

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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UP AGAINST IT!

By E. BURNS.

The Trade Union leaders are up against it. They are faced with the situation which any fool could have foreseen weeks and months back. The great attack on wages has stopped the wheels of industry; the employers are waiting until the spirit of the workers has been crushed, and the Government is standing by, ready to throw the whole strength of the capitalist state into the struggle on behalf of the employers. If ever there was a class issue this is one. If the miners are beaten, all hope of further resistance can be abandoned. The workers' movement in this country will have been divided and broken, and the workers' standard of living will be thrust down and down, below the pre-war standards, below any standards. By a single victory the employers will have taken away from the workers the fruits of many years of organisation and struggle.

In this situation how does the Trade Union movement stand? Is it ready for united action? Is it led by individuals who have a clear understanding of the issue and a clear plan of leadership? As they say "in another place," the answer is in the negative. The Trade Union movement is not ready for united action, because the very men who should have been foremost in promoting united action—the leaders of the Triple Alliance—have steadily refused even to discuss it. The Triple Alliance a few weeks back refused to call a conference to discuss united action against the reductions in wages. The Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee similarly issued a statement that no united action should be taken, but that "groups with common interests" should act together. The Labour Party at its conferences on unemployment in February side-tracked into Parliamentary vapour the growing demand for united action. The leaders of the workers' movement have done their best to prevent united action. Why? Because their one idea is to keep things running as at present—to keep the workers' movement free from any "class" conceptions, to keep their own positions safe as the "sane" Labour men, the men who see at least as much of the capitalist point of view as they see of the workers' point of view, the men who keep the capitalist system safe by negotiations and interviews with Downing Street and by statesmanlike speeches in the House of Commons.

Now willy-nilly they are forced into a class position. But while the situation here has been rapidly becoming acute, the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas & Co. have been having a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam to discuss how Germany is to pay the indemnity under the Peace Treaty! Could anything be a better show-up of J. H. Thomas and his precious Amsterdam International? While the class issue is becoming acute in his own country, J. H. Thomas is discussing a "national"

issue, and when he gets back he tells an interviewer that he can't make a statement until he had "seen things for himself." In such issues as now face the working class the Amsterdam International is worse than futile. Its policy of nationalism and reformism is the policy which has weakened the whole workers' movement in this country and abroad. It is a policy which will wreck the workers' movement unless a definite break is insisted on by the rank and file.

In the Red International the workers of every country have an organisation with a definite

policy based on class. With such an organisation the workers know that when class issues such as the present attack on wages are raised there will be no futile talk about making Germany pay indemnities to keep the British workers unemployed. Instead of this the issue will be faced, and the revolutionary movement of the world will be ready to join in the struggle. It is up to every Trade Union branch to urge on its Executive immediate affiliation with the Red International, and the scrapping of the reformist tactics which obscure the central issue of class.

THE ONLY SOLUTION!



"GET TO HELL OUT OF IT!"

Miners and Muddlers. By A. L. GEDDES.

There are nearly 2,000,000 people unemployed; these are over 1,000,000 miners locked out. Thank God we have won the war. Christ knows what would have happened if we had lost the bloody war.

At the time of writing the railway workers and the transport workers are lining up with the miners in their fight against a wage reduction. Everything in the garden is lovely.

What the hell is all the rumpus about? Let us direct that question to the boss. His answer is that those greedy rascals, the miners, are wanting more out of the coal industry than it will stand.

Of course that is quite true, if it is meant by that that there is not much left after the boss robs the roost.

How successfully he does this, and at the same time gulps the miners' leaders, is amply demonstrated when we discover how the coal octopus works.

When the great fight for freedom and democracy was swallowed up tens of thousands of the working classes, the big coal magnates were busy legislating in the big Gas House. So successful were they that they managed to draw the fangs from the miners' organisation and left it helpless in their hands.

Financial control of the mines became an established fact in 1915.

The coalowners were guaranteed 10 per cent. over pre-war profits, while the surplus was to go to the Exchequer.

It looks very nice on paper, and the miners' leaders swallowed it, as they did the datum line, just as a youngster swallows Mother Seigel's Syrup.

They have swallowed such a dose of capitalistic phlegm since 1914 that the miners' movement is being purged of their presences in spite of themselves.

Decontrol was to take place on August 31, 1921. The boss suddenly remembered that railway wages came up for review on the same date, hence his anxiety to have a bang at the miners on March 31.

"Let the big guns of the press blaze forth, let the whole world know that the mines are not paying!" cries out dear Christian bosses, and to prove their statements they began to juggle with some figures concerning the coal output for Feb.

"Let the dead bury the dead," says the boss. Don't rake up any figures concerning the coal industry during the war period; it might give the game away.

The total capital invested in the coal industry was £125,000,000.

From 1914 till the end of the war, while the young men of the nation were being butchered in the trenches, while the women and children hung about in margarine queues, the coal magnates extracted £165,000,000 in profits. Not a bad bit of business considering the hard times.

The mines are not paying. That is correct, but it is not the big-bellied bosses who ought to complain. The mines are a paying concern as far as they are concerned, but that cannot be said about the miners. He gets nothing from them but a miserable existence.

The coal areas in Wales, Durham, Northampton, Notts, and Derby show a profit for quarter ending September, 1920, of £14,207,000. Scotland, Stafford, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Forest of Deans show a loss of £1,264,000 for the same period. Scottish loss alone, £330,000 for the same period, showing a total profit for the quarter ending September, 1920, of £12,943,000.

No, the mines are not paying.

At this period our noble allies, the French and Italians, were being forced to pay an extortionate price for coal that we exported to them. France became desperate and demanded 2,000,000 tons of coal per month from Germany as part of the war indemnity. Our politicians had to swallow this, and in order to meet this the coal magnates got busy.

What was the result? The datum line, which based the miners' wages on the price of export coal. What a game!

But still the miners' leaders saw nothing. Then when Germany began to hand over the loot, we

discover that not only did France get all the coal she needed, but had a surplus for export.

The inevitable happened; the miners felt draught, their wages were lowered. If we take Fife, for instance, we find that 70 per cent. of the total output from that area is exported.

You can see them how necessary it is for the Fife miners to get foreign markets. Yet while coal was 33/3 per ton at the pit-head, it was being sold to our Allies at £7 10s. per ton. Against this we have American competition. Pit head prices in America at the end of February were 11/8 per ton.

This is made possible in America by two factors: Owing to the great height of the seams coal is really quarried there. Secondly, every pit is run on the most up-to-date methods, and machines are used to their utmost capacity. America was thus able to chase us out of the markets.

Another important factor to be reckoned with is that, with British, American, and Japanese capital, China exported last year 20,000,000 tons of coal. A Chinaman's wages is the proverbial handful of rice.

The insoluble contradictions inherent in capitalism are driving the bosses to desperation. They have got their backs to the wall.

We are rapidly approaching the final struggle. The draperies of democracy have been torn from the temples of the State, and it stands revealed to all who care to see, glistening with bayonets.

Freedom of speech is a thing of the past, and the murderous thugs of capitalism are let loose. Unemployment, disease, pestilence, and crime stalk broadcast through Europe. Most truly we have won the war.

There are millions of unemployed. There are millions of scientific machines. Nature is still bountiful. And yet there are millions of people dying of starvation.

We only can end this. Then let the prayer of Burns be our slogan:

"Grant us indulgent, heaven, that I may live
To see the miscreants feel the pain they give
Deal Freedom's sacred treasures free as air,
Till slave and despot be but things that were."

The Strike Situation.

By J. R. CAMPBELL

(SUNDAY EVENING.)

There are two courses of development possible in the strike situation. The first is that a compromise may be arrived at before Tuesday evening, and a patched-up peace agreed to in the mining industry, leaving the employers free to launch their wage-breaking attack on a weaker sector of the workers' front. The second possibility is that the Government, relying on its newly-recruited Black and Tans, will provoke the Triple Alliance in the hope of smashing it, and securing a temporary industrial peace based upon State terrorism.

If we were asked to risk our reputation as a prophet we should predict that the first course of events is the most likely one. The official leaders do not object to wage reductions as wage reductions. All they are concerned with is in pointing out that the reductions are too drastic or too sudden. If the diplomats of the Government can only give the officials the shadow of a national wages board, those officials will be quite prepared to concede to the miners the substance of a reduced wages bill. Not only is there spinelessness in the miners' Executive, but there is ever greater spinelessness amongst the leaders of the Triple Alliance. The pressure of the active rank and file has forced those gentlemen to adopt a fighting pose, but they will move heaven and earth to get out of having to translate their bombast into action. Their is not the faintest doubt in our mind that the criminal concession of the miners' Executive regarding non-interference with the safety of the mines is due to the pressure of the other elements in the Triple Alliance. Mr J. H.

Thomas on the Executive and the thousands of Thomases amongst the rank and file are a potent influence making for conservatism and defeat in the present crisis.

If the crisis is not at an end next week it will not be the fault of the Trade Union leaders; it will be because the employing class consider the situation favourable to their long-cherished project of getting a smashing blow at working class organisation. We think that this development is unlikely, though it is perhaps worth considering what it will involve should it come.

In the first place it will be a class battle unprecedented in the history of Great Britain. The majority of British industrial disputes have hitherto been of the good humoured type. The leaders on both sides have treated each other as erring friends, and after a little quiet negotiation have generally succeeded in settling things for the time being. Such disputes have resembled a family quarrel rather than a battle between sections of antagonistic classes. If this strike develops it promises to be vicious enough to suit the taste of the most venomous class warrior whether he be pleb or plutocrat. The creation of a corps of middle-class cut-throats for the purpose of suppressing the workers is bound to cause a tremendous amount of class bitterness. Even a man who a week previously was worrying more about the coming football international than about the impending industrial struggle, can see the class war in the recruiting of the defence corps. Of course, Mr Lloyd George will say that it is not a class corps, it is open to loyal citizens, but the member of the working class who would join a

corps created for such purposes would have the filthy mentality of a sewer rat. No decent worker will join, but the class conscious bourgeoisie will join, and one of the first tasks of the joint strike committees, which will require to be set up, will be to create a Triple Alliance strike, will be the creation of a workers' defence corps to meet the profits defence corps of the capitalists. Resist or submit is the choice presented to the workers.

With railway transport stopped, road transport crippled, sea transport tied up by dock strikes the country will be in a perilous state. Transport is the life blood of modern countries; stop it and society is faced with dissolution. The Government will endeavour to get transport started under its own control. If it succeeds in this it is well on the way to victory. It can starve the mining villages and pretend the situation is really due to the sympathetic strike of railwaymen and road transport workers. Whoever controls transport and the food supply will be successful in the struggle. It is therefore essential that the local and district strike committees shall set up their own transport services under their own control. Passivity must give way to activity or failure will result.

The unknown quantity in the problem is the army. Will they be completely loyal for the Government? Will they add to the infamy of their record in Ireland, or will class feeling show itself? We do not know, but fraternisation should be engaged in wherever possible to win them over to the workers' side.

Such are a few of the possibilities of a Triple Alliance strike—but we have grown sceptical of Triple Alliance bombast, and on Wednesday we believe that the miners' strike will be near official settlement, or our reputation as a prophet will be blasted.

Bolshevism in Britain.

By R. M. FOX.

Bolshevism is not an abstract question which can be discussed purely academically. It must be related to the social background of contending forces if its true meaning and import is to be grasped.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

To-day we have two great contending powers grappling with each other all over Europe—in fact, all over the world. It is a contest for power between the awakening workers and the dominant capitalists. The opposition is clear. We have those who sell labour power opposed to those who buy it. Trade Unions opposed to masters' federations; governments opposed to "seditionists"; property opposed to Labour; and, in its final military expression, the White Guards opposed to the Red Guards.

It is true that there are some people who even to-day delight in "proving," by means of beautifully-worded sentences and well-chiselled phrases, that the class struggle does not exist. But as we all know it does, there is really no point in "proving" otherwise. All ideas must be judged in relation to the position of these two great forces in the world struggle.

John Stuart Mill explains in his work on Government that "the form of government depends on the nature of society." The Government is determined by the distribution of the elements of social power. It changes with the altered distribution of power in society. The Government is just what social forces compel it to be. Mill was not a Bolshevik, but as a student of politics he realised that there is nothing immutable about governments. So we establish first, from observation and experience, that there is a great class struggle going on; second, that governments alter with altered distribution of power in society. Therefore it follows, that as the workers get more power, and the other side weakens, that there will be alterations in the form of government. This is our background from which we can study Bolshevism.

DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENT.

Parliament, as we know it, rose with the merchant class. With the development of commerce under Elizabeth the merchant class became resolute, and their growing power was expressed in Parliament. After Elizabeth's death, the chaos of the Stuart period, the struggles of Parliament against the monarchy and the nobles, more clearly expressed the same tendency.

The towns and the commercial magnates were ranged on one side and the relics of feudalism on the other. Parliament was the mechanism developed by the rising capitalist class as a vehicle of power. From being merely an "English machine for taxation," as it was called by the American colonists, it became through the development of the Cabinet system and through control over finance a machine admirably suited to capitalist control in place of the personal domination of feudal society.

Its great function was and is to repress the workers and to deceive them. It maintains law and order, that is, it secures the smooth running of capitalism. Being removed from the field of production, it is able to maintain an artificial atmosphere which together with its forms and ceremonies are barriers to change.

The emphasis placed on political equality helps to hide the economic inequality, and is used for that purpose. It is a sham-freedom which misleads labour.

THE STORM CENTRE.

The centre of the workers' interest and power to-day is the workshop. The workers are more conscious of their interests industrially than they are politically; this is due to the fact that they are more familiar with industrial problems which face them every day. So we get the vortex of the struggle on the industrial field.

The workers and the financiers fight out their conflicts and the result is registered in Parliament, but the real strength is outside. The lines of demarcation are clearer on the field of industry. The political categories of majorities and

minorities of citizens is quite confusing in its classification. The real classification is that of workers and owners, and this is becoming increasingly clear everywhere.

ESSENCE OF THE SOVIET IDEA.

The claim of those who believe in the Soviet idea is that every new class that rises to power must develop its own machinery for its purpose. Parliament cannot control industry. It is not suitable for this task. The constructive and controlling power must be industrial. It must have its roots and ramifications right down in industry. This does not mean that Parliamentary action is useless, but that its limitations must be understood.

A revolutionary crises may develop. Elections are very infrequent. The workers are not represented in Parliament. A period of rapid social change is going on, and the people are moved by panic or victory elections, run on catch-cries, to elect their enemies. The mass of the workers are not political students, and so they are easily misled upon an unfamiliar field.

Many of the Parliamentary leaders accept the culture and the outlook of the class above. This is a general tendency among the leaders of an underneath class, but it is not very important, because the rising class movement is bound to swamp them. They may be influenced by the atmosphere in which they move, but the worker's environment remains the same, and the workshop leaders closely in contact with labour respond to the pressure around them and express the growing consciousness of labour.

The workshop committees are particularly important because the distinction is emphasised between the machinery of the rising class and the machinery of the dominant class. It is not an accident that everywhere workers are developing the machinery to meet their needs. Even our Council of Action, inactive though it was, indicated the natural and inevitable development of separate machinery for the workers.

THE QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY.

The issue is often put as one between dictatorship and democracy. This is quite wrong. It is a choice between dictatorships. Democracy is only possible when there is no great fundamental division of economic interest in society. With such a great clash of interest democratic forms cease to have real meaning. One side has to hold the other side down either with or without democratic shams. Our Parliamentary Government is such a sham. Behind it the capitalists and financiers exercise control. They are afraid to declare an open dictatorship of their class because the workers would not stand it. The workers are under no such obligation to conceal their aims. We can do without deceit and trickery. We can openly proclaim our intention of establishing a working class dictatorship as a preliminary to the abolition of classes.

Over such a question as the peasants taking the land in Russia the Constituent Assembly would only have produced weakness. Incessant wrangles would have gone on between the various interests represented. Progress would have been impeded and a sort paralysis would have supervened, which is only useful to the established interests. The workers had to cut this knot by taking control.

THE QUESTION OF RIGHTS.

Modern society is forced to grant certain "rights" to the workers, otherwise there would be an outburst and the workers would realise their subject position. The capitalist theory is to grant "rights" and then to rely on their powers of deception.

The workers are under no obligation to grant rights to the capitalists. We deny their "right" of free speech, free press, and free competition. These large-sounding terms simply mean their "right" to lie, to deceive, and to rob workers. We deny their right to exist as capitalists at all, and we propose to abolish them.

They assume that classes must always exist,

and so they are bound to allow of certain avenues of expression for the workers as a permanent feature of social life. We, who deny the necessity for the existence of capitalists, are not bound to provide means of expression for them. Our outlook is an entirely different one.

We visualise the differences in future society as conflicts over method—the interest and the aim of all will be the same. All will be absorbed in the working community by abolishing interest and private property in the means of life, and all then will have equal rights and privileges. Democratic society will be possible then, but not before. The conflict to-day is between the governmental machinery built up and adapted by the capitalists for their purpose and the new machinery for industrial control which the workers are developing everywhere.

This does not mean that we are to leave the governmental machinery in the hands of the capitalists if we can wrest it from them, but we must realise the importance of having our own machinery to run industry in the future. Apart from this, our great aim must be to aid conditions in developing class consciousness among the workers. It is necessary to spread this consciousness through every available channel. The Bolshevik policy of revolutionary permeation combined with the spurning of unprincipled opportunism is the result of really grappling with life and dealing with facts rather than phrases. It is based on the simple truth that at a moment of crises all the forces which can be reached and influenced now will be required then.

Battle Cry.

By JOHN G. NEIHARDT.

More than half beaten, but fearless,
Facing the storm and the night;
Breathless and reeling, but tearless,
Here in the lull of the fight,
I, who bow not but before Thee,
God of the fighting Clan,
Lifting my fists I implore Thee,
Give me the heart of a man!

Red is the mist about me;
Deep is the wound in my side;
"O'ward," thou criest to flout me?
O' terrible Foe, thou hast lied!
Here with my batt'e before me,
God of the fighting Clan,
Grant that the woman who bore me
Suffered to suckle a man!

True to Type.

In the Dark Ages of European history, after the overthrow of the Roman civilisation but before "modern" civilisation had been able to gain the ascendancy in the lives of the people, many cities and towns of Europe had a very important official known as the procurer. His duty was to see that the houses of prostitution—which were monopolies of the cities—were kept well supplied with inmates. The oath of the procurer required him to "be good and true to the city and to procure women."

Modern capitalism has millions of men looking in vain for the means wherewith to feed, clothe, and shelter themselves. That same capitalism has its agents in every business who are constantly adding to the number of men out of work because "we can procure a woman for less."

Irish Cab-Driver—"G'wan, shake yerself, ye moth-eaten old corpse! (Confidentially to his passenger) It was the 'orse I was spakin' to, ma'am."

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By the Editor

Mines and Mimes.

It is really a delicious spectacle to watch the ruling bullies of the Empire whining like the puppies they are because something more powerful than they expected cries "check" at their every move. Lloyd George's brazen utterances leave one appalled at the lengths to which political and capitalist audacity will go in the righteous indignation direction. He whines that the Miners' Executive treat the mines as if they were solely the concern of the owners, when they are certainly not the concern of the owners:—

"To treat the mines as if they were merely a concern of the mineowners is a most remarkable proposition. They are the interest of the community as a whole. They are the most valuable property of the nation, as the late war proved. Without them we certainly could not have won. In the second place they are the concern of the miners; and only in the third place are they the concern of the mineowners. Our main interest and our sole interest is the interest of the nation."

But the owners get the swag; the owners possess the power; the owners served the notices—and the miners plus the "nation as a whole" have had damn all to do with it. If the Government admits that the mines have been held in trust for the community, why has the community been bled white for coal while the lazy, lounging parasites who merely "own" the mines been permitted to pocket the loot?

The Logic Of It.

If the owners are of no concern, or at most very little concern, why allow the mines to be destroyed, the industries ruined, and the country with its millions of inhabitants brought to bankruptcy, merely to satisfy the insignificant bunch of "do-nothing" owners who "are of little concern"? The miners are quite capable of working the mines "in the interests of the community," keeping them safe, and making the necessary living—but the little bunch of owners, who are of small concern, say they "can't pay wages because the profit would be too small—and the Government of the COMMUNITY sides with the small group of owners (who are of small concern) even if the mines, the country, and the people have to go to hell. If the community did not side with the majority in this struggle, then the community would deserve to do without coal for ever, and when the Government permits those of little concern to serve notices upon pumpmen, enginemen, and other safety workers, let the Government and the community which tolerates such a Government take the consequences and be damned to them. Rather every pit in existence be destroyed than that men, women, and children be reduced to a grovelling existence in order to maintain the luxurious standard of a small bunch of hereditary thieves and idlers propped up by an unpopular and totally unscrupulous Government.

"Foreign Methods."

What almighty idiots the gentle Jesus pacifists of the Menshevik I.L.P. must look to all intelligent people after a perusal of Lloyd George's telegram to all civic authorities. These intelligent prigs, from the astute politician Macdonald down to his insignificant understudies Wallhead and Shinwell, have been carping about the Communists "involving the country in civil war" by taking the lead "from a foreign country like Russia," and deliberately fostering the belief among the people that the social problem can be solved peacefully. Along comes the miners' lock-out and the threatened action by the railmen and transport workers, and what happens?

Look at the chronology of events. (1) The capitalist system becomes untenable under modern wage conditions. (2) The capitalists strike the first blow at the miners in a disgustingly brutal, hypocritical, and treacherous manner. The miners refuse to submit, and accept the lock-out. The entire proceedings are perfectly legal and peaceful, and have the support of

the I.L.P. There is no howling for Revolution, no organising of Red Guards, no threat of civil war. Nothing transpires more serious than the chasing of a few scabs, which usually happens even at a waiters' strike, and the angling on both sides for a basis on which to begin negotiations.

But the railwaymen and transport workers, knowing that the onslaught upon the miners is but the preliminary of a wholesale attack upon working class, demand a **cessation of work** in support of the miners. Nothing more blood-thirsty is in the air than a demand for **organised passivity—a desire to do nothing.** But to the confusion of the social and political Christies, the talkers of the I.L.P. and the Labour Party, in butts the Premier with the identical call to arms sounded by Charles First at Nottingham in 1642, by Louis Sixteenth in 1789, by Kerensky in 1917:

"I impress upon you the urgent necessity of taking steps to-day and during the week-end to encourage and assist in the recruitment and raising of the Defence Force units.

The Defence Force units are to be raised by recruiting at the Territorial Force Unit headquarters.

The officers of the Territorial Force who volunteer, officers of the Regular Reserve of Officers, and ex-officers will be appointed by the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief of each Command to these units and the other ranks will be filled by enlistment of loyal citizens, preference being given to serving Territorials and ex-Service men.

You are requested in particular to use your influence with local employers of labour to release their men for the purpose of joining and to keep their places open.—LLOYD GEORGE."

One can go further and say there is no essential difference between this telegram and the S.O.S. sent forth in 1914 by Earl Kitchener. Before ever a blow is struck, before an attempt is made on the part of the under-class to secure its freedom from capitalist domination, the ruling class flies to its chief arguments—the bayonet, machine gun, and hand grenade. This is Christianity. The foul traitors of the I.L.P. know this perfectly well. Their desire for a "peaceful solution" is not the result of their thinking on the system, but born of utter selfishness and cowardice. Whatever happens before the end of this week one thing is certain—the capitalist system is dying, but it will die using its talons and teeth. The I.L.P. may think they will send it to by-by with a lullaby or at most a funeral march, but they won't. The Requiem Mass of capitalism will be the rattle of the machine gun, the roar of heavy artillery, and clash of steel, and whosoever says otherwise is a traitor to the people, black as the father of lies can make him.

Fakirdom.

That the capitalist experts know the nature of the disease from which their precious system is suffering is evident. That is the reason for their panic-stricken howl for throat-cutters and bomb-throwers. The "Cambrian sunsets," the "epic of Calvary," and all the other snivelling tosh that bubbles out of Lloyd George's blasphemous jaws on occasions is scrapped for the oratory of slaughter. Touch the profits or threaten the interests of Christ-mouthing capitalists and you'll immediately awaken the bloodiest instincts of the anthropoid ape. The ludicrous efforts of their publicists to fix the blame upon anything but the right thing is laughable in the extreme. Sir G. Hunter, one of the principal profit-grabbers in the shipbuilding industry, blames the leaders for the upheaval:—

"He had never before known the time when for every new order two or three were cancelled. We were suffering from the action of extremist Trade Union leaders, and it was a pity that through mistaken ideas of loyalty moderate men were supporting them. Several powerful Trade Unions were menacing prosperity by insisting upon certain wages and conditions which they were making permanently impossible for others."

A bloodsucker sticking up for its victims in

this indignant manner is funny enough to shake the whiskers off a gooseberry. But another yarn is sprung by the editor of the "Observer." The leaders in this case are sucking doves more sinned against than sinning:—

"The position of Mr J. H. Thomas in these last few days has been his usual exorcising tragedy. On the question of pumps he cannot hold for a moment with the miners. But he cannot hold his railwaymen, and, being their chief, he must follow them if they stampede. Now, as for the last few years, none of the Labour leaders has any real personal control. They are as chaff in the wind."

Which is reminiscent of the old "Punch" cartoon depicting a fat man running behind a crowd. "Hi!" shouts a spectator, "there is no necessity for you to run after them!" "I have to," spluttered the fat one; "I'm their leader!"

His object no doubt was to get close enough up to them to persuade them to turn back. In truth he becomes their leader alright then.

Who Are Concerned Here?

To show the amount of stinking cant which underlies the greasy mouthings of Lloyd George and his fellow plutocrats, take a look at another capitalist concern—the Sheffield Steel Products, Ltd. The second annual meeting was held last Monday at Winchester House, London, and a dividend of 10 per cent. was declared. The chairman's address was rosy enough, but the deputy-chairman's was positively florid. Out of the magnanimity of his heart he moved that a bonus be granted to the wage-slave shareholders. It was unctuously put and "unanimously carried." Every worker in the firm's employment is on piecework, "the most satisfactory wage system" (to employers), because "malingering is unknown in our works":—

"In all the companies with which I am associated I endeavour to interest the workers in the financial success of the undertaking by inviting them to become shareholders. A similar proposal was made to our people last November, and, as the result, they hold between them to-day about 15,000 shares."

And consequently as "shareholders" they dubb along more "conscientiously" than the Dubbs who are not shareholders, to the benefit of themselves and the employers, specially the employers. The dear, kind-hearted employers:—

"We try to be model employers—we believe our people are working under the most ideal conditions in Sheffield—and we spare no pains to show that WE ARE INTERESTED IN THOSE WHO EARN OUR DIVIDENDS. If you agree with me, I want you to support this proposal when it is put before you."

The "proposal" was to grant the above-mentioned bonus to the shareholding Dubbs who "earn the dividends" for the employers "who are of little concern." See? Now, reader, for God's sake hold somebody's hand while I spring the good news upon you. Sorrow never kills, but joy frequently exercises an injurious effect cardinally. Those of little concern got 10 per cent. earned admittedly by the pieceworkers to whom the firm wished to show their generosity:—

"BEFORE THE MEETING CLOSES THE CHAIRMAN WILL INVITE YOU TO VOTE THEM A BONUS, WHICH WILL BE THE EQUIVALENT OF ABOUT 1s. PER SHARE ON THEIR SHARES."

Loud I.L.P. and W.E.A. cheers for the magnificent manner in which this firm has solved the problem of "mutual goodwill" 'twixt employer and employed."

The Simple Truth.

After all the simple truth is that there is really no excuse for allowing a gang of genteel bandits to rob the community of the wealth that community creates, merely because the masses are kept in ignorance by a carefully organised system of ignorance-breeding called education. The risks of industry—the deaths, diseases, maimings,

and impoverishments are all borne by the industrial workers. The top-hatted, frock-coated millionaires take no risks and pocket all the pleasures. Last week while every plutocrat was screaming about retrenchment and economy, and denouncing the miners because they declined to be robbed more than ever, one of the dirty brigands spent a mere bagatelle of £75,000 in order to become the possessor of Titian's portrait of "Georgio Camaro." Meanwhile the people who produce the wealth of the world cannot even save enough soap wrappers up for a free picture because they haven't money enough to buy soap.

The Only Cure.

The only solution is to **extinguish** capitalism, and to substitute for it a system of communal ownership and production for use as they are doing in Russia. But the I.L.P. doesn't believe this, even if some I.L.P.ers do. Mr Wallhead, who is now one of the I.L.P. leaders, always refers to Russia's statesmen as engaged in conducting "a great experiment." If Mr Wallhead wasn't equally a Fathead, he would know there was no experiment intended so far as the change of system in Russia is concerned. When the capitalist system began to impose itself there was not wanting high-browed cynics who referred to "the body of men who are engaged in experimenting on new methods of industry and political economy," just as Mr Rip Van Wallhead speaks with regard to a country which has really travelled some distance along the political and economic highways which he pretends his party desires to go. All great changes in human society were the result of forces which operated at a given moment, and no historian with brains to-day regards Christianity and Mahomedanism in religion or Patriarchalism, Territorialism, Feudalism, and Capitalism in society as being the results of somebody's empiricism. Neither is Communism an experiment, but the system which is naturally and inevitably the next stage in human society.

Funk?

Some of our readers took exception to our remarks last week about I.L.P. funk. Will they explain the following. Mr J. R. Macdonald spoke at the Camlachie Institute on Monday, the 4th inst., in support of the candidature of "Comrade" Henderson, D.S.O. There were plenty of hecklers at the meeting, and questions were invited—but. After Mr J. R. M. spoke he was followed by Henderson, Guthrie, and Wallhead, who stretched their speeches out to such a length that at 10.22 p.m. the meeting had to close without a question being asked—"No time for them, sorry!" Strange to say at M'Kinder's meeting questions were accepted ad lib. There are more ways of killing a dog than by hanging him.

More of the Community.

Some of the community out Airdrie way, who, besides owning the mines, also own the great Empire built upon "our Christian civilisation," appear to be enjoying the benefits which we won in the great war:—

"At Airdrie J.P. Court yesterday 22 men of the labouring class were charged with having been found lodging without leave in the Faskine Brickworks, Calderbank, worked by the Castlereay Fireclay Co., Ltd. They each admitted the offence. Some of the men said they were out of work and getting relief at the Labour Exchange, but they had no money to pay for a bed in a lodging-house. Others stated that they had been working the day before, but had not been paid yet. They were each fined 15s. with the option of seven days' imprisonment.

It was stated that the police had received complaints from the owners that their works were being invaded in this way, and a force of Lanarkshire Constabulary rounded up the men, whom they found sleeping at the kilns near midnight."

Evening Times.

We wonder how many of the 22 went forth to war recently to protect the owners and their works from being seized by the Hun!

The Red International.

The number of Trade Union branches which have passed resolutions calling on their central Executives to take the necessary steps (1) to sever relations with the Amsterdam International, (2) to affiliate with the Red International, is now well over two hundred.

The following shows how these are distributed among the various unions:—

A.E.U.	80 branches
Miners	42 "
Vehicle Workers	18 "
Workers' Union	14 "
Boilermakers	15 "
E.T.U.	6 "
General Workers	3 "
N.U.R.	5 "
A.S.L.E. and F.	3 "
Dockers	7 "
Ironfounders	5 "
28 other Unions	40 "

238 branches

The item of "23 other unions" includes one or two branches of the Ship and House Painters, Dyers and Bleachers, Blacksmiths, Shop Assistants, Furishing Trades, Woodmachinists, Bricklayers, Shipwrights, Bakers, Masons, Pattern makers, Dyeworkers, Municipal Employees, etc. It must be remembered that the list is by no means complete, as it only includes those means complete; it only includes those branches about which information has been available.

Mrs Clare Sheridan.

Winston Churchill's cousin, Mrs Clare Sheridan, who visited Russia to make casts of the heads of prominent Bolsheviks, has been lecturing in America. An amusing account of one of her meetings is given in the current "Liberator" by Margaret Tucker:—

"Mrs Sheridan's explanation of the Third International was simply heavenly, and so was the manner in which she gave it out to her audience, which was just as amusing as herself. She said: 'Of course I don't suppose that any of you know much about the Third International or what it means, and as a matter of fact before I left England I did not know either. But it is a sort of—eh—well, a sort of a party of the workers who want to get together and—eh—and form a group of all the workers in the world—eh—to make peace, but you know how it is—people don't want to get together, and so there is no peace. They have a slogan, too; it is like this: 'Workers unite and let's have peace'—I don't know the exact words. They certainly take it very seriously and one hears of it all the time.' Mrs Sheridan explained: 'I have no politics, even though I have a rather prominent relative in Great Britain who is a politician (soft and timid laughter from the well-dressed audience). I speak en artiste, and I have no partie pris on the subject.'"

After the hair-raising yarns which appeared in some of our papers about Trotsky wanting to

devour her for being an aristocrat, it is interesting to read:—

"She looked very brightly and humorously at her listeners. 'I am really awfully sorry to say so, and I am sure that you will be to hear, but the Bolsheviks treated me very handsomely, and I would be indeed an ungracious guest if I were to say anything to the contrary. I had expected when I left London to find them all very ferocious but I was disagreeably surprised to find them all very kind, very human, and very hospitable. When you think of Litvinoff rolling downhill on the grass and winning foot races, and beating me at the game, he, a fat, jovial person, you can imagine that I was disappointed in their ferocity.'"

The most disagreeable of all the Bolsheviks, she said, was the President of the Third International. When she tried to get him to sit still to have his bust done, he twisted and growled and grimaced so that she got nervous. About Trotsky she was most interesting. He was very affable and a splendid sifter. 'You know in London Trotsky is a myth, but when I came here to New York someone actually tells me that he was once a WAITER!!!' (This to the English mind is, as I said, unforgivable, and to think of the doughty Trotsky in that capacity is almost beyond human imagination.) Then she went on: 'He is a very fine person, but I really cannot think of him as a waiter; he would be much more likely to throw things at people than wait on them.'"

We feel pleased to know that the lady artist did not swallow the silly lie about Trotsky having been a waiter. According to the American papers we have read, he was successively waiter, railway clerk, laundryman, and peddler during his stay in America. As a matter of fact he was nothing of the sort, but the editor of a Communist organ.

Trotsky and India.

Monday's "Daily Mail," one of the prize liars of the Northcliffe Prevarication Bureau, published an alleged speech by Trotsky advocating an all-round tightening up of the Red Army Officers' Corps preparatory to an attack on India in the summer. On the same day (Monday, April 11) we received the following:—

"Moscow, April 3.—The capitalist press of different lands is once more full of phantastic stories of risings in Moscow and other cities. All this is fable and pure invention. Moscow is quiet and accounts of new disorders in Kronstadt is nonsense. The accounts of the mutiny in the White Sea, the evacuation of Archangel, and similar reports over Kiev and Pskoff belong to the realm of malicious lies. Please deal with these new press vulgarities.

At the same time the anti-Soviet press is printing new lies over our alleged Bolshevik action in Asia and our plan of attack against the world. That is all false. We wish peace. All our treaties and political undertakings proceed from a purely peaceful intention and not from a desire to attack. The questions which have been raised by Horne's letter over India and Afghanistan will be investigated by our department. Soviet Russia is determined to keep the agreement."—Tchitcherin.



LLOYD GEORGE: "What role shall I play to-day?"

THE RED ARMY.

By TOM BARKER.

When the Great Hour Comes

By TOM QUELCH.

AN INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE MEDJANSEFF OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR COUNCIL.

This morning I paid a visit to the offices of the Revolutionary War Council. Comrade Trotsky was not in Moscow at the time, therefore I saw Comrade Medjanseff. At the office we had to obtain a propus—permit—and then passed through certain doors, each guarded by a tall and stalwart khaki-clad soldier armed with a rifle and a fixed bayonet attached thereto. They each wore the khaki cloth helmet with the big blazing red star, now so familiar in the streets of Russian towns.

In a sparsely-furnished room we found the chief of the general staff. He was a young, medium-sized, well-built form with a strong face and firm expressive mouth. He spoke in a concise and staccato fashion, sometimes reaching back, so it seemed, for the right word. A slight beard on his chin and a general air of leglige about his clothes. The old gaudy generals of the incapable Czarist days would probably have felt annoyed had they seen the easy and unorthodox fashion in which the chief of the new and victorious Russian armies conducted his work. He cast keen glances at both myself and the interpreter as we sat down opposite to him.

Around the walls of the room were many military maps, one showing the military districts, another the railway and water transport system. There was not a single person's photograph in the room; quite an exception to the rooms of the other chiefs of departments, which have usually photos of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and other leading lights of the revolution. The office table at which he sat was covered with papers, orderly arranged. Our interview occupied an hour and a half, and not a single person interfered with its course by entering. Sometimes the telephone rang, and in a few words he answered the calls in a whisper that did not interfere in the slightest with the explanations of the interpreter.

For a few moments he took us back to the old Czarist army, and told us that the total amount spent in the Czarist days on the Russian army amounted to less than three kopeks per head, which he said did not make either a contented or an intelligent army. The army was strict in discipline but loose in connection, and corruption reigned in all the branches of the various services. When the smashes on the Eastern front broke down the old autocracy, the armies faded away. After the February revolution regiments disbanded themselves and went their various ways home.

After the fall of Kerensky, Russia stood in constant fear of an invasion of German and other troops. The Communist Party, after triumphing over the pallid and purposeless Kerensky, were confronted with the tremendous task of creating and organising an army, both to defend the Russian frontiers and to guarantee the revolution. How well they have succeeded is now a matter of history. The Red Guards in due course of time gave way to the Red Army, the most efficient and mobile military machine in the world.

Only workers and peasants are recruited into the ranks of the Russian Army. It is a class army, and its aims are class aims, and it is the morale that springs from the feeling of class that has, beyond anything else, made the army what it is to-day. Everything is done to promote it. In the early days of the army it was found necessary by either persuasion or compulsion to use the officers of the old army, especially in the higher commands. Wherever these officers were in the higher commands, thereby removed from immediate contacts with the rank and file, commissaries were deputed to keep a watchful eye upon them, and to see that they did not employ acts of sabotage against the workers' republic.

There had been cases, said Comrade Medjanseff, of the old Czarist officers becoming thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the revolution, and he quoted particularly the case of General Nikolaev, an officer of the old regime, who when captured by Denikin, a former brother officer of his, refused to plead his excuse as the basis of com-

pulsion, said to his captors that he was for the revolution, and was afterwards shot for his loyalty to the workers' cause. To some extent also the triumph of the Russian arms against the White invaders had attracted the conscripted officers to do good work in freeing their country from such elements.

Discipline was now a self-imposed thing. The men were taught that they must put aside some of their personal conveniences, pleasures, and desires in order to guarantee the revolution. Such discipline is widely adhered to, and very different to the discipline of fear that is the custom in the armies of the capitalist states. And a careful selection of the smartest and most intelligent men and women from the ranks—for the Red Army has its women corps and commanders—to train them for the higher commands. When questioned as to whether the Russian army of the revolution had considered the question of opening military academies for the revolutionists of other countries, he replied in the negative. He smiled, however, as he suggested that the greatest revolutionary generals in the revolutionary and civil wars were men without previous military training. The most capable, he thought, was a journalist, Trotsky, and the officer who smashed Denikin was an artist.

Questioned as to the system of demobilisation of the men after the civil war, Comrade Medjanseff said that the whole matter remained in the hands of the district commands, who also mobilised the men if necessary for labour as well as for war. Virtually the Russian Red Army can be mobilised more speedily than any other army in the world. There was no such thing as a man passing out from the army to starve upon the streets, as in the case of the armies of the capitalist countries. If a man was not fighting he was working, and they were equally fitted for both, as the revolution had proved and as the speed of social reconstruction was beginning to demonstrate.

He then told us that if a man was crippled or injured in the ranks of the Red Army, he is taken proper care off. Special quantities of food are assigned to him, and he is looked after by a special department, whom he would assist us in getting into touch with more for more explicit information. And not merely has this care been extended to the men who have been injured in fighting the war of their class, but also with the characteristic attention of the Soviet Administration this care has been extended to those also who suffered similar calamities during the Czarist wars and expeditions. This is a fact that would surely appeal to the blinded and injured victims of the wars in capitalist countries who have to expose their miseries on street corners in order to get sufficient to live upon.

After demonstrating to us the structure of the Red Army and the plan of its organisation, we felt that the class army was a triumph that no genius such as Napoleon, Hindenburg, or Kitchener could hope to achieve. With the revolutionary spirit of self-sacrifice they had cleared the capitalist and mercenary from their shores, and created the greatest fighting army in the world from the debris of fallen Czarism. They are breaking ignorance and producing such a flower of military and economic genius that one is compelled to believe that no strutting pantaloons with red coat, cocked hat, and innumerable decorations will be able to cause them a single hour's distress.

The governor of a prison was interviewing the newest arrival.

"Would you like to go on working at your trade while you're here?" he asked.

"Yes, sir, very much indeed," said the prisoner gratefully.

"We'll see about it, then. What trade did you follow?"

"I was a sailor, sir."

Be prepared!

If there is one lesson above all others which the workers of other lands can learn from their Russian comrades it is—Be prepared for the tasks of the morrow of the revolution.

Hitherto almost the entire attention of the movement has been devoted to the general attack on capitalism, and to clarifying the movement itself and establishing it on a correct theoretical basis. But little thought has been given to the consequences of victory.

The present collapsing condition of capitalism imposes on the workers the necessity of endeavouring to pre-figure what they will do, how they will proceed when the ruling class is overthrown.

It is now up to the workers to visualise the opening stages of the society of the future. It is not sufficient to have our general formulas concerning the socialisation of all the means and instruments of production, the confiscation of all wealth used for purposes of exploitation, and on. Something more definitely concrete is required.

The act of revolution will deliver the country and a developed industrial apparatus into the hands of the workers. The success of the revolution depends on the workers immediately making the utmost use of the land, the mines, mills, factories, machinery, and so on at their disposal. This is so because people must live, they must receive sustenance, they must be enabled to uninterruptedly obtain food, clothing, and shelter.

When a revolution occurs in any country there is a temporary break-down of the economic life. The chaos, insurrectionary troubles, the general collapse of finance, credit, and the delicately interwoven trading superstructure of society, the sabotage and disruption occasioned by the counter-revolutionary elements who are smarting under their defeat and ruined by being dispossessed of their former possessions—all contribute to making the initial tasks of the workers exceedingly difficult, grave, and dangerous. Yet the need to return to normal living conditions is imperative. While, as Russia has so nobly shown, the conscious workers can be relied upon to make the most astonishing sacrifices for their cause, it is nevertheless necessary to retain the loyalty of the indifferent masses by definitely securing for them the means of life and bettering their conditions.

Towards the end of making preparations for the morrow of the revolution a clear understanding is first of all necessary as to the respective functions of the Communist Party and the industrial organisations after the conquest of power.

To what extent are the industrial organisations—those potent factors for disciplining the workers and ensuring continued production—to be permitted to assume actual control? How is the Communist Party to effectively carry out its tasks? Russia provides us with incomplete answers to these questions, because objective conditions in Russia are different from those of fully developed capitalist countries and the industrial organisations of the workers prior to the revolution were quite negligible.

Already, however, it is possible, and necessary, to carry on a strong propaganda campaign preparing the workers for the days immediately following the revolution. This campaign should have for its purpose the instilling into the minds of the workers the fact that all property is social property and that it is incumbent on them to ruthlessly prevent sabotage when the great hour comes; the knowledge that it is to their interests to cherish the instruments and the machinery of production; the knowledge that the success of the revolution depends upon their self-sacrificing application to work, and the imbuing of them with the spirit of conscious loyalty to the organs of the revolution—the Communist Party and the industrial organisations.

Pupil—"What, in your opinion, professor, is the most difficult mathematical problem?"

Professor (grimly)—"Trying to make both ends meet, my dear sir."

Are YOU in the Fight?

Under capitalism the working class has produced and distributed the necessities of life by a competitive system, and in consequence of the wonderful machinery they have collectively created, sustenance is away ahead of population. In spite of all these accomplishments of theirs, past and present, their condition to-day is no better, in many instances worse, than it was at the beginning of this phase of society. Instead of these wonderful machines of production and distribution being owned by the creators of them, the working class, they are owned, along with the rest of the means of life, by a comparatively small class in society, the capitalist class, who by virtue of this ownership are also in possession of the political machinery of state. The more highly developed this system becomes, the ownership drifts into fewer hands, and we have already the spectacle of a bunch of international financiers owning the most of the earth and controlling the lives and destinies of millions of men and women of the working class. This phase in evolution, culminating as it does in the big trust, fails to-day to meet the needs of the people, and must give way to a system of society which will. In every capitalist country in the world to-day unemployment is rampant because under the profit system unemployment depends upon consumers' demands and not upon producers' needs. Without wasting time in depicting at length the terrible toll in human life and suffering capitalism has taken and caused in industry and in its periodical fights for markets, it is sufficient to say that through decades of blood and tears the workers of the world to-day, who have been the passive victims of all the ills this phase of society in its development has thrust upon them, are waking up and are alive to the fact that it is their historical mission to save the human race from this anarchy in production and distribution by organising on a class basis for the next logical phase in human society, the co-operative commonwealth.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Why I have Resigned from the I.L.P.

74 Belsize Park Gardens,
Hampstead, N.W.2,
31st March, 1921.

(To the Editor of the "Worker.")

Sir,—The attitude adopted by the governing body of the I.L.P. towards the various questions laid before the Annual Conference has left me no option but to resign my membership of the Party.

As presented at the Conference at Southport, the opposition to the Moscow International was based upon an alleged repugnance to violence, to dictatorship, and to illegal propaganda, participation in which was said to be obligatory.

The chairman by a cunning ruling decided that the Vienna decisions must not be referred to in the debate; but, now that the Conference has adopted the Vienna Report, one can measure the honesty of the Right's opposition to the Third International as representing a policy of violence by quoting the last part of clause 5 of the Vienna resolution on "the methods and organisation of the class struggle." "In these circumstances the working class will be able to become the ruling power only by direct action of the masses (mass strikes, armed rebellion, etc.), and it will have to maintain its power by suppressing the conquered capitalist class. The dictatorship of the working class must in this case be based on working men's, peasants', and soldiers' councils, on Trade Unions, or other working class organisations." What can one think of the honesty of purpose of men who have bound the I.L.P. to the acceptance of that thesis, at the same time, almost in the same breath, protesting a holy horror and pious grief at Moscow violence? No wonder the N.A.C. took care that not a branch of the Party was allowed to see the Vienna commitments before the Conference! Yet, when this clause was read at the London Divisional Conference, the N.A.C. representative, Mr E. Shinwell, first professed ignorance of its terms, and then pretended it was a mere personal opinion of Adler's, in which suggestion he was backed up by Dr. Salter. Mr Shinwell should learn that

some people attach value to the truth even in I.L.P. politics. Shinwell's statement was made with the intention of deceiving the delegates at the Divisional Conference, and he succeeded in that object.

Clause 16 of the Moscow conditions is: "Resolutions adopted by the Communist International and its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated parties." Rule 6 of the Vienna International is: "The resolutions of the working union are binding on all its members." The I.L.P. in reality has after all been compelled to drink the wine of Moscow, though out of a bottle labelled Vienna. Notwithstanding that the Lloyd George Government has entered into a trade treaty with Moscow, the leaders of the I.L.P. still fear to negotiate a treaty of ideas with Moscow, presumably because their own barrenness of mind would then be exposed to the world.

Chairman Wallhead in his Russian Report (page 28 of the N.A.C. Report) says he met "Martoff, President of the Social Democratic Labour Party, the Mensheviks." The account of that interview with Martoff concludes thus: "There is no doubt whatever that sections of the Social Democratic Labour Party have from time to time actively assisted and co-operated with the counter-revolutionary movements of Koltchak and Denikin, and have participated in actual war against the Soviet Government." Turning to the Report of the Vienna International Union, one learns that Martoff is a representative of Russia on its Executive Committee. Do the rank and file of the I.L.P. appreciate that the chairman of their Party is sitting on an Executive Committee with this ex-ally of Koltchak and Denikin? I think not. But Mr Ramsay MacDonald knew this perfectly well when he delivered his studied imitation of the oratory of Mr Lloyd George and the moral attitudinising of Mr Horatio Bottomley.

Comrades Paton and Dollan were insistent on the obligation to take part in illegal propaganda. They actually went the length of professing to read sentences from the Moscow conditions as bearing out their argument. Those passages did not exist. The sentences are: "In every country where, in consequence of martial law or other

exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary." Then: "Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes legally impossible (in the army), it is necessary to conduct such agitation illegally." During the war, when agitation inside and outside of the army was illegal, those who opposed the war sincerely had no hesitation in conducting such an agitation both inside and outside of the army. In this respect Moscow has not demanded anything repugnant to English ideas.

The next important subject which the Conference has been asked to consider was the new Party programme. Some of us had spent much valuable time in working out this programme. Most of the clauses had been agreed upon; one had caused acute differences. The branches had spent hours in discussing them. The London Divisional Conference occupied a whole day in weighing the arguments for and against the various sections. All that energy has been wasted, the decisions of the Divisional Conferences has been ignored, and the programme relegated to the dull mentality of the N.A.C. How Mr Snowden and Mr Macdonald smiled at this *opera bouffe*, in which ended the first attempt in twenty years to apply modern principles to the I.L.P. programme. Paton protested against the I.L.P. submitting to the spiritual bondage of Moscow; in fact, the I.L.P. is in bondage to old age. Snowden and Macdonald cannot conceal their instinctive hatred, as old-minded men, of anything emanating from the younger generation. It was plain at the discussions in the Policy Committee that Snowden and Macdonald disliked new ideas in politics or economics almost more than they hated the prospect of entering into relationship with Moscow.

The third division of the work of the Conference was the discussion of branch resolutions. Here again the dictatorship of the N.A.C., masquerading in the guise of the Agenda Committee, was used to stifle branch autonomy. On the resolution on taxation and finance Mr Snowden, not a member of the Agenda Committee, incautiously revealed that he had taken considerable part in drafting that resolution. Its terms were denounced as Liberalism of the 'nineties by the Preston delegate, while Comrade Johnson of Norwich, by his ejaculation "that he was not going to be humbugged about by these Liberal proposals," provided the epitaph of the Conference. The Party has been jockeyed into the Vienna International, which has borrowed its philosophy from Moscow; it has been flouted on the new programme; it has been tricked in the manipulation of the agenda, and by the suppression of branch resolutions. In these circumstances one can do nothing but withdraw from a Party conducted in such a discreditable manner by its leading figures.

Yours sincerely,

C. H. NORMAN.

STEEL TRADES CONFEDERATION.

(To the Editor of the "Worker.")

Dear Comrade,—In your issue of the 26th ult. you published a correspondence respecting the Trades Union salary of Mr Owen Coyle, signed James Lynn.

He seems anxious to apologise to Mr Owen Coyle, because, as he says, the information he supplied you with is misleading. He states that the Steel Trades Confederation pay Mr Coyle £600 per annum, and the balance making up the total is derived from the Iron and Steel Workers' Union, he being the General Secretary of that Trade Union and Operatives Secretary in the Iron and Steel Conciliation and Arbitration Board. I fail to see anything misleading, as the difference between the £600 and the sum total is paid from the members' (who are workers) contributions.

Your correspondent says considerable difference of opinion exists about the salaries paid, many members saying they are not too high. I am frankly sceptical on this point. The workers may be bad and bad enough, but they are not that stupid. I believe I have conversed with as many members on the matter of salaries as your correspondent, and I have found no distinction of

opinion. As a matter of fact, they all admitted that they were actually astounded at the enormous salaries paid to their officials. I am of opinion that your correspondent has taken a remorse of conscience, and that he feels he has lost the good graces of the officials, and also the danger of being ostracised by the other prigs who are members with himself on the Executive who are responsible for the excessive salaries.

But I have no doubt, if your correspondent shows that he is completely penitent, the permanent officials may accept his humble apology, and absolve him from his sin of letting the cat out of the bag.—I am, etc.,

GEO. ANDERSON.

Free Speech Sabotaged at Greenock

BOSS CLASS CORPORATION BREAKS BOSS CLASS LAW IN ORDER TO GET A SLAP AT THE COMMUNISTS.

A week or so ago it became evident that the authorities in Greenock were determined to prevent the Communist Party holding meetings at the Esplanade. They began to badger the speakers, asking them if they had a permit, and finally arrested Comrade Murray for not having a permit. We do not know what the by-law relating to public meetings is at Greenock, and we do not care, but we would stake our reputation that neither Greenock Corporation nor any other corporation in Scotland, has the power to discriminated between political organisations in the matter of permits. They have certainly the power to make any area a prohibited area as far as meetings is concerned, so long as they prohibit all meetings; but they have no power in law to say this organisation shall be permitted to hold meetings and this organisation shall not. It is obvious that if any corporation is allowed to exercise such power class bias will creep in, and free expression of working class opinion will become impossible. It might be wise on the part of the Communist Party to see how the position stands at law, for a reading of the famous Macara case at Edinburgh, just previous to the war, does suggest that the Greenock mandarins have overstepped themselves even from the standpoint of capitalist law.

In carrying out the wishes of the Mandarins the police in Greenock were responsible for creating a scene unprecedented in the recent history of Scotland. About an hour previous to the meeting last Sunday about three thousand people were assembled at the esplanade in Greenock. The police were there in large numbers, and were evidently prepared for trouble, as they were busy previous to the arrival of the Communists in telling the women to move off as there was likely to be trouble. When the Communists arrived the police surrounded them, to a certain extent isolating them from the crowd. The meeting started by the singing of the "International" followed by the "Red Flag." While the "Red Flag" was being sung a whistle was heard, and a body of mounted police, who had been concealed nearby, moved forward, batoning and dispersing the crowd. Quite a number of people, who were merely on the spot in order to satisfy their curiosity, have been nursing a sore head since. The foot police then moved in upon the Communists, and, after distributing dull thuds in a lavish manner, arrested the following comrades: Gillies, Slavin, McGeachan, and Dunleary. The remainder of the Communists then moved off to Campbell Street, where they endeavoured to run a meeting, but the police broke it up again and arrested the chairman. The police then went to the house of several comrades and arrested them also.

At the moment of writing all the arrested men have been released on bail at £5. The fight, however, is just commencing, and the movement in Scotland will have to fight it until the insolent Greenock Mandarins are crushed.

"Mind you don't get hurt, Sam. It's dangerous working here in the quarry."

"Oh, nothing can happen to me, Joe! I borrowed ten bob from the foreman, and since then he doesn't let me do any dangerous work."

PARTICK I.L.P.

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

In Victoria Theatre, Whiteinch, on Sunday,

17th April, at 6.30 p.m.

Lantern Lecture.

JOHN S. CLARKE

Subject—"From Peterloo to Bloody Friday."

—Sandyford Select Choir.—

Conductor—David H. Payton.

Doors open at 6 p.m.

Silver Collection.

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE.

Dear Sir,—A Conference of representatives of Professional Workers' Organisations will be held in the Council Chamber, Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1, on Monday, 11th April, at 6.15 p.m., to discuss the present crisis in industry, as this affects non-manual workers, both as producers and consumers. You are cordially invited to be present.—Yours faithfully,

W. C. KEAY, General Secy.

DAVID MCKENZIE, 10 WILSON STREET,

PARTICK.

ALL CLASSES OF SEWING MACHINES
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AN APPEAL.

844 Shettleston Rd., Shettleston, Glasgow.

Comrades,—We desire to draw your attention to the fact that Comrades J. Partick, secretary, and Douglas M'Leish, chairman of the Glasgow Communist Group; Guy A. Aldred, publisher, and A. Fleming have been arrested and may receive punishment for the expression, printing, and publication of "sedition" as embodied in the manifesto in the first number of the "Red Commune."

We would remind you further that there is a concerted effort on the part of the ruling class at this time to suppress ruthlessly every serious advocate of social transformation in order to preserve the present iniquitous and unjust system. Consequently we think that it is imperative upon the working class to manifest its solidarity with these courageous fighters by rendering them all the support we can muster and thereby place a check upon the forces of oppression.

To this end the Glasgow Communist Group has instituted a defence and maintenance fund to which all workers and sympathisers are requested to respond with a liberality proportionate to the extreme importance of the occasion. Contributions to this fund may be forwarded to the above address.—Yours for the Revolution.

(Sgd.) JOHN M'GOVERN, Treas.

"COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANITY,"

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THE LYRIC SOCIALIST CHOIR.

Winners of "Martin Hadow" Trophy, Socialist Choral Festival, 1921.

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.

GLASGOW & DISTRICT SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

GRAND ANNUAL GALA

In Kingston Public Hall, Paisley Road, on Saturday, 23rd April, 1921.

Doors open 2.30 p.m. Commence 3 p.m. prompt.

Tickets—Adults 1/3, Juveniles 8d. (Including tax.)

NOTICE.

W. M'GILL, Herald League, 94 George Street, is sole Wholesale Agent for the "Communist," West of Scotland and District.

I.L.P. LEFT WING.

A CONFERENCE

will be held in

Christian Institute, Bothwell Street, Glasgow,

On Monday, 18th April at 8 p.m.

Chairman—Comrade Mrs Crawford.

All genuine Left Wingers cordially invited to attend.

COMMUNIST PARTY (Section of the Third International). :: ANDERSTON BRANCH.

OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA at ANDERSTON X
SUNDAY FIRST at 6.45 p.m.

Speaker—DICK SCOTT.

Members, Note.—Special Branch Meeting on Sunday first at 1 p.m. prompt. Business important. Be there!

:: INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF :
TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.
(Bridgeton District.)

WEEKLY MEETING of the above will be held at
300 London Road, Bridgeton,
—Every Saturday, at 3 p.m.—

ALL INTERESTED INVITED TO ATTEND.

TENTS—"WANDERLUST."

Lightweight for Cycle-Camping and Walking Tours. Pamphlet, "Camping for All," per post 5d.—Macloed, Plea-Knowe, by Chryston, near Glasgow.

— 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 LAFFERTY, 13 Banknock Ter., Dennyloanhead, by Bonnybride.

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