# the Mistakes of the Guildsmen.

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by

VOL. IX. No. 3.

Sylvia Pankhurst asks in Vol. IX, No. 1, of Dreadnought, in an article, "Kuzbas or Comism." " Might not Communism have been tempted amongst the members of the Kuzbas

A similar question was asked more than a entury ago by Charles Fourier, in regard to his halanstrères, and history has answered his

Our attitude towards "Socialist" colonies been bought with enough misery and tears make it a crime to forget. Even Russia itself not big enough to " establish " Communism part from the rest of the world, let alone

What Soviet Russia can do for the present is strengthen the economic basis for Communism nd to hold out with its political power as the rongest bulwark against reaction and a possible poort for revolutionary movements in the rest the world. This is no Communism, but it has mething to do with the class struggle. Kuzbas as no greater ambition than to strengthen Soviet ussia as a factor in the class struggle. Whoever enies that Soviet Russia is a stronghold in the iternational class struggle should have neither terest nor criticism towards Kuzbas.

Since the avowed purpose of Kuzbas is to ngthen the Workers' Republic economicly, the control in the hands of the Soviet Goemment is only natural. Kuzbas is a Soviet tate enterprise, the product of which belongs the Soviet Republic. This is clearly stated in prospectus. The expression, "the full probut belongs to the workers," may create some isunderstanding; but it is rather usual in merica, and simply means that no parasitic ass will take a share in the products. The proucts of common labour are "a social posseson" reads the prospectus. If the American orkers receive more than the Russian peasants, is because they will not and cannot work with heir maximum efficiency for less. If men could arve and work at the same time, Russia would of be retreating in her efforts to obtain Com-

"Russian workers within the Unit will have e same legal and material rights as the other aticipants from America and other countries. this is quoted by Miss Pankhurst from the respectus, and it is plain language. Nowhere it stated that Russians will have to pay any mount of money; in fact, they will not, and ussians that want to continue their work, will itomatically enter the Unit.

Meetings have been held, together with these lissians, and they were anxious that the mericans should come as soon as possible. The ussian workers will control Kuzbas in the casure they control their own Soviet Governent, besides having the same rights as partipants in Kuzbas, as all those who work therein. The details of the project for Kuzbas will be igely decided by efficiency, dependent upon e changing economic conditions of its surundings, and under the control of the Soviet overnment. The future of Kuzbas depends upon le future of the Workers' Republic. If the ther is beaten by foreign capital; if the Red my no longer protects Kuzbas as part of wiet Russia, the workers of Kuzbas will be the slaves again, under the old masters. lissia holds out nationally, but the Communist arty loses political control, Kuzbas may become ordinary capitalist State enterprise. But will contribute towards preventing these bilities, by strengthening the economic Well of Seviet Russia, and therefore should

SATURDAY, APRIL 1st, 1922.

WEEKLY.

A DEFENCE.



LOCKED OUT.

have the sympathy and support of all true revolutionists.

Incidentally, I must correct the statement about the finances: it is required to pay travelling expenses until the Russian border, estimated for Americans, at 100 dollars each; clothing and food, estimated again at 100 dollars, and a contribution towards buying tools and machinery, of 100 dollars per worker, on an average.

A number of American workers have won that much and more in war-time, and some have not yet lost it, although unemployment will soon eat it all. But if one cannot pay, several may delegate and equip a pioneer from among their midst.

For the benefit of prospective pioneers, and to prevent disillusions, however, it must be borne in mind that Kuzbas is not an effort to help some foreign workers; but to strengthen Soviet Russia as a factor in the class struggle.

#### WHAT WE WANT TO KNOW.

We ask Comrade Rutgers whether all the Russian workers and peasants living in the Kuzbas area, including those who will be employed by the Unit as unskilled workers, become automatically members of the foreign workers' Units, with the same rights of control and management as the foreign workers? (These rights, even for the foreign workers, seems to us decidedly shadowy.)

(Continued on page 7.)

#### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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tion is now due. of the paper necessitate prempt payment. (Continued.)

high road. In front of his house he has a boundindistinct vision of accumulated evil, he says: unacknowledged. "Poor So-and-So, he has only £200 a year to . The great hymn of human labour over the earth labour, who have the healthy decision and 7 little appreciable effect on the people; but are of rule great benefit to the themselves and the curate. They observe for the first time how life is carried cooking (removed in their own houses afar from mortal eye); perhaps they behold a mother actu- after that it fancied nothing more. ally suckling her babe, and learn that such things are possible; finally they "wonder" how "those people" live, and to them their wonder (like the fear of God) is the beginning of wisdom.

The lord of the manor sits on the magisterial bench, or strides about his fields, and lumps tohimeslf, as "the lower classes." After dinner, in the evening, if the conversation turns on politics, he and his compeers discuss the importance of keeping the said lower classes in order, or the best method of "raising" them ut of supposed to wallow. And during the conversation it will be noticed that it is by everyone tacitly allowed and understood, and is, in fact, the very foundation of the whole argument, that the speakers themselves belong to an admicated class, whilst the mass of the people are uneducated. Yet this is exactly the reverse of the for yourselves. That is all. truth-for they themselves belong to an illby the very nature of the case, the better educated of the two.

In fact, the education of the one set of people (and it is a great pity that it should be so) consists almost entirely in the study of books. That is very useful in its way, and if properly balanced with other things; but it is hardly necessary to point out that books only deal with phantoms and shadows of reality. The education of the world at large, and the real education lies, and must always lie, in dealing with the things themselves. To put it shortly (as it has been out before), one man learns to spell a "spade," to write it or to rhyme it, to translate it into French and Latin-possibly, like Wordsworth, to address a sonnet to it—the other man learns to use it. Is there any comparison between the

Now, is it not curious that those good people, sitting round their dinner table in the desirable mansion, or listening to a little music in the drawing-room, should actually be so ignorant of the world, and what goes on it, as to think, and honestly believe, that they are par excellence, the educated people in it?\* Does it ever occur to them, I often think, to imagine who made all the elegant and costly objects with which they are surrounded? Does it ever occur to them, as they tacitly assume the inferiority of the working classes, to think of the table itself, across which they speak-how beautifully fitted, veneered, polished; the cloth which lies upon it, and the

equipages, scarcely knowing what to do with dinner party, and earnestly and prayerfully e- Workers' Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, I themselves, or what ails them, and some of whom solve that such a fall may not be yours Seek, we occasionally run to such places as ours to have pray you, some secure work-some legal, clerical, their carriage linings or cushions altered, or to official, capitalist, or land-owning business, safe know if they can be altered, as they don't feel from the dread stain of dirty hands, whatever quite comfortable! I often think, "God help other dirt it may bring with it-some thoroughly them, for no one else can. . !"

things are regarded from the side which does not blessing of heaven go with you! usually find expression. It is from a letter Shut yourself off from the great stream of life, the author during her six months' imprison written by an elderly and kind-hearted man, em- from the great sources of physical and moral in Holloway Gaol, and is printed as then co ployed in a carriage factory.

weaving of it; the chairs and other furniture, live, show clearly your contempt for so light and yet so strong, each requiring he dislike of it, and then ask others to do it skill of years to make: the silver, the glass, the turn aside from nature; divorce yourself from steel, the tempering, hardening, grinding living breathing heart of the nation; and The stream of human life goes past. When a fitting, riveting; the lace and damask curtains, you will have done what the governing cla rich man builds himself a prison, he puts up the wonderful machinery, the care, the delicate England to-day have done, have given full these fences to keep the world out—to shut him- touch adroit manipulation; the piano; the very tions to your heart and brain to shrivel and a self in. If he can, he builds far back from the house in which they spend their days? Is there and die. one I say, who we will not say could make even Man is made to work with his hands less polite lawn, with polite flower beds, afar the smallest part, but who even has the faintest is a fact which cannot be got over. From from vulgar people and animals. Rows of polite idea how one of these things is made, where it central fact he cannot travel far. I don't servants attend upon him; and there, of inanity is made, who makes it? Not one. All the care, whether it is an individual or a class, the and politeness he dies. Of what human life the loving thought, the artistic design, the con- wihch is far removed from this becomes corr really consists, he has little idea. He has not scientious workmanship that have been expended, shrivelled and d'seased. You may explain it the faintest notion of what is necessary for and are daily expended, on these things and he you like, but it is so. Administrative work human life or happiness. Sometimes, with an like of them-go past them unrecognised and to done in a nation, as well as productive wo

keep his wife and family on!" No wonder his is to them an idle song. There in the midst of tive authentic judgment which comes of own daughters dedicate themselves to "good all these beautiful products of human toil and else it cannot be done well. In the new for works." They go out with the curate and visit ingenuity, possessing but not enjoying, futile of society which is slowly advancing up at the neighbouring cottages. Their visits have they sit, and fancy themselves educated—fit to this will be felt more than now. The

I have heard of a fly that sat, stinging, upon will it be thought important that, at some be the hindquarters of a horse, and fancied that of his life, he should have been thorough on; they see the operations of scrubbing and without it, the cart would not go. Fancied so, ured to manual work; this not only on account I say, until the great beast whisked its tail, and the physical and moral robustness implied l

Maybe, I do; but I put them faithfully as I have of what is the very flesh and blood of national seen them, and as I see them daily. I do not life, to promote the good health of the nation suppose that riches are evil in themselves. I do or to understand the conditions under which not suppose that anything is an evil in itself. peple live whom he has to serve. I know that even in the midst of all these shackles But to return to the sorrows of the well-together all who are not in a similar position to and impediments, that most wonderful of things, and care that sits on the crupper of wealth, the human soul, may work out its own salvation; is a world-old and well-worn subject. and well I know that there are no conditions or possibly, some of its truisms may bear repea circumstances of human life, nor any profession. A clergyman, preaching once on the tria from a king to a prostitute that may not become life, turned first to his rich friends and bade to to it the gateway of freedom and immortality. call to mind, one by one, the sorrows and su the ignorance and prejudice in which they are But I daily see people setting this standard of ings of the poor; then, turning to his " po well-to-do respectability before them, daily more brethren" he exhorted them also not to fo and more hastening forth in quest of desirable that the rich man had his afflictions-with whi mansions to dwell in; and I cannot but wonder they should sympathise amongst which whether they realise what it is they seek: I afflictions, growing chiefly out of their much cannot lend my voice to swell the chorus of en- money, he reckoned 'last, but not least, couragement. Here are the clean facts. Choose difficulty of finding for it an investment while

Respectability! Heavy-browed and bunch- been generally supposed that the clucated class, and the mass of the people are, backed word! Once innocent and light-hearted as any other word, why now, in thy middle age, suffering. art thou become so gloomy and saturnine? Is it that thou art responsible for the murder of the innocents? Respectability! Vision of clean hands and blameless dress-why dost thou now appear in the form of a ghoul before me?

I confess that the sight of a dirty hand is dear to me. It warms my heart with all manner of good hopes and promises. Often and long have I thought about this matter, and in all good faith I must say that I fail to see how hands that are always clean are compatible with honesty. That is no play upon words. I fail to see how, in the long run, any man that takes his share in the work of the world can keep his hands in this desirable state.

How? The answer is obvious enough-leave others to do the dirty work. Good! Let 't be so; let it be granted that others shall do the scrubbing and baking, the digging, the fishing, the breaking of horses, the carpentering, smithing, and the myriad other jobs that have to be done, and you at the pinnacle of all this pyramid of work, above all, keep your hands clean. We shouting to you from below, exhort you, at all costs, keep your hands clean! Think how im- INTRODUCTION TO ESPERAN portant it is while the great ships have to be got into harbour, that your nails should be blameless! Think if, by accident, you were to do a real good piece of work, and get your hands thoroughly grimed over it, unwashable for a week, what confusion would ensue to yourself and friends! Schools and Classes. \* . . . People who roll about in their fine Think, O think of your clients, or of your next gentlemanly profession, marking you clearly off I insert this extract, just to show how these from the vulgar and general masses, and the

but it must be done by men accustomed to may the position of trust a man occupies, the m but equally because it will be seen to be in Do I put these things in a strong light? sible for anyone, without this experie

should be profitable and also secure!" brethren failed to sympathise with this for

#### RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

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ESPERANTO-FOR WHOM? By L. A. Motler.

waiting for Barry to turn up at the office, learnt it?" comrade came in. It appeared he also to see Barry, so after exchanging and cigarettes, we began talking on the it?", Somehow this led up to the articles to appearing in the Dreadnought.

nally," said my comrade, who was from and whose name I got as Read, Esperanto, myself. I have studied ia , as I note from the green star in your have also, but you must admit it is he workers, generally."

fail to see that," I remarked, picking up of the Red International of Labour from the table. "The Russians-for we longer differentiate by saying Bolsheviks und it quite the thing for their schools." Schools, of course, I admit," replied Read, nanage it; but I mean the workers as a

" I made response, "you must surely t that the Russian children who are learning nto are workers' children."

never mind the time for it," I remarked. "That is all in the argument, isn't it?"

I threw away my cigarette. Then: "I am not making an argument of it," I lied. "Call it a discussion. In an argument one is apt to take things as making one disputant ht and the other wrong. In a discussion one meets the points as they crop up, without no to browbeat one's adversary or to leave the conversation if you see signs of converting

"Just as you like," he said, laughing. then," I said briskly, "we will get With regard to your point, that would not be easy for the workers, I inted out that the Russian children were . Now my point was to show that these although illiterate themselves in the ng, and children of illiterate parents to boot, do not appear to have found any difficulty Esperanto. Now, generally speaking, the British worker is supposed to be learned, com-

pared to his Russian mate, so --- " greed!" said Read. "What about the

'Naturally, that is a stiff proposition,' I sented. "I know, of course, that even if the worker had time, he would probably be too tired he day's work, especially if—as so often -he does his work on bad food, or very it. I will agree, then, that as far as the of the workers under the present system oncerned, we can leave Esperanto off the

'hen," he asked, "why put Esperanto into

The working class who read the Dreadnought are certainly either in the movement, or on Country." eshold of it. This again presupposes that se workers have time to read a paper. Naturwould also have a little extra time to earn Esperanto, although, of course, if they read the Exercises, they cannot help learning whilst

Well, yes," he assented. "But once having learnt la kara lingvo, they won't have much portunity to use it."

"They can surely start circles amongst them-

eranto to the Government for its anti-German not be members of the same Union. movements at once, as I myself have found the way, what to do to become as great as he All Industrial Revolutionaries should read it.

Henry has it. You were saying that the workers "Henry," and took the name of "Fat." would have no use for Esperanto once they had The other "Henrys" envied him and called

call off the postcard biznay. What's the use of country in the world gave him a seat in the

"Certainly certainly," I agreed. "The post- He and the other members of the Cabinet won card biznay is a trifle expensive for a worker the Great World War: after that they told the whose income does not soar beyond one sausage "Henrys" they must "produce more" and and mashed. First you buy the picture post- drop their war wages. cards, then you buy the stamps to send 'em off. At first the "Henrys" were against it, but Free pens and ink may be had on application, "Fat" said it must be, or else he would not or without, at any post office. Then you have to give them work. Some of the "Henrys" rebuy an album for all the replies you get, or else belled, especially the miners, so their masters give them to your neighbour's boy who is col- put their threat into operation in the year of lecting disused stamps to convert the happy grace, April 1921, and starved the miners out. cannibals to wage-slavery. Then-"

ill soon, so I manfully held up my list.

one further, or you will be casting yourself into how well the British workers were organised, yonder dark and flowing stream. Excuse my and such being the case, it would be better for language," I said, pretending to pull out my the miners to give in. The miners then called handkerchief. "But you were saying about upon Williams, the "Fat" man of the Trans-"Children are more amenable to learning," the certainly, I remember. We", I should say port Workers, but he said: "You cannot win; d. "A man who has work to do can hardly that if any reader who has learnt Esperanto does it would be better for you to wait until some other not know whalt to do with it, he should wait day. Thus, between the two of them, they thought you were trying to insist that the round the corner for the first foreigner that comes nearly killed the miners. workers as a whole could not master Esperanto, along, and pounce on him-but here comes Barry. Bonan vesperon, kamarado."

S. O. S.

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#### PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. By Tom Anderson.

"Henry."

He was called "Henry," and he was quite respectable, and he belonged to a numerous family. His father was a "Henry," and his mother was called "Henrietta."

Strange as it may seem, "Henry" voted and worked for a man who lived in a big mansion and drove about in a motor car.

"Henry," in his young days, was very patriotic, and went to the Great World War because the big man told him he had "a

"Henry," of course, had been taught at school that he had "a Country." His teacher was also a "Henry," and as a quite natural sequence, "Henry was taught that he had "a Country." His parson also taught him the same

When he became a man he joined the A.E.U. and they told him the same story, as all the GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND. officials were "Henry's," and not only the selves in their districts, to study, or introduce it officials, but nearly every member of the Union into existing classes, or they can join an Esperanto was a "Henry." When "Henry " was sent as For Embroidery a delegate to the Trade Union Congress, he was "I know those Esperanto Clubs," groaned taught the same lesson, also "Constitutional Action," "One Step at a Time," "A Fair "Now you mention it, so do I," remarked Day's Work for a Fair Day's Wage." He was elf, remembering small cliques of petty- also told, "The poor ye shall always have with rgeois, pacifistically inclined before the war, you." It was impressed upon him that he was a moving with the mass when the drums rolled "Craftsman," with a higher status than the the guns roared, driven back on suggesting labourer, and that labourers and craftsmen could

of bringing peace amongst the peoples. Out-er," joined the Labour Party, and in course , I remember. Well, we will call the of time became a Labour M.P. His job then was eranto Clubs off. One certainly cannot be in to tell the other young "Henrys" coming along Price 10. 2s. 6d. PER HUNDRED, Post Free.

out. But to revenue to our lamb chops, as O. himself was; so he dropped the name of

him names, but "Fat," alias "Henry" kept "Yes," assented Read. "And, mind you, I on his way, and the Government of the greatest Cabinet in order to win the Great World War.

The miners asked their pals, the "Triple Read groaned. I thought he would be getting Alliance," to help them, but a "doubting Thomas " said it could not be done, as he had "But enough," I said. "I will torture you to go to America, to tell the American workers

> Then "Fat." that is, the head man of the British nation, paid off his workers-nearly two millions of them. When the "Henrys" saw this, they cried out: " Dear, kind masters, do allow us to live, and we will work harder and harder and take less wages," but "Fat" would not listen. Thus the "Henrys" walked the streets for months, hoping against hope that "trade" would take a turn and that "Fat" would be able to take them back again. But the day never came, and many "Henrys" died, and the Labour Party came into power and made it a criminal offence to say anything against the

Then all the "Henrys" joined the Salvation Army, in order to secure a seat in the "Happy Land," and the King married his only daughter to an old man, in order that the "Henrys" might have a little enjoyment. After that there came a Revolution, and the foundations of our great Empire passed away, and so did all the

COMMUNIST WORKERS (LEFT-WING ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNISTS)

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aganda, for the Red Cross, but not as a So "Henry" blossomed into an "Out and THE GERMAN ONE BIG REVOLU-TIONARY UNION CONSTITUTION

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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### OUR VIEW ON THE LOCK-OUT.

The workers in the engineering industry have at length shown, by their tardily-taken ballots, that they intend to stand shoulder to shoulder in the present Lock-Out.

It is evident, however, that the Trade Union officials are still unprepared to take such action as will give the workers a chance of winning the present struggle. It is also important to observe that the terriffic sacrifices, by which alone the action by all the bodies they represent. workers may secure a victory, should be made for something very much bigger than the mere maintaining of conditions as they are.

The employers' terms actually mean that they object to any interference from the Trade Union officials in the matter of overtime or, in fact, any other matter. To give the Unions a bad beating is the main motive of the employers: the actual point on which they have sought a quarrel is not in itself very large: there is not likely to be action, as has so often been done before, but much call for overtime at present, though it is true that, with the present great numbers of unemployed, all overtime seems peculiarly indefensible now. But the main motive of the because then the employers will be in a strong position, to do as they please upon all questions, whether of overtime, wages, hours, Trade Union rules and practices, or general conditions of

If the employers win the present Lock-Out. they will take full advantage of their victory; they will do far more for themselves than merely secure the terms of the workers' ultimatum which the workers have just refused. The miners have learnt that by painful experience since their own

If the workers win, it will be at the cost of far greater sacrifices than the employers will make in the struggle. Shall the workers remain content, then, with merely rebutting the employers' ultimatum, which is plainly a pretext for locking-out the workers, in order to reduce them to a state of weakness in which the employers will be able to impose upon the workers what conditions they please? Surely the workers should now set their own terms for the struggle.

We have said that the Trade Union officials are unprepared to fight in such a way that the workers will have a chance of winning.

This is realised by the Barrow Council of Action (representing all the local Unions concerned), rank and file conference, "with a view to saving to secure Communism. the workers from disaster and a repetition of The New York Herald has it that Lenin has

Black Friday." We are glad of this action: any rank and file action is likely to tend towards the awakening of the actual workers, who are at present but pawns in the game being played by the employers and the Union officials; a game most inefficiently played by the latter. Nevertheless, whilst worthy of support, in lieu of something better statements that the Russian Soviet Government and more appropriate, the move made by the is stating that its representatives will say to Barrow Council of Action would be more effec- World Capitalism at Genoa: "We need you: you tive were the parties to the conference organised need us. Let us work together as far as we need who gave an enthusiastic address. Sylvenia on the workshop basis, and were they conscious each other."

throw Capitalism altogether. the Amalgamated Engineering Union, reveals utterances are purely official Government utter- Party was on sale at the meeting. It is to be the intention to fight this great fight in the old, ances: they are not the utterances of the people; observed that the women members are inefficient, half-hearted way. It says that had they are not the utterances of the Communist active in this direction, and that the men of the employers precipitated the struggle in workers. In our opinion, however well- Party should bestir themselves in a display April 1921, the A.E.U. would have been "in a meant they may be, they are grievously opposed craftsmanship, in order that they may not be

a national struggle," its funds having since been no frontiers, of the Russian workers, and of depleted by payment of unemployment benefit. Apparently there is no realisation of the fact that it cannot be by Trade Union funds that any vernment representatives to Genoa, was great dispute with employers, nationally feder- assurance that Communism had been abandon ated, can be won to-day. The purse of the em- but even that will not secure fair dealing, ev ployers is immeasurably deeper than that of the as between fellow capitalist governments at

To win, the workers must act together as a will be no fair dealing for anyone at Genoa; is class, and run the industries for themselves: that will be, as all such gatherings are, a trial of is the only way. No other has a chance of strength. By their strength the stronger will success. Is that to be learnt only in the bitter dominate and plunder the weaker: ask Germany school of starvation, of oppression, and oft- ask China! Moreover the Bolsheviki, even if repeated defeat?

this is the first national dispute in which the upstarts by the old established pillars of reaction help and advice of the National Joint Council Soviet Russia will be treated at Genoa as a goose (composed of the Trade Union Congress E.C., to be plucked, a victim to be enchained. Labour Party E.C. and Parliamentary Labour The much advertised squabbling between the Party) has been available to the Unions." His various scetions in the British Coalition Gover eulogies of the Council in negotiation appear, ment and the various Allied Government however, to be somewhat premature.

the old Trade Unionism and its leaders, and in munism and Capitalism, Capital and Labour. the Parliamentary Labour Party, should ask Propertied and the Propertyless. We are up themselves whether, when the employers have to display any interest in Lloyd George's possible flouted the Council and broken off negotiations, resignation. the parties to the Council will arrange for joint

Will the Trade Union officials on the Council nunciations of the Mensheviki in all lands. arrange for a united fight by all the Unions, in cluding Kautsky and Henderson, and order that the engineers may not be ignominiously defeated as the miners were?

We think not. Yet the members of the Unions could enforce of the Third International to form a united fr joint action, were they ready to take it, not by with those same Mensheviki? sending resolutions to the Council and the Union We are unable to reconcile such politic Executives, but by giving their officials a lead in jugglery.

not quite recently, and never upon a united scale. We have said that if the workers take this fight seriously, if they suffer all the heavy and bitter consequences of refusing to accept the employers' employers is to give the workers a bad beating; terms, they ought to set their terms and fight for objects worthy of their heroic struggle. This they can do. They can do it now, or at any stage in the struggle; but the sooner the better.

The Number 4 branch of the A.E.U. at Newcastle has passed a resolution, which, as reported in the Daily Herald, as we write, appears to indicate a realisation of this important truth.

It says:of this country at once to draw up a Workers' rages, and remember how immediately it brought Charter, embodying the Workers' Republic, the power of its arms to bear on the rebels of where the first charge on industry shall be the Easter Week. Notice, too, that here and there maintenance of those employed in industry, the police are already interfering with mild Trade where managerial functions shall be carried out Union activities in the engineering Lock-Out, by those fitted for the positions, and such and remember Winston Churchill's plan for the functions be carried out in the interests of the blockade of Wales in the event of a serious whole nation instead of the interests of those miners' strike. who live on investment."

The resolution does not state whether its intention is that the Workers' Charter should be brought forward in the present struggle, but presumably that is what is meant.

#### GENOA.

Genoa is the symbol of the decline of which, according to the Daily Herald, has decided the Russian Revolution and the departing to take the initiative in summoning a national of the Soviet Government from the effort

"The man I chiefly want to meet face to face is Mr. Lloyd George. He has shown repeatedly that he is a realist. I feel that with him an understanding is possible."

That is probably a libel: we hope so. Unfortunately there is more evidence for the

revolutionaries seeking the opportunity to over- We say, advisedly, the Russian Soviet Govern- Third, and Fourth Internationals. The collection ment; we do not say Soviet Russia, or the tion and literature sales amounted to over £7. The pamphlet on the Lock-Out, just issued by Russian workers, in this connection; for such Work done by the Communist Saturday Working the attempt to secure affiliation to the Labour much better position financially for entering upon to the real interests of Communism which knows out-shone in this respect.

international proletariat.

The price of the invitation for the Soviet Genoa. The reason of that is partly that the they have promised to play the game of Cr Mr. Arthur Henderson has pointed out that ism now, will be regarded as not-to-be-bro

respecting Genoa are mere trivial side issues Those workers who still preserve some faith in compared with the great cleavage between Co

Trotsky's story of Georgia is interesting enough. But how are we to reconcile his accusation that they formed a United Front w the capitalists against Soviet Russia, with olive branch invitation of Trotsky and the of

### ULSTER.

Those who are promoting and encouraging terrible outrages in Belfast and the Ulster border workers and accusing them of resorting to brutality and violence when they attempt to that the masses can look to and say, 'those secure any social change. It is grievous that fellows might have funny ideas, but they are humble people, who do not understand the forces clean and they can fight." " which are using them, should be the tools in this appalling conflict.

"We call upon the Trade Union movement vernment regards the long series of Ulster out- and reactionary leaders?"

#### THE DOLE.

The unemployment dole is not to be cut because to cut it would cause unrest: that. But how backward we are!

#### PORTSMOUTH COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

Communist Workers' Party in the large Trades of the (what it endeavours unsuccessfully to deny Hall, Fratton, on March 26th.

violin solos by Connie Grey, and songs by the ment has been arrived at." of the Sunday School explained that the teach- Labour Party (should it decide to tolerate C.P. ing includes astronomy, geology, the history of athliation) will expect the C.P. to toe the line, the human race, and rise of civilisation.

The Chair was taken by a Portsmouth comrade Pankhurst spoke on Communism and the Second, in and through the existing industrial organisa-

#### RIGHT WING COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

s with some difficulty that the Right Wing based on a mistaken and futile policy, is together. Its more active and advanced s intensely dislike its proposal to affiliate Labour Party, the support it gives to olete Trade Unions, and its Parliamentary The genuine working class Communist ealed to to accept such points of policy on score of unity, and especially unity with the an Revolution, and this appeal has more et than such absurd theatrical utterances as hat of T. A. Jackson, who said :-

"It might be urged that in affiliating with the Labour Party, they would be virtually shaking ands with those leaders of the Second International who were in effect the murderers of

Those who speak in that strain certainly rate v low the intelligence of their hearers. The story that Communists must affiliate to the follows:your Party and form a united front with reac-

ary Labour officials, in order to get to the asses, was rightly answered by Garrett, a

"As a working class party we must understand what the working man thinks. So far 'Henry' recognises that the Trade Union leades are nothing-more nor less than a bunch of fakirs. While we ourselves believe that they are not to be trusted, yet we are expected said the other day, definitely his party was by the Executive.

Garrett pointedly asked Harry Pollitt, the mover of the Unity Front resolution: See now how complacently the British Go- "Shall we support the obsolete Trade Unions

> Pollitt, the one-time leader of unofficial workcommittees, replied "Yes." The Unity Front resolution proposed unity of

all sections, on the following reformist basis :-1.—Resistance to wages cuts.

2.—Resistance to increased working hours. 3.—Resistance to attacks on existing proive regulations, Trade Union or political. 4.—Resistance to employers' attacks on Trade Unions.

-Work or full maintenance for the un-6.—Recognition of the Russian Soviet Go-

ment by the British capitalist Government. The resolution stated: On the basis of the above programme, the nunist Party expresses its willingness

join whole-heartedly with all other working A crowded meeting was held by the Portsmouth the Right Wing Communist Party reserves to its fellow Communists) " freedom of criticism

The Portsmouth Socialist Sunday School pro- hall cases" and "freedom of action in movevided a charming musical programme, including ments other than those upon which mutual agreechildren's choir, who gave "The International" As the Labour Party caucus will lay down a in English and Esperanto. The Superintendent policy on all important movements, and as the

reedom of action is largely given away by this The Executive Resolution declaring for work

ions repeated, of course, the well-known Moscow licy on this question, which is in harmony with

position was contested point by point by ority of delegates, who lost all along the

her the Right Wing C.P. nor the

of both these bodies have declared against the consideration. formation of unofficial workshop committees. Nevertheless, the feeling in support of the workers' committee remains so strong amongst the membership of the Right Wing C.P. that the executive resolution made a concession to this sentiment in the following phrase:-

"The Communist Party further supports the formation of workshop and factory committees comprised of workers within a given plant, working with, and not antagonistic to, the official Trade Unions. . . . .

This was not the idea of the functions of the workshop committee once held by those promoters of the resolution, Messrs. Gallacher, McManus and others; but let that pass.

An amendment to the official resolution was Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. This moved by a certain Fabian-Heraldite band of was true. . . . I would take them by the recent sticklers for the Moscow policy, including hand!—as a preliminary to taking them by the Messrs. Page Arnot, Mellor, and Postgate. I shows how popular the word Communism has become that such persons are to be found in a Communist Party. Their amendment ran as

"The Communist Party further supports the formation of workshop committees when The Third Communist International originally

to go in with them, with the dirt that we are The amendment, which was really disclosing trying to clean. 'Henry' will say (to use his certain fears and intentions of the Right Wing own terms) 'Those Communists are a lot C.P. Executive policy, was lost, probably beof twisters like the Labour Party.' Clynes cause it happened not to have been promoted

not a class party. Not that I would advocate A Thesis on Party organisation could not be the Communist Party being a secluded group, discussed for lack of time. A Liverpool delecounties are always loud in denouncing the but I do want our Party to be absolutely a work- gate moved that the Conference elect a Commising class party, with a revolutionary outlook sion to discuss it. An amendment was moved and carried by 73 votes to 43 that the Commission consist half of Executive officials and half rank and file members selected by the Executive.

Well, well; they are not very independent, these rank and filers of the Right Wing C.P.! The following resolution contains points of interest:

"That this Conference having endorsed the tactics of affiliation to the Labour Party and the principle of working with and in the Trade Unions, declares its support of the following methods and measures for securing the realisation of a united working class front:

" (a) The C.P. officially denies the charge that it desires to enter the Labour Party ' merely ' to disrupt it, and declares that it seeks affiliation in order to secure the political unity of the working class and to influence the Labour Party in the direction of Communism;

" (b) The C.P. is prepared generally to A while ago we were told that all such repolls, but reserves to itself the right to oppose in glaring reactionary cases where it is found that a considerable section of the organised

reactionary characters; capitalist;

working class on every issue large and small, reform the capitalist system. affecting the working class welfare;

" (e) The C.P. grants permission and encourages Party members to become individual members of the Labour Party, subject to Clause 12 in the Constitution, in order to = strengthen the Communist influence in the

One wonders which will cease first, the C.P. . have yet done anything to form un- attacks on the Labour Party, or on the Com-

official workshop committees. That was to be munist Workers' Party; but (b), (c) and (e) expected, since the international executives were referred back to the Executive for further

This, also, is interesting:

" (f) This Conference declares its willingness at any time to enter into any conference or negotiations between working class parties that have for their object consolidation of the working class movement, no matter whether these conferences be initiated by Right or Left sections . To show their good faith, the conference instructs the E.C. to seek methods of approaching working class organisat.ons of this country, including the I.L.P., S.L.P., Anarchists, Left Wing and anti-Parliamentarians, S.D.F., Fabian Society, Labour Party, etc., to put before them the proposals of the United Front. Further, it instructs them to draw up the points in which the invitation to a united front will be made in accordance with the general resolution already adopted."

Yet a fortnight ago Comrade A. Carford of Sheffield was expelled for addressing a letter to

the Workers' Dreadnought.

#### REVOLUTION OR REFORM?

circumstances permit, representing the mass sent out a call to the workers to unite, not for of the workers in any given workshop, for the reform, but for the abolition of Capitalism. general working class agitation; but the Com- Now the call is changed. The Third International munist Party gives no countenance to the cries "Reform," not "Revolution." Here is establishment of small non-party sectarian another instance of the change: the Executive bands outside or inside the workshop, which Committee of the Young Communist Internaonly duplicate the duties of Communist tional in Moscow calls for the following reforms:

> 1.—Minimum wages, corresponding to the minimum cost of living.

> 2.—Fight against violation of the eight-hour day, against trade education after working hours and for the establishment of the sixhour day for minors.

3.—Provision for the young unemployed. 4.—Establishment of educational shops for

the young unemployed. 5.—24 hour Sunday rest.

6.—Four weeks' yearly vacation with full

7.—Prohibition of night and Sunday work. 8.—Abolition of the work of minors in trades and factories which are injurious to their health. (Certain branches of the chemical industry, underground work in mines, etc.)

FOR APPRENTICES.

1.—Limitation of the number of apprentices. 2.—Abolition of individual indentures, apprentices to be included in collective agree-

3.—Control of the employment of apprentices by 'the Trade Unions and the shop councils.

support Labour Party candidates at the forms are futile. Let us consider one of them:

"Limitation of Apprentices."

The object of that is to protect from the comworking class support such opposition to petition of the young, low-paid lad, the adult skilled worker. But what does the limitation of "(c) The C.P. declares its disapproval of apprentices mean to the lads: it means that a all tactics having merely a disruptive effect larger number than usual are pushed back into on the L.P., I.L.P., S.L.P., Anarchists, or the ranks of the unkilled, denied the right ever other working class elements, and holds to become a skilled worker and to earn a skilled that the C.P. should devote its energies to man's pay. The fact that many boys are dea straight attack on Capitalism and the barred by the poverty of their parents and the rules concerning apprenticeship from becoming " (d) The C.P. seeks to gain the con-skilled workers is always a crying evil and one fidence of the masses by approaching the that tends to divide the working class and to workers in our propaganda campaigns in the undermine its solidarity. To limit the number most sympathetic manner and by members of apprentices increases this evil, though in the of the Party assuming positions of responsi- meantime it protects the adult worker. One is bility and undertaking the defence of the always in a cleft stick when one endeavours to

> From the class solidarity standpoint, it would be better to call for the abolition of apprenticeship than for its limitation.

> > THE IRON HEEL. By JACK LONDON. Price 2s.

#### THE MISTAKES OF THE GUILDSMEN.

" Guild Socialism Re-stated," by G. D. H. Cole, Leonard Parsons, Portugal Street. Price 6s.\*

In this book, Mr. Cole has made a woefully unsuccessful attempt to visualise a non-capitalist system. He cannot rid himself of the ideology of the shopkeeper, the banker and the employer. Health Council has a similar dual composition, you ever read Kropotkin's "Conquest lished in 1917, Mr. Cole sketched out his idea side the railway guilds, etc., there lieve, when you have done so, you will not conof Guild Socialism. It was a combination of Syndicalism and State Socialism. Apparently the scheme he then propounded seemed to him fairly complete, for he said:

"We are the world's builders; and, unless tive of collective consumers. we lay down our foundations truly, the whole structure which we rear will come tumbling

equally sure of their builders." in the architecture with which he was so well merely this:pleased. This is all to the good; perhaps he will at last arrive at the Communist goal, though he is still exceedingly far away.

In his book of 1917, Mr. Cole's Guild Socialism demanded a National Guild Council and the retention of Parliament and the present local governing bodies. Should there be a dispute (the "Guildsmen," as Mr. Cole and his followers call themselves, are always anticipating disputes), a body representing both Parliament

and the Guild Council, would settle it. Mr. Cole then thought that the Trade Unions articulate challenge to autocracy, the one in the selling; the air of the counting-house hangs about kaj afable parolis al li. Poste revenis la virino of a close study and following of Socialist activity. for the group, the members of which are only industrial, the other in the political sphere. He him. observed that "gaining recognition as a critical In his present work he proposes that the piedon kaj ĉirkaŭligis ĝin per herbero.

to itself the executive. let that pass. Mr. Cole indicated that the He further says "equality of income cannot, Kiaj ili estis? Ili demandis hore. Trade Unions in their own sphere would pass and must not be made a condition of the esta- \_\_ Ili estas pli bonaj ol la aliaj bestoj en la through similar stages. They would develop blishment of the Guild system." He does not arbaro, diris la hundo, ili ĉirkaŭligis mian piede from a critical force to "direct and positive appear to favour equal wages; but he believes kaj karesis mian dorson. Tion mi meniam power," then Parliament and the Unions now that eventually the national income will be forgesos.

Previously he went a-borrowing to the Fabians service." and the Syndicalists; now he has borrowed also One would have liked to believe Mr. Cole means tion unu al la alia, la floroj ekĝemis kaj ekfrom Soviet Russia. To do so is becoming by this, that all will be entitled to the free, un- balancis la kapon. La kvarpieduloj kuradis kv popular. Mr. Cole has decided to Russify his measured use of social products. Evidently, la historio kaj la najtingalo muzikigis ĝin. La Parliament, or, to be more accurate, to Soviet- however, he contemplates an actual division of novaj bestoj plueniris kaj ne pensis plu pri la Governmentise it. He does not exactly copy the money—a really foolish idea. Russian patchwork, and he uses some different Everything is to be bought and sold in the Fine ili laciĝis tiel, ke ili devis sidiĝi. terms; but he comes very near to it. Instead of Guild Socialist Community. Individuals and trinkis el la fonto kaj ridis vidinte siajn propajn Parliament and the local governing bodies, he Guilds will buy and sell, and the Communal spegulfigurajojn en la akvo. substitutes National Communes and Local Com- Councils will regulate the budgets of the Ili prenis sukajn fruktojn de la arboj kaj munes: Village Communes, Town Communes, Guilds. In the present book this is clear, but mangis. Kiam la suno mallevigis, ili kuŝiĝis e Township Communes, Regional Communes—the the details are less explicit than in the earlier la herbon kaj ĉirkaŭpreninte unu la alian, el larger bodies being formed of delegates from the volume; perhaps Mr. Cole feels less sure that he dormis. Ne malproksime de ili la hundo kus

In his earlier book, Mr. Cole made the general Mr. Cole does not contemplate the complete siajn antaŭpiedojn kaj rigardis ilin. ballot of members in given districts, or in given trades, the main method of election in his Guilds. But now he chooses the Russian method, saying he approves indirect election, if checked by the re-call. He even boldly cuts the roots of popular election away by dictating that if a delegate be appointed by a committee to represent it as a delegate, he will cease to represent and be subject to recall by the original electors. Only the committee which has sent him to sit on another committee can now recall him.

Still more Russian is the basic composition of Mr. Cole's Commune. He explains how it would be formed in a single town-Norwich:-

" (a) A number of Industrial Guilds, organising and managing various industries and economic services, united in a Guild Council of delegates or representives drawn from these guilds;

" (b) A Co-operative Council;

"(c) A Collective Utilities Council; " (d) A number of Guilds organising and managing various civic services-Civic Guilds;

" (e) A Cultural Council;

" (f) A Health Council.

This mixture is called the Commune, and acts Mr. Cole further suggests that a man as the counter-balance of the Guild Council in work as a member of the Agricultural Guil Mr. Cole's scheme; the Commune representing a large-scale farm, and also work a small the individual as consumer, the Guild Council as farm of his own. He would undertake the producer, according to the favourite Guild work to earn double wages, we suppose Socialist fallacy.

It should be explained that the Cultural price than that asked by the Guild. Council consists of representatives of the Edu- Oh, Mr. Cole, what a foolish morass von be cation Guild (composed of teachers) and of re- got yourself into, all because you cannot get awar presentatives elected by all the citizens. The from the shopkeepers' frame of mind. H In his "Self-Government in Industry," pub- and other such Councils are foreshadowed, as be- Bread," Mr. Cole? Study that book. We b may be organisations of railway users, electricity users, and so on. Moreover, there are the Cooperatives, representative of domestic consumers, and the Collective Utilities Councils representa-

As you see, dear readers, a complicated array. But let us come now to the real crux of the to the ground, no matter how fine our architec- matter. Is Mr. Cole proposing a Communist ture may be. Guildsmen are well pleased with State, or is he not? Has his brand of Guild their architects; they have now to make Socialism any claim to be called Socialism at all? In his earlier book Mr. Cole had a section en-In his present work, "Guild Socialism Re- titled The Abolition of the Wage System. That Stated," Mr. Cole has made substantial changes title read hopefully, but it turned out to mean

> " (1) Recognition and payment as a human cations. being, and not merely as the mortal tenement of so much labour power for which an efficient demand exists.

" (2) Consequently, payment in employment and unemployment, in sickness and in health

" (3) Control of the organisation of pro- la vunditan piedon. duction, in co-operation with his fellows.

also exercised in co-operation with his fellows." nelonge kaj resanigis ĝin per herboj. This, of course, is not the abolition of wages La hundo komprenis, ke si volas bonfari al li. and Parliament were analogous bodies; for he at all! Poor Mr. Cole cannot conceive of really Li Trankvile stariĝis, dum ŝiforkuris por alporti la lado not myself claim to have entirely shaken regarded them as both having begun as "a half- abolishing wages and money and buying and herbojn. Dume la dupiedulo karesis lian dorson free from capitalist ways of thought, in spite

force," Parliament became, after centuries of Guilds should draw up wages scales, and these \_\_ Nun estas bone, ŝi diris, morgaŭ vi struggle, the legislative body and subordinated should be submitted to the Guilds Congress, povos kuradi. and then further submitted to the National Ili iris pluen, sed la hundo stariĝis, rigardi It seems to us that Parliament has by no means Commune. Red tape will certainly be the most post ili kaj balancis la voston. La bestoj alvenis. subordinated to itself the executive"; but plentiful commodity in Mr. Cole's Guild Society. - Vi parolis kun la fremduloj, kion ili diris? called the Guilds, would reign side by side. divided "among the members of the community, \_\_ Ili ĉirkaŭligis la malsanan piedon de la In his latest book he has changed all that. without regard to any particular work or hundo, ili karesis lian dorson. . . . Tiel estis dirita

will remain satisfied with his architecture.

socialisation of production, either industrial or agricultural. He does not propose the complete abolition of hired labour. He says :-

"I simply do not feel that it is practicable to deny to the small-scale producers, whether individual or associative groups, all right to dormas, respondis la bovo. Ĉu vi konas ilin employ others."

That is because you still cling to the wages jaroj similaj kreitaĵoj estus gratadintaj sur m system, Mr. Cole. If we all lived as brothers diris la luno. Sed mi ne povas tion certe and sisters, taking what we required of the Mia memoro estas malfortiginta dum la las common produce, a man could confidently ask: centmil jaroj. Jam estas tre malfacila al "Will you help me to get in my hay before the kunteni miajn pensojn por la cielvojaĝo. rain comes?" without any question of payment, - Ho, la pensado estas ankaŭ mia maltori because his hav would be something in which flanko, diris la bovo. Sed mi timas. everyone would be interested, and because brotherly relations would obtain between the

Mr. Cole observes that the community will, under Guild Socialism, prevent men from exploiting the labour of wives and children.

If he were abolishing wages and buying and selling, a man would have neither incentive nor nenion. power to exploit the labour of his wife and children, nor of anyone else.

probably he would sell his produce at a

emplate that a man living in a free society will choose to spend all his day planting cabba for the Guild, and then go home in the evening to plant more cabbages in his own little patch order to earn a little more money.

Mr. Cole does not agree with Kropotkin we should all take a hand in the productive work not done by the black-coated fraternity

Mr. Cole's Communes are to control the Arm and the police. These will be needed, of conin the community of his desire, for private y perty and wagery would continue.

\* May be obtained through the Dreadn office, 152 F'eet Street, which supplies all pul

#### ESPERANTO. LA DUPIEDULO.

(Daŭrigo.)

Li volis eliri el ilia vojo, sed li ne povis. virino de la dupiedulo haltigis lin kaj rigardadis put it into practice," I feel convinced that possible

- Mi helpos al vi, mizera besto, ŝi diri " (4) A claim upon the product of his work, atendu nur, ankaŭ mi tranĉis mian piedon antaŭ

kun la herboj, surmetis ilin sur la vundit

de buŝo al buŝo en la arbaro. La arbaroj murmure

kiu sekvis iliajn postsignojn, metis la kapon inte

La luno lunis sur ilin kaj rekte en la vizaĝegon de la bovo, kiu alproksimiĝis por viziti ilin.

- Buh, diris la bovo. - Beh, diris la luno. Kion vi rigardas tie - Mi rigardis tiujn-ci, kiuj tie kuŝas k

- Sajnas al mi kvazau antaŭ multaj, multe

- Tiuin-ci? demandis la luno. - Mi ne povas klarigi, diris la bovo, sed n

- Mortigu do ilin, diris la luno. - Mi ne havas kuraĝon, diris la bovo; " menaŭ sole ne, sed eble mi trovos helponto, - Min ne, diris la luno, al mi ili malbonfa

Kaj la luno foriris. La bovo restis remaĉant sed giaj pensoj neniel volis antaŭeniri. (Daŭrigota).

## the Thence.

#### COMMUNIST LIFE.

made Cahill, whose letter on this subject antly published, has sent us this letter with west for publication.

in your columns as well as in other

e following interesting reply has been sent remarks on Communist practice, which

at similar to my own. the object of confirming this. I herewith my outlook on the subject, at 'he same e. I would express my readiness to work

orld, but it seems to me that these fail miserin inculcating "Communism" into the es, because the great majority of the workers have no political tendencies.

ecognising the truth of the saying: "The unist Associations " would prove of great value in countering Capita'ist " teaching," besides being powerful auxiliaries to the

tain times I have caught myself reasoning from a capitalist standpoint. I attribute this to the need for closer social contact with kindred

regarding Communist Practice within n, it seems to me it is not so "Utopian" setrinaire school would have us believe. se that there is a tendency to forget the sue, i.e., the Class Struggle, and also withgid self-discipline, that product of capital-"teaching," " maudlin' sentiment " is apt reep in; nevertheless, to the really serious mist, these factors should present no in-

I have interpreted history correctly, I am inced that the final collapse of Capitalism prove a "bloody" business, and this netates Capitalist subtlety being met with

h the foregoing remarks as a guide to assist judging whether we are "parallel in our I now set forth, very crudely, my notions munal Practice, one example, I have no

t; B needs his boots repaired. A repairs life of the whole group as complete as possible. boots. B sweeps A's chimney. Result: Every group should consider it a duty to filst A needs some carpentering done. A re- I think the effort recunted by "Dionysus"

Mairs B's boots and requests him to sweep C's is most encouraging. , and C in return executes A's carpenter-Result: each comrade's immediate satisfid according to respective abilities. s, especially in days to come.

few comrades here are actually carrying out far as we have pushed it, the experiment issue of March 11th, 1922. is the belief that its scope could be exd over a much wider field if the sincere needed side to our movement, which it is fair to o work out a plan of action.

remote times among the "ancient to me that association for Communist life is see O. Ward's Ancient Lowly and Lewis needed and has a great work before it."

two works the most valuable in the whole gamut cellent "example," a Commonwealth in being, of Socialist literature.

I should be pleased to co-operate in the work of may be made to put our principles into practice. organising Communist Practice on a larger scale. In the Newllano Co-operative Colony at Lees-I would give you my willing co-operation in in- ville, Louisiana, US.A., we have the very exaugurating such a movement.

> Yours fraternally, " DIONYSUS."

tried out in practice, may more accurately be operation." described as "Non-Co-operation with Capitalism" A comrade visiting Newllano, not long ago, than Communism. The comrades who are says:making this attempt are progressively dispensing "For many years I have been searching for oly to your letter in current issue of the with the middlemen and the traders, the numeranent voluntary Communism. The ous parasites who stand between the producer oint therein expressed, I have long held and the consumer, and uselessly increase the but I find it in action here in the Colony, and e endeavoured in some measure to put burden of Labour. Nevertheless, the transac- I am glad and proud of you." actice. It was therefore with pleasure I tions sketched out above appear to be in the I may add that we have taken their papers your point of "Communist Associations" mature of barter and not yet free service and weekly and monthly, and have been in free use of the collective product. This correspondence with them for some time Comrade refers to Osborne Ward's description of with a view to making an effort to seeing if there the trade organisations of pre-Christian and early is a possibility of taking the first step towards Christian times. Ward distinctly states that the starting of a Colony somewhere in the le-heartedly with other comrades of a like whilst those unions traded with outsiders, the British Isles. Industrial Groups in different parts of the common, as a family does, sharing a common bring realism out of idealism.

It is not easy to live as Communists in the midst of Capitalism. Any attempt thereto is to be welcomed, however tentative and imperfect; but the object should always be to avoid barter Kuzbas .- Continued from page 1. best way to get an idea generally accepted is to as well as sales for actual money, as far as

Where possible, it would be best to agree that the bootmaker should supply freely all the needs Workers' Unit? in that direction of the comrades in the group. Political and Industrial Groups throughout the The chimney sweep sweeping all the chimneys

of the group, and so on. It may be objected that the bootmaker may be kept the greater part of his time making boots Kuzbas?

their work, whilst the services of the chimney their relationship to the Kuzbas management? sweep are only occasionally required by the group, Comrade Rutgers says that the workers canand he has the greater part of his time for making not live communistically in Kuzbas, because money, whilst the bootmaker has no time for "Socialist" colonies in capitaist countries have that. A group that goes into the effort whole- not been successful. heartedly will readily overcome such difficulties. As a matter of fact, the world is largely The sweep will put his earnings towards the peopled with little Communist colonies, each of common fund for transactions with the outer which comprises a mother, father and some world, for supplying mechanical aid, and so on. children—the members of the same family. He may also find he is able to serve the group Though ringed around with Capitalism, they find in other ways, if only by cleaning windows. no need for buying and selling amongst them-

It is not necessary that the group should go on selves. to the land to start operations. Comrades can begin wherever they are, gradually extending the circle of Communist services.

The sharing of domestic work is an easy point at which to begin. The children of the group would benefit greatly if their mothers took turns really to give up their entire attention to organising work and play for them.

Both fuel and labour may be greatly economised by group co-operation, especially amongst neighbours who are close at hand.

Every member of the group should be animated ppose A to be Cobbler, B is a Chimney- by the desire to emancipate the group from dep and C is a Carpenter. A needs his chimney capitalist services as far as possible, and make the

have their immediate needs satisfied—wage carry on propaganda for Communism, explaining stem abolished. But suppose A has no immedi- that if the great productive machinery which the need, whilst B needs his boots repairing, and community possesses were placed at the general knowing C requires his chimney sweeping, service, splendid results might be obtained.

the foregoing is capable of great possi- To the Editor of the Workers' Dreadnought:-DEAR COMRADE-

Yours, etc., S. CAHILL.

There are many of us, I am sure, that will utual aid, in a restricted way, of course. welcome the letter of Comrade S. Cahill in the This comrade strikes the keynote of a much

ers in Communism could be got together in assume is most necessary of development. He (or she) says: "believe . . . we ought to n as the idea appears at first sight, it make more effort to practice our belief. Example cally certain that something of the kind is always better than precept," and "it seems

s Ancient Society). I consider these May I call your readers' attention to an ex-

which would be invaluable in any attempt which

ample of Communism in practice that might be duplicated in this country with great advantage to our movement.

In Newllano we have a working model, where It should be observed, I think, that the above between two and three hundred people joyfuily plan, which I am glad to learn, is actually being associate together by " mutual service and o-

Socialism. I know it through its literature and propaganda; but have never seen it in action-

member of the union practiced Communism We hope that Comrade Cahill's and others' ave associated myself with various political amongst. 'hemselves, holding all things in views and our own, may be enough alike to

> Yours for economic equality, LEIGH ROTHWELL.

If every Russian inhabitant of the district becomes automatically a member of the Foreign Workers' Unit, why is it called a Foreign

If all inhabitants, men and women, do not automatically become members of the Unit, what are the conditions of membership?

We further ask: do the Soviets function in

able to supply him with a part of his needs by If so, how are they constituted, and what is

If the Kuzbas workers and the Soviet Government alike desired Communism within Kuzbas and amongst the workers of Kuzbas, Communism could be put into practice amongst the Communist dwellers in Kuzbas, and surely there could also be Communist relations of mutual aid between the Soviet Government, if its members are Communists, and the Communist community of Kuzbas?

The tenour of Comrade Rutgers' article is not that which animated the revolutionary movement and put the Bolsheviki into power.

The purpose of the October Revolution was the establishment of Communism: the effort to achieve that ought not to be slackened. Comrade Rutgers says :-

"If the American workers receive more than the Russian peasants, it is because they cannot work with their natural efficiency for

Can the Russian peasant work at maximum efficiency for less than the American? You are en dangerous ground. Comrade Rutgers; it is the ground occupied by all the apologists of

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