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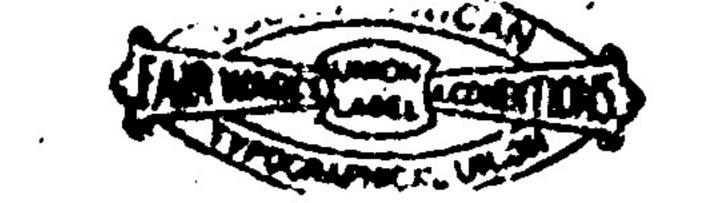
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

P.O. Box 4179.

Neppe's Buildings, 54, Fox Street, Johannesburg.

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No. 170



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Proletarian Dictatorship.

Dimly, through the mist of halting strikes for sectional results, a realisation of the true objective is dawning on the organised workers over all the world. It is extraordinary indeed how the battle progresses while yet the fighters are only half aware of what they are fighting for; while many of their officials and leaders are busy telling them they are fighting for an extra twopence or a half-hour less; while many of their fellow workers are ready at any moment to desert and scab; while Government troops are sent by the ten thousand to protect these traitors, and, what is worse, can be trusted to do it; and while, in many places, the militant workers themselves scorn to co-operate with other sections of their class having the same need of salvation as they. Through all this obscurity the battle rages on, and must inevitably rage till the enemy is ejected from the citadel.

The bitterness of defeat may have contributed to the class consciousness of the German Soldiers' Councils which evidently intend to give no rope if they can help it to their now almost avowedly capitalist Government. But on the "winning" side, too, the Glasgow and Belfast strikers, true to tradition with their coal permits and so on, seem ready to eatch a revolutionary inspiration from other countries, and to jump off from such stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things. Not that we necessarily want the Soviet in Britain. Suitable as that medium may be for Russia—or for Africa as a whole a highly industrialised country more naturally exercises working class control through industrial shop and workers' committees and their delegates, leaving it to the agricultural and clerical proletariat to fall into line as best and soonest they may, of course on the basis of the common use of all land and "expital" both urban and rural.

When it comes to this country, things take a different light. Our conditions are more Russian than British, but are really in a class by themselves: and though we recognise the symptoms of the world movement here, we do not look for the Social Revolution from mere white skilled men's strikes, nor yet from Hun-cum-nigger-baiting exsoldiers. Both our Trade Unionists and our ex-soldier organisations are usually quite stupid enough to dissociate themselves incontinently from anything savouring of "Bolshevism" or revolutionary Socialism, or of common action with their vastly more numerous lowerplaced fellow workers. Not but what a general rising of white workers might not kindle the black masses to activity, but in the present state of mutual aversien nothing much will come of it; each

will neutralise the other, as our ruling class well know, and a white strike may prove to be but an initiation of the strikers into some third grade privileges of the capitalist lodge.

No doubt the Transvaal is not South. Africa; for that matter South Africa is not Africa. The Cape Trade Unions are apparently expecting to break off from those of the North on this very question of colour: the exclusion of colouréd delegates from the Trade Union (i.e., S.A.I.F.) Congress at Durban is their text for a projected separate Cape Congress. But on the other hand we hear that in general the old Cape liberality on matters of colour is dying out and being replaced by the northern hatred. Frankly, we must count on a prolonged struggle before the necessary solidarity of all workers. irrespective of colour, is reached in this country, and at present we cannot look for the solution to the Rand, where, for instance, the white strikers to-day are tongue-tied in presence of coloured men still working, to whom they make neither offer nor appeal. Rather the Socialists of Europe will exercise the necessary pressure, and, most influential of all, perhaps, the workers' and peasants' movement in China and India will spur the non-European elements here to assert themselves, until our "White Labour" die-hards find themselves between an upper and a nether millstone and are forced to accept the all-embracing revolutionary principle.

That is what the capitalist organs dread, and to prevent it they play with arrant hypocrisy on the prejudices of white workers, many of whom are more scared of the "Mail's" reproaches than of their own comrades'. Several times lately the "Star," as a poser, has challenged Socialists to avow that the dictatorship of the proletariat means a Kaffir dictatorship: its obvious horror at such an "unthinkable" idea completely discounting its pretended sympathy with the blacks. For our part, as our readers (of whom the "Star" is evidently not one) well know, we have always urged the meaninglessness and futility of a Labour movement confined to whites. "Labour" is nothing if not a world movement; it would be a mockery if it resulted in mere freedom for European workers to exploit Asiatic and African workers. Wage slavery and private property are about to be abolished in all continents and for all men alike. The remorseles facts, not the narrow outlook of an aristocracy of labour, 18 seeing to that. Dictators? Of course the united workers will be dictators; it will be no revolution if they are not, and the ultimate Common Wealth of all can never be reached except through that stage. That the will and welfare of the toiling masses, now disinherited

and oppressed in greater or less degree. must prevail over all, that they must call the tune, is simply the common axiom of Socialism. The world revolution will tolerate neither possessing caste nor subject race, neither 'oversea' nor indigenous, no, not in Europe, America, Asia, or even Africa!

But while the spirit and objective of the movement must be absolutely dietated by the great mass of the most oppressed, yet its methods and tactice will be fashioned and directed, as ever, by those most competent to voice that spirit and execute that objective; and taking the world movement, or even its South African branch, as a whole, these will probably be preponderatingly European to the extent 'that Europeans will be found trustworthy and big-minded enough to play the loyal "intelligentsia" on behalt of the masses irrespective of colour. The reproach that blacks will deprive whites of jobs is the sort of reproach that applies to every reform within the shell of the capitalist system. but it cannot possibly apply to a Socialist system where there is plenty for all, a job and a competence all round. and therefore no ground of complaint if the next man, also enjoying a job and a competence (and a good education too, then) is black. It is capitalism that mingles and exploits and undercute white with black to-day: it is only unwhite with black to-day: it is only under Socialism-that it will be possible, if thought desirable by all concerned (which quite likely it will not be then) to separate the races.

In fact, the white antipathy to eolour among workers is due only to a failure to see big, and to grasp. that 90cialism means "the most radical rupture with traditional property relations" and "breaks most radically with traditional ideas"; that this scramble for a job, this competition of workers with workers, this capitalists' quest for cheap labour, will be unthinkable anachronisms under Socialism. As long as they think inside the cirelo of capitalist methods, so long are both blacks and whites logical in entrenching against each other and perpetuating a racial struggle disastrous to both. Burst the circle with revolutionary communism, and where, white man, is thy sting, where, black, thy victory?

Recent reports from Russia indicate that to prevent accumulation — that "thrift" so beloved of our masters—the paper money used there is valid for one month only. Either you spend it during the month or it is worthless. We remember reading of the Bolshevik printing presses feverishly grinding out millions of notes which it was implied represented no "gold backing," thus courting financial collapse like any mad and penniless despot. The story is now explained.

Schemes.

The want of understanding or in many instances the deliberate misunderstanding of the economic foundations upon which human society rests is leading to fantastic schemes for the reconstruction of society, schemes put forward by the intellectual proletariat in the interests of their economic masters, and advocated by labour leaders as a cure for all the ills of the workers.

These apologists and quacks prate of new phase of capitalism that will accept new postulates, one of which is that the worker is entitled to a job in order to live.

The basis of our present system, production of commodities for profit, has placed cash payment as the nexus between man and man, between employer and employed. It has stripped the halo of humanitarianism from every craft and occupation, reducing the workers to mere cogs in the industrial machinary, to be discarded as useless to the employing class when there is a slump in business, or when the workers cease to be efficient producers of surplus values by reason of ill-health, old age, or military disablement.

rists. Anyone who would attempt to carry on his business on emotional lines of humanitarianism would soon find himself in the bankruptcy court. The system compels them to get every nance of surplus profit out of the worker. They are the victims of the system just as is the worker who has to cringe and beg cap in hand for the job that means an existence to himself and family.

Schemes galore to continue the system of exploitation, schemes to ameliorate the conditions of the workers, schemes to abolish unemployment, schemes to relieve the poor and abolish slums, schemes and still more schemes as props to stay the downfall of the most hypocritical system that has ever been the lot of humanity, schemes that deliberately ignore—the fundamental basis of society, schemes that can never be applied, and if attempted will do more to bring about the downfall of the system than all the Socialist literature that has ever been published.

Every form of society produces its own gravediggers. The present form has produced the propertiless working class, the class that will destroy the capitalistic system in all countries of the world. Their consciousness of their historic mission is obscured as yet; but every scheme to continue the system will by its very failure clear their mental vision, and create that clearer consciousness of the hypocrisy of a system that has enabled a minority to maintain their stranglehold on a majority by high-sounding words and phrases such as liberty, freedom, fraternity, equality, when such in reality never existed nor ever will exist in any phase society based upon class ownership in those things necessary to the life and welfare of society as a whole.

J.M.G.

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Drifting into another War.

A semi-Labour weekly, the London 'New Statesman,' of December 21, 1918, publishes the following:—

- 1. We feel that the order in Russia is more thoroughly established than at any time since the fall of the Tsardom, and food distribution is better organised than at any time during the whole war. Factories are rapidly restarting work so far as raw material can be obtained. The management of factories by committees of employees failed (for obvious reasons), and management by the Soviets (with consultative employees' committees for certain purposes) has been substituted with growing success.
- 2. The Bolsheviks are, although they have been hampered by undësirable tools, cleaning the country of bribery and corruption. The terror has ceased, and has been greatly exaggerated. Had Lenin not been in bed with his wound there would have been no terror, at any rate in Moscow. No execution has taken place in Moscow for two months. During the terror, four hun-Ared executions took place there, of which over 60 per cent. were of corrupt Soviet officials. Corruption is almost stamped out. (Mr. Staten please note.) Inefficiency is being remedied by rapid recruitment among the educated classes.
- 3. The Red Army has become a real disciplined force, with a new spirit of revolutionary nationalist enthusiasm. Its numbers are uncertain, but are not less than 600,000. It has rifles, machine guns, and cartridges in plenty, but not much artillery ammunition. No Russian Army would have a chance against it. It has had nothing but successes since September.
- 4. The great mass of the professional and petty bourgeoisie have gone over to the Bolsheviks during the autumn. In the large towns, the workmen are almost unaumous supporters of the Soviets, and the anniversary demonstrat tions in the first week of November created everywhere scenes of extraordinary popular enthusiasm. The peasants were for a long time hostile. But the formation of the "Poverty Committees," which administer the affairs of every village in the interests of the proletarian peasants, has quite changed that, the great majority being now keen supporters of Bolshevik rule. (M. Pichon, please note.)
- 5. An invading British Army, which six months ago would have found many friends, would find very few now, and those would be the property owners, which it would inevitably endeavour to reinstate. Where the "Whites" have temporarily occupied a district; they have carried out 'terrors' on a scale undreamt of by the "Reds." Any Government established by us would have to be supported by foreign bayonets, as the Russian proletariat has been thoroughly imbued with Bolshevism. At this date, the Bolsheviks would almost certainly get a majority in a Constituent Assembly. They prefer the Government of the Soviets. This is frankly class rule, for property owners cannot. have a voice until they become "proletarians": but it is certainly majority rule; and its basis is broader than was ours before the last Reform Act.

League Notes.

BENONI BRANCH.

A successful public meeting was hold in the Balcony Tea Rooms on Sunday last. W. H. Andrews was the speaker. Literature and "Internationals" sold well and collection good.

CERMISTON BRANCH.

The usual meeting of the Branch will be held in Com. Wade's surgery on Tuesday, 11th, at 8 p.m. At the last meeting, held on January 28, it was decided that the major portion of the branch meeting be devoted to the study of economic and social questions, and that the routine work of the branch be relegated to the executive. On the 11th the Communist Manifesto or portion of it will be read and discussed. The date of the public meeting at the Old Apollo has been changed to Thursday the 13th inst, when Com. C. B. Tyler will deliver an address on "Why I am a Bolshevist." Com. J. M. Gibson in the chair. During the week a small gummed label with the words: "Workers! Which do you prefer? The Curse -- Capitalism, or The Cure-Bolshevism," as a preliminary notice has been pasted all over Germiston. The meeting will start at 7.45 sharp.

JEWISH SPEAKING BRANCH.

A social will be held at the Palmerston Hall this Sunday, Feb. 9, at 8 p.m. Comrades and friends are invited.

A Study Class will start on Wednesday, Feb. 12, and every following Wednesday, at the Palmerston Hall. Lecturer for the 12th, I. Josse, on "Why I am a Socialist."

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

STUDY CLASS on Friday evenings: at the Palmerston Hall. Lecturer next Friday, Feb 17: E. H. Becker.

On Sunday, Feb. 16, Com. A. Goldman will speak at the Palmerston Hall, at Sp.m.

Open air meetings have been arranged as follows, all at 7.30 p.m.:—

To-morrow. — Fordsburg Market Square: R. Roger, T. P. Tinker and T. R. M. White.

Sunday, Feb. 9.—Town Hall (West end): W. H. Andrews, J. M. Gibson and E. J. Stewart.

Saturday, Feb. 15.—Cor. Marshall and Maddison Sts., Jeppes: H. Barendregt, C. Dones, A. Goldman, I. Keeler.

Sunday, Feb. 16.—Town Hall (West End): E. H. Becker, T. P. Tinker, C. B. Tyler.

The open air meetings last Saturday and Sunday were most successful, Coms. C. Dones and J. Black making a very acceptable debut. Sale of paniphlete: 163.

PRETORIA BRANCH.

At the public meeting last Sunder. Com. T. P. Tinker spoke on "The Russian Terror" to a packed house.

The Social and dance on the 5th was a very enjoyable affair. Com. Andrews presided over a large crowd of comredes and friends. Several visitors were there from Johannesburg. The Branch is to be congratulated on the talent within its ranks, and it is hoped that these functions will be repeated at the quent intervals.

The Miracle of Mexico.

In the "International Socialist," H.

Christopherson writes:---

The most notable success in organising a Socialist society has been achieved in Southern Mexico. The people had long been conscious that they were being robbed. Propaganda had long precoded the revolution. During the revolution itself the wealthy "owners" were dispossessed of land, and it was given to the peous. But not one man now holds a title to any of the 90,000 square miles of land in the territory. The districts have been organised and the land is cultivated. For the first time in centuries, those on the Mexican -soil eat the food they produce and wear the clothes they make, and utilise the rich mineral wealth of their country.

The usual mediums of exchange have been altogether dispensed with in this communistic community. At present it has been found necessary to present every citizen of the country with a little brass citizen tag. It is only necessary to show this and the person possessing it can walk into the stores and get whatever he wants for the mere asking. In practice, in the few years the plan has been in operation, the peons have not abused the privileges. They are the producers and they realise it. Why rob themselves? There is not one idea of profit in the 90,000 square miles, the author assures us.

It is stated that the young and middle-aged men alone work. Children and women are exempt. The men work from one-half to three hours a day. Some will work steadily for a week and then go away to some town for two or three weeks to enjoy themselves. When the fields need attention, men go from ranch to ranch wherever help is needed. All industry is carried on in a similar manner. (Compare Wm. Morris, "News from Nowhere.")

To show how the change has benefited the workers, it is narrated how one big sugar refinery is worked. It formerly employed 2,500 men, working 14 hours a day. Employees now work only two hours a day. The factory is still in operation for 14 hours daily, and there are seven shifts of workers. All told, there are now 25,000

employees in that refinery.

Clerical and similar soft jobs are said to carry certain penalties, in so far as workers in these easy lines of labour usually have to work three hours daily instead of the shorter hours worked in most of the more tiresome occupations. Generally speaking, the harder the job the shorter the hours. Very difficult or disagreeable work would not require more than one hour's work a day.

The churches are being used as chools, for lecture centres, as play-houses, and for similar useful purposes. The liquor question has found a solution which possibly might have been unexpected by many. The people had the little desire for booze that they quit its manufacture, although no referendam was taken on the question, and there was no legislative pressure.

No longer are millions after millions of pounds carried out of Mexico every year to swell the incomes of luxurious cheentee millionaires, who formerly discipated what the Mexican people moduced.

(The above is confirmed in an article John La Duca in the "Young Social-

ist," which mentions that the State has created one of the most magnificent educational systems to be found anywhere in the world, and adds: "Only vesterday the State of Yucatan reverberated with the peon's cry of misery and despair. Goaded on to revolt by the brutes in the semblance of men that held sway over them, the workers have swept away the old rotten order, andin its place have erected one in which there is no master and no slave, where the prosperous, joyful, healthy workers. need look forward to nothing save a life in which liberty, fraternity and equality are the corner-stones of the industrial democracy they have won for themselves.")

The capitalists are already threatening dire vengeance on the Mexican people as soon as circumstances permit.

The March, 1918, issue of the "Financial Review of Reviews," London, contains an article on the Mexican situation by H. Grahame Richards, who describes himself as having been recently Acting Consul-General for his Britannic Majesty in Mexico. Richards, in the course of his article, says: "British financial interests in Mexico. have been treated with a flagrant violence that certainly would have called. long ere this, for some forcible demonstration on the part of our Government, but for the intrusion of the European war into the politics of the world. Almost equally with ourselves America has suffered, and during the past three and a half years her hands, like our own, have been tied, and for the same reason President Wilson has shelved the problem for the time being. . . . The Mexican people do not recognise the sanctity of any agreement, political, commercial, or industrial: Force alone will determine the issue, and force will very swiftly determine it when hostilities in Europe come to an end. The British investor in that country can feel confidently assured that the day is not far distant when he will receive reparation for the damages and losses suffered, and when his capital investments will appreciate as rapidly as they depreciated."

Of course! The old, old story! However incredible the description of affairs in Mexico may seem, the account of the capitalist attitude is intrinsical-

ly convincing!

The Executive of the Italian Socialist Party have published a manifesto setting forth the results of their deliberations. "The immediate object of the Socialist Party will be the establishment of the Socialist Republic, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, with the following scope:—

1. The Socialisation of the means of production and exchange, including land, industry, minerals, railways, and shipping, under the direct control of the handworkers, operatives, miners, railwaymen and seamen.

2. Distribution of the collectively made products through co-operative and communal organisation.

3. Abolition of military conscription, and universal disarmament following the union of all the International Socialist Republics.

4. Municipalisation of Housing.
5. Direct control by the employees of

"Where's the British Fleet?" asks the "Labour Leader."

Right About! Demobilise.

The new demobilisation plans are published. Rather we should say: this -week's demobilisation plans came out last week end. What the plans for next week will be does not follow. A few weeks ago "Conscription" was the word. The abolition of conscription depended upon other Powers doing likewise. Demobilisation was to be at the rate of a few thousand per week. Lloyd George sat on the fence even before the general election and only promised repeal of conscription if the Devil would let him. Surely, we thought, after the election he will go the whole hog for conscription. But to-day he's sounding the "Dismiss" to beat the whole "No Conscription" band. What's the matter?

How oft did the fire-eating Imperialists not prescribe "Conscription" as the antidote for Trade Unionism militant and Socialism? Indade! Indade! They've gone clean crazy; lost their heads. The rains came and the winds came and blew upon that house of theirs. They did not know that conscription carried in the heat of "national peril" meant the armed people. And when the ghost of "national peril" has been laid they have seen what the armed people can do.

The working class with rifles in its hands spells Bolshevism. Russia revealed it, it was Light from the East to them. And Germany has put the matter beyond doubt. And, it may be, when their job of "fighting for liberty" was over, the sobered British working man in uniform began to think "sommat" along that left bank of the

Rhine.

Indeed, we had hints of same, accompanied by ever-increasing daily drafts for home and blighty, but the British ruling class, as Marx said, is 'peskily shrewd.' When England and America embarked on conscription, they prepared the way by voluntary recruiting; that is, they prepared the way by forming an army of those most likely to be faithful to their cause, with which to bludgeon the rest to fall in.

They are falling back on the same tactic to beat the revolution. The armed people is the armed working class. At the eleventh hour they will save the burning building of capitalism with their time-honoured fire hose; demobilise the people, and raise a voluntary army of 900,000 for "Ireland," "internal order" (blessed word), the Russian Bolsheviks, the Rhine (which means German Bolshevism) and the Balkan revolution. The League of Nations' Guard of Gunmen.

Weel a weel, I do be thinking ye're closing the door after the horse is oot.

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Case Notes.

At a recent reception to the Parliamentary revisionists called "the Labour Party' in Cape Town, Senator Ware said "we are also a Socialist Party," which brought an uncomfortable smile to the lips of Mr. Creswell. Mr. Madeley emphasised the situation from the Senator's standpoint. "We could get it' (production for use and not for profit, which he proclaimed as the fundamental truism of the Socialist philosophy) "by peaceful means, or as they were getting it in Russia by a bloody revolution; but it had to come." -Mr. Boydell somewhat mildly endorsthe same point of view. But its value was tested by the singing of the chant about God saving some despot to 'long reign over us," which concluded the paradoxical proceedings.

Another Tory element representing Labour interests, namely, the Railway and Harbours. Union, in conjunction with the "New Democratic Labour Party," circularised all local bodies having the "same object in view," suggesting a local conference in the form of a Labour Representation Committee "to prevent overlapping" (viderecent Harbour election) for political purposes. The S.D.F. sent Com. Mc-Manus and the writer to ask what was the "object in view." Nothing definite forthcoming, McManus moved that it be the socialisation of the means. of production and distribution." This received one other vote besides the mover's and seconder's in a room of 50 delegates, many of them avowed revolutionaries when in company with revolutionary schools!

Another of the many forms in which the powerful method called "strike" is used. The hawkers, chiefly Orientals, protested against finger impressions as a qualification for the "trade." After a while the Council found their revenue sinking, and a stench in the fruit market. As a sequence they graciously suspended the "criminal inference" which hawkers contended was imposed on their calling.

Our weekly meetings at the foot of Adderley Street increase in force and enthusiasm and the demand for "Internationals" cannot be met even with our increased supply. Recently a questioner asked?"Where is the International?" Reply: "I have only the cover this week, apparently the Censor has sneaked the lot." A few further remarks on such tactics, and about the military despotism of the English array of the speaker's experience, caused in police authorities to ask him to modify his language. "Yes," said the speaker, "they make you do that in Germany. I know, but we can say what we like here." This had the desired effect, for we continued ad lib.

Yet a fourth Socialist group has appeared in Cape Town, "The Constitutional Socialist League," whose name sufficiently indicates its outlook.

W.H.H.

Vereniging.—Com. Andrews was the chief speaker at a smoking concert held in the Bioscope Hall on Tuesday. The occasion was the first anniversary of the opening of the branch of the Building Workers' Industrial Union. His remarks on Industrial Unionism and "Bolshevism" were listened to with attention. All pamphlets available were sold rapidly, and it is on the cards that a branch of the I.S.L. will be formed there before long.

Never Denied.

Mr. King, M.P., said recently in the House of Commons:

"When the Soviet Government came into power, Mr. Lockhart was sent on an undefined anission to Russia, with a letter of recommendation from M. Litvinoff to M. Trotsky. After he had been there a very little time, Mr. Lockhart proceeded, unfortunately, to receive instructions from England, to use Secret Service money with the object of overturning the men to whom he had brought the recommendation. He offered money to this man and that. c. . He'went to a Lettish officer and offered him a large sum if, with his soldiery. he would place M. Trotsky and M. Lenin in his power. The Lettish offieer received the money, got documentary papers which proved the case, went and told his master, and handed over the man who was using secret service money to betray his friend."

Mr. King asserted that the facts, as he stated them, were known to the Foreign Secretary:

"He knows them, because I told him; and when I told him he told me that he knew them before."

"German or Yankte Gold?"

Further revolations appear in 'exchanges recently to hand. Sisson, who bought the documents, was formerly an editor of one of the Hearst papers. Col. Robins, whom we quoted the other day, acted as unofficial go-between when the Allied governments refused to have official relations with the Soviet Republic. A copy of the documents had been handed by Russian counter-revolutionaries to Robins, who, recognising them as false, put them away in his office. Sisson saw them there and Robins told him what he thought of them, and after investigation Sisson admitted to Robins that they were unreliable. Nevertheless, despite the protest of the Red Cross officers, he sent their contents to America. So much was stated last September by the representative in America of the Provisional Government of the People's Republic of Finland: and the New York "Evening Post" said: "The most important charges have on the whole been discredited: and the charge of circulating a forged document ought to be answered by the Press Bureau."

"The government of men shall give place to the administration of things."

The Soviet is not the final form of the Socialist Republic. The Soviet is the proletarian form of political control. Side by side with the Soviet and acting in conjunction therewith is "the. Council of Workers' Control. This central body, sitting in the capital, is composed of delegates elected from local Councils of Workers' Control, which are made up of members of Factory Shop Committee, Professional Union Officials and technical engineers and experts. The tendency of the Russian Soviet Republic, as Lenin has himself pointed out, is away from political Government of any kind, and towards true industrial democracy. Lenin has even gone so far as to foresee the eventual disappearance of the Soviet in favour of an economic, purely administrative body."-Workers' Dreadnought.

Who are the "Terrorists"?

We are finding out.

In the 'Izvestiya' of October 2 last, an eye-witness describes the rule of the Kazan bourgeoisie during the brist period of its power as follows:

"One simply shivers at the recollection of the first days of the rule of the members of the so-called Constituent Assembly, when all limits of atrocity were exceeded. A crowd of shopkeepers and traders was mutilating the dead, killing off the wounded, and nearly murdered a doctor who had dared to give some professional aid to wounded man. Ex-officers, schoolboys, students, landlords' sons, house-ownærs, the well-to-do-in short all those with whose interests the Revolution had interfered, were engaged in as orgy of atrocities. Ward and house committees became agents of the 'okhrana' (secret police), and terrible was the fate of the class-conscious work-. ers! The committees would denounce. these men to the young White Guardsmen, who then went about the factories and the working-class quarters, shooting down not only those who had been connected with the Soviet Government, but 'suspect' workers in general. They would be shot on the spot, without triai or any preliminary investigation, while others would be taken in crowds to the fortress or to the river and there subjected to merciless beating."

The report goes on to describe the shameful part played throughout by the Mensheviks (Moderate Social Democrats) and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the latter led by the notorious Boris Savinkoff, an ex-terrorist, a Minister of War under Kerensky, and an accomplice of General Korniloff. This renegade was now proclaiming publicly that "the salvation of the country lay not in the twaddle of the Mensheviks and even Socialist-Revolutionaries, but in the re-instatement of the officers in their rights." (Compare recent reports

from Berlin.)

The report gees on to describe how "an officers' casino made its appearance in the main street bearing the eloquent name of 'Old Times.' And everything went, indeed, as in the old times. Mobilised soldiers, workers and peasants were beaten in the face as of old, and unbridled tyranny and license became the order of the day. Workers continued to be arrested and shot, and even members of the Labour Conference, with Mensheviks at their head, were arrested. Orders were posted up in the streets of Kazan ordering the workers to give up all arms on pain of being shot, and threatening, in case they should again revolt, to destroy the working-class quarters by artillery

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