the Searchlight on the Lockout.

Workers' W Dreadmought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 1.

SATURDAY, MARCH 18th, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

WHAT TO FIGHT FOR

COMMUNISM.

ABUNDANCE FOR ALL.

FOOD FOR ALL.

CLOTHES FOR ALL.

HOUSES FOR ALL.

LEISURE, PLEASURE, AND EDUCA-TION FOR ALL.

THE COMMON OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND, INDUSTRY AND TRANS-PORT.

WORKERS' ADMINISTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORT THROUGH. THE WORKERS' OWN SOVIETS.

THE ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM.

THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

THE ABOLITION OF WAGEDOM.
THE ABOLITION OF BUYING AND SELLING.

THE ABOLITION OF PARLIAMENT.

THAT NONE MAY LIVE ON THE EXPLOITATION OF OTHERS.

HOW TO FIGHT

SOLIDLY.

ACTIVELY.

DO NOT FIGHT MERELY FOR THE TRADE UNION TO CONTROL.
YOUR OVERTIME; FIGHT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF YOUR INDUSTRY AND YOUR ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION.

FROM ALL ACCORDING TO THEIR CAPACITIES, TO ALL ACCORDING TO THEIR NEEDS.

S. O. S.

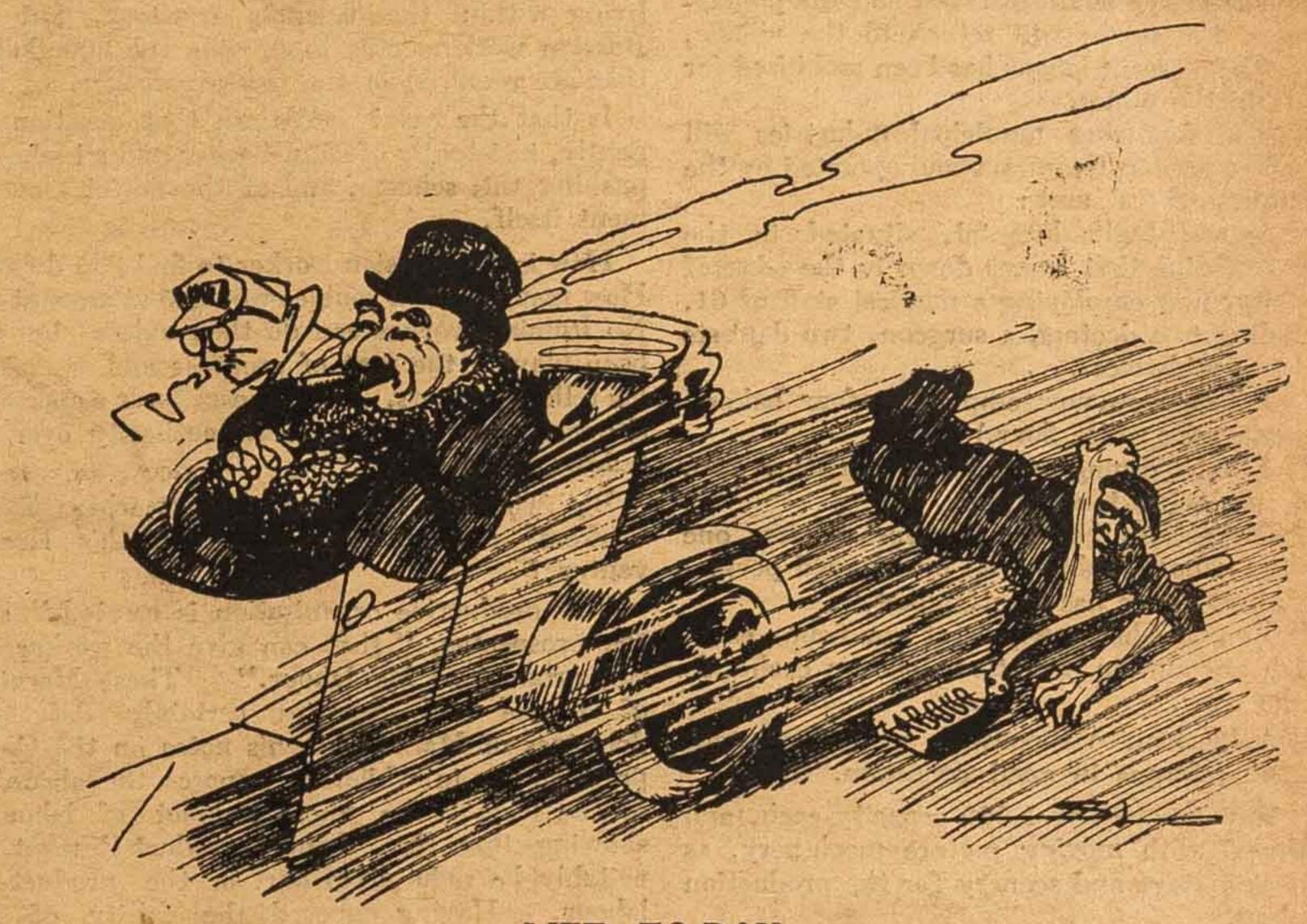
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LIFE TO-DAY.

KUZBAS OR COMMUNISM Questions that Must be Answered

Comrade Tom Barker sends us the prospectus of an industrial venture new being advertised under the auspices of the Russian Soviet Government. The scheme is laid in the Kuznets Basin, hence the name, "Kuzbas." The printed prospectus says:—

"The Russian Revolution gave the land to the peasants, and the factories to the working man. Through four years of most terriffic struggle, these victories have been maintained. This is the great historic fact that keeps the eyes of all working men on Russia."

Yes, that historic fact filled all Communists with enthusiastic hope, but now the Soviet Government sells piece-meal the victory won by the blood of Russia's millions. As the prospectus truly observes:—

"Soviet Russia offers her industry to the capitalist concessionaire, to world labour, or to both."

The Kuzbas scheme is explained thus:-

"Two of the most valuable concessions in Soviet Russia have been taken off the concession market, and are now held for exploitation by an organisation of American workers."

The term, "exploitation" has an ominous

"The plan is to develop Concession Number One offered to world capitalists—the Kuznets Coal and Iron Basin, with its two hundred and fifty billion tons of coal, its iron ore, timber and agricultural land, and to operate Nadejdensks Zavod, a complete steel plant in the north-eastern Urals, which, in pre-war years, produced 20 per cent. of the total steel and cast iron of the Urals, being the largest producer of charcoal pig iron in the world. It is an opportunity so large and amazing that it takes the breath away. It is as if one were being asked to be the founder of a new America."

It is proposed to induce industrially qualified men from countries outside Russia, mainly America, to emigrate to Russia. Each worker is expected to pay his travelling expenses, to provide himself with clothes for two years, minimum value two hundred dollars, and to provide two hundred dollars, and to provide two hundred dollars or more to pay for his

food and tools and so on for two years. Each worker must therefore find 300 dollars beside his travelling expenses. Additional money must also be raised for other needs. "An endeavour will be made to get the worker to supply this additional capital as far as possible." It is proposed to bring in thus six thousand foreign workers to carry out the first year's programme. Men are chiefly invited, but "Some women and children are desirable, to maintain the proper home life and home atmosphere. The engineers will in many cases be accompanied by their wives and families."

"Single women will also be considered, providing they are also industrially qualified, physically fit and politically reliable." Apparently the standards set for women are somewhat stricter than for men. Doubtless it is realised that the proletarian woman able to contribute upwards of £100 is practically non-existent, and that, of single women, only the middle class are like'y to apply.

On the face of it it seems regrettable that the Soviet Government should have made it a condition that the worker should be a little capitalist before he may go to Kuzbas; but there is worse to come. The scheme entails some of the most ugly features of capitalist exploitation.

Says the prospectus:—

"Most of the details of the enterprise were worked out in Russia, so that everything as stated in the following pages is authoritative."

Then, in detailing the advantages which the scheme offers to the capitalist-proletarians from America, it says:—

"Kemerovo is a little industrial Gary in Kuznets Basin in the heart of Siberia. The

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"The following municipal industries will be taken over in Kemerovo and operated by the foreign workers' unit:

"A we'l-built hospital, situated in the forest of pine that comes down to the edge of and two midwives.

(Siberia uses white flour.)

"A hotel dining room accommodating 250, fellows. and employing ten persons.

for the general public, and one for old people. venture? Each bath house has an attendant.

of the river.

and nine forges in good condition.

"A grammar school with 25 teachers and term, he justly says:-500 school children.

"Three small brick plants (with no machinery) where 20 thousand bricks are made by 20 workers during the summer months.

"One barber shop with two barbers.

"One tailor shop with two tailors. "A shoe repair shop with 22 shoe-makers. "A five-bench carpenter shop."

And again :-

"Unskilled labour Russia has in abundance, but because of her free land, the wages must necessarily be above what the peasant labourer can earn in his village."

That reads like a phrase from the report of a capitalist director to his shareholders.

"Kuzbas organisation will operate a glass factory and Hoffman brick kilns at Tomsk. . . The population is 80,000 . . . in 1921 there were 6,000 students at Tomsk University."

It seems that the greater part of Tomsk citylucky Tomsk !- is outside the Kuznets Concession! The report describes within the territory foreign proletarian-capitalists, stone quarries, labour (foreign labour with 300 dollars to invest)? coal mines, chemical plants, tinplate works, blast What sort of control of their industry are the furnaces, iron mines, iron and steel plants, foreign engineers to get? charcoal burning plants, cement plants, brick The "Organisation Statute" adopted by the kilns, timber forests and lumber works, saw-mills, Soviet of Labour and Defence (whose members railways and railway locomotive works, flour mills are the heads of the nine Economic Departments and bakeries. Some of this plant is of first-rate of the Council of People's Commissaries, which modern type. Moreover, there is the agricultural land and everywhere are the Russian people who are working the land and the industries to a certain extent, and whose wages, as 'he prospectus says, must necessarily be above what the peasant labourer can earn in his village. What part are the natural inhabitants to have in Kuzbas?

Says the prospectus:-

"All the properties will be operated as a State industry, as an economic unit under the management of the organisation of foreign workers. The organisation will function on the basis of a special statute approved by the Council of Labour and Defence. All the properties will be operated by the Kuzbas Organisation as one property: with one board of managers and one technical staff."

Remember that the foreign workers will form but a tiny proportion of the population of Kuznets territory.

American workers will take over this town of What is to become of the Russian workers' 11,000 population, together with all the dream of controlling their own industry through

town is on the east bank of the River Tom, "The Russian Revolution gave the land to the and the industrial part connected with the peasants, and the factories to the working men. chemical plant, on the west bank. The town Through four years of a most terrific struggle,

rooms, with fenced yards. The houses are died? Is another Africa governed by colonists of

It is true that the report says "Russian workers within the unit shall have the same legal and be added to the existing population with but material rights as the other participants from America and other countries." This, however, evidently does not mean all Russian workers above, states that the Board of Management will labour, to the amount of about half the popula- living within the Kuznets territory, but all tion of the town, will return to the village, Russian workers able to provide the 300 dollars

Is that the case? We ask that question ur- "discipline":gently, insistently of Tom Barker and a'l who are pushing this scheme, and of the Soviet Govern-

How is the Russian worker to find 300 dollars? the city, now employing a medical staff of 61, How many million roubles would that amount to? including two doctors, a surgeon, two dentists No Russian worker can do this, unless he has been playing the part of profiteer and exploiting "A bakeshopenow employing four bakers. his fellow workers. In that case he is a speciailly dangerous person to put in authority over his

But where is 'the Communism'; where is the. "Three bath houses, one for miners, one workers' control of industry in this Kuzbas

"A productive organisation is created," says "Two Swedish sawmills of one frame each, the prospectus, "that can give the worker the which are now in operation—one on each side full product of his labour." These Marxians of Russia and America certainly defy the "A blacksmith shop with small equipment doctrines of Marx! See his notes on the Gotha programme, in which he exposes the absurdity "Two theatres of 1,000 capacity each, and of the term "the whole product of labour." equipped with moving picture machinery, as showing that the "whole product" must inwell as a stage and scenery for the production evitably be reduced to part of the product of labour. Having exposed the falsity of the

"Within the co-operative commonwealth based upon common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labour embodied in products manifest itself as a material quality possessed by them; for now (in contrast with what happens in capitalist society) the individual acts of labour no longer exist indirectly, but exist directly as constituents of associated labour. Thus the term ' product of labour,' which to-day is already open to objection, on account of its ambiguity. becomes totally devoid of meaning."

Again, says Marx: When the productive forces of society have expanded proportionately with the multiform development of the individuals of whom society is made up—then will the narrow bourgeois outlook be utterly transcended, and then will society inscribe upon its banners: From everyone according to his capacities,

to everyone according to his needs." " But what is to be the fulfilment of the proof the concession to be "exploited" by the mise to give, in Kuzbas, its whole product to

is actually the Soviet Government) states:-"The management of the Unit will be in the hands of a Managing Board of seven members, three to reside in the Kuzbas, three in the Urals, one in Moscow. These members will be selected by the workers in the Unit. subject to the approval of the Soviet authorities. The election will be for a term of one year. with the provision of recall by the workers, or by the Soviet Government, who will have a

representative on the Managing Board." It would appear that the Soviet Government does not trust these foreign workers much, since it takes the right to dismiss all their chosen

"The Board of Management is the highest organ of the Unit, and will be responsible to the Soviet authorities. It will appoint and discharge the technical staff, which will supervise all labour, as well as act as adviser to the Board of Management.

"All workers in the Unit will be their respective industrial unions, whi act in an advisory capacity to the Box Management. All workers in the Unit belong to their respective industrial which again will act in an advisory capacit the Board of Management and the ter staff. The Industrial Unions within the will constitute a part of the All-Russian or sation of Industrial Unions."

"The members of the Unit pledge selves, in case of misunderstanding or to accept as final the decision of the State authority in Russia."

The Organisation Statute for Kuzbas, as quotan be responsible to the Soviet authorities, and si it may be dismissed by the Soviet, no doubt the is so. The prospectus states under the head

"Responsibility for the progress of all was rests with the technical staff, who are sible only to 'he Board of Management Board of Management are responsible the workers and to the Russian Socialist F tion of Soviet Republics. The work discipling and methods will be absolutely determin the technical staff or its proper sub-divisions superintendents, foremen, etc."

Kuzbas: there is to be no application of the place the existing capitalist order. I thought-Marxian standard (which was by no means the to his capacities, to everyone according to he way of life. I don't see how it can be an attempt reeds." Says the prospectus:-

will include a yearly bonus. The remaining Bistre appealingly, as to one who knew. product (except the customary Soviet taxes "Precisely," Bistre answered. ment of the enterprise.

efficiency. For the first two years each worker Communism. and placed to the individual credit rendered, hardships endured, the future convictions." prospects of Kuzbas, and what a similar amount. Dick Barbour laughed: of industry would return to the worker in the "In the old B.S.T.I.," he said, "there were

Kuzbas community?

Soviet Government:

in products, especially coal.

Organisation, less the usual taxes.

"In regard to other industries: Organisation will turn over to the So vernment the equivalent of the secured by the Soviet Government in 1921 has become incapable of conducting its own "Is that, with trifling changes in wording, written a little later." which was approximately 10 per cent, of t total capacity); also 50 per cent. of all pro- "I don't think!" jeered Dick Barbour. the Kuzbas Organisation for individual constalism must be international." sumption or the expansion of the enterprise "That is not Communism," said Bistre: exchanged with the peasants or others. Par of the products will be used for a satisfactor, a propose we sample the chaos of Capitalis n bloomers? Take the first measure: 'Abolition machine industry. The amount reserved extension of the whole organisation wh determined by the Unit as production justille

In short, at Kuzbas will be created an organ not yet determined, to maintain them, and bonus which they can draw out after two year

(continued on page \$).

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON

for its title, "Communism."

Do you know them?" Miss Mayence inquired

this time turning to Bistre. "They have written many pamphlets." "Is this one good?"

"What do you mean by that?"

"I am not in the witness-box," Bistre prosted and Miss Mayence smiled her apologies. "There seem to be an amazing number of fallacies in this document." announced Penman. "Listen to this:-

· Communism 'to-day signifies an organised attempt to overthrow the existing social order and to replace it by a better."

"I thought," said Miss Mayence, choosing her words slowly, "that Communism is itself a social As to Communism, that will not appear to lorder, the social order by which we hope to re-I wrong?—that it is a method of organising ratent of Karl Marx) "from everyone according social relationships, or, broader than that: a to overthrow Capitalism: I thought it was the "The workers will receive from their proteing towards which we are striving in attempt-

of living will be determined by the Board a common, producing for the general use, and not use nowadays, if they ever were."

will put his labour into Kuzbas. On the "The writers of this pamphlet do not see n of production a yearly bonus will be declared to think so," Penman said, reading a further your view. They are:-

worker. This bonus will consider the ser did "'Underlying this attempt are five main

United States, in the form of savings." five cardinal points! The Pauls and Bonehead What becomes of Communism: the holding were always rubbing them in. Old Eden and ol I and using of all things in common, without stint Bonehead were never tired of those Five or measure, the abolition of wages, the abolition fordinal Points! I used to wonder which of though they would save the world and make the Frank." and the 'Ergatocrats.' Those take more or less see it. The Pauls say:-"Kuzbas will pay the customary State taxes of a back seat now. Communist psychology has

taken the front place." "The total product of agricultural and "But what are the five main convictions' in the numbered itemsbuilding industries is at the disposal of Kuzbas, the pamphlet? Are they Communism?" Miss "They are referring, you understand, to the later.", Mayence asked.

simply tell you what they say. One, 'Capitalism say:-

duction over that of 1921. For all products "Two, 'order can only be regained through turned over to the Soviet Government, a credit the dictatorship of the proletariat.' Four, will be given and an equivalent in other com- necessity of the revolution and forcible supmodities received through exchange on a pression of the counter-revolution. I am not

Products at the disposal of Kuzbas can be those are tactics—good or bad, complete or clear," he said. meomplete-for obtaining Communism."

pare me the Ergatocrats."

What is it?" everyone asked him.

literature seller, a robust, energetic Irish they are quoting the Communist Manifesto of pressed her wares vigorously; she would Marx and Engels. The Manifesto says that means take a refusal. Frank Penman when the proletariat has become the ruling class. her active zeal: zealous activity he often it will use its political power to wrest, by

lacking in the movement. He bought degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, and to her a red covered pamphlet, for its colour centralise instruments of production in the hands of the workers' State, the proletariat organised "Who is the author?" Miss Mayence asked. as the ruling class. The Manifesto says this There seem to be two of them," answered cannot be done all at once, but measures will be industry they proposed to socialise was agriculused which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the move- indicate a partial nationalisation of industrial ment, outstrip themselves, and are indispensable property. 'Extension of national factories,' they as revolutionising the whole mode of production." say."

"I take it that these are put forward by "The Russian revolution, on the other hand, "I wouldn't answer for it: they are makers Marx and Engels as temporary measures: blows altempted to abolish all sorts of property except at the power and stability of Capitalism in the small property in land. Its great effort was to stages preceding its complete abolition. he socialise industry: when it called on the workers Manifesto contains ten of these measures. The to seize the industries, it meant that they should

refugees and rebels.

of the State, by means of a national bank with of 1917 was the first which was animated by the State capital and an exclusive monopoly. 6. Centralisation of the means of com- sured subsistence, because they are members of the

"Marx certainly did not for one moment con- tions-desired or attempted to provide soup sider such measures to constitute Communism, kitchens and public works for the poor, marking duction a satisfactory standard of living, which ing to overthrow Capitalism." She turned to or as a proper basis on which to erect the them off from the people who could afford to Workers' Republic. These were merely tempor- shift for themselves. The Russian was the first ary measures; weapons of the struggle, or slogans to attempt the free supply of the means of subwill be used to extend the industrial equin "I thought," she continued, "I thought intended to appeal to those as yet incapable of sistence for all. The Russian revolutionaries in that the main outlines of Communism were grasping the idea of Communism. Personally, command, however, recognised only the necessity "What is meant by a satisfactory standar generally accepted: holding property in I don't think these measures are good slogans for of providing freely a bare subsistence. All com-

Managers who are responsible both to the for wages or profits—general "Your view that Marx regarded these by wages. workers and to the Soviet Government. As a products. No buying and selling. I thought measures as temporary, insufficient, and unter- "The Communist Manifesto does not refer to minimum, it is a standard based on productive those were the main accepted characteristics of able, is, as you say, expressed plainly enough in this question of providing for the subsistence of the Manifesto itself," said Bistre, "and the people. It does not refer to workers' control three points which have been left out substantiate of industry, which was one the main efforts and

> instruments of production, cultivation and im- proletarian revolution all over the world. provement of waste lands, in accordance with "I don't think Marx foresaw that these things a general social plan.

tinction between town and country."

"But what about the bloomer?" prompted mise to get Russia out of the war. That is not of buying and selling? Might not Communism them it was that first fished up the phrase. You Barbour. "I want to hear it. You will be mentioned. have been attempted amongst the members of the know those old tags some people hang on to, as posing as one of the high-brows yourself next, "I think I have proved to you that the Pauls

"'Now the most interesting point about would serve for a statement of the revolutionary this programme—the preamble no less than measures whereby the Communist Government

words quoted from the Communist Manifesto "The fact is," said Bistre, "those slogans of "I suppose the writers think so," said and the seven points I read you. The most in- the Manifesto could only be issued under the Penman. "You must judge for yourself: I will teresting point about this programme, they impression that Communism was very far away.

> the Communist programme of 1848 would serve for a statement of the revolutionary measures whereby the Communist Government of Russia secured itself in power seventy

"There can't be any mistake that they are commercial basis. The equivalent received and giving it in their own words, mind you: this is referring to those measures I read you; can the remaining production is at the disposal of list the gist in brief. Five, the overthrow of there?" Penman asked, handing the pamphlet to Bistre: " Read it for yourself."

Bistre scanned the page. "It seems quite

". Well, can't you all see it is a bundle of standard of living; the remainder for the experimental Lyons' Corner House," said Dick Barbour. of property in land'; was that achieved by the tension of industrial equipment to create a by the standard of fiving, the remainded the standard of fiving, the remainded to create a by the tension of industrial equipment to create a by the standard of fiving, the remainded to the standard of fiving the standard o spot like this: you must have a chance to sit did not say: 'Make the land common property.' They said: 'All the land for the peasants.' They said the great landowners should be expropriated we me a cup of coffee," said Bistre, " but and the land divided into peasant holdings. It is of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists who will be paid something and a state of little capitalists. "This is a bloomer!" that what it promised and what it did was to let the peasants cut up the land amongst themselves. I'll explain, if you'll give your minds to it: I will admit that the peasants may be holding the

land according to the old customs of the mir, that they have not an absolute title to the ownership of the land, and that it is re-divided by the growth of families every ten years or so. At the same time, the peasants, for all practical purposes own the land. They sell its produce.

"The one kind of private property that Marx and Engels proposed to abolish in these measures was private property in land; the one kind of ture. Marx and Engels in these measures only

authors of this pamphlet select seven of them :- do so, not to become small producers and petty "1. Abolition of property in land. . . . traders, but that they should work the industries "3. Abolition of all right of inheritance. in common. One of the great slogans of the "4. Confiscation of the property of all Eussian Revolution was the seizure and administration of industry by the workers in the shops.

"5. Centralisation of credit in the hands "It seems to me that the Russian Revolution principle that the people are entitled to an asmunication and transport in the hands of the community, living creatures, and that the wherewithal to feed, to clothe, to house them, must " 8. Equal liability of all to labour. . . . be provided freely for them, irrespective of their "9. Free education for all children in the social, physical, or moral condition, or any services they may perform. The earlier revoluforts and extras, they decided, must be earned

incentives of the Russian Revolution, although "2. A heavy progressive income tax. the Soviet Government has gone back on it, and 66 7. Extension of national factories and which will undoubtedly be a main factor in the

would come to be the big issues in our time; "8. Combination of agricultural and otherwise he would have dealt with them. Also industrial labour, in order to remove the dis- one of the main slogans by which the Bolsheviki secured mass support was, of course, their pro-

are making a hopeless bloomer when they cite As to the relations between Kuzbas and the bally revolution. It used to be 'Ergatocracy' "The bloomer is this-I expect even you can those measures from the Communist Manifesto and say: 'The Communist programme of 1848 of Russia secured itself in power seventy years

Marx himself would have changed them had he

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THE LABOUR WAR. THE RAND STRIKE.

Our readers will watch with interest the have been prepared in advance! articles on the Rand Strike which L. A. Motler is contributing to our columns from the storm centre. In its war upon Labour in South Africa, its mind? Capital is using all the forces of the Government. The police and the soldiery are already in action. The sailors from British warships at Simonstown will be called in if trouble spreads to Cape Town, aeroplanes, for which the Germans were so it! greatly condemned by the Allies, although, of course, the Allies were equally guilty in that to ask themselves are just these:respect, is being used by the South African Government against the strikers. An official announcement from Pretoria, dated March 12th,

"All our machines now carry bombs, in order that every advantage may be taken when revolutionary commandos are discovered in the open, or marked down in one of the many plantations on the East Rand.

"In two instances to-day (Saturday) commandos were successfully bombed, in each case direct hits being made. The revolution. aries suffered severely on 'hese occasions.

How the fighting actually started will be 1 in a subsequent article by our correspondent, L. A. Motler.

The general strike is apparently only partial as yet and solidarity has not been shown, as it ought, by the workers in other parts of South Africa. The railwaymen, especially, have shown a grievous lack of comradeship in transporting refuse. the troops from Cape Town and other parts of South Africa to attack their brothers in Johanne-s

The soldiers and police are workers, too, but they have forgotten that fact so far.

lesson of solidarity and is prepared to fight as a cover a fighting spirit in the Union ranks can example of the recent miners' defeat before us,

Labour will not be victorious whilst it merely strikes and starves. It must take control of production and distribution before it can achieve of this kind.

The South African Labour leaders have played the old game of trying to prevent united action by all the of the working class.

That was to be expected as a matter of course.

THE BRITISH LOCK-OUT.

In Britain, also, the need is for the solidar ty of the workers. The engineers and shipbuilde s cannot successfully fight the employers alone. The workers in all other industries, and especi- quarrel. Trade Unionism hedges industry about ally the main industries, must join the engineers with hampering restrictions on output, and reand shipbuilders in their struggle, or the em- stricts the mobility of labour. The employers ployers must certainly win.

now so far developed that the workers will gain knees, to break their spirit as the spirit ot the no real victory by merely going home to starve; miners has apparently been broken, to reduce they must act if they mean to win. They must them to the plight when they will be ready to show themselves able and ready to supply their accept employment at any wage and on any conown needs and those of the proletarian com- ditions. The employers have enlarged the scope

munity as a whole.

many sections, have been allowed great latitude A.E.U., to-morrow it may be another Ur and scope in monopolising the field of action. What the employers are aiming at is to break the The Right-Wing-Parliamentary Communist Party power of the Trade Union. They desire that refrained from advising the formation of rank workers shall be a driven herd. The Lock-Out is and file workshop councils. It declared, on the a part of the campaign to bring wages and work contrary, that the officials of the Trade Unions ing conditions down to the lowest possible level must be appealed to—that the Union officiais If successful, the attack on the A.E.U. means must be left to handle the situation. Then on that its members must either join other Unions the very eve of the Lock-Out, when the battle or cease to belong to any Unions at all, unlive was actually joined, out came the Communist, the A.E.U. should negotiate itself back into the the organ of the Parliamentarians, with this favour of the employers.

every workshop, to control and carry on the workers' struggle in that region."

Very good, very good; but the message is several months late in the day. The warnings were given last year: the organisation shou'd

The Right-Wing C.P. has hitherto opposed this policy. Has it now permanently changed

What a slow lot of people we are in this times, for 400 or 500 men to go on to the streets, breathless public, that revolution was his last country, to be sure. "Occupation of the fac- without a prospect of the unemployment dole." tories!" Why, if we do not wake up, all the that being refused to strikers, and with the other peoples of the world will have become post Trade Union funds so much depleted that strike said that, it only remained for him to put the at least, so The Times predicts. Bombing from masters of the art before we even begin to try

The questions the locked-out workers have got 1.—"Why should we suffer want in a land

2.—" How can we avoid doing so?"

The Engineers' Lock-Out is a serious business. It was firstly and superficially a question of the by permission of a Trade Union official with prestige of the Trade Union official. The issue raised was whether the Trade Union officals should or should not decide when and under what con- though potentially it is involved. ditions their members should work overtime. The A.E.U. officials cling to this privilege, both nected with the engineering industry are now to uphold their power and that of the Union as balloting on the employers' overtime proposals a whole, and also to limit overtime with a view Their ballot papers are not returnable till March to checking the growth of unemployment.

overtime will not greatly limit unemployment. made known! What criminal mism Class conscious workers will refuse to work over- of the situation! time if the interests of their fellows requires that refusal. Class conscious workers do not require a Trade Union official to say no for them if they have agreed with their fellows that they will officials.

It will be replied that the mass of the Trace Union membership is not class conscious enough to stand firm on this issue. Certainly the fact that only 20.1 per cent. of the A.E.U. membership voted against the employers' terms shows how The possessing classes have shown more little the members really care for this question. solidarity: they have organised a volunteer force. That only 50,240 voted against acceptance of A.E.U. itself! to replace the strikers in transport and other the employers' terms and 35,523 voted in favour of the terms, out of a membership of 425,714 is to make such appeals to the Union officials in the Labour will not be victorious till it learns the a significant fact that no degree of desire to dis- course of a great struggle like his, and with the explain away. Nevertheless we believe that more shows the lack of initiative of the rank and file. fighting solidarity will be displayed by the It also raises the question as to whether the workers for a big and vital issue than for an issue Union officials, or some of them, have entered

> Now that the A.E.U. officials have got the to bring about a smashing defeat of the workers workers into this struggle, they shrink from in the engineering industry. The minutes using the Union machinery and the solidarity of A.E.U. Executive Committee meetings the workers to put up an effective fight.

The Nationalist politicians have plainly shown To be effective, the struggle must be conducted that they are not on the side of the workers. on a bolder and broader scale than ever before. The officials, hide-bound in conservatism, shrink from adopting new methods, the more so as a well-fought struggle would doubtless bring the heavy hand of Government coercion down upon the officials themselves.

The employers have deliberately picked this desire to sweep away such restrictions. More-Moreover, the war of Labour and Capital has over, they wish to bring the engineers to their of the struggle; it is not a mere question of over-Our settled policy is that the rank and file time; it is a question of Trade Unionism. The should form a rank and file workshop organisation employers refuse now to employ the members of able to act in this crisis. The Right-Wing- a particular Trade Union—the A.E.U.—because Parliamentary Communists, by agreement of that is the Union whose officials refused to

accede to the employers' terms. \ To-day it is

An organisation formed on industrial lines and "The rank and file must come together. covering every worker in the industry is the first In every locality affected we must set up Lock- essential in fighting a struggle of this kind themselves any sort of Government, and instead afterthought. Out Councils consisting of representatives fron This is clearly illustrated by news items such as sent a deputation of their precious selves to . As is usual, the workers are being well "Fortunately it was discovered before any un-

sympathy with the ten members of the A.E.II Herald, March 14th, 1922.

Suppose the four or five hundred men h thus supported the A.E.U. members?

It requires tremendous solidarity, in these hard star, and told the reporter, and through him the pay is problematical. It requires great solidarity when the issue is not a clear cut and noble one. transpires that the people who put the goods The issue, remember, is not 'hat there shall be no overtime whilst there is unemployment, or of England." " no overtime for the men in our workshop unless we all decide that there shall be overtime."

No: the issue for which the 500 have struck is whether ten men shall work overtime excen whom the 500 have no connection. The overtime of the 500 is not at present in question,

The members of the 47 other Unions conthe 23rd. The A.E.U. might actually be beaten So far, the issue is not an exalted one: limiting before the decision of the other workers were

> Here is another striking news it should cause every worker to ponder the of the honesty and efficiency of the Union

out all members of the A.E.U., except those the strikers was an ultimatum as follows :employed in hospitals, was passed yesterday by a mass meeting of locked-out men in Willesden, where about 1,500 men are affected."-Daily Herald, March 14th, 1922.

So there is not even unity of action within the

That the rank and file should find it necessary into a deliberate conspiracy with the employers make instructive reading just now. about that underground organisation started by the Coal Association, with which some Labour

leaders have been so closely in touch? The supreme questions of the present great struggle are, whether the rank and file workers are going to see to it that their struggle efficiently and honestly conducted, and, still more important, whether the struggle is to be for objects that are substantially worthy of terrible hardships which the struggle will bring, not upon the Trade Union officials, comrades, but upon the workers.

Our appeal to the workers is to form their own unofficial organisation and to make their own

Our appeal to the workers is not "Watch Your Leaders," but: " Do It Yourselves!"

NOW IN STOCK. SOVIET ARMS BADGES. PINS AND BROOCHES, 6d. each. In ordering, state which you require. WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT. OFFICE, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR STRUGGLE.

yesterday at the Gothic Works, Edmonton, in And that was as far as it went. They came out following Notice by the S.A. Railways:by the same door at which they entered; but, South African Railways and Harbours. locked-out at that establishment."-Daily then nobody expected to see them come flying igh the window.

en the redoubtable "revolutionary" erston gave an interview to the reactionary resource merely. He would first exhaust every possible avenue of constitutional means. Having blame on somebody else. Which he did. It across him were an ex-Service man and a "Son

The Sons of England, I may explain, is another White Guard organisation in embryo. Its main planks are the Crown, the Throne and the Flag. In the meantime, the local "Miners' Arms" receives their strongest support. It is there above-mentioned offences. they imbue the true loyalist spirit-from certain

Needless to say, the Sons of England threw Bob Waterston's gross insinuation about revolution, in his teeth as soon as they heard of it. A proper Son of England, they explained, would ever dream of no such thing. Alternatively, as truthful lawyers put it, if he did, he didn't know what he was doing. The prisoner is declared Guilty, but is warned not to do it again.

In the meantime, seeing that the "Provisional Government " resolution had declared the Nationalist supporters of the strike to be on the side of Loranorder, the police began to get "A resolution asking the Executive to call busy. The first bombshell that they hurled at

OFFICIAL WARNING.

THE USE OF BODIES OF MEN SUCH AS COMMANDOES, TO PULL OUT OFFICIALS WORKING ON ESSEN-TIAL SERVICES CONSTITUTES CRIME OF PUBLIC VIOLENCE, AND SUBJECT TO HEAVY PUNISHMENT. fact. THE POLICE HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO TAKE ACTION IN ALL SUCH CASES.

THEO. G. TRUTER, COLONEL, COMMISSIONER OF POLICE. JOHANNESBURG.

February 7th, 1922.

his was issued in Dutch as well as in English, the languages having a legal equality here. It is mando movement and to be its mainstay, it is to be divided by racial appeals.

Truter, or rather Smuts, made a further thing was noticed in time, as in other cases.

M.L.A., and others, to Pretoria. There the on the mines began to look like being threatened, late. That is all. Rump Parliament" of Nationalists rebuffed a rabid vituperation against Anarchist elements I do not wish to be thought prejudiced about "revolutionists," and without putting it in and a call to the Government to protect property these "outrages"; but I cannot help noticing many words, intimated that their talk of a and the lives of the men still at work in the queer coincidences. Take this one. An old Republic was (to use an Americanism) simply rines. Note that the good editor always juts buffer plate was found between the joints of the mink. They refused, point-blank, to constitute property first, and throws in a few lives as an rails on the up main line near Maraisburg (West

Smuts. This gentleman received them cordially watched, whilst the Fat Men of the Chamber of "Between 400 and 500 men stopped work and listened seriously to their rhodomontade. Mines do as they please. Take, for instance, the

REWARD

line near Anzac Halt on the 27th January, 1922, fortunately awake at that time of night. He at but was frustrated.

On the night of the 2nd or morning of the say "proceeded." (All good policemen "pro-3rd February, 1922, dynamite was exploded on ceed.) On arriving there, or thereabouts, he the railway line between Geduld and Welgedacht, suddenly came across six white men, who fired and certain damage done.

the lives of the travelling public and cause serious took to their heels. It is unfortunate that the damage to Government property, the Adminis- i oliceman had no corporeal proof of this. I say tration hereby offers a reward of £300 for in- it is unfortunate, that is all. formation (which should be given to the nearest The Rand has had police imported from all Police Station) leading to the arrest and convic- over the Union, yet all these "outrages" (the tion of any person or persons responsible for the affair at Maraisburg is boldly described by the

A reward will also be given for information play is only "suspected)—these outrages, I say, which leads to the prevention of any such con- have brought no arrests. templated outrages in the future, and to the con- There have been arrests of a sort, however. viction of the guilty parties.

3rd February, 1922.

W. HOY, General Manager's Office. Johannesburg.

When the alleged dynamite outrage was :e- were brought up in court, charged with inciteported in the press, it was also suggested that ment to revolt. A kindly magistrate remanded It was the work of strikers. The authorities them for a fortnight. And the evidence? No promptly offered a reward, as outlined above, evidence whatever was offered by the prosecution. obviously aimed at the strikers. Somebody wrote Bail was refused. to the press, and this was repeated by certain These arrests were announced at one of the Chamber of Mines, nor was such a notice posted down the proposal. outside the notorious Rand Club.

EVERY PERSON WHO FORMS A UNIT What I want to draw your attention to is this. Strikers on picket duty at Robinson Deep (Gold OF SUCH BODY OR COMMANDO, OR The last paragraph states that "A reward will WHO COUNSELS, INSTIGATES OR IN- also be given for information . . . of any such CITES TO THE COMMISSION OF SUCH CONTEMPLATED OUTRAGES IN THE ACT IS GUILTY OF THE CRIME OF FUTURE. " I want to point out what a PUBLIC VIOLENCE, AND WOULD, IF temptation this is to anyone to report "con-CONVICTED BY THE COURTS, BE templated outrages" that have no existence in

> ways at points just outside the thickly populated whatever have been issued by the S.A. Railways than for some strikers to be seen crossing the railway where some dynamite would be somewhere about seven in the evening.) subsequently "discovered" and a "contemplated outrage " frustrated?

peculiar that the Dutch "Waarschuwing" is "Reward" notice was first published in English will happen. The strike will simply proceed on dated a day later than the one in English, but as only. No reports having transpired from the the old lines. thief of Police Truter was in a hurry to rush his English section, it was thought advisable to Now that the commandos have ceased to march dimatum, it was issued in English only, on the tempt the cupidity of the Dutch. A notice in en masse on mines to pull out "scabs," the 7th February. The next day the Dutch version Dutch was therefore issued a few days afterwards. press has reverted to its sympathy with the comappeared to make the Warning apply legally to Unfortunately for the authorities, this met with mandos. The Government is urged not to the Dutch as well. Since the Dutch are sup- no better success than the first. Both Dutch and suppress peaceable bodies that provide the strikers posed by the press to have originated the Com- English are standing solidly together and are not with something to keep them out of mischief.

It shows how Smuts, who, of course, put Truter another "outrage" on the railway. This time prison) to sing "The Red Flag" and oheer the by to it, has been in haste to prove what a true it happened some 70 miles from Johannesburg. imprisoned officials of the S.A. Miners' Union. But even there, by a peculiar coincidence, the The only anti-" scab" activity now apparent is

followed on the outcry in the press, against line. A piece of rail on one side was found to

By L. A. Motler,

As regards the strike here, events have justi- the commandoes, as I oullined in my previous have been taken up. The engine fell on one feel my forecast of the reception of the proposed letter. First, amused tolerance; then, as strikers side of the line and the tender on the other. The revolt" by he Nationalists. As was resolved began to do other things than merely marching dining coach was only derailed, and nobody at the Town Hall meeting, the resolution was up and down the Reef, a venomous leading article seems to have been seriously hurt. The engine taken by the prime mover, Bob Waterston, on violence; finally, as the "essential services" driver saw what was coming—just a little too

> Rand). Here, again, the reporter observes: toward accident occurred." Now this was exactly the case at Anzac Halt. How did the authorities manage to "discover" these outrages before an accident happened?

Another item. Two current-carrying standards have this week been damaged near our old friend, Anzac Halt. Three explosions took place at the supposed time of the "outrage." An attempt was made to dynamite the railway These were noticed by a policeman, who was once went to the scene of the outrage-or I should three shots at him. Our gallant frend in blue As outrages of this description may endanger promptly took to cover, and the six white men

Rand Daily Mail as "sabotage," although foul

Immediately after Truter's "Warning," five arrests, were made amongst the officials of the S.A. Miners' Union. Be it noted that there were no arrests among the Executive of the S.A. Industrial Federation, which is conducting the strike, and under whose orders the Miners' Union is. Even the "revolutionary" Bob Waterston is still at large. These seven men

Labour leaders, that the "outrage" may have strikers' daily meetings in the Town Hall. A been the work of provocateurs. But the police resolution was passed, asking the Industrial didn't issue a notice, in English and Dutch, in Fderation to call a general strike and demand the the papers read specially by the Fat Men of the release of the prisoners. The Federation turned

> Nex't day a raid was made by the police on Mine) and seven men arrested. These being of the rank and file, they were allowed out on bail of £20 each. And all the Executive of the S.A. Industrial Federation does is to ask the men to " stand fast and fight on."

As regards the "outrage" to the Rhedesian mail train, although an actual derailment oc-The public roads here commonly cross the rail- hension of the "misdaadigers." No notices save to state that the line would be in running order the next day. (The derailment occurred

This is the position to-day. As to developments: although Bob Waterston is now talking Point is lent to this by the fact that the of a general strike, I do not anticipate anything

No references are made to "Waterston's Army." thrange that the first warning was not in Dutch. This week (February 9th) we have reports of Commandos now march to the Fort (the local

Movement the next day. I will return to this It seems that the Rhodesian mail train was The first Women's Commando—if such it can be resently. I now want to point out how events partially derailed on the Zeerust portion of the called-rose at Vereeniging, near the Vaal River, (continued on page 7).

THE WAGE SYSTEM. By Peter Kropotkin.

"To each according to his deeds," say the Collectivists, or rather, according to his share of service rendered to society. This is the principle they recommend as the basis of economic organisation, after the Revolution shall have made all the instruments of labour and all that is necessary for production, common

property! Well, if the Social Revolution should be so unfortunate as to proclaim this principle, it would be stemming the tide of human progress; it would be leaving unsolved the huge social problem cast by past centuries upon our shoulders.

It is true that in such a society as ours, where the more a man works, the less he is paid, this principle may seem, at first slight, a movement towards justice. But at the bottom it is but the consecration of past injustice. It is with this principle that the wage-system began, to end where it is to-day, in glaring inequalities and all the abominations of the present state of things. It has ended thus because, from the day on which ssociety began to appraise services in money or any other sort of wages; from the day on which it sown the fields which supply the miners with was said that each should have only what he could food, smelted iron, cut the wood in the forest, succeed in getting paid for his work, the whole made the machines which will consume the coal, history of Capitalism (the State aiding therein) and so on? was written beforehand; its germ was enclosed in No hard and fast line can be drawn between

this principle. parture and pass once more through the process divide them into fractions and measure them by of capitalist evolution? These theorists seem to hours of labour leads to absurdity also. One desire it; but happily it is impossible; the Revo- course remains: not to measure them at all, but lution will be Communistic; or it will be drowned to recognise the right of all who take part in

Service rendered to society, be it labour ir enjoy the comforts of life. factory or field, or moral service, cannot be Take any other branch of human activity; take "Christian Charity," organised by the State. valued in monetary units. There cannot be an our existence as a whole, and say which of us exact measure of its value, either of what has been can claim the highest reward for his deeds? improperly called its "exchange value," or of The doctor who has divined the disease, or the surance against old age and sickness, and the its value in use. If we see two individuals, both nurse who has assured its cure by her sanitary principle of deeds will be "tempered" "Wound community, at two different occupations equally or the boy who one day tired of pulling the cord Thus, then, after having forsworn Communism. pleasing to them, we can say that, taken all in which formerly served to open the valve after having sneered at their ease at the formula, all their labours are roughly equivalent; but admitting the steam beneath the piston, tied his "To each according to his needs," is it not their work could not be broken up into fractions, cord to the lever of the machine, and went to obvious that they have forgotten something, so that the product of each day, each hour, or play with this companions, without imagining i.e., the needs of the producers. And thereupon each minute of the labour of one should be worth that he had invented the mechanism essential to they hasten to recognise these needs. Only it is the produce of each minute and each hour of that all modern machinery—the automatic valve? to be the State by which they are to be estimated;

during his whole life, deprives himself of leisure sleepers should take the place of the stones which for ten hours daily, has given much more to were formerly put under the rails and threw society than he who has deprived himself of but trains off the line by their want of elasticity? five hours a day, or has not deprived himself of The driver of the locomotive, or the signalman but a stone's throw. any leisure at all. But we cannot take what one who stops 'he train or opens the way for it? man has done during any two hours and say that To whom do we owe the Trans-Atlantic cable? There is but a stone's throw, for even this this produce is worth exactly twice as much as To the engineer who persisted in declaring that step-mother of a society, against which we are the produce of one hour's work from another the cable would transmit telegrams, whilst the in revolt, has found it necessary to temper its individual, and reward each proportionately. To learned electricians declared that it was impos- individualistic principle. It, too, has had to do this would be to ignore the extent to which sible? To Maury, the scientist, who advised the make concessions in a Communistic sense, and in all individual work is the outcome of the former disuse of thick cables and the substitution of one this same form of charity. and present labours of society as a whole. It no bigger han a walking stick? Or, after all, would be to fancy oneself in the Stone Age, when is it to those volunteers, from no one knows we are living in the Age of Steel.

at the huge machine that hoists and lowers the yard of cable and taking out the nails that the cage. In his hand he holds a lever whereby to shareholders of the maritime companies had check or reverse the action of the machinery. stupidly caused to be driven through the isola-He lowers the handle, and in a second the cage tion coat of the cable, to render it useless? changes the direction of its giddy rush up or And, in a still wider field ,the vast track of down the shaft. His eyes are attentively fixed human life, with its joys, its sorrows, and its upon an indicator in front of him, which shows varied incidents, cannot each of us mention some first cause of riches. This it was which created exactly the point the cage has reached; no one who during his life has rendered him some the earliest capitalist. For, before the surplu sooner does it touch the given level than, at his service so great, so important, that if he were value, about which people are so fond of talking, gentlest pressure, it stops dead short, not a foot proposed to value it in money he would be in- could begin to be accumulated, it was necessary above or below the required place. And scarcely dignant? This service may have been a word, are the full trucks discharged, or the empties nothing but a word in season, or it may have who would consent to sell their labour force rather

is again swinging up or down the shaft. For eight or ten hours he thus concentrates his all services, in labour notes? attention. Let his brain relax but for an instant, "The deeds of each"! But human societies and the cage would fly up and shatter the wheels, could not live for two successive generations, break the rope and crush the men, bring all the they would disappear in fifty years if each one work of the mine to a standstill. Let him lose did not give infinitely more than will be rethree seconds upon each reverse of the lever, and, turned to him in money, in "notes," or in in a mine with all the modern improvements, the civic rewards. It would be the extinction of the output will be reduced by from twenty to fifty race if the mother did not expend her life to

tons a day. rings from below the signal for the mounting reward.

of the cage? Or is it the miner who risks his If middle-class society is going to ruin; if we life every moment in the depths of the mine, and are to-day in a blind alley from which there will end one day by being killed by fire-damp. no escape without applying axe and torch to the Or, again, the engineer who would lose the coa' institutions of the past, that is just because we seam and set men hewing the bare rock, if he have calculated too much. It is just because we merely made a mistake in the addition of his have allowed ourselves to be drawn into giving calculations? Or, finally, is it the owner, who that we may receive; because we have desired to has put all his patrimony into the concern, and make society into a commercial company based who, perhaps, has said, in opposition to all upon credit and debit. previous anticipations: "Dig there, you will

find excellent coal "? All the workers engaged in the mine contri- if it logically carries out the principles, "To each bute to the raising of coal in proportion to their strength, their energy, their knowledge, their intelligence and their skill. And we can say individual do not always correspond to his deeds that all have the right to live, to satisfy their needs, and even gratify their whims, after the more imperious needs of every one are satisfied. But how can we exactly value what they have

Further, is the coal that they have extracted entirely the result of their work? Is it not also the work of the men who constructed the railway leading to the mine, and the roads branching off on all sides from the stations; and what of the work of those who have tilled and

the work of one and the work of another. To Must we, then, return to our point of de- measure them by results leads to absurdity. To in blood, and must be begun all over again. productive labour, first of all to live, and then to

The inventor of the locomotive, or that New- it is to be the State which will undertake to find suggested, the strikers themselves would be Broadly speaking, we can say that a man who, castle workman who suggested that wooden out if needs are disproportionate to deeds,

where, who spent day and night on the deck of Go into a coal mine and see that man stationed the Great Eastern, minutely examining every

loaded, before, at a touch to the handle, the cage been months or years of devotion. Are you than die of hunger. It is poverty that has made going to estimate these, the most important of the rich; and if poverty had advanced by suc

preserve her children; if every man did not give Well, is the who renders the greatest service some things without counting the cost, if human in the mine? Or is it, perhaps, that boy who beings did not give most where they look for no

Moreover, the Collectivists know it. They vaguely comprehend that a society cannot exist according to his deeds." They suspect that the needs (we are not speaking of the whims) of the Accordingly, De Paepe tells us:-

"Even Collectivists suspect that a man of forty, the father of three children, has greater needs than a youth of twenty. They suspect that a woman who is suckling her child and spends sleepless nights by its cot, cannot get through so much work as a man who has enjoyed tranquil slumber.

"They seem to understand that a man or woman, worn out by having perhaps worked overhard for society in general, may find themselves incapable of performing so many ' deeds' as 'those who take their hours of labour quietly and pocket their ' notes ' in the privileged offices of State statisticians.

"And they hasten to temper their principle. Oh, certainly, they say, society will feed and bring up its children. Oh, certainly it will assist the old and infirm. Oh, certainly, needs not deeds will be the measure of the cost which society will impose on itself to temper the principle of deeds."

What, Charity? Yes, our old friend,

who is willing to recognise his inferiority. From thence to the Poor Law and the Workhouse is

It also distributes halfpenny dinners to prevent the pillage of its shops. It also builds hospitals often bad enough, but sometimes splendid, t

Poverty, the existence of the poor, was the that there should be poverty-stricken wretches rapid strides by the end of the Middle Ages, i was chiefly because the invasions and wars, t creation of the States and the development their authority, the wealth gained by exploita tion in the East, and many other causes of a lik nature, broke the bonds which once unh agrarian and urban communities, and led them, in place of the solidarity which they once practised, to adopt the principle of the wage-system.

Is this principle to be the outcome of the Revolution? Dare we dignify by the name of Social Revolution—that name so dear to the

ry, the suffering and the oppressed—the oh of such a principle as this?

March 18, 1922.

cannot be so. For, on the day when ancient titutions, splinter into fragments before the e of the proletariat, voices will be heard shout-"Bread for all! Lodging for all! Right all to the comforts of life!"

erty we have never known." And when all ye vivo kaj bruo. tasted happiness, we will set to work; to La muŝoj murmuretis, la pasero manĝis la institutions of mine and thine.

the name of Communism and Anarchy.

TH AFRICAN LABOUR STRUGGLE. - from p. 5.

tfards, but the police frustrated the " pulling It has, however, had the effect of making rs' wives on other sectors of the Rand battle ont emulate their example. How this moveent will develop, however, remains to be seen. The Chamber of Mines is alleged to have sued anonymous pamphlers on the strike.

In a speech to the strikers, on this subject, and the fact that the Typographers' Union could scius, kie ili estas. not as yet issue orders for a stoppage, the inters had to set whatever they were told. ling down their cheeks."

It sound's very absurd, doesn't it? Hence, the kvar? Tiamaniere oni marŝadas pli rapide. ress. He, the speaker, was in favour of a Press pensas. soviet, so that the printers could control all - Mi tute ne kredas, ke ili estas bestoj, diris

The Star, of course, came out with a leader on merfering with the freedom of the press: It marked on the fact that every speech of ponsible leaders of the strike was given full city; and it added that if the strikers boycotted the papers, as another strike leader had hout news of their own side.

It is to be the State that will give alms to him There is some justification in the last sentence. Bob Waterston himself said a boycott was useless at present. The strikers should continue reading he press. but need not believe everything that as said, especially about men returning to work other parts of the Reef.

strangely enough, however, neither the Typo Union nor the S.A. Industrial Federation which is conducting the strike) has thought of suing a strikers' bulletin or daily news sheet. have written to the secretary of the Typo Union myself, suggesting this, but have had no reply. went to the Trades Hall here, the headquarters of all the Trade Unions, as well as of the local It also takes account of needs—as a charity. These could all be profitably printed in garantii je ili. news sheet and distributed to the 7,000 strikers, as all cannot come to Johannesburg every day, ome of the places, where the strike is on, being or 30 miles away. The Reef, where the mines are, extends as in a line some 70 miles long, east and west, at the southern end of

r Strike Article by Motler Next Week.

WOMEN AND THE LORDS.

her historic barrier is broken down: en may once more sit in the House of Lords; hay join with men possessing certain unratic titles in exercising indefensible power ir fellow men and women.

ing no joy-bells, neither do we mourn the we do not believe it will make an atom rence. Lady Rhndda, who has put the to the test, will be an obedient Party

ESPERANTO.

LA DUPIEDULO.

De K. EVALD. Tradukita de Dr. I. PATAKY. Unua ĉapitro.

Okazis unu tage antaŭ longa tempo. okazis en la varmaj landoj kie la suno brilas pli And these voices will be heeded. The people forte ol tie ĉi, kaj la pluvo pli dense falas kaj l say to themselves: "Let us begin by ĉiuj bestoj kaj kreskaĵoj nli bone prosperas, ĉac disfying our thirst for the life, the joy, the la vintro ne subpremas ilin. La arbaro estis plena

work of demolishing the last vestiges muŝojn kaj la akcipitro manĝis la paseron. La Little girl, little girl, a princess, like a prince, middle-class rule, with its account-book abeloj serĉante mielon gratadis en la floroj, la a king or a queen, a lord or a lady, a duke or a ity, its philosophy of debit and credit, its leono kriegis, la birdoj kantadis, la rivereto mur- knight, a baron or a baroness, a marquis or a muradis, la herbo kreskadis kaj verdiĝis. La marchioness, are all parasites, because of the tradi-"While we are demolishing, we shall be arboj murmuretis per siaj branĉoj, dum iliaj tion of slavery, on "he mentality of the "hewers ding," as Proudhon said; and we shall build radikoj suĉis la sukon el la tero La floroj of wood and drawers of water." bonodoris kaj floradis.

spiron, stariĝus kaj auskultus.

aero je siaj flugilegoj.

atente aŭskultis.

member of the Typographers' Union told his okuloj klaraj. Ili prenis unu la alian per la slaves to attend her, and the poor slaves are audience that, owing to the freedom of the press mano kaj sciviole ĉirkaŭrigardis, kvazau ili ne called superior slaves, because of the high honour

- Kiuj povas esti tiuj-ci? demandis la leono. - Ili estas bestoj, diris la cervo ili povas iri. do everything for her, as if she were a little infant, This they did, he asseverated, "with tears Sed ili havas strangan iradon. Kial ili ne saltadas per ĉiuj iliaj kvar piedoj, ĉar ili havas until she is finished, and every wish of the

its value in use. If we see two individuals, both nurse who has assured its cure by her samual, it has a source of the first steam engine, that they may heal, they can get no further.

The inventor of the first steam engine, having for years. for five hours daily, for the haroin, car la kelkaihareroi sur ilia kapo ne estas.

The inventor of the first steam engine, haroin, car la kelkaihareroi sur ilia kapo ne estas.

Thus, then after having forsworn Communism harojn, ĉar la kelkajhareroj sur ilia kapo ne estas

- Ankaŭ skvamojn ili ne havas diris la ezoko, kiu momente malsubakviĝis.

— Kelkaj devas esti kontentaj je la nuda haŭto, diris la bimbriko mallaŭte. - Ili ne havas voston, diris la muso. Tiuj ĉi

neniam estis bestoj. — Ankaŭ mi ne havas voston, diris la bufo, school. so that their little brains may be impressed kaj tamen neniu malkonfesos, ke mi estas besto. - Rigardu, rigardu nur, diris la leono, nun la unu prenas ŝtonon en sian antaŭan piedon. Tion mi ne povus imiti.

scivolemon. Ili ambaŭ estas veraj bestoj. Ili to the princess," and the princess laughs. estas viro kaj virino kaj nomas sin dupieduloj kaj estas miaj malproksimaj parencoj.

- Ha. tiel! Diris la leono, sed kial ili ne their child-like simplicity.

- Kial vi ne salutas ilin? demandis la leono. slaves are content. - Mi ne konas ilin, diris la oranutango, kaj prevent the ravages of contagious disease. It communist Party (each being housed in a separate ne multe klopodas konatigi kun ili. Mi aŭdis also, after having paid for nothing but the hours on the five or six storey building). On the jam pri ili. Estas speco de mizeraj kaj treege of labour, receives the children of those whom it lound several Union notices to degeneral simioj. Mi volonte lasos al ili oranĝon, has itself reduced to the extremity of distress, some not very bad cartoons, and some kiam ili estos en mizero, sed mi nenial povas

-Daŭrigota.

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A PRINCESS.

Very few of you girls and boys have had the opportunity of seeing a real princess. You have all heard about them in your fairy tale book.

"Oh, a princess," a little girl exclaims; "she will be wonderful; she will be beautiful. Is she a fairy? What world does she come from? Oh, if I could see a princess, it would be so nice."

A princess is not a fairy; she is not wonderful, Subite ĉio silentiĝis, kvazaŭ ĉiuj haltigus la nor is she very beautiful; she is not made of pure gold. But for her clothes, she might be taken - La murmuro de la branĉoj mutiĝis, la violo for a washerwoman. She has beautiful clothes, vekiĝis el sia revedo kaj mirigite supren rigardis. hundreds of dresses, boots and shoes, blouses and La leono levis la kapon kaj aŭskultante stariĝis. hats. She has more of these things in one short La cervo ĉesis paŝtiĝi; la aglo ripozis alte en la season, than all the girls at this School will have in all their life. She has wonderful pearl neck-La malgranda muso elvenis el sia truo kaj laces, costing thousands and thousands of pounds. She has rings on her fingers, that sparkle like Trans la arbaro du estuloj marŝis, kiuj estis stars; her underwear would cost more than that tute aliaj kiel la ceteraj kaj kiujn neniu ankoraŭ of a thousand working women. She has all these things because she is a princess, and a princess Ili marŝis rekte, iliaj fruntoj estis altaj, iliaj is but a parasite. She has a great number of of attending on a princess. They wash and dress her, take off her clothes and put her to bed; they newly-born. They feed her and stand by her princess is attended to at once. The princess Typo, Union man said, the heavy type, half-page — Eh. diris la serpento, mi tute ne havas lifts her hand and beckons a slave, the slave Improve the foundling hospital, organise in- advertisements of the Chamber of Mines in the krurojn kaj tamen mi tre bone antaŭeniras, mi flies to her at once. The princess is sick all the most skilled doctors are called in; all the great newspapers in 'he land herald the message to laughs: they take her photograph. The princess speaks to a poor woman whose husband was killed in the war. The princess takes a little child in her arms at one of the shelters for the homeless. The princess gets married, and it takes 15 priests to marry her; the streets are decorated along the way on which she will pass 'hrough; a'll the slaves' children are given a holiday from with the greatness of a princess; all the great people in the land attend the wedding. It is a great and wonderful affair; so great and wonderful that it mkes he slaves forget their poverty - Sed mi jes, diris la orangutango, tio ne estas and misery, and they line the pathway and shout malfacila. Cetere mi povas kontentigi vian in their rags and misery, "Joy and happiness

> No wonder! It is a huge joke. All the people at the great function laugh at the poor slaves; at

The slaves crawl back to their homes, and - Eble ili demetis ĝin, opiniis la orangutango. 'their priests te'l them it is God's will, and the

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Here are three questions for you to consider, fellow workers. They are important questions to you: consider them well.

1.—What are the engineers fighting for?

2. How are the engineers fighting?

3.—What are you going to do to help the engineers, to help the shipyard workers who will presently be locked-out also, and to help yourselves, to help the entire working class?

The answer to the first question is that the engineers are fighting to maintain the old couditions: to keep things as they are, when they ought to be fighting for better conditions.

The answer to the second question is that the engineers' struggle is not being properly conducted.

It is not a united fight: only some of the workers engaged in the industry have joined in the struggle. Only some of the members of the A.E.U.—the organisation the employers have attacked—have been called out by the A.E.U officials to stand by the rest.

The fight is conducted by officials who are old-fashioned in their methods of meeting the attacks of the employers, who will use all the most modern tactics. It is a fight conducted by officials, some of whom are grossly inefficient, even according to accepted Trade Union standards, and some of whom have been publicly and privately proved to be employers' men. In plain words that means that some of the Union leaders are traitors to the workers. The traitors are doubtless in a minority, but determined unscrupulous people working for determined unscrupulous employers are able to do as they please with timed bunglers.

The third question is: what are you going to do to help yourself and your comrades who are locked out?

The rank and file must get together: you and the others who work.

The rank and file workers must decide how the struigle shall be run and what the strugge shall be for.

It is an urgent question: speak to the workers in your shop. Hold a meeting with them: do it at once.

The rank and file ought to have prepared their organisation already. Begin it now; it is never too late to choose the right way.

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KUZBAS OR COMMUNISM.—Continued from page 2	
and may re-invest in some other capitalist enter-	W
rise.	Ford
The little foreign capitalists of Kuzbas will	tion
employ the native Russian workers as were	mass
la bourers, giving them no share in the manage	Char
If ent of the enterprise or that of the colony.	W
The Management of the vast territory will 1.	the
carried on by seven persons, only three of when	in the
will be anywhere near the scene of operations	fact-
and all of whom must be appointed with the	even
ar proval of the Soviet Government and may be	able
dismissed at will by it.	It
The ultimate power of decision over the man-	that
agement and even over the wages and bonus of	strik
the little capitalists who are to run this colony,	revo
will therefore rest theoretically with the Soviet	strug
Government. If, however, the colony becomes	not
strong and prosperous, we do not believe the	sort
little American capitalists will submit to such	stru
dictation. The little proletarian-capitalists of	docu
will once more be displayed by the hard-headed	tion
Sankees unless the constitution of Kuzbas be	nons
changed. The little proletarian-capitalists of	is to
Kuzbas may yet join the bigger Yankee and other	nece
concessionaires in fighting the Soviet Government.	W
Since the Yankees are appealed to commerci-	the
ally, they will respond commercially. The	lutic
Kuzbas constitution does not appeal to them as	mus
Communists.	ther
As for the natives of Kuzbas, it seems that	imag
another Revolution will be needled to free them	revo
The proposed voke.	imag
The prospectus states that S. J. Rutgers, a Dutch engineer who has worked in America, and	T
H S. Calvert, an American expert in machine	occu
production, prepared the Thesis from which this	had
scheme has arisen.	The
We should find it difficult to believe that	old
Comrade Rutgers, whom we know is responsible	fore.
for proposing these anti-Communist provisions.	burg
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.	man
E. SILVIA I ANKHURSI.	
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COMMUNIST WORKERS	peac
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(EEFT-WING TENTI-LARLIAMENTARY COMMUNISTS)	But
WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT	quan
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