not delivered under S.L.P. auspices was because De Leon "was almost afraid of the lurking doctrinaire fanaticism which was later to wreck the S.L.P. in America and elsewhere, when events pushed the question of unity to the front as a revolutionary need."

As a matter of fact the reason why, as De Leon explains in the opening sentences of his address, was as follows: "My reasons were that in my editorial capacity I had no right to comment upon an act of the National Executive Committee, and that in my individual capacity I had no right to space in 'The People' until the matter should come before the Party membership on referendum."

Running right throughout the article "Boris Reinstein on Daniel De Leon" the reader is struck by the vain-glorious attempt of its author to impress upon his readers the similarity between himself and Nikolai Lenin. I am, etc.

T. W. MACKAY.

IRON AND STEEL TRADES CONFEDERATION.

(To the Editor of the "Worker.")

Dear Comrade,—Kindly publish this in reply to Mr Walker's interview to the "Forward," 26/3/21: (To the Editor of "Forward.")

Dear Sir,—In your issue of 26th inst. you publish a report of an interview with Bailie James Walker concerning the publication of the salaries of the officials of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation that appeared in the "Worker" of 12/3/21. Mr Walker admits the accuracy of the figures, so there is no further need to make reference to them, only I should like to say in passing I have not yet met the steel smelter who managed to make £24 or £25 per week for 52 weeks in the year. Just now they are being paid under rule 32, and being frozen at Labour Exchanges. Mr Walker, in answer to your question has there been any criticism to the official salaries, replies once or twice it has been raised in the Divisional Council, but the Council has always upheld the arrangement. The latter part of Mr Walker's reply makes it evident that it was the "publication of salaries" that was discussed and not salaries at the Divisional Council meetings in Glasgow. The West of Scotland members could not discuss the official salaries when only a few knew what they were.

The only Divisional Council meeting that discussed the salaries of the officials was Division 3 at Sheffield in January of this year.

Have you then withheld knowledge of this arrangement or the amount of your salaries from your members? The members who raised the matter at the Divisional Council meeting were made aware of the arrangement, but no information was given them as to what the official was receiving as salary. Very many members in this Division maintain that this is not a matter for resolution and amendment; it is an item of expenditure, and as such ought to appear in detail in the society reports as is done by other Trade Unions, the "Iron and Steel Worker," for instance. I feel sure the General Secretary of that Trade Union has not suffered any "social inconvenience" by the publication of his salary in the society reports.

Mr Walker knows who supplied the information to the "Worker." Quite true; the party who supplied the list of official salaries to the "Worker" also supplied Mr Walker with his name. No

attempt was made to conceal my identity. Mr Walker ought to bear in mind that reports of the discussion on official salaries at the Sheffield Divisional Council meeting with names of members taking part in the discussion appeared in the public press, notably the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph," "Daily News and Leader," "Daily Herald," "Solidarity," "Worker," and the "Forward" referred to Mr Hodge's salary (the figures were wrong that appeared in the "Forward"); the information (not the salary) thus became common property.

The sub-committee of four referred to by Mr Walker met to deal with Mr Hodge's position as a Parliamentary candidate, the position being brought about by the other Parliamentary candidates of the Confederation insisting on improved conditions, Mr Walker making common cause. I hold no brief for Mr Hodge; he can very well look after himself, and does so. The Parliamentary candidates of the Confederation got their corner, and for any one of them to object to Mr Hodge getting his looks like professional jealousy.

The Baillie's invitation to the W.E.A. to go after my scalp is real kind, and I would refer your readers to the "Worker" of the same date, as Mr Walker's interview was reported in your paper, for explanation. Trusting you will find it convenient to publish this in your next issue.

Yours sincerely,

E.C. MEMBER.

BELLAHOUSTON HOSPITAL.

(To the Editor of "Worker.")

29/3/21.

May I be permitted to draw your attention to the great injustice meted out to patients at present undergoing indoor treatment in the above hospital?

Pensioners who are marked up, receive the privilege of a pass, at the discretion of the Medical Officer in command of Ward, in return for which they do cleaning of wards, ward kitchens, etc.

Yesterday in Ward 10 the whole passes were cancelled. The reason given being that they have been abused. The number of persons abusing them in the hospital is about 2 per cent, with the result that the remaining 98 per cent. are victimised.

Should a man, be convicted of drunkenness, overstaying pass, etc., he pays the penalty to the extent of a fine of three or four days' pay.

That is quite legitimate, but where does the justice come in by punishing the others?

We were told we went to war to crush Prussianism, but here we have it in the worst form.

Although the hospital is supposed to be conducted the same as a civilian hospital, everything is practically carried out in Military style.

We have also a Guard Room adjoining the Mortuary, and should the former get filled the latter acts as a second guard room; whilst the barbed wire encircling the hospital would have been enough to have roped in all the German prisoners.

We are not in here for Charity (19/- being deducted from our pension).

Let every man who abused his pass suffer, and not victimise every patient.

A LOVER OF JUSTICE, WARD 10.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. M. Fox and others.—In due time.

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✱ ✱ ✱

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THE COAL SITUATION

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
(South Side Branch).

Meets in Irish Labour Party's Hall, 349 South Cumberland Street. Please note this address.

— Stirlingshire Miners' Reform Committee. —

This is a movement on foot to form an Organisation on above lines.

Will all active Workers interested, write or otherwise get into touch with PATRICK LAFERTY, 13 Banknock Ter., Dennyloanhead, by Bonnybr'de.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

— BUCKHAVEN AND DISTRICT BRANCH. —

WEEKLY MEETINGS of the above will be held in the Lindsay Square Hall, METHIL, every THURSDAY at 6.30 p.m. All interested are cordially invited to attend.

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THE "RED" INTERNATIONAL IN BARROW-IN-FURNESS.

The war against the workers! Workers of Barrow-in-Furness, take up the challenge of the "Bossing" Class.

MONSTER DEMONSTRATION AND CONFERENCE.

Town Hall, Barrow-in-Furness, Sunday, April 10.

Afternoon Delegate Conference at 3 o'clock. Every Branch should send Delegates. Speaker—A. A. Purcell (P.S. T.U. Congress), National Delegate to Russia. Resolution in support of the International of Trade and Industrial Unions. Election of permanent Committee. Chair to be taken by Councillor T. Morton.

Public Demonstration in the Town Hall at 7.30 p.m. Speakers—A. A. Purcell, Ellen Wilkinson, Harry Pollitt. Subject—"The Coming Crash." Chairman—George Henderson.

Trade Unionists of Barrow, see that your Branch sends Delegates to the Conference, and attend in mass at the evening Demonstration.

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Applicants for membership of this Choir (Wednesday evenings) are now invited. Also Elementary Class forming. Applicants should write Secretary, D. HILLEY, 326 South York Street, or hand their names to any member of Choir.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UNEMPLOYED ORGANISATIONS.

The National Conference of Unemployed Organisations will be held on April 12, 1921, at the International Socialist Club, 28 East Road, City Road, London, N.1.

The Conference will be held in the large Lecture Hall on the ground floor of the Club, which has been kindly lent for the purpose by the I.S.C.

Will all Secretaries of Unemployed Committees who are not already in touch with the London District Council of Unemployed Organisations communicate with the Secretary, P. HAYE, 28 East Road, City Road, N.1, immediately to enable him to send the necessary credentials, etc., for the Conference?

Judging from the replies received up to date, the Conference will be a great success, and a National Organisation of the Unemployed brought into existence, which will have as its fundamental basis the overthrow of the system which causes unemployment.

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