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# THE INTERNATIONAL

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

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# Capitalism Day by Bay.

The "Star" says: "The native who dures to emulate the action or the words of the European firebrand receives short drift... (But) the industrial education of our native and coloured workers is going on apace. The last ten-years have taught them more than all the preceding centuries." (So it wont take thein "2,000 years to datch up" after ill.) This being so, why still protest that "militant socialism in a community which is the recognised stronghold of a colour bar—in wages rather than in work—is the last word in screaming farce'? Like\_strongholds of the carsiualist system are capitulating every day. Militant socialism ks especially militant in just those, communities which uphold such reactionary institutions, and its first job is to sweep them way. Native Soviets? Di course; how else are they going to participate in the real and complete community involved n Socialism? In fact, is not the "Star's own wriggle the real screaming farce? If such emancipation of native workers is a farce, what is the value of all the "Star's" sympathy for them?

This quotation from the belated report of the Special Commissioner on the native boycott of mine stores à year .go, coupled with the scare headlines 'serious warning,' etc., is its own comment: "The purchasing power of a sovereign will soon be considerably less than that of ten shillings before the war. If so, . . . I fear that a determined effort will be made by the mine boys to obtain increased pay. Such a thing only mentioned in Johanbreath, and nesburg with bated even then in a whisper, as the consemences of such a demand might have serious results." Our 'serious warning' is quite different. It is that the cup of injustice, oppression and fraud. imposed on the black workers—go and hear the "slaughter" roll in any of our criminal magistrates' courts any morning for an example — is full to overflowing; that it is thanks only to their timidity and the white capitalist class' rule by sheer force of arms that they do not exact retribution; but that once South Africa's proletarian revolution—irrespective of colour—gets going there will be "short shrift" for the native administration of the Departments of "Justice," Native Affairs and the rest.

So the Builders are "settling," and trawford is in the limelight once more as the local George Askwith—a (capitalist) government official, by the way. The strike has had one good effect, of showing up to the masses, white and coloured, if not to all the strikers themselves yet, that while this colour division in the labour ranks, and the consequently false basis of union, whether of

Building Workers Industrial Union, is maintained, is is only wordy bombast to talk of "economic civil war" against capitalism.

We do not believe-

That Colonel Robins called Bolshevism the "menace" of the age; for he not only knows about Bolshevism, but seems honest.

That the cable account of the "Bol-shevist" riot among Canadian troops at Rhyl, or even the arrest of Yan-kee dice-players, includes the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

That it will do some of those palace dwellers any harm to spend a month or so exchanging homes with the ghetto dwellers.

That any working-class Jew at any rate really wants to go to Palestine, where it seems the Christians and Moslems will consider him an inter-

That many of our Zionist agitators even will refute us by taking the next ship

loper.

That an "early peace," or fodo for Germany, can help the Allied bosses to stop the Social Revolution, or that any "other weapon," hinted at by Boyar Law, can do it either.

That Mr. Ward Jackson, who admits the inevitability of Socialism, or anyone else, can tell us how the aims of Bolshevism and Spartacism differ from Socialism, or how their methods could be improved upon if you mean business?

That the "Convict Labour" Party, or H. W. Sampson in particular, can or dare advocate, especially in Siemert, no differentiation of colour in joining Trade Unions."

It is nauseating cant to pretend--

That any mitigation of the indemnity imposed on Germany is due to "the Christian law of forgiveness"—unless it pays.

That Germany is being fed from motives of "humanity" (personified in Gen. Plumer!) rather than from a desire to "prevent the disorder" which the previous starvation failed to do.

That if the Allies had wanted to feed Germany, there was the least difficulty in doing so long ago without waiting for 'peace'—or for a vio-

That the Allies have not deliberately applied their 'tragic' starvation blockade to Germany and (as to other necessaries besides food) to Russia in order to enforce submission to their brigand blackmailing demands.

That even now the food is "given" to Germany; which is to be forced to pay through the nose for it.

That starvation is a result of Bolshevism, whereas it is "victorious" bourgeoisdom that carries it everywhere—including our own schools (see Leipoldt's report).

That the Allies ever meant business with their election cry of "Hang the Kaiser" — now "Cousin Willie" again, please. No one has been starved ing him.

That reducing the German army means abolishing militarism—British mili-

tarism, for instance.

That 'bestial cruelty' is a characteristic of Spartacists or Bolsheviks, while our dear Kaiser-Socialists, Czar-Liberals, etc., meantime suddenly become nice, kind gentlemen.

That sport is fostered for the good of the workers—whereas it is now openly avowed that, like Y.M.C.A., churches, etc., it is encouraged, even among blacks now that they too want a rise, in order to counteract findustrial unrest."

# Arglo-Germans v. Bolsheviks.

The present Anglo-German co-opera-

tion against the Bolsheviks in the Bal-

tic provinces and Ukraine is not the first of its kind. John Reed says: "It is a fact that certain of the Mlied Governments recognised the anti-Bolshevik Governments in Finland and in the Ukraine and loaned them money. and that these Governments then proceeded to call in German and Austrian troops to support them in power, and that so far as I know, the Allied Governments did not withdraw their recognition; even when, as in the case of Ukraine, a dictator was put in power by German bayonets; even when, as in the case of Finland, a German Prince was called to the throne. It is a fact that in all the Allied capitals, in Washington as well, there are at present either official or unofficial representatives of these 'Germanised' Governments, who pursue their activities practically unmolested, while the representatives of the revolutionary Finnish and Russian Governments opposed to Germany are spied upon, hounded and gaoled.'

Readers of the 'International' in Johannesburg will have seen the advertisements of a lecture on "The Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik regime to be given at the Town Hall next Wedneeday the 26th inst. by the two visitors from Russia about whom much speculation has, perhaps unnecessarily. been indulged in-Messra. L. Lapitsky and I. Sosnovick. What line the lecturers will take we do not know; probably there will be something to please. and therefore something to displease. everybody. But, whether to scoff or to pray, we suppose we shall all he there!

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# The Soviet at Work.

Inder the Kerensky regime, workmen's control had often proved disastrous. One of the causes was the constant demand for more and more pay. The bewildered cabinet ministers were at) their wits' ends to find a way to stop this cry for ever higher and higher; wages. The Soviet-however stopped it but once. The leaders first tried wage dimitation on themselves. By decree of the Central Russian Soviet the maximum salary for any official of the new Russian Government was fixed at 500 roubles a month. The members of the Vladivostok Soviet, with the student Soochavor at their head, pointing out the lower cost of living in the Far East, voluntarily, scaled theirs down to 300 roubles a month. After this, when any workman felt within him the itching desire for a fatter pay-envelope, the question of his fellow-worker was: "Do you want to get more than Lenin on Soochanov?" This logic was unanswerable.

As soon as the workmen found the factories really in their hands there came a change in their minds. Under the Kerensky regime they had tended to elect a foreman for his leniency. Under their own government, the Soviet, they began to elect as foremen those who put discipline into the shop and raised the production. The first time I met Krasposchekoff, the head of the Far East Soviet, he was talking pessimistically about the industrial outlook: "For every word I say to the hourgeoisie against their sabotaging, I say ten words to the working men against their slackness. But I believe the change is coming." When I saw him the last of June he was in a happy, jubilant mood. The change had come, and in six factories he said that they were producing more than ever before.

One day I was standing with Soochangy on the hills overlooking the shops. He was listening to the clank of the cranes and the stamp of the trip hammer's ringing up from the valley:

"That seems to be sweet music in

vour ears," I said.

Yes." he replied, "the old revolu" tionists used to make a noise with bombs, but this is the noise of the new revolutionists."

The strongest ally of the Soviet was the Union of Miners. It organised the unemployed into little Soviets of 50' and 100, equipped them, and sent them out to the mines along the great Amur. The Yellow Press calls if robbery.— Ed. These enterphises were highly successful. Each man was turning out on an average from 50 to 100 roubles worth or gold and other ore per day. The question of pay arose. One of the miners unearthed the slogan: "To every man the full product of his labours." It at once achieved a tremefidous popularity among the miners, who declared their loyalty to this fundamental Socialist principle; nothing, they said, could induce them to depart from it. But the Soviet held a different view. There was a deadlock. Instead of taking recourse to the historic method of settling the dispute by bombs and troops, the working men fought it out on the floor of the Soviet and the miners capitulated to the logic of their courades. Their wages were fixed at about 15 roubles per day with a bonus for extra production. In a short time

twenty-six poods (there are 36 pounds in a pood of gold were accumulated at headquarters in Habarovsk. Against this they were preparing to issue paper money. The seal was a sickle and a hammer, and the design showed a peasant and a worker clasping hands and the riches of the Far East streaming out over the world.

Out of their experience the workers have gained confidence. They went far enough to know that they can organise industry. Having passed through the period of strife and discouragement, they began to feel a sense of elation at their own successes. They would have been still more elated had it not been for their enemies, who were constantly hatching some new conspiracy to kill

their Soviet.

Just as things were running well in the shop, the men were compelled to drop their tools and take up their rifles; the railroads, instead of carrying food and implements, were compelled to carry ammunition and troops. The workmen, instead of strengthening and extending the new State apparatus, had to rally to the defence of the ground on which they stood.—Albert Rhys Williams, in 'The Dial.'

# Wilson, Please Note!

President Lincoln said in 1861:

"I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As the result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavour to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of our country than ever before, even in the midst of war.

"It is assumed that Labour is available only in connection with Capital. that nobody labours unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it. induces him to labour. Labour is prior to and independent of Capital. Capital is only the fruit of Labour and could not have existed if Labour had not first existed. Labour is the superior of Capital, and deserves higher consideration. I bid the labouring people beware of surrendering the power which they possess and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to shut the door of advancement for such as they, and fit new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty be

"In the early days of our race, the Almighty said to the first of mankind. 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread.' And since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing can be enjoyed without first having cost labour. And inasmuch as most good things have been produced by Labour, it follows that all such things by right belong to those whose labour has produced them. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have laboured and others have, without labour, enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. That is wrong and should not continue. No secure to each labourer the whole product of his labour, or nearly as much, is a worthy object of any government.

## Mother Earth.

The earth is the source which are supplied all the essentials of life, all the materials to be fashioned by the foster-mother. Labour, to all the requirements of mankind. Without labour applied socially and co-operatively mankind would exist only as the beasts of the field.

This co-operative principle for the control of mother earth has existed right down the ages. The needs of mankind have compelled the principle of mutual aid, which has persisted in all the changing phases of human society. but which, though applied socially tor production, is in our present phase of society more than in any past society used for the benefit of a small section only.

The control of the natural forces of mother earth by the modern scientific forces is a thousand-fold that of any previous phase of human society. "Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture , steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs. clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground -what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour: ("The Communist Manifesto.")

Mankind in this struggle from savagery to our present civilisation has had always to rely upon the co-operation of society as a whole. The wants of the individual have always been subordinate to the requirements of society. Ho has always since the advent of civilisa. tion been but a counter in the social schemes of affairs, a social necessity. vet denied participation in the results of that co-operative struggle to provide the necessaries and luxuries of the phase of society he existed in.

Social co-operative production bebeen intensified by the scientific tools in use to-day. The workers have been herded into large factories and workshops. The method of sub-division of labour has been, for the purpose of increased production, carried to a fine an. No single worker can say he produced any one commodity. He has simply become a cog in the wheel.

In the production of this se cial wealth for the community the workers receive on the average a subsistence wage, and are often denied that Co-operation in production has always operated in the past and is operating in a more intensified form to-day. And the problem of to-day is to prevent section of the community from real ing the fruits of that co-operation and to enable the workers as a whole to reap socially what has been socially SOWII.

This contradiction between social production and individual profit due to sectional control of the machinery of production can only be overcome by revolution. That revolutinn can be accomplished peacefully by a consciousnessan the workers' part of their economic dependence. By organising industrially and reflecting that organisation upon the political field they have the oppo:tunity of expropriating the capitalistic exploiters.

J.M.G.

## Destance Not Desence.

# Arrant Humbug gets all he asked for.

On October 24, 1918, the following note was handed in by the Russian People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, Tchicherin, to the Norwegian Attache in Moscow, Mr. Christienson, ofor transmission to President Wilson.

To the President of the United States of North America, Mr. Woodrow Wilson!

PROMISE.

#### Mr. President:

In your message of January 8th to the Congress of the United States of North America, in the sixth point, you spoke of your profound rympathy for Russia, which was then conducting, single-handed, negotiations with the mighty German imperialism. Your programme, you declared, demands the evacuation of all llussian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her policical development and national policy, and assure: her a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. And you added that "the creatment accorded to her by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish wympathy."-

The desperate struggle which we were waging at Brest-Litovak against German imperialism apparently only intensified your sympathy for Soviet Russia, for you sent greetings to the Congress of the Soviets, which under the threat of a German offensive ratified the Brest peace of violence—greetings and assurances that Soviet Russia might count upon Ameri-

can help.

#### PERFORMANCE—(1) CZECHO-8LOVAKS.

Six months have passed since then, and the Russian people have had sufficient time to get actual tests of your Government's and your Allies' good will, of their comprehension of the needs of the Russian people, of their intelligent unselfish sympathy. This attitude of your Government and of your Allies was shown first of all in the conspiracy which was organised on Russian territory with the financial assistance of your French Allies and with the diplomatic co-operation of your Government as well—the conspiracy of the Czecho-Slovaks to whom your Government is furn-

ishing every kind of assistance.

For some time past attempts had been made to create a pretext for a war between Russia and the United States by spreading false stories to the effect that German war prisoners had seized the Siberian railway; but your own officers, and after them Colonel Robins, the head of your Red Cross Mission, had been convinced that these allegations were absolutely false. The Czecho-Slovak conspiracy was organised under the alogan that unless these misled unfortunate people be protected, ther would be surrendered to Germany and Austria; but you may find out, among other sources, from the open letter of Captain Sadoul, of the French Military Mission, how unfounded this charge is. The Czecho-Slovaks would have left Russia in the beginning of the year had the French Government provided ships for them. For several months we have waited in vain for your Allies to proride the opportunity for the Czecho-Slovaks to leave. Evidently these Governments have very much preferred the presence of the Ceecho-Blovaks in Russia—the results ahow for what object—to their departure for France and their participation in the fighting on the French from. The best proof of the real object of the Czecho-Stovak rebellion is the fact that although in control of the Siberian railway, the Coeche Stovake have not taken advantage of this to leave Russie, but by order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow, they have remained in

Russia to become the mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution. Their counter-revolutionary mutiny, which made impossible the transportation of grain and petroleum on the Volga, which cut off the Russian workers and peasants from the Siberian stores of grain and other materials and condemned them to starvation—this was the first experience of the workers and peasants of Russia with your Government and with your Allies after your promises of the beginning of the year. And then came another experience: an attack on North Russia by Allied troops, including American troops, their invasion of Russian territory without any cause and without a declaration of war, the occupation of Russian cities and villages, executions of Soviet officials and other acts of violence against the peaceful population of Russia.

#### (2) COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

You promised, Mr. President, to co-operate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually this co-operation took the form of an attempt of the Czecho-Slovak troops, and later, in Archangel, Murmansk and the Far East, of your own and your Allies' troops, to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose dominion was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia in October, 1917. The revival of the Russian counter-revolution which has already become a corpse, attempts to restore by force its bloody domination over the Russian people—such was the experience of the Russian people, instead of co-operation for. the unembarrassed expression of their will which you promised them, Mr. President, inc vour declarations.

You have also, Mr. President, promised to the Russian people to assist them in their struggle for independence. Actually this is what has occurred: While the Russian people were fighting on the Southern front against the counter-revolution, which had betrayed them to German imperialism and was threatening their independence, while they were using all their energy to organise the defence of their territory against Germany at their Western frontiers, they were forced to move their troops to the East to oppose the Czecho-Słovaka who were bringing them slavery and oppression, and to the Northagainst your Allies and your own troops, which had invaded their territory, and against the counter-revolutions organised by these

troops.

#### (3) UNITED RUSSIA.

Mr. President, the acid test of the relations. hetween the United States and Russia gave quite different results from those that might have been expected from your message to the Congress. But we have reason not to be altogether dissatisfied with even these results. since the outrages of the counter-revolution in the East and North have shown the workers and peasants of Russia the aims of the Russian counter-revolution, and of its foreign supporters, thereby creating among the Russian people an iron will to defend the land that it has given to the peasants and the factories that it has given to the morkers. The fall of Kazan, Symbyrsk, Syzran and Samara should make clear to you, Mr. President, what were the consequences for us of the actions which followed your promises of January 18. Our trials helped us to create a strongly united and disciplined Red Army, which is daily growing stronger and more powenful and which is learning to defend the revolution. The attitude toward us which was actually displayed by your Government and by your Allies could not destroy as; on the contrary, we are now stronger than we were a few months ago, and your present propossi of international negotiations for a general peace finds us alive and strong and in a position to give in the name of Russia our consent to join the negotiations.

#### WITHDRAWAL AND REPARATION

In your note to Germany you demand the evacuation of occupied territories as a condition which must precede the armitsice during which peace negotiations shall begin. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on these conditions, and we ask you

to notify us when you, Mr. President, and your Allies intend to remove your troops from Murmansk, Archangel and Siberia. You refuse to conclude an armistice unless Germany will stop the outrages, pillaging, etc., during the evacuation of occupied territories. We allow ourselves, therefore, to draw the conclusion that you and your Allier vill order · the Czecho-Slovaks to return the part of our gold reserve fund which they seized in Kazan, that you will forbid them to continue as heretofore their acts of pillaging and outrages against the workers and peasants during their forced departure (for we will encourage their speedy departure, without waiting for your order).

#### THE PEOPLE'S WILL.

With regard to your other peace terms, namely that the Governments which would conclude peace must express the will of their people, you are aware that our Government fully satisfies this condition. Our Government expresses the will of the Councils of Workmen's, Peasants ' and Red Army Deputies, representing at least eighty per cent. of the Russian people. This cannot, Mr. President, be said about your Government. But for the sake of humanity and peace we do not demand as a prerequisite of general peace negotiations that all nations participating in the negotiations shall be represented by Councils of People's Commissaries elected at a Congress of Councils of Workmen's, Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. We know that this form of Government will soon be the general form, and that a general peace, when nations will no more be threatened with deseat, will leave them free to put an end to the system and the cliques that forced upon mankind this universal slaughter, and which will ,in spite of themselves, surely lead the tortured peoples to create Soviet Governments that give exact expression to their

#### "LEAGUE OF NATIONS."

Agreeing to participate at present in negotiations with even such Governments as do not yet express the will of the people, we should like on our part to find out from you, Mr. President, in detail what is your conception of the League of Nations, which you propose as the crowning work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Serbia, Belgium, and freedom for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. You probably mean by this that the masses of the people must everywhere first become the masters of their own fate in order to unite afterward in a league of free nations. But strangely enough, we do not find among your demands the liberation of Ireland, Egypt or India, nor even the liberation of the Philippines, and we would be very sorry if these peoples should be denied the opportunity to participate together with us, through their freely elected representatives in the organisation of the League of Nations.

#### WAR LOANS.

We would also, Mr. President, very much like to know, before the negotiations with regard to the formation of a League of Nations have begun, what is your conception of the solution of many economic questions which are essential for the cause of future peace. You do not mention the war expenditures—this unbearable burden which the masses would have to carry, unless the League of Nations should renounce payments on the loans to the capitalists of all countries. You know as well as we, Mr. President, that this war is the outcome of the policies of all capitalistic nations, that the governments of all countries were continually piling up armaments, that the ruling groups of all civilised nations pursued a policy of annexations, and that it would, therefore, be extremely unjust if the masses. having paid for these policies with millions of lives and with economic ruin, should yet pay to those who are really responsible for the war a tribute for their policies which resulted in all these countless miseries. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, the annulment of the war loans as the basis of the League of Nations. As to the restoration of the countries that were laid waste by the war, we believe it is only just that all nations should in this respect sid the unfortunate

Belgium, Poland and Serbia; and however poor and ruined Russia seems to be, she is ready on her part to do everything she can to help these victims of the war; and she expects that American capital, which has not at all suffered from this war and has even made many millions in profits out of it, will do its part to help these peoples.

#### EXPROPRIATE THE CAPITALISTS.

But the League of Nations should not only liquidate the present war, but also make impossible any wars in the future. You must be aware, Mr. President, that the capitalists of your country are planning to apply in the future the same policies of encroachment and of super-profits in China and in Siberia: and that, fearing competition from Japanese capitalists, they are preparing a military force to overcome the resistance which they may meet from Japan. You are no doubt aware of similar plans of the capitalists and ruling circles of other countries with regard to other territories and other peoples. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that the factories, mines and banks must not be left in the hands of private persons, who have always made use of the Trast means of production created by the masses of the people to export products and capital to foreign countries in order to reap super-profits in return for the benefits forced on them, their struggle for spoils resulting in imperialistic wars. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the League of Nations be based on the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries. In your country, Mr. President, the banks and the industries are in the hands of such a small group of capitalists that, as your personal friend, Colonel Robins, assured us, the arrest of twenty heads of capitalistic cliques and the transfer of the control, which by characteristic capitalistic methods they have come to possess, into the hands of the masses of the world is all that would be required to destroy the principal source of new wars. If you will agree to this, Mr. President—if the sources of future wars will thus be destroyed, then there can be no doubt that it would be easy to remove all economic barriers and that all peoples, controlling their means of production, will be vitally interested in exchanging the things they do not need for the things they need. It will then be a question of an exchange of products between nations, each of which produces what it can best produce, and the League of nations will be a league of mutual aid of the toiling masses. It will then be easy to reduced the armed forces to the limit necessary, for the maintenance of internal safety.

#### CRUSH THE HOME ENEMY.

We know very well that the selfish capitalist class will attempt to create this internal menace, just/as the Russian landlords and capitalists are now attempting, with the aid of American, English and French armed forces, to take the factories from the workers and the land from the peasants. But, if the American workers, inspired by your idea of a League of Nations, will crush the resistance of the American capitalist as we have crushed the resistance of the Russian capitalists, then neither the German nor any other capitalists will be a serious menace to the victorious working class, and it will then suffice, if every member of the commonwealth, working six hours in the factory, spends two hours daily for several months in learning the use of arms, so that the whole people will know how to overcome the internal menace.

#### OUR TERMS.

And so, Mr. President ,though we have had experience with your promises, we nevertheless accept as a basis your proposals about peace and about a League of Nations. We have tried to develop them in order to avoid results which would contradict your promises, as was the case with your promise of assistance to Russia. We have tried to formulate with précision your proposals on the League of Nations in order that the League of Nations should not turn out to be a league of capitalists against the nations. Should you not agree with us, we have no objection to an "open discussion of your peace terms,"

as the first point of your peace programme demands. If you will accept our proposals as a basis, we will easily agree on the details.

#### A CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT.

But there is another possibility. We have had dealings with the president of the Archangel attack and the Siberian invasion, and we have also had dealings with the president of the League of Nations Peace Programme. Is not the first of these—the real presidentactually directing the policies of the American capitalist Government? Is not the American Government rather a government of the American corporations, of the American industrial, commercial and railroad trusts, of the American banks—in short, a government of the American capitalists? And is it not possible that the proposals of this government about the creation of a League of Nations will result in new chains for the peoples, in the organisation of an international trust for the exploitation of the workers and the suppression of weak nations: In this latter case, Mr. President, you will not be in a position to reply to our questions, and we will say to the workers of all countries: Bewarel Millions of your brothers, thrown at each other's throats by the bourgeoisie of all countries, are still perishing on the battle fields, and the capitalist leaders are already trying to come to an understand. ing for the purpose of suppressing with united forces those that remain alive, when they call to account the criminals who caused the war:

#### YOUR PRICE, BRIGANDS?

However, Mr. President since we do not at all desire to wage war against the United States, even though your government has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaries and your post is not yet taken by Eugene Dobs, whom you have imprisoned; since we do not at all desire to wage war against: England, even though the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaries with MacLean at its head; since we have no desire to wage war against France, even though the capitalist government of Clemenceau has not yet been replaced by a workmen's government of Merrheim; just as we have concluded peace with the imperialist government of Germany, with Emperor William at its head, from whom you, Mr. President, feel as alien as we, the Workmen's and Peasants' Revolutionary Government, from you-we finally propose to you, Mr. President, that you take up with your Allies the following questions and give us precise and definite replies: Do the governments of the United States, England and France consent to cease demanding the blood of the Russian people and the lives of Russian citizens, if the Russian people will agree to pay them a ransom such as a man who has been suddenly attacked pays to the one who attacked him? If so, just what tribute do the governments of the United States, England and France demand of the Russian people? Do they demand concessions, that the railways, mines, gold deposits, etc., shall be handed over to them on certain conditions, or do they demand territorial concessions, some part of Siberia or Caucasia, or perhaps the Murmansk coast? We expect from you, Mr. President, that you will definitely state just what you and your Allies demand, and also whether the alliance between your government and the governments of the other Entente Powers is in the nature of a combination which could be compared with a corporation for drawing dividends from Russia, or do your government and the other governments of the Entente Powers have each separate and special demands, and what are they? Particularly are we interested to know the demands of your French allies with regard to the three hillions of roubles which the Paris bankers loaned to the Government, of the Czar-the oppressor, of Russia and the enemy of his own people. And you, Mr. President, as well as your French allies, surely know that even if you and your Allies should succeed in enslaving and covering with blood the whole territory of Russia—which will not be allowed by our heroic revolutionary Red Armythat even in that case the Russian people, worn out by the war and not having had suffi-

cient time to take advantage of the benefits of the Soviet rule to elevate their national economy, will be unable to pay to the French bankers the full tribute for the billions that were used by the government of the Czar for purposes injurious to the people. Do your -French allies demand that a part of this tribute he paid in instalments, and if so-what, part, and do they not anticipate that their claims will result in similar claims by other Pereditors of the infamous government of the (zar which has been overthrown by the Russian people? We can hardly think that your government and your Allies are Kithout a ready answer, when your and their troops are trying to advance on our territory with the evident object of seizing and enslaving our country. The Russian people, through the people's Red Army, are guarding their territory and are bravely fighting against your invasion and against the attacks of your Allies. But your government and the governments of the other Powers of the Entente, undoubtedly, have well prepared plans, for the sake of which you are shedding the blood of your soldiers. We expect that you will state your demands very clearly and definitely. Should we, however, be disappointed, should you fail to reply to our quite definite and precise questions, we shall draw the only possible assumption that your government. and the governments of your Allies desire to get from the Russian people a tribute both in money and in natural resources of Russia, and territorial concessions as well. We will tell this to the Russian people as well as to the toiling masses of other countries, and the absence of a reply from you will serve for us as a silent reply. The Russian people will then understand that the demands of your government and of the governments of your Allies are so severe and vast that you do not even want to communicate them to the Russian Government.

Tchicherin, People's Commissary of Foreign -- Affairs.

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The International May Day will be celebrated this year on a scale unprecedented in the history of South Africa. All interested in the local arrangements are invited to communicate with the joint secretaries, I. Kessler and B. Benjamin, Box 4179, Johannesburg.

# Disarmament-Soviet Style.

The reports admitted even to the capitalist press of Bolshevik or Sparmeist "corruption" of the armies opposed to them at Cologne, Odessa and elsewhere, add interest to the following marrative:

"I was employed by the Soviet Govenment, in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Among other things, I assisted in the preparation of revolunomicy propaganda to spread among the German troops and the German war-prisoners, and helped to get it to them. From the Commisariat we sent and every day more than half a milion newspapers, in German, Hungarin. Polish. Croatian, Tchecho-Slovak and other languages, besides translations in those languages of the decrees and proclamations of the Soviet Govunment, and the pamphlets of the reiolutionary leaders; we sent speakers mo the German lines to harangue the sidiers; we organised conventions of war-prisoner delegates and dispatched hundreds of agitators to the prison camps. This propaganda was so effective that the German and Austrian tiovernments took the most energetic means to stamp it out, protesting and threatening, putting their troops under the most rigid control, and arranging "quarantine camps" for returning prisoners, who were forced to remain isolated from their own people for several months, during which time they were thoroughly "educated" by patriotic speeches and literature. It was so effective that when the time came in advance into Russia many regiments refused to move and had to be replaced by other units drawn from the western front, where the soldiers were not conuninated.' It was so effective that iens of thousands of war-prisoners made application to become citizens of Soviet Russia, and thousands joined the Red army, in whose ranks they resisted the advance of the German and Russian armies as best they could.

Tremember a delegation from the German troops on the island of Oesel, who wanted literature and speakers to take back with them! A couple of sailors who spoke German were sent back with them, smuggled across the lines in German uniforms; they stayed a week, and converted 1,000 men.

nan and Austrian deserters and prisoners, most of them International Socialists, many of whom laid down their lives in battle against Imperial Germany and Austria, fought and are still dighting in the ranks of the Soviet army. The commander and most of the staff of the Soviet army combating the Tchecho-Slovaks in Siberia are themselves Tchecho-Slovaks."

By September, 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had on its pay-roll sixty-eight agents in Austria-Hungary, and more than that in Germany, as well as others in France, Switzerland and

Of course most of the attention of the Bureau of International Revolutionary propaganda was concentrated on the Central Powers. A weekly magazine in French-English was planned, as well as an Italian weekly, but never carried out. For one agent in the Allied countries, the Soviet Government had fifty in Germany and Austria.

"The Central Powers were Soviet Russia's greatest menace. It was utterly impossible for Imperial Germany and Socialist Russia to exist side by side. Imperial Germany must be destroyed—and quickly. But while in Germany there existed the most sinister enemy of the Russian Revolution, on the other hand in Germany, was also Russia's greatest potential ally—a working class well-trained in the fundamentals of Marxian doctrine, and better organised than any other in Europe."

It must be remembered that the Entente, American and Central Governments were spending probably tentimes as much again on their proparands. Edd

ganda.—Ed.]
John Reed, in the 'Liberator.

# Suppressio Veri.

A representative of the Associated Press recently returned from Moscow states that 58 per cent. of the despatches he sent out from that city were suppressed by the British Government. The balance, as we all know, is distorted beyond recognition. Although great quantities of reports favouring the Soviet regime are now available, not a word of them is ever published in the capitalist press: only columns of grotesque abuse.

grotesque abuse. In the November "Liberator, "John Reed shows how the U.S.A. Government for months prevented the evidence of Col. Robins, Col. W. B. Thompson and others, refuting the charges against Lenin and Trotzky, from reaching the public (as it has now at last done more or less, though Robbins' evidence is even now garbled): how he himself and others had all documents and corroborative papers which they brought back with them from Russia taken away on the pretext of "examination"; how the complete Russian version of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations (to which the Soviet Government aptly compares its present proffered negotiations with Prussia's successor who wants a tenfold harder bargain) has never been published in America, though it is available—the only version passed by the censor being the Berlin version, which was patently altered for both domestic and foreign consumption; and how the Russian Government's appeal to the American representatives in Petrograd for Allied co-operation, supplies and technical assistance, in return for which they would refuse to sign the peace with Germany, and continue the war, was cabled to Washington but never answered by the U.S.A. Government, and not only were the public left in ignorance of it, but the President himself was not informed of it until long afterwards, if at all. This appeal, made many months ago and frequently renewed, is now put about as having just been made for the first time, and as justifying the Allied blockade, just as the starvation of Germany is supposed to be justified in the cause of killing Spartacism. The real fact is evidently that the Allies are at last compelled to comply with Russia's request for railway and machinery supplies and to take in return such concessions as are offered lest, if they delay longer, the offer be withdrawn. It is not Russia's surrender but theirs.

# A Reign of Terror.

(Being the Manifesto of the Joint Strike Comittee, Glasgow.)
Fellow Workers.

Ever since the Armistice was signed it has been evident that a big unemployment crisis was imminent unless steps were taken to absorb into industry the demobilised men of the Army and Navy. Thousands of these are being demobilised every day. Over a hundred thousand workers in Scotland have been dismssed from civil employment. They are out of a job. There are no jobs for them. There is only one remedy: reduce the hours of labour. The Joint Committee representing the Scottish Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council, and a number of other important Trade Unions initiated the movement for a Forty Hours Week with a view to absorbing the unemployed. A strike for this object began on January 27. This has the support of Trades Unionists all over the British Isles.

On the 29th, a huge demonstration was held and a deputation from the strikers interviewed the Lord Provost of Glasgow, who offered to appeal to the Government on the matter, and arrangements were made for another. demonstration on Friday to receive the reply. On that day many thousands of strikers marched, in orderly procession, to George Square for this purpose. There was no disorder. The demonstrators were, however, met by a vicious bludgeoning attack by the police. The authorities had evidently determined to break the strike by force, and had made plans accordingly. With such ferocity did the police make their attack that even the members of our deputation, who were there by arrangement with the Lord Provost, were attacked, and one of them-D. Kirkwood-was brutally bludgeoned from behind as he was leaving the Council Chambers. Remember that this was a peaceful and orderly demonstration of workers from all districts of the Clyde area. It was met by police batons, which were used indiscriminately upon men, women and

Since then the authorities have imported thousands of troops into the citwith machine guns and tanks for the purpose of breaking the spirit of the strikers and forcing them back to work.

On the following day the offices of the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council, the centre of Scottish Trade Unionism, were forcily raided by the police.

It also appears that Comrades Kirkwood, Gallacher and Shinwell have been arrested for "inciting to riot"—how familiar and threadbare it all isthough their part had been to appeal for order; and that wire entanglements had been erected, trench mortars were conspicuous, and "the Lloyd George touch was visible in the arrival of a fleet of tanks and whippets." The police attackers were over 1,000 strong, and probably primed with drink. Mounted andfoot, they charged the crowd repeatedly. Men, women and children were batoned or trodden underfoot. The casualties ran into several hundreds. Heuceforth January 31, 1919, is known in Glasgow as "Bloody Friday"—it is their "July 4th and 5th."

# Making History.

iks, suid the editor to the journalist Styles. Give the reader an idea of Russis, describe the peculiarities and customs of its inhabitants and prove to the public the pernicious nature of the Bolshevists' propaganda. Bring in Lenin and Trotzky, of course. That's about all'—and he left the office.

"That's about all!" bitterly reiterated the journalist. His knowledge of Russia and the Russians was not very extensive. So, without a pre-arranged strategic plan of attack, he took a pocket atlas off one of the shelves and settled himself in Mr. Editor's comfortable chair. This was Mr. Styles' only source of information for his "historic sketch of Russia." There was tragedy in his eyes as he stared gloomily into infinity for fully five minutes. At last his better journalistic self regained possession of him, and with an air of determination he began to write.

Next morning the following appeared in the columns of the "Thunderer": "RUSSIA AND THE BOLSHEVIKS.

idea of Russia. That is mainly due to the fact that that country is situated about . . anyhow, very far from here. We are given to understand by an Englishman who knows Russia very well—in fact, he even drank vodka—that the inhabitants' main occupation is tendrinking. ('Tea' in the Russian language is 'Samovar.')

The capital of Russia, Petrograd, is situated on the river Volga. The Volga is a very big river and at one time contained a lot of fish. At present we are sorry to say there are no more fish in that river, for the Bolsheviks

have eaten them up.

"In Russia there are great numbers of Socialists, especially Bolsheviks. Externally Bolsheviks are constructed very much like human beings, but they differ from the latter in their unquenchable thirst for blood. For instance, we have it from Reuter's correspondentand who shall dispute the truth of Reuter's statements?—that in Petro-, grad alone the Bolsheviks consume daily before breakfast 500 political opponents. Taking into consideration that they eat four meals a day — breakfust, lunch, ner and supper—and that a moderate estimate of consumed anti-Boisheviks therefore amounts to 2,000 a day; it will readily be understood why the population of the Russian capital, which formerly numbered 2,000,000, has now been reduced, according to Reuter, to 500,000. It is also said that Lenin and Trotzky drink daily four gallons of human blood.

The Russians' love for proverbs is as remarkable as their taste for music. Their most popular proverb is 'If die you must, invite a band.' Hence (see Reuter's telegram, dated 5th inst.) when Bolsheviks bury their enemies they arrange a beautiful funeral procession, accompanied by a first-class band playing the Russian equivalent for

All aboard for Dixie.'

There is absolutely nothing to eat in Russia (see Reuter's tel.). This accounts for the majority of Russians exporting tremendous quantities of foodstuffs to Germany (see Wolff's tel.).

All women in Russia are nationalised, and may be had from the distributing depots, on production of ration

"Such is the whole truth about Russia."

"Well done," exclaimed the editor in ecstatic joy, patting Mr. Styles on the back. "What a beautiful study you've made of Russia. It's wonderful! You ought to be a historian! Have a drink!"

# League Notes.

The May Day Committee which was formed last Sunday was a large and representative one. It elected three subcommittees to arrange for a procession, demonstration and Social respectively. Comrades I. Kessler and B. Benjamin are the joint secretaries (address Box 4179) to whom all enquiries re May Day celebrations should be sent. The Selborne Hall has been engaged for the Social on the evening of May Day; let us hope that no section of the workers will be deterred from so bourgeois a rallying place. Branches are invited to make separate displays for the processions—and to bear in mind the international character of the occasion.

#### CERMISTON BRANCH.

General meeting on Tuesday next, March 25th at 8 p.m., at C. Wade's

surgery. Business important.

The public meeting last Friday at the Old Apollo was addressed by Colin Wade, who pointed out that so far the answer to the question "Who won the war?" was "The capitalist class," which however was already being ade to disgorge. Sale of "Internationals" good.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Open air meetings, all at 7.30 p.m. March 22. C.r. Maddison and Marshall Sts., Jeppes: W. J. C. Gibson, W. Reid and others.

March 22, Fordsburg Market Square: I. Kessler, R. Rodger, T. P. Tinker.

March 23, Town Hall (West End): H. Barendregt, S. P. Bunting (C. Dones, T. P. Tinker.

March 29, Market Square, Fordsburg: L. A. Shoul, E. J. Stewart and

March 29, C.r. Maddison and Marshall Sts., Jeppes: H. Barendregt, C. Dones, R. Rodger.

March 30, Town Hall (West End): E. H. Becker, C. B. Tyler, T. P. Tinker.

Study Class, Friday evenings at Palmerston Hall, L. A. Shoul will speak on March 28th, on "Efficiency."

#### JEWISH-SPEAKING BRANCH.

The Social advertised for the 26th inst. is postponed till April 9th, when it it will be held in the Palmerston Hall.

Open air meeting at corner Commissioner and Ferreira Streets, on 28rd March, at 10 a.m.: I. Kessler, A. Goldman and I. Josse will speak in Yiddish.

Study Class in Palmerston Hell every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m.

KRUCERSDORP BRANCH, Meeting at West Krugersdorp on Tuesday, 25th inst., speakers to be ar-

# ranged. PRETORIA BRANCH.

Open air, Church Square, Sunday, 23rd March, at 8 p.m. Speakers: C. B. Tyler and others.

The Pretoria comrades have decided to celebrate May Day in Pretoria in conjunction with other labour bodies in the capital.

# Silverton Sulidarity.

We understand that the employees of the Silverton Tannery stopped work on Tuesday last as a protest against the action of the management in putting one of their number in a less desirable, job than he had been performing. The man was reinstated and they returned to work next day. They are demanding a 48-hour week, and the following rates of pay, and an answer is required by to-morrow:

Machinists, £1 to £3 per week.
Lasters, £1 10s. to £5 10s. per week.
Finishers and Clickers, £2 to £5 per week.

Liners, £2 10s. to £3 10s. per week. Machinist Curriers, £2 10s. to £4 per week.

Although these figures compare tavourably with those now obtaining they do not err on the side of extravagance. It is expected that an interview will take place on Saturday betwen the owner and the workers and their representatives.

One interesting feature of the situation is that whites, coloureds and natives are working together; they came out and went back solidly together.

# The Soviets and their Foes.

The "Freiheit," organ of the Independent Socialists, publishes a Russian Government wireless message announcing the formation of a Supreme National Committee of Defence to unify the military efforts of the country against the Allied intervention. All Socialist parties, including the Mensheviks and Left Socialist Revolutionaries, are represented on the Committee, and the President is Lenin himself.

The Central Committee of the Menshevik Party has issued a special manifesto calling for unity of action with the Soviet Government, and its leader. Abramovitch, has been delegated to the Central Committee of the Soviets.

The huge and influential Co-operative Societies, which at first opposed the Soviets, have now placed the whole of their resources at the service of the Soviet Government.

According to the "Frankfurter Zeitung," at a meeting organised by the
Independent Socialists in Berlin, Barth
said: "On two different occasions we
(the Independent Socialists) hindered a
declaration of war against Soviet Russia decided on by Scheidemann and
Landsberg."

#### HOTICE.

To whom it may concern; that the undersigned, having disposed of his interest in the firm of SHINNER and WRIGHT, Cycle and Motor Engineers, is no longer connected with that firm as from the 13th March.

(Signed) R. SKINNER.

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