

## THE WORKERS'

# DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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## THE CLYDE STRIKE

The success of the "unofficial" Clyde Strike has undoubtedly upset the reactionaries and the early-Victorian Trade Union leaders. The fact that the "Bolsheviks"—as the leaders of the strike are termed—are able to bring practically the whole of the Clyde shipyards to a standstill, in the cause of a 40-hour week, is an unforgivable sin in the eyes of those dear brethren who are presumably sorry that we have developed from the dark ages.

The ball was set a rolling on Tuesday by a huge demonstration in George's Square, opposite the Municipal Chambers—the Red Flag having been appropriately hoisted on the civic flagpole in front thereof. A deputation including Messrs. Shinwell, Kirkwood, Gallacher and Maclean, M.P., interviewed the Lord Provost, who, as a result wired Bonar Law asking for Government intervention.

In order to learn of Bonar Law's reply another huge demonstration took place on Friday in front of the City Chambers. The deputation appointed by the strikers to meet the Lord Provost arrived at the hour arranged for but were not allowed to see him. While they were kept waiting it is assumed the Lord Provost, the Town Clerk, the Chief Constable and Sheriff Mackenzie were in conference and they, it is believed, were responsible for the decision to read the Riot Act as the legal pretext for dispersing the crowd by force. At any rate the Riot Act was read, after which a brutal baton charge was made by the police—injuring 53 persons in the process. It is significant that the policemen used for this dirty work were those wearing long-service stripes, showing that whatever strategy we lacked in the "Great War for Freedom" is now being made use of for crushing freedom at home!

During this "Prussian" attack on the strikers the City magistrates were hurriedly summoned by telephone to attend a meeting in the City Chambers at 11.30 A.M., but it is not known as to whether they approved of the decision to enforce the Riot Act. It is true, however, after the Act had been read and the crowd attacked, another meeting was held at which a minority of the magistrates wanted the military called out to disperse the people. In the evening, however, armed troops began to arrive in the city and to-day (Sunday) there are 2,000 imported troops amongst us with steel helmets, machine-guns and fixed bayonets occupying the City Chambers, the G.P.O. and most of the public services. There is a substantial rumour that the soldiers in Maryhill and Hamilton Barracks refused to take part in this display of armed force against the strikers, but whether they did or not, the fact remains that they are not being employed for this purpose.

As a result of the demonstration on Friday, three of the most prominent strike leaders were arrested: Councillor Shinwell, David Kirkwood and William Gallacher. Bail has been refused in each case and they have been remanded to February 6th. The police charge against them is that they incited the strikers to riot, but of course this is the sheerest humbug—being only an official excuse to keep the leaders quiet forcibly. Meantime the fight goes energetically on.

The Trades Union Congress sitting in Glasgow yesterday unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"That this Congress protests in the strongest language against the authorities and the police for their brutal attack on the people who had met to hear the Lord Provost's reply, and that it holds them criminally responsible for what took place; that the Congress demands the immediate release of Shinwell, Gallacher and Kirkwood; and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to make full inquiry into the whole matter."

The Committee's recommendation that affiliated bodies should do whatever possible to make the forty-hour strike movement a complete success, and that the Government be called upon to take

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## ФАКЕЛЬ

органъ Рабочаго и Солдатскаго Правительства Россіи.

## Die Fackel

Organ der Russischen Revolutionären Arbeiter, Soldaten- und Bauernregierung.

## Fröhliche Weihnachten, Soldaten und Brüder!

Heute, am 25. Dezember, feiern wir das Fest der Geburt Christi. In dieser Zeit, da wir in der Kälte und im Elend leben, denken wir an die Armut und die Not der Soldaten und Arbeiter. Wir wünschen Ihnen eine frohe Weihnacht und einen guten Rausch.

Facsimile of a part of the front page of "The Torch," the Bolshevik international paper. We append a translation of the front page article.

### 'THE TORCH.'

ORGAN OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT.

(For free distribution among German brothers, Petrograd, December 13th (26), 1917.

A merry Christmas, Soldiers and Brothers. The workers and peasants of Europe are forced to spend a fourth Christmas in discomfort in the cold, wet and unhealthy trenches. They are kept there by the unconciliatory policy of the capitalists now in power. Instead of spending this Christmas Eve at home with their wives and children, the unfortunate workers are condemned by capitalist madness to bring death and destruction to their fellow men. Christmas is denied both to them and their families, for neither can enjoy it without the other.

And what is the cause of all this suffering? The greed of the Imperialists of every country is to blame. They have set the workers of the world against one another by their secret diplomacy, and even now when terrible misfortunes threaten the world, if an end of war is not made, they still make no effort to conclude peace. Why should they do so, when they the guilty ones can enjoy their Christmas as in times of peace? For them the war has changed nothing except, perhaps, that they have had an opportunity of stuffing their pockets more than usual.

Yet in spite of all this, our fourth Christmas at war is different from its predecessors; for the proletariat has realised that the further prosecution of the war is a crime, and thus this will to peace has silenced the instruments of death on one large front. The German, Austrian, Bulgarian, Turkish and Russian proletariat forced its oppressors to bring about a cessation of hostilities. A feeling of relief has come to us all that this Christmas, on our battle front, no murder will be perpetrated. May all hearts join in wishing that it may ever be so. The workers have no enemies, so let it be the last time that we are used for such disgraceful work as to win the war by our heartless Imperialists and Capitalists.

The people's longing for peace will sooner or later bring hostilities to an end on all fronts. Madness has possessed the masses for far too long, now they have seen the lode star, which will show them the way to peace and brotherhood, just as it did Bethlehem to the four wise men. All along the front the cannons are silenced, it is

the business of the proletariat to make futile all the devices of the bourgeoisie to set them again in action. Peace on earth, eternal peace shall rule. Our ideal of Brotherhood shall be realised. It is now more firmly implanted than ever in the people after this epoch of suffering. May we soon see its realisation, when there shall only be friends, not enemies. This is the ideal of the proletariat and despite all bloodshed and cruel distress, it will strive for it.

This fourth Christmas will really be a merry Christmas, for no enemy will disturb our joy, and even if we must spend it in the trenches, still this Christmas is a peaceful one.

A Merry Christmas, Comrades and Soldiers!

### THE PROCLAMATION THAT BROKE THE BACK OF KORNILOV'S COSSACK REVOLT.

HIGHLAND BROTHERS!—The Petrograd North Caucasus and Daghestan Highlanders' Committee informs you that the Central and Daghestan United Highlanders at the Conference held on August 10th, 1917, in the city of Vladikavkas in the presence of delegates from the various regiments of the home division, has ordained to consider that the only purpose of the regiments of the home divisions is to defend the fatherland from the outward foe and in no way to serve as a tool in the hands of any parties in their political strife. By your interference you break off from the common family of Highlanders, and so deal an irremediable blow at the idea of unity and national self-determination of the whole of the Highlanders.

We therefore appeal to you to desist from any future participation in the political strife that is going on now.

THE PETROGRAD, NORTH CAUCASUS AND DAGHESTAN HIGHLANDERS' COMMITTEE.

### THE CAUCASIAN MUSSELMAN COMMITTEE IN PETROGRAD.

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Mahometan Council appeals to the Mahometan brethren—warriors of the gallant home division—at this most serious moment in the life of the various nationalities of Russia, asking them to accept as their guide this brotherly message coming from their kindred organisations.

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Mahometan Council, Petrograd, August 29th, 1917.



### THE CLYDE STRIKE continued from front page.

such measures as were necessary to have a forty-hour week established, was carried by 92 votes to 22.

Meantime the Municipal Employees Association are taking a ballot of their members on the forty-hour week, the result of which is expected by Wednesday. As a sop to the Municipal workers the Corporation Committee on Wages and Conditions of Services have recommended a working week of forty-eight hours and an increased bonus. Somewhat similar trifling concessions were recommended to the policemen, but we are not to think that these concessions were made because of the strike. Oh, dear, no! They were made out of sheer kindheartedness.

A further mass meeting of the strikers will be held in Glasgow Green on Monday when doubtless their ranks will be swelled through the Authorities' exhibition of Prussianism (home brand).

ALEC SUTHERLAND CAMPBELL.

### NEWS FROM THE CLYDE.

At the A.S.E. Mass Meeting on January 31st and the meeting of Engineering and Allied Trades in London on February 1st reports were given from the Clyde by McLaughlin, a delegate from the Port of London strikers who had gone up to discuss matters with the Clyde workers, and had now returned with a message from them. He said that on reaching Glasgow he found the Strike Committee sitting in the rooms of the Glasgow E.T.U. The dispute seemed to him to have originated through the niggardly methods of the employers and the weak-kneed attitude of the National Craft Union Executives in dealing with the demand for a 47 hour week. A joint committee of unofficial and semi-official representatives, that is to say the shop stewards and local District Committees of the Trade Unions, asked the shop stewards to make inquiries as to the views of the rank and file. The stewards reported that the workers were prepared to strike for a 40 hour week, or should 40 fail to absorb the unemployed for an even more drastic reduction of working time. It was therefore decided to strike for a 40 hour week on Monday, Jan. 27th, and 40,000 workers obeyed the call. On Tuesday 60,000 were out and 100,000 on Wednesday.

The Clyde workers were solid for the strike. They were looking to London to move with them, for they realised that the 40 hours question must be fought and won nationally. It was an unselfish fight, put up by the employed workers for the unemployed, a large proportion of whom was discharged soldiers. The soldiers were standing side by side with the industrial workers.

Just then someone cried: "There is a police inspector in the room." Every one stood up. Many shouted: "Out him." Someone said: "Has he got his card? If not, put him out." The speaker said: "Remember, he belongs to our own class. We are not afraid to have our speeches reported."

Order was restored. The speaker proceeded. He said that 60,000 copies of a special strike newspaper were issued daily in Glasgow. On Monday and Tuesday it was produced on the Roneo. On Wednesday the Socialist Labour Press was freed, and it had been printed on that press each day since then.

The speaker had been present at a great public meeting in the St. Andrews Hall. The hall is supposed to hold 5,000 people; it was crammed; perhaps 6,000 managed to get in. Outside, 40,000 people were addressed from four sides of the hall. He had never seen such a determined body of people. This great meeting *The Morning Post* had reported to be a secret strike meeting. The strikers marched from the hall in mass demonstration through the town to urge those who remained at work to join the strike. A stupid tram driver attempted to drive through the crowd up Renfrew Street. There was nearly an accident; the crowd broke off the trolley poles and driving handles and the leaders of the procession had to intervene to prevent further trouble. Another driver appeared about to strike at the people with the bar used for turning the points; it was snatched away and the crowd had to be appealed to to spare a member of their class. David Kirkwood addressed the crowd from the top of a tram whilst the band had a twenty minutes' rest; then the people marched on to the City Hall, where they demanded of the Lord Provost that he should withdraw the trams from the streets as they were interfering with the strike. This is always done for official processions, but the Lord Provost refused. He said, however, that he had telegraphed to Lloyd George to come home.

At the two electric power stations of Glasgow only the actual electrical workers were organised in the E.T.U. The firemen and others were in the

## LONDON DECIDES TO ACT. By W. F. Watson.

**DEMAND A 40-HOUR WEEK NOW!**  
Thousands of workmen are being Demobilised from the Army and Navy every day. Over 100,000 Workers have been dismissed from civil employment.

They are now looking for jobs.

There are no jobs for them.

There is only one remedy.

Reduce the number of hours.

The time for action is now.

Delay means failure.

No more hours than 40 to be worked per week.

No reduction of wages.

No overtime to be worked.

No work on Monday, January 27th.

No resumption of work until demands have been conceded.

By Order of Joint Committee.

Thus ran the strike notice which called out the workers on the Clyde. Workers in London are making ready to follow the Clyde in the general strike for a 40-hour week!

"I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM THE CLYDE AND I WANT TO TELL YOU LONDON MEN THAT THE BOYS UP THERE ARE DETERMINED TO GET THE 40-HOUR WEEK AND THEY LOOK TO LONDON TO BACK THEM UP."

Thus spoke McLaughlin, the delegate from the East London Strike Committee, to the Clyde both on Friday night at the official A.S.E. meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, and at the unofficial meeting at the Chandos Hall on Saturday afternoon. The Central Hall meeting was not so well attended as it should have been, but undoubtedly the men who matter were there. The meeting was convened by the London District Committee of the A.S.E. and Geo. Spencer, Chairman of the L.D.C., presided. His task was by no means easy. There were some three thousand present, most of whom were sick unto death of dilly dallying over the hours question, and wanted to take action in support of their comrades on the Clyde; but there was a sharp division of opinion as to the best way in which the support should be given.

My impression is that far too much time was wasted in giving the report of the negotiations with the employers, and in moving the resolution on behalf of the D.C., in consequence of which the audience got impatient and there was not sufficient time for discussion.

There is no need to enter into the details of the negotiations as reported by Bradley, except to say that the employers had deliberately tried to impose conditions not agreed upon by the rank and file, although apparently with the sanction of the Executive officials. As a

backward Municipal Employees' Union; but its Secretary, Campbell, said that if any attempt were made to put in blackleg electricians, he would bring all his members out and this was what had happened. The strikers had agreed to allow electric power for the hospitals. The authorities had asked for six stokers for the hospitals, instead of two, but the strikers had decided that two were sufficient.

The miners were on strike. The miners placed pickets at the mines. The soldiers, said McLaughlin, were ordered to proceed to the mines; but the soldiers downed tools.

At Dunbarton the strikers applied for two picture halls for their meetings. The proprietor replied: "Go to Hell; I do not want to have anything to do with you strikers." That evening the strikers placed mass pickets at the doors of the picture halls. No one would enter. The proprietor came round to the strike headquarters next morning and offered the use of both his halls!

In Belfast the workers are even keener, and the strike committee is bubbling over with confidence. The strikers had forced the Mayor of Belfast to issue a notice that persons using electricity would do so at their own risk. One Italian ice-cream shop used one light. "There is nothing left of that ice cream shop now."

In Belfast and Glasgow the strikers are discussing how to feed the workers, and are considering the taking over of the food supply. McLaughlin stated that in his opinion the struggle for a forty-four week was distinct from the movement for Revolution. As a member of the S.P.C.B. he believes that revolution will be obtained by political means.

result all negotiations were broken off. To their credit the District Committee moved the resolution to the effect that we stop fooling around with the 47-hour week and go right out for 40 hours. The resolution was ably moved by F. Sutton, Bradley's capable assistant. His arguments were clear and logical and he does not waste words.

An amendment to the effect that we re-open negotiations for the 44 hours was moved by J. E. Mills of Woolwich Arsenal, whose chief argument was that a movement to be effective must be national. Since most of the varying demands were for 44 hours that was most likely to meet with success. Mills is quite a remarkable type of man, of which there are many. When there is no fighting to be done they continually shout for a fighting policy, but when the time for combat arrives they bring up innumerable reasons for indefinitely postponing the battle, the most popular reason being that the rank and file are not prepared. For years I have had it dinned into my ears that the time is not opportune and I am sick of it. To my mind the time is *always* opportune. In spite of the frantic efforts of the reactionaries the resolution was carried by 3,980 votes to 1,011. The following resolution was moved by myself and seconded by Jack Tanner:—

"In view of the chaos arising out of the application of the 47-hour week, due to the attempts of the employers to impose conditions not included in the ballot on the question and thereby not agreed upon by the workers, this mass meeting of engineering workers hereby declares a general strike to commence from 12 midday on Thursday, February 6th, and to remain on strike until the 40-hour week is conceded. In order to give effect to this resolution we urge that a strike committee be immediately set up, to be composed of the D.C. of the A.S.E. together with representatives of all Allied Union D.C.s and of all Shop Steward and Workers' Committees in the London area. We further resolve that it shall be the first business of the Strike Committee to convene a National Conference, representative of all workers, with a view to making the strike both national and uniform."

Moved by W. F. Watson, Acton Branch. I should have been more satisfied had the date been fixed for Tuesday not Thursday, but maybe it will give the D.C. more time to get the machinery into operation.

Our thanks are due to Cedar Paul for officiating at the organ.

### THE MASS MEETING OF SHOP STEWARDS.

On Saturday afternoon a general meeting of shop stewards filled Chandos Hall, and although the reactionary element of opportunists again made itself heard, the resolution adopted at the Central Hall meeting was endorsed by a big majority. Mrs. Holloway, F. J. Pateman, and W. F. Watson were elected to act upon the London Strike Committee.

The London Workers' Committee at the monthly meeting held on Sunday unanimously decided to endorse the Central Hall resolution. Knight, and Woods were elected to act upon the Committee.

Comrades, the time for action has arrived. The semi-official and the unofficial movements have fallen into line, and jointly the two can easily smash the opposition of reactionary Executive officialdom. I am thoroughly convinced that the rank and file are in no mood to tolerate the various Executive Committees which are actively assisting the State and the employers to crush the workers into submission, and I wish to warn them that direct action may be applied to them if they persist in their autocratic opposition to the will of the rank and file.

Now that we have started on the battle it is up to us to adapt *in toto* the program of the Clyde workers, and each do his or her level best to get every shop small or large to take action, to get a powerful representative London Strike Committee set up and then assist in establishing a National Strike Committee, that will represent every sphere of industry and bring uniformity

Continued on page 1215.



Extracts from the Clyde Strikers' Bulletin.

## WHAT HAPPENED WHEN KIRKWOOD AND SHINWELL WERE ARRESTED.

### WHAT THE STRIKERS SAY.

Our readers will have read in the capitalist press the account of the arrest of David Kirkwood and Councillor Shinwell on Friday, January 31st. We now give them the opportunity to read what the Strike Committee's daily *Bulletin* says of the matter. Sixty thousand copies of this *Bulletin* are printed daily in Glasgow:—

### GLASGOW'S BLOODY FRIDAY.

"Henceforth January 31st, 1919, will be known in Glasgow as Bloody Friday, and, for the crime of attacking defenceless workers, the citizens will hold the authorities responsible. The police have once more been used as hirelings to bludgeon the workers.

"The workers will not forget....

"As arranged on Wednesday, a deputation from the Joint Committee, composed of Shinwell, Kirkwood, Neil MacLean, Hopkins, and other delegates, waited on the Lord Provost in the City Chambers to receive the reply from the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour, in response to his Lordship's own appeal for Government intervention. While the deputation were kept waiting for twenty minutes, and, while there, the police were ordered to draw their batons and forcibly disperse the crowd of strikers who were standing in George Square until the deputation returned.

"On hearing the sound of conflict, Shinwell and Kirkwood rushed out to help in restoring order; but instead of listening, the police made an attack on them, too, and Kirkwood was felled to the ground. The strikers covered Shinwell successfully, and got him clear away without injury.

"Those who appealed for order were also clubbed, as were other strikers who were quietly inclined, as was shown by their defenceless condition.

"The bludgeon attack on the strikers in front of the City Chambers was deliberately ordered by the officers, and was unprovoked....

"The meeting in front of the City Chambers was quiet and orderly, and was being addressed by members of the Strike Committee until the deputation returned from the interview with the Lord Provost. Shinwell, before the deputation entered the City Chambers, appealed to the crowd to be of good behaviour, and this appeal was endorsed by the other speakers. The audience, which was turned towards the Gladstone statue, on which the speakers were perched, overflowed into the street fronting the Chambers, and, in this avenue the police allowed two motors to run into the crowd, with the result that two men were knocked down and injured. This annoyed the strikers, who appealed to the police to turn the vehicular traffic by another street—a not unreasonable request.

"The reply was a police attack on the strikers, who stood their ground, and the police withdrew after an appeal from the speakers. The mounted police then arrived, and, in a display of trick riding, two of them allowed their horses to fall, which caused the crowd to chaff the bulky Tod Sloans. This chaff was an awful violation of the sacred dignity of the police, who apparently lost their reason, and made a mad rush with drawn batons on the defenceless crowd. The infuriated men in uniform struck wherever they saw a head.

"Appeals from the speakers for peace fell on the deaf ears of mounted and foot police, who struck out left and right. The strikers put up the best defence possible with bare fists, but, being unarmed, they were gradually forced back, retreating in order and without panic. The strikers did nobly against big odds, and if they had not been without means of defence, there would have been a different story to tell.

"The affair looks like a plot to smash the strike by force. Threats of that nature have been made in the employers' press. Then the attack was made while the deputation was kept waiting inside the City Chambers. Think it over.

"The Employers' Delegates were at the City Chambers yesterday morning seeing the Lord Provost before the Strikers' Deputation arrived. This is significant, in view of the baton attack on the strikers later.

"Even non-strikers are agreed that the police behaved like madmen on the trail for scalp wounds in George Square. Gallacher, when appealing for a cessation of hostilities, was knocked off the plinth of the Gladstone statue by uniformed

ruffians, who struck him several blows with their batons. Kirkwood was appealing for peace when he was stunned and felled to the ground by a policeman.

"Both Kirkwood and Gallacher were arrested on a charge of inciting the crowd to violence, which is a lie, in view of their attempts to maintain order. The strikers must stand by them.

"The police attacked women as well as men, and spared neither sex with their batons. Several women workers were injured by the desperadoes in blue, and the strikers are not likely to forget the fact. It was only when a policeman was laid low in the battle, and removed for attention to the City Chambers, that skilled aid was available. All others were treated by anybody.

"The strikers ultimately left the Square to go to Glasgow Green, and a trade union delegate, who appealed to them to form up for this purpose, was knocked down by a scoundrel in blue uniform. This inhuman act incensed the crowd, and the fighting broke out once more, and this time the strikers gave as much as they got, with the result that a few policemen bunked to a 'dug out' where there were no strikers.

"On the way to the Green the crowd were held up by the police in the Saltmarket, but, led by many of the discharged soldiers, they broke the 'blue line' and got through. Once on the Green the men armed themselves with sticks in case any further attacks would be made on them by the hirelings of the bosses whose wages, by the way, are paid by the workers.

"Considering what has taken place, read carefully the letter sent to Harry Hopkins [see next column]. It does look as if the authorities and the employers are planning secretly to arrest strikers at every opportunity. Robert Louden and Neil Alexander have also been arrested. The Joint Committee are arranging to have meals sent to the prisoners in the Central Police Station, pending their trial....

"The alleged cause of the row, it is now stated, was the attempt of an Australian soldier, in sympathy with the strike, to prevent a tramcar going through the crowd. This was in front of the Post Office on the South Side of the Square, and was no excuse for the police attacking the crowd in the front of the City Chambers on the East Side of the Square.

"The Joint Sub-Committee were busy all afternoon arranging plans for the continuance of the strike. Shinwell was in attendance all the time in his capacity as Chairman.

"The police, it is alleged, used iron spike railings to the strikers in Glasgow Green after they were deprived of their batons. They were apparently resolved to break a record number of heads.

"Cheers for the discharged and other soldiers, who stood by the strikers when they were defending themselves against unprovoked attacks."

The Strike Sub-Committee met on February 2nd and passed the following resolution: "That we protest against the unprovoked attack by the police on defenceless citizens in George Square, and urge the workers to refrain from all violence in retaliation and appeal to them to conduct the strike with the restraint they have shown all through, even when confronted with provocation."

### "WORKERS! BE BOLD

"The Riot Act, it is alleged, was read to the strikers, but this was a mere formality which was not known to those present. The strikers first knew of this Act being read from the press, and those of us who were in the audience did not hear it being read. If read at all, it must have been read in the City Chambers, where no one heard it but the police. Riot Act or no, it does not excuse the police hooligans who deliberately attacked an inoffensive multitude.

"The authorities and the employers are making a big mistake if they think they can crush the 40 hours movement by force. If, as we have shown, they cannot dispose of the economic and social justification for the 40 hours' week by reason or argument, they will not conquer it by force. Intimidation in the form of bludgeons or machine guns will not have any effect on the minds of workers who know that their demand is just and necessary if the evils of unemployment are to be abolished in this country.

"The answer to the intimidation and brutality of the Government and employers must be a general stoppage all over Scotland, and over

England as well. There is no need for violence to combat violence if all withdraw their labour and paralyse industry. This will have the effect of closing the source of profit to the profiteers, and when that is effected they will be compelled to concede our demand—in case worse may follow. This is a fight for all workers, and every worker must take part.

"They may arrest members of the Joint Committee; they may attack a defenceless crowd; they may proclaim martial law; they may bring out troops and guns; they may try to starve us; they may sneer and lie about the strike; they may employ blacklegs; they may engage cheap alien labour; they may bully as they care; but all these and other efforts will be futile if the workers be true to one another. United as workers, you can never be beaten."

### "PINKSTON POWER STATION.

"A Well-wisher writes:—

"Re Pinkston Power Station, I have good authority for informing you there are 15 to 20 men locked in above-mentioned station, and are being fed daily, the foodstuffs being smuggled in by some back door near Canal bank. The goods are being brought by Corporation car. Keep a sharp look-out.

"We learn that some thirty beds were taken to Pinkston on Thursday from St. Andrew's Hall, for the use of the blacklegs now imprisoned in the station."

"Dumbarton now solid. A 10,000 mass picket went to the Motor Works at Alexandria, and after a parley with the manager and men the effect was that all in the place joined the strike. We have agreed maimed and disabled soldiers remain working, if they wish."

"Neil MacLean, M.P. for Govan, interviewed by *The Strike Bulletin* chief reporter, states he intends to get a meeting of the Labour Party called on Tuesday first, with a view to action being taken in Parliament to secure a 40 hours enactment applying to all trades. He intends to voice the strike demand in Parliament at the first opportunity, and he means to put up a fight on your behalf. He wants you to stand firm, as your unity will be the best argument he can put forward in Parliament."

### "IS IT BLUFF?

#### "THREATENED ARREST OF STRIKERS.

"Harry Hopkins, District Secretary of the A.S.E., has received the following letter from a friend:—

"You may have wondered at the 'powers that be' keeping so quiet. A coup is planned, and all the leaders of the strike are to be quietly arrested and sent out of the country to a destination I have not been able to find out. All the names are on the list. I do not know when the arrest will take place, as the utmost secrecy is being maintained. I am risking a lot in sending you this warning, and, believe me, it is genuine.—J. M. W."

"The above is one of many similar letters to men active in the movement, who do not worry in the least as they know the workers will carry on the fight, no matter how many so-called 'leaders' may be laid by the heels. It is the workers who are the leaders in this strike, and the Government can't arrest them all. They can't arrest 100,000 strikers in any case. Common sense will teach you to treat with any situation that may arise. Your mass picket idea shows you know something about strategy."

### MASS MEETING OF SHOP STEWARDS

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into the demands of the workers. Now is the chance for Bob Smillie, Bob Williams, and the whole of the Triple Alliance. If they are sincere in their oft-repeated threats to the powers that be, and desire to do something, let them realise in this widespread revolt the motive force they are so fond of telling us they are waiting for.

Anyway, let me say, right here, that I, as an individual, am not prepared to "sit idly by, whilst on every wind of the heavens a wasted life goes by." We have had nearly five years of slaughter and even now the lives of good men are being uselessly sacrificed in Russia, and I am going to fight, fight, and continue to fight until the damnable capitalist system that is responsible for such ghastly wars is destroyed absolutely and entirely. The hour for action has arrived. Let us enter into the battle with brave and fearless hearts prepared to make sacrifices, but realising that we can never make the sacrifices freely made by comrades that have gone before us.



## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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### THE REVOLUTION.

Now that the workers are in revolt is the time of all times to make Socialists and to advocate revolution. Revolutionary progress is not made in periods of dull inertia, but when peoples are stirred to action.

Socialists must support all strikes, for under capitalism the workers are everywhere denied their due share of the wealth they produce, and because, by striking, they manifest a conscious or unconscious discontent with the capitalist system, and unless the workers are discontented the system cannot be overthrown. We weary of those sentimental people, who, when the workers strike for higher wages, shorter hours, or against industrial tyranny, always complain that the motive behind the strike is selfish and small, saying they cannot support them till they strike for some wider political objective. In its struggle upward from slavery, the working class must, of necessity, take any step for which it is ready, to better its conditions and to add to its power. We may desire the coming of strikes for broad general objects beneficial to the entire people, and for the conquest of governing power; but we must not cavil at smaller, less conscious manifestations of unrest.

It is almost invariably the case that those who deprecate strikes for small sectional objectives are precisely those who are readiest to complain when the workers face the greater risks and sacrifices attendant on a strike for some wide and far-reaching end.

The strike for a shorter working day, the general strike, whatever its object, may possibly carry with it far greater consequences than the achievement of the original aim; but, be that as it may, the strike for shorter hours is itself a great and worthy object. To reduce the hours of labour until work is found for all, is the scientific method of dealing with the unemployment problem, a problem which now looms before the workers of every country as a hideous menace.

The capitalist Governments, which have accelerated the unemployed crisis refuse to take any adequate steps to deal with it. The payment of the unemployment doles and the unemployment "donation" for a maximum period of thirteen weeks in six months, is not an adequate method of dealing with the situation. The masses of the workless army are growing, although the spread of unemployment is checked by keeping in the Army the soldiers eagerly waiting to be demobilised.

The strikers for reduced hours are doing what is so very hard to do, abandoning their own security, in order to bring the unemployed men and women back into industry. Theirs is a splendid manifestation of courage and solidarity.

The employing classes which, as a whole, have increased their profits by the war, and especially so in the engineering, ship-building, and mining industries, where the demand for reduced hours is strongest, refuse to accede to this, the only method by which unemployment can be avoided.

The Government, which, though a capitalist government, should feel some responsibility towards the community as a whole, has been called on by the strikers to intervene to secure the necessary reduction of hours. The Government, through Mr. Bonar Law's telegram, has refused the strikers' request:—

"...The Government are unable to entertain

requests for intervention made by local members of unions whose representatives are working for them in conference with the employers.

"Such action on the part of the Government could only undermine the authority of those who have been chosen by the men to represent their interests...."

The terms of the refusal are insolent. It is not the business of the Government to dictate to the workers concerning the management of their trade unions.

Having refused to intervene in support of the strikers' demand, though its fulfilment alone can stave off great misery and unrest in the early future, the Government has not simply allowed things to take their course. It has intervened against the strikers. It has arrested the men who seemed to be the most prominent leaders; it has sent troops and machine guns, even tanks, to Glasgow. People cried out against Germany's use of the more hideous methods of warfare—no implement of war is more terrible than the tank. Is the Government to be permitted to use it in Glasgow?

The Electrical Trade Union has decided to come to the aid of the strikers: it joins the national strike for 40 hours; it supports the Port of London strikers; it issues strike pay. As usual, it sets an example of solidarity to other unions.

We regret the shilly-shally methods being employed by the officials of the Transport Workers' Federation. At the A.S.E. mass meeting, and Shop Stewards' meeting, where the 40 hour demand was adopted in solidarity with the Clyde, Jack Mills of the Woolwich Shop Stewards tried hard to substitute 44 hours and to defer strike action. Mills declared that he acted on the advice of Robert Williams, the Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, and Mills urged that as the Transport Workers were demanding 44 hours, other workers must fall into line with them, because only the Transport Workers could paralyse the food supply, and therefore, they had the best chance of winning a strike. Evidently Mills had not been keeping in touch with the news from Belfast and Glasgow.

But what shall we say of the Transport Workers' Federation? If the press reports are to be believed, on the very afternoon when Mills was appealing to the engineers to be led by the Transport Workers, the Transport Workers' Federation, at a conference with the employers, agreed to a motion of Sir Alfred Booth of the Cunard Company to postpone the hours question for further discussion by a sub-committee of employers and employed. Having secured this point, the employers withdrew, leaving the workers to realise their mistake. The workers then passed a resolution saying that the committee must meet on Tuesday instead of Friday! Indeed, we are appalled that a strong, powerfully organised body of workers, whose help is urgently needed by their fellows, now carrying on a magnificently heroic struggle, should consent to such an obvious ruse for securing delay.

Do the Transport Workers really believe they will secure a 44-hour week by means of this sub-committee? And if they should secure this point, how could they possibly rest content to get it for themselves alone, when obviously, if a reduction of working hours is to result in the absorption of the unemployed into the labour market, the reduction must be effected on a national scale? Can they stand by and see the Clyde workers beaten for lack of their help?

Though the Transport Workers' Federation is thus dallying with the position, failing to realise the present urgent duty of working-class solidarity, the component parts of the Federation are beginning to show signs of awakening.

The general strike is the great educator in learning the lesson of solidarity. We are moving on towards the general strike, and in due time, we shall assuredly see the workers' revolution in Britain and throughout the world.

An Army of 900,000.

The Pay for Fighting Socialism.

Nine hundred thousand men "in the first

instance" are to be kept mobilised. "In the first instance," be it noted! Remember that at the beginning of the war Kitchener asked for only 500,000 men! Only 160,000 had been actually prepared as an expeditionary force by the Government which saw the great European war looming ahead. Nine hundred thousand men IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. Keep the words in mind!

How are these men to be distributed?

The forces of occupation comprise:—

The Fleet.

Army on the Rhine.

Detachment of the Far North.

The Home Army.

Army of Middle East.

Garrison of Crown Colonies and India.

What is the Detachment of the Far North?

Obviously it is the detachment which is to be sent to Russia. British workers, are you willing to be sent to Russia to fight the Workers' Government there? The same must be said of a part at least of the Middle East Army.

The Daily Mail recently published a map showing how British troops are now distributed. It showed them at Murmansk, Archangel, Omsk, Vladivostok, and Transcaucasia; in Transcaspia, Mesopotamia, North Persia, Palestine, Cairo, the Balkans, Italy; all these beside the armies in India, Austria, Germany and Turkey, Great Britain, and Ireland. This immense army, planted for the most part in the territory of weaker nations, must either be a protective, or a coercive influence. From the capitalists' standpoint such armies are merely the necessary protection of legitimate interests; in the Socialist view they are a cruel means of coercion and always retard the natural development of the peoples they control.

What is to be the pay for the men who man these armies? £1 ls. a week, in addition to separation allowance, for a private soldier—little enough! To us such wages paid to the men sent to Russia are all too like the thirty pieces of silver paid to Judas for betraying Christ.

We ask those who are considering this matter to recall the words of Arthur Ransome, who went out to Russia as a Liberal journalist, and who, when his papers were endorsed by the Bolsheviks here, warned them that if he disapproved of the Bolsheviks and the Soviets, he would use his pen against them. Arthur Ransome says of the Bolsheviks:—

"I only ask that men shall look through the fog of libel, that surrounds them and see that the ideal for which they are struggling in the only way in which they can struggle is among those lights which every man of young and eager heart sees before him somewhere on the road, and not among those other lights from which he resolutely turns away."

Which men are to form the Army of Occupation?

The young men and boys, and, included with them, may be men who make themselves conspicuous by agitating for better conditions in the Army. The regulations state that any men marked for returning home who are guilty of any form of insubordination, apart from any other punishment, will be put back to the bottom of the list of those who are to be sent home. So the desire to go home will be used to keep men quiet. The regulations further state that 69 battalions of 18-year-old boys now at home are to be sent at once to the Rhine bridgeheads. The armies will be composed, again the sinister phrase, "In the first instance," of those who did not enlist before January 1st, 1916.

Remember that if the effort to crush Bolshevik Socialism in Europe is allowed to continue, and if the British Empire is to be extended, even an army of 900,000 will not suffice.

In the election it was said that conscription would be abolished; now press forecasts announce that legislation to extend conscription will be introduced as soon as Parliament meets, as it is generally agreed that an army of 900,000 men cannot be raised by voluntary means.

Capitalism is laying its plans, but we believe that Labour will presently cry "check" to them.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.



## LENIN TO AMERICAN WORKING-MEN.



Nikolai Lenin.

[This was the first direct word that reached the American people from Nikolai Lenin after he became the recognised leader of the proletarian world. Previous efforts to get a message past the censorship lines had evidently failed. Certain passages were omitted in deference to the extremely literal interpretation of the American Espionage law, but the heart of Lenin's message is here.]

Moscow, August 20th, 1918.

COMRADES.—A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the revolution of 1905 and for many years afterwards lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully, for the revolutionary proletariat of America—in so far as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time....

Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany, a just peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality could have been forced upon Germany, and millions of lives might have been saved. Because they hoped to re-establish the Eastern Front by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of warfare, they refused to attend peace negotiations and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace. It ill becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace upon our shoulders!....

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathize with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialistic agreements and treaties; for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves; for having established ourselves as a Socialist republic, even so rent asunder and plundered by German imperialists; for having raised the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world. What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over! But this hatred of imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause.

He is no Socialist who cannot understand that one cannot and must not hesitate to bring even that greatest of sacrifices, the sacrifice of territory, that one must be ready to accept even military defeat at the hands of imperialism, in the interests of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interests of a transfer of power to the working-class.... Shall we then hesitate to act in the name of the liberation of the workers of the world from the yoke of capitalism, in the name of a general honourable peace; shall we wait until we can find a way that entails no sacrifice; shall we be afraid to begin the fight until an easy victory is assured; shall we place the integrity and safety of this "fatherland" created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the international Socialist revolution?....

The great Russian revolutionist, Tcherny-chewski, once said: Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Newski Prospect. He is no revolutionist who would have the revolution of the proletariat only under the "condition" that it proceed smoothly and in an orderly manner, that the proletarians of all countries immediately go into action, that guarantees against defeat be given beforehand, that the revolution go forward along the broad, free, straight path to victory, that there shall not be here and there the heaviest sacrifices, that we shall not have to lie in wait in

besieged fortresses, shall not have to climb up along the narrowest paths, the most impassable, winding, dangerous mountain roads. He is no revolutionist, he has not yet freed himself from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back, again and again, into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of the revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry, and shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging, climatic force of the class struggle called revolution.....

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks—are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the eighteenth and the civil war in the nineteenth century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of civil war, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform Socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage-slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working-class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the best loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, who in the *Appeal to Reason* at the end of 1915, when it was still a Socialist paper, in an article entitled 'Why Should I Fight?' said

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The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10 millions, in crippling 20 millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and the exploited, against oppressors and exploiters, cost a half, or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the world war died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the labouring peasants took hold of the powers of State, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the Socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know, too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance, and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working class, which has been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries, should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are ten thousand great deeds of heroism; greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious; because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts, or in secluded villages; because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds; yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as triumphant. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working-class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult questions of social organization out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious co-operation of ten million plain working-men and peasants in the re-creation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority in outwitting and taking advantage of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence, to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way through thousands of hindrances to victorious Socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke, in the night from October 25th to October 26th (Russian calendar), 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling, from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and works under State ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management

Continued on next page.



## LENIN TO AMERICAN WORKING-MEN.

Continued from page 1217.

of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone, they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labour, the new rule of the labour organizations of the working-class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary activity by the Soviets which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of state, a new highest form of democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the State without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of many hundred millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which Socialism is not to be thought of.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered modes of formal parliamentary democracy. In the Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old bourgeois democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeois republicans overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our Socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected strata of working-men and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American Working-men, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how should it be otherwise?). We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions can come neither at a word of command nor according to pre-arranged plans. We know that circumstances alone have pushed us, the proletariat of Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority but because of the peculiarly reactionary character of Russia. But until the outbreak of the international revolution, revolutions in individual countries may still meet with a number of serious setbacks and overthrows.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible,

for humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in spirit, it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic warfare. We broke them with the greatest sacrifice, but they are broken. We stand outside of imperialistic duties and considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international Socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Working-men the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labour is approaching communistic Bolshevik tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction. We are invincible. The proletarian Revolution is invincible.

## BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

My friend Joe was having it out with Henry Dubb. The noon edition of the evening paper had just been smuggled in by one of the lads who were expected to manage little affairs of the sort. After Henry had scanned Captain Karno's notes on the morning's gallops, Joe looked over his shoulder.

"I see the Allies are dividing up Africa and the Pacific Islands and the rest. I don't suppose those niggers come under the heading of small nations, or that the Allies will trouble to ask them would they rather be ruled over by British, Yanks, French, Italians or Belgians."

"Or perhaps Japanese," someone suggested. "They might ask to be left alone and rule themselves," concluded Joe.

"I reckon that's better for one of the Allies to do it," said Henry, "especially after that photo I see in the papers of fifty native chiefs hung upon trees by the Germans till they were dead. The niggers won't want them back for bosses."

"I don't suppose the niggers read *The Daily Pictorial*," said the man who had mentioned the Japanese.

"My idea is that they won't have the Allies neither at any price," said Joe replying to Henry's tirade. "You may have forgotten it, but I daresay they won't—the playful ways of the Belgians in the Congo and of the British in Putumayo, I mean."

"What I say," said the interjector, "is let's give politics a rest. It don't matter what we say: the Peace Conference ain't here to hear us, and I don't suppose they'd take much notice of us if they did. What about this new short hours move?"

"I don't see the use of short hours myself," said Henry taking up the subject eagerly. "Why, I reckon to lose half a quid since the firm cut down our hours to fifty. What's the use of a short week if you don't get the same wage?"

It should be explained that Joe had been foremost in trying to get the men, practically all unionists, to send a delegation to the manager about putting a forty-seven hour week into force. Not much notice had been taken except by the engineers who got it on their own. The management then cut the general working hours of the shop down from 54 to 50, the engineers being paid for the extra three hours at overtime rates.

"Yes," said the interjector, "that's what I'd like to know. It ain't so bad having four hours knocked off, if it wasn't we got paid for those four hours as overtime. These shorter weeks are a fraud when you get them."

"Why," exclaimed Joe indignantly, "you both know perfectly well that when I suggested going up to see old Jerry about the short week, I pointed out that the great thing was to have no reduction in wages. That's what I got the cutters to back me up for. If you hadn't turned to jellyfish at the last minute we'd have got at least what the engineers did, if not more."

"That's true," I said taking up the cudgels for Joe, "if you had stuck together, you'd have had Jerry on a hot brick. Henry here said that it was no use putting up a shop steward from each department, as that was trade-unionism, and Jerry swore that he'd have no trade-union tricks. He'd smash them, according to Henry, and he said nobody would come out if any of us got sacked for going up about it. But nobody supposed, least of all Joe and I, that one or two should take all that risk. What we said was a

## A MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS.

## THE MASSES

Edited by W. F. WATSON.

Jim Foster the workman philosopher says:—

"Billie my boy if you want the Masses to succeed cut out the sickly sloppy sentimental tosh one so often reads in the Labour papers and go right out for the Social Revolution."

If you want to know more about Jim Foster and THE MASSES buy IT.

READY FEBRUARY 8TH.

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## AGENTS WANTED

Write to W. F. WATSON,

7, FEATHERSTONE BUILDINGS, HOLBORN, W.C.1.

delegate from every department to represent us: that would mean we were prepared to back them up."

"Yes," added Joe, "and the firm can't sack the whole lot of us at once. If they could pay us £3 10s. in war time—and some of us got over four quid—and still make profit, they can afford it now. My terms are four quid a week of forty hours and an extra allowance to married men and others with dependants same as they have in the army. I don't see that's much considering the Clyde workers want five quid for forty hours a week."

"Why don't you speak out and say you want the whole shop?" facetiously suggested the interjector.

"Why not?" asked Joe turning to him. "The firm made forty thousand clear last year, and that means after all expenses are paid. There are about two hundred of us here and I reckon that out at four quid a week extra over what we get now as wages—supposing Bill's boy gets the same as Bill himself."

"I've heard that sort of talk before," said Henry, "divide up and nobody would do a stroke of work."

"You're old enough to know the money isn't there for the asking. It has to be worked for. And I must say you seem mighty anxious we should have to work. I can't say as I see Jerry does any himself. Most any old fool can stroll round in a yellow overall."

"That's true," said the interjector, "What's an overseer paid for? Find fault."

"If we could all stick together," said Joe pursuing some object he had in mind, "or at least those of us that counted, we could go up and make Old Jerry a present of our terms. He would either fork over or else tell us that the firm couldn't afford it and make a profit out of the deal." "Or else he'd shut down the whole blessed works," said Henry. "All you Bolshies won't fetch me out that like. We were going along all right till you came round with that precious scheme of short hours."

"It seems as if you'd be willing to work ninety hours if you got six quid: that's what you'd call a piece of luck," said Joe with just the suspicion of a sneer; "things were supposed to change owing to the war; the boys were not to go back to the same old terms. That's what all the papers said, and I reckon the boys are going to see it done."

"Yes," said one of the men with a discharged badge. "That's what most of these strikes are about. Work less hours so as to find jobs for the boys who are demobilised. When most of the lads are back at a job they won't be thinking the same as Henry."

"Well, I reckon Jerry would say it can't be done at a profit and that he'd like to know anyone who can."

"Just so. That's where we come in," said Joe. "What do you mean?" asked Henry.

"That's where we come in—and run the whole show at a profit—our profit."

Mr. and Mrs. Mason desire to take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging their indebtedness to all comrades and friends (whose number precludes immediate individual replies) for numerous kindnesses and expressions of sympathy during the past two years, and for the strenuous endeavours made on their behalf.



## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

## German Soldiers Fight.

The Daily News reports that German soldiers are re-enlisting for lack of work. A volunteer regiment dismissed for some unknown reason tried to dissuade a volunteer regiment from starting for the Eastern front. A machine-gun fight developed between both sections.

The German Government has sent troops to Bremen to deal with the Spartacists there.

Why are Japanese and Brazilian squadrons at Portsmouth?

## U-Boats for Allies.

Of the surrendered German submarines, 37 have been handed to the Allies. America has received four, Italy 10, France 16, and Japan 7. These boats have been distributed in this way so that the various Powers may have an opportunity of examining their construction.—The Times, February 1st.

This at the close of the war to end war!

## The Man with the Branded Brow.

When you read of Bolshevik atrocities remember "the Man with the Branded Brow," who now admits that he never left this country during the war.

The German reactionaries are chafing against the authority of the Soldiers' Councils. The Government desires to limit the power of the Councils. Such attempts will but hasten the next stage of revolution.

## A Note from the Yugo-Slav National Council at Fiume.

Le Populaire of January 25th reports from Zagreb, January 20th, that the Yugo-Slav National Council has sent a note to the Allied Powers stating that a group of men elected by no one has taken the name of the 'National Council of Fiume,' and in agreement with the Italian army in occupation has assumed authority in Fiume. Amongst other abuses this Council has ordered the taking of a fresh census of the population. The order is said to have been given with a view to distributing new ration books, but in reality it is a political manoeuvre to use the pressure of Italian troops and the people's fear of being deprived of food to secure statistics in support of the demand for including Fiume with Italy. The census enumerator, of the Italian Council, marks in pencil the particulars which the inhabitants must write over and sign in ink. People who declare that their native language is Croatian are asked for identification papers; and are threatened that their supplies of food will be cut off or that they will be hunted from the town. Finally, their mother tongue is registered as Italian. People are asked: "What do you speak at home?" Those who answer "Croatian and Italian" are registered as speak-

ing Italian. The Yugo-Slav Council says it has been able to verify cases in which the Italians have registered people as speaking Italian. Those who declare before the enumerator they are Croats, lay themselves open to gross insults from the partisans of Italy, who fill the hall where the record is being taken, and where the noise is such that it is impossible for the enumerator to follow the statements. Croats must prove everything by witnesses. The members of the Council have declared that the lists thus compiled will be sent to Italy for propaganda purposes, to show that the population of Fiume is Italian.

## Prinkipo.

M. Longuet, the French Socialist Deputy, has been asked by the Soviet Government to inquire whether the Allied Governments would withdraw their troops from Russian soil and cease furnishing supplies to the Governments which are fighting the Soviets. These questions he put to M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, but Pichon refused to answer and declined to allow Longuet to communicate by wireless with the Soviet Government.

The Soviet Government has agreed to send delegates to Prinkipo if the Allies will agree to the Conference debates to taking place in full publicity. The counter-revolutionaries, so far, seem disinclined to go. Tehaykovsky the President of one of the Counter-Revolutionary Northern Government, has been allowed to travel freely to London and Paris though the Allies profess to issue an impartial invitation. An impartial invitation from the Powers, making war on the Soviets is, of course, an absurdity.

## Revolution in Rumania.

A workers' revolution has broken out in Rumania. Home-coming soldiers are at the head of the insurgents.

## British Sailors hoist Red Flag.

On January 13th, the red flag was hoisted on H.M.S. Kilnside, and the seamen refused to go to sea. On January 28th at Devonport, a leading seaman was sentenced to two years hard labour, three others one year's hard labour, and three more nine days' detention.

## £1,000 Blood Money.

The Lords Justices offer to pay £1,000 to any one giving information which will lead to the conviction of the murderers of two Irish policemen and of £300 for information calculated to lead to that result, and a free pardon and the special protection of the Crown to any one concerned in the murders not being himself the actual murderer who will betray the others. Such offers are highly obnoxious. They open the door to perjury. It is a horrible expedient unworthy of a civilised community.

## HOW LIEBKNECHT DIED.

The Daily News special correspondent in Berlin states that an eye witness has given him the following account of Liebknecht's death:—

"He was staying, he says, at the Eden Hotel, where the horrible affair took place, and he returned there on the night of the tragedy at 10.30 to find an armed sentry guarding the door. This sentry told him that Liebknecht had been arrested and that it was intended to beat him to death.

"In the immediate neighbourhood of the hotel nobody was to be seen. Thus the story circulated in the official report about the 'infuriated crowds' was false, and the crowd existed only in the imagination of the military authorities who spread the report.

"When he entered the hotel he found a group of eight military officers and half a dozen civilians. There was an air of expectancy about them, and in about fifteen minutes Rosa Luxemburg appeared, accompanied by the 'Kriminal Wachmeister.' A few minutes later Liebknecht came downstairs, after having been questioned by the military. He was guarded by armed soldiers.

"At the moment Liebknecht was passing the narrator of this affair, an officer of the Guards Cavalry suddenly sprang towards him, shouting: "Is that fellow still alive?"

"The officer then joined the military escort, which left the hotel with both prisoners. In about fifteen minutes he returned and said that Liebknecht had been beaten to death with the butt-ends of rifles. The blows were struck from behind, and at the second blow Liebknecht collapsed.... The next step taken was to compel all civilians to leave the hall of the hotel while the military and hotel employees were assembled alone. These employees afterwards declared, quite independently of each other, that Rosa

Luxemburg had also been beaten down at the entrance to the hotel by soldiers and officers. There was no sign of any enraged crowd. My informant states that the official declaration of the Guards Cavalry Schutzen-division was one complete untruth from beginning to end. A major who was present in the hotel could easily have investigated the affair, but caused a false statement to be issued instead of the truth. Later on the manager of the hotel was ordered to assemble all the employees and to read this false report aloud to them. In this way the employees were intimidated by that militarism which is by some supposed to have been thrust for ever out of Germany.

"The soldiers declared that they had thrown the body of Rosa Luxemburg into the canal. On the day following these terrible events all the officers who knew about them had disappeared from the hotel."

The Daily News correspondent continues:—"The struggle of the military officers for the maintenance of their old position is becoming daily more determined, and is assuming the shape of a movement for removing the soldiers' councils and restoring the old system of subordination. The old spirit of militarism has, in fact, revived, and in a form which supplies a reason for caution." Is it possible that the Allied Capitalist Press will use the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg as an argument for continued intervention in Germany?

Remember that the Allied armies of Occupation were at once ordered to dissolve the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of Germany and that the Allied Governments refused to negotiate with the German Workers' and Soldiers' Council. The workers and soldiers of Germany are continuing their fight against militarism at home.

## Press Reports and the Strike.

A resolution that compositors be instructed to refuse to set up newspaper type not endorsed by the strike committee was carried by a large majority and with much enthusiasm at the Chandos Hall Shop Stewards meeting on Feb. 1st.

## For the Strikers' Children.

A River Thames Shop Stewards' Children's Feeding Committee is being formed. Those who read this announcement need not wait to send along either donations and offers of service till a treasurer and secretary have been appointed. Offers of immediate help, if specially addressed to the R.T.S.S. Children's Feeding Committee at 400, Old Ford Road, will be sent on from there to the proper quarter.

## THE BOOKSTALL "MANAGER."

In order to alleviate somewhat the lot of bookstall clerks the National Union of Printing and Paper Workers is trying to organise them into that Union. A committee of ten male and two women bookstall clerks has been formed for that purpose. The present conditions of a "manager" are £2 10s. a week without commission, hours 8 A.M. till 8 P.M., no holidays; responsibility for all losses, such as books stolen, bad debts to be made good to the firm.

The Paper Workers' Union is standing out for a wage of £3 per week with commission, a week's holiday with pay, and the abolition of the responsibility for losses.

Someone, however, thinks this too arrogant, and a counter campaign is being waged. A manifesto, together with the ballot paper reproduced here, are being circulated. The bookstall manager is being reminded that he is not a "packer," nor yet a "printer," nor a "paper worker." There is a "dignity and pride" in his especial calling, which, by the way, is the goal of most bright paper boys! In short, he is reminded that his interests are at stake.

We, too, feel that his interests are at stake, for this manoeuvre is just such another of the employers' methods of causing lack of unity amongst the workers:—

## BALLOT PAPER.—URGENT.

Return to Mr. A. E. Ward (late Gunner R.G.A., Provincial Hon. Sec., No. 82606), St. Pancras Bookstall, London.

## Branch

1. Are you in favour of joining a union?—
2. Are you in favour of joining our own Union?—
3. Are you in favour of joining the Paper Workers' Union?—
4. What is the wish of your senior staff (those 20 years of age and over)?
5. Give the number of your staff 20 years of age and over.

Return immediately signed.

This Ballot is intended to find out in a proper and regular manner the desire of our colleagues throughout the country. The results will be announced immediately they are ascertained and action will be taken to give effect to the will of the majority. The few who may have already joined the Paper Workers' Union are asked to sign this ballot paper, giving expression to their real views in this matter.

## "HANDS OFF RUSSIA." DEMONSTRATION

Victoria Park, Sunday, February 9th, 3 p.m.

## PLATFORM I.

Chair: H. G. Russell, N.O.F.; Sylvia Pankhurst, W.S.F. W. F. Watson, L.W.C.; A. A. Watts, B.S.P.

## PLATFORM II.

Chair: Fred Sturge, N.A.F.T.A.; E. C. Fairchild, B.S.P. Jessie Stephens; Councillor Vaughan, E.T.U.; Guy Aldred.

## PLATFORM III.

Chair: W. Ponder; Jack Tanner, W.L.S.T.; John Arnall G. Saunders, N.U.L.V.W.

## PLATFORM IV.

Chair: S. T. Purdon, D.S. & S.; Miriam Price, L.W.C. G. Lohant, L.W.W.; Jock Mills, Arsenal Shop Stewards M. Jacobs, B.S.P.

## SPECIAL NOTICE.

## EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE SOCIAL AND DANCE

will be held at 400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16th, at 7 p.m.

Good Talent. Lively Music. Admission 1s. including Tax.



**WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**

*For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and the substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.*

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.  
Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

**LONDON MEETINGS.****OUT DOOR.**

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7th.**  
The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Mrs. Walker.  
Queen's Crescent.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.  
**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8th.**  
White Cross Street.—12 (noon), Miss Price.  
**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9th.**  
The Grove, Hammersmith.—11.45 A.M., John SYME. Chair: Miss Birch.  
'Salmon & Ball'—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.  
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.  
**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11th.**  
Clocktower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.  
**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14th.**  
The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.  
**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15th.**  
Great Push in Tottenham.

**INDOOR.**

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9th.**  
20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F.), 7 P.M., Mr. Arnold Lupton, 'Old Slavery in New Governments.' Chair: Mrs. Walker. Discussion.  
**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10th.**  
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.  
**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12th.**  
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—7 P.M., Mr. E. G. Smith, 'A Democratic Peace.' Discussion.  
St. Leonard's Academy, High Road, Leytonstone.—7 P.M., Mr. Edward Fuller, Chair: Mrs. Hart.  
**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13th.**  
20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle).—8 P.M., Mr. Edmunds, 'Marxian Economics.'

**OTHER ORGANISATIONS.**

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9th.**  
Clapham Common.—3 P.M. Demonstration, Dr. MacGregor Reid, Miss Price, Ex-Insp. Syme, Ex-Constable Herbert (released from Wandsworth), etc.  
**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11th.**  
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

**YOUNG IRELAND.**—The small Caxton Hall was packed to hear Mr. Devine give his impressions of 'Ireland of To-day.' One Irish rebel said afterwards: "He has said all I feel but could not express." The speaker's youth was a stumbling-block to one or two members of the audience, who seemed to think one must be at least 50 before one can have a knowledge of the Irish or any other question. However, Mr. Devine in his graceful tribute to Jim Connell as a veteran of the rebel movement showed that the younger generation is not without appreciation of the older. The audience recognised that Mr. Devine was a true internationalist in realising that internationalism must be based on free nationalism. Mr. Devine ably pointed out that it was for Irish Nationalism that James Connolly, admittedly one of the greatest of Internationalists, died. The lecture was particularly appreciated by a few Indian comrades present, one of whom so eloquently expressed the bond of sympathy between India and Ireland. The meeting closed with our Sinn Fein comrades singing 'The Soldiers' Song.'

**Gratefully Acknowledged**

**GENERAL FUND.**—Irene per Mrs. Drake (20s. w.), £2; Mrs. J. H. Rawlins, 6s. 8d.; Profit on Refreshments per Mrs. Savoy, 3s. 6d.; Profit on Caxton Hall meeting per Miss Casey, 3s. 3d.; Mr. Rout, 6d. **COLLECTIONS:** Bow People's Hall, 5s. 10d.; Poplar W.S.F., 4s. 4d.; Miss Price, 2s. 6d. **SOCIAL WORK.**—Mr. and Mrs. Sadd Brown, £8; Mr. Jas. Kreysa, 13s. **COLLECTIONS:** L.S.A. Toolroom, £1 11s. 3d.; Misses E. Lagading and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 8s. 6d.

Donations to 'The Dreadnought' Fund are urgently required. Please send what you can to the Hon. Treasurer, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

'DREADNOUGHT' FUND.—Misses A. and I. Lewisohn, £20; Miss M. Gliksten, £5 5s.; Miss M. Joachim, £5; per Mr. F. C. Conybeare, £5; Collected at Chandos Hall, £2 18s. 9d.; per Miss Pankhurst, £2 11s. 2d.; Mr. Gasiorowski, £2; Anon., £2; per Polish Socialist Group, £1 12s.; Mr. Harrison Barrow, £1 1s.; Miss and Mrs. Chappelow, £1; Bolton Shop Stewards' Committee, £1; Mr. R. K. Gaul, £1; "Irene," £1; Mrs. Murray, £1; Mr. J. E. Phillips, £1; Mrs. Read Andrews, 15s.; Mr. R. Whitwell, 14s. 2d.; Mr. T. G. Higdon, 12s.; Anon., 10s.; Mrs. Brimley, 10s. (2s. 6d. w.); Mr. C. A. Burroughs, 10s.; Mrs. Cecil, 10s.; Mr. F. C. Conybeare, 10s.; Mrs. Crosland Taylor, 10s.; Eastern Branch E.T.U., 10s.; Mr. A. J. Marriott, 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Schütze, 10s. (m.); Mr. B. Hochmann, 9s. 2d.; Miss B. Joyce, 5s. 6d.; Miss E. Smith, 5s. 6d.; Mr. J. A. Morton, 5s. (m.); Miss L. Bent, 4s. 7d.; Mr. Wolf, 4s. 7d.; Mrs. Richmond (2s. f.), 4s.; Miss E. K. Russell, 3s. 6d.; Mr. Chandler, 3s.; Mrs. Baillie Weaver, 2s. 6d. (m.); Mrs. Davies, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. A. Gilbert, 2s. 6d.; Miss King, 2s. 6d.; Mr. W. Nutter, 2s. 6d.; Mr. W. Toop, 2s. 6d. (m.); Mr. J. W. Everett, 2s.; Mrs. Westrope, 1s. 1d.; Anon., 1s.; Mr. P. A. Bracher, 1s.; Miss Newsome, 1s. (m.); Mr. Rout, 1s.; Mr. P. Lamartine Yates, 8d.

**STRIKES ARE NOT ILLEGAL.**

The Glasgow Strikers' Bulletin of February 1st says:—

"We defy the authorities to prove one instance of illegal conduct by the strikers in this dispute, just as we challenge them to justify lawfully their brutal use of force against unarmed men, women, and children."

**MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS**

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

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**VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT.**—15s. a week to every child in our midst as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, and £1 a week for everyone at 60.  
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**EDWARD SOERMUS,** the "Russian Violinist," has several open dates, "week nights," in January and February. No Sundays available. March dates all booked. Free from April 1st onwards. Apply to Harry Morris, 10 Fairview Terrace, Merthyr.

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**BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.****HANDS OFF RUSSIA!****Socialist Demonstration**

IN THE

**ALBERT HALL**

**TO DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ALLIED TROOPS FROM RUSSIA AND THE RAISING OF THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE**

**On Saturday, February 8th.**

**Speakers—**

**GEORGE LANSBURY, JOHN MACLEAN, V. McENTEE, NEIL McLEAN, M.P., CATHAL O'SHANNON** (Irish Transport Workers), **SYLVIA PANKHURST, W. F. WATSON, R. C. WALLHEAD, LADY WARWICK, ISRAEL ZANGWILL.**

Chairman - E. C. FAIRCHILD.

The Russian Violinist, EDWARD SOERMUS, will play.

DOORS OPEN 6.45 p.m. Music from 7.15 to 7.40. Chair taken 7.45.  
No Seats reserved after 7.10.

ADMISSION FREE: by ticket only, obtainable from ALBERT INKPIN, General Secretary, B.S.P., 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.2.

No charge is made for tickets, but contributions towards the cost of the meeting will be cordially appreciated. Stewards and Literature Sellers urgently required.

READ "THE CALL," The Internationalist Socialist Weekly, THURSDAYS, TWOPENCE.