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**All Class Conscious Workers should enrol in the Communist Party.**

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# The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

**Have you signed the Petition to Parliament for a General Amnesty for the Strike Prisoners**

THE ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A. Section of the Communist International).
No. 4, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG. P.O. Box 4179.

Vol. VIII. No. 352. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

## Prickly Pars.

By Sen Yah.

### That's So.

At the Wayside Inn three enthusiastic "Communists" met the other evening, and over a glass of the best the conversation turned upon the movement. Said the first: "I wish I could take a more active part, but being in business, you see, I dare not come out into the open." Said the second: "I quite agree, and I'm in the same boat. I've got a good job, but if the boss knew that I was a Communist I'd get fired pronto." Said the third: "I'd like to get into the fight, but, as you know, I'm out of work and I'd never get a job if anybody knew." Then they all filled up and drank success to the revolution.

* * *

### Educated Dogs.

"The police dogs were despatched to take up the trail from a number of finger-print impressions."—"The Star."

Thus, Henry, the dogs have more intelligence than their masters—if it be true that they could do it. Actually it's about time the public objected to this sleuth-hound bunkum. The Foster case, where the dogs had the clothing and even the blood of the wanted men to work from, showed this business up. Foster went direct to Kensington from May Deep, and the dogs "tracked" him around Craighall. How many innocent natives are doing time to-day because the observable lack of intelligence of our C.I.D. causes the authorities to obtain circus convictions by means of dumb animals.

I wonder.

* * *

### Candid.

Before Mr. Bovril in X Court, this morning, James Sixpence, native, was charged with stealing a pig and taking it to Potfontein.

"Are you guilty or not guilty?" asked the magistrate.

"He says he's guilty, your worship," said the court interpreter.

"Well, Sixpence," said the magistrate, "there's been a lot of pig-stealing in this district of late, and I'm going to make an example of you, or none of us will be safe."

Six months.

* * *

### Relieved.

"Shanghai, Saturday.—Dr. Sun Yat Sen and the Soviet Envoy, M. Joffe, have issued a statement declaring that as a result of cordial conversations both are agreed that it is impossible AT PRESENT to introduce Communism in China."—"Star."

Fat heaves a sigh of relief, but—THE FUTURE is in store.

* * *

### Strange.

"Communism is an illusion not worthy of one moment's consideration," sings the whole world of Fat in chorus.

But, as you can see by every newspaper in the world, Henry, it is the only thing being really seriously considered everywhere.

Strange, eh!

* * *

### Irish Rebels Winning.

"In large areas (of Ireland) the writ of the Free State Government does not run, and the latter seems powerless to enforce its will. . . . Most people have a sneaking regard for the Republicans rather than the present Government."—"Star."

And when De Valera's gallant following realise and declare that "Communism is the hope of Ireland," then most people will have an OPEN regard for them and the battle will be won.

* * *

### The Plague.

Isaac Vermont, of Capetown, who is, or was, a member of the Communist Party, has some peculiar habits. He sends to the "Dreadnought" (London) articles copied in extenso or in part from "The International," signs them with his own name, and although he took them from the capitalist press. I know Isaac, and have had occasion before to object to his copying articles from Norman Angell and passing them along as original, and his stories of happenings on the Rand are so amusing to Randites [illegible] sure Sylvia would feel it an affront if she, far-off London, only knew how Isaac's imagination carried the Rand the thousand odd miles between, where he "writes up" Rand news in the shadow of Table Mountain.

Ah, Isaac, there's a dear boy!

### The Dope Safeguard.

At Graaf Reinet the Annual Missionary Meeting of the Grahamstown District Wesleyan Synod was attended by 23 black-coats with their collars all buttoned in that mysterious manner somewhere at the back of their necks. Mr. J. S. B. Holden, the chairman, in the course of his remarks, said: "The spread of the gospel among the teeming millions of natives was the best safeguard for our small white population."

This received great applause, as though it were an original thought, and yet every privileged class in every country, in every age removed from very remote antiquity, has paid and protected a crowd of parasitical dope artists, called the priestcraft, to preach and teach humility to the enslaved in the name of God.

The idea is an old one, and it has worked satisfactorily for Fat through the ages.

* * *

### Tickey.

"A few days ago a bird was brought to the office of the 'Northern News.' Its head and neck were covered with ticks, which numbered no less than 147. Yet the bird was still alive when found."—"The Star."

As if that was wonderful, Henry. Go to Parktown and look round. That will give you some idea of the number of ticks you and your class are covered with—and still you live, or exist.

### Society Notes.

Being two "Star" headlines:

KING TO MEET SWAZI CHIEF.
CHARLIE CHAPLIN ENGAGED.

* * *

### Dirty Cant and Hypocrisy.

In a footnote to a letter from a correspondent the Editor of the "Star" says:

'There is no other industry in the world so heavily burdened for compensation benefits as the gold mining industry of the Rand in respect of miners' phthisis payments. In view of the prevalence of the disease among Europeans it is difficult to reconcile our correspondent's references to 'ruined lives and ruined health' with the demand for a higher ratio of white to coloured labour underground."

That will be considered very clever by the journalists, Henry. But if you can find an example of Pecksniffian hypocrisy to equal it anywhere in the world, send it along at my expense.

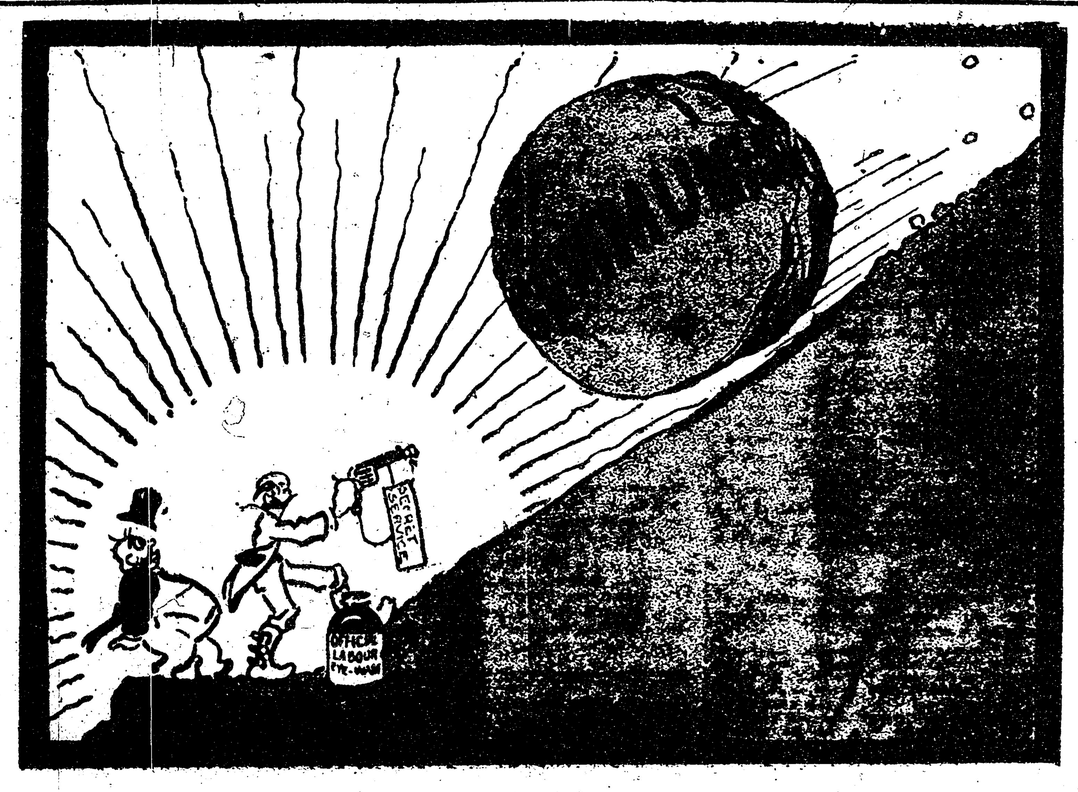
P.S.—The grammar is not mine.

* * *

### Woman's Vote Safe.

Supporting the bill for Woman's Suffrage, General Smuts said: "However revolutionary or radical its original protagonists might have been, women were conservative . . . and opposed revolutionary tendencies."

Lost by one vote only.




## Watch Me Stop It!

### Remember to Keep Holy.

As has often been remarked, "virtue is often accidental," as the following incident, reported in the "Australian Worker" (and I suppose true), goes to show:

Minister: "Why are you late for the Sunday School, Tommy?"

Tommy: "I was goin' fishin' but farver wouldn't let me."

Minister: "Ah, how excellent! Did he explain why he wouldn't let you?"

Tommy: "Yes, sir. He said there wasn't enough bait for two."

* * *

### Bolshevism in London.

London, Monday.—The King had an audience lasting half-an-hour this afternoon at Buckingham Palace with Chief Sobhusa and his party, including the European officials accompanying the delegation.—"The Star."

If that had been Bunting, now!

* * *

### Feminine Fat.

A society sheet says that some of the ladies' dresses at the Randwick Races were indicative of the hot weather, so you can imagine the scene, Henry. Fancy Big Mary in the latest Feminine Fat outfit. But her figure won't stand it, so she's a great prude, although Geordie's eyes are looking baggier than ever lately—on the films.

### Feminine Fat Tripe.

Natural age fairly puts the wind up Fat's old woman, Henry. She knows Fat so well that she's afraid of becoming an old has-been, and is always trying to compete with the Tivoli flossies.

"Beauty specialists" know the ropes, and are aware that if they can get any notorious music-hall artiste, or actress, to give their particular swindle a line it's well worth paying for.

The press mob also knows what Fat's old woman wants, and so we read stuff like this in our local daylie:

"Women are continually anxiously enquiring just how much harm cosmetics and amateur minor operations work on the appearance and health of the skin. Should one use powder? Does such and such a cream encourage superfluous hair? Should one steam one's face? Such are only a few of the numerous questions that trouble the soul of womankind, particularly those of us who have passed our first youth and are anxious to combat or prevent the ravages of time."

I sometimes feel sorry for the old girls of "very best society," Henry. If they were not such useless bundles of Fat and wrinkles, I could be kind to the wizened old once-upon-a-timers.

* * *

### Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan, robbed of its mystery, is a political petty-bourgeois movement aiming at becoming an American Fascisti. It has counterparts almost everywhere. The Sons of England and Sons of Africa, f'rinstance.

### Social Credit.

Can any Douglasite tell me why the lectures on "Social Credit" under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association are held at the Chamber of Commerce?

I have an idea, but would like it to be confirmed.

* * *

### Humbug.

The "Saturday Review gives Conan Doyle and Sir Oliver Lodge a trouncing straight from the shoulder. It says that "mediumship is merely a modern revival of priestcraft shorn of all its ancient dignities and splendours, but retaining its essential crookedness. It is a heartless exploitation of human weakness and superstition. It has the sinister tricks and mystifications such as it has practised since the youth of the world."

I wonder what the writer would say about the crowd of crooks and charlatans which has sprung up here since Boss Hickson showed the possibilities of the "spiritual healing" rubbish. As they are all, more or less, sacrosanct, men of sense simply shrug their shoulders and pass on. But the rain-goddess trial proceeds, and the ignorant native chief will probably be hanged. All the same, the earth would be sweeter and cleaner if these black-coated frauds were put in a home where the only mischief they could do would be kept in the family.

* * *

### The Narks.

Winston Churchill, not to be outdone, and to make a bit of money, has joined the noble army of press prostitutes along o' Lloyd-George and Signor Nitti, and is giving to the world the "inner history" of the great war. As Dr. Walsh aptly remarks, the criminals are all eager now to turn King's Evidence.

* * *

### The Missing Link.

The hoary-headed old Jack-in-the-box, John Xavier Merriman, has been drivelling again. In the debate on the Woman's Suffrage Bill (which was first introduced in a South African Parliament ten years ago by Comrade W. H. Andrews) the senile old mountebank described woman's suffrage as a "revolution," and pathetically drooled: "What has it done for Russia?"

The good die young, so I suppose Parliament will have to put up with this antique old remnant of the mediæval ages until his whole organism has become as petrified as his brain. One day he'll get a monument to perpetuate his memory as South Africa's classic example of "bloody baboonery."

* * *

### Obstruction.

The Benoni authorities are determined to stop Communist meetings, and, as usual, are doing it in an underhand manner. Comrade Chapman has been charged and found guilty of "obstruction" by holding a meeting. At the same time this meeting was held, and on the opposite street corner, the pentecostal dancers held their meeting. A portable organ, chairs, etc., dumped in the street; hymn singing, more or less melodious (God has no ear for music), raving, and sweating, attracted a good crowd. Of course, they won't be prosecuted. They are doing Fat's will.

* * *

### A Subtle Joke.

Commenting upon the transfer of Detective Head Constable Charles White, "The Star" says, inter alia: "In 1915, at Newlands, during the rebellion, he rendered valuable services to the Prime Minister, whose life at the time was in serious danger."

Hold my hand, Henry!

* * *

### Confidence and Capital.

Under this sub-heading the "Star" gives us a lot of tripe about Mr. Walter Dormitzer, an "American hustler" of 82 years of age, who is here on a business trip, and may decide to "bring capital to the country."

The only reason a capitalist finds for "bringing capital" to a country is THAT HE CAN BE CONFIDENT HE CAN TAKE MORE CAPITAL OUT.

But did you ever hear of a working-man "hustler" at the age of 82? No fear, Henry—he's worked into the grave long before that.

* * *

### Legerdemain.

The "healers" have made a snug nest in Graaf Reinet—"far from the madding crowd."

The stories coming through beat the "miracle" records of our Lord and Saviour to a frazzle. Christians to-day are better educated and trained than they were in the year one, Henry. See?

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, W. H. Andrews.)
Annual Subscription, 10/-; Half-yearly, 5s.
Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.
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Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1923. No. 352.

# The Oligarchs.

In an article on "Women and the Vote," a few days ago, the "Star" made a very interesting admission. Commenting on the remark made by Mr. Blackwell in the course of his speech on the second reading of the woman's franchise bill to the effect that "if we accepted the hypothesis that this was a democratic state it was only logical to give the vote to women," our contemporary said: "In the first place, we do not accept the hypothesis that the Union is a democratic state. It is nothing of the kind. In politics it is a white oligarch ruling a black proletariat . . . and in industrial economics it is largely a highly organised exploitation of a majority by a minority."

We entirely agree with this definition, with the reservation that the oligarchy consists of only a small portion of the whites, the major portion of whom are also exploited and ruled as mercilessly as the blacks. With this amendment the statement of the "Star" correctly describes the structure of South African society, and of course is equally true of capitalist countries everywhere. It would be interesting to hear what our constitutional democrats and labour leaders have to say to this frank statement from the essential organ of South African big capital. They will find it difficult to deny it, although behind a cloud of words they persistently attempt to obscure it. It is the essential teaching of Communism, the cardinal and fundamental fact on which the whole superstructure of revolutionary socialism is built.

There is no such thing as democracy. There has never been a democracy since civilisation began. Whether there will ever be is a matter for the prophets with which we have little concern. All the cant about natural rights, freedom of citizenship, of speech and expression, is blown to smithereens by this frank, brutal, and truthful assertion that the Union is an oligarchy and democracy a chimera and a dream. Jack London, in "The Iron Heel," wrote of the oligarchs and their doings, and to-day the tendency is even more clearly observable than when he wrote his sombre story. People like Ramsay Macdonald, Colonel Creswell, Longuet, and the like, who bleat about parliamentary institutions and "liberty broadening down from precedent to precedent," in the face of the facts daily recorded throughout the world, must be either self-deceived or the most blatant of hypocrites. The favoured few are enthroned, and wield a power undreamt of by Alexander, Cæsar or Napoleon.

The productive and destructive forces which can be set in motion or stopped at the will of a mere handful of international capitalists to-day make the power of the Cæsars appear but child's play. Constitutions, treaties, solemn covenants, whether between nations or groups within a nation, when they stand in the way of the financial oligarchs of to-day, are as lightly broken as air bubbles. While capitalism is allowed to have its own way it prates of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Stroke the tiger the right way and it purrs amiably and lulls its victims into security. Let it be thwarted in its slightest wish, however, and the claws and fangs rend and crush. The law of the jungle is then the only appeal.

The democratic United States, founded on revolution, has found a new master, has allowed a new tyranny to develop. It is called high finance. Let the workers even discuss a change in the fundamentals of ownership and production, and they are bludgeoned, shot, thrown into the bull-pens and bastilles of their owners, and even if they dare to send members of their own class by constitutional election to the representative assemblies they are prevented from taking their seats. The world to-day, with the exception of Russia, is a huge slave state. The chains of some slaves are longer than others, some are gilded, others are so light as to be almost unobservable—BUT THEY ARE THERE. A proportion are liberated every year for services rendered to the ruling class and placed over their fellow-slaves, whom they then oppress even more mercilessly than the older breed of slave drivers. But for the revolting slaves and their champions, now as ever, there is the rack, the torture chamber, outlawry, and death. Fair words, lies, and cunning, so long as they can keep the toiling wretches quiet, are the favourite weapons of the masters, but if these fail—then the bomb, aeroplane, machine gun, and poison gas are let loose to bring demos to his senses.

The "Star" is right; the majority here as elsewhere are held down ultimately by brute force. Fascisti, White Guards, Black and Tans, Black Hundreds, Ku Klux Klan, Special Police—no matter under what name they work, the thugs and assassins hired and brutalised by the modern slave owners, are organised primarily to ensure the safety of the oligarchs of to-day from any annoyance or injury from their myriad victims and their unmolested enjoyment of the colossal wealth filched from the misery of the toilers.

We thank the "Star" for so frankly admitting the pivotal doctrine of Communism, and we commend it to the reformists, sentimentalists, tame labour men, and fakirs of all descriptions. The fact being stated, the remedy seems obvious. Founded on hypocrisy and maintained by force, the monstrous incubus can only be removed by the concerted and conscious effort of the mass of toiling humanity.

(Continued at foot of next column.)

# The Secret is Out.

"In the Assembly this afternoon the Minister of Justice stated that Bolshevik pamphlets had been seized in Johannesburg, and the matter had been submitted to the Attorney-General to consider whether the posting of such matter was a contravention of the law."—"Star" Stop Press, Tuesday.

This, then, is the secret of the intensive campaign against the Communist Party which has been a feature of the South African Press for the past few months. Red plots, Moscow blasphemies, Bolshevik propaganda, Poisoning the minds of the young, Natives and Bolshevism, and Red inner circles are among the scare headlines which have appeared with monotonous regularity morning and evening, particularly by the Rand press.

Comrade Bunting, who has had the criminal audacity to pay a visit at his own expense to Russia, has been particularly singled out for attention by the jackals of finance who lurk in the editorial departments of capitalism. It was quite evident that a smoke screen was being created behind which the enemy was preparing some devilry. The campaign of dishonest innuendo, slander, and mis-statement was the barrage under cover of which an attack was to be launched. Having, as they hope, prepared the newspaper reading public and scared the average citizen into a state of funk, it is now considered safe by the Smuts crowd to reveal its real intentions, and we have the arrest of Communist speakers at Benoni on the ground of a technical infringement of a municipal bye-law, and a conviction follows as a matter of course.

The next move is a threat to prevent the importation and distribution of Communist and Socialist literature. The "seizure" in the paragraph referred to must have taken place during the raid on the Communist Party Office in the Trades Hall last March, as we have no knowledge of any seizure of literature since, unless the mails have been, as we have already suspected was the case, tampered with by the postal authorities. The most probable solution is that the C.I.D. have been again studying the literature which has been lying in Marshall Square for the past ten months. The "Sunday Times" article this week seems to indicate that this is the case, as we are told that "hundreds of pamphlets have been collected and filed by the police, many of them full of insidious revolutionary appeal."

How extraordinary that our sleuths have at last discovered it. For the last twenty years most of the literature handled by the Communists has been openly circulated by Socialists and labour men and exhibited for sale in news agents' windows in Johannesburg and elsewhere, and at last the eagle eyes of the C.I.D. have discovered them, and now the "Sunday Times" waxes almost hysterical over, e.g., the American journalist John Reed's pamphlet, "Red Russia," which is a brilliant historical account of the revolutionary days of October-November, 1917. "The ghastly portrait of a man being burned to death in the open street by red ruffians," on examination turns out to be merely a bivouac fire at which the red sentries kept themselves warm. Another pamphlet from Red Russia is entitled "The Land Grabbers; A Tale of Robbery," and the author rejoices in the very un-Russian name of Frank Tanner; in fact, he is a well-known English Socialist.

Of course, when we come to such a terrible name as Shumiatski, one naturally looks for the most revolting proposals; but the worst charge that the "Sunday Slimes" can lay against the gentleman with the name like a sneeze is that he proposes what quite respectable British land nationalisers have advocated for nearly a century, namely, nationalisation of land without compensation. Next comes Zinoviev with a treatise on Revolution and Soviets.

All very terrible, no doubt, to those ignorant people who have no interests in life beyond money-grubbing and the petty round of pleasure which engages what passes for "society" in this town, but to the students of history and politics who are to be found chiefly among the working classes, these are quite trite proposals and political truisms.

The "Sunday Times" winds up with the probably inspired questions: "Whence come the funds? Why is such dangerous literature not confiscated and the agents of its distribution placed under prompt arrest." It is too late, wise Messieurs le Editors; the "poison" is already scattered broadcast, and if one avenue of distribution is stopped a hundred secret channels will be opened. Look at our cartoon this week, it tells a story. "There was once a Pharaoh who would not let the people go; also in later times a King Canute." Even the adipose Levy is not big enough for the job.

The propaganda will go on until it is no longer necessary, and that will be when Communist teachings have been translated into action. Communism is like a germ; it is in the air; it is in your drawing rooms as well as your kitchens, Messieurs le Bourgeoisie! It is in the colleges and universities, as well as in the elementary schools. It is undermining the dull submissiveness of your police and military forces. Your sons and daughters are infected by it, in spite of yourselves. Even though your Fascisti organisations select them ever so carefully, and drill them ever so assiduously, they are not immune. In your most secret councils it penetrates and undermines your most cunning plans.

The Church burnt bibles, heretics, and heretical books once. To what purpose you now know. Follow their example in regard to what you also call poisonous pamphlets and the end will be the same. Czar Nicholas tried it; where is he now? Think, consider! You cannot escape the hand of fate by burning books, O wise and obese Levy! Nor can your masters to whom you crawl.

The enemy, once being clearly seen, it should not be difficult to direct the armies of the workers to the attack. It IS being directed; increasing thousands are seeing through the haze of prejudice, ignorance, and mendacity which has been crammed into their heads from childhood. The time for the great assault draws nearer. It may be almost here.

WORKERS, BE PREPARED!

# The Whitley System.

In the "Memorandum" drawn up by the trade unions of Johannesburg on the Industrial Conciliation Bill (which, by the bye, like the famous Garnsworthy letters, appears to have been produced by other hands and brains than the signatories), the principle of conciliation machinery established by law is accepted with all its implications. Attention is, however, drawn to the serious consequences which will follow a breach of its provisions if it becomes law, for example, the interdiction of union funds, criminal proceedings against the strikers and their officials, and for that and other reasons it is suggested that the bill should be withdrawn and redrafted.

It seems extraordinary that such a sentence should be found in a trade union memorandum as the following:

"We would point out that the result of the Taff Vale case establishing the civil liability of trade unions for wrongful acts by the union or its agents resulted in the British Act relieving trade unions from such civil liability, WHICH WE THINK GOES TOO FAR."

Those responsible for this memorandum thus confess themselves more reactionary than the conservative British Government. Goes too far, indeed! The condition of the British workers and their unions to-day does not justify the opinion that they have too many privileges nor too much power, and yet this assembly of the leaders of trade unionism on the Rand assert that even such poor safeguards as the Britsh worker possesses are too good for South African workers.

A little further on this document, although obviously drafted by a lawyer with bourgeois ideas, does confess that by supporting the principle of the bill "we are depriving ourselves of our most effective weapon, the immediate strike . . . and we are agreeing to an infringement of our personal liberty and our freedom to work or not to work as we may think fit." And yet in the face of this confession the signatories to this document are prepared to do everything in their power to make the Act a success if and when passed, providing some amendments and alterations of a detailed character are introduced.

The "Whitley Councils" introduced in Britain during the war seem to be the ideal aimed at, and the Typographical Union and Bank Officials the patterns of what unions should be. The Whitley experiment was only successful in hampering the unions at a time when they were masters of the situation, owing to the unprecedented demand for labour during the war, and as soon as the tide turned and they might have acted as a curb on the rapacity of the boss class they were conveniently scrapped and ignored.

The position of the Typographical Union during the late strike was sufficiently pitiful to need no further comment. Because of a national agreement it was argued that the union could not call out its members, and so strike at the strategic point in the bosses' position, i.e., the control of news and propaganda. Its members worked in the "Star" Office under military protection, and many lived on the job and accepted arms with which to shoot down their fellow-workers if necessary and ordered so to do. This society is quoted as an example of correct tactics in trade unionism.

Mr. H. W. Sampson, speaking on the bill in the House of Assembly, also quoted the Whitley Councils as "the only manner by which employers and employees could be made to work together for the best interests of all concerned," and then moved that the subject matter of the bill be referred to a Select Committee with an instruction to report not later than April 20th. If the intention is to delay the passing of the bill or, still better, to prevent its passage this session, then we agree with the suggestion. The longer the matter is kept off the statute books the stronger will grow the opposition on the part of the workers, as they see more clearly how it is proposed to bind them hand and foot before they have had time to recover from the events of last year.

We ask the labour members to use all the opportunities of labour obstruction to keep this villainous legislation from becoming law.

# THE FLOOD TIDE.

By HARRY HAYNES.

The struggle during the war to keep the red flag flying in South Africa was so severe that, at times, it seemed certain that the International Socialist League would never weather the storm, and that "The International" was fated to go out of existence. The few comrades who bore the heat and burden of those dark days were buoyed up by the hope that immediately peace was declared patriotic fervour would die out sufficiently to enable a sobered working class to take stock of the situation in which it found itself, which would cause the workers to throw in their lot with the Socialists and move forward in another world war—this time on their own account and for their own benefit.

It didn't happen.

The Russian Revolution breaking out before allied capitalism had attained its object; the flat refusal of the Russian worker and peasant to be butchered any longer in the interests of allied imperialism, enabled the dominant class to focus (for a time) the instilled hatred for Germany upon the Russian Revolution. So it was that, although the almost immediate result of the revolution was the consolidation of socialist forces under one banner—the Communist Party—in every country in the civilised world, another result was a temporary advantage to world capitalism, which did not fail to seize the opportunity to side-track the workers, not yet quite recoved from their war dementia, and remove their gaze as far as possible from the real point of friction. We have now reached the end of that period, and, in passing through it, the Communist Movement has been refined and has thrown off those elements which, inside the movement, acted as disruptive forces, and has succeeded in obtaining the world-wide United Front against capitalism which was the dream of the original founders of the movement.

In South Africa the change came with almost dramatic suddenness. In the space of a few months the anxious question, "Can we carry on?" was succeeded by questions of organisation and tactics. Although not reigning, the Communist Party finds itself to-day able to govern the South African Labour Movement both on the political and industrial fields. In legitimate membership it is probably the largest political party in the country to-day, and, although practically outlawed, its membership grows rapidly, and up to now it has been able to carry on entirely in the open and publish the whole of its activities in its weekly paper. (An amusing sidelight upon this is the action of the capitalist press, especially the "Rand Daily Mail" and "Sunday Times," in taking articles from our paper "holus-bolus" without a word of acknowledgment, and publishing with a great air of mystery and in a way professionally calculated to make their bourgeois readers' blood creep.)

The Communist Party (S.A.), then, has reached the eminence from where it can overlook the South African movement. Several factors have contributed towards this advance. The attacks of the press during the Rand upheaval, and the ridiculous assertion that the Communists engineered the whole affair, had precisely the opposite effect to that intended. The strike at the time was a popular movement. To-day it is still more popular, a proof of which is found in the total submergence of the S.A.I.F., and the general desire for a forward movement manifested by the popularity of the move toward industrial solidarity by the big unions. Consequently the omniscient press-man, on this occasion at any rate, shinned up the wrong tree.

Another contributory factor was the tremendous prestige gained by individual communists as a result of police persecution. If in bourgeois business "nothing succeeds like success," so in the labour movement nothing succeeds like persecution, as anyone may discover by a mere cursory glance through any history of socialism. Among Communists it is a common saying that "Jan Smuts is our best organiser," and, judged from the above standpoint, it is true. Of course, the main cause is the general misery of the working class brought about by the world-wide failure of the capitalist machine to function, and the contributory factors toward the sudden spread of communist ideas locally are only mentioned in order to prove how, in a lesser degree, capitalism produces its own grave-diggers. "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," and that tide is at this very moment bearing upon the topmost crest of the wave the Communist Party of South Africa. Membership is increasing rapidly. Paper and literature sales are going up, and general interest is evidenced by all ranks of workers "by hand and brain." Under these favourable circumstances two things in particular have to be guarded against. First, like the bourgeois business man, we have to take care that a sudden increase of expenses in all departments does not ruin us financially. Secondly, we have to rigorously guard our party to the end that our growth does not outrun our principles.

The first is easy if every comrade does his or her bit from a financial point of view; sells our paper and literature, and never misses an opportunity of catching a sub. or donation in addition to sending along that spare sixpence, shilling, or pound from time to time. The second is not so easy, as the history of our movement in this, and every other, country shows, but every comrade can assist by taking great care that they do not propose for membership any but genuine class-conscious comrades.

By this is not meant socially "educated," comrades—the Party will attend to the education of its members—but youngsters, men, and women who realise their position under the iron heel of the monster, and who are uncompromisingly determined to fight, knowing that more is to be feared from a continuation of bankrupt and decayed capitalism than from the final ending of it.

Now altogether, comrades!

The future is ours, let us take it with both hands!

# WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?

Lord Curzon waxes almost hysterical over the refusal of the Turkish Government to meet his wishes in regard to the military cemeteries in the Gallipoli Peninsula, and seeks to arouse anti-Turkish feeling in Australia and Britain by "sanctity of the dead" stunts. In the same daily papers we read the following:

"The present boom in the Valley of the Kings has given a great impetus to the 'antiquities' trade. Vendors of these 'antiquities' line the roads and endeavour to fleece tourists. They do a roaring trade in MUMMIES' HEADS, which are genuine to the extent that they were taken from the graves of humble Egyptians, thousands of which scar the face of the Theban Valley."

The Turks do not propose to sell dead Tommies' skulls to tourists. The only difference between a dead soldier's skull and a mummy's head is in their respective antiquity. Who, then, are the vandals?

# Ku Klux Klan.

AMERICAN FASCISTI.

HOODED TORTURERS.

Appalling revelations of Ku Klux Klan methods have been made at an inquiry now being conducted in Louisiana on the death of two men named Richards and Daniels, whose bodies, shockingly mutilated, were discovered in a lake.

State medical experts who examined the remains reported that a specially constructed machine had obviously been used to torture the men to death. One of them had been crushed to death, while the legs of another had been chopped off during life.

In one case the bones of the arms and legs had been broken in thirty-six places, while both victims had been slashed with razors before death put an end to their sufferings.

The fathers of the two victims had also been tortured by a gang of hooded men.

Commenting on the "K.K.K." cult, the "Nation and Athenæum" remarks:

It would be all very well if the Klan confined itself to childish idiocy and commonplace swindling, but idiocy and swinding would not suffice to allure hundreds of thousands, even of Americans, to join its ranks. The Klan clamours for Action and Blood. . . . It plays its part in lynching, tarring-and-feathering, flogging of men and women.

The "Nation" says that the annual income of the organisation cannot be much under £250,000, and remarks that the disposition of this revenue is "shrouded in mystery." The "Klemperor"—the head of the Klan, named Simmons—and the "Imperial Giant" Clarke, however, are reported to live in true imperial style.

Clarke has stated that he intends shortly to visit England and "conquer it for the Klan."

—Labour Press Service.

# Labour's Friends.

The Nationalist organ, "Die Afrikaner," has been letting the cat out of the bag and plainly showing the hatred of the interests controlling the Nationalist Party for those who champion the emancipation of the workers. Referring to Tom Mann, this organ of light and leading says:

"Mr. Mann has travelled all over the country and preached his doctrine of revolution. At meetings he taught his audiences to sing revolutionary songs and poisoned receptive minds with his seditious preaching.

"PREACHED COMMUNISM.

"He preached Communism in clear daylight, everywhere assuring people that he would do all he could to establish and promote revolutionary movements. He did not even hesitate to welcome coloured people at his meeting at Capetown, and to tell them that all—white and black—must stand together to reach the goal—the goal of revolution!

"Meanwhile the Government sat still and looked on unconcernedly . . even after they discovered that Mr. Mann belonged to the 'Third International' of Moscow. Is not this criminal indifference on the part of the Government? . . . It was the Government's duty to prevent Mr. Mann from landing here, or at least from holding meetings and spreading his seditious doctrines when it became clear what his object was!"

Is this the Dutch Nationalist idea of free Republicanism?

# Increased Efficiency.

RUSSIA'S STANDARD LOCOMOTIVES.

The Russian Government has decided not to purchase any more locomotives abroad after February 1st this year. The orders placed abroad amount to 1,200 locomotives and other rolling stock and railway material, involving an expenditure of 24 million pounds.

Professor Lomonosov, the head of the Railway Mission which has had charge of the purchase and transport of this big mass of material, referred in an interview to some of the methods employed by him. "Hitherto," he said, "locomotives have been transported either by rail, or in parts which were later reassembled at the place of delivery. When I first proposed having the locomotives delivered complete, I was looked upon as a madman. And, of course, the difficulties are even greater than they at first appear. The problem is not so much to ship and unship the locomotives, as to keep them in place once they are on board. We sometimes carried twenty locomotives on one transport. Had one of them swung loose in a heavy sea it would have capsized the vessel. However, with the assistance of the well-known Russian shipbuilder, Krilov, the job was successfully carried through without damage to a single transport."

Another innovation was the introduction of the system of standardised and interchangeable parts manufactured at different works. These parts were made to Russian drawings, and with such accuracy that a locomotive could be fitted up out of parts made in several different countries. This system not only cheapens the cost of production but simplies repairs. In Professor Lomonosov's office there was a photograph of a locomotive built of parts made in twenty different works, and by the side of the professor stood Mr. Muchnik, the vice-president of the American Locomotive Trust, and an English engineer who had come specially to Berlin to study this "stunt."

It is one of the most melancholy features in the social state of this country that, while there is a decrease in the consuming power of the people, and while there is an increase in the privations and distress of the labouring class and operatives, there is at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper class, and a constant increase in capital.

—Gladstone.

# The Fascist Movement.

By A. BORDIGA.

It was Bonomi, Minister of War in the Giolitti Cabinet, who fostered the beginning of Fascism; he placed at the disposal of this young movement demobilised officers who, although re-entered into civil life, were still in receipt of a large portion of their army salaries.

He placed at the disposal of the Fascisti the State machine in as large a measure as possible. He gave them every possible facility for organising their fighting forces.

The Government realised that it would be a formidable error to engage in a real struggle in the period when the armed proletariat occupied the factories and the agricultural proletariat showed signs of being about to seize the Crown lands.

This government, which had done the preliminary organisation work of that reactionary force with which they desired one day to destroy the proletarian movement, was aided in its strategy by the treacherous leaders of the General Federation of Labour, who were then members of the Socialist Party.

The proletariat was seizing the workshops and the landed estates. The Socialist Party once more failed to bring about united action of the industrial proletariat and peasants. And it is precisely this inability to secure united action which enabled the master class to achieve counter-revolutionary unity and so defeat the industrial workers on the one hand, and the agricultural workers on the other.

As we see, the State has played the primary role in the development of the Fascist Movement.

After the Nitti, Giolitti, and Bonomi Governments, we had the Facta Cabinet. This was a type of government intended to cover up the complete liberty of action of Fascism in its expansion over the whole country. During the strike in August, 1922, several conflicts took place between the workers and the Fascisti, which later were openly aided by the government. One can quote the example of Bari. During a whole week of fighting, the Fascisti, in full force, were unable to defeat the Bari workers, who had retired into the working class quarters of the old city, and who defended themselves by armed force. The Fascisti were forced to retreat, leaving several of their number on the field. But what did the Facta Government do? During the night they surrounded the old town with thousands of soldiers and hundreds of carabineers of the Royal Guard. In the harbour, a torpedo boat trained its guns, armoured cars and cannons. The workers were taken by surprise during their sleep; the proletarian leaders were assaulted; labour headquarters were occupied. This was the case throughout the country. Wherever Fascism had been beaten back by the workers, the power of the State intervened; workers who resisted were shot down; workers, who were guilty of nothing but self-defence, were arrested and sentenced; while the magistrates systematically acquitted the Fascisti who were generally known to have committed innumerable crimes.

Thus, the State is the main factor.

The second factor in the development of Fascism is, as I have already said, the great capitalists of industry, finance and commerce, and also the large landed proprietors, who had an obvious interest in the formation of a combative organisation which would support their attack upon the workers.

But a third factor has also had a very important influence on the formation of the forces of Fascism.

In order to form an illegal reactionary organisation outside of the State, one is compelled to recruit other elements than class. They gained the help of these elements by appealing to the middle class, and, in order to draw them into their ranks, endeavoured to express their interests. They gained the assistance of elements belonging to strata only just above the proletariat, and even among those suffering from the effects of the war—all those petty bourgeois, semi-bourgeois, tradesmen, and above all those intellectual elements of the bourgeois youth which, in adhering to Fascism, discovered in this struggle against the proletariat a new energy and the exultation of patriotism and Italian imperialism. They brought to Fascism a considerable contribution, in supplying it with those human elements necessary for its militaristic organisation.

These are the three factors which have permitted our adversaries to confront us with a movement of which we may denounce its ferocity and brutality, but in which we must nevertheless recognise an organisational solidarity as well as the political intelligence of its leaders. The Socialist Party never understood the importance of this growing antagonistic movement. The "Avanti" never understood what the bourgeoisie was preparing by profiting from the criminal errors of the working class leaders. They did not wish to denounce Mussolini, fearing that by so doing they would be giving him publicity.

We understand, then, that Fascism is not a new political doctrine. It has, however, a strong political and military organisation, a considerable press conducted with a good deal of journalistic ability. But there is no semblance of a programme; and now that they have arrived at the control of the State, they find themselves confronted by concrete problems and are forced to apply themselves to the organisation of social economy. Now that they have to pass from negative to positive activities, despite the strength of their organisation, they commence to show their weakness.

We have examined the historical and social factors influencing the birth of the Fascist movement. We shall now discuss the Fascist ideology and the programme by which this movement has drawn to it the various adherents following it.

Our criticism leads us to the conclusion that in reality Fascism has added nothing new to the ideology and traditional programme of the bourgeois politics. Its superiority and originality consist only in its organisation, its discipline, and its leadership. Behind this formidable political and militarist apparatus, there looms a problem which it cannot solve, namely, the economic crisis which will continually renew the reasons for revolution. It is impossible for Fascism to reorganise the bourgeois economic machine. They do not know how to find the way out from the economic anarchy of the capitalist system. And they endeavour to carry on another fight, which is the struggle against political anarchy, the anarchy of the organisation of the master class in political parties. Fascism is the realisation of this. Placing itself above all the traditional bourgeois parties, it is gradually sapping their membership, replacing them in their functions and—thanks to the mistakes of the proletarian movement—is including in its political crusade the human elements of the middle class. But it cannot construct an ideology, nor a concrete programme of social reforms, which shall surpass that of the traditional bourgeois policies, which have been bankrupted a thousand times. The critical part of the Fascist doctrine has no great value. It is anti-socialist and also anti-democratic.

Fascism is not a tendency of the right wing bourgeoisie, which, basing itself upon the aristocrats, the clergy, and the high civil and military functionaries, is to replace the democracy of a constitutional monarchy by a monarchic despotism. In reality, Fascism conducts its counter-revolutionary struggle by means of an alliance of all bourgeois elements, and for this reason it is not absolutely necessary for it to destroy democratic institutions. From the Marxian point of view, this fact need by no means be considered paradoxical, as we know well that the democratic system is nothing more than a scaffolding of false guarantees, erected in order to hide the domination of the ruling class over the proletariat.

At the same time, Fascism uses both reactionary violence and those demagogic sophistries by which the liberal bourgeoisie has always deceived the proletariat while assuring the supremacy of capital interests.

(To be continued.)

# Conscious.

The opinion is prevalent amongst Socialists that the capitalist class up to now has not consciously combated Socialism. The truth of this idea is tacitly admitted in the latter portion of the Plebs latest text-book on modern Imperialism. I have just come across a book of 566 pages, entitled "Contemporary Socialism," by John Rae, M.A., LL.D. (Edin.), published by Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., London, which gives the lie to this idea. Originally published in 1884, it was re-set, revised and enlarged 1891, 1901, 1908, and maybe there are later editions than the one I have (1908).

It is a bourgeois scholarly study of Socialism throughout the world. It deals with the progress and present position of Socialism, and has chapters on State Socialism, Social Democracy, Anarchism, Russian Nihilism, Christian Socialism, Collegiate Socialism, Federalism, Syndicalism, The Single Tax, Socialism and the Social Question, etc., etc., together with the biographies of Marx, Lassalle, and others.

It points out the best way to combat any phase of the movement wherever appearing. The "dangerous" countries, the "dangerous" men, and the "dangerous" forms, also the "safe" countries, the "safe" men, and the "safe" movements.

The number of its editions show how widely circulated the work is, and as my copy was purchased at the sale of the late Sir George Farrar's library, and still has his name in the flyleaf, it shows that Fat became "conscious" at least as early as 1884.

H. W. H.

When a capitalist gives 1 per cent. of the money he steals from labour to a fund for the construction or upkeep of a hospital for children, he is a "philanthropist," but when a working man demands the change of conditions that make children fall victims to disease, he is a "rabid Socialist."

# The Battle Reopens.

BEWARE GOVERNMENT SPIES.

The refusal of the Chamber of Mines to discuss with the A.E.U. the question of a 30 per cent. rise in pay was not unexpected. The Mechanics' Unions, generally speaking, have rightly refused to swallow the humiliating and degrading terms of recognition put forward by the Chamber of Mines after its bloody suppression of the Rand strike. Of course, the Victoria Falls Power Company and the Engineers' and Founders' Association, using different phraseology, come to the same decision. The Municipalities would like to do the same, but town councillors have to keep an eye on their seats and the voters, and so are marking time.

It is to be hoped that the unions who are still holding out against the Chamber of Mines Treaty of Versailles will not be sidetracked by any desire to score a small point now. Recognition of a union by the employers, as we have often said before, is of no value when conceded as a favour. When the unions are powerful and aggressive, the boss must recognise them whether he likes it or not. The tactics, then, are not to waste time and lose dignity and self-respect over terms of recognition, but to get to work and build up the unions, organise the workers, and when the demand is made again be prepared to back the demand by action. What form that action should take and when and where initiated is a question of tactics to be seriously (and secretly) discussed. No Government agents, although they are members of the Society, should be allowed in your councils.

Engineers and other mechanics! The first round is over. Prepare for the next. Sooner or later you will have to fight for recognition. The sooner you prepare the sooner you will be ready. Keep out government hirelings and spies masquerading as "brothers." A man cannot serve two masters. He will serve the one who pays him. Beware!

# Saul Among the Prophets.

Lord Milner, writing to the "Observer" on the subject of "Towards Peace in Industry," says:

"The real gravamen of the charge against our present industrial system is that it mismanages, misdirects, and therefore unduly limits production itself."

Lord Milner, in pushing home his conclusions, pays no respect whatever to the complacent economic theories or the tranquil political assumptions of the capitalist parties. Industrial relations, he remarks, are "greatly embittered" by the efforts of "many of the leading organs of the Press, owned as they are by plutocrats, and leaning as they do, though not always openly, to the side of capital," to persuade Labour "to bow to the teachings of 'economic truth.'

"But this optimistic palaver is altogether wide of the mark. The fact is that Labour remains as unconvinced as ever of the truth of middle-class economics."

PRODUCTION PENALISED.

Here are some instances of mismanagement, misdirection, and superficially limited production which do not at all tend to clarify the teachings of capitalist economics.

Rubber and tea crops are deliberately kept down by capitalist "enterprise" in order to maintain private profits at as high a level as possible (10 to 20 per cent. in the case of tea).

Improvements in a certain kind of printing machinery have been bought up and "killed," so as to ensure bigger profits from inferior machines.

Building Trade Trusts actually impose fines on firms which exceed a fixed quota of production.

There is, in fact, hardly any commodity—hardly any necessity of life—the production of which is not deliberately hampered by capitalism for its private ends. While children starve, fish is being thrown back into the sea and milk is being fed to pigs, for the sake of high prices.

This is the system which the capitalists call upon us to regard as sacred.

# Fame and Notoriety.

To be famous is to be good.
To be notorious is to be bad.
What's the difference?

Some years ago, James Greenacre, a petty London draper, wanted money badly. This want caused him eventually to commit a diabolical murder, dismember the corpse of his victim, a woman, and hide the "remains" all over London. He was found out and hanged. He became notorious, and his wax effigy is to be seen in the Chamber of Horrors at Madame Tussaud's.

Another man wanted money badly. His country was at war. He saw the opportunity and set up in business as a gun runner. He supplied guns to the enemy, and made enough profit to found a fortune. The guns he supplied probably caused the deaths or mutilation of many of his countrymen, but he was never found out—officially. He eventually became famous, and will one day have a monument erected to perpetuate his memory.

Still another man wanted money badly. He became a politician. He became a Prime Minister. The capitalist class of his country also wanted money badly. The want created a hunger for trade. Trade means markets. Markets mean territorial expansion. Territorial expansion means war. War means mass murder and mutilation. The politician who wanted money "saw it through." Hundreds of thousands of homes were desolated and the flower of the manhood of the country was wiped out. He became a historical personage. His wax effigy is to be seen in Madame Tussaud's, together with the effigies of the Field-Marshals, Generals, and Admirals of his day (who all wanted money badly) in a room adjoining the Chamber of Horrors where Greenacre is shown.

The first is notorious, Henry. The second is both notorious and famous. The last is only famous.

Have you got the difference?

# Conciliation.

Mr. Malan, in moving the second reading of the Industrial Conciliation Bill, said "it was the intention of the Government in the Bill to maintain the goodwill of both sides." "Maintain" is rich. If the Minister could hear the conversations and remarks of Rand workers on the trains and in other places he would soon discover that there is a plentiful lack of goodwill. He under-rates the intelligence of the most thoughtless and ignorant worker when he takes it for granted that after the slaughter of March, the Hanekom murders, the hangings and imprisonments there is any goodwill to maintain. The thousands of victimised and starving workers, the sold-up homes, the weary tramp after the elusive job, whilst the unhappy victims of the Chamber of Mines Government are insulted by the swollen profits of the mining companies, make the snuffling hypocritical talk of goodwill nauseating.

The Minister cannot maintain that which does not exist. There is no goodwill in the industrial life of the Rand, to say nothing of other parts of South Africa. There is a sullen acquiescence in the brutal exploitation now being indulged in until such time as the workers have reorganised their fighting machinery and can put up an organised resistance again. They may be forced to accept his precious conciliation machinery as a conquered nation accepts the terms of the brutal conqueror, but not willingly, and it will be torn to shreds the moment the workers feel strong enough, as the infamous Industrial Disputes Bill was in 1913.

You can divide mankind into two classes: the labourers and the idlers, the supporters and the supported, the honest and the dishonest. Every man is dishonest who lives upon the unpaid labour of others, no matter if he occupies a throne.

—Ingersoll.

## Getting Serious!

Since Langley Levy, the editor of the "Sunday Slimes," had his nightmare, and as a result staggered humanity with a blood-curdling story of the "Red Inner Circle," he has been careful what he eats before going to bed. Tinned lobster has been taboo in the MacLevy Menu for a long time, but poor old Mac found he was losing weight on an abridged diet. The skin of his face began to hang in festoons like a small Union Jack in a big Town Hall on the occasion of a patriotic speech by Alex. Benson, and Langley's otherwise remarkable (very remarkable) beauty suffered in consequence. His wife was concerned. Tearfully she prayed the Cherub to relinquish his fads and eat, drink, and be merry again as aforetime. To take a weight off the old woman's mind Langley Levy recommenced his old habits last week, and immediately the symptoms of fatty degeneration of the brain again become apparent, resulting in another dream. On Saturday he dreamt he was Falstaff, and while squirming to hear himself abused as a "bundle of guts" by Prince Henry, the dream changed, and behold! around his head floated millions of leprechorns bearing pamphlets, books, leaflets, Russian cigarettes, and glasses of tea with slices of lemon floating around in it. He clutched at the shadowy forms in frenzy, but they always eluded his grasp. One particularly daring gnome gave him a terrific bump, and then—the dream again changed. Langley Levy saw a huge ham (imported) swinging in the air. It bashed and bashed his head and face. Dimly he seemed to hear a familiar voice, which sounded like a nutmeg being grated, screaming.

He awoke to full consciousness. The electric light was on, and his wife was sitting up in bed clutching the remnants of her expensive "nightie," which had been torn to ribbons.

Why continue? Let us draw a veil over the sad domestic scene which followed, and merely remark that Langley Levy quietly put out the light. . . . .

The next day the Editor wrote a thrilling article about literature which would tear apart Society. It duly appeared in the "Sunday Slimes."

SEN YAH.

## Mathematics and Coal.

"Figures cannot lie," said Pythagoras, and Fat jumped at the saying enthusiastically. It is still a common saying to-day, and you take it as read, Henry, and forget that even though figures cannot lie, still liars can figure.

Centuries ago Zeno proved (by figures) that figures can be made to prove anything according to how they are used, by whom, and for what purpose. A special article in the "Star" last week "proves" that coal costing 4/4 a ton at the pithead at Witbank and sold in Johannesburg at 24s. a ton barely enables the poor coal dealer to live. It finishes up with the query, which is a challenge to all and sundry, "Have you ever met or heard of a rich coal dealer?"

Yes, Henry dear, I have met many rich coal dealers. One of the richest I know very well indeed. I allude to W. H. Bowater, the millionaire coal "merchant" who has in late years extended his coal interests even to the back block of the world. His father founded the fortune as a small coal huxter and was unfortunate enough (being a man of no education) to make figures lie—on the weight tallies. His success made him a member of "very best society." He was entertained, free of charge, in her late majesty's own hotel for a certain fixed period, and his son, the present W.H., learned the business from dad, and, by giving his customers full value for their money, in eighteen years became a coal millionaire.

By dad! but the name of rich coal dealers is legion.

## A Vicious Sentence.

After a trial lasting three days, in the Special Criminal Court, Johannesburg, before Sir John Wessels (Judge-President) and Mr. Justice De Waal, Comrade Donald Snowdon was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour on a charge of bearing arms against the forces of the Crown during the strike period in Benoni, the Judge-President ordering that the time served as an awaiting-trial prisoner be deducted, which leaves twenty-one months to be served.

Comrade Snowdon defended himself ably and courageously. But, as is usual in all these trials, no credence was attached by the Court to the evidence of the witnesses for the defence, the Judge-President in his summing-up merely dismissing it in a few sentences, whilst the evidence of the police was amplified and made to coincide.

A demand for a new trial would seem to be justified, on the ground that the Court dismissed three witnesses without allowing our comrade to finish his cross-examination.

Next week we shall publish a full report of the trial, which is one of the most remarkable—both trial and defence—in the history of the South African Labour Movement.

## Lest We Forget.

**On February 28th last year three strikers were murdered by the police in Boksburg. It is proposed to hold a demonstration of workers on February 25th, the nearest Sunday to the tragic occurrence.**

**The Joint Executives have the matter in hand, and it is proposed that the demonstration shall take the form of a march to the Boksburg Cemetery, where wreaths will be laid on the graves of the victims of capitalist tyranny and suitable addresses [illegible] workers.**

**All local comrades are urged to at once start [illegible] contingents, who will be advised [illegible]**

# Revolutionary Movement in Dutch East India.

By HAMMAR.

In this country the capitalists have done their utmost to increase their profits and power, without having troubled in the least as to the interests of the working class. The political and economic oppression which exists here could hardly be as strong in any other country. The native intellectuals suffer the worst from political oppression, and were the first to proceed against it. For this purpose they founded nationalist political parties: for example, the Sarrekat-Islam Party, the National Indian Party, and the Boerdi-Oetomo Party. The membership of these parties is composed of workers, business men, intellectuals, and so on. The largest and most important is the Sarrekat-Islam Party, which counts about a million and a half members and from five to six million sympathisers. At the period when the Nationalist political parties were founded there was also founded a Socialist Party (in 1913), which after the reformists had left it continued its existence as a Communist Party. This party has about 13,000 members, and a large section of the workers sympathise with it. The native members of the Communist Party (Persarekatan Kommunist di India) are also members of the great Sarrekat-Islam Party, many of them being among its leaders. Through these tactics and a strong communist propaganda, this great party to-day shows a more communist than a nationalist character. Also the programme of the Sarrekat-Islam Party is particularly communistic. The Dutch capitalists endeavour to oppose this revolutionary movement by every means, electoral or violent. Popular demonstrations are suppressed by force and bloodshed, as in Djumbi in 1917.

Freedom of speech was forbidden; the leaders were imprisoned or banished. Two leaders—Malaka and Bergsma—were banished and fifty comrades imprisoned. Among the sailors and soldiers, both native and Dutch, communist propaganda has been most successful, so that the Dutch government, supported by the Dutch reformists, ordered most of the revolutionary soldiers and sailors back to Holland. In 1918, as the revolutionary wave swept Europe, the colonial soldiers and sailors elected Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils; the members of these, however, were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from one to six years. Many of them are still in prison. They are outrageously treated, confined in narrow dungeons; and the authorities endeavour to obtain from them by force the names of other comrades who have taken active part in the revolutionary movement.

As the revolutionary flood in Europe began to ebb, the reactionaries in Dutch East India also began to assume power, with the aid of the social democrats. Only by the most strenuous efforts could we guard the hard-won achievements of the working class, maintain the organisation of our Party, and build up its strength. During this whole struggle the social democrats were on the side of the reactionaries.

Despite this we have been able to organise the trade unions into many strong working-class organisations and to unite them into a federation which includes all trades. This federation is strongly influenced by the communists, and possesses 60,000 members. The high officials of the railways and other industries are for the great part Europeans, and have their own organisations, which are strongly opposed to the communist bodies. They are, however, of no great importance and can count but few adherents among the masses.

Political and trade union journals with about 40,000 readers are published by the Communists. This comparatively small number of readers may be explained by the fact that large numbers of the workers come from the peasantry which is illiterate. Together with the Sarrekat-Islam, the Communist Party has opened several schools for children, as the government does but little for the education of the young. But the government fears that the children will be trained in communist doctrines in these schools, and therefore tries to break them up by every possible means. The attendance at these schools, however, is such that the government does not dare to take radical measures against them.

In general, we may say that our tactics and propaganda among the millions of natives who feel themselves to be an oppressed class, has much effect, and has created great sympathy for the Communist Party among them. This is shown by the fact that they never allow themselves to be used as strike-breakers against the white workers, nor as a means of lowering the wages of the European workers—which cannot be said of the natives in most other colonies. The Communist movement in the Dutch East Indies is therefore quite strong; its progress, however, may be materially hampered by the fact that many of its leaders are exiled and that those who remain behind are often arrested. As the movement in this territory is of great importance for the international working class, the Third International and the Red International of Labour Unions must do their utmost to aid the revolutionary movement, and the imprisoned comrades, in the Dutch East Indies, and to make known their condition to the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

—International Press Correspondence.

## Slave Factories Wanted.

In opening the buildings for the new Afrikaans Medium High School, recently, the Hon. A. G. Robertson, Administrator of the Transvaal, expressed doubts as to the success of the scheme of free secondary education. He was, he said, entirely in favour of free INDUSTRIAL education. There was a decided need for the establishment of more schools of industry. He considered that the system of free secondary education was wrong.

The true capitalist point of view is expressed in these remarks. It means in plain English that the higher schools, where the students (some of them) qualify for the supervisory positions in society should be kept, by means of prohibitive fees, as a special preserve for the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie. Free secondary schools enable a certain percentage of working class young people to qualify for the higher paid positions, which is inconvenient to the powers that be in two ways. It increases competition for well-paid billets, and it tends to dilute the snobbish atmosphere of the white guard forcing houses. The students who come from a proletarian environment are a possible danger, hence they are very grudgingly tolerated in the high schools, colleges, and universities which are intended to be the close preserve of snobocracy.

This is one of the reasons for the Chamber of Mines agitation for the abolition of the Provincial Councils, particularly the Labour-tainted Transvaal Council. So-called "industrial" education is, of course, quite another matter. It is necessary for the capitalist class that a practically unlimited supply of boys and girls should be provided with just enough technical knowledge to supply all the needs of the exploiting class in mining, commerce, and industry generally.

The numerous privately owned commercial schools and colleges turn out half-trained slaves for offices, shops and stores by the thousand every year. For mining and engineering classes the apparatus is more expensive, and therefore the government is asked, and of course agrees, to finance these institutions that the supply of mechanics of all kinds may be adequate to perpetuate the cut-throat competition for jobs, and thus keep even these so-called skilled workers down to subsistence level.

It is a fine system for Fat and his satellites, and the pity of it is that orthodox labour leaders accept Fat's point of view on education as on most other matters.

## Comrade Chapman & Obstruction

On a charge of street obstruction, Comrade T. Chapman, of Benoni Branch, appeared before the Benoni Magistrate's Court on February 1st. The offence was alleged to have been committed at the Saturday night propaganda meeting held by the local party branch. The magistrate found our comrade guilty, sentence to be suspended for six months on condition of good behaviour. Thus the enemy seeks to gag us.

## Fat's Prayer.

As the clergy are altering the commandments, written by God himself, in order to make them conform more to the ethics and morality of modern "very best society," I offer this prayer for inclusion in the new prayer book—free, gratis, and for nothing:

"O, Lord God of Hosts! look down from thy golden throne on high and help us thy chosen people.

"We are in a hell of a mess!

"Every man's hand is against us, O Lord! and our goodness is hid from the eyes of the multitude even as though under a bushel. Because their bellies cleave together the wicked poor murmur against US, and their cries enter even unto the innermost recesses of our closets. For thee, and to thy glory, we pluck the golden treasure from the bowels of the earth and refine it. We remove all dross to the uttermost in order to find favour in thy sight. Consider, O Lord! without us the streets of thy eternal city could never be re-paved, therefore preserve us and our works from the fury of the common people, which waxes greater daily, and is inflamed and fanned by divers men of wrath and blood. To such a pass have thy humble servants been brought, O God, that our paunches tremble; our knees shake like an aspen leaf; and our teeth rattle in our heads. We are become a mock and a laughing-stock to the common people. Our purple and fine raiment is laid aside in public, and our abundance of wine we consume stealthily as if ashamed. Our debaucheries we practice in secret, nevertheless our every action becomes known, and the clamour of the people deafens thy servants' ears. In the sunshine of thy presence we have waxed full, O Lord! and the earth brings forth her increase as of old time, yet the people claim they have a right to a portion thereof. We supply all the needs, and more, of thy ministers on earth, O Lord! and they curse the wicked poor and remind them that 'whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,' but the poor taunt them and mock them, saying 'Go to work at something useful.'

"Meekness and humility are no longer present among the masses, O God! therefore come thou and save thy servants lest evil befal us and our possessions.

"Come quickly, O Lord! And come in person—send not thy son, this is no child's play. Hasten, O Father! so that thy servants may rejoice and bless thee for ever and ever. Amen."

## March 10th.

ANNIVERSARY OF MARTIAL LAW.

We are informed that the Benoni Branch of the Party is organising a Grand Ball at the Hotel Cecil, Benoni, to commemorate the proclamation of Martial Law on March 10th.

Further particulars will be given in our future issues. Meanwhile, comrades and fellow-workers, keep Saturday, March 10th, open.

## COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

A general meeting of the Johannesburg Branch will be held in No. 4, Trades Hall, on Thursday, 15th inst., at eight o'clock.

* * *

BENONI.

The usual Saturday night meeting will be held at Benoni. Comrades, roll up and hear about Donald Snowdon's case.

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SPRINGS.

A highly successful meeting was held in Springs Municipal Offices on Wednesday evening, resulting in a branch of the party being formed. Comrades Glass and Andrews attended.

## General Amnesty.

All holders of petition lists are asked to get them filled up at once and return them to this office, as it is necessary that the petition should be in Capetown for presentation to Parliament by the middle of this month.

## Bourgeois Honour!

The American Relief Association in Russia was granted special privileges by the Soviet Government for its correspondence, a diplomatic valise being allowed. On opening the mail which bore the seal of the organisation, the Russian authorities found packages containing furs, tapestries, carpets, and jewellery which were being smuggled out of the country by the alleged American philanthropists.

## YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

STUDY CLASS PART PROGRAMME FOR 1923.

Classes in Economics and Politics to be held at No. 4, Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on Tuesdays, commencing at 7.30 p.m.

Tuesday, February 13th.—Machinery and Modern Industry. Functions of the Modern State and Future Possibilities.

Tuesday, February 20th.—Wages. The Rise of Democracy and Liberalism.

Tuesday, February 27th.—Accumulation of Capital. National Movements in the 19th Century.

Tuesday, March 6th.—History of the Growth of the Capitalist Method in Production to the present day, and general conclusions. Imperialism and Colonial Expansion.

The above parallel classes in Economics and Politics will be open to the public. All interested in working class education invited to attend. Time will be allowed for discussion.

## My God!

London, Saturday.—Professor Robert Leiper, in the course of a lecture to the Association of Economic Biologists, referred to the loss of £1,000,000 annually in cattle rearing in Australia caused by parasites.—"The Star."

Dear me! It's time Australia got a Communist Government.


## Look Out!

**GLAZER (the Ex-Convict)**

**Ladies and Gent.'s Tailor,**

Wishes to notify Comrades and Friends that he has REMOVED FROM BECKETT'S BUILDINGS TO ROOM 22, GROSVENOR CHAMBERS, LOVEDAY STREET. (Between Commissioner and Market Streets.)

COME AND SEE ME.

## A. Goldman & Company

(Late of Norman Anstey and Longfield & Co.)

**Has started LADIES' TAILORING, at**

**No. 1 Goch Buildings,**

(OVER CAREY'S BOOT SHOP),

**Eloff St., Johannesburg.**

## Comrade SAM BARLIN

Invites all Comrades and Friends to call at his office before ordering their suits or costumes elsewhere.

FIT AND STYLE GUARANTEED.

It will pay you to give him a chance by calling at

**20, ROYAL ARCADE,**

(Pritchard Street).


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Printed by the I.S.L. Press, 54, Fox [illegible] Square, and published by the C[illegible] of South Africa, No. 4, Trades Ha[illegible] Street (Box 4179), Johannesburg.