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54, Fox Street, Johannesburg.

Phone 6035.

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The Entente's Anti-Bulshevik Pogroms.

(1)-IN POLAND.

In the "Yorkshire Evening Post," C. P. Abrams, Secretary to the Leeds Jewish Representative Council, writes:

Nothing since the Dark Ages can compare with the horrors enacted daily in the towns of Poland. Freedom for her has been taken to mean liberty to destroy her own citizens; for since November, 1918, right down to this day, there have been massacres in over 160 towns in Poland and Lithuania, in which thousands have been assaulted, robbed, and outraged, and many killed.

No one desires to read of mothers having to dig the graves for their murdered husbands, and then being shot over them; or of men being tied to horses' tails and dragged through the streets; or of places of worship being burnt down; or of indiscriminate floggings and murders of passers-by, women, children and men — but the facts are there, vouched for by eye-witnesses, by special commissions send out to Poland, and finally by the admission of the Under-Foreign Secretary, Mr. Harmsworth, in the House of Commission of June 5.

At Pinsk, on April 5, a meeting of Jews took place at the Jewish People's Hall, to discuss the distribution of Passover supplies, provided by the American Food Commission. It was surrounded by Polish troops, eighty Jews arrested, assaulted, and robbed, and then 56 of them were placed against a wall and massacred by a machine-gun mounted on a military car. The responsible officer has not yet been punished.

One day's riots may be explained away; a week's disturbance may be put down as something that was being got under control; but bix months of continuous outrage, accompanied by every form of calculated cruelty and atrocity, in which even General Haller's army—only lately given a passage through German territory—takes a part, and without punishment of offenders, makes one ask if this is not part of a villainous policy to which the Government of Poland is an accomplice. When one sees the notorious M. Roman Dmowski as head of Polish affairs in Paris, the man who was responsible for the introduction of the anti-Semitic boycott, then this question is definitely answered.

The Zionist organisation, too, from its Copenhagen Bureau sends a terrible report of a pogrom executed by Poles upon the Jews at Vilna. On April 19 Polish troops occupied the railway station, and the soldiers began plundering Jewish houses and shops the same day. 'On April 22 when the town was completely freed of Red Guards, the shooting of Jews began.' Hundreds of people were killed. On April 28 when further Polish troops arrived the cruelties recommenced. 26,000-000 worth of damage was done. The Jews are boycotted: it is forbidden to sell them bread, and they cannot fetch from elsewhere as they are forbidden to cross the bridges.

There are 24 million Jews out of a total physical of 15 millions in Poland; they have a restriction of nine out of 400 delegates to the Polish Diet, and are in daily fear of surface and even death.

Let lews in Britain and America observed by of monthing (involving a twenty-four bours, strike) a few weeks ago as a protest, the Leeds Jewish Council going out of its way to declare that "this was not an at-

tempt to secure political and religious ends by industrial action." Yet the day is described as "one of the greatest days of mourning since the destruction of the Temple."

The Poles are recognised by the Allies who are supposed to be intervening in Russia to prevent atrocities!

Remember that the Allies are supplying Poland with food, munitions and money, and can easily stop these supplies as they do to countries where "Bolshevism" is, or threatons to become, the prevailing regime; but Poland is one of the Allies' chosen instruments to fight Bolshevism, which as General Ironside says "we are up against." Religion has nothing to do with it: Catholic Poland is their pet while they bully Catholic Ireland. A recent resolution at Bloemfontein roundly holds the Entente responsible for the Polish pograms. If the Poles, like the Roumanians, get over-zealous and kill some bourgeois Jewsas well as proletarian Jews, well, these things will happen!.

(2) IN THE UKRAINE.

When the French abandoned Odessa, that town fell into the hands of a ruffian named Grigorieff. This person, after posing as a Bolshevik, declared against the Bolsheviks, and in that capacity has been receiving sympathy and assistance from the Allies. The Constantinople correspondent of the "Times" admitted that he is murdering Jews wholesale. Jewish reports put the number of Jews murdered in the Ukraine, chiefly by Grigorieff, at 100.000. Of course, this estimate cannot be authenticated in detail, but even allowing for error and exaggeration it points to massacre on a scale without a precedent since the slaughter by the Haidamucks in this same region some 250 years ago.— 'Manchester Guardian."

(3)—IN SIBERIA.

In the "Ekho," April 15 (Vladivostok) the Japanese authorities at Blagovestchensk published the following statement meant to justify the terroristic measures employed by them:

The object the Japanese troops had in coming to the Amur district was to restore order and exterminate Bolshevism, which had plunged the Russian population into the greatest distress. To accomplish the task thus undertaken, the Japanese first used humane measures to turn the population from Bolshevism, which had already taken a strong grip on them; then repressive and severe measures were used to stamp out Bolshevism. The Japanese command regrets and abhors this course, but will nevertheless continue its present methods.

"Since last Autumn Japanese and Cossack detachments have been used in Ivanovka to suppress revolt, always trying humane measures as far as the existing civil war would allow." But no result was obtained, for when the troops left the village, the Bolsheviki (for the most part local inhabitants), would respect and restart their criminal activities.

Cossack troops failed to capture them. Despite all warnings that the harbouring of Bolsheviki would be punished, the villagers continued to protect them as hitherto. In consequence of this the Japanese Command had no alternative but to use drastic measures against the villagers, who deserved to be these treated. Accordingly the village of Ivancius treated to the ground as a punitive measure. The Japanese Command has already notified the inhabitants of the Amur district of this fact."

(4)—IN HUNGARY.

The object of that post-war hunger-blockade pogrom is unmistakeable now. It was to emaciate wholesale, physically to incapacitate, the working masses, so that their armies could not fight nor their non-combatants support them. A less bloody method perhaps than in Poland or Ukraine ,although a terrible massacre of Communists is probably on foot in Hungary too, and wherever else Capitalism's armies prevail—just as a record-breaking general slaughter is threatened in Petrograd and Moscow if they should fall. But a more dastardly method, and more significant because more directly the result of the orders of the Paris Junta; for it is idle for the Big Four to disavow or repudiate the "excesses" ôf their "Roumanian" Black Hundreds, or blackguard White Guards, in doing the dirty work of the "League of Nations."

It is also idle at the thirteenth hour to trot out the hackneyed stock atrocity stories kept in type for use against whichever country—Germany, Russia, Hungary or what not—it is proposed for the time being to attack. They can trump up even less against Hungary than against Russia. The Polish Government justified its Jewish pogroms to the Paris Council on the ground that the victims were Bolsheviks: the "Star" is content to show that the Hungarian Soviet Government was "grotesque." These are good enough excuses to-day, and on the strength of them it is evidently hoped to execute Bela Kun

The outrage is blacker than the suppression of the Paris Commune because nowadays they plead the nauseating hypocrisy of "liberating small nations"; although to pretend that the deed was done by the people themselves is more than even they dare do when they cannot show that a single Hungarian took part in it, whereas Thiers, though he called in the Prussians, could claim to be the Government, and even against the Russian

Soviets there are it seems some Russians

It is hardly possible to doubt that the Soviet Republic of Hungary, as well as the one lately formed in Czecho-Slovakia, has been really assassinated by the League of Nations duly authorised thugs; and for what crime? The crime of abolishing capitalist property, the same for which alone Russia too is attacked. That abolition is forthwith cancelled, as in Russia too it would be, and the land wrested afresh for the landlords, if the Soviet Government were defeated.

THOUGH TRAITORS SNEER.

But assassination was never a successful weapon of any movement, any more than the religious wars of centuries ago availed to suppress the persecuted religious; and least of all when the movement is a movement of "the great majority in the interest of the great majority." A drug may give relief for a time, but eventually; hastens, the demise of the patient. You cannot exterminate the working class, for that means suicide for the capitalist class. Just as Germany's 'invincible" armies were made "contemptible" by the rudiments of the social revolution, so the turn of the League's armies will come. The comparative inactivity since of the German workers, who connive at the suppression of the Spartacists, is indeed a sorry spectacle which will no doubt be repeated in the Entente countries: there too dominant. Trade Unionism will be doped, bought or bludgeoned in the masters' interest. as is apparently happening in England just now, for some time to come ret. France bad to wait ball a contury for her "revenge." But the workers' re-

vengeless victory is surely nearer. Although: particular risings may be crushed, the Labour movement has after all continued to advance, and the logic of events and conditions is compelling it to advance rapidly now, through seas of working-class blood where need be, until the scoundrels of the ruling class who shed it are caught bending and the workers come into their own.

Scoundrels? Yes: he who is a party to sooundrelly deeds, even he who keeps silent about them when he should speak out, is a scoundrel. And what, in all the black calendar of super-capitalist Imperialism, is more sooundrelly than the latest dealing with Rusgian prisoners from Germany who, instead of being released, are shipped to England, there no doubt to be plied with all the lies about their country while counter-propagandists are arrested, and thence to be despatched, traitors by heompulsion, to fight for Koltchak?

What are we doing about it all? What are our Trade Unions and Labour Party doing about it? Are they content to connive, or will they remember that Iscariot could only hang himself, but his master rose again immortal after three days' descent into Hell, and captured half the world?

"The Revolution is coming, may it come soon!" is the heartfelt prayer of every working man and woman not too sunk in ignorance or snobbery to realise the signs of the times and the bright destiny of the world.

Those "Volunteers."

The headline "British troops to be withdrawn from Russia" boils down to this, that if Tshaikowsky's auti-Bolshevik Government is able to maintain itself without a British Army, all but volunteers will be withdrawn from Northern Russia: but a strong British "military mission" will remain, and Tshaikowsky will have the same help in munitions, tanks, aeroplanes and other supplies that is given to Koltchak.

And volunteers, adds the "Workers" Dreadnought," are by no means only soldiers who are in Russia because they want to be. They are being pressed in on all sorts of pretexts, including the compulsion provided by unemployment. But in any case the conscripts will not be withdrawn unless the counter-revolutionaries can manage without them.

In the Caucasus it has been arranged to replace British conscripts by Italian conscripts, but the present temper of Italy suggests that this too may not go through.

"These announcements that the British. soldiers will soon be home from Russia are merely made to disarm public opinion and to check Labour's preparations for industrial action."

The "New World," a new Glasgow paper which has been adopted by the International Union of ex-Service Men as its official organ, says in its issue of June 21:-

We know of many men who are being held against their wishes and sent to Russia. We know that for a considerable time volunteers for Russia were asked for on the parade ground of every military camp, and that the response was practically nil. Conscription was then resorted to. We know something about the trouble in the Navy, when the Queen Elizabeth and other ships were unable to get away from their berths in order to proceed to the Baltic. But apart altogether from what we and most other sailors and soldiers know there is official proof to hand that men are conscripted for Russia. The following correspondence between the War Office and Mr. Fred Hobday, Labour Organiser for Loicester, is self-explanatory:-

"To the Secretary of State for War.

"Sir,-On Wednesday, June 4th, in reply to a question by Mr. Neil Maclean, you stated that 'No one but volunteers are being sent to

"On Friday, May 16th, I travelled from Nottingham to Leicester in the company of three young soldiers of the Middlesex Regiment, who informed me that they were on draft leave and on their return were going

to South Russia against their wishes. They said that no opportunity of refusing to go had been offered to them. Will you tell me if this statement was correct?—Yours faithfully,

June 6, 1919."

"War Office, S.W.

FRED HOBDAY.

"To Mr. Hobday. "Sir,--With reference to your letter of the 6th, I am directed to inform you that the three soldiers of the Middlesex Regiment were probably under orders for the Army of the Black Sea.

"Volunteers are only asked for North Russia, where military operations are in pro-

"I am to say that in the Caucasus our troops are hundreds of miles from the enemy, and it has been decided that they are to be withdrawn. I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

(Signed) H. C. BRODIE, Staff Captain. For Director of Organisation. June 11, 1919."

The "New World" states that troops are still being sent to the Caucasus. The 'Daily Herald" also comments on Churchill's statement that only 219 casualties had occurred in the Russian campaign during the past seven months by quoting a correspondent serving on a hospital boat en route for Archangel, in company with another, the two being capable together of carrying at least 320 cot cases, and to be added to any hospital equipment then already at Archangel. "Does this support," he says, "the closing of a campaign or the commencement of a more aggressive

The "New World" further remarks:--"All the Churchillian talk about voluntaryism is proven to be pure piffle by the published facts of frequent strikes among the troops. And, of course, only a few of the facts get into the press. Apart altogether from the fact that the men naturally chafe for freedom and home, and apart also from the fact that most of the men are being held in direct contradiction to the Government pledges, and in violation of their enlistment agreements, it should be understood that there is an additional and deeper cause for the unrest. The men are sick of war and war-mongering. They see that their sacrifices so far have accomplished victory only for the militarists at home as against the militarists of Germany. The new wars, for the most part, are wars against democracy; and the number of present-day soldiers who would voluntarily take up arms against any democracy is small indeed.

"Let those who believe in the power of the sword cut their own useless heads off. There would be no wars if those who made them had to do the dirty work. Get on with Peace; we've had enough of war. We'll have Life, Liberty, and Happiness for a change."

Here is an extract from the Constitution of the Union:

1.—Membership is open to ex-Soldiers, ex-Sailors, and ex-Airmen not above the rank of 1st Class Warrant Officer (Army Rank), and C.P.O. (Navy Rank), also widows and dependants of ex-Service men and serving men. Serving men are admitted as honorary mem-

2.—Aims and objects of the organisation are the same as those of the progressive Labour Movement, special attention being given to the interests of ex-Service men, serving men, and the widows and dependants of same. Our ultimate object is the destruction of capitalism and militarism and the establishment of a real League of Nations—the Co-operative Commonwealth. . .

(5)... Affiliation to the local Labour Councils shall be applied for with the sanction of the Executive Committee.

Mrs. William C. den Bakker presented our Comrade William with a daughter on August They have named her Ross Luxumbourg. We hope the new errival will live up to the reputation of her fearless namesake.

Trusts

The germ of combination is in the air. All sections of society are being permeated by it. The capitalists are combining their companies as corporations and still further trustifying their trusts. The middle class especially, the small traders and professional men, have organised to preserve their status: many of them clamour for the conditions prevailing when the industrial system was less complex than it is to-day, in their ignorance endeavouring to put back the hands of time.

The capitalistic trusts that have grown up during the past forty years have been the bugbear of the middle class. The war conditions have compelled many of these trusts to amalgamate into huge combines that are a nightmare to the middlemen and will eliminate them and crush their puny efforts to maintain themselves as a useful section in society.

Caritalistic combines have to a great extent been successiui. The trusts formed by many groups of capitalists have been able to control the production of the raw materials used in the production of commodities, and also control the markets where they were sold. Others having been hampered in their operations by international jealousies have not been so successful. The effort to get the League of Nations successfully launched has as it basis the idea of eliminating those international jealousies by co-ordinating the jarring antagonisms that invariably crop up in a system based upon production of commedities for profit.

Just as the capitalist and middle classes have been forced by the nature of the system to combine to preserve themselves individually and as a class, so the working class have been compelled to organise to protect themselves against the capitalist class. These organisations or trade unions have never been effective weapons against capitalism.

One or another small group of workers at different periods has been able. by dint of local circumstances special craftsmanship, to control its craft as a monopoly or trust, but only for a short period. The economic development has eventually destroyed their mosspoly. Improved tools of production are the weapon that has broken all and every effort on the part of the workers to maintain any particular craft as a trust.

The working class, including "brain" and "manual" workers, are in the vast majority in society. Unfortunately in their efforts to control the conditions of their labour they have wasted their energies along the lines of sectionalism. Demarcation lines have been the bone of contention amongst craft unions in Labour councils, Federations, and departments of industries. The capitalist class have been divided on much the same lines, greed and grab animating each and every section or group of capitalists. They have learned the lesson to a great extent and are endeavouring by the League of Nations to co-ordinate internationally their operations in the world's markets. The workers to combat the forces of combined capital will have to do like wise. Their present form of sectional organisation is of no earthly use to them.

Our present phase of society has resolved a point in its development where the working class as a whole cannot receive any betterment of their conditions, though sections mav. It has reached the forked road, one leading to an imperialistic military dictatorship, the other to the co-operative commonwealth. Which road is taken depends upon the workers. If in their apathy, and as sections, they continue their present disorganisation, they will allow a military dictatorship, controlled by imperial international capital, under which in the mass their condition will be that of helots, without any of the rights of human beings.

To maintain their stranglehold upon ociety, this is the object of the League of Metions. The workers' reply to such a leasure is to organise as a class with the average object of taking the reins of social parameters into their own hands and controlling their own destiny.

J.M.C.

Southport and the Political Strike.

The "International" makes no apology for devoting a considerable proportion of its spece each week to chronicling phases and episodes of the revolutionary movement from all over the world, not merely because example is often better than precept, but because nowadays greater importance than ever attaches to "intelligence" of what both our fellow workers and the enemy are doing, and because it is only through studying the revolution as a whole that we arrive at a sense of proportion in our own contribution to it. Britain especially to-day is a potential centre of gravity: on the Triple Alliance ballot reported this week may turn the whole course of world events in the near future—and we want victory in the near rather than the distant future if we can get it. The Triple Alliance Conference since reported can hardly have abrogated, though it is obviously intended to influence, the ballot.

This ballot is an outcome of the Southport Labour Party Conference to gain whose support, as we explained a fortnight ago, the Continental 24-hour strike proposed for June 21 was postponed, July 20 and 21 being

proposed instead.

The Conference had been preceded by a Triple Alliance Conference, itself convened owing to the failure of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to call a special conference on conscription, the intervention in Russia, the blockade, release of conscientious objectors, and military inter-

rention in trade disputes.

At Southport the same division appeared as between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks of Russis, on the question "whether Labour shall fight without reservation to annihilate the capitalist system." The upshot was that the Conference recognised the international struggle between Labour and Capital by declaring its solidarity with the Workers' Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary. And by 1,893,000 votes to 935,000 it declared itself in favour of "the unreserved use of political and industrial power" to achieve the political ends of the workers; in particular to stop the capitalist attacks on those Republics. The left wing of the Labour Party has become the centre." Such direct action will lead inevitably to the struggle to set up the Workers' Soviets.

"Unconstitutional Methods."

smillie said that "when the Munitions Act and the Defence of the Realm Act had deprived the Trade Union officials of the power to act, the rank and file had rightly taken 'unconstitutional' strike action. In his opinion the present Government had come into power by fraud and deceit." The direct actionists, who are steadily gaining control of the Miners' Federation, are the driving force behind Smillie, who however is trying to prevent a breach

with the Parliamentarians.

"Is the war with Russia constitutional?" cried Robt. Williams. "No! When Koltchak is successful, Churchill gloats over his successes; when he is in full retreat before the Red Armies, Churchill equivocates and says we are not really at war. The Chairman says he does not want to utter a threat to the Government. Churchill has the down a challenge to Labour: I think that at least a million of the pick of the working class is anxious to take it up. . . . Churchill was surprised by the replies to his circular which showed that the military cannot be relied upon to defeat the general strike, the Navy can be relied upon still less, the Pelice least."

J. Bromley, of the Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, said "We have got to face this direct action to save ourselves from destruction. It is useless to wait until we have returned a majority to Parliament: when the election comes round the capitalist press is always able to cajole a large proportion of the people. The Government sends spies into the Labour movement to speak on revolutionary platforms and to shout louder than

Hayamans, the Secretary of the Second International, reproached the British workers who were complaining of the intervention in Russia with themselves carrying the munitions for Koltchak's armies.

D'Arragona of the Italian Confederation of Labour, though belonging to the Right wing of his party, could see no alternative to an

early revolution in Italy.

George Deer, of the British Socialist Party, recalled that it was by industrial action that the miners had secured the Coal Commission and its report, and how no one had repudiated Keir Hardie's advocacy of the general international strike against war as "unconstitutional." "And did not those who oppose direct action now enthusiastically support it when Havelock Wilson used it to hold up international activity?"

Henderson, urging mere political pressure, was coldly received, and said that if direct action were carried, he and others would have to consider resigning from the party. Clynes was heard with impatience, and Ben Tillett was laughed or shouted down.

Sabotaging the Resolution.

The Southport Conference was content to leave it to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Executive of the Labour Party to take action on its resolution.

A day or two later, McGurk, the Chairman of the Conference, interviewed by the reactionary "Evening Standard," said: "Nothing will come of it," and Henderson wrote to the "Herald" adopting a similar attitude. Such are the democratic principles, inside their party, of these slobberers for "democracy" as against the strike weapon when it comes to striking a blow for Labour where the fight is thickest and most critical. "The Soviet system within the Trade Union movement," says Sylvia Pankhurst "is an urgent need. It can be obtained through the workers' committee movement."

Unomeial Action.

The executive evidently ignored the Conference's instructions, and neither it nor the Parliamentary Committee lifted a finger. Even the Triple Alliance seems to have been content to take a ballot which is not yet completed. The great strike which began in Yorkshire on July 21, the substitute date suggested by the Continental delegates, seems to have come about by unofficial action of the Left Wang rank and file, wherever they had power. The London District Committee of the Dockers' Union, for instance, resolved to advise its members to abstain from working on any ships bound for Russia or assisting in any way the overthrow of the Russian proletariat; and it demanded the withdrawal of the money invested by the Union in War Loan, and that its members shall join the "general strike" on July 21. The secretaries of the Workers' Socialist Federation, the B.S.P., the S.L.P., and the South Wales Socialist Society, whose appeal before the Southport Conference we mentioned two weeks ago, issued another appeal on July 17 concluding as follows:

"Remember (1) the strike of July 21; (2) the Conference to decide on further industrial action, which must be held as soon as possible, and (3) the blockade" (initiated by Scandinavian Seamen's Unions) "against the counter-revolutionaries who are fighting against the Soviets."

The Police strikers also evidently chose the

same date.

It must not be forgotten, says the "Workers' Dreadhought," that the Russian and Hungarian revolutions were achieved without the assistance of the industrial unions; and that when the German workers struck against the peace imposed on Russia at Brest Litovsk, they got no strike pay, and their trade union officials ordered them back to work. In effect, such direct action is called "unconstitutional," not so much because it is non-Parliamentary, but because it is discountenanced by orthodox industrial executives.

As a preliminary canter, the movement that began on July 21 was formidable enough. Even if it is to result in a temporary luli, that will be no defeat, but will rather serve to show that more drastic steps, and by the most powerful unions, are necessary. Capital's gauntlet thus picked up by Labour can

now never be dropped again.

League Notes.

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged: £151 16s. 1d. List 276: G.B., 2s 6d; C. Bros., 4s; A.C., 2s 6d; M., 3s 6d; G.B., 1s 6d. List 459: M.L., 10s 6d; A.K., 10s 6d; N.J., 10s 6d; Friend, 5s; M.F., 5s; M.F., 5s; S.M.P., £10 10s; J.J., £5; A.K., £5; H.K., £5 5s; K.H., £2; J.T., £1; O.J., £1; W.S.M., £1; G.N., £2 2s.; H.H., £1; T.H., £1; L.A., £1; K.K., £1; G.L., £2; B.H., £1; E.W., £1; I.K.R., £1; K.O.B., £1.

Comrades Jones', Greene's and W. den Bakker's cases are still unsettled, and holders of subscription lists are urged to send in any money collected for this fund immediately as it is likely to be badly needed.

PRETORIA BRANCH.

Meeting of members in the Federation Hall, Church Street West, at 8 p.m., on Friday, 15th inst. Among other questions, ways and means of raising funds for the printing plant will be discussed.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

AT THE URGENT REQUEST OF THOSE PROMOTING THE MEETING NEXT SUNDAY AFTERNOON, THE 17th, IN THE JOHANNESBURG TOWN HALL TO PROTEST AGAINST THE POLISH POGROMS—AGAINST WHICH WE OF COURSE ALSO PROTEST—IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO POSTPONE THE I.S.L. OPEN-AIR MEETING ON HUNGARY, ADVERTISED FOR 3.30 P.M. ON THAT DAY.

A public meeting will be held in the Selborne Hall on Wednesday week, August 27th, J. P. Anderson, Germiston Branch, in the chair. Speakers to be announced next week.

ANNIVERSARY SOCIAL.

The Fourth Anniversary of the birth of the I.S.L. will be celebrated on September 4th by a social in the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg. The starting of the I.S.L. printing plant will be marked by the same function.

Tickets can be obtained at the Head Office, 54, Fox Street, or of the women's entertainment committee, price 2s. 6d.; children at door, 1s. All comrades and supporters are invited to attend.

LITERATURE FOR SALE.

A further consignment of books and pamphlets has arrived which includes the following:—

Six Weeks in Russia in 1919, Arthur Ransome, 3s. 6d.

Capital, Vol. 1, Karl Marx, 10s. 6d. Critique of Political Economy, Karl Marx,

The Soviets at Work, by Lenin, 9d.
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels, 6d.
The Socialism of Karl Marx, A. E. Cook, 6d.
Scientific Socialism, Wm. Paul, 6d.
Karl Liebknecht: His Work and Message,

Wm. Paul, 6d. Workers' Revolution in Russia, Dutch and

English, 6d.
Socialism Made Easy, James Connolly, 6d.
Trade Unionism at the Cross Roads, W. MoLaine, 3d.

Burning Question of Trades Unionism, De Leon, 4d.

Reform or Revolution, De Leon, 4d. Compromise or Independence, J. T. Murphy,

The Workers' Committee: An outline of its principles and structure, J. T. Murphy,

Industrial Unionism, E. L. Pratt, 8d. Chants of Labour 1s. 3d.

Socialist Song Book, 1s., 3d. Postage 1d. extra.

The cables talk of a "plot to establish a Soviet" in London. Of course there are such "plots" everywhere, but the word is out of place. As the Spartscist manifesto says, you can't bring about Socialism until the mass are ready to accept it, and then there is no question of a "plot," any more than the chicken "plots" to burst his shell, or the baby to be born.

A Manifesto of the Spartacu: Union.

After emphasising the terrible economic chaos which the war has left in its wake, the poverty and unemployment which awaits the survivors of the millions who have been slaughtered, and the inability of the capitalists to reconstruct the society they have

ruined, the manifesto declares:

this bloody chaos, this gaping abyss. . . Only the world-wide proletarian revolution can establish order in place of this anarchy, put an end to the mutual extermination of the peoples, provide work and bread for all, and bring peace, freedom and true culture to tortured humanity. 'Down with wage labour!' Such is the battle-cry of the day."

Programme of Spartacus Group.

Part II. outlines a programme which is identical with that of the S.L.P. After reciting the magnitude of the task involved in the establishment of Socialism, i.e., "the complete reconstruction of the State and an entire change in the social and economic foundations of society," it insists that this change and reconstruction cannot be accomplished by a decree issued by some officials, committee or parliament, but only by the mass of the people themselves clearly and consciously determining the aim and direction of the revolution, and at the same time establishing Socialism step by step through its own activity. To accomplish this, "the proletarian mass must substitute its own class organs the workers' and oldiers' councils—for the inherited organs of capitalist class rule: the federal councils, municipal councils, parliaments; applying this principle from the highest authority in the State to the smallest community." In other words, control of the means of existence must be from the bottom np by means of communal and industrial councils, and the struggle to gain such control must be by means of such councils.

Proletarian Dictatorship.

"By arming the compact mass of working people with full political power for the purposes of the revolution is established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and therefore the true democracy. True democracy, democracy that does not defraud the people, does not exist where the wage-slave sits in wouldbe equality with the capitalist, or the farm hand with the landowner, in order to debate in a parliamentary manner over questions most vital to them—true democracy is to be found only when the mass of the werkers take the entire power of government into their toil-hardened hands in order to wield it over the heads of the ruling classes as the god Thor wielded his hammer."

Programme Planks.

The manifesto then sets forth a list of demands as "immediate means for making the revolution secure." Amongst these the Spartacus Union demands:

The disarming of the police force, officers,

and non-proletarian soldiers.

Seizure of war industries and military sup-

Creation of a workers' militia and a stand-

ing Red Guard.

Removal of all officers and expofficers from

the sold'ers' councils.

Immediate seizure of all means of subsistence to secure provisions for the people.

On the political and social field it demands (inter alia):

Removal of all Parliaments and municipal

councils.

Election of workers' councils (both sexes) in cities and fural districts, along the lines of industries, and election of soldiers' councils by the soldiers. Right of workers and soldiers to recall their representatives at any time

Election of delegates from workers' and soldiers' councils to central council, which elects executive council as highest organ of legislative and executive power. Right of recall reserved.

The repudiation of all public debts and war loans, with the exception of subscriptions up

to a certain amount, this amount to be fixed by the central council.

The expropriation of large and medium sized estates and the establishment of Socialist agricultural societies under a unified control for the whole country. Smaller agricultural holdings to remain in the hands of the present owners until such time as they shall voluntarily come into the Socialist commun-

The liquidation of all banks, mines, factories, and large business concerns by the re-

public.

The confiscation of all property beyond a certain maximum, which shall be fixed by the central council.

The organisation of councils in each industry, which shall co-operate with the workmen's councils and manage all internal affairs of their respective trades, including labour conditions and regulation of production, and shall finally take over the practical conduct of the business.

The appointment of a strike committee which is to co-operate with the trade councils in guiding the strike movement throughout the country in a Socialist direction, and, through the political power of the workmen's and soldiers' councils, assure it of success.

"The Spartacus Group does not want to attain power over or through the masses of the working people. The Spartacus Group is only that part of the proletariat which is conscious of its goal and attempts to wake up the broad masses to a realisation of their historic task.

"The Spartacus Group will never take over the power of government except at the behest of the great mass of the proletariat.

"The proletarian revolution can reach full clearness and ripeness only by struggling gradually, step by step, along the Golgotha path of the workers' own bitter experiences through defeats and victories.

"The victory of the Spartacus Union is not in the beginning but at the end of the revolution: it is identical with the victory of the great mass of the Socialist working class."

Grotesque.

"A grotesque condition of affairs existed in Hungary under its system of 'communism.'"—Cable in yesterday's "Star."

"The right to vote was limited to the workers of both sexes over 18."

As in Russia; but England disfranchises some workers, as well as all soldiers and most women, especially working women. Is that grotesque? On, dear no!

"Disqualified were: employers, persons with private means, priests, lunatics and criminals." How "grotesque," especially the lunatics and criminals. England makes Cabinet ministers of them.

"The land laws gave a fixed wage to the peasant farmer, the State taking the profits." African or American land laws make the peasant farmer a life-long bond-slave, and he gets no wages at all.

"Dwellings were allotted on the principle of one man one room." One man ten rooms and ten men not a room between them, as now, is of course much less "grotesque."

"Justice was administered by revolutionary tribunals": that's more than it is by

capitalist ones.

"Labour disputes courts had two judges from the working classes. . . The Army was empowered to settle trade disputes." Now, Reuter, which was it really?

"Palaces, royal and private, became schools." Poor princes, poor magnates!
And the poor children. ... ?

"The physically unfit were to be supported

by the State." Grotesque!

"No worker was allowed to change his employment or to strike. Labour was compulsory." What, surely they are describing black labour in South Africa?

THE "PUSSYFOOT CAMPAIGN."

"Considerable resentment is expressed in Soviet circles against the 'All for property' movement, which has been christened the Iron Heel Campaign,' enforced by Entente capitalist enthusiasts against Hungary. It is felt that no outside interference is wanted in the management of Hungary's domestic matters."—Reuter revised.

Our Printing Plant.

The response to our appeals for the above fund has exceeded expectations. Particulars will be published shortly. In the meantime we may say that roughly half the required amount is in hand or in sight; the other half remains to be contributed by the many supporters we know of who have put off their contribution until—until nothing in particular. Comrades and friends, we are purchasing most of the plant for cash and intend to start without the usual load of debt. A pound in the hand is worth two in the air; the sellers of the plant want to handle their money. The Certificates will be issued next week.

Service Notes.

On June 12 3,000 soldiers at Belmont Camp, Surrey, refused to be sent abroad, and subsequently managed the camp, having neither parades nor punishment, and calling for volunteers for the various duties.

On the same day 200 soldiers at Dover refused to embark at Dover for service overseas.

On June 13, 200 Gordon Highlanders at Aberdeen refused to go to India.

Clemenceau found it necessary, during the recent French strikes, to stop soldiers being used as blacklegs on the Paris railways.

The "Call" refers to a recent agitation among the troops of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, of which we saw no word in the bourgeois press.

Patricians and plebeians, aristocrats and democrats have alike stained their hands with blood in the working out of the problem of politics. But impartial history declares that the crimes of the popular party have in all ages been the lighter in degree, while in themselves they have more to excuse them; and if the violent acts of revolution ists have been held up more conspicuously for condemnation, it has been only because the fate of noblemen and gentlemen. has been more impressive to the imagination than the fate of the peasant or artisan. But the endurance of the inequalities of life by the poor is the marvel of human society. When the people complain, Mirabeau said the people are always right. The popular cause has been the cause of the labourer struggling for a right to live and breathe and think as a man. Aristocracies fight for wealth and power, wealth which they waste upon luxury, and power which they abuse for their own interests.—J. A. Froude, "Life of Caesar."

The Northcliffe Press (Capitalist Christian) heads its news about the starving children of Berlin.

"FEWER LITTLE HUNS."

The late Mr. Herod of the Near East thus loses the world's Brutality belt as a Baby Killer.—"Forward."

"Our forces walked into that front (Siberia) when they stepped off the boat at Vladivostok. Ninety-five per cent. of the people in Siberia are Bolsheviki."—Capt. Frederick F. Moore, A.E.F., Siberia, in the June issue of "Hearst's Magazine" (American anti-Bolshevik journal).

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