KNOWLEDGE MUST PRECEDE ALL INTELLIGENT ACTION

ORGANISE

THE WORKER

EDUCATE

THE ORGAN OF NATIONAL WORKERS COMMITTEES.

A TONIC FOR THE HOPELESS, A SCOURGE FOR THE SPINELESS.

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THE I.L.P. AND COMMUNISM.

A Challenge to Wallhead : By William Gallacher.

During the war the worst enemies the anti-militarist had to contend with were the traitor Labour leaders who, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, had been most vigorous in their advocacy of a general strike to break the power of the Imperialists if and when any attempt should be made to drag the nation into war.

Yet when war did come, the Tillets, Sextons, etc.,—all the nasty crowd of them—vied with one another in their protestations of super-patriotism. From every platform they howled for the extermination of the Germans and the forcible suppression of such who had the courage to remain true to the cause of working-class solidarity, and who stood four square against the warmongers right through all the bitter years of war.

The special trick of these worthies was to attack the anti-militarist wherever opportunity offered, with a view to goading them into saying things that would make them liable to prosecution under the D.O.R.A. It was a common thing to have these fellows hang around the meetings, and then at the finish put a question in such a way that an answer to it would almost certainly lead to imprisonment.

Always they were suggesting the line of policy that ought to be pursued by those who were endeavouring to entrap them.

If I mistake not, they succeeded in landing Willie Stewart and G. Houston, thus getting them to answer questions put for that specific purpose.

Yes, they were a dirty lot, with not a shred of principle left to cover their mean little naked souls. And, oh, how the idealistic I.L.P.ers went for them! The pure souled, high spirited Macdonald, the Snowdens and Wallheads, wailed to the high heaven against the moral depravity of these social traitors.

But even while they condemned, they must have studied these tactics, prophetically anticipating their utility in the years immediately following the war. When you get a potential "statesman" like Emmanuel Shinwell mouthing from the platform that the left wingers ought to go up to Maryhill and endeavour to get at the soldiers there, what is it but the same old game played by the Gilmour crowd, of suggesting to the authorities that these bad Communists are a purely illegal organisation, and ought to be attended to!

Then take "Forward" of last week, and you find a sentence like this from the immaculate Macdonald:—"Those who must talk seditious nonsense should confine themselves to quotations from Carson, etc., which is another way of saying that while the doughty Macdonald is in favour of a campaign for civil liberties, he recognises quite frankly that those of us who get into trouble are only getting what we ask for.

In the early days of the war, following a demonstration in North Frederick Street, Shinwell, Regan, Helen Crawfurd and one or two others were summoned to the Central Police Court for obstruction. We had hired and used a lorry for the demonstration. One after another we pleaded not guilty until it came to the lorryman. He had obviously been got at, and, to our surprise, he pleaded guilty, and was fined 5/-. We were then in the difficult position of defending ourselves against a charge to which another man had admitted being guilty : A truly hopeless position. And Regan and Shinwell had some very hard things to say about that lorryman and of the game that had been played on us.

But will they have anything to say about the National Labour Press, at the head of which is Philip Snowden and Coun. Whitely ?

Summoned to appear at Court in connection with the Inkpin case, the National Press, with the most indecent haste, pledged themselves never again to publish anything for the Communist Party, and entered a plea of guilty to the charges levelled against them.

Again, at Coventry the majority of the I.L.P. branch there decided to form themselves into a branch of the Communist Party, and being in the majority thought they were entitled to retain the branch premises and furniture. But the Macdonaldites, however much they love democracy, love private property with a more endearing affection, immediately took them into Court to invite the support of boss class justice; and in presenting their case they claimed that the Communist Party was a seditious organisation.

At meetings they hang around the fringe of the crowd in very many cases waiting to put leading questions about force, about a red army, propaganda among the forces, and what not—all in the best Gilmour-Sexton style—to try and inveigle the speaker into the position of having to refuse an answer, or take the risk of getting into trouble.

It is in such a spirit that Wallhead offers to debate with McManus on the policy of the Communist Party. Wallhead, who has ratted from left to right, and who flounders around not knowing where he is going to land. He wants to debate on the policy of the Communist Party ?

Well, he has to be in Kilmarnock next week, and I will be only too happy to take him on,—provided he is prepared to put down a definite policy against the Communist Party.

He is Chairman of the I.L.P.; and if that organisation has a policy, he ought to know it. I have stated time and again that the sole aim of the I.L.P. is to get a majority in the House of Commons. In that aim all their members are agreed. But, what after that ? How are they going to use the power when it has been given them by the workers ?

Some time ago, while lunching at Cranston's, Willie Regan made an effort to sketch what he thought should be the policy of the I.L.P. — if, and when, the workers put power into their hands by giving them a substantial majority.

Recognising the fact that the army, navy, civil service and law courts were controlled by the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, Willie said the first duty of the Party would be to sack every officer out of these services, and organise them under proletarian control; they would also put such a strict censorship on the Press as would prevent any bourgeois criticism of the I.L.P. government, and, generally speaking, hold firmly on to power until they emancipated the workers, by ending capitalism for good and all.

Tom Johnston and a number of other active I.L.P.ers were sitting listening all the while, so also was "Dick" Wallhead; when Regan finished I asked Wallhead if he agreed with him, and Wallhead said he did.

Since then I've heard a number of others try to work out some line of action to be followed —when the requisite majority is obtained; but each one differs from the other, their only point of agreement being—getting a majority in the House.

Now, if Wallhead, as chairman of the Party, will make a public statement of the policy to be pursued by the I.L.P. when the workers have voted them into power, then we will be able to meet on something like fair terms. I will gladly take my stand by the policy of the Communist Party. Can Wallhead—or any other potential statesman — discover anywhere an I.L.P. policy that can by any possibility be put up against it?

Wallhead is in Kilmarnock next week. So am I. Why shouldn't we have it out ?

The land belongs to no one person, but to all; all that an individual acquires beyond the means of existence is a social theft.—Jean Jacques Rousseau.

To Marine Workers and Miners.

By TOM BARKER.

The palmy days of the war period are over, and they are not going to recur again. The army of unemployed is going to become much greater in the immediate future. Particularly is this going to be the case in the British Isles. The day of Great Britain being the world's great manufacturing country is over. Her coal trade must inevitably whittle away down to nothing. Germany, the United States, and Belgium will be her greatest competitors in that direction. According to figures quoted from Sir Leo Chiozza Money, the exports of British coal has diminished from the month of April, 1913, with its 6,351,000 tons to the alarmingly small quantity of 607,000 tons exported in April of this year. The United States is going to almost monopolise the world's coal trade within a few months' time.

Of course, the days of coal are almost over. Oil is in the field, and it is the oil-using countries and companies that are going to survive in the economic struggles of the future. To-day one-third of the world's total tonnage of shipping is laid up through the lack of freights through small national strikes of different branches of marinē workers. These strikes because of their character are doomed to failure. The working class, particularly the miners and marine workers of the world, are up against it with a vengeance, and there does not seem to be one of the mammoth geniuses that can point to the debacle that is bound to come in a very short time.

Oil-burning ships are more economical than coal-burners. They need less labour, carry more cargo, and in a competitive struggle they win out. To-day there is hardly an oil-burning ship idle; there is scarcely a coal-burning ship that is not swinging at anchor idle and eating her head off. As Sir Owen Phillips said the other day at the annual meeting of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, which with the other companies closely affiliated to it possess the enormous aggregate of over 2,000,000 tons gross register: "Fortunately, however, a ship has a comparatively short life, and after a certain date, although it may continue to be seaworthy, provided sufficient money is expended on it, it becomes an uneconomic asset, and unable to compete in the world's markets with a modern vessel fitted with the latest and most up-to-date machinery and equipment."

When the "Aquitania" fitted oil-burners she said good-bye to a large number of firemen. She said farewell to the large number of coal-workers who loaded her bunkers, and also to the horny-handed miners who dug the black diamonds out of the earth. The Deisel-engined ship says farewell also to the boilermakers, for she has no boilers at all. The oil-burning steam-driven ship wins out against the coal-burning ship, and the Deisel-engined ship beats both. That is to say, the ships built in Copenhagen and Stockholm will triumph over the Clyde and Hog Island built ships. There are now 57,000,000 tons of shipping to do less work (for the whole Russian trade is at a standstill) in 1921 than 47,000,000 tons did in the year of our Lord, 1913.

Just a word on the loading of ships. Last year in an East Coast port in the United States, the U.S. ship "Lewis Luckenbach" loaded 12,600 tons of coal in 6¼ hours. Where does our fellow-worker from the docks come in? One can understand again why Cardiff is going to lose her coal trade, and why they are building a great oil port in the vicinity, in which both the dock worker, the ship worker, the railwayman, and the member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain will have as much to say as the toy merchant under the bridge at Ludgate Circus. If the cheap Labour politicians in the House of Commons have got any solution outside or even inside of the unemployed dole, then I should like to see them open their faces, and show that the state of their stomachs has not travelled towards and affected their heads. If good old, nice old, respectable old, honest old, doddery old Trade Unionism has got a way out, let us listen to the stuff.

When the Great Eastern Railway Company refitted 30 of their engines to burn oil, they are merely showing that they are going on the oil tack too. The Lord High Cardinal of the N.U.R. and the hero of Black Friday will probably suggest again, as he did last year in Prague, that the Trade Unions should put all their money—and they have such a hell of a lot of that stuff now—in the corner of one of the banks, keep it there for about thirty thousand years, and then buy out ALL the banks with the compound interest. That would settle the question, and it is SUCH a nice, respectable, and honest way of smoothing the path of the desperately hungry and discontented dockers, miners, sailors, navvies, etc., for the next 29.999 years. Havelock Wilson may have something else to suggest. And of course it would be quite legal. He would impress upon you that there are 30,000 Lascars and Chinese working on Berritish ships, under the Berritish ferlag, and keeping the dauntless Berritish—hic!—seaman from paying his levies —hic!—and his contributions (now be kerful wi' the bath chair, you!) to the Berritish Nashunal —hic!—Sheeman's 'nd Firemen's Yewnyun—tishoo!

The "London Telegraph" swings a neat little platitude about the brave British seamen with the salt in his blood. There is a hell of a quantity of romance in the acquiring of salt aboard of the average lime-juicer, under the regime of Havelock Wilson, Messrs Ellermann, Owen Phillips, Lord Inchcape, and his side-kicker Pirrie. Salt horse and stock fish are certainly the fundamentals of the "Telegraph's" allusion, and may account for the fact that every seaman and coal-shover has as big a thirst—notwithstanding the naice Labah prohibitionist in the 'Ouse—as a digger in Block 10 in Broken Hill.

The British miner has been the solidest, and is to-day the solidest expression of working class determination in the world. But how long is their power going to last under these conditions. Oil will triumph, and in its wake will come such an era of hunger, unemployment, and destitution as the world has never yet seen. It is inevitable. Watching things from the broader standpoint over in the various parts of Europe, and watching the gigantic moves on every hand, the fact is that **Great Britain's days as a great commercial and manufacturing country is almost over.** The relatively plentiful days of the British working class will not recur again under capitalism. Not even with the God-sent assistance of sycophantic Labour M.P.'s with all their airs and smooge and their hanging around the servants' quarters at Buckingham Palace. Nor with the bungling efforts of the nice people who are afraid that the poor working class cannot clean its teeth or feed its babies without being shown. The hard working intelligentsia coining simple facts into indigestible language, and the philanthropoidals—forgive me for perpetrating it, won't you, Bill?—who give their valuable assistance in the hope of procuring a selection to occupy a seat in the House of the Dead, or acquiring a reputation of being an out and outa, doncherknow.

In the near future thousands of tons of United States shipping is going under the German flag, with German officers, German engineers, and German crews, and German wages. And the United States Shipping Board is the greatest single Corporation in the world, being nearly three times more powerful financially than the United States Steel Corporation. The greater part of their ships are oil-burners and the other are well insured.

Economically speaking, we may say that there is scarcely a need—unless another war should come, as it will—to build another merchant ship for the next ten years. Metal mining can almost stand still by the transformation of the millions of tons of metals moulded for war and semi-war purposes, through the medium of the melting crucible and the forge. The control of large quantities of oil, easily accessible and cheap, is essential to the country that will prevail in the great struggle between the capitalist powers. Like the Bagdad Railway, the whole world may be drenched in blood to settle this question.

But be this as it may, the only hope that the workers have is their economic unity upon a class basis. The weapons have to be welded that will give us victory on the field of battle. Sugary words and the fact that Princess Mary shook hands with yer little darter won't touch the fringe of it. Can we clear, I ask, our minds of the muddle and the narrowness for a little while, and size up the situation and attempt the solution? If we can't, then we are a slave class, with slave ideas, slave hopes with a slave future. Are we going to wander forty years in the wilderness, developing the mentality and the courage to win through? Are the belly-aching politicians whining after the flesh-pots and taking the sugar from the hands of their and our masters, the vanguard and hope of the dispossessed and hungry or not?

Whatever we do we have to do quick. Organisation has to be forged. There has to be no putting new wine in old bottles. To blazes with tradition, slave history, and newspaper opinion. Industrial organisation is our buttress, but it must be new, modern, and fighting. It must be at least level with the times. The international banquetting societies from Amsterdam, and the one headed by the other Dam from Antwerp and the International Champagne Transport Federation, have to be cleaned out. And little back corner unofficial movements won't do this. If we have big ideas and big hopes, let us cut out the hole and corner business, and put something big across. Christ knows, the world's workers are about ready for it. Get after the goods, instead of thinking that mere criticism will alter things. It's the **will to power** that is wanted.

In the marine transport industry we are going to put it across. You miners have got your own side to lick into shape. You have your banquetting society, and your grouse-shooting, mansion-frequenting connivers. Clean up house and make no bones about it. Meet your fellows from the U.S. and the Ruhr for the sake of yourself and your class, make such an organisation that will settle the question of coal, and discuss with us of the Marine Transport Worker Union (international and universal) the handling of the oil situation. We are both in Desperation Street; we cannot wait until the pea-nut peelers and the pill-makers are in line. We are the two strategic points in modern industry—transport and fuel—and if we can't get together, then to hell with the lot of us. We're better dead.

Has Labour the Right to Strike?

The Supreme Court in America, which is the highest authority, has recently decided that there is no such right as "the right to strike."

It has made Trade Unions liable for damages to employers in case of a strike. The penalties for illegal strikes are fines, imprisonment, trifle damages, and dissolution of the convicted Trade Union.

The same law will undoubtedly have to be passed in Great Britain if Trade Unions insist on striking whenever they can't have what they ask for.—From a weekly paper.

The worst of the business is that if the workers ask for anything worth while the masters insist on refusing. If laws such as above are passed the workers can take a tip from the mineowners and call their strike a lock out, just as the mineowners call the present lock out a strike.

* * *

Since Adam's time fools have been in the majority, and unfortunately it is the majority that governs.

THE ENGINEERING LOCK-OUT.

By J. R. CAMPBELL.

At the moment of writing it seems as if the engineering lock-out was going to take place. There is, of course, still time for compromise, and there is no doubt that if the engineering employers would not be so cruel most of the officials would be glad to compromise. The cut is so drastic, however, that even the most fear-ridden soul crawling through life could not accept such a reduction without first offering resistance.

THE EMPLOYERS' CASE.

The reasons offered by the employers for making the reduction are now moth-eaten. They are the usual wail about the impoverishment of British industry and its inability to pay the workers such high wages. In every tragedy there is an element of comedy, and the comedy during those days of hardship and struggle is supplied by the employing class pleading poverty while still maintaining their luxurious standard of life. The shops which cater for the fashionable classes in our large towns are still doing a roaring trade, and yet over it all the wail of the employing class is heard: "We are being ruined by the high wages of the extravagant working class." The whole thing reminds the writer of a play which he saw when he was a boy. The heroine was supposed to be a poor starving girl who had been deeply wronged by a wicked world. The lady who played the part was taken ill, and the part was played by her understudy, a lady who was fat and forty, and whose fingers were covered with flash jewellery. Naturally there was more laughter than tears at this particular performance, and a similar reception is all that the performance of the engineering employers deserve.

After all there are ample indications that the poverty-stricken attitude of the employers is only a colossal joke. There is an institution in our large commercial centres known as the Stock Exchange. It is primarily an institution for regulating the flow of capital between various industries and firms, and as such affords a register of the standing of any industry or firm. It is also, of course, a gilded gambling den, where mugs are fleeced, but it is its first aspect we are concerned with here. If the prospects of the industry were as desperate as the employers have painted, then the shares of the engineering industry in the Stock Exchange would have the value of toilet paper. What do we find?

Let us take that home of bankrupt grocer and busted bookmaker and other wage slaves who have served an apprenticeship, and are therefore fond of thinking that they are above the first mentioned species—Babcocks & Wilcox, Renfrew. We find Babcock's £1 share selling in April at £2 5s. 7½d. per share, which does not suggest bankruptcy. Then there is the Rolls Royce Co., which must have sold a few motor cars to the South Wales miners, for we find their £1 share standing at £1 4s. 4½d.

Then there is the pride of Manchester, Mathers and Platt, who have thoroughly "Americanised" their establishment, and whose £1 share can be had by any member of the unemployed for thirty shillings. After them we have that highly philanthropic firm, Stewart & Lloyds, whose munificence in providing the workers in Glasgow and other places with employment will surely be rewarded hereafter. You can get their £10 share for £13 2s. 6d., but as it will probably be a long lock-out, it is hardly advisable for engineering workers to spend all their lock-out pay in going for those shares. Next comes poor John Brown and Co., who unfortunately have not been getting as much profit from their slaves as they might, even if the Prince of Wales did step in and assist production for a few minutes a month or so back. John's shares can be had for 19/4½. Still the workers in Browns have been had for much more than that in the past. We have not seen any recent quotations of the shares of "Wullie Beardmore's" establishment, but we understand that the rumour current in Dalmuir that he is selling the whole concern with his title thrown in is a trifle premature.

In view of those facts we fear that we must be cynical enough to doubt that our dearly beloved bosses are telling the truth.

We have never been able to discover why the boss class imagine that the statement of the fact that industry is too poor to pay a living wage in any way helps them. They seem to imagine that this is their most telling argument. All that they seem to think is necessary is to make this assertion with owl-like solemnity and the wicked agitator crumbles up completely. As a matter of fact the opposite is the case. If it were true that industry is too poor to support in comfort and decency those who do the necessary work, then it is much too poor to support those who do nothing at all. The more desperate the bosses can make the plight of industry appear, the more urgent becomes the necessity of getting rid of them.

THE VALUE OF POWER.

It is necessary to stress the fact, however, that as society is constituted to-day victory goes not to the side having the most logical arguments or boasting of its high ideals, but to the side having the greatest strength. In this lock-out only one of the combatants has anything approaching morality and decency on its side. The engineering and foundry workers are fighting to give their homes a reasonable security, to secure that the burdens borne by their womenfolks shall not be rendered unbearable; they are fighting to ensure that their children shall not be stunted by under-nourishment, and that they themselves shall not be treated like cattle. But all those high motives will be of no avail unless they can develop a greater solidarity and resistance to the employers. To-day, as in the past, the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong. Only to-day it is not the strength of the individual but the strength of the organisation to which he is attached that counts. Here in the engineering and shipbuilding group we have a series of trades so closely related to each other that you have virtually one unit. The employers throughout the group are so closely linked up in inter-locking directorates, federations, etc., that they have an effective solidarity.

The workers, on the other hand, are hopelessly divided into competing unions, and if there is greater solidarity in this lock-out than there has been in industrial struggles in the past, it is due to the employers locking a number of unions out at the same time, not due to any sudden accession of wisdom to the unions themselves.

Let us look at the tragic situation that has been revealed in Engineering and Shipbuilding in the last few months. Last November the ship joiners were locked out. The other workers went to their work as usual, and thanked God that they were not joiners. Some weeks after, having helped the boss to complete his ships, except for joiner work, they took collection sheets round the yards on behalf of the joiners. Which reminds us of the chap that was going home one night when he came upon a burly ruffian sitting on the chest of a peaceful citizen, and amusing himself by battering the citizen's brains out with a bottle. The wayfarer went up and tapped the ruffian on the shoulder: "What the 'ell do you want?" asked the ruffian. "Excuse me interrupting you," said the wayfarer, "but would you mind if I administered a headache tablet to that gentleman?" A truly ludicrous feature of the situation was that when the bosses sent ships across to Germany for completion, some of the "Huns" refused to work them, but the patriotic Britishers —who are of course not Huns but sane trade unionists—continued to troop into the shipyards and help the boss to beat their own fellow-worker.

Well, take a nibble of the shipyard workers, and if they agree, we'll keep the shipyards going and draw our profits while we take a somewhat bigger bite at the Engineering workers. When they are beaten we'll come back and take another nibble at the shipbuilding workers."

The scheme worked out to perfection. The shipyard workers thanked God that they had such merciful bosses. And the Engineering foundry workers are left to face the bosses alone—that is, if the bosses don't relent and agree to take smaller bites spread over a longer period instead of the big bites they propose taking now.

THE CURSE OF SECTIONALISM.

The whole development shows what a curse sectionalism unionism in an industry can be.

The greatest crime that a man can commit against the working class to-day is that of keeping it to its old methods. The movement must change or perish. The initiative in smashing sectionalism must come from the rank and file. If things in the union organisation of the industry are in an unholy mess only the rank and file can clear it up. The Workers' Committee movement has definite proposals in this direction. They desire to see workshop committees or groups formed of active men who will associate together to formulate the structure of a unified organisation for the industry. They will then, through their branch groups, seek through revision of rules to impose such a policy on the official unions. All the time the workshop and union groups will be a rallying point for the workers in a time of crisis.

IF THE LOCK-OUT TAKES PLACE.

If the lock-out takes place then the machinery for joint resistance must be set up. Local and district joint committees of the locked-out workers should be formed. In plcaes where they are adjacent to a mining area steps should be taken to get into touch with the miners with a view to organising mass demonstrations and engaging in any other activity that circumstances may make necessary. The experience of the miners in communal kitchens might be useful, as would perhaps be the joint buying of the foodstuffs by the organisations. Close touch should be maintained with the unemployed organisations, who could co-operate like the miners, and could help to keep a close watch on blacklegs. The acttive men should form into definite groups in each district, should try to get on to the strike committees, and should in every possible way try to give direction to the fight and prevent a weak-kneed climbing down. The lessons of the lock-out should be hammered home relentlessly. The great tragedy of most strikes and lock-outs is not the hardship that is endured, the chances that are lost, the betrayals that result; the great tragedy is that men should experience suffering and learn nothing from it. When workers are engaged in an industrial struggle they are vividly interested in their own welfare. They see the defects of their organisation more clearly, but when the struggle is over they drift back to their old ways, and the defective organisation remains in being to the next crisis. It should surely be evident that if it is good enough for four organisations to be standing together in the struggle, then when it is over the four organisations should be combined and a more powerful organisation developed. The lock-out should be prolonged as long as possible. Every week that passes more organisations are being thrown into the fight. In August it may be the railwaymen's turn. The larger grows the number of striking locked-out, and unemployed workers the more necessary it becomes to link them up together and develop a general control of the movement locally and nationally. When they become sufficiently organised, then the call should go forth to industries which are working, but which are threatened with wage reductions. STOP THEM ALL, and do not start them unless the boss climbs down, or unless circumstances are favourable for starting them under the control of the strike committees. We must be loyal, my friends. **By Heavens,** we must be loyal, but loyal to our self-preserving instincts, loyal to our families, loyal to our class. How pathetically silly are those people who expect the worker to neglect his home, neglect his children, besmirch his manhood, in order to be loyal to the institutions of the boss class. **Away with such loyalties. Our loyalty is to the working class first, last, and all the time.**

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AWAY WITH LEADERS!

We should not be a mass; that is to say, we should not share the prejudices, the pre-occupations, the errors, the customs of the unthinking multitude. The mass has a firm belief in the necessity of a chief, or leader, who must be at their head, who must conduct them to their goal, bring them to tyranny or freedom, guide them by caresses, or by spitting in their faces, for good or for ill.

This habit, so rooted in the human being, is the fount of inexhaustible evils for the redemption of the race. Life, honour, welfare, the future, liberty—all are placed at the disposition of him who has been made chief. It is the leader who must think for all; it is the leader who is charged with the duty of watching for the well-being and liberty of the mass in general and the individual in particular; the result being that there are millions of brains among the mass that never think, because the leader has to think for all. Thus it comes about that the masses remain passive, that they have no initiative, and that they drag out a sheep existence; wheedled at election times by the politcians and place-hunters, who beat them when the elections are over; deceived, during times of revolutionary action, by the promises of the ambitious, who reward them with kicks for their self-sacrifice when the victory has been won.

There should be no mass; there should be a league of thinking individualities united among themselves for the attainment of certain ends; each, whether man or woman, thinking with his or her own head; each exerting himself or herself to give an opinion as to what must be done to realise our aspirations, which are no other than the liberty of all based on the liberty of each; the welfare of all based on the welfare of each.—Ricardo Flores Magon.

SIC(K) TRANSIT.

It is a sad but undeniable fact that the life of the Labour leader is not a happy one. What is considered good mental pabulum in one district may be the rankest verbal poison in another. This means that the unfortunate Labourite must always be careful to keep his notes right, and never say the wrong thing in the district he happens to visit.

He is like the Irishman who wasn't sure of his bearings in a certain town in the north of Ireland, and who put his head in at a pub door and bawled out, "To Hell with the Pope; am I right or am I wrong, boys." These reflections have been generated by the awful experience that befel one of Glasgow's most prominent vote-catchers the other night at Inverness.

He had been addressing a Trades Council, and telling them of the glories that would radiate around them when Labour got a majority. At the close of the meeting the audience rose as one man, obviously with the intention of closing the proceedings with a vocal effort. Our worthy Glasgow Labourist got his mouth wide open to allow free passage to the strains of the Red Flag, bu alas! that we should have to tell it, found himself sweetly warbling the heavenly strains of "God Save the King."

CIGARETTE PAPERS

By the Editor

Soviet Russia.

Letters have been received from several readers enclosing news paragraphs, cut from capitalist newspapers, crowing over the "reintroduction of capitalism in Russia." In spite of Krassin's explanation that the Communist Government of Russia is so strongly entrenched that it can afford to "compromise" a little with the private traders, the silly fools of bourgeoisdom, from Northcliffe down to Kerensky, are still gleefully hailing this slight compromise as though it portended the complete collapse of Communist rule. Of course it is only to be expected that the creatures of the gutter press should attempt to place matters in the worst possible light, but one expects a little more honesty from I.L.Pers. Instead, some of them have been as delighted at the capitalist reports as the empty-headed shopkeeper and professional classes themselves. They'll all grin on the wrong side of their faces directly.

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Sprat and Whale.

After winning peace on all fronts, the Red Army was demobilised and the country set about the tasks of reconstruction. The greatest problem in Soviet Russia has always been the peasant problem, but it is not such a huge problem to-day as it was two years ago. Just over two years ago Lenin, when asked if the peasants could be controlled until the Revolution was firmly secured, replied: "If I could answer that question I could answer all." That was two years ago. Since then the military attacks on Russia have been crushed, several new Soviet Republics have been established—including Georgia—the Red Army has been demobbed and Trade Agreements have been signed. The Revolution has been made secure, and the State is absolutely controlled by the Revolutionary Proletariat.

Instead of immediately establishing Communism, however, the Government does the opposite, and permits or legalises private trading—and an ignorant yelp comes from the puppies of the capitalist press. It hasn't occurred to them apparently that Koltchak, Churchill, Deniken, Yudenitch, and Wrangel were not wiped out by Communism alone, but were smashed by a militarism more powerful and determined than their own. And capitalism in Russia is being permitted to flourish legally for precisely the same reason. With its bulldog grip on the State machinery, the Proletarian Party may give sanction to petty speculators to carry on meanwhile, but behold, reader, what they will shortly be up against.

Concentrating on the establishment of large nationalised industries (where only small production has existed hitherto) the Soviet Government will be in the position of intermediary between the capitalist world market and the Russian peasantry. By permitting the petty trader to trade with the peasant, and by introducing the arrangement of a tax in kind with the peasant (instead of requisitioning all the surplus foodstuffs in the peasant's possession) thus enabling the peasant to exchange with the small trader, an impetus is given to food production, dissatisfaction on the part of the producer is lessened, and the food supply of the towns is not interfered with.

The private trader exists and profit-mongering will exist, but only for a time. Under the complete control of the Workers' State the petty capitalist's power is limited, and in time he will find it impossible to compete with the huge nationalised industries of Russia.

The Soviet Government is throwing a sprat to catch a whale.

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To Critics.

Apart from anything else capitalism has never been really dead in Russia. It has been a poor, ragged, half-dead outcast for over three years, but not a corpse. To suit its own ends, to facilitate the progress of the Russian State to Communism, the Soviet Government is pouring a nip of tactical brandy down the dying one's throat. During the transitional period capitalism, of a sort, can be of use in one direction. The Soviet Government has revived its drooping carcase a little, and like a dog on a collar and chain it is being led out to perform its job. It will be out of its misery one day and peacefully buried. The plutocrats and Mensheviks of Britain have a hell of a lot to chuckle about. There are bigger chuckles coming from a little office in the Kremlin.

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Don't Be Glum.

The most hopeful happenings at present are the victory of the Kemalists in the near east and the energetic efforts which are being made all over the world to organise the seafarers on a class-conscious basis. Let us capture the oil mines, say the plutes, and we can defy the coal miners. It takes very few men to obtain oil compared to the number required for coal mining. Oil is the greatest menace to the Labour movement all over the world. However, three-quarters of the earth's surface is water, and without seafarers, without the ocean-going proletariat, capitalism is what they vulgarly call 'coopered." Everywhere no labour should be spared to get unity and understanding in the ranks of seamen—all ship-workers rather, including dockers.

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Water—and Land.

Three-fourths of the planet is water, and more than one-sixth of the remaining fourth is under Soviet rule. The lost territory and dwindling population of Russia, which "facts" seem to weigh so heavily with our bourgeois writers, including the Snowdens, are nothing to worry about. Russia no longer possesses Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, nor Poland, and these together make up a territory of 610,000 versts with a population of 29,800,000. But for all that the Soviet Republics in 1921, distinct from those in Great Russia itself, account for 95 per cent. of the entire territory of former Russia and 80 per cent. of the former population. The Red Flag now flies over 17,814,000 versts of territory, and protects a population of 140,725,000.

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Shade of Juvenal.

The moral rottenness of the old Roman Empire could not possibly have been worse than that which flourishes in the British Empire. What an accumulation of filth the daily press of this pious country rakes together every day—the doings mostly of the degenerate parasites who swindle the working class in order to obtain the wealth to do it with. The cotton operatives, for example, have had their wages cut 5/- in the £. The attacks on the wages of the miners, engineers, and other trades are common knowledge. The time for a cut at the railwaymen is coming. The unemployment benefit is to be reduced, and the funds of the unions are too attenuated for the unions to offer any resistance to the attack. While the Government is spending millions on naval and military preparations, what are the capitalist bandits themselves doing?

Every day the papers are filled with details of the beastly lives led by these low-live swine who squander wealth stolen from the working class on immorality. Look at the case of the defunct hero whose affairs were dragged to light in the London Law Courts last week. A British officer spending £14,000 in two years to maintain a private prostitute in Holland. The same creature would fight tooth and nail against the suggestion of increasing the wages of labour, honest, clean,

necessary labour, by five shillings—but there is a vast difference between a decent human being and a useless prostitute to the mind of "an officer and a gentleman." While the people who produced his wealth lived in slums, went hungry and worried, and wore shoddy, the bundle of flesh upon which the reprobrate fed his lusts was attired by him in fabric of gold. Here is one bill presented by a firm for goods supplied to this "gentleman's" lust-partner:—

Black silk gown	£23	0	0
Crepe-de-chine nightgown ...	5	10	0
Sable coat	3635	0	0
Pink crepe-de-chine combinations	22	10	0
White gauze gown	37	10	0
Chinchilla coat	1545	0	0
Mauve nightgown	6	10	0
Pink crepe-de-chine nightdress	16	0	0

Altogether it was estimated that the amount spent on this one harlot by the British officer, Cedric Maurice Platt, during two years of sleeping partnership in Holland, was £14,000. Workers! you see why "the industry can't stand it," eh! How long, oh hell, are you going to stand it? Cedric Maurice Platt "had an enormous fortune," he was what the god-damned sky pilot calls "one of God's stewards"; in the words of old Watt's hymn, "Not more than others he deserved, but God had given him more"; he went out as a gallant British officer to defeat the Germans and save democracy—and every mug believed it all, as they do yet of all the other human apes of the Platt class who haven't been found out yet. Like his compeers in the army, the church, the parliament, and the cabinet, he was no doubt "horrified" when he heard the flaming lie about the Bolshevik nationalisation of women—so he solaced himself with £14,000 worth of whoredom to go on with.

Authority intoxicates,
And makes mere sots of magistrates;
The fumes of it invade the brain,
And make men giddy, proud, and vain;
By this, the fool commands the wise,
The noble with the base complies,
The sot assumes the rule of wit,
And cowards make the brave submit.

—Samuel Butler.

STUPIDITY OR WILFUL LIES?

A Reply to J. Ramsay Macdonald.

By MICHA ZCHAKAJA.

At the Conference of the I.L.P. in England, Citizen Macdonald said the following:—

"Mrs Crawfurd pointed out that war is the result of capitalism. That is true, but it is also the result of Bolshevism. The history of Georgia illustrates this plainly. It is singular that the Bolsheviki do not publish the facts about the collapse in Georgia. The socialists are fighting with the Russian and Armenian army. The Georgian people took up arms to protect their home, and fought the Bolsheviki not unsuccessfully, since they made 4,000 prisoners. Then the Bolsheviki brought tanks on the scene, and four million Georgian soldiers were obliged to vacate their positions and fall back on Tifles. The first thing the Bolsheviki did was to shoot the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, one of the nicest of men, with great talent and a large heart. After all this we are told that this is good news. I never called a similar action of the British Government in Ireland good, neither will I call this action good."

Thus speaks Ramsay Macdonald, and goes so far in his madness as to call Bolshevism, equally with capitalism, a cause of the war—that is to say, the Communist Party, the party which since the year 1914 has been an opponent of war.

In order to illustrate his lies, Macdonald records the history of Georgia, and just here is where he gives himself away, for the Bolsheviki of Georgia a month and a half ago published in an appeal to the able-bodied of all countries the history and the facts of the Georgian affair. Citizen Macdonald suppresses this fact.

The Georgian Mensheviki, Citizen Macdonald, with Shordanja at their head, were not fighting against the Russian and Armenian army, as you falsely allege, but against the masses of revolting Armenian Mohammedan and Georgian workers and peasants. The Red army, however, came to the help of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Georgia.

In the year 1917 to 1920 the Mensheviki of Georgia oppressed the workers and peasants with the help of Imperialist troops and with English and French troops.

But that was of no avail. The bankrupts of Socialism, your spiritual comrades, citizen Macdonald, the Mensheviki of Georgia, headed by Shordanja, Tseretelli, Tscheidse and others, who had lost the confidence of 99 per cent. of the workers and peasants, fell in the February of 1921, and the Red Army entered Tiflis without firing a shot, welcomed by the population of the town. This was the case in other places. The towns received the Red Army with the utmost enthusiasm.

On February 25 and 26 the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia published a decree, which again repeated the amnesty of all political opponents, and demanded from the Mensheviki a capitulation, in order that they should not further annoy the population which had already been harassed by a seven years' war. Your friends, Citizen Macdonald, the Mensheviki of Georgia, with the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, "a delightful man with great talent and large heart," as you were pleased to describe Citizen Noja Shordanja, hid themselves under the protection of the French mine throwers on the shore of the Black Sea. They plundered Tiflis, Kutais, Batum, and took everything there was to take (gold and brilliants out of the cloisters and churches, and even necessaries of life), filled their steamboats and fled, leaving not only the population but also their small army (3,500 soldiers), which reached as far as Batum in small groups, for all the other divisions of the 20,000 to 30,000 army went over in large masses to the Red Army, and dispersed because they did not want to fight with the Red Army. The appeal of Shordanja and Ramischwilis to their army, which they had been maintaining for five years (at the cost of the starving workers in Georgia) to follow them to Constantinople was only responded to by 20 men. Even the army staff did not follow them.

It is absurd, therefore, Citizen Macdonald, to expect the White Guard fairy tales about 4,000 imprisoned Red Army men four million Georgians. What are you talking about? About the population of Georgia or about the Menshevist army? The Mensheviki had most probably from 20,000 to 30,000 men, but not four million, but even these troops dispersed, and only 3,500 came to Batum. The population of Georgia does not amount to four millions, but 2½ to 3 millions. In other words, that is to say, Citizen Macdonald, to speak quite plainly, you must acquaint yourself with facts, not heresay. As far as the nice man, that is Citizen Shordanja is concerned, he is alive and well, and with the other expropriated persons of Georgia he is on a tour to visit you in Western Europe. The Bolsheviki hitherto, neither in Tiflis nor in other places, have had any shooting or imprisonments. The prisons, which under the old regime were filled to overflowing with Communists, workers and peasants of Georgia, and with their wives and children, are now empty under the Soviet power.

You, Citizen Macdonald, are confusing the minds of the unfortunate citizens and merchants of England and other countries, your listeners and readers, with stupid comparisons of the policy of the Georgian Bolsheviki and of your English imperialist policy in Ireland, while history and facts prove just the contrary. You should be ashamed of yourself, Ramsay Macdonald.

The delegate of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia in the R.S.F.S.R., and member of the Communist International,

The Social Traitors and the Geneva Labour Bureau.

If we study the Peace Treaty of Versailles we find in its 13th section the resolutions worked out by the victorious capitalist Entente powers, which after the political peace ought to ensure social peace, that is to say, the social victory of the capitalists. This part (or section) bears the title "Labour." In the first section, entitled "Organisation of Labour," we find the following: "Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice.

And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required, as for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education, and other measures.

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.

The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

Chapter 1. Organisation. Article 387.

A permanent organisation is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the preamble.

The original members of the League of Nations shall be the original members of this organisa-

(Continued on back page.)

Scoundrels of the Pen and Pirates of the Press

AN EXPOSURE OF "THE TIMES." By Pavlovitch-Veltman

The Trade Agreement concluded between Soviet Russia and Great Britain has roused considerable indignation among the reactionary circles in capitalist countries, which are opposed to abandoning the blockade of Russia and the support of the Russian counter-revolutionary elements which are conducting a campaign against the Soviet Government both in Russia and abroad. We know that a number of forged documents have recently appeared in the European press giving evidence to mass risings that were alleged to have taken place in Soviet Russia. We know also that a certain Semenoff is preparing to publish forged documents, which it will be alleged were exchanged between the German Headquarters Staff and the Bolshevik leaders. This collection of apocryphal documents has been enriched by the addition of another, the contents of which exposes the shameless lying and the unpardonable stupidity of its real authors. The document is an invention from beginning to end. The moral degradation to which the modern bourgeois press has sunk can be judged by the fact that a respectable bourgeois newspaper like the "Times" publishes this "document" as an official circular issued by the Soviet Government.

The "Times" is extremely displeased with the raising of the blockade of Soviet Russia and the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement. In order to provide a weapon for the enemies of Soviet Russia, who are conducting a campaign in England in favour of breaking the treaty with Russia, and for the purpose of preventing France, America, Italy and other capitalist countries from concluding similar agreements, the "Times" ascribes the authorship of this forged document to the writer of these lines as "Chairman of the Council of Action and Propaganda among the Peoples of the East," and the alleged instructions to the political and trade missions abroad it ascribes to comrades Bukharin and Berzin, as members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. As the above-mentioned apocryphal circular together with the comments of the "Times" have been reproduced in a number of bourgeois newspapers and serve the interests of the enemies of Soviet Russia, they must not be passed by in silence.

"According to the Trade Agreement concluded with England," writes the "Times," the Soviet Government undertook to refrain from conducting propaganda outside of Russia against the British Government. The documents which we publish, containing instructions to the Russian political and trade missions on their co-operation in the revolutionary movements in foreign States, proves to what extent the Soviet Government intends to carry out its obligations." Then follows the text of the document of which we produce the main features:—

"Instructions to trade delegates."

"In order to achieve the International revolution and the overthrow of the capitalist system it is essential that the following instructions shall be strictly and conscientiously carried out:

(1) Trade relations must always serve the interests of the Communist propaganda of the Third International.

The chief task of trade missions is the sowing of discontent among troops and the organisations of strikes and disorders. . . . In the event of strikes arising, grants should be made to strikers in order to prolong the strike, to create economic complications in all countries, and in this manner rouse a social revolution.

(2) All efforts must be directed to the organisation of Communist parties.

(3) Everything must be done in order to bribe the press.

(4) One of the most important functions of the delegates should be to organise Communist groups amongst soldiers and seamen. These groups will conduct an energetic propaganda in favour of the organisation of Soldier and Seamen's Councils as well as conduct a remorseless persecution of officers.

(5) To organise Workers' Councils. These Councils must bear a military character and aim at the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

(6) Particularly strong propaganda must be conducted for the arming of the proletariat and the organisation of cadres of the revolutionary army.

(7) An agitation must be carried on amongst the troops to refuse to return their arms to the authorities. The mottoes of propagandists must be: International Soviet Republic!—War against Capitalist War! Soldiers desert the front!—Down with bourgeois parliaments!—Long live the Soviet!—Government of the workers!—Factories, workshops, mines and railways must belong to the workers!—Down with the employers and profiteers! . . .

(8) The idea must be widely propagated of the concentration of all economic and industrial undertakings in the hands of the working class.

(9) One must not hesitate to fabricate and spread rumours of approaching wars. It is necessary to adopt all measures to prevent the organisation of a white guard. The resort to terrorist acts is not prohibited.

(10) All demonstrations should be organised. Separatist organisations must not be permitted under any circumstances. Secret revolutionary staffs must be properly organised.

(Sgd.) N. BUKHARIN and I. BEREZIN,
Members of the Executive Committee of the Third International.
PAVLOVITCH-VELTMAN Responsible Director of Council of Action and Propaganda of Eastern Peoples

This "document," which was first published in the most influential English bourgeois newspaper and reproduced in the whole of the international capitalist press, including the "syndicalist" newspaper of the notorious social patriot and renegade Merheim, is a pure invention from beginning to end. The apocryphical character of this circular is seen immediately from the signatures beneath it.

With regard to my signature I declare in the first place, and this is known to all, that I have never been "Responsible Director" or "Chairman of the Council of Action and Propaganda of Eastern Peoples," for the reason that this Council did not have a Chairman. I was a member of the Presidium and representative of the Communist International of the Council, therefore I would never sign myself "Responsible Director" or "Chairman of the Council of Action." Secondly, as far back as December, 1920, I was relieved, at my own request, from work on this Council of Action, which had its headquarters in Baku, and from that time I have been in Moscow, where I am working in the Peoples Commissariat for Nationalities as a Member of the Collegiate and Superintendent of the Eastern Department. Consequently I could not have signed myself "Director" or "Chairman of the Council of Action of Eastern Peoples," which body I left in December, 1920, in a document published after the 1st March, 1921. Thirdly, my signature as "Chairman of the Council of Action of Eastern Peoples" affixed to a document containing instructions exclusively affecting western nations is obviously out of place.

This partticularly reveals the carelessness with which this apocryphal document was drawn up. The author, of course, counted on the stupidity of his readers.

The falsity of this document is proved also by the second signature, that of "Berzin" (Berezin). Comrade Berezin ceased to be a member of the Executive Council of the Communist International more than a year ago, and consequently he could not have signed that document. Only the signature of Comrade Bukharin now remains. Comrade Bukharin is our best theoretician, and he certainly would not have drawn up or have signed such a stupid document, quite apart from the fact that the Executive Committee of the Third International has no relations whatever with our Trade Missions.

The author of the document is a fairly good jester. Although I left the Council of Action of Eastern Peoples in December, 1920, he nevertheless retains me on that body in April, 1921, and besides Eastern affairs he arbitrarily imposes upon me the cares of western revolutionary movement.

The author of the document also compels Comrade Berzin, who was relieved of his duties as member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International a year ago, and is now our ambassador in Finland, to remain at the former post and occupy himself with affairs affecting the whole of Europe. The author knew, however, that the bourgeois press and the Yellow syndicalist press, indifferent as to the means which they employ, would eagerly seize upon his illiterate and carelessly drawn up document.

I would say in conclusion that the Soviet Government does not conduct any kind of Machiavellian policy, that having concluded peace treaties vital to the interests of Soviet Russia, our Government therefore would not give any instructions to our commercial representatives, the execution of which would place a weapon in the hands of our enemies against us, and would lead to the immediate breach of commercial treaties which are to a high degree advantageous to Russia.

The counter-revolutionary attack on Soviet Russia has now assumed a new form—a baccha-nalia of most unscrupulous lying. The document which we quote is one of the episodes in this counter-revolutionary campaign.

Dope and Dubb Phrases Analysed.

By A. W.

"It is a strike against the Community." — "The Nation will resist any attack by any section." —"Our Empire."—"Patriotism."

These are phrases which, while if used correctly might be legitimate, are for the most part prostituted to serve the interests of a small class in the general community. Annandale's dictionary defines "Community" as "a society of people having common rights and privileges." Now, let us ask ourselves if we live in a community. Some people have the right to remain at school till twenty-three, while others are compelled to leave at fourteen; some people must work from infancy till they succumb or receive the long-living prize at seventy; while others are cared for, and trained intellectually and physically, to enjoy all that the world can give; a few coal-owners can lock out half-a-million men and are backed by the State, while a strike of these same half million men is a crime; some babies have the right and privilege of the milk and food necessary to health, while others are compelled to suck dry breasts, and starve into rickets and so on.

So these phrases in present circumstances only mean that the high ideal of the community is degraded to the position of serving the ruling class to keep the ruled class in subjection, and when the press talks about "the nation resisting attacks," they mean that the ruling class will resist any attempt by the "lower orders" to establish "a society of people having common rights and privileges." This was postulated in a recent trial as being sedition.

"Patriotism."

The first law of nature is self-preservation. That would mean that men and animals sacrifice everything to their individual preservation, but

obviously there could be no procreation, since the condition of motherhood lessens the chance of survival in the case of the mother; and in the case of the father, he lessens his chance in the degree to which he stands by the mother and child. Here we have individuals who risk their own chance of survival for the sake of assuring the survival of their race. So savages fight for their little group, so soldiers fight for their tribe, "for their country," etc. When a soldier runs away from the firing line, it simply means that he prefers his own survival to the survival of his tribe, nation or country. That is considered cowardice, and the "social conscience" in man makes him ashamed of deserting his fellows.

But Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) said that in this country there were two nations, and they are still here. To which, then, does the worker owe loyalty? Obviously to the Nation to which he belongs. These two Nations have different interests, and one cannot support the one without opposing the other. One of these nations only exists because of the other; the other could exist without the one. The capitalist class cannot live without the working class, but the working class can exist without the capitalist class. Therefore the working class must survive, and every dispute or industrial struggle simply puts the question—"Is the capitalist or idle class to survive?" Up till now the workers have nearly all answered "Yes!" What is your attitude? To which nation are you loyal? Patriotism in the press, and in the mouths of servile orators, means loyalty to the ruling class and their interests, while the meaning of the word "loyalty" to ones country —"my country right or wrong" — is impossible until you establish the community as defined in the dictionary.

"Our Empire."

This is actually used by so-called Socialists, and these are still "Henry Dubbs" to that extent. Empire means dominion over other countries and peoples, and the word "dominion" implies that they are unwillingly subjected, and Socialism can never mean domination. The Co-operative Commonwealth of the world can only mean a harmonious co-operation of socially equal peoples; and in no country forming part can there be any member who has no say in the management of his affairs, locally, nationally and world-wide.

Empire, then, is domination by force over unwilling slaves, while Socialism and Communism stand for emancipation of slavery of all hues.

Which side are you on ?

Kill these dope phrases !

You cannot dream yourself into a character; you must hammer and force yourself one.—J. A. Froude.

The Labour Movement.

By R. M. FOX.

Let us reflect upon what is called "The Labour Movement." A movement of labour—of the great massive elemental forces in the world—what a wonderful thing! It moves forward slowly but irresistibly, while puny statesmen fume. What governs it? We do not know except that it is impelled by necessity and by a reaching out towards the sun-lit heights of liberty. It cannot be "led." This is good, because consequently it cannot be misled. People try to lead it. Sometimes they apparently succeed. They may hinder or weaken it for a time, but it bursts through the barriers and moves along the path which it makes for itself. These self-styled leaders have systems and schemes which they babble about ignorantly—or learnedly. They want to regularise humanity, to trim it like a flower-bed. Poor fools! But sometimes among them there arises a man who does really typify and express the yearnings, hopes and strivings of those beneath. Such a man is Jim Larkin. He gathers up into his own personality the essence of the matter. He is an industrial fighter, a thinker, a dreamer—but most of all an industrial fighter. This is as it should be. Those who heard him in the Albert Hall meeting in London during the great Dublin strike will remember the way in which he tried to weld together the industrial struggle in Ireland with the struggle for national independence. He said that the struggle for national independence was the most important. And yet he was concentrating on the industrial fight. How contradictory it all seemed, and how the theorists sneered. He was not very fluent, and had none of the tricks of facile oratory. He laboured to show the place of each, and to reconcile the two. The audience were impressed. The difficulty of expression corresponded with the real difficulties of the situation, and had the ring of sincerity about it. How contradictory it was and how true!

The struggle for national independence has become a part of the lives of the people in Ireland. Each generation has paid grim toll for it with misery and massacre; it has been seared into their souls through endless revolts and endless coercions. The industrial struggle—the struggle for life—that is a great factor too. How can we reconcile them? What a problem! Larkin faced it. A man grappling with life—a strange thing. Honestly grappling with life—still stranger! So he holds his position in the forefront because he is real and faces realities. He is not alone in this, but alas! he is tragically near it. Some leaders rise on the wave and think that they direct the storm. Their fall is swift. They are often left in the wake of the movement, issuing pronouncements as to why the people should not do something which they are doing. What a blow for a "leader." Others confine themselves to comments upon what is done. But there is no motive power in this.

The working class movement sweeps on through everything. It recks little of wiseacres. The struggles of to-day and of the future are rank and file struggles. The motive power comes from the industrial vortex, where the people live and work and where the actual clashing of social forces goes on. We rely upon the movement. Labour has not spoken yet. All the other sections have spoken, acted, and failed. Expert has followed expert, and still the situation grows worse. They are all jointly responsible for the present ghastly mess of things. The workers are free of responsibility. They have simply obeyed orders the Great Men have given them.

Only in one place—Russia—have the Undermen spoken, acted, and prevailed. We are told that the mass there are ignorant. They cannot read. This is not true since the Bolsheviks got power and commenced their educational campaign. Possibly, however, it helped to keep the people close to life; they were compelled to reason closely in relation to facts and experience. Elsewhere the people might have been entangled in lying proclamations, the object of which would have been to convince them that they were rich when they were really poor. The supreme irony of the situation in Russia was that the workers could not read the printed lies of the capitalists, so all their journalistic art was useless. The people could only judge by actual fact, and facts are clean things.

The Revolution was guided by the experience of the past, and it has learnt the lessons of history. The Ancient Lowly have secured control of a country for the first time. If ignorance helped them it was an invincible ignorance which held by truth in spite of clever tricksters, and it is reinforced by invincible knowledge which justifies them. All over the world Labour moves forward. It does not move in steady progression. It leaps as a flame, and then seems to flicker and die down. Yet there is that within it which cannot be crushed, thwarted, or misled. So amid the suffering, misery, and apparent failures of these transition days it is upon that rising force that we build our hopes.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

By ATHOLL-DOUGLAS.

Adown the long white road you came—
A brave and valiant band,
With banners bending to the breeze;—
The toilers of the land.

No costly silks nor linen fine
To deck your wearied limbs;
No trumpet blare, nor hired voice
To sing your simple hymns.

No prancing steeds, nor polished cars
To bear you on your way;
You tramped along the hard high road—
I saw you all to-day.

I saw you all to-day, comrades,
My eyes wept at the sight,
And yet my heart was proud for you—
You bore your sorrows light.

I saw you men who fought their wars,
You men of vast renown.
In peril how they lauded you;
In peace they crush you down !

I saw you hewers of the coal
Which gave them heat and light;
I saw you men who drove their trains
Throughout the darkling night.

I saw you men who manned their ships;
You men who sowed their grain,
You men who tilled the fine, fair land
From which they take their grain.

I saw you men who make their clothes
In foul and darksome rooms;
You men who toil your lives away
Beside the crashing looms.

I saw you men who write the books
From which their sons are taught;
You teachers and you poet-men
Whose brains are cheaply bought.

. . . . . .

The silks that were not meant for you
Were fashioned by your hands;
You groomed the steeds that others ride
Across the pasture lands.

You tilled the pasture lands that give
The barley and the wheat,—
The myriad other things that make
The foods the lordlings eat.

You built the mansions, stone by stone,
That house this lordly few,—
The haughty indolents who think
They're better men than you,—

Than you,—upon whose very brains
These parasites must cling.
Than you,—who but for God's green earth
Have given everything !

My comrades, know you not your powers ?—
That in your hands it lies
To take what God has meant for you:
The fruits of his Emprise!

. . . . . .

I saw you all in serried rows—
A brave and valiant band.
You men of brain; You men of brawn,
You toilers of the land.

With one dissenting vote the United States Senate has passed the Emergency Immigration Bill, limiting the admission to the United States of aliens to three per cent. of the number of each nationality resident in the United States at the time of the 1910 census.

tion, and hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said organisation.

Article 388.—The permanent organisation shall consist of (1) a general conference of representatives of the members, and (2) an International Labour Office controlled by the governing body described in Article 393."

According to Article 389 the general conference of representatives of the members "shall be composed of four representatives of each of the members, of whom two shall be Government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the members."

Since the Government delegates are sure to be on the side of the employers, then we would have at this general conference three times as many delegates of the capitalists' interests as of the workers' interests.

Articles 391 and 392 show the intimate connection between the League of Nations and the Labour Bureau.

Article 391.—"The meetings of the conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be described by the conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present."

Article 392—"The International Labour Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organisation of the League."

The composition of the Labour Office is down by Article 393, which is as follows:—"The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a governing body consisting of 24 persons, appointed in accordance with the following provisions:

The governing body of the International Labour Office shall be constituted as follows:

Twelve persons representing the Governments. Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the employers. Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the workers.

Again the representatives of the interests of Labour are outnumbered in the proportion of three to one.

The functions of the I.L.P. are set out in article 396:—

"The functions of the International Labour Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour, and practically the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the Conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this part of the present treaty in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish in French and English, and in such other languages as the governing body may think desirable, a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this article, it shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the Conference."

That is, of course, that the I.L. Office will be an international dope-making machine.

The financial department of this Office is interesting. Article 399:—

"Each of the members will pay the travelling and subsistence expenses of its delegates and their advisers and its representatives attending the meetings of the Conference or governing body as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Labour Office and of the meetings of the Conference or governing body shall be paid to the director by the Secretary General of the League of Nations, out of the general funds of the League.

The director shall be responsible to the Secy.-General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this Article."

Article 405 is of great interest—it seems to provide great facilities for sweating backward nations and under-cutting our own. Article 405:

"When the Conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the Conference to determine whether these proposals shall take the form (a) of a recommendation to be submitted to the members for consideration with a view to effect being given to it by national legislation or otherwise; or (b) of a draft international convention for ratification by the members.

In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the Conference.

In framing any recommendation on draft convention of general application the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different and shall suggest the modifications if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries."

When we see that side by side such well-known international exploiters—Guerin (France), Carlier (Belgium), Pirelli (Italy), the chiefs of the Amsterdam International, Jouhaux, Oudegeest, are also in the administrative council of the Geneva Labour Office—then we realise that what has lately transpired is what we have a right to expect.

Amsterdam neither wishes for the class war nor for the overthrow of capitalism.

Let us quote the words of Albert Thomas to the King of the Belgiums in September, 1920:—"Your Majesty, the workers' International supports me, the employers' International supports me; I now turn to the international of Kings."

["The Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers of Germany." Price 2/6. To be obtained through any bookseller or at Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C.2, or at 23 Forth St., Edinburgh.]

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It is the characteristic of privilege and of every privileged position to kill the mind and heart of man. The privileged man, whether politically or economically, is a man depraved in mind and heart. This is as applicable to entire nations as to classes, corporations, and individuals.—Michael Bakunin.

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ATTENTION! ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

GLASGOW AND DISTRICT MAY-DAY COMMITTEE.

The usual Meeting of Delegates will be held on Saturday, 25th June, 1921, at 3 p.m., in the Tinplate Workers' Hall, 9 Watson Street (near Glasgow Cross). All Delegates are requested to attend as there is business of vital importance. Those Societies which have not yet paid affiliation fee might send on at once to the Secretary, JOHN M'DOUGALL, 239 Crookston Street, Glasgow, S.S.

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Why mope in the crowded town when the open road calls?

Who gets us our coal? Colliers.

✣ ✣ ✣

The coal mines belong to private people.

✣ ✣ ✣

They are owned and controlled by private people.

✣ ✣ ✣

The man who gives with a view to receiving deserves to be deceived.

✣ ✣ ✣

He is a common enemy who has been a foe to his own people. No man of sense has ever considered a traitor worthy of Credence.

✣ ✣ ✣

It is a great indication of progress in virtue to transfer our judgment to action, and not let our words remain merely words, but to make deeds of them.—Plutarch.

✣ ✣ ✣

The worker who thinks he came into the world to make fat dividends for others deserves his position.

✣ ✣ ✣

A blind impulse to destroy cannot make a social revolution in the higher sense. There must be the intelligent purpose to reconstruct, the vision and the activity to build something new to take the place of the old.

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