

# THE COMMUNIST

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

(PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN)

No. 85

SATURDAY, MARCH 18th, 1922.

[Registered at the G.P.O.]  
as a Newspaper

TWOPENCE

## THE FIGHT IS ON

### The Tsars of Shipbuilding and Engineering—The Iron Hand on the Clyde and the Tyne

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

**T**HE fight is on. No cringing by the leaders, no concessions by the men, have placated the engineering and shipbuilding bosses. They have chosen their time and they mean to fight. The victory of the coalowners has left them envious. They too are out to smash the Union by a lock-out, to defeat it, to grind it to powder. The fine words of the past years, the talk of industrial peace and fair understanding have all ceased. Now that they are

ready, they mean WAR—war till they have crushed and broken the engineering and shipbuilding workers into helpless, abject slaves.

Who are these Tsars? By what right and what power can they hold up a vast industry of this country until they have vented their own spite and arrogance? This we tell you now—you may read below the names and deeds of your uncrowned kings.

**T**HE shipyard workers are faced with an immediate and a deferred cut in their wages totalling, in all, 26/6. The engineers are being robbed of such meagre control of their conditions of employment as they have been able slowly and laboriously to acquire.

#### The Doom of Workers' Control

The masters are going to tolerate no further the workers' pretensions to interfere with their enjoyment and free use of their property. The engineer is to sell his labour-power for just as many hours as the "boss" requires it, free of all checks upon its (to the "boss") most economical use. This is, indeed, carrying to its logical extremity the principle of "free labour." The "bosses" are giving the engineers practical evidence of the worth of the teachings of the Labour College classes. They are going to educate them in the reality of their commodity status. They are going "to learn them" that since they have hired themselves out for wages, they are as much a part of "the plant" as the machines they are required to operate.

The employers are intent on making an end once and for all of this notion of "workers' control."

During the war (the capitalists and the capitalist state being dependent on the engineers for guns and shells to defend their property, and their power), they were forced to pay lip service to the aspirations of the workers for "a share in management." They had, in view of what had happened on the Clyde in 1915-16 and what had been advocated in Sheffield and other armament centres (by Murphy and others of the Shop Steward Movement), to flatter the idea of "shop delegates" and "works committees." When, in 1917, the Bolsheviks succeeded in overthrowing an empire and erecting a revolutionary workers' republic on the initial framework of "workers' councils," the employers felt it more than ever necessary to experiment and to recommend through the State a bowdlerised version of the same councils. Mr. Whitley, since rewarded for his services to the impartial State and the security of the capitalist system, with the office of Speaker of the House of Commons, was selected to preside over the committee which gave birth to the Industrial Councils.

How fitting that the amiable gentleman from Halifax who emasculated so dangerous a political innovation as a "Workers' Council" and made it a "Joint Industrial Council" should, with the approbation of all parties, be elevated to the presidency of that organ of bourgeois democracy, His Majesty's Faithful Commons!

Industrial Councils, Welfare Schemes, Works Committees—all the panaceas that the faithful Seebohm Rowntree had ready to father on the some-time "white hope" of social pacifism and industrial harmony, Lloyd George, were adopted by the more enlightened circles of the employing class as a temporary expedient to hoodwink the masses and to hold in effective check the propaganda of the industrial unionists.

When, first, the miners, and, later, the dockers, and, finally, the tramway workers, were pressing forward their several demands for nationalisation, for higher wages, for maintenance, for safeguarding of wage rates, the Government trotted out their special committees of enquiry.

The first was held in the King's Robing Room of the Lords, the second in the Courts of Justice. Everything was done to convey

#### GET THE LOCK-OUT COUNCILS IN ACTION

the semblance of recognition, of respect, and of judicial impartiality and earnest inquiry after grievances and their reasonable amelioration. The "bosses," and their lawyers, blandly smiling upon the witnesses for the unions, listened with sympathy to "the human appeal" of the workers. The hypocritical farce was staged so well that one and all, we almost felt it was real. The "bosses" can be so gentlemanly when they are playing for delay!

To-day, however, when the workers are pleading for delay, there are no committees to investigate, to enquire and to placate. The "bosses" are forcing the pace—relentlessly, ruthlessly, with merciless violence of threatened hunger and distress. They know whether or not there is a class war—and how to wage one!

#### The Bosses in a Mess

The engineering and shipbuilding employers have, all along, laid stress on the need for increasing "output." They have placarded the hoardings with the exhortations of Brownlie and his kidney. They have echoed the sayings of Snowden. They have written articles and pamphlets and delivered lectures, always ending up with a plea for "increased production." Whilst the Revolution continued an immediate menace to capitalism, the "bosses" knew better than to do more than preach.

In the autumn of 1920, however, when the Bolsheviks were in retreat, the economic

crisis developed and was, I believe, deliberately aggravated by the international banking syndicates. Unemployment in consequence, has for a year and a quarter, drained the funds and sapped the morale of the unions. Now, has come the moment to sound the advance and, along the whole line, to launch an assault on the wavering, shattered ranks of the skilled workers.

The engineering and, still more, the shipbuilding employers, are in a serious plight. The crisis which they have precipitated upon labour has been precipitated upon them. The shipbuilding industry has been struck a deadly blow or, rather, a series of deadly blows under which the owners are reeling, some of them, to the brink of ruin. They have suffered heavily by reason of the selling-off of the German ships handed over by way of Reparations and sold at prices scaling down to £6 and even £3 a ton, whilst cost of construction of new ships remained as high as £25 a ton or more.

They have been heavily hit by the falling off, almost entirely, of new orders, and the cancelling or suspension of contracts in hand by shipowners—themselves hit by the catastrophic slump in freights and in the small volume of trade carried at these terribly reduced charges.

They have, further, been at the mercy of the banks, to whom they had gone when trade was good to borrow money to finance extensions and to pay current expenses. Many of them, like the late lamented City Equitable Fire Insurance Company and Ellis and Co., have "frozen assets,"—investments which they can only "realise" (i.e., sell for ready money) at ruinous prices.

Many of them have "capitalised their reserves," i.e., have distributed undivided profits as free gifts in the form of new shares to existing holders, and cannot pay dividends or only small dividends on the "watered" capital. So, too, much of the capital invested in War Loan was fictitious and conjured up by the banks on nothing more substantial than the assumption that the workers would listen to Thomas and Hodge and, listening, gambol through "The Gate to More."

Somehow or other, the shipbuilding companies must manage, with falling aggregate earnings, to maintain a decent rate of dividend on a share capital that has been enormously inflated. This can only be done at the expense of the workers. The latter must "produce more" and "get less."

To the ordinary man, it is a mystery how the war profiteers have got into their present plight. It is not easy to see the material

## The Fight is On

facts behind the financial figures. Let us try, however, to do so.

During the submarine campaign, the Government, through the Ministry of Shipping and other departments, arranged with the shipbuilders for enormous extensions of yards, some of them new and some merely made bigger and provided with labour-saving machinery.

Directly or indirectly, the Government provided the money, paid for the new yards and new "plant" and, in fact, handed these over to the capitalists. The latter proceeded to "write up" their existing capital to equal the "appreciation" of their assets by this act of generosity and gratitude. They distributed millions of pounds in bonus shares. The capitalists had the yards and tools, they had wonderful new and economically perfected means of production. Hopeful of continued prosperity, the companies spent their profits in still further improvements or invested them in other and distant means of production.

To-day, they have enormous arrays of means of production that have become "socially unnecessary." They will produce only things that no one—but Russia—wants to buy. They have ceased, temporarily, to be capital. They have become "frozen assets."

The shipbuilders are setting not on a pile of gold but on miles and miles of gantries, cranes, marine engine shops, cancelled hulls, idle plate mills, silent steel works, which they cannot cash. These values are becoming "scrap" values.

The capitalists who cannot cash their values are at the mercy of those capitalists who can. The capitalists with most of their values kept "liquid," i.e., at the bank, on short loan, in Treasury bills, etc., are becoming mortgage holders and are foreclosing (or will do) on the proud war profiteers who elevated George to power and with whose liquidation he is tottering on the throne.

### Capitalism off its Balance

Some of us believe that Capitalism cannot stabilise itself. We know that during the War, in the heavy industries, demand raced ahead of supply, with the result that inordinately large volumes of capital—the capital of the whole capitalist class—were drawn and hurled into the extension of the means of production for a demand that was urgent (and all waste) and that could not last. Capitalism is suffering from an excess of unwanted means of production. The heavy industries were parasitic in the extravagance of their expansion. Naval rivalry attracted, during thirty years, huge capital to embody itself in fixed shipyard and armament "plant"—at Clydebank, Fairfield, Parkhead, Elswick, Wallsend, Jarrow, Barrow, Birkenhead, Openshaw, Sheffield and Coventry—and, at second hand in engineering and steel industries auxiliary to the shipyards and gun-shops. During the War, this attraction of capital was immeasurably increased.

It should never be forgotten that once the capitalist has obtained his profits, he has to invest the greater part of them anew in further means of production (or of extortion, such as the War Loan!), all of which will prove valueless unless the workers are willing to "produce more" than they themselves obtain in wages.

The capitalists have made enormous fortunes during recent years. Their investments have very greatly increased. But unless the workers will consent or be compelled to produce a larger surplus than previously, their fortunes will prove non-existent and their investments valueless.

According to *Lloyd's Register, Annual Shipbuilding Summary* for 1921, the total addition to the world's merchant shipping by new construction in the four years, 1918-1921, amounted to the huge figure of almost 23,000,000 tons. Last year's output for the world was about 1½ million tons less than 1920, but more than a million tons "greater than the pre-war record of 1913."

*The Compendium* tells us that America, France, Germany, Holland, Italy and Japan, "as well as our own Dominions in Canada and Australia, have all increased building facilities of which they are striving to make the most use and will utilise certainly in the

future to supply their own requirements, perhaps to the disadvantage of British shipbuilding."

The same authority informs us (5/2/22) that "round about 10,000,000 tons of carrying power are laid up for want of employment" in the ports of the world.

Last year, in "a year of phenomenal depression," British shipowners took over "nearly a million tons of new tonnage and, in addition, over a million tons of ex-enemy shipping."

These facts and figures, supplemented by the statement of the *Manchester Guardian Commercial Annual Survey* for 1921 that "post-war activity in ship construction has left the world with a surplus over 1914 total of some 11,000,000 tons of effective shipping"; its further statement that the estimated earnings of the British mercantile marine have fallen from £340,000,000 for 1920 to £60,000,000 to £70,000,000 for 1921, and the declaration by the chairman of Swan, Hunter, and Wigham Richardson, Ltd., some months ago, that 90 per cent. of the shipyards were working on their last orders, will show how little likelihood there is of even a cut so drastic as the one proposed in shipyard workers' wages resulting in economies that will lead to a revival in ship construction.

Not more than half-a-dozen ships have been ordered in the last four months from all the shipyards of the British Isles. For the first time in over a century there is not a single warship of any description on any shipway in this country. There may be a few contracts placed for passenger liners but that is all.

What the employers hope to gain will be:—

(i.) A greater profit on those ships which they have at present on hand

## OVERTIME?—NOT AN HOUR TILL EVERYBODY'S WORKING: THE BOSS INCLUDED

and some which they are completing at prices reduced by agreement with the owners.

(ii.) A temporary increase in the price of shipbuilding shares, enabling them to dispose of their holdings to others less well informed, who will give cash for plant that is becoming valueless, or something for next to nothing; and

(iii.) A greater profit on ship repairs or, at any rate, cheaper repairs for the shipowners who so largely own the shipyards and repair works.

### Ships, Shipbuilding and Steel

What makes the situation in the shipping and shipbuilding industries so serious is that these no longer stand alone, but have been locked together. Not only that. They have become combined with the steel manufacturing concerns and, through them, in turn with the blast furnace industry and with many of the colliery companies.

When, in 1907, the Board of Trade (under Lloyd George) raised the load-line and thus placed the shipowners in possession of tens of thousands more tons of carrying capacity—and the Liberal Government reduced the naval shipbuilding programme for two or three years, so that, on the Clyde alone, the tonnage of all ships launched fell from 619,919, in 1907 to 355,586 in 1908, 403,187 in 1909, and 392,392 in 1910—it enabled the shipowners to make more money and the shipbuilders less. This helped the former to secure control of the latter.

To-day, the great shipbuilding companies are owned either by armament firms or by shipowners. During (and since) the war, the shipbuilding companies made a point of buying up shares in steel manufacturing companies, so as to secure control of the supply of ship and boiler plates and other kinds of ship steel. Many of these iron and steel masters had already bought up the shares of the collieries from which they obtained their coal and coke.

Take a few illustrations. The great shipbuilding firm of *Harland Wolff, Ltd.*, has building yards at Belfast, Greenock and Govan, with control of yards at Anderston, Partick, and Dumbarton, in addition to repair yards at Liverpool, Southampton, and the Thames. It is probably the most powerful shipbuilding firm in the world. *Complete control of this company is in the hands of Lord Pirrie and Sir Owen Philipps*, who are, again, in control of numerous great shipping companies.

The owners of the *Royal Mail*, the *Union Castle*, the *Elder Dempster*, the *Coast Lines*, *Lampart & Holt*, the *Shire, King*, and *Nelson* lines are owners of Harland & Wolff, which has a working agreement with the *International Mercantile Marine Company* to build all its ships on this side of the Atlantic, and builds and repairs for the *White Star*, *Dominion*, *Red Star*, and *Holland America* lines.

Harland & Wolff is a "tied house." It, in turn, owns a majority of the shares in *David Colville & Sons, Ltd.*, steel masters, of Motherwell, Clydebridge and Glenarnock, the largest steel makers in Scotland. Several of the Colville family are large shareholders in Harland & Wolff, whilst the Colville firm owns *Archibald Russell, Ltd.*, one of the biggest colliery companies in Scotland.

*John Brown & Co., Ltd.*, are inter-locked with Harland & Wolff. They have big steel works in Yorkshire, have an interest in David Colville's, Firths of Sheffield, and other concerns. *The second largest shareholder is Sir J. R. Ellerman*, who has complete control of the *Ellerman Lines*, the *City and Hall Lines*.

Sir J. R. Ellerman has, also, large shareholdings in *Swan Hunter & Wigham Richardson, Ltd.*, who have three shipyards on the Tyne, two on the Clyde, one on the Wear, and one at Derry. He is very heavily interested in *Palmer's Shipbuilding & Iron Co., Ltd.*, at Jarrow, and controls *Wm. Gray & Sons (1918), Ltd.*, with yards at West Hartlepool, on the Tees and on the Wear.

*Furnesses (of Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd.)*, have what is reputed to be the most extensive shipyard in the country, on the Tees, opposite Middlesbrough, and have great blast furnaces, steel works and coke ovens and collieries owned by the *Cargo Fleet Iron Co., South Durham Steel, Coal & Iron Co., Ltd.* (the largest makers of ship plates), the *Weardale Coal and Iron Co., Ltd.*, and other companies in Northumberland, Durham and Cleveland. They own *Richardson Westgarth & Co., Ltd.*, amongst the largest marine engineers, at Middlesbrough, Sunderland, and West Hartlepool.

In the same group of interests—the shares are now held by *Sperling & Co.*, and *Kleinwort Sons & Co.*, or their nominees, or by the London County, Westminster & Parrs Bank, Ltd.—are the *Northumberland Shipbuilding Co., Ltd.*, with a yard opposite Jarrow, and owning *Wm. Doxfords*, of Sunderland, the *Monmouth Shipbuilding Co.*, of Chepstow, and *Workman, Clark & Co.*, of Belfast. The latter owns the *Fairfield Shipbuilding Co.*, at Govan, the *Lanarkshire Steel Co.*, and, indirectly, *John Watson, Ltd.*, coalowners, of Motherwell.

*Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd.*, shipbuilders, own steel works at Elswick, Openshaw, Partington, and structural steel works in Glasgow.

*Vickers Ltd.*, have steel works in Sheffield, have a big interest in *Beardmore's* (with steel works at Parkhead, Bellshill, and Motherwell), and in the bridge building company of Sir Wm. Arrol & Co., Ltd.

The shipowners own the shipyard's. The shipyard companies own the steel-works, the structural steel and machine-tool works. The steelworks own the blast-furnaces and collieries.

When the German ships had to be auctioned off to the shipowners, the Government appointed Lord Inchcape, the chairman of the company with the biggest fleet, to act as auctioneer. Then, of course, they put him on the Geddes Committee. (The Geddes Committee, by the way, consisted of three railway magnates and two shipowners).

That Committee reflected, pretty accurately, the real government of this country, the real balance of economic power. All five were transport magnates—three were railway and two ship-owning representatives. Geddes has, also, a brother who

is a director, with Inchcape of the *Orient Line*.

Here and now is not the occasion to enquire into the ownership of the shipping companies. That is another story. Suffice it to say that it reflects equally accurately the phase of capitalist development at which we have arrived. Enough shall it be to say that the entire propertied class is on view.

These disclosures should explain the reason why the shipbuilders and steel masters have not protested more loudly against the flooding of the market with Germany's ships. What they have lost as builders and platemakers they have more than gained as shipowners. More than that, their Government insisted that the German Government should compensate the German shipowners—the shares in the German lines are held all over the world—and then lent the German authorities the money to pay for the compensation. These shipping sharks never miss anything.

### The Catastrophe on the Clyde

Last year, whilst the British shipowners were absorbing over 1,000,000 tons of German shipping, the Clyde launches totalled only 511,185 tons. Last year, in Motherwell, Glengarnock, Clydebridge, Newton, Bellshill, Parkhead, steel works were standing gaunt and, for the most part, idle. So they are, to a great extent, to-day. So they will continue.

The locomotive bridge, and other heavy engineering works are, on the Clyde, in a similar disastrous condition.

Things are not much better in Sheffield and on the Tees—although there, they are profiting by temporary demand from the Continent, now loaded up with as much as it can hope, under existing conditions, to deliver.

Openshaw and Partington are silent as the grave.

Armstrong's have some sixteen ships on hand, but most of the steel is in them or lying near by. The shipyards do not want steel.

The price of ship plates on the North East Coast has fallen from £24.10 in September, 1920, to £10.10 to-day. Boiler plates have fallen at Glasgow from £31.10 a ton in January, 1920 to £14 a ton in December, and sections from £24.10 to £10.10.

The production of steel in this country fell from 9,056,000 tons in 1920 to 3,624,800 in 1921.

These figures show the devastating ruin that has swept over the industry and which, outside of South Wales and Middlesbrough, shows no sign of passing.

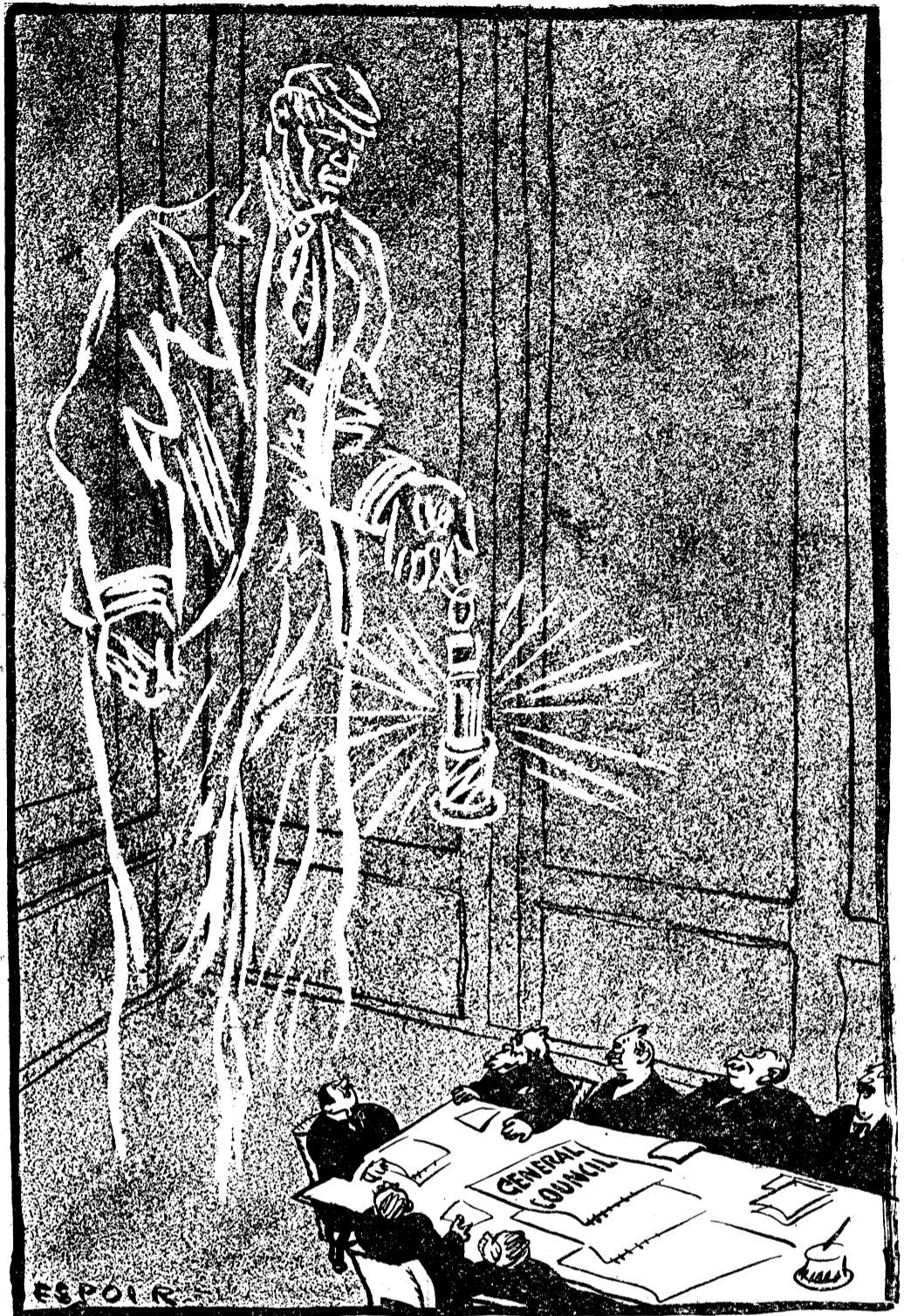
Scotland is the most grievously hit, because not only is she (according to the chairman of David Colville & Sons, Ltd.) the largest producer of steel of any district in the British Isles, but she has specialised in "the trade for high-class steamers, steel, such as is required for boiler-making, shipbuilding, bridge building and general engineering purposes." Also, he might have added, that many of the works are badly situated, lacking in water transport facilities, in every instance, often incapable of economical extension, and are the result of haphazard, individualistic and competitive expansion, under hot-house conditions of economic demand.

Motherwell—the metropolis of steel in the North—is, as has been known to me for years, doomed either to extinction or to desperate wage cuts.

The whole Clyde area has flourished on armaments, on the engineering requirements of the Empire and other areas now looking to a world-wide extension of industry for alternative and competitive supply. It has prospered because of the enormous demands made upon it by an unchallenged mercantile marine for ships, ships, and always more ships. It has been the incomparable home of the ocean greyhound and the cruiser. It has been the spoiled darling of capitalist imperialism upon the seas of the world. Now, in a period of disarmament for Britain, in a period of unparalleled commercial chaos and depression, the Clyde finds itself with its capital in forms that it cannot profitably utilise.

### Shift Capitalism! Set Up Communism!

The Tyne is little better off. Barrow is thrown almost entirely off its balance. Belfast is in the throes of depression.



**A MESSAGE TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL**  
**THE LOCKED-OUT MINER: "Don't leave the Engineers to fight alone. Remember what happened to me when I was deserted."**

There is no hope for the shipyard workers within Capitalism of anything but progressive speeding-up, of repeated reductions of wages and deprivation of hard-won standards of employment as an occasional and uncertain alternative to short time and to chronic unemployment.

The engineers may expect if they will agree to accept work under whatever conditions the employers are ready to concede—if they will agree to the owner of the machine taking half of their wages because, according to the President of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation, half the work is now done by mechanical means—if they will accept unemployment for others and overtime for themselves—if they will hand themselves over body and soul to the "bosses"—then there is a chance that, with large reserves of navy labour and the import of cheap German electrical "plant," there may be a wholesale overhauling of the railways and other transport services. This will find work for all kinds of workers in the heavy industries under servile conditions for a limited period and then, further stagnation.

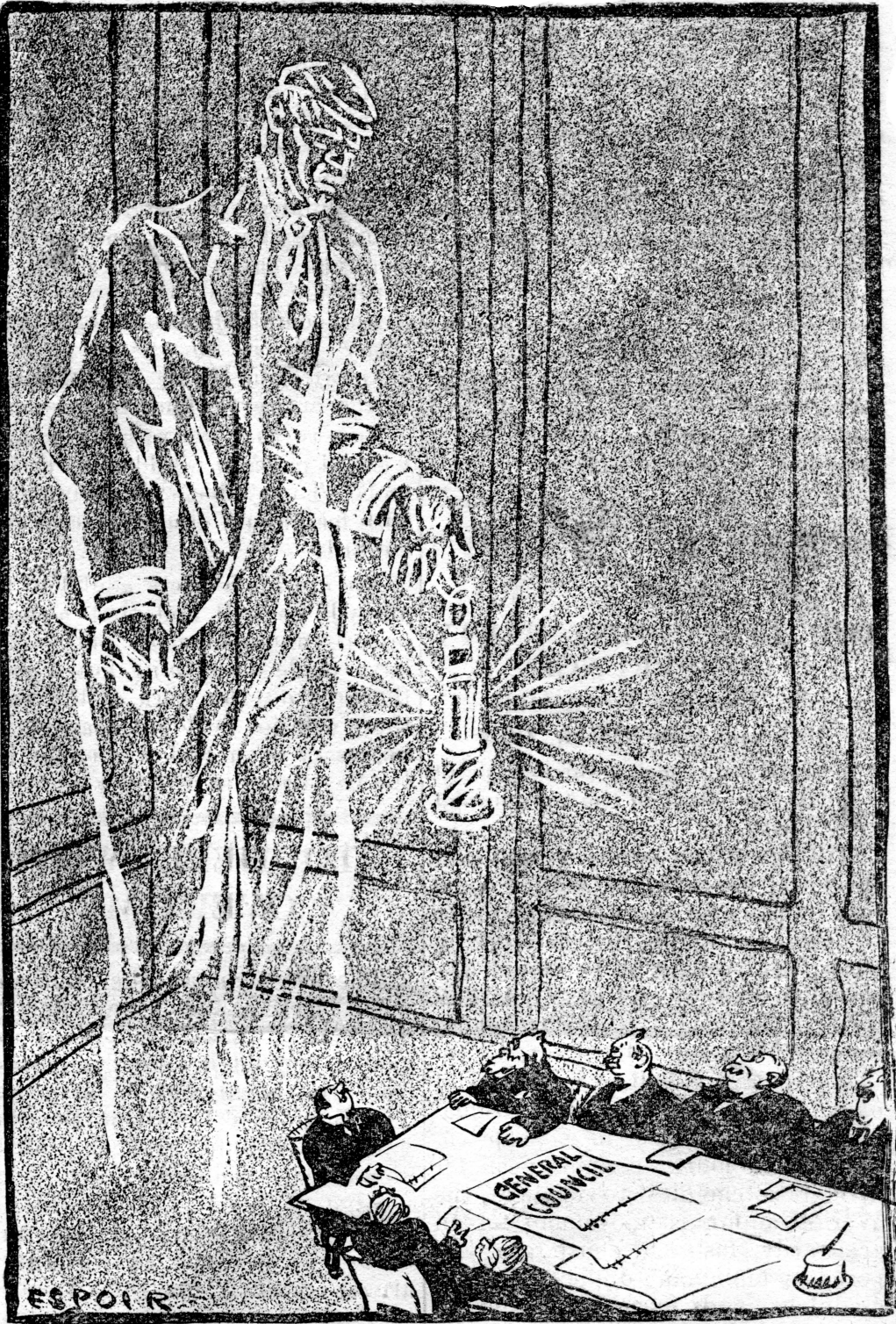
Capitalism in Britain has passed its zenith. In the heavy industries it faces the undercutting of capitalism in Germany. Soon, it will be faced by that of India and China.

The capitalism of Central Europe and the East will be largely identical with the capitalism of Britain; but the wage-workers of the latter will only be employed in so far as they will produce more surplus-value than the former. The workers of Britain are beginning to pay in full the price of Empire. They have fought to bring hundreds of millions of rice-eating wage-slaves under "the freedom of labour," which everywhere flourishes under the folds of the Union Jack.

With Colonel Lithgow we agree that "it cannot be too strongly emphasised that any semblance of prosperity in British shipbuilding is wholly dependent upon international factors."

The "international factors" for him are the low paid workers whom his class of exploiters can pit against the workers of the Clyde. The "international factors" for the workers are the masses organised in the Red International of Labour Unions in the Communist International—the revolutionary parties and governments—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the ever newly recruited, ever more dreaded and ever advancing Red Armies.





**A MESSAGE TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL**

**THE LOCKED-OUT MINER: "Don't leave the Engineers to fight alone. Remember what happened to me when I was deserted."**

The Editor welcomes contributions from any member of the Party, or from sympathisers, on any industrial or other subject of interest to the Party. The return of these cannot be guaranteed unless they are accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. They should be sent to 16, King Street, London, W.C.2. They cannot be paid for at the present.

Advertisement rates are 12/- per inch per single column. Undisplayed notices of meetings etc., 1/6 for 18 words.

"The Communist" can be sent to any reader direct from this office at the prepaid, post-paid rate of 3/3 per quarter, or pro rata.

Terms for quantities: 1/4 for 13, post paid, sale or return; monthly account. All communications to:—Circulation Manager, "The Communist," 16, King Street, W.C.2

## NOTES OF THE WEEK

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE

St. Pancras Town Hall  
18th and 19th March, 1922

**T**HIS will mark a turning point in the career of the Communist Party.

Till now it can hardly be said that the Party has definitely settled down into its place as an integral factor in the struggle of the British Working Class. It was apt to be regarded—apt at times to regard itself solely as an expression of the earth-shaking upheaval of the Bolshevik revolution.

A year and a half of work and of experience national and international has corrected this misconception.

It is no longer possible even for inveterate enemies to mistake the World Communist movement for an arbitrarily fostered conspiracy imposed by malignant duplicity upon a credulous and mercenary mob of dupes.

Neither is it any longer possible for a National Section of the Communist International to evade or neglect its plain duty to elaborate the concrete forms in which the general decisions of the Governing Congress must find their particular and local expression.

We laid stress—it was our duty to lay stress when the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed—upon the fact that in being National we did not escape the obligation to be International. So much did we stress that point that now there arises the need to remember that in being international we do not escape from our National responsibilities.

Economically and morally the world's working class is one and indivisible; and its emancipation is ultimately a matter of world reconstruction.

Politically and psychologically the working-class is divided into fragments, partly by training, chiefly by the nature of the State machine imposed for their coercion.

That the conference meets when it does—eleven months after Black Friday and in the midst of another gigantic industrial conflict—is significant of the immensity of its task and the critical importance of its decisions.

A blunder now—and who that is human can for ever escape blunders?—might easily bring about the extinction of the Party.

An accurate decision might just as easily lift it to the position of acknowledged leader and champion of the entire working mass.

To say that we await the result without concern would show us to be fools. To say that we were oppressed with fear would equally brand us as cowards.

We are moderately confident that all will be well and that although prison, unemployment and boycott have made it anything but a picnic to carry on the work of the party, there will not be found wanting the necessary men and women to keep the flag flying as defiantly as ever.

## TO HELL WITH OVERTIME

The decisions of the conference upon Electoral Policy and upon the question of the United Front have gained tenfold in their importance from the accumulation of events. The Engineers' Lock-Out, the Shipbuilders' dispute, and the all-but announced resignation of Lloyd George at home; the sacking of Secretary Montagu and the arrest of Gandhi in India, the outbreak of armed conflict on the Rand, an attempt at a universal wage-cut in Australia which may lead to an all-in General Strike, unrest in Canada, and the preliminary rumblings of an explosion from Ireland—all together create a set of circumstances in which a Communist Party if it chooses well may rise to the heights of its expectation.

**A Message from** After a month's solitary confinement in Pentonville gaol, Comrade Inkin has been allowed to communicate with the outside world—through the medium of a double close wire mesh. We learn that our comrade is as cheerful as the depressing conditions of a so-called "hospital" cell permits. His chief concern is the continual growth and success of the Party's work and his message to all comrades is "Carry on the fight!"

Whilst he is naturally eager for the success of the efforts being made to secure his release, he wants that success to be achieved by the power of the Party's agitation rather than by the efforts of friends and sympathisers outside the ranks. His own words were: "I want to be able to take up my work again looking the whole world in the face, not as one who appealed for leniency, but as one who stood his corner."

**Exit** The political crisis is missing  
**Ll. George** the attention it would naturally have received, because of the overwhelming importance of the lock-out. Nevertheless, it is pretty clear that Mr.

Lloyd George is following in the steps of Clemenceau, Wilson, Venizelos, Kaiser Bill and all the other exploded war heroes. Sir George Younger has for some time past been consolidating the Tory Party against him. When the Conservative leaders failed to respond to Lloyd George's demand that Younger's activities be stopped, then the end was certain. The *Saturday Review* says that George's resignation is already written out and signed, and only held up because of the industrial crisis.

Well, poor old David! After all, it was to be expected sooner or later, well though he served his employers. The Coalition was, after all, predominantly Tory, and sooner or later, the majority was bound to take the direction of affairs into its own hands. The sacking of Montagu is the first task of the Tory Government. The more astute and probably more dangerous, Lloyd George tactic of blarney plus violence, is to be ousted by the Tory tactic of violence pure and simple.

**Gandhi** The first fruit of Tory Government has been the arrest of Gandhi—an arrest skilfully timed and pleasant to every section of British Capitalism. Liberal Capitalism has for weeks been clamouring for the violent suppression of the boycott movement, which has so gravely hit the cotton trade. Tory Capitalism is acutely afraid of the collapse of the Empire and Amritsars. Thus the arrest has been overjoyed at the prospect of more and more greeted with general delight in the English bought press.

In India the arrest was no less ably timed. Sufficient rope was allowed Mr. Gandhi for him to go right up to the point of revolutionary action, to hesitate and to withdraw. Then, when he had disheartened and thrown into quarrelling disorder his own movement, the Government arrested him, leaving the movement without unity, without a leader, without general direction. Inevitably, disorganised and hopeless uprisings will occur. These outbreaks will be suppressed with the maximum of brutality and bloodshed by the new Tory Government, and India will be quiet—for a time.

**The Rev. Mr. North** That the British Government has now spent £1,100,000 on subsidising "the officers and families of General Denikin force," was revealed, with suitable apologies, by Mr. Harmsworth in the House last Tuesday.

Soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. North, who formerly combined spiritual and political activities in Moscow with such laudable energy, came in for his annual notice. Last year he was given £95,000 with which to "assist British subjects in Russia," to say nothing of £5,000 for himself, in recognition of his valuable services. This year Mr. Harmsworth only asks for £15,000 for the reverend gentleman. "Here again," said the ingenious Mr. Harmsworth, "I will be perfectly frank with you. I am not able to state that this item will never come up again for consideration in this House."

The story, annually repeated, that Mr. North borrowed money on his own note of hand for the "distressed British subjects" and is being gradually repaid by the Government, was blown sky high by Comrade Malone, who challenged Mr. Harmsworth to deny that "these so-called necessitous persons" never numbered more than 700 and that they were brought to London in March, 1920, and lodged, comfortably enough, in Mitcham workhouse. In November, 1920, the lease of the workhouse had expired, and in March, 1921 they were told to quit the country. Incidentally, few of them were British. As they had no money for fares, many of them were driven to the Guardians for relief.

Mr. Harmsworth made no attempt to dispute this history and merely said that the Hon. Member for East Leyton was very wicked to make such suggestions about Mr. North. None of the money was used for propaganda purposes, and "I am sure no Hon. Member would entertain that suspicion."

Comrade Malone is obviously *not* an Honourable Member.

# FIGHT LIKE HELL

**T**HE great storm has burst. The engineers are locked out in hundreds of thousands. Hundreds of thousands more workers are to be locked out in a fortnight or so—at least they are apparently willing to wait the convenience of the employers to line up in the queue to be thrashed.

For, as yet, the fight is only half-hearted. The workers in other trades have not rallied to the support of the engineers, though these are fighting for the very existence of the Union. There is as yet a lull, a silence, and no one has come to join the fight. Let it be the lull before the storm of revolt.

Even in the A.E.U., the officials are showing lack of spirit. It may be that fear of disaster and threats of D.O.R.A. have so worked upon them that they have given foolish orders that they would themselves like to recall. Nevertheless, it is a fact that on Friday, March the 10th, a letter was received by the District Secretaries, instructing them to inform the members that only those directly affected were to come out.

**Apprentices are to stay at work unless sent out by the employers. Supervisory workers who are not handling the tools are not to be interfered with. Non-Federated Firms who do not lock out the men are to be left alone to carry on.**

This is repeating '97 with a vengeance.

If it be true, as we suggest, that the A.E.U. officials have been moved by threats to make this withdrawal, and through fear also have failed to press urgently upon all the allied trades to come right away to the rescue, then it is time for the rank and file to supplement the official action. It is folly to allow the employers to keep the shops running with apprentice labour.

We are confident that the apprentices will see to this matter before long. They will not be blackleg labour as well as cheap labour. But it must not be left to their initiative. The rank and file locally must act. The means are ready to their hands.

**The United Front against the employers, both shipping and engineering, must be formed at once with the aid of the Unemployed. The Unemployed are there, are organised and willing to assist.**

In many places in the country there have already been formed Joint Councils of Action of Employed and Unemployed workers. Wherever these exist, the local A.E.U. rank and file should join up at once. Wherever Lock-out Councils and Committees have been formed, the unemployed should be invited on to them at once. Furthermore, the central committees of these councils should (as has been the custom with the Joint Councils of Unemployed and Employed), be made up equally of unemployed and employed workers.

\* \* \*

*Mass Picketing and Extension of the Struggle* must be our two watchwords in this lock-out. There is no sense, no virtue, no courage in the other workers threatened by wage-cuts, standing idly by until their fellows are beaten and the employers can deal with them. We all know the feeling of the shipyard workers with regard to the 26s. 6d. cut. Why wait any longer? The threatened workers must fight sometime—why not now?

**Remember the fate of the Miners last year when they were left to fight alone! All together this time!**

We cannot leave the picketing of the shops, this time, to the usual half frozen group of two or three loyal picketers. With 300,000 men locked out and two millions unemployed, we can do better than that.

Mass picketing, and mass demonstrations marching from factory to factory will do the trick. Scabs and the employers of scabs can laugh at pickets of four or five men. They will not laugh at visits from four and five thousand men. Together, and given a free hand, the unemployed and the locked-out men will fetch them out. Never doubt that.

\* \* \*

Elsewhere we deal with the "Communist Plot" of Scotland Yard's imagination. But that charming piece of publicity—for which we are duly grateful—was an isolated example. For the rest, the Press has been busy lying about the engineers and working up feeling against them.

What have the Printers' and Compositors' organisations to say about this? Are they going to continue as the instruments of the most reactionary governing class in the world? Are they going to become worse than blacklegs in this struggle, to be the veritable means of pouring poison gas into the working class movement,

whilst it fights one of the most serious battles of its history? If they are men of courage, if they understand a fraction of what they have printed, they will unhesitatingly fall into line and stop the dirty work of assisting in the disruption of the working class movement. The press is the most deadly weapon of the ruling class in this country. Had we no press whatever, we should have more clear thinking inside twenty-four hours than has existed in this country for a generation.

Often enough cheerful members of the L.S.C. have told over their pint of the usual, how, in 1919, they took this and that lie about the railway strike out of the columns of the *Daily* —, and spoken too of what they would do in the next crisis. Now is the time for action, for carrying out those fine words.

\* \* \*

The Officials of the A.E.U. have been unwise enough to hide from the rank and file the history of the negotiations and the proposals which they have been making to the employers. Nevertheless, the locked-out men must fight for something and have some proposals before them.

Last week we set before the engineering and shipbuilding workers a number of proposals and urged them to make these proposals the basis of their immediate demands. This week we develop these proposals into a programme, which we unhesitatingly ask the engineering workers to endorse and fight for at this stage of the struggle.

1. The Trades Unions shall have the right to control and determine the conditions of labour in the factories, to prevent the introduction of changes which have not been agreed upon in conference between the Unions and the Employers' Federation.

2. For the exercise of these functions the Unions concerned shall form Joint Factory Committees, to be elected in the factories, and endorsed by the Unions local committees. These factory committees shall be duly recognised by the employers as the medium through which the Unions will operate in the factories.

3. It is agreed that, in agreement with the provisions and exceptions of the overtime and night shift agreement of the 29th and 30th September, 1920, no overtime on production work shall be permitted.

4. There shall be no reduction of wages, but national rates of wages for all the varying grades of labour in the industry shall be established. These shall be agreed upon and put into operation as from March 11th, 1922, such rates to be based upon the rates of wages existing January 1st, 1922, and no rate to be lower than the highest district rate for the particular grades of labour existing January 1st, 1922.

5. Resumption of work shall begin with a 44-hour week, without reduction of wages or any interference with the scales of wages determined as per clause 4 of this agreement.

This is the Communist reply to the demands of the Engineering Federation, led by Sir Allan Smith.

It is a programme which unites the demands of the employed and the unemployed, a programme which unites the Unions in the factories as in the street, a programme which insists on stopping the retreat of the wages and in the contraction of the hours of labour to make room for more workers in industry. It is a programme with which the engineering workers can without fear approach all the other organisations of labour and ask of them to do likewise—formulate their specific demands and unite for common action.

Now we must demand that **SPECIAL CONGRESS OF ALL LABOUR'S FORCES**. Insist on the *unemployed committees* having representation. Urge that the Congress include all, whether affiliated or not. This is no petty fight. This is the beginning of a great struggle, which may lead to great issues.

Let no speakers weaken your determination by holding before you the terrible possibilities of the general strike. Either the workers stop the retreat now, or they will be driven to deeper depths of despair, where they can never recover.

**WE DEMAND A SPECIAL ALL IN LABOUR CONGRESS TO MAKE THE UNITED FRONT—TO STOP THE RETREAT!**



# WHY WAIT A FORTNIGHT?

## Industrial Notes

## By John Ball

**S**HIPBUILDING and Engineering Federation are taking a ballot on the same question as that which is the ostensible cause of the lock-out of the A.E.U., and it is to be hoped that for the credit of the industry every live member will vote against the acceptance of the masters' terms. The ballot papers are returnable within 14 days—and what then? Will the shipbuilders, engineers and the others concerned realise that there is only one way to win this fight, and that way lies through united action? Will they determine that they are going to stand together and have no "settlement" which does not include the question of hours and wages as well as managerial functions?

Most important of all, why should we allow the employers to use their whole strength against the A.E.U. for the next fortnight before lining up alongside them and taking our share in the struggle? Action now is worth a great deal more than the promise of action in a fortnight.

### Hush, Hush, Hush!

The Rosyth branches of the A.E.U. have joined the growing chorus which is demanding the detailed report of the proceedings at York which resulted in the E.C. of the Union recommending acceptance of the employers' interpretation of the overtime agreement. Failing to get any satisfaction from the mandarins of Peckham Road they have circularised the other districts of the Union asking them to take common action to secure the publication of the report, together with details of the voting for and against.

The correspondence which is set out in the circular makes very interesting reading. Smethurst excuses the E.C. for the non-publication of the report on the grounds that the Society is passing through a very heavy financial strain and the publication of a verbatim report of the proceedings would entail a huge expenditure. But it should not cost a great deal to have sufficient copies duplicated for communication to the District Committees, who could then be made responsible for the further circulation of the information.

### Let London Lead!

The London District Committee of the A.E.U. are pegging away at the Executive Committee, and the reply of the latter to a resolution urging them

to stand firm makes instructive reading. The following gem, for example, must have been dictated in accents of brass, as someone once said:—

"With the present unemployment, and the misery attached thereto, it would be nothing short of a calamity and gross neglect on the part of the E.C. if they wilfully rushed another 750,000 people into the unemployed market without regard to the consequences."

Charming. This sudden regard for the state of the "unemployed market," which Bro. Brownlie's "increased production" stunt did so much to create does the E.C. credit. And, of course, it will be so much more statesmanlike to allow overtime to be worked whilst there are 2,000,000 unemployed. Besides, there is always the possibility that the present unemployed will conveniently die off in order to keep the A.E.U. £3,000,000 grant-in-aid to the Guardians somewhere round about its present level.

### "Democracy"

Another bright thought from Peckham Road runs as follows:—"It is not correct to state that E.C. opened up negotiations with the Employers in regard to the result of the ballot. . . . E.C., after having certain matters adjusted, have agreed to meet the employers. . . . believing that in doing so they are meeting the wishes of the large majority of the members of the organisation."

Which majority is this? The overtime agreement was turned down by a majority on the ballot. Can it be that the E.C. are counting all abstentions as votes in favour of their recommendation? If this is the case there is a very simple way out of the

## KEEP LLOYD GEORGE'S NOSE OUT

matter. *If the Executive wangle a second ballot every rebel in the A.E.U. must take every possible step to whip up the absentees, employed or unemployed, and make that majority against the E.C. recommendation absolutely overwhelming.*

### Dockers "Washout"

Further to my note of the week before last on the coming wage reduction of the dockers, it is now agreed by the National Conference that they will

accept a reduction of 1s. per day. The new terms, which were agreed to by the two sides of the National Joint Council for the industry, come into force on the 20th March. The employers, on their side, have been kind enough to promise that they will not ask for any further reductions—until July. The decision of the Conference to accept the recommendations of the Negotiating Committee was made by an overwhelming majority, only 10 voting against.

This is especially interesting when compared with the report of the rank and file delegates from London who visited the provincial ports. They reported that the rank and file in most of the other ports were united in their resistance to the reductions. How, then, is this apparent discrepancy to be explained? It can be explained by the fact that only one other port besides London appointed its delegates from the rank and file. All the other delegates were officials of the Union, or hangers-on on the official gang.

### A Call to Action

Are the dockers going to take this lying down? Their comrades in the engineering industry are in the fight already. Will the dockers now repudiate the agreement made in their name but without their sanction, and line up with the engineers for a fight? The rank and file in London and the principal provincial ports spoke with no uncertain voice when the delegates to the National Conference were being appointed; their voice has been ignored. It is the duty of every active rebel in the Transport and General Workers' Union to get amongst the members to stiffen their resistance. Link up the dockers' branches with the unemployed committees, get in touch with the engineers' branches, get together for the united working class front. "With the leaders if they will lead—without them if they will not."

### Guriously and Curiously

Messrs. Alban Richards, builders, have withdrawn from the Masters' Federation. They have refused to pay agreed rates and are now paying their employees less than other firms.

Their second largest shareholder is one "Mrs. Thomas," of the same address as the famous Jimmy. How unfortunate and curious that Jimmy's wife should so far disregard his wishes as to make investments of this kind, which even if profitable must give his Trade Union soul such pain!

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Women

DEAR COMRADE,—At a women's meeting of the Party a committee was elected to carry out the organisation of the women's department between aggregate meetings. Judging by the utterances of most of the women who spoke, and afterwards were elected on the committee, they propose to set to work by forming groups of women within the branches, who should endeavour to start speaking classes for women, also sewing and music classes, etc.

If these suggestions are adopted and laid down as rules to be carried out by the Party, it will mean the splitting up of the Party into two separate movements divided by sex. By the time these women have carried out the work connected with the various special women's classes they would have no time left over for general branch work. This would make them lose touch with the branch as a whole and help to create the impression that they and their work are something apart from the general movement—an effect not at all desirable.

I readily grant there is a great need for work among women, but my opinion is that the work could be carried out on the same lines as the men are doing and in conjunction with the men, and better results be obtained than by setting up a separate movement.

Yours fraternally,

K. SERNER.

### Are We Realists?

DEAR COMRADE,—R. M. Fox says it is not Menshevism to face facts. I didn't say it was. It all depends. Revolutionary epochs prove that a revolutionary class can face facts from two points of view, which may be classed as Menshevik and Bolshevik.

Unemployment is a fact. The Menshevik Labour Party faces it with a "Jam to-morrow" policy and declines to commit itself to the programme of the N.A.C.

The Communist Party faces it with an unequivocal acceptance of the N.A.C. programme and urges Trades Councils to allow affiliation of Unemployed District Committees. While Mrs. Snowden, in the presence of dear Lady Astor pleads that even Socialism is no remedy for unemployment, Communists everywhere are telling the unemployed that Communism is the only remedy for unemployment.

The Labour Party is a fact. Mensheviks face that fact in order to secure more satisfaction for their own personal ends—political and literary—than to work for the emancipation of labour from capitalism. The Labour Party's programme is, no doubt, an advance on the programme of the capitalist parties, but—the Bolsheviks don't care a brass farthing for that programme because they know it is utopian.

The Bolsheviks regard the Labour Party not from the standpoint of its programme but as a movement of the working class which might be made as effective an instrument for revolutionary purposes as the Puritan Parliamentary army was made when it was modelled after the pattern of Cromwell's Ironsides and imbued with the fighting spirit of those fanatical sectaries.

Yours fraternally,

FRED SILVESTER.

DEAR COMRADE,—May I point out that when I replied to R.M.F. I was doing so because in my estimation he was advocating Bourgeois Parliamentarianism.

He advocated accepting the whole programme of the Labour Party, and I wish to make it quite clear to Comrade Ball that once you have accepted the whole of that programme your revolutionary organisation goes under and you can no longer assume the right to expound revolutionary ideals.

Hoping my explanation will satisfy everyone concerned.

Yours fraternally,

P. BURNS.

[This correspondence must now close.—ED.]

## THE WORKERS' LIBRARY

### FIRST SERIES

### Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?

By N. LENIN 1s. 6d.

This book reveals a glimpse of Lenin's mind on the very eve of the Bolshevik revolution. It is a typically acute analysis, and constitutes a fascinating historical document.

### Left-wing Trade Unionism in France

By PIERRE MONATTE, etc. 1s. 6d.

This volume contains transactions of two recent French pamphlets—one by MONATTE on the Future of Trade Unionism, the other by ARGENCE and HERCLET on Workers' Control and Workshop Committees. There is a foreword by GEORGE SLOCOMBE, the Paris correspondent of *The Daily Herald*, on French Trade Union Organisation.

### SECOND SERIES

### The Foundations of Imperialist Policy

By MICHEL PAVLOVITCH 3s. 6d.

A study of the economic basis of the great Empires of to-day and of their influence on the lives and welfare of the working classes by one of the clearest and deepest economic thinkers that Russia has produced.

### Men and Steel

By MARY HEATON VORSE 3s. 6d.

This book gives a vivid portrayal of the conditions in the American Steel works and in the slums round them, and details of the circumstances which led up to the big steel strike of 1918-19, and of the terrorism and treachery which ultimately caused its collapse.

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING COMPANY, LTD

6, Tavistock Square, London, W.C. 1

## A DEBATE

Ilford Town Hall, Tuesday, March 21, 1922 at 8 p.m.

COMMUNISM and CAPITALISM

BETWEEN

F. BRAMSTONE Leader of the Ilford Conservative Party.

AND

G. DEACON Ilford Communist Party.

ALL SEATS FREE.

ROLL UP REBELS!

There will be plenty of nice ladies and gentlemen there

# STOP PRESS Full Text of Engineers' Employers Secret Circular

2nd March, 1922

**Instructions of Federated Executive as to the line of action to be followed as the result of A.E.U. refusing to endorse:**

*Memo. of Conference of 17th and 18th November, 1921, A.E.U.*

**Lying Ties.**

In the case of men directly affected by the notice the firms should arrange to pay the amount outstanding as early as possible in the week commencing Monday, March 13th, 1922.

In the case of men who are not affected by this notice, but who cease work in sympathy with the members of the A.E.U., Federated Firms should pay lying ties in the ordinary course.

**Unemployment Insurance Cards.**

In the case of workmen whose services are dispensed with or who cease work in sympathy with the members of the A.E.U., the Unemployment Insurance Cards of the men concerned should be returned to the workmen.

In the event of the Managers of the Local Employment Exchanges approaching you for lists of men whose services have been dispensed with in connection with the trade dispute, or who have ceased work in sympathy with members of the A.E.U., every reasonable effort should be made to assist the Managers by preparing and supplying such lists.

**National Insurance (Health) Cards.**

These cards should be handed to the men concerned when their employment ceases.

**Men Working Abroad.**

The notice should not be applied in the case of men working abroad while their employment abroad continues.

**Foremen.**

Foremen are not affected by the notice, although they may be members of the A.E.U. Opportunity should be taken to get Foremen to become members of the Foremen's Mutual Benefit Society.

**Apprentices.**

(a) *Apprentices, boys and youths under 21 years.*

The notice will not apply to apprentices, boys and youths under 21 years of age.

In the case of apprentices under formal Indentures or formal Apprenticeship Agreements who go on strike, and of boys or youths who are more or less in the position of apprentices or learners although not under any formal written agreement and who go on strike, it is recommended that a letter be sent by the employer to the lad's guardian

that the lad has left his work in connection with a trade dispute; and stating that he will be allowed a period of three days which should be clearly specified within which to return to work, and that in the event of his not returning to work within the specified period of three days, the Employer will decide later as to the course of action to be taken.

*It is not suggested that a special notice should be posted to the effect that the Notices do not apply to them.* Foremen should explain to the apprentices, boys and youths under 21 under their charge, that they are not affected by the notice.

**(b) Interrupted Apprentices Scheme.**

The notice should not apply to apprentices serving under the name of "Interrupted Apprenticeship." *Effect of Stoppage of Engineers.*

It is appreciated that a stoppage of Engineers will affect the other classes of employment in the Federated Establishments, and this aspect of the question was also considered. The Committee are of opinion that Federated Firms should, in view of the economic necessities of manufacture, bear in

**SKILLED, SEMI-SKILLED, UNSKILLED—ALL LOOK ALIKE WHEN THEY'RE DEAD**

mind the desirability of keeping their shops or departments in balance, and of securing a good, general resumption of work when the dispute terminates. If departments not affected carry on work to the last moment, such departments may be put out of balance.

*Until the policy of the Union, other than the A.E.U., is ascertained, every effort should be made to continue to employ members of such Unions. A further instruction in regard to this matter will be issued as soon as possible. Re-engagement of Men.*

In connection with this matter the Committee were of opinion that it is important that firms should obtain the most precise information possible whether a workman is a member of the A.E.U. The individual firms will no doubt have ways and means of procuring the information.

*Non-Union men or men who have seceded from Union.*

In the case of those men who intimate that they are no longer members of the A.E.U. and state that they have been expelled from the Union, their position should be *carefully investigated* and they should be called upon to *submit evidence in support of their statement.* In some cases it will be possible for them to show the *Union Report* containing their name in the list of those *expelled from membership of the Union.*

**Workpeople affected by the Notice should not be allowed to continue at work even though they may express a desire to sign a copy of the Memorandum that they are prepared to abide by the terms of the Memorandum of the Conference 17th-18 November, 1921**

(a) Workmen who retire from membership of the Amalgamated Engineering Union who intimated *prior to the posting of the Notice* that they had done so, should be considered non-union men and be allowed to continue at work.

(b) Workmen who have retired from membership of the Amalgamated Engineering Union after the posting of the Notice should be allowed to continue at work providing *they produce on or before the date the Notice takes effect, a membership card of another Trade Union. Foreman members of the Foremen's Mutual Benefit Society reduced to the tools and not members of the A.E.U.* Such men are *not* affected by the Notices.

**Just as we go to Press, we hear a piece of grave news. At the meeting of the negotiating Committee dealing with the proposed shipyard cut of 26/6, the men's leaders, in flat defiance of the ballot vote, offered to accept a cut of 23/- spread over a short period.**

**This is treachery to themselves, treachery to the A.E.U., treachery to the unemployed.**

**We warn the leaders: THE RANK AND FILE WILL NOT STAND FOR THIS.**

## PAST THE £5,000 MARK

**T**HE past week saw our Fund pass the £5,000 mark. Nevertheless the Fund is not growing fast enough. The special items of news for the week are:—

A cheque for £90 to our Funds from an unknown donor in New Zealand has been received via the *Daily Herald*.

The 21st London Branch of the Lithuanian Communist Federation is levying its members weekly for our Fund.

The Twickenham Branch of the Communist Party have agreed to give up their cigarette money for the benefit of the Funds.

A special Committee of the London Electric Railmen, under the secretaryship of Bro. T. R. Strudwick, have run a 6d. Draw, which has resulted in a donation of £8 to our Funds. The full audited accounts of this effort have been sent to us, and we specially thank this Committee for their valuable effort.

All comrades are reminded that Goods and Gifts for the London Bazaar should reach 35 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., at latest by March 22nd. Delegates to the Policy Conference will in many cases be able to bring gifts from a distance with them.

Arrangements for the transport of the splendid gift of the Queensland Government of £10,000 in Nestle's Milk are now nearly complete, and the following week should see the dispatch of this cargo to our Agents in Reval.

We have also received (cheque) £38 3s., the proceeds of the Bazaar at the Southend Labour Institute, allocated to our Fund. From the same Bazaar £25 was also allocated by arrangement to the All British Appeal for the Russian Famine. *Where comrades unite with others in a united push this proportional allocation of proceeds to different Funds favoured by different groups working is an excellent arrangement.*

*Correction.*—£1 17s. acknowledged to Tylorstown C.P. should read: "Ferndate Communist Branch, 3rd Donation, per J. Thomas and W. Griffiths, £1 17s."

### Acknowledgments

*Cheques, Money Orders and Postal Orders, should be crossed thus &/Co. and made payable to J. F. Hodgson, Russian Famine Fund. Treasury Notes should be registered. Address all letters: Russian Famine Fund, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2. Unless otherwise desired, a receipt is sent by post, in addition to the acknowledgment in "The Communist."*

Collected at Shop, Member, Norwood Labour Party, 10s.; Collected at Shop, Monty, 4s.; E.T.U. Hackney, per Simms, 10s.; Girls at King Edward School, Mansfield, 16s.; Lanark Miners, Ponfergh Br. 29, £2; Brighton C.P., £1 8s.; E. and C. Record, £2; East Manchester C.C.C., £2 0s. 6d.; J. Macauley, £3; H. W. White, £1; Reading C.P., 15s.; West Hartlepool C.P., 10s.; Barnoldswick C.P., 5s.; Lechgelly C.P., Profit on Flag Day, £8 17s.; Clem, 5s.; Denny C.P., £1; John Wilson, Glasgow, £2; Aida Marx, Central Branch, 10s.; A.H.K., Brixton, 8s.; Emily Davison Club, £11 6s.; Yosif Gotz, 5s.; Brooks, of Hackney, 10s.; Anon., 12s. 6d.; Building Guild Job, Ponders End, 10s. 6d.; H.J.T., 4s.; Anon. (Lothians), 2s. 6d.; Liverpool Workers Famine Committee, £10 10s.; Ealing C.P., Com. Becker, 15s., Com. Addison, 3s.

London May Day Committee, per Rochberg, £1 7s. 8d.; Chas. Hayle, 21st Birthday, 5s.; W. G. Davies, 1s.; Christian, 1s.; Unemployed Paisley Rebel, 2s.; Mexboro, 2s. 6d.; Joe Moody, Lincoln, 2s. 6d.; George and Ethel Heath, Lincoln, 6s.; Collected at home and Cadbury's, Bournville, by J. Clifford, £2 5s.; Liverpool Y.C.L., School Section, £1 18s. 6d.; Tom Davies, 2s.; S. Harding, 5s.; Anon., London, W.C., 2s.; G.B., Crayford, 10s.; A. J. Jones, £2; E. Jones, £1; G. J. Jones,

£1; H. Riding, 10s.; Aberdeen C.P., £1 14s. 6d.; E. Holloway, £1 1s.; N.A.F.T.A. East London United Branch 15, £7 4s.; Kentish Town Committee, £5 5s.; Camberwell Branch, National Unemployed, £3 7s.; Kentish Town Relief Committee, £9; Mr. Cyrus, 10s.; Donald and Mrs. McCallum, 10s.; Jas. and Grace White, 5s.; Employees, Trollope and Colls, Armstrong's Yard, Newcastle, 9s.

Walthamstow Guildsmen, per P.W.B., 13s.; Chock, 4th and 5th, £1; Yeovil I.L.P., 10s.; F.P., Abergwynfi, 5s.; Geo. Davison, 10s.; Few Matelots, Woolwich, 15th and 16th, 18s. 6d.; Birkenshaw C.P., 10s.; Lithuanian Communist Federation, 21st London Br., £7 2s. 6d.; A.E.U., Chiswick, 2nd, 13s.; Ealing C.P., £4 10s.; Mr. Barber and Friends, £1 0s. 6d.; John T. Stirling, £1; Collected, J. Preston, 10s. 0½d.; W. R. Polmadie, £1; Stonehouse C.P., 2s.; Plymouth C.P., Watch Raffle, £1 10s. 3d.; Huddersfield Worker, per C.P., £7 10s. 8d.; Springburn Unemployed Committee, £2; Lerwick Economic Class, £1; W. Smyth, 15s.; Miss Lily Hatch, 10s.; Bolton C.P., Sheet 2457, £1; E. D. Francis, 1s.; Fred and Len Efemey, 6s.; J.M., Rhondda, 5s.; Twickenham C.P., Tobacco Money, 7s.; E.F., 2s. 6d.; C. J. Cox, £1; From New Zealand, per "Daily Herald," £90.

### FAMINE FUND

**Grand Bazaar & Fair**  
HOLBORN HALL (Grays Inn Road)  
Saturday & Monday, March 25th & 27th  
To be opened:—

Saturday at 3 p.m. by J. E. MILLS, M.P.

Chairman: C. L. MALONE, M.P.

Monday at 2 p.m. by Mrs. MONTEFIORE

Chairman: Mrs. HELEN CRAWFURD.

Goods of all kinds on sale.

Concerts. Side Shows, etc.

The Artistes will include—John Goss, Cedar Paul, Miss Harriet Cohen, Elsa Lanchester, Harold Scott, E. V. Luciano, John Buckley, Max Pivani, Miss Florence Baldwin.



# THE GREAT COMMUNIST PLOT

ON the morning of Thursday, March 9, Scotland Yard notified the Press that they had obtained possession of a document containing the official instructions issued by the Communist Party to its organisers throughout the country. This it explained had been sent to the Chief Commissioner of Police by a person signing himself "A Communist who does not hold such advanced views."

Obediently the whole, or nearly the whole of the kept press rushed out the next morning to reveal this new evidence of Communist villainy.

It was the eleventh hour in the engineering trade dispute. The bosses were keeping a grim front and the Minister of Labour was busy, under cover of negotiating, in impressing upon the men's leaders the grave possibilities of disaster involved in resistance to the Bosses' demands. The bulk of the press, therefore, taking, as ever, the bosses' side, treated the news as of a shocking act of *lese majeste* against Great King Capital.

Now what was it that Scotland Yard had got hold of?

First was a statement entitled "The Party in the Engineering Crisis," summarising and expressing in the form of draft resolutions, the arguments and concrete proposals which had appeared in this journal (in notes, leading articles, and contributions by J. T. Murphy), during the past three weeks.

Second was a series of "Notes for Speakers at General Mass Meetings of Engineers and Others."

Third was a similar series of "Notes for Speakers at Meetings of the Unemployed."

Lastly was a covering letter from the Acting National Organiser, urging members and branches to use their utmost endeavour to make the crisis end in triumph for the workers. It closes with the slogan:—

**"ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS AND SUCCESS TO THE UNITED FRONT."**

The contents of the first document are so well known to our readers that we cannot spare space to reprint it. But, to show the mentality alike of Scotland Yard and of the Kept Press, we give here the second document, *in full*:—

## Notes for Speakers at General Mass Meetings of Engineers and others

THE attack of the employers is the most vicious attack in the history of the industry. The agreement proposed destroys effective unionism in the country. It seeks to destroy what little control the workers have over conditions in the factories and makes impossible any further development in this direction. It coincides with attacks upon wages and hours of labour in all sections of industry. (Develop this and show the attacks upon the shipyard workers, miners, builders, general labour, etc., to make clear that this is not an isolated issue. Refer to this week's COMMUNIST, which contains copy of proposed agreement. Then proceed to show the attitude of the employers, and then the Labour leaders to the particular situation).

2. The employers claim that the demand for the overtime agreement and their interpretation of this is the same as existed prior to the war, the only difference being that prior to the war the overtime limit was forty hours instead of thirty. It is true that the old agreement did operate in this way. But then there were not 2,000,000 unemployed or 10,000 engineers unemployed. It is impossible for us to agree to work overtime under these conditions. We should be blacklegging on the unemployed. (Stress this point because the Union leaders have already taken the employers' point of view, and it will be used as a conservative factor against resistance).

3. Employers say we are not to interfere with managerial functions. If to insist that agreements mutually arrived at shall be mutually carried into practice, and means adopted to ensure their observation is to interfere with managerial functions, then we have no option but to interfere, or the Unions become valueless. The shop stewards agreement is absolutely useless if the stewards cannot stop the introduction of innovations, and insure the adherence to agreements. To permit the employers to do what they like and confer afterwards would make the union movement a farce. We have got to fight.

4. The leaders of the Engineers resisted the overtime agreement until the York Conference,

Nov. 17th, 1921. They led the way in insisting upon consultation with the Union first on question of overtime by their letter to the Union on Dec. 7th, 1920, and then reversed by Nov. 17th, 1921, without ever consulting the membership. See A.F.U. Journal, January, 1921.

5. The Union leaders are afraid of the fight on the plea of exhaustion of Union funds and the growth of unemployment, etc. Attack these reasons. A year ago £2,000,000 in the A.E.U. and we did not fight. We lost the money in Unemployment Pay and lost in addition 16s. per week in wages. The Union leaders pleaded for acceptance of reductions giving the reason that with reduced wages trade would revive. Point out that with every reduction of wages during the last twelve months has come an increase in unemployment.

6. Fears of the unemployed are groundless. The unemployed will fight with the Engineers. Must do on this question to save themselves.

7. The unity of the employers not certain. Some have orders and don't want the lock-out. Others do. A united front may break the employers' attacks.

8. Shipbuilding lock-out practically certain. Engineers' wages and hours of labour, according to Sir A. Smith, in the melting pot. All Unions are being involved. Indicate the appeals of the miners for common action, the appeal of the shipbuilding workers, etc., and insist upon the necessity of a special Trade Union Congress enlarged by all the forces of Labour, including unemployed and every working class organisation to organise for a general stoppage.

9. Beware of General Council's proposal to organise financial assistance of unions involved. Urge action as the only means of real assistance. Bring in the Internationals of the Metal Workers and the other internationals to broaden the area of action. Make the dominant note on every point of the speech that the time has come for action to stop the retreat and the Engineers must fight and pull into the struggle all the other section of Labour.

## The Wails of the Damned

The *Telegraph* called these "remarkable revelations"; the *Mail*, "Secret Communist Orders," and a "Vivid light on the underground activities of the Communist Party in England." The *Chronicle* shouted "Mischief by Communists," and the *Times* yelled "Communists Stir up Revolt."

The dear *Daily News* surpassed them all. It devoted a special leader to what it called "A Fanatical Document," and, after gravely satisfying itself "on internal evidence" that the document was a genuine one, went on to opine that "the publication of their intentions" (meaning those of the "little band of revolutionary enthusiasts"—i.e., the C.P.), "can do no harm and perhaps some good." "It will" (they add) "open the eyes of the engineers in particular, and trade unionists in general, to the cynical impudence with which this little group of fanatics seeks to exploit trade movements for their own revolutionary aims."

While the dear *Daily News* was "taking-on something shocking"—as above—the *Manchester Guardian* was putting (metaphorically speaking), Sir Borlase Childs across its grandmotherly knee and spanking him good and plenty.

"Scotland Yard, to-night (said its London Letter), has issued an extremely long statement on the attitude of the Communist Party to the present dispute. Its circulation at this time can have no other object but that of prejudicing the negotiations. There is call for strict enquiry into the system that allows an official department to intervene in a propagandist way in a dispute in which neither the police nor the Government has yet any concern."

"To any follower of the Communist Party's activities there is *nothing new in the disclosures*." They are merely a re-statement of what has been appearing in half a dozen Communist and Labour papers for weeks, and what has been talked in engineers' branch meetings and meetings of the unemployed. *Indeed they are milder in tone than usual*. But the ordinary man may easily be misled by the publication with the authority of the Commissioner of Police of this portentous collection."

Leaving the *News* and the *Guardian* busy knocking each other out, the Communist

Party Headquarters issued the following statement to the Press:

## The Communist Party and the Lock Out

The "Yard" on Thursday published a circular sent out by the Party, the object of the police being to show that the Communists were using the engineering crisis to further a "plot" of their own.

"The Communist Party is extremely grateful to Scotland Yard. We could have asked nothing better than the publication of our advice to our engineering members in the whole Press of the country. It would have cost us normally some thousands of pounds to get such an advertisement.

"We would like to assure Scotland Yard that they need not employ inefficient police spies to search out our circulars; we will gladly supply them with as many copies as they require, if they will guarantee us the same publicity in each case.

"The Yard states that the circulars were sent by 'a Communist who did not hold such advanced views.'

"The circulars were put in the post in the usual way on Wednesday night. On Thursday morning Scotland Yard had possession of them. There was no time for the circulars to be posted to 'a Communist' and reposted to the Yard.

The story is an obvious falsehood. Every single thing that was in those circulars could be found in the published statements of the party, particularly in the columns of the COMMUNIST, our official organ, which for weeks has not ceased to urge the engineering and shipbuilding workers to resist the unprovoked attacks of the employers.

"The Communist Party has nothing to be ashamed of in these circulars. We stand by every word in them. They express our attitude, and publicly and privately we defend them.

"In effect, what do these circulars say? They suggest to speakers and members of the Party that they make every effort to extend the scope of the struggle and bring in all workers and unemployed to support the locked-out men. In this Scotland Yard sees a 'plot.'

"We despair of teaching its business to so incompetent and ignorant a department. The Engineering Employers' Federation locks out the workers in the engineering shops with the intention of smashing the union or reducing it to helplessness. The shipyard employers lock out their men to force a cut of 26s. 6d. per week. And then, when we urge all workers to rally to the defence of those trades, the bright detectives of the Yard see no other explanation but 'a plot.'

"Let us remind Major-General Borlase Childs of the miners' lock-out, in which the Special Department took upon itself the duty of harrasing and imprisoning Communists in the hope of weakening the miners' fight. Then, owing to the treachery of Black Friday, the workers did not rally to the locked-out men. *Then*, the struggle was not extended to other trades. Consequently, though Sir Basil Thompson failed to suppress us, the miners lost.

"We, of the Communist Party are not going, so far as in us lies, to see that repeated. We are not going to leave the engineers and shipyard workers to be crushed in detail."

"The ever-increasing members of the unemployed and employed who follow Communist tactics will use every effort to bring all the power the organised Labour all over the country to rout the engineering employers in their unprovoked attack upon the existence of the union.

"This is a plot, says Scotland Yard.

**WE NOTE AND DESPISE THE THREAT CONTAINED IN THOSE WORDS. WE ARE CARRYING ON AS BEFORE.**

(Signed) WM. GALLACHER,  
Deputy Chairman.  
FRED. H. PEET,  
Acting Secretary.

This statement appeared in full in the *Daily Herald*, of Saturday, March 11th. *It was not so much as noted anywhere else.*

Could any proof be clearer that the Press in general and the Yard in particular are alike tools in the grip of the Big Fat Hand?