gistered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

THE INTERNATIONAL

THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

P.O. Box 4179. **Neppe's Buildings, 54, Fox Street, Johannesburg.** *'Phone 6035.*

No. 167. FRIDAY, JAN. 17, 1919. **PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.**

From the War Front.

We publish to-day more denunciations by anti-Socialist writers of the Allies' anti-Socialist infamy. Let us be frank, however. These writers do not appreciate, as capitalist rulers and Socialists do, that this world contest is actually a stage, and apparently a historically necessary stage, in the march of Socialism in the world. All they know is that their sound middle-class moral sense is deeply shocked. Of course it is. It is in order to dull the general public's conscience in the matter that all these calumnies against Bolsheviks, Spartacists, etc., are published by the capitalist press: to divert the sympathy of those who, if they were allowed to see the facts, must immediately and wholeheartedly support the Socialist movement. We cannot hope to unravel the ridiculous conflict of news of the fight served up to us twice a day. But we do not need to do so, we who are confident of the ultimate issue however prolonged the agony. As for the use of military force, foreseen by Marx, we may fairly claim nevertheless that Socialism is progressing to-day not so much by the aid of force as in spite of it: although we cannot but feel a certain shame meanwhile that so many of us are content or compelled to be mere breathless spectators of the battle instead of standing actually by Liebknecht facing the guns.

* * *

Perhaps the most remarkable testimony to the unrepresentative character of capitalist "democracy" is the Foreign Office admission—made within a week of the overwhelming Coalition victory in an election in which, according to "Forward," the sole Coalition stunt was not "reparation" or "reconstruction," but Bolshevism—that the feeling in the Allied countries against armed intervention in Russia is equally overwhelming. Yet the British Government is clearly going to cite its election "mandate" to justify the continuance of that intervention, which has hitherto been a sneaking and surreptitious plot, reported one day and denied the next, but which it will be the prime object of the "Peace Conference"—really a Council of War—to sanction and organise, not only against Russia but (so easily is the public to be made to forget its hatreds) on behalf of the (capitalist class in) the Central Empires themselves! All right, let them try. For our part, we defy the Peace Conference either to come out with it that they are purely and simply fighting Socialism as such or to find a subterfuge to conceal that real objective; and this dilemma will be the signal for the "overwhelming feeling" to break out in the Socialist revolution.

As mentioned last week, another effect of the Allied pogrom against Russia has been to drive the hitherto apparently irreconcileable Mensheviks, or moderate Social Democrats of Russia, to join the Bolsheviks. In their declaration of October 21 last they "recognised the November, 1917, revolution as a historical necessity: refused to enter into any political collaboration with parties hostile to democracy or to take part in any coalition with capitalist leanings, even though it may sail under democratic colours: repudiated the interference of foreign capitalists in the internal affairs of Russia, and declared themselves in agreement with the Soviet Government in its efforts to free Russia from foreign intervention." They officially repudiate Paul Axelrod and his group who in their name, and in the name of the so-called Provisional All Russia Government at Omsk, Siberia, **now defunct,** are publishing the anti-Bolshevik fortnightly in London to which we have already alluded. (As a matter of fact this group is working in conjunction with the Central Russian Committee in London, of which the Chairman is Sir George Buchanan, ex-British Ambassador in Petrograd, whose policy was to recognise "any Russian Government that may **recognise the right of property** and Russia's obligations to the Allies," i.e., to Allied capital!)

* * *

The "Manchester Guardian" of November 29 last, speaking of the ignorance of British troops of what they were fighting for, said: "At Archangel shortly after they arrived they saw the Government, which was supposed to have invited them and to give Allied intervention its democratic certificate, suddenly interned by some soldiers. In Siberia they have just seen some officers arrest the Prime Minister, overthrow the Government and make an Admiral Koltchak, a notorious reactionary, dictator: . . . until even the Czechs, so the 'Times' correspondent tells us, say they are being made the tools of the enemies of democracy in Russia. And they are right. Our blood and our money are being poured out in Russia to help in the restoration of the evil system which the Revolution overthrew."

* * *

It is wonderful how almost every week nowadays the Empire's heart finds a new small nation to beat for. The so-called "naval mission" to Danzig is really directing the Baltic anti-Bolshevik campaign, as well as maintaining the food blockade on Socialist Germany and preventing the export of German goods. Who, asks the "Call," are those "representatives" of Courland and Esthonia who are inviting Allied help against the rising tide of the Bolsheviks and the Soviets? We have no doubt that they are the same German barons who previously invited the Kaiser to occupy those provinces. They are the small clique of landowners who in the good old days of Tsarism organised the punitive expeditions in the course of which thousands upon thousands of peasants and workers were murdered and women outraged under circumstances of unheard of brutality. And the "Finns" and Poles, co-operating with them, are of the same breed. What a crime it was when the Kaiser detached Finland, Courland, Esthonia and Poland from Russia, but what a virtue when the Allies do it and use these provinces to attack Russia!

* * *

The British army in Britain is being kept as long as possible undemobilised and at call of the Government. The "Weekly Dispatch" indicates one sort of reason why. "So far as the mining industry is concerned the war has ended just in time to transfer from the front enough colliers to enable the Government to adopt a firm attitude towards the still further demands of the men now at work, to relieve the situation as to our winter supplies of fuel and light, and to stir up the young slackers who are causing a little anxiety in South Yorkshire." No doubt the Yankee army is being hurried home to perform the same errand of mercy in New York, so much so that few of it can be spared for the like service in the Argentine! What fun if "North and South Amerikee" convert their strikes into a Socialist Revolution and refuse to allow President Wilson to return! Anyhow the daily increasing war of the revolting armies and workers is transfixing the capitalist governments with terror, so much so that their Peace Conference may prove to be the last council of the dying gods of the ancient regime.

"The Workers' Committee," by J. T. Murphy. This pamphlet, which has just arrived, is published by the Sheffield Workers' Committee, and is an interesting statement of the rank and file activities in Britain written by one of themselves. The keynote is the conflict between the officials and the membership of the unions. The present system is based on government by officials and obedience by the rank and file. The writer briefly sketches the causes of this form of organisation which naturally arose out of the conditions of the early capitalist system, and suggests that the more or less spontaneous revolt of the workers during the last four years, which is expressed in the shop steward and workers' committee movement, contains the germ of a new relationship between men leading to the co-operative commonwealth.

All wage workers would do well to buy this pamphlet, which can be obtained at the office of the League, Neppe's Buildings, Fox Street, or Box 4179, for 6d.

"The Fruits of Victory."

"The plans of the modern world are made," says President Wilson, "in the counting house. The men that do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world. A country is dominated by the capital invested in it . . . The processes of capital are in a sense the processes of conquest."

Trying as usual to say something interesting for the Press, Wilson stumbles for once on the truth, viz., that capital rules the world. He all but lets out what "democracy" really means, and why the greatest capitalists are its greatest champions; why they are not afraid of elections, and what "we" go to war about.

The cause for which Britain "fought and bled" is again revealed in another cablegram of the same date "unfolding," as a "romance" (save the mark!) "of trade" how Britain had captured German trade. "During the war we have regained control of many invaluable sources of raw material which we allowed to slip into the hands of Germany, and we shall retain that control. British industry is rapidly occupying fresh territory."

This Anglo-American trade monopoly of the world for which our millions have died must of course be paid for by our millions who survive. On the day of the armistice the home shippers in many leading lines of goods cabled to their customers in South Africa: "All prices raised 50 per cent." Do not imagine, gentle reader, that "times are going to return to normal." Why should they? The Entente, alias Trade Combine, having won such a victory that Central European trade has been and will continue to be crushed out of existence by force, prices cease to be moderated by the foreign competition our boys fought to destroy, and British merchants ask what prices they damn well please. If you don't want to pay their price, you won't be able to get the goods anywhere else: even Japan is in the ring. War profiteering is not in it. Peace profiteering, now permanently established by "our" crushing victory, knocks it silly.

Are you dissastisfied, returned soldiers? Then console yourselves by gloating over these glorious fruits of your victory, this "liberation of humanity." President Wilson, as one of the gang on top, no longer needs to disguise the contrast between those who do the fighting and those who reap the harvest. "Perhaps," he said to "these plain people who more than some of us have borne the stress and burden of the war," "perhaps you think of the members of the Governments who have conferred in Paris as the makers of war or peace: But we are not. You are." Just so; but "we," not "you" cull the fruits, "rare" to "you," "refreshing" to "us." We settle the terms of peace, we who stopped at home. "You," who manned the trenches, can go and beg tickeys off the War-on-Warites whose meetings you used to smash up: several of you have done it already.

Can't you see the humbug of it all yet? Can't you see how you have fallen between two stools? Allied capitalists have won universal commercial domination in the world. Russian and German workers and soldiers have won, or are still fighting those same capitalists to win or retain, their freedom—freedom from the degrading position in which **you** are still left. Your masters will still puff you up with glory and keep you at call to help them not only against those workers and soldiers, but against your own class here at home when industrial troubles arise; they will spoof you again to fight their battles, especially if the strikers are black. Remember Tom Mann's "Don't shoot!" Try and pick up what Socialism means, what is this Bolshevism they warn you against, what your counterparts the soldiers and workers in Russia and Germany are after. Take in the "International," or read it each week at the Public Library. Before you have finished you will discover that the fruits of the workers' victory are the only fruits worth having: the downfall of the capitalist class and system and the establishment of the Workers' Commonwealth of the World.

League Notes.

DEFENCE FUND.—Acknowledgements.—List No. 43: S.M.P., £5 5s.; H.W.H., £2 2s.; O.K., £1 1s.; O.M., £1 1s.; D.I.J., £5; H.K., £3: Mrs. B., £1; E.H.B., £1; E.O., 5s.; G.F.W., 2s. 6d · F.F., £1; K.H., £1: E.L., £1; C.H.T., £1 1s.; J.G., £2 2s.; R.G.F., 10s. 6d.; T.A., £1 1s.; J.C., £1; K.O.B., £1; R.P., £1; D.M.W., £1; J.G., £2; A.E.M., £1; T.W., £1 1s.; P.M., £1 1s.; C.Y., £1 1s.; G.C., £1 1s.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

The Branch meets Palmerston Hall on Tuesday, 21st inst. Business important.

STUDY CLASS. — Com. W. Reid will be the speaker at the class on Friday, 24th, 8 p.m. sharp.

Open-air meeting, corner Maddison and Marshall Streets, Jeppes, at 8 p.m., on Sunday, 19th. E. Stewart, chair. Speakers: C. B. Tyler and S. P. Bunting.

The Socialist Sunday School will meet at Milner Park on Sunday, the 26th inst. Children will assemble at the Town Hall at 9 a.m. Bring sandwiches and friends. Children's tram fares provided.

JEWISH-SPEAKING BRANCH.

The Social announced for the 19th inst. is postponed until further notice.

A general meeting will be held on Sunday, the 19th inst., at 10 a.m., at the Palmerston Hall.

Every member is asked to attend. The meeting is of the greatest importance: it is to decide the further activities of the branch.

KRUGERSDORP BRANCH.

Open meeting in Thompson's Buildings, at 8 p.m. on Sunday, 19th. Com. T. P. Tinker will lecture.

PRETORIA BRANCH.

Comrade J. P. Anderson spoke to a good audience in the Federation Hall last Sunday evening.

Don't forget the Social in the Federation Hall on February 5th.

Joint Boards.

The sinister movement on the part of the employing class, assisted by the governments, to side track the rising consciousness of the working class will fail as all movements must that ignore the economic forces operating irrespective of the will of any section in society.

These joint boards, formed for the purpose of eliminating the antagonisms between the employing class and the employed, must fail owing to the stranglehold the employers have by their possession of the tools of production, which enables them to say to the workers whether they shall use the tools or not. That very possession is a denial of the existence of mutual interests that can be reconciled by joint boards, for there can be no mutual interests except between equals.

The craft union form of organisation has been responsible for this fallacy of mutual interests. Having as their basis the idea of the capitalist class being necessary to the workers' existence, with no knowledge of the economics of labour, the workers have been led into the quagmire of accepting joint boards by interested labour leaders, and many of these know that mutual interests do not exist and never can exist in a society having as its basis the production of commodities for profit or under a system of greed and grab in which the workers produce all the wealth, but receive on the average a mere subsistence wage representing their social value on the labour market while the surplus value of their labour is enjoyed by a minority, a parsitic class the majority of whom perform no social service.

These leaders of labour, many of them self-appointed, have always been a menace to the worker, many not only advocating the utility of joint boards, but accepting a seat upon them as the nominees and representatives of the employing class. Such compromising tactics lead to other tactics of a shadow hunting nature. Shadow hunting after "peace, perfect peace" is wasted energy. The workers' hope is a recognition of their status as a dependent class, without any mutual interests that can be dealt with by joint boards. That dependence will continue so long as they are content to accept their status as an economically enslaved section in society. This economic slavery will and must prevail in any society where the minority hold the power of life and death by having possession of the tools whereby are produced the necessaries and luxuries of life.

Craft unions have been weighed in the balance and found wanting in those things necessary to working class organisation. The only hope is to organise as industrial unions, one big union, on a class conscious basis, with a recognition of the fundamental truth that there can be no identity of interests between robber and robbed. That peace and harmony can never be obtained in a form of society that has never given the assurance of life to its individual units, and never will, no matter how amended by joint boards and other misleading schemes.

J.M.G.

Premier Studio, 139, Market Street.

The I. S. L. Conference.

January 5 and 6, 1919.

Stop That War!

BRITAIN'S DIRTY GAME.

Mr. Douglas Young, who as British Consul was in sole charge of British interests in Archangel from December, 1917, until the military occupation on August 4, 1918, and who says "I hate Bolshevism," writes to the "Herald" of December 14 last:

The British government played a dirty, double game with the Soviet Government in Russia. First they gave a solemn assurance, which was published over my name in the Archangel Press, that they had no annexationist intentions and that they would not interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. This was accepted by myself and by every man who read it, and who was not concerned with the niceties of diplomatic quibbling, as meaning that the British Government intended no military action against the Soviet Government. Then they stabbed that Government in the back by forcing a landing of Allied troops at Archangel under a specious pretext.

So far from the Soviet Government having violated the sanctity of the British Embassy at Petrograd, the Embassy no longer existed, as its personnel had ignominiously fled the country some months previously, and official representatives of the British Admiralty and War Office were abusing diplomatic privilege—to which, in fact, they had no claim—to organise, in conjunction with Russian counter-revolutionaries, under cover of the Embassy building, a plot to overthrow the Soviet de facto authorities in Archangel and elsewhere.

The British Government proceeded to suppress any news or any expression of opinion which did not coincide with their preconceived ideas; and, further, they proceeded to misrepresent and blacken every action of the Soviet Government, giving either deliberately untrue or evasive replies to the few independent members of all parties who have tried by questions in Parliament to extract the truth.

I have seen in Archangel a British general acting towards the Russian population in their own country as despotically as any Tsar and conducting himself as scandalously as any of those Russian generals of the old regime. One can only conclude from this that the war against Prussian militarism has created a Whitehall militarism little better than the Postdam variety.

I am convinced that the policy—or absence of policy—of the British Government as regards Russia is responsible for having strengthened "Bolshevism" while forcing the Soviet Government to adopt cruel measures for its self-preservation. The Bolsheviks are strong and are growing stronger. I believe that Bolshevik propaganda has had as much to do with the sudden collapse of Germany as our military operations. And I am afraid that, at the moment the most urgent problems of domestic reconstruction are awaiting settlement at home, we shall fritter away our strength and resources in a vain attempt to restore order in the Russian Colossus; and that if we do this we shall sooner or later provoke an outbreak of Bolshevism in the United Kingdom, thus realising the aim of the extreme Russian Bolsheviks of spreading their ideas throughout Western Europe.

I believe that if a delegation, composed not of bureaucrats or militarists but of broad-minded representatives of all British political parties, were to meet a Soviet delegation in a neutral country, an understanding might be speedily reached after a few hours' deliberation. And I believed that an understanding might be arrived at between our extreme Socialists and the Russian capitalists whose sole interests in Russia seem to be to get their money back and to secure a field for massacre.

M. Litvinoff is reported to be in Stockholm or Copenhagen offering to open negotiations. It is for British public opinion to see that the opportunity for retrieving a ghastly blunder and for removing a stain on our national honour is not missed.

WAR ON SOCIALISTS.

The "Manchester Guardian" of 21st November, 1918, quoting from an American weekly "New Republic" says: "Mr. Hara, the new Japanese Premier, declared that all Japan wants in Russia is the exclusion of German influence, and a responsible Government, whether Bolshevik or otherwise. Have the Western Allies a policy that they dare avow as frankly as Japan declares hers? British soldiers who were selected to save the world from Prussianism now find themselves killing and being killed by Russian peasants and Russian workmen in a cause and for a purpose that have never been explained. Fresh drafts, it is stated, are even now being sent out. . . . To the Bolshevik request for an armistice they do not so much as deign to give an answer. . . . Even if the Bolsheviks were as bad as our Ministers say they are, does that justify sending our English lads to kill and be killed by them? What government could be worse than that of the Tsar? Did we send armies to overthrow it? We made an alliance with it, and over 30,000 English lads died at Gallipoli that it might rule at Constantinople. But if we are no longer at war with the Bolsheviks to defeat the Germans, and if we are not at war with them because they are bad men, why are we at war with them? **Is it because they are Socialists?** The latest government set up in Siberia under the Allied wing is a reactionary dictatorship so unqualified that it claps into gaol even Socialists who have been foremost in fighting the Bolsheviks!"

"ENGLAND'S FAULT."

Dr. C. Hagberg Wright says in the "Contemporary Review" for November:

The Soviet Government has never had fair play. Had it been recognised by the Allied Powers, and we had accredited to it a first-rate mind, there would have been no need for it to call in the sanguinary safeguard of the Red Terror. [Nature or extent of this not specified.—Ed.]. . . England did not refuse to recognise the Soviet Government solely because it was "sectional": she refused also because strong forces in England—commercial, industrial, agrarian, political—felt a kinship . . . things in Russia which the Soviet Government did not represent, and disliked very much indeed that which it did quite effectively represent. . . . Dominant powers in England dislike the Soviet Revolution because, in the Revolution, the "People" acted for themselves: they dislike the spontaneous of Freedom. . . . The first Russian Revolution, the Revolution which destroyed the Tsardom, was the work, not of the Moderate parties in Russia, but of extreme parties of the very forces that subsequently established the Soviet Republic. . . . The authority of the Russian Revolution resided, and after the first moments had always resided, in the associated Soviets. Lenin made the associated Soviets the Government of Revolutionary Russia. From Lenin's point of view this was not usurpation; and for that point of view there is much to be said. The withholding of recognition tacitly encouraged all those heterogeneous elements in Russia that were adverse to the Soviet Republic. To-day the Murman expedition is co-operating, actually if not formally, with every opposition force in Russia.

"A STABLE GOVERNMENT."

M. Marchand, Russian correspondent of the "Figaro," wrote to Albert Thomas, the French ex-Minister, on August 15 last:

"I have never been either a Bolshevik or a Socialist. On the contrary I considered a monarchical regime the only possible one for Russia. But . . . to-day the Bolsheviks have risen with such energy and vitality as raises them for the first time to the height of a Government. They are not, as I thought they were, a band of foreign adventurers imposing themselves on a passive people. Taken as a whole, Bolshevism is decidedly essentially Russian, and if it has remained in power until now, in the midst of insuperable difficulties, it is simply because it has the masses behind it. Who are these masses? The working, productive elements of the country are too often left out of account. The Soviet represents the direct collaboration of the people in the management of the affairs which concern it. We are too prone to listen to Westernised Russians, Cadets, men of the Duma, men separated from the Russian people and crystallised in formulas which they have borrowed from Western history. These men have neither roots nor power in the country. . . . Innumerable bands of brigands are attached to the Czecho Slovaks which are sacking and massacring and creating ghastly disorder. Our arrival has aggravated the disorder. Let us cease sowing hatred and reviving civil war."

("A stable government" indeed! And as for stark criminal murder and terrorism, what else, in the name of common sense, is the Allied intervention?)

Arthur Ransome says: "The Soviets' internal enemies are working on the old terrible Russian political proverb, 'The worse it is the better it is,' and so they blow up bridges and organise disorders, hampering the distribution of what little food the Soviets possess."

Revolutionary Wireless.

On November 11 the Russian Government issued the following radio-telegram "to all Workers', Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils of Germany":—

(After congratulations and regrets for those killed in the fight for working class emancipation) We have learnt that Prince Max of Baden is still at the head of the Government, and that Ebert is to be appointed Imperial Chancellor—the same Ebert who for four years has been supporting Wilhelm and the capitalist Government. Workers, soldiers, and sailors of Germany, whilst you tolerate a Government consisting of princes, capitalists and followers of Scheidemann, the Government will never be in your own hands. The Scheidemannites and the Erzbergers will sell you to the capitalists. In drawing up the armistice with British and French capitalists they will arrange for you to be disarmed. Soldiers and sailors, do not surrender your arms, lest the united capitalists of the world crush you. What you must do is to take over, with arms in your hands, the real power in the country and establish a Government of Workers, with Liebknecht at its head. Do not let yourselves be persuaded by fine phrases to call a Constituent Assembly. You know where you have landed through your Reichstag. Only a Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors, and a Workers' Government, will gain the confidence of the workers and soldiers of other countries. Such a Government will propose to the workers of England and France an honest peace, and we are convinced that they will then follow our, and your, example in settling accounts with their capitalists and generals. An honest peoples' peace will then ensue. Simultaneously with the fight for peace and freedom you must also fight for bread. So far as Russia is concerned there is enough bread both for you and ourselves in the Ukraine, in the Don, and in the Kuban district. That is why the British Government is trying to reach Southern Russia through the Black Sea as speedily as possible. It intends to assist Generals Denikin, Krasnoff and Skoropadsky to wrest the bread from the workers. Our Red Army is gallantly fighting those bands of enemies of the working class which, it may be observed, are being supported also by your generals and the Government of the Scheidemannites. If you want bread, you must act quickly before the British attain their object. The German Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors must immediately by wireless and delegates instruct the German soldiers in the Ukraine. The Red Army is attacking these bands from the North; Krasnoff's forces are feeble. Together we can crush him in a couple of weeks, and then there will be plenty of bread for you. Scheidemann's Government has expelled from Berlin the Ambassadors of the Russian Soviet Government. It fears all intercourse between the German and Russian soldiers. Come into contact with us by wireless; call on the wireless stations at Moscow and Tsarkoe Selo, and tell us what is happening in Germany. We are doing our utmost to send you bread immediately. Long live the international solidarity of the Russian and German workers and soldiers! Long live the German Soviet Republic!

Hushed Up.

Luke Messina, on whose "affidavit" three of our comrades and five others were arrested last July, was acquitted on Wednesday on a charge of perjury, viz., falsely swearing in the witness box that the affidavit in question was never read over to him. The Crown evidence that he did so swear was too inconclusive to convict upon; but the significant point is that the charge had been watered down to a matter so comparatively trivial if not immaterial, suggesting a reluctance on the part of the authorities to open the door to a real investigation into the complicity or otherwise of the Native Affairs Department in the "frame up." It is unnecessary for us to assist the public in forming its own conclusion.

"KEEP IT GOING."

In a message on his release on December 3, reported by us last week (never cabled), when record crowds raised record cheers for the German and also the British Social Revolution, John Maclean incidentally says:

"From a bread-and-butter point of view I don't need to sell out. I can go to Russia and be secure till I peg out. But I am not going to Russia, except on working-class business or for a holiday. The place for every British Socialist is here at home until capitalism is overthrown. The election itself counts for nothing. The real British crisis is coming, and coming quickly too. Let us then keep our committees going, let us rush forward with meetings, sales of literature, discussions and organisation in the workshop, economic classes, conferences to promote Labour Colleges. Keep it going, comrades, keep it going: our victory is fast approaching."

Let those I.S.L. members who are tempted (and we admit the allurement) to migrate to Russia or Germany take this to heart.

Another released comrade is Lazzari, the Italian Socialist with whom we too have corresponded in the past; in his case the procession of welcome was attacked with great brutality by Government Carabineers.

Branting has been revealed as a proper pro-Ally anti-Bolshevist. His protest against the starvation of Germany after the armistice seemed generous and humane. It now appears from the text of his appeal to Albert Thomas that the motive of it was political. "A food crisis might mean catastrophe to a Provisional Government threatened by a Bolshevik dictatorship. . . . . Your Government would conjure up in the great towns of Germany a Bolshevik chaos among the hungering masses which would prevent the consolidation of a Democratic Republic." It was simply a question of whether you can kill Socialism quicker by starving or by kindness. Thus do these stirring times segregate the sheep from the goats of the Labour movement.

Com. D. Ivon Jones since his return from Mozambique has endeavoured to fulfil what he felt to be his duty towards branches and comrades of the I.S.L., but finds himself physically unequal to it, and obliged to desist for the present. We wish him a speedy recuperation at this bracing altitude.

Jews vs. Jews.

B.G. retorts to the "Zionist Socialist's" attack that the Ghetto and anti-Jewish laws of Russia were notoriously directed against the Jewish masses only. The more class conscious workers among them, he says, were blacklisted as strikers and thrown out on the street and their places were filled with class unconscious and unorganised Polish and Lithuanian workmen. He instances the Kiev pogrom, in which the poor quarters were looted and the palace of Brodsky was guarded by Cossacks. After all, the pogroms were notoriously instigated by the Russian Government to crush the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, not of rich capitalists, Jewish or otherwise: see the "Poslednia Isvestia" of the Bund and Dr. M. Gurevitchs article on "Anti-Semitism in Free Russia" in the November, 1917, "Zukunft" of New York. And whose cause, he says, did the "Zionist Socialists" champion in Russia? When the organisation of the Jewish proletariat spread to every town in Russia and Poland, pure and simple Zionism had no effect: so the Zionists came along in the clothing of Socialism, talking of the Holy Land first and Socialism when we've got there: down, therefore, with the Class Struggle, there is no such thing as classes among Israel. The only work of the "Zionist Socialists" in Russia was to tear away the Jewish workmen from their organisation, to disorganise the revolutionary activities of the Bund. For that matter, let the "Zionist Socialists" set to work at once in Palestine, where, according to Dr. Weizman's report in this month's "African Jewish World," "in Jerusalem alone there are 500 Jewish prostitutes, girls who do not want to work in the workshops, but earn a pound more easily."

Note that Zionism starts off with the cry for a "greater Holy Land": it is first annex, then Socialise — what a hope!

To all Social Patriots we commend these words of Lenin, quoted by Dr. C. Hagberg Wright in the November "Contemporary":—

"Social Democracy aims not only at the abolition of the division of mankind into small governments and of all particularising of nations, and not only at the coming together of nations: it aims at the fusion of nations. Our duty, therefore, if we wish to remain Socialists, is to go lower and deeper to the real masses: to explain to the masses the necessity and the inevitableness of a break with opportunism, to urge them to an inspiring struggle with it, to teach them all the evil of National, liberal and labour politics, that is the only Marxian line of advance for the workers' world-movement."

According to the "Morning Post," President Wilson is stated to have notified the German Government that if Joffe (the Bolshevik Ambassador to Berlin, expelled by that Government) were allowed to return to Berlin, or any other representative of the Bolshevik Government in Russia were received there, notice would immediately be given of the resumption of hostilities.

Under Bolshevism.

REVOLUTIONARY ART.

A suggestion originally made by Lenin for the erection in the streets and open spaces of Moscow and other Russian cities of fifty monuments "to great men in the domain of revolutionary and public activity, of philosophy, literature, science and arts," has been adopted by the Council of People's Commissioners, who have charged the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction to examine the estimates, revise the list of monuments, and submit a final selection for the approval of the Council. A memorandum on the subject was prepared by the Moscow Board of Arts, wherein special stress is laid upon the provision that the work of making these monuments should be given to young and independent artists who might now be starving in garrets, rather than to reputed academicians. It is proposed that models should be put up by the artists themselves for public inspection and public verdict, and those that are accepted will be handed over to the Moscow Professional Union of Sculptors for completion in permanent form. Every citizen is entitled to present models, on the condition that he gets no payment unless his model is accepted, and each artist commissioned to do the work will be paid Rs. 7910 in two instalments. A provisional list of great men contains twenty-three revolutionary names from ancient times to the present day, including Spartacus, Tiberius Gracchus, Brutus, Marx, Bebel, Jaures, Vaillant, Marat, Garibaldi, Bakunin, Plekhanov and Volodarsky (a revolutionary leader recently assassinated). The provisional list of writers includes only Russian names, and contains practically everybody of note from Pushkin to Tolstoi.

The lecture on "Bolshevism" advertised in last week's "International" under the auspices of a Yiddish literary society, did not take place. The Jewish Communal Hall was presumably hired as on previous occasions from the caretaker, whose committee, however, has since stated that it knew nothing of the hiring, and on seeing the advertisement declined to allow it. There seems no reason for this except the subject of the lecture, although there was nothing to show whether the lecture was going to be pro or anti Bolshevik. These Jewish bourgeois dignitaries, like the U.S.A. Government, evidently do not wish to allow the subject to be discussed at all. But in this they were unsuccessful, for 200 people assembled in front of the hall and were addressed ot length on the subject in question by several of our comrades, until the police appeared and ordered them all off as trespassers, an order which was complied with after the "Red Flag" had been sung.

"Extremists."—You often hear a petty bourgeois tell you he is a Socialist but not an extremist. Recent events have shown that there are no degrees in Socialism. Either you are for the exploitation system or for the co-operative system. The two are absolutely exclusive of each other, and you cannot be "a bit of a Socialist." Clearly, unless you are a whole-hogger, you are no Socialist at all.

German or American Gold?

"Avanti" recently published that "in March last Col. Robins, representing the American Red Cross in Russia, warned Radek, representing the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Petrograd, that Mr. Sisson had bought documents from the counter-revolutionaries for 100,000 roubles, and which had given Col. Robins the impression that they had emanated from a mad-house. Robins also stated the same to the 'Daily News' correspondent, Arthur Ransome. Some days later Robins laughingly related how Sisson had spent 100,000 roubles for what he might now obtain for a couple of sous, as these 'documents' had been published by the 'Petit Parisien.' Already in March Sisson had telegraphed them to President Wilson, but they did not dare publish them before."

It appears that originally the documents were submitted to Kerensky and his colleagues, who refused to sanction their official publication as they were proved forgeries, but apparently winked at their private circulation.

A St. Louis Resolution.

(November, 1918).

Resolved, by this public mass meeting of Socialists and Citizens, that we condemn these efforts to overthrow the Workers' Soviet Government under the hypocritical pretence of helping Russia;

Resolved, that we still believe in the justice and fairness of President Wilson's declaration, "We will stand by Russia," which to us means nothing less than to stand by the Russian Workers' Soviet Republic;

Resolved, that we demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Russian territory and permit the Russian people to attend to their own internal and domestic business and establish such government as to them will seem best for their safety and happiness."

LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS NOW IN STOCK.

Apply Literature Secretary, Box 4179, Johannesburg.

The State (Its Origin and Functions) W. Paul.

A Worker Looks at History, Mark Starr.

Two Pages from Roman History, Daniel De Leon.

The Development of Socialism in Great Britain, S.L.P.

Industrial Unionism, E. Debs.

Compulsory Military Service (debate), S.L.P.

Wage Labour and Capital, Karl Marx.

Principles of Industrial Unionism, De Leon.

Revolutionary Socialism and the Woman's Wovement, L. G. Wilkinson.

The Working Class, Kautsky.

The Capitalist Class, Kautsky.

Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels.

Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science, Engels.

Value, Price and Profit, Karl Marx.

The Workers' Committee, J. T. Murphy.

The Workers' Revolution in Russia (English and Dutch).

The Soul of Russia.

"Trotzky has arrested Lenin" is one of the more recent yarns. A few days earlier we heard that the pair had quarrelled as to whether or not they should abolish the Soviets (just as they say Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg fell out on much the same question). It was of course implied that the fiat of these two, or of whichever of them prevailed, was enough to do the the trick, and that a "Bolshevik collapse" was only awaiting such an event.

But the "Chicago Daily News" says:

"Most of us in America do not believe in Lenin: most of us do not believe in the Bolsheviks. Very well. But it is absolutely necessary for us to believe in the Soviet.

"The Soviet is the soul of Russia—and more. From each village in Russia we see delegates going to the Provincial Soviet. From each provincial Soviet we see delegates going to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Starting with being the dreaming soul of Russia, the Soviet has become its communicating nervous system and its deciding brain.

"The present day Russian Soviet Government is really only the Executive Committee of a vast number of local village, town and city Soviets in which there exists a real sound democratic idea of majority rule. [Elsewhere called "a central clearing house for these thousands of Soviets."—Ed.] Already in April last it had the support of 95 per cent. of the soldiers and 80 per cent. of the workers and peasants.

"True, the Soviets exclude the capitalists. But they and all their friends and associates are not 5 per cent. of the population. Even if they were admitted to the Soviets they would be overwhelmingly outvoted. The Soviets, in action, would remain what they are. They are Russia.

"We waste our time cursing Lenin. In cursing Lenin we indirectly curse the Soviets."

The "Times" Hague correspondent wrote on November 18: "The fear of revolution seems to have passed away in Holland. The Government's firm attitude, together perhaps with the very natural disinclination of the population to be without food supplies from the Entente, **which would have been one of the immediate penalties of revolution,** has had a sobering effect." If any man will not work—for capitalism—neither shall he eat. The latest news points to Holland having got some food elsewhere, thank you.

A Red **X** appearing in this space indicates that your name has been given as a likely subscriber. Free copies will be posted for **Four Weeks Only.** If you desire to subscribe, send 5s. postal order for one year's subscription, post free, to **Box 4179, Johannesburg.**

If you are already a subscriber the cross indicates that your subscription has lapsed and suggests a renewal.

Printed by the U. P. & P. Co., Ltd., for the I.S.L., Box 4179, Johannesburg