The Fourth International.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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NEW TACTICS. Death of the Old Industrialism. What will replace it? By SYLVIA PANKHURST

The old Industrial Unionism had reached its zenith in South Wales; now it lies crushed, in many districts absolutely in ruins. It has had its day.

A blight has fallen upon South Wales.

One sees it as soon as one enters the valleys. It makes itself known by the sad broken looks of the women who stand at the doors of those long monotonous rows of little houses. Those drooping, dejected figures with faces hopeless and worn, and dull-eyed, seem more in keeping with poor down-trodden casual working East London than with what was lately fighting, hopeful relatively prosperous South Wales. One sees the growth of poverty in the children, though less in the children, as yet, than in their mothers, who hug in their shawls, with a growing despair in their fervent affection, those baby burdens whose nourishing is rendered more difficult every day. The poorer dress of the people, even on Sundays, tells the same story; the knitting, knitting of women who can no longer afford to buy ready-made socks for their men; and the boot repairing apparatus, prominently displayed in the centre of the window in shops in the main streets; people who can no longer afford to send their shoes to the cobbler must learn to mend them at home, if they can find the money for the tools.

Tens of thousands of men are workless, tens of thousands have had no work since the great Lock-out was declared by the employers on April 1st, and now fresh pits have been closed. Wages are coming down: the wage of the labourers underground and the surface workers is expected to fall to about £1 16s. 0d. a week within the next few days. The South Wales mine worker promises to be one of the worst paid men in the country in the near future. The old independent spirit is broken. Men employed in difficult working places, where payment at piece rates will not keep the wolf from the door, are afraid to claim the minimum wage established to safeguard them in such cases, lest they be told there is no work for them next day. In the old independent days before the Lock-out so many men were working on the minimum wage in some of the pits that the miners decided to abandon the check-weighmen elected by them to see that they were properly paid on piece rates. Now they are clamouring to get the check-weighmen back. The check-weighman's wage is paid by the miners, their contribution towards his wage being stopped out of their wages by the colliery office; some colliery offices are refusing to make these stoppages which the law enjoins upon them; but such abuses to-day pass unnoticed; for the great South Wales Miners' Federation is all but broken; its members have fallen away from it; they lost their old pride and confidence in its power.

"The men are treated like pigs: they are afraid to open their mouths for fear of being told they are not wanted," complains a miner's wife.

In the years before the war the strength of the Miners' Federation already seemed gigantic. During the war when the demand for South Wales coal for the Navy and for export always exceeded the supply, its power seemed to the miners almost invincible; they prevented the operations of the Munitions Act in their area; they laughed at Ministerial threats and seemed able to secure any concession for which they were willing to strike or even to threaten to strike. At any grievance that touched them they were ready to say: "We'll stop those wheels." Their ambitious enthusiasts proposed to secure by the might of their hundred per cent. organisation, not merely better conditions for themselves, but political reforms affecting the whole population. pensions for soldiers, reduction of prices, nationalisation of the mines. Those were great days of talk for the Miners' Federation; great days of hope and confidence for the rank and file, though the reactionary officials of the union prevented anything really big from happening.

The Fallacies of the Industrial Unionists.

The school of thought which then held the confidence of the men in the pits; the school that was on the crest of the wave of popularity, was that of the industrialist direct actionists. This school contended that the Trade Unions of to-day would be the governing and administering machinery of the country to-morrow. In the womb of the decaying civilisation the new civilisation is growing, was the favourite statement of these industrialists, and from it they deduced that the Trade Unions which the workers have built up in these days of adversity, to palliate their deplorable conditions under capitalism, will be the organs which will precipitate the revolution, fight their way into power, overturning capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, which they will straightway proceed to administer, thus becoming the rulers of the country. These industrialists refused to countenance the notion that though the working class might be developing in consciousness and power of cohesion through their trade union experience, they might be evolving towards a yet higher form of organisation than the industrial union. The industrial unionists would not even consider the possibility that the present unions, having served their purpose of tempering the bitter wind of capitalism to the labour lamb, might disappear with the capitalist system which produced them. The industrialists would not discuss whether it might not be possible that, even should the industrial union survive through capitalism on into Communism, a new, more mobile, more homogeneous instrument might not be required for the battle of the proletarian revolution. No; they were convinced that the existing Industrial Unions and Trade Unions were all in all and all essential.

What Contemporary History Teaches.

Yet what lessons was the history of our own time setting before us, to teach us all the error of such doctrine! Our own great British Trade Union organisation was obviously a bubble waiting to be pricked by the first serious impact with capitalism. The reactionary leaders of the unions maintained their leadership without difficulty, *because their memberships were largely composed of unconscious masses whose intelligence was still dominated by the ideology of bourgois politics.*

Trade Unions do not make Revolution.

Abroad the Russian people overthrew capitalism without the existence of a trade union organisation of any extent, and their dual Revolution was effected by a fighting minority combined in relatively small organisations. As in the 1905 Revolution, the Soviets, not the Trade Unions, became the administrative organ of the Revolution.

In Germany, the country likest to ours, by reason of its extensive industrial development, a revolution was effected and a bourgeois democratic republic set up, not by the Trade Unions, but by the fighting organisations outside. As in Russia, Soviets appeared, but were crushed by the reactionary elements, amongst which were numbered the Trade Union Executives, as well as by the outside pressure of allied capitalist governments. In the several subsequent attempts to create a proletarian revolution in Germany the same feature has been apparent—the mass of the Trade Unions either took sides against the Revolution, or remained neutral. In Austria and Hungary the same thing was repeated.

Still, the leaders of the Industrial Union direct actionist school maintained their old ground; still they adhered to their old, old tactics; the advocacy of futile palliatives, which they were never tired of telling us might somehow lead the all-unconscious masses to revolution.

The Fallacy of Capturing the Official Positions

A conspicuous fallacy with which they delighted to gull themselves, and the body of enthusiasts who followed them, was that if they, the industrial revolutionaries, could but capture the official positions in these mammoth Trade Unions with their slumbering membership, they could as easily lead them to the barricades of a bloody revolution, to the struggle for liberty or death, as the present comfortable officials could maintain the sleepers in their inactive state. Oh, absurd and thrice foolish fallacy! Are you also gulled by its easy glamour, Russian Comrades?

Black Friday and the great collapse of the Miners' Federation in the late historic lock-out ought to have shown the direct actionist industrialists the errors in their reasoning. Indeed, these events have shown their mistakes to those who have not still remained but half-baked revolutionaries. Those who are still only ready to engage in a merely superficial platonic flirtation with revolutionary ideals continue floundering in the mire of their errors.

A Reply to A. J. Cook.

A. J. Cook, the miners' agent, who has just left the Communist Party of Great Britain, not for a good, but for a bad

Continued on page 5.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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MAX HAVELAAR.

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

Continued from last week.

Havelaar wrote and dispatched this letter, observing circumspection, while not uttering a syllable of the discovery just made, not to weaken his positive accusation by the uncertainty of a very important but, as yet, unproved accusation. His intention was to exhume the corpse of his predecessor, and to have it scientifically examined, as soon as the Regent should have been removed and his party made harmless. In copying official documents, copies which strictly conform to the originals, I think I may use single pronouns instead of the foolish titles; the good taste of my readers will approve this change.

"No. 88. { *Private.* / *Immediate.*

"RANKAS-BETONG.

24th February 1856.

"TO THE RESIDENT OF BANTAM. I have occupied myself in examining how the chiefs discharge their obligations towards the population as regards statute-labour, poondootan,* and so on. I soon discovered that the Regent, on his own responsibility and for his own advantage, summoned the population to work for him, far above the legally authorised number of pantjens or kemits.†

"I hesitated between the choice of immediately sending an official report, or trying to induce this native functionary to change his policy by gentle means, or even afterwards by threats in order to put an end to abuse, and not act so severely towards this old servant of the Government, particularly considering the bad examples which, I believe, have often been set before him; and in connection with the fact that he expected a visit from two of his relatives (the Regents of Bombang and Tjandor, who are coming with a large train), which will place him more than usually in temptation—to provide by unlawful means for that visit owing to his critical pecuniary embarrassment.

"All this made me incline to moderation with regard to what had already happened, but not at all to indulgence for the future.

"I insisted on the immediate cessation of every unlawful act.

"I have acquainted you with my previous efforts to induce the Regent to do his duty; but it is evident that he casts all to the winds with rude insolence, and I feel bound, *by virtue of my official oath* to communicate to you:

"That I accuse the Regent of Lebak, Radeen Adhipatti, Karta, Natta, Negara of abuse of power, by disposing unlawfully of the labour of his subordinates, and that I suspect him of extortion and exacting production *in natura* without payment, or for prices arbitrarily fixed:

"That I suspect the Demang of Perang-Koodjang (the Regent's son-in-law) of complicity in the above-mentioned abuses.

"In order conclusively to prove these charges—I take the liberty of proposing to you to order me:—

"(1) To send the Regent of Lebak with the utmost speed to Serang, and to take care that he shall not have occasion, either before his departure, or during the journey, to influence the witnesses by corruption, or in any other way.

"(2) To take the Demang of Perang-Koodjang into custody.

"(3) To apply the same measure to such persons of inferior rank belonging to the family of the Regent, who may be expected to mar the impartiality of the examination to be instituted.

"(4) To order that examination to take place immediately, and to report circumstantially on the issue. I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration the advisability of countermanding the visit of the Regent of Tjanjar.

"Finally, I have the honour to give you, as one who knows the district of Lebak better than it is as yet possible for me to know it, the assurance that, from a political point of view, the strictly just treatment of this affair has no difficulty at all, and that I should be rather apprehensive if it is not cleared up, for I am informed that the poor man is, as a witness told me, disgusted by all the vexation he has suffered and that he has long sought relief.

"I have partly derived the strength to fulfil my difficult duty in writing this letter from the hope that I may be allowed in due time to bring forward one or two excuses for the old Regent, for whose position, though caused by his own fault, I nevertheless feel great compassion.

"The Assistant Resident at Lebak.

"MAX HAVELAAR."

The next day the Resident of Bantam replied?

No, but "Mr. Slymering" did so in a private letter.

That reply is a precious contribution to the knowledge of how Government is carried on in Dutch India. Mr. Slymering complained that Havelaar had not first verbally communicated to him the affair mentioned in letter No. 88. Had he done so there would have been more chance of "arranging" matters; moreover, he added, Havelaar had "*disturbed him in pressing business!*"

The man was surely busy writing the yearly report on TRANQUIL TRANQUILITY.

Notwithstanding his pressing business, however, Mr. Slymering would come next day to Rankas-Betong, to deliberate on what ought to be done. Havelaar, who knew what such deliberation meant, his predecessor had so often deliberated with the Resident of Bantam—wrote the following letter, which he sent to meet the Resident, to be read by him before his arrival at Lebak:—

"No. 91 { *Private.* / *Immediate.*

"RANKAS-BETONG.

25th Feb., 1856, 11 *p.m.*

"Yesterday, at 12 o'clock, I had the honour to send you my missive (*Immediate*, No. 88) . . .

"I have just received your kind and esteemed private letter communicating that you will come here to-morrow, and at the same time a hint that I ought to have treated this affair privately at first . . .

"All my investigations about the Regent were quite secret; only he and his Adjutant knew of them, for I myself had frankly warned him . Even the Controller knows only a part of my investigations. When I still hoped to bring back the Regent to the right way, it was my object, if I succeeded, not to compromise him. The Patteh thanked me in the name of the Regent for this discretion. When I began to despair of the success of my endeavours—when the measure of my indignation overflowed on hearing of a recent occurrence; when a longer silence would have become participation as an accomplice—then that secrecy was to my advantage; for I, too, have to fulfil duties towards my household and myself.

"If what I wrote to you yesterday were unfounded, I should be unworthy to serve the Government. Would it, will it, be possible to me to prove I have done what a good Assistant Resident ought, that I am not unworthy my office, and that I do not risk thoughtlessly and rashly my seventeen years' hard service, and the interests of wife and child, unless deep secrecy hide my investigations and prevent the criminal from shielding himself? At the least suspicion the Regent would send an express to his nephew to distribute money with a profuse hand to everyone whom he previously swindled. In consequence I should be (I need not say shall be) judged a rash, unserviceable functionary, not to say worse.

"To prevent that, I write this letter. Your hint that it would have been better to have treated the affair privately at first makes me apprehensive of such a course. What I stated in my missive yesterday is true, but perhaps it would *appear* untrue if the affair were so treated as to reveal my accusation and suspicion *before* the removal of the Regent. Even your unexpected arrival and the express sent by me yesterday to Serang may cause the accused, who would not listen to my exhortations, to awake and endeavour to exculpate himself. My missive of yesterday proposed the removal of the Regent. I can no further be responsible for what I advanced, than so far as you may be pleased to agree to my proposal that the investigation be impartial, open and, above all, *free*. This it cannot be before the removal of the Regent. The Regent can be told that it is *I*, not he, who is in danger, in the event of his innocence being established: for myself, I am of opinion that I ought to be dismissed if it should appear that I have acted precipitately or rashly. Precipitately! . . . After *years* and *years* of abuses! Rashly! . . . as if an honest man could sleep and live and enjoy, whilst they, over whose welfare he is called upon to watch, suffer extortion and injustice!

"I regret the days that I have allowed to pass before reporting to you officially; I apologise for that neglect.

"I have taken the liberty to request you to give me the opportunity to justify my letter of yesterday, and to guarantee me against the miscarriage of my endeavours to free Lebak from the worms which have gnawed since the memory of man at its welfare.

"Therefore I again take the liberty of asking you to approve my action in investigating, reporting and proposing the removal of the Regent of Lebak without direct or indirect notice beforehand, and to order an investigation of what I communicated in my letter of yesterday.

"No. 88: the Assistant Resident of Lebak.

"MAX HAVELAAR."

This request not to take the criminals under his protection, the Resident received on the way to Lebak. An hour after his arrival at Kankas-Betong, he paid a visit to the Regent, and asked him whether he could "say anything to his prejudice of the Assistant Resident, and whether he, the Regent, wanted money." To the first question the Regent replied: "I have nothing against him. I can solemnly swear to that." The second question he answered in the affirmative, whereupon the Resident gave him a couple of bank-notes.

When the Resident Slymering entered Havelaar's house he was paler than usual; the intervals between his words were longer than ever. It was indeed no small thing for a person who so excelled in arranging and making out yearly reports of "tranquility," to receive so unexpectedly letters in which there was no trace either of optimism, artificial colouring, or fear of the Government's displeasure.

The Resident of Bantam was in a fright; he began by asking the Controller why the latter had not endeavoured to restrain Havelaar from his accusation. Poor Verbrugge was quite unaware of the accusation, and said so, but was not believed. Mr. Slymering could not believe that any person without assistance could do his duty in such a manner. As Verbrugge maintained his ignorance, the Resident began to read him Havelaar's letters.

To be continued

* Poondootan, obtaining provisions under pretext of Government service. In the journeys of important personages invited by the Regent or district chiefs, all necessaries are supplied by the population, and that as often as required.

† Followers and serving-people summoned to increase the pomp and attend upon the chief or other personage.

THUGS, OR THE BATTLE OF MATEWAN.

A STORY OF THE CLASS WAR IN AMERICA

Albert and Lee Felts, of the "Baldwins and Felts' Detectives, Inc.," arrived at Stone Mountain mine, early in the morning, with "yaller dog" papers and a good number of thugs. They had come there at the instruction of the Company, to throw coal diggers who had joined the Union out of their houses, which belonged to the Company.

After the thugs had evicted about six families from their houses, somebody ran up the Lug River to the town and informed Chief Sid Hatfield.

The Chief was soon on the scene, and approached Albert Felts regarding his actions.

"Albert," said Sid, "if what you are doing is according to law, you can do it and I won't interfere; but if what you are doing is not the law, you've got to stop putting people out of their houses."

"I've got the right to throw them out any time the Company wants, and besides, I haven't got to go to law to get them out," answered Albert.

And so they argued, until finally they went to the telephone and called up the lawyers. Some of the lawyers said that Albert had the right to throw them out, and others said he had not. However, Albert called together his men, and drove away in their automobiles, about noontime. It was common knowledge that the thugs would return later. It was as if the Mayor knew for certain that Albert Felts would not retire so easily, if he had not some scheme on hand. So the Mayor became active and called Preacher Coombs, and told him to go and find twelve men with high-powered rifles, for him to deputise to defend the town, and Chief Hatfield issued a warrant for the arrest of Albert Felts.

As the Mayor was walking down the street, he noticed a miner standing on the side-walk and went up to him:

"Well, are you armed?" inquired the Mayor.

"No, I ain't" was the reply.

"Well, get armed, quick!"

"Yes, I am," and the Mayor deputised him at once. Preacher Coombs returned, but he could not find more than six men, and only two of them had high-power guns. The Mayor deputised the six and sent Coombs to look for more. It was getting on for half-past five in the afternoon, when Chief Hatfield, standing near his office, was surprised to see a boy running towards him, crying: "The thugs is come to town!"

Sid Hatfield walked hurriedly to the back street, and there was Albert and Lee Felts, and and C. B. Cunningham, the gunman that was known for being quick on the draw. Standing at the back of them were ten Baldwin-Felts men. Then there was that dummy who had been hanging around town all day without a gun, and keeping the fact that he was a Balwin-Felts' man to himself. The Chief walked up to Albert and handed him a slip of paper. "I've got a warrant for you," he remarked, with a smile beaming all over his face. Albert grinned and said: "I'll return the compliment; I've got a warrant for you."

Slowly but surely, all the thugs, shuffling on one foot and then the other, formed a complete circle around Sid Hatfield. He was surrounded, and Sid knew it. None of his friends were near, with the exception of Isaac Brewer, the town policeman, who was standing quiet.

"We'll take you up to Bluefield on the train that's due in seven minutes," cried Albert Felts.

Sid said nothing, and only smiled.

"We'll ride on the Pullman, Sid," remarked Albert as he led Sid to the place where the end of the train would stop. "I suppose this is the place where the Pullman stops?"

"Yes," replied Sid.

Foresight is a handy thing, and Sid possessed it. He knew what was in store for him. It was no part of their plan to give him a Pullman ride. The thought that they wanted him to be near the end of the train in order to jump on when they had finished with him flashed across his mind. They stood around patiently waiting, but somehow or other, Sid managed to edge back towards the town-side of the street, near the back door of Chambers' hardware store.

Albert Felts and Cunningham, the gunman, kept close to him, while Lee Felts and the other ten gunmen stood a few paces from the railroad track.

"That Pullman will be in before seven minutes are up," remarked Albert, looking at his watch with one eye, whilst he kept the other on Sid Hatfield. Sid was now standing in the doorway of the hardware store, leaning against the door facing and looking out towards the railroad track, with a calm smile on his face.

Albert made himself as comfortable as possible, and placed one foot in the door and the other on the sidewalk. Isaac Brewer had come up from inside the store, and stood behind Sid, nobody noticing him. There was nobody else around, only a few coal-diggers who had been fired for joining the Union were standing near the track waiting for the train that was due in seven minutes. A commotion could be heard up the street, and all of a sudden Mayor Testament came running down, quite out of breath.

"I understand you are arresting my Chief of Police," remarked the Mayor to Albert, "I need him for his duties here, to protect the town, and I'll give bond for him. "I'll give any amount of bond you name; I'll give the whole batk as security."

"No; I'm taking him to Bluefield," answered Albert.

"To Bluefield!" said the Mayor. "Why don't you take him to Williamstown; that is the County Seat of this county?"

"No, Mr. Mayor, I'm taking him to Bluefield."

"Then let me see your warrant," dmanded the irritated Mayor. Albert slowly produced the paper from his pocket and handed it to the Mayor. While the Mayor was reading the warrant, Albert turned his head in the direction where Lee and the ten detectives were standing.

The Mayor finished reading the paper and looked Albert straight in the face.

"This," said he, "is a bogus warrant."

Hardly before the Mayor had finished speaking, Albert's hand went to his hip pocket like a flash of lightning. Within a few seconds, the Mayor was practically a dead man, shot through the stomach. He turned and fired at Sid, but missed, and the bullet went through the right lung of Isaac Brewer, paralysing his gun hand. He was a man who couldn't shoot with his left hand, and was therefore helpless. Sid kept cool and drew two high-powered guns, one in each hand. He aimed steadily at Albert Felts' forehead, the bullet coming out at the back of his head, then one through Cunningham's head; he had a nasty habit of shooting at the head, being under the impession that detectives wear a coat of mail.

The ten detectives, along with Lee, opened up heavy fire on Sid with a Colt's .45 automatic.

The smoke caused by this close-range shooting had formed a cloud around Sid, thus preventing them having a good aim. One of their bullets knocked Sid's Smith-Wesson .38 out of his left hand, but he walked towards them, regardless of the danger, using his .44. By now, all the guns were in action, the prettiest lot of artillery one could ever wish to see. Lee Felts stood firing with his Colt's automatic .45 at Sid. Then Lee placed the emptied gun back in the holster and drew another, which he aimed with both hands at Sid. Somebody, probably a fired miner, saw Lee, and aiming from behind, shot him through the heart. He uttered a curse and fell on his back, with his mouth wide open and arms spread out, with the Colt's .45 still in his hand. A coal digger saw it and jumped over his body, kicking the gun out of his hand, which he picked up and put into action. None of the guns were idle.

With Albert and Lee Felts, along with Cunningham dead, the detectives began to run around the Post Office corner. One of them got into the little lemonade stand that was standing on the sidewalk, and was surprised to find that the thin boards would stop the bullets. Another tall and skinny detective made a dash for Dr. Smith's office in the one-storey brick building at the back of the Post Office, intending to fight from there; but a young coal digger had entered just before him, and being unarmed, was rather frightened at seeing a detective entering with a gun in each hand. Naturally, he thought the man was coming for him, but he picked up a gallon bottle of medicine and hit the detective plumb over the head with it. The detective fell back with his eyes poping out, and somebody put two or three more bullets in his body, to make sure, while he was falling. When Sid got round the corner, there was a Baldwin-Felts' man across the side street. H fired, but missed.

Sid took a steady aim and had him in the head. Another detective was running around the bank corner and ran into Bob Mullins; he shot Bob dead, and then turned and made a stand. He was shooting from behind the bank corner, and was hard to get at, because of Sid's bullets clipping the corner bricks; but soon he was shot through the shoulder. On the side-walk lay a fellow with his legs broken by bullets, and who kept shooting at Sid. Eventually, Sid got him. The rest of them ran past Chambers' store towards the river. One detective, who was shot through the shoulder, began wading across the river, but failed; so he returned and went to a house which was near, where a widow lived.

He went to the door and said: "Lady, I'm shot through. Lady, let me come in; if you will shelter me, I will give you a thousand dollars."

But the widow was scared to death.

"Oh, God, you can't come in here; if you come in, I'll have to go out," cried the woman.

So the detective went on down the road, and a miner fired a shot-gun and he fell dead.

Everybody had now stopped shooting. In the street lay seven dead detectives, and four wounded coal diggers. The Mayor was as good as dead, and Bob Mullins dead; with Tot Tinsley in the vacant lot. And the train for Bluefield had not yet arrived.

NOTE.—The "Yallow Dog" is a document by which the coal digger agrees "that he will not, while in the employ of the Company, belong to, or affiliate in any way with, and agrees to sever any connection he may have heretofore had with, any such Union or organisation."

Sid Hatfield is known as the "miners' friend," and has, quite recently, been shot by one of the thugs.

—T. ISLWYN NICHOLAS.

"LABOUR" ON THE FENCE.

The *Labour News*, the Press bulletin issued by the Labour Party, says:—

"The spirit of the British and Irish peoples is sound, and it is for the statesmen of the two countries to translate the popular desire for peace into practical form."

These are mere words, by which it is sought to conceal the fact that the issue is being evaded. The Labour Party should make clear its own position on the Irish question. At the present it is sitting on the fence and waiting for the capitalist parties to give it a lead. That is not a dignified position for Labour. Come off the fence, Mr. Henderson, and show the people what manner of man you are!

BRITAIN SUPPLYING TORPEDO BOATS TO POLAND.

Now then, Councils of Action?

A Danzig message of September 10th states:—

"Three torpedo boats have arrived in Danzig Harbour for Poland. They were supplied by England.

"Why does Poland want torpedo boats? When were they ordered?"

These torpedo boats are certainly intended for use against Soviet Russia. From which British port were they sent? What are British workers doing to permit engines of war to be sent out from British ports to fight their Russian brothers?

Workers' Dreadnought

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THE NEW COMMUNIST WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL.

We publish on another page, extracts from the Manifesto of the Workers' Communist International, which has just been inaugurated in Berlin. Its conclusions appear to us irrefutable, though one may not be able to refrain altogether from regret that the Third International has, through force of circumstances, developed along lines which have caused it to become the defender of Soviet Russia, rather than the champion of the World Revolution,

We believe, for our part, that all attempts by Soviet Russia to conciliate and negotiate with the forces of Capitalism will turn out to have been gravely mistaken. We greatly regret them: we have always been opposed to the policy of entering into Trade Agreements with capitalist Powers, and to the grant of capitalist concessions in Russia.

Our admiration and sympathy for those who have dared and achieved much in the attempt to set up the first Proletarian Republic, must not deter us from expressing, quite frankly and sincerely, our actual views.

Communism remains, and must remain, our first consideration. It is our duty, a duty we shall continue to fulfil, to point out unswervingly the true path to Communism, without regard to any conflicting Party or personal considerations.

The Manifesto of the Fourth International explains, most clearly and concisely, that the state of Russia's economic development and the material conditions with which she is faced, have rendered inevitable the failure of the Soviet Government to maintain a fighting lead in the world revolutionary struggle.

Since the Third International is firmly bound to the Soviet Government and the Russian Party; since a Moscow Executive wholly dominated by Russian policy controls the action of all the National Parties affiliated to the Third International, since every day this policy becomes less revolutionary, the rise of a Fourth International has become inevitable.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* was the first British paper to welcome the Third International; it now has the honour to be the first to welcome the Fourth International.

The Fourth International represents the Communist principles and tactics which we believed would find acceptance in the Third International, and which, when we gave expression to them in these columns we declared to be those of the Third International until we were regretfully undeceived.

Since the Fourth International represents our opinion, we at once announce our adherence to it, and issue an invitation to Communists, and groups of Communists who are of the same mind, to send us their names for enrolment in the Communist Workers' Party, which will shortly be organised.

THE IGNORING OF PARLIAMENT.

Lloyd George "settles" the Unemployed Problem

In this so-called "democratic" land of ours, we have departed from Parliamentarism, and instead of rule by the King, who must defer to his barons, because they provide him with troops, we have Lloyd George, who must defer to his capitalists.

Whether in Gairloch or in London, he rules as he and representatives of the great capitalist interests think best. Having decided what shall be done, he orders Parliament to give its assent; and Parliament obeys.

The latest "stunts" for "settling" the unemployed problem which Lloyd George and his backers are said to have evolved, are an extension of the export credits scheme, which means putting more capital into the hands of the capitalists, at the people's expense, and a guarantee that they shall not lose if they lend money to Boards of Guardians. Meanwhile, the Government has refused a loan to Dudley Guardians, and the unemployed in that district are therefore left without their dole.

SINN FEIN v. BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Lloyd George's final letter to Sinn Fein, on the Conference question, was a climb down; but the situation still remains that unless Sinn Fein is prepared to compromise, and that seriously, nothing will come of the Conference.

McLEAN ON HUNGER STRIKE.

London crowds are demonstrating for the release of 30 Poplar Guardians, who are being unusually well treated in prison, when all is said and done, much as we sympathise with their lot.

We hope that Glasgow comrades are doing as much for Communist John McLean, who faces death by the hunger strike, and is to be subjected to the torture of forcible feeding.

McLean is fighting for Communism, not for a little thing like Equalisation of the London Rates.

Show a sense of proportion, comrades!

McLean is reported seriously ill.

MACDONALD AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

Ramsay MacDonald means to be a member of His Majesty's Labour Ministry some day, and, since it is the King who decides which of the leaders of the majority party shall be Prime Minister, MacDonald's articles in the Glasgow *Forward* should certainly assist him in the race for the first Labour Premiership. J. H. Thomas and Arthur Henderson appear more likely candidates; but one never knows.

MacDonald, in a recent *Forward*, took the unemployed seriously to task. He is thoroughly shocked by the behaviour of some of their spokesmen, and declares them guilty of "pitiable vanity, ignorance, and incompetence."

Mr. MacDonald proudly says that "*our* work for the unemployed [the I.L.P. work, of course] in both Municipal and National bodies is on record," and says that "the demand work or maintenance" was the result of the I.L.P.'s unemployed agitation.

How disgraceful of those ignorant unemployed spokesmen not to be satisfied with such a record and such a result!

But those unemployed spokemen are so deplorably ignorant; Mr. MacDonald tells us that, "being in touch with no responsible organisation, they produce no programme of demands that can help anybody or any movement." That is a warning to us all not to give our pennies into the unemployed collecting boxes, but to save them for the I.L.P. Parliamentary Election Fund, through which we shall secure much more satisfying results. Although our donations will not, in the latter case, go to buy anything to fill the stomachs of our workless brothers and sisters, we shall have the substantial consolation of knowing that if our money should help to secure the election of any I.L.P. candidates, every word of their speeches in Parliament on unemployment will be reproduced in the verbatim report of the Debates: thus we shall have taken a hand in making the history of our time.

Mr. MacDonald proceeds to say, that where thsoe ignorant unemployed spokesmen "deal with local bodies upon which Labour is represented, they exploit them without the least concern for their wellbeing. For instance, the demands made upon some of the London Labour Councils have been atrocious in their mischievousness, and were they accepted, would lead to the triumphant re-establishment of the worst forms of reaction in London Government. This agitation is concentrated on local bodies and diverts attention from Government responsibility. At the same time, it completely subverts Labour policy and gives the outsider to understand that it is nothing but an endless dribble of doles."

Mr. MacDonald is "glad that the London Labour Party has at last put its back up and has issued a warning against this kind of agitation," and that "the Woolwich Party has also taken a firm stand."

Mr. MacDonald is far-seeing enough to realise that a Labour Party Cabinet may presently be trying to hold out against just the same sort of agitation, and he is wisely taking care to protect himself beforhand against any change of inconsistency.

If the demands which the unemployed have made were acceded to in Woolwich, the Woolwich Labour Party declares that they would cost £5,000 a week, an amount equal to a sixpenny Rate. Surely all but ignorant, vain, and incompetent unemployed would prefer to starve rather than make themselves responsible for such an expensive demand!

"An agitation which does not face facts is a fraudulent imposition upon starving people."

Does that mean that an agitation which does not face the fact that the unemployed are hungry and cannot wait for a meal to see whether a Labour Government will give it them is an imposition? Oh dear no! that would be altogether too obvious a remark; the quotation, we must explain, is from Mr. MacDonald's article; it means that every agitation must face the fact that to relieve the unemployed adequately would be exceedingly costly, and that, therefore, the unemployed must continue to go hungry.

Mr. MacDonald says that the I.L.P. must do its duty: "it must not allow the local authorities to bear the brunt, either of the blame or the cost . . . it must stand up to the misleaders of the unemployed and not be afraid to expose and discredit them."

And yet, says this cynical political schemer, "it must do all this without giving the Government any reason to assume that if it shirks its responsibility, men will starve quietly." Having urged on his followers to destroy those of the unemployed who have the courage and initiative to lead the rest to rebellion, he would have a few speeches made as to what the masses would do if we of the I.L.P., we, the wise and saintly pacifists in whom the workers still put their trust, were but to remove our restraining influence.

And so let them starve, those ignorant unemployed; whilst Ramsay MacDonald sits in his comfortable easy chair and reads his *Bolingbroke*.

MORE LIKE SOLIDARIRY.

Four hundred munition workers of Saint Ouen, Paris, are on strike against the manufacture of war material, they suspect it to be destined for Poland or Roumania for use against Soviet Russia.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

G. Marks 10s., Mrs. Cahill £1 10s., G. L. Jones 5s., Anon. 10s., Mrs. Brimley 10s., Ferndale and Maerdy Lodge, M.F.G.B., £1 7s., S. African C. P. £4 6s., Aram Daniels £1, T. I. Nicholas 17s., B. T. Bloom £1 1s. Total, £11 16s. 0d.

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

NEW TACTICS—*continued from page 1.*

reason, has been reared by stronger brains than his in the school of the industrial unionist direct actionists. He is a good fellow, with a volatile impulsive temperament, and has many times suffered imprisonment for the proletarian cause. Elevation to the official position which gave him a salary of £504 last year, with various extra monetary windfalls, has made his present life perhaps a trifle too comfortable to be quite healthy from a revolutionary standpoint. A seat on the M.F.G.B. Executive and the local Borough Council, brings him into doubtful company, and contact with the blandishments of employers of labour, who would like to draw his oratorical teeth and make him harmless, is by no means good for his spiritual vigour, as he admits, rather ruefully, when talking to comrades in his more expansive moments. Still more dangerous to his revolutionary ideals, as to every good fellow similarly placed, is the daily negotiating for palliatives to make this present system just a little more bearable, which is entailed by his position as miners' agent, and which forces him to live in an atmosphere of perpetual compromise. The fact that he feels himself bound in honour to carry out the policy of the reactionary executive, of which he is both a member and an employee, is the worst possible thing for him. Cook on the Miners' Executive, of course, opposed the terms offered by the Government and the employers in the late lock-out; but when the Executive decided to accept those terms, Cook, against his own convictions, felt himself bound to recommend the rank and file to accept them.

Revolutionaries who accept an official position in reactionary organisations tell themselves, as of course Cook is telling himself, that when the supreme moment comes, they will burn their boats and defy the Executive, either resigning or allowing themselves to be dismissed. Vain hope! Once the supreme moment arrives their present submission to the reaction will have robbed them of any capacity to recognise it. Who knows, after all, which is the supreme moment? We leap into the future without security in matters of Revolution. Meanwhile Cook and others like him are neglecting the hard and arduous task of educating the more enlightened sections of the masses and preparing them to create the supreme crisis. Those who have accepted official positions in the old unions are leaving the work of preparing the revolution to other people.

The Fallacy of Revolution by Accident...

Cook and those who have taught him his politics, are still in the dark and cannot see the path to the proletarian revolution on which recent events have shed so much light.

Still they cast around them, as of old, for some easy palliative which will raise the cheap cheer of the thoughtless and unenlightened, gulling themselves, just as they have been doing all these years, that in the high-tide of some enthusiastic meeting to demand a little palliative the great social revolution may burst upon us without an hour's constructive preparatory work in thought or action having been done.

The Failure af the 100 par cent. Industrial Union

Still, Cook and those who have trained him, pin their faith to the hundred per cent. Industrial Union; and now that the hundred per cent. union has been shattered, poor Cook and his like, can only strive to build it up again, believing that the old bluff and confidence of the war time days, when labour was scarcer than the demand for it, will return, although now there are several men for every job.

Cook can only think of getting back the hundred per cent. membership; he refuses to realise that a membership of men who are unemployed, because the mineowner does not want them, and of men who are only partially employed and who may be unemployed to-morrow because the employer does not want them much, is powerless to exercise the pressure that was yielded when employers were getting rich quick and could not secure as much labour as they required, and when the Government was engaged in a life and death European struggle.

Cook and his school refuse to realise that since the strike weapon the only effective weapon ever weilded by the old industrial unionism is powerless now, the old industrial unionism is itself deprived of power.

Cook and his school cannot adapt themselves to the changed position; they cannot discover new tactics.

Limpet Leaders retained by Unconscious Masses

The rebel rank and file is feeling, though not always consciously, the need for new tactics; it realises that the hundred per cent. Industrial Union has been tried in the struggle with capitalism and found wanting. The rebels declare that the proletarian cause has been "sold" by the leaders which the hundred per cent. Industrial Union chose for itself, and which it continues to hold to, though those leaders are clearly shown to have betrayed the workers.

Cook joins the cry of the rebels; he, too, says that the proletarian cause has been "sold" by Frank Hodges and the others in control of the Miners' Federation; but Cook goes on endeavouring to line up the masses behind the old false leaders, because, he says, it is impossible to get rid of them!

The rebel rank and file in the coalfield: those who to-day call themselves Communists, and many who have not yet gone so far, also see the impossibility of ridding the hundred per cent. Industrial Union of the reactionary leaders; they see the impossibility even of getting rid of Cook now he is turning against them, although it was only the other day that they put him where he is. They begin to realise the fact to which Cook and his fellow industrial unionists are still blind; the self-evident fact that when an organisation comprises a hundred out of every hundred men in an industry, and whilst from 50 to 80 out of every hundred men in the industry are either reactionary or indifferent, the organisation will continue to maintain reactionary officials.

A Union of Revolutionaries Essential..

The obvious fact is beginning to dawn that only a keen coherent body of revolutionaries can be expected to make revolution, and that the only serious solid work to be done for the revolution is to begin building up such a body. In Germany the prolonged struggle of the Proletarian Revolution, so bitter and harsh in a highly organised capitalist State, is bringing into being revolutionary industrial unions existing side by side with the old, flabby hundred per cent. bodies. The Communist Labour Party of Germany, which has now a membership of between 70,000 and 80,000, is responsible for this policy, and as everyone knows this was the party which bore the main burden of the fight in the Ruhr Valley insurrection in March of last year.

In countries where there is a highly organised capitalist State a highly organised compact and reliable body of revolutionary fighters is more necessary than where capitalism is weak. The hundred per cent. union with its preponderance of indifferent members will never form such a body.

The rebel cry that the leaders sold the miners in the lock-out is causing some of the South Wales miners to retaliate by refusing to pay their dues to the Miners' Federation. A much larger number of the unenlightened cease to pay their dues, because they are now finding a difficulty in making ends meet, and because the recent defeat has destroyed their faith in the Federation. Some of them do not blame the reactionaries, but the extremists for the disaster, but, like the Left Wing, they realise that the Federation in this period of trade depression has lost its power.

For the failure to pay dues, the dropping away from the Federation, which is so extensive, Cook, just like the complete reactionaries, casts all the blame upon the Communists. Having resigned from the Party, he has rushed hysterically to the capitalist press to denounce the Communists. He hopes thereby to win back to the Federation the timid and the reactionary who excuse their desertion of the Federation on the wholly false plea that the extremists are in control of it. Cook is certainly playing a cowardly part, unworthy of his good fighting record.

The Election Fallacy.

Meanwhile those South Wales Communists who have but recently escaped from the toils of the industrial direct actionists, to which Cook remains in bondage, have now linked themselves up with another school of half-evolved triflers with revolution; the Parliamentary Local Government school, which professes to be able to use the electoral and administrative machinery of capitalism for Revolutionary ends.

The Labour Party, with a sprinkling of members of the Communist Party of Great Britain, is in force on the local bodies of South Wales, but hitherto the fire-eating Communist representatives of the locality have failed to show even so much initiative as has been displayed by the Christian-Reformists of the Poplar Labour Party!

Paltry Doles to the Unemployed.

In Ferndale and Maerdy, and neighbourhood in the Rhondda, the scale of Poor Law relief is only 7s. 6d. per adult and 5s. per child. I have the figures from Noah Tromens of the Labour Party. It is surprising that fighting South Wales consents to such disgraceful doles!

The Rates for the district amount to 8s., and only 4s. 1d. is spent on Poor Law relief, but the Labour Guardians and Councillors have not yet even followed Poplar's simple expedient of embarrassing the Government by spending the whole of the Rate in the locality, and passing nothing on to the county authority.

Guardian and Councillor John Bowen, of Ferndale, to name one member of the Communist Party occupying such position, is as helpless as any ordinary Labour Party representative, or, for that matter, any member of the Liberal or Tory Parties, when he faces the unemployed. We are bankrupt, he says, we have no money to relieve you. The Government has given us permission to borrow money from the bank, but the bank refuses to lend.

If the unemploy reply: put up the Rates to get more money for us.

John Bowen answers, like Noah Tromens of the Labour Party or any Liberal or Tory: we cannot put up the Rates, because the working class householder and house-owner cannot afford to pay.

If the unemployed answer: put up the Rates and let the Guardians' assessment committee reduce the rateable value of all the working-class dwellings, or excuse payment of the Rate altogether to working class householders, on the ground that the occupants are too poor to pay; enforce the Rates only against the collieries and their officials; then Councillor and Guardian John Bowen answers that the colliery owners and managers would refuse to pay the Rates under such conditions, and we have not the power to enforce payment of the Rates.

If the unemployed say to Guardian-Councillor John Bowen and his colleagues: Give us productive work: then you would get a return for your money that would enable you to carry on. Then Councillor Bowen answers: we have not money enough to start productive work: we cannot pay Trade Union wages nor buy materials. Moreover, we cannot undertake such works without Government sanction.

Continued on page 7.

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

Bob Haw took no interest in politics. He always said that if he did, he would be a Conservative, because that was simplest and led to least discussion; but he was very proud of his brother, C. D. E. F. Haw, who was a member of the I.L.P., the Fabian Society and the National Guilds League, and had written several books on Social questions. Bob Haw had not read his brother's books, but he was proud of them, nevertheless, and when he discovered that Frank Penman and Miss Mayence were inclined to be "Bolshies," as he called anyone who took the faintest interest in Socialism, he insisted that they should meet his brother.

So he arranged a little supper party at the rooms he and his brother shared together, and invited his fellow students, as well as some of the younger frequenters of the Fabian "Nursery": Miss Pass, with her red hair and green eyes, who really seemed to be something between a boy and girl, and Miss Pilmore, who had masses of golden hair, and was really so very pretty, only that she was rather pale and sulky-looking, but she had a "stunning" figure, and she could wake up and be ever so agreeable when she liked, although Bob thought, and Frank Penman agreed with him, that she was always inclined to be "catty"; then there was Bomber and Dick Barbour who didn't belong to the "Nursery."

Somehow the talk drifted to Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Miss Mayence had just been reading it on Penman's recommendation. The Nursery people were very contemptuous about it: it was quite out of date and wholly unscientific in their opinion.

"That is true in many respects," agreed Penman. "Certainly Bellamy was mistaken in thinking that Socialism would come quite easily by general consent, and that America would be the first country to introduce it. All the same, he is very ingenious and he has worked out a kind of skeleton, which is quite useful as a basis of discussion and criticism."

"I don't see what his idea about continuous awnings for the streets for use in wet weather has to do with Socialism," objected Bob Haw, who hadn't read the book, but had heard Miss Mayence and Penman discussing it. "I think its a nobby idea, but it could be done just as well under Capitalism, and I expect it will be some day. It would do away with umbrellas, that would be a score!"

"I thought it was rather a stuffy idea," said Miss Mayence. "Why should people be afraid of a little rain? I never carry an umbrella."

"You haven't much consideration for your clothes then," said Miss Pilmore, with an acid little smile; "but perhaps *yours* don't matter."

"Miss Mayence continued: "I suppose the awnings wouldn't interfere much where the shops are: many of them have the electric light on most of the day in any case; but fancy being obliged to put out a nasty black waterproof shelter in front of your house to keep out the light and air! I think it would be quite horrid!"

"I don't see why the awnings should be made of nasty black waterproof," said Bob Haw; "they might be of transparent celluloid, or even of glass, on the principle of an American roll-top desk. Someone is dead sure to invent something presently, if there is really a demand for the thing. Anyway, there's no reason why it should be an awning sticking out from the houses; there might be a pavement in the centre of the road for pedestrians, and it might be arranged just to cover that, spreading out on both sides of central uprights. For that matter, it might be worked from central uprights to cover the whole road and keep the horses dry, as well as the people."

"Give us a little air," groaned Miss Pass.

"There could be arrangements to let in plenty of air without any difficulty. Wouldn't you like it in snowy weather: shut the whole thing out and keep the streets as dry as this room?"

"There's something in that, anyway," encouraged Bomber, and amid a general chorus of approval, Miss Pilmore simpered: "Hurrah! no more goloshes!"

"As you say, such a scheme need not await the advent of complete Socialism: it might be undertaken to-morrow by one of our great Municipal Councils, or by the London County Council itself," observed C. D. E. F. Haw, with a magisterial air.

"Not much!" said his brother. "They'd never spend the money! They'd be afraid of putting up the Rates! More likely to be done by Gordon Selfridge, when he's bought the whole street, or some other Yank! Now there the chap is right; it's more likely to come from America than anywhere else; but I'd rather back Peter Robinson or Lyons against the L.C.C. any day in the week!"

C. D. E. F. smiled indulgently: "But as you rightly observed, Bob, it isn't Socialism."

"Bellamy claims, of course, that development along that line will be set free from its present hindrances, once common ownership has been established," said Penman.

"There is much to be said for that standpoint," adjudicated C. D. E. F. "On the other hand, our great Municipal bodies already undertaken responsibility for very extensive enterprises, and their development in this direction is continuously progressive."

"The Social Revolution will have something better to do than saving some of you people from getting your feet wet! What about the dockie that's got to work in all weathers? What about the navvy; what about the collier, with a flood of water running over him when he's hewing coal? There's worse things than a drop of rain! What about the stokehold! You might be cats; afraid of getting your feet wet," Dick Barbour blustered into the conversation, thumping the table, rumpling the nice white cloth and sending the cigarette ash he had dropped on to it blowing along to Miss Pilmore who brushed it away with a gesture of disgust.

"Quite right, Dick," said Penman; "of course, it's only an incident."

"A bit of silly Utopianism," growled Barbour. "Your middle-class Socialists don't know anything about the class war. We'll have done with all you politicians when the Revolution comes. The practical man in the workshop, the man with the tools, will be the only one to count then."

"I don't see it," said Bomber. "I'm about fed up with the workshop: I've spent all my life there, and I want to see something outside of it."

"I like Bellamy's idea of all wages being equal," Miss Mayence broke in; "but I don't see why there should be wages at all: all that pricking off expenditure on cards that he speaks of would be so complicated, and so stupid, in my opinion."

"Why stupid?" asked Bomber. "I thought it was rather practical."

"All that clerical work: fancy having to do it! So dull, and so unnecessary. Bellamy admits the people could buy more with their cards than they actually did, and that the community could produce more than the people could use: then what was the use of checking them? Why shouldn't people just get what they want, and use what they need, under a system like that?"

"Oh, I join issue there," said C. D. E. F. Haw; "that would be wholly Utopian. It would allow of no machinery for graduating remuneration in accordance with ability, industry, responsibility and length of training and of service. Such graduation is essential in any system of society."

"I can't agree with that!" Frank Penman was emphatic. "I don't know whether Miss Mayence is right that we could do without money and wages altogether; but I hope so: I think we ought to be able to, ultimately at any rate; however, there may be some difference of opinion about that; but I can't conceive how there can be two opinions about an equal economic status amongst Socialists! I don't see how a man can call himself a Socialist at all if he does not accept economic equality as a basic principle that cannot be compromised!" Penman's face was flushed and quivering with indignation.

Bob Haw, who was having a quiet little conversational fencing match on wholly frivolous subjects with Miss Pilmore, looked up, suddenly sensing that someone was challenging the wisdom of his important brother. He was surprised to see Penman's angry expression, but he returned his attention to Miss Pilmore, with the comfortable thought that C. D. E. F. would put all these fellows in their places.

C. D. E. F. Haw regarded Penman scornfully with a curling lip and an irritated toss of his handsome head, but good-natured Bomber put in a word:

"Economic equality is all right on paper, isn't it, Haw? But it's easier said than done, I agree with you. You've explained your position on that, I believe, in some of your books; but how would you work out this wages question? I wish you'd explain it.'

"I wish you would; it would be awfully ripping of you!" gushed Miss Pilmore, archly: she had only given a third of her attention to that blundering Bob.

Miss Pass leant forward her elbow upon the table, her chin in her hand, and fixedly gazed at C. D. E. F. Haw, with an appearance of wrapt attention.

He could hardly resist the appeal of such an audience:

"Rations of staple necessaries: bread, milk, and so on—one cannot say precisely how many commodities the system would comprise—would be free, or rather, the charge for them would be covered by a uniform rate, like water at the present time; we shall simply have an extension of the present practice. The articles chosen for this method of treatment will be selected on account of their universality and the fairly general uniformity of the demand for them. The State will also treat in the same way, commodities and services, the use of which it judges desirable to encourage. Free elementary education is the outstanding instance in our own day: certain types of educational and recreative services will be added from time to time as opportunity develops. For the rest, whilst actual wages will disappear, and the private employer will cease to exist, Labour credits will be supplied in return for services rendered, and these will be exchangeable for commodities and the use of certain services. The value of these Labour credits will be carefully graduated according to the value of the services rendered; the quantity of the workers' production, in cases where the quantity may be measured, the amount of skill and responsibilty involved, the length of time required for training before the necessary efficiency was acquired, and the length of time which the worker has been in the service. It is evident that such graduation is necessary, both as a recognition of merit and an incentive to efficiency. It will be obvious, even to the extremist, that the responsibilities attaching to the management, for instance, must be granted special recognition, if only in order that it may be insured that management shall rest in the most capable hands. Nevertheless, I am an upholder of workers' control of industry. I would give the workers representation on the body which selects the management. It is obvious that the specialist must be specially remunerated: in short, there must be a graduation, and a most careful graduation, of the value of Labour credits."

"But surely that isn't Socialism. Guild Socialism, Communism, or whatever you call it: I wouldn't care for it at all if that were all it meant!" cried Miss Mayence in distress. "If it were to be like that, we should still have the beastly class distinctions; we should still have the children kept down and put in an inferior position because their fathers were in poor health, stupid, or bad and lazy, if you like. That is just what is so cruel and hateful to-day. You surely don't mean to build up a brand new system with all the old evils bristling over it?"

Bomber was sympathetic: he was always inclined to be kind to anyone who was upset, and he didn't like to see people getting excited and angry.

To be continued.

THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Marxian Fundamental Laws of Historic Development.

From this manifesto, which has only just reached us, we are able to print this week merely a few extracts. The whole will shortly be published in pamphlet form. And we shall give a further instalment next week.

The proletarian revolution, that is to say, a revolution with the object of establishing proletarian common property relations, can be set in motion only when the bourgeoisie, in consequence of the capitalist property relations, created by it, has become the ruling class.

That is the perception that already Marx and Engels have laid down in consequence of their historic researches, and upon which they have continually based their tactics in the working-class movement.

When the revolution began there in 1917, Russia was throughout a country of feudal character. Till then it had no bourgeois revolution, or only very slight tendencies thereto. When the Bolsheviks seized the power, it looked as if in Russia the great exception would be demonstrated, which would prove the rule. Russia appeared to be able, without a bourgeois revolution (for in the short period of bourgeois Government, from March to November, 1917, it showed no sign of bourgeois development) to jump into Socialism.

This supposition was mistaken. Even the Russian Communists, the Bolsheviki, could not evade the law of history; they were compelled to bow to its hard dictates against their own inclinations. Their heroic will was wrecked on the iron facts of necessity.

The Development of the class struggle.

The Bolsheviki won not only the proletariat to their side, but also the serfs, to whom they promised the legal recognition of the destruction of the large landed-property, and its distribution in parcels, if they would help them to power. Only with the assistance of the peasants the Bolsheviki came to power. Thus they purchased already their power, in October 1917, by that most important concession: the recognition of the right of private property of the peasants, who had been changed into petty landowners. They soon abandoned the attempt to create, through so-called "Pauper Committees," proletarian property from a part of the large landed property.

In reality, two revolutions came to pass in this way in Russia.

In the large towns it was a change from capitalism to Socialism; in the country districts the change from feudalism to capitalism. In the large towns, the proletarian revolution came to pass; in the country, the bourgeois revolution.

Thus, after October, two classes ruled economically at the same time in Russia: *the proletariat in the large towns, the bourgeoisie, in the shape of the peasants, in the country.* But there were and are absolute, unsurmountable contradictions: *class contradictions*; therein consists the root, class antagonism, of capitalist society. Bourgeoisie against proletariat.

That these two contradictions did not immediately find expression in an open warfare of the classes is, above all, due to the fact that the two classes were still, by necessity, allied to one another. That was the necessity of the common battle against *the common enemy, the feudal aristocracy.* So long as the latter waged its war against the Soviet Government, through Denikin, Koltchak, Wrangel and others, the common interest prevailed. But as soon as this attack was definitely combatted, the class antagonism between the peasant bourgeoisie and the town proletariat burst openly forth.

From this moment the peasants saw no longer their historically-given confederates in the proletariat, but in the town bourgeoisie, respectively in the foreign bourgeoisie. From this moment dates the *open conflict of the peasant bourgeoisie against the proletariat*, partly through armed risings, partly through the *sabotage* of production, and partly through the refusal to deliver agricultural products to the Soviet Government.

The attitude of the Soviet Government in the internal class-struggle of Soviet Russia.

The peasantry forced the Soviet Government to a fundamental *change in their policy of production* as to agriculture; but later also as to the industries in the towns. The young, ambitious class of Russian petty peasants was hampered in its progress by the compulsory State organisation of production, introduced by the Soviet Government. It demanded, therefore, its abolition and the granting of capitalist freedom of production and commrce.

Until then, the Soviet Government had requisitioned from the peasants their products, for the army and civil population, just according to demand. The right of disposing of their labour products, on the part of the peasants, was abolished; the Government fetched what it needed, and when there was the necessity for doing so.

At the beginning of 1921, the Government had (owing to the opposition on the part of the peasants, that arose, because they seldom, or never, received exchange values, like clothes, boots, tools, machines, etc.) *replaced the system of requisition by a system of taxation.* The peasants had no longer to deliver up their entire stock of products, but only a certain portion. Whatever they produce above this portion they are at liberty to dispose of freely in the large towns.

By this step the *private property of the Russian peasants* was *officially* recognised by the Soviet Government. That meant *the approval of capitalist production for profit for the whole of agricultural Russia*, and, as its consequence also, the spreading of this *capitalist production for profit to the large towns.*

The Soviet Government had also, owing to this concession, to abandon its administration of the industries, and to take it out of the hands of its owners, the proletariat as a class, and to pass it over to individual capitalists, for the purpose of administration and management by them. It had to consent to the reconstruction of home industry, the payment of premiums to industrial workers, to the free exchange of industrial products against foodstuffs, that is permitted to all factories which reach the fixed minimum in their producton. Besides, they had then, to the greatest extent, to grant freedom of commerce. With these steps, Capitalism, in spite of all the consequences, had been recognised also in the towns by the Soviet Government as the prevailing method of production and distribution.

This apparently quite new policy of production of the Soviet Government had already before been prpared for. Its present *relationship to the peasants* was begun already in 1918, through the dissolution of the so-called "Pauper Committees that had been formed by the Bolsheviki at the time of their seizing power for the purpose of socialising the soil. And with their present internal *policy of production with regard to industry.* It has taken the first step already, by removing from the management of the factories, the workers employed therein and the factory committees and by introducing in their stead Commissions for the management of the concerns consisting of specialists (experts of the bourgeoisie) and members of the Party.

Already these measures had shown certain consequences *that proved the beginning of a change in the attitude of the Soviet Government to the Russian proletariat.*

The State and economic machine of the Russian Government had gradually been strongly penetrated by *bureaucracy* and its well known effects. The *personnel* of this bureaucracy consisted of petty-bourgeois merchants, former officials, handicraft-men, etc. That is easily explainable. These people belonged to the small number of those in Russia that could read and write, and therefore alone were eligible for such posts. For the preponderating majority of the Russian poulation was, and is still to-day, illiterate.

This bureaucracy has, by virtue of occupying the official centres that dispose of the articles of consumption, a tremendous influence on the entire development of Russian conditions; and, indeed, this bureaucracy possesses, by virtue of its positions and "relations" of one to the other, a certain power of domination over those who produce these articles of consumption, over the proletatiat. That was the starting point of the *antagonism between the Russian Soviet Government and the Russian proletariat*, which, at the beginning of this year, showed itself. Summed up, it means an ever increasing passing of power from the hands of the proletariat into the hands of the bureaucracy, and thus of the petty bourgeoisie.

(*To be continued in our next issue*).

NEW TACTICS—*continued from page 5.*

But perhaps the unemployed will urge: do something illegal: do not wait for Government sanction; defy the Government. Coin your own money, which has been done in past times by towns and districts that were in conflict with the Central Government. Set us to build houses to replace the slum property that ought to be pulled down; seize the pits that have been closed down, and let us work them; seize the land lying idle; open boot and clothing shops.

Guardian-Councillor John Bowen will then reply: that is Utopian; we cannot successfully organise such enterprises until the capitalist has been overthrown.

Yet Councillor-Guardian Bowen and the rest overlook the fact that it is something worse than Utopian to sit on these bankrupt Boards and hand out starvation doles to a people whose stamina is being destroyed by their present hopeless state. It is worse than Utopian to stand between the people and the Government protecting the Government from the wrath of the unemployed.

It is a strange thing that with the majority of the South Wales Boards and Councils in Labour hands, and half the London Boroughs under Labour control, no courageous body of enthusiasts have had the hardihood to attempt the setting up of an illegal Socialist Administration. Even the Irish dairy workers on strike, with much smaller prospects of making an affective demonstration, attempted this. Could there be any better proof of our contention that the Communists are wasting their time by accepting responsibility for Local Government Administration?

Those Who See Clearly.

Amongst the members of the present Communist Party in South Wales a considerable proportion believe that Communists should shun the elections, keep off these bankrupt Boards and Councils, and make no attempt to get into Parliament. Freed from all responsibility for administering these organs of capitalism, they should stir up the wrath of the people against he Government.

A proportion of the South Wales members of the present Communist Party also see that the old hundred per cent. Industrial Unionism cannot emancipate the working class, and that what are required in the industries are mobile, coherent bodies of convinced revolutionaries, prepared to act together with unhesitating courage and singleness of aim.

Though these are the policies which appeal to them as the true one, they do not yet realise the importance of making them the policy of their party.

Therefore such genuine Communists are using their energies in building up a party which is working for affiliation to the Labour Party, chasing futile official positions in hundred per cent. trade unions, and spending considerable means in the attempt to win Parliamentary and Local Government seats.

Wake up Communists. It is time you ceased dallying with side issues, and vent yourselves to your proper task. The Communist Workers' Party awaits you.

BIRTH CONTROL.

By T. E. MULLINS.

I.

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE.

One of the most wonderful revelations which Science has given to us is that of the common source of all forms of life—the single protoplasmic cell. This is the link which binds man to every living creature, even to the most minute water-weed. The development of the human body from the fertilised ovum, prduced by cell-union, is an almost complete recapitulation of the life-history of the race.

PRIMITIVE REPRODUCTION.

It is important to notice that, in the lower forms of life, reproduction is effected independently of sex. In the case of simple, unicellular organisms, the species is propagated by direct division of the original cell into two. Even in more complicated types, sexual differentiation is absent—a conclusive proof that the function of sex is not limited to reproduction. The marriage formula of the Church declares that the primary purpose of such estate is the "procreation of children," and many of its adherents condemn the practice of birth control on those grounds.

THE FUNCTION OF SEX.

The purpose of sex is to produce that variation which is the essential feature of individuality (Prof. Henry Drummond and Gerald Leighton). The fertilised ovum splits up into a number of non-sexual germ-cells, whose function is the continuance of the race, and *one* somatic cell, from whose further division the body is constructed. The primary purpose of the latter is to act as a protective agent towards the germ-cells. In the course of time, one of these unites with another provided by a trustee of the opposite sex. Some of the distinguishing properties of either cell are repressed in the process of union, so that the resultant ovum is a blending, or mosaic (scientists are undecided as to which is the correct term) of the characteristics of the two.

CONTROL AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

There are many and varied arguments in favour of control, based on considerations of economics, psychology, physiology, and culture. The economic aspect is closely related to the question of the distribution of income and the structure of society. We therefore hope to deal with it in a further article on "The Social Aspect of Birth-Control"; for the present we will confine ourselves to those matters which more closely concern the individual. With regard to psychology, we must remember that the sexual instinct demands an outlet: the neglect of this truth leads to many nervous and mental disorders. A thousand wonderful sppiritual and physiological reactions, of incalculable value in the development of personality, are concerned in the sacrament of intercourse—which normally requires a frequent celebration. The delicate chords of Love cannot maintain their beauteous harmony under conditions o fundue restraint.

WOMAN AND CULTURE.

One of our aims, as the heralds of a new social order, is to secure for every man and woman the means for the fullest possible development of his or her faculties. "A liberal education for all" is our motto. We look around us to-day, and what do we find? The so-so-called "cultured" classes steeped in a conservatism which is all but impervious to the inspiration of a new idea, caring only for wealth, pleasure and power—the masses sunk in intellectual apathy, preferring the distractions of the prize-ring and the cinema to the study of social and political problems. (Happily, there are exceptions!) The workers have at last secured one of the essentials to mental progress—leisure. Yet what leisure is available for the working-class mother with a large family? If she fulfils the claims of home she has neither time nor energy to take an interest in music, art, or literature. She becomes coarsened and degraded—while the smart society woman, who has avoided "encumbrances," wastes her superabundance of leisure in the frivolities of "fashionable" life. The catalogues of some of the smaller agricultural shows held in country districts provide a striking illustration of the degradation of family life. Along with the list of prizes for "best cow with calf," we find another list: "for the agricultural labourer who has brought up the largest family without parochial relief," etc. We have just perused one such list in which occurs the name of a man, aged forty-nine, with ten children! It is perhaps well that no mention is made of the overburdened mother whom, we suspect, has had but scant leisure to enjoy life, and has been prematurely aged by the excess of work and worry.

"POTENTIAL LIFE."

One of the arguments sometimes raised against birth-control, condemns it as "a waste of potential life." A little knowledge of physiology reveals the futility of this objection, since millions of cells are "wasted" whenever reproduction is effected. This is yet another point of similarity between man and the lower scale of being. Nature is supremely careful for the preservation of the species—so that we have plants producing thousands of seeds, and fish producing huge numbers of spawn. The majority never mature, yet the odds are so greatly in their favour that some proportion are almost certain to survive. If Nature is so careless of wasting such prodigious quantities of potential life, there can surely be no objection to the prevention of *one* single cell from achieving its destiny.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

How the Wind Blows in India.

The clash which took place the other day between Indian police and soldiers of the British army shows, more than many a riot could do, the spirit of rebellion against British rule which is growing up in India. In this case an Indian Sub-Inspector of Police is said by the India Office to have caused his subordinates to shoot dead a soldier who was quarrelling with a fruitstall man. Afterwards a British officer and a party of soldiers tried to force their way into the sub-inspector's quarters; he was wounded in the face by a shot fired through the window, and a British non-commissioned officer shot dead the sub-inspector and another Indian.

Soviet Russia threatened.

The Executives of the Communist International and of the Red Tape Union International have issued a manifesto declaring that the iynternational situation is serious in the full sense of the word. The workers are called upon to fight with determination against the criminal preparations of the imperialists of France, Poland and Roumania. The manifesto concludes: "Down with the criminals who are preparing an attack upon Soviet Russia." Prevent the transport of munitions to Poland, Roumania, Esthonia, Lettland, Lithuania and Finnland. Before all, sternghen your relations with the soldiers, so that they will not again give themselves as the cannon fodder of international capital against Soviet Russia.

The French Machinations.

Litvinov, the Deputy Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, states:—

"The French government handed a note to Poland dated September 3rd, urging Poland to hand us an ultimatum, and promising far-reaching financial and military aid in case of war with Soviet Russia. As the Soviet government is at present tied up in the struggle with the famine, the French note finds the present moment favourable for aggressive action. The note demands the discontinuation of the Polish demobilisation, the transfer of the supreme command of the Polish army to the French staff, the transfer of the military intendance in Warsaw to the French Mission, and prophesies the breakdown of Poland in case it does not submit to the will of France in the Russian question.

"A similar note was sent to the Roumanian government; but replied that they would continue their threats without bringing the matter to a clash.

"These reports are absoluted authentic. They throw new light upon the French attempts to send agents and spies to Russia under the flag of philanthropy in the very moment of the preparations for a new war."

The French Socialist daily, *Humanité*, recently reported that several American steamers, which had been chartered by French shippers, had left Marseilles for Galatz. The steamer "Sioux Falls" left the harbour of Marseilles in the month of August with four thousand cases of ammunition and four hundred cases of Lebel rifles. The seamer "Lake Haresti" contained "twenty-two thousand cases of ammunition and six hundred cases of various arms for Roumania." Two other ships have also left under the American flag for Galatz.

In order to keep the delivery secret the shippers in agreement with the French ministry of war chartered foreign ships.

These things prove that international capitalism still awaits any favourable opportunity to pounce upon Soviet Russia. No concessions to capitalism short of a complete surrender will placate the international enemies of the Workers' Republic.

Congratulations.

To John McLean on the fight which has again led to his arrest.

To Mrs. Councillor Crusall on her release, or, as she puts it, her eviction, from Holloway.

A Scandalous Proposal.

Westbury-on-Severn Guardians have agreed to make weekly loans to unemployed colliers with large families, who are existing on the 15s. unemployment dole.

By this method men may be saddled with debts for many years to come. What will happen if, on getting work, they do not repay? Probably the Guardians will get them sent to prison.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

Mr. Ed. Collins writes: "I am sorry that Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst has been expelled from the C.P. Although I am a member, I disagree with the E.C. decision, but I think in the long run it will bring more and more Communists over to the Left, and that is what is necessary. The *Dreadnought must* continue in order to keep the Communist movement pure and clean in this country. I do like those articles by Alexandra Kollontai, especially the one on "Workers' Opposition," that appeared about a month ago. Those are the kind that are required to keep us on the right track."

BAKUNIN PRESS.

We are asked by Comrade Rose Witcop to announce that the Bakunin Press, 17, Richmond Gardens, has for sale the following books and pamphlets:—

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