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The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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

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IN AID OF THE INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE FUND
(Com. Andrews' Travelling Expenses, etc.)

Social & Dance
ON
Saturday July 7
AT
Selborne Hall.

TICKETS 2/6. DANCING 8—12.

Carey Has a Little Lamb.

The miners of the City Deep are reported to have nominated the Bishop of Johannesburg as their spokesmen on a Conciliation Board which is to determine whether or not their wages ought to be cut 30 per cent. The Bishop confesses himself ignorant of industrial matters, so let us explain to him that "wages" is a vulgar workmen's term for "stipend," also that "EMPLOYERS" ARE GODLY MEN WHO ENDOW CHURCHES AND MISSIONS AS WORKMEN NEVER CAN. As for "the masses," we know that the Church wants to get at them; but it amazes us that they are so very willing to be "got at." These, the heroes of strikes and revolutions galore, are now found clinging to the lawn and crozier of a prelate, a friend of Tikhon and Budkievicz, a parson whose chief job is to qualify them for "benefits" not here but hereafter, a shepherd for whom they are so many sheep, snobbishly anxious, it seems, only to justify the appellation in his eyes and in the eyes of their fellow-workers.

"The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed
But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread."

"But we must have a good advocate." Ho yes, some advocate! Why not ask Smuts, he can do this oily, "humane," "reasonable," philanthropic wheeze better even than the Bishop? Why not ask the chief of the Salvation Army, who at least knows more about the poor? Why not ask Lord Lyveden, he's a real peer, not a mere spiritual imitation? Or the Chief Rabbi, or Professor Lehfeldt, or "Kid" Lewis? Happy thought, why not do as even natives have done before Commissions, and recently before the Senate, with marked effect on the tone of the Senators GO THEMSELVES to explain, as none of these "spokesmen" can, what the life of the worker is, what his needs are, what a 30 per cent. cut means to his wife and his children? What, that would be too vulgar, too proletarian, too Bolshevik, too reminiscent of March, 1922? Then give "industrial peace" in our time, for God's sake, if we have none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O Lord Bishop!

Cut the Knot.

The white workers rightly demand a life at European standards, but capitalism enforces a "kaffir" standard. There is no hope of "settling" this contradiction under capitalism: white workers and black workers taking sides against each other can only make matters worse, especially for the whites who have most to lose. "White supremacy" is a cry which everone knows is impossible as a basis for a working class movement: it only expresses the attitude of a white ruling caste. The only possible solution to our typical South African dilemmas arising from racial differences is, not "agreements," but a concentration on the overthrow of the whole ruling caste and its capitalist system: and it will be found that the subject races are themselves no less anxious for that overthrow, and can be induced to co-operate with any party genuinely bent on accomplishing it.

Fraternal Greetings.

This week's mail brings us this greeting from negro colleagues in the U.S.A., of whose paper Claude McKay, the negro delegate at Moscow last year, says "Every negro who appreciates clean journalism should be proud of it":

"Dear Comrades,—The 'Messenger,' the only organ of the black workers of America, greets you. For over six years the 'Messenger' has been working against great odds to carry the message of solidarity to the working class of the United States, black and white. We have been trying to stop the black and white working dogs from fighting over the bone of race prejudice while the yellow capitalist dog runs off with the meat of high profits. We have had great success. There is a greater understanding of the economic foundation of the 'race problem' in the United States than ever before.

"We wish you would place us on exchange with your paper.

"Hoping this request will meet and merit your approval, I am,

"Yours for Socialism,
"A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
"Editor."

We offer sincere condolence to "Jimmy" Briggs, of Benoni, with whom we have been glad to be associated on more than one occasion, on the death of his wife last week.

• • •

SOCIAL AND DANCE, SELBORNE HALL, JULY 7.
The Entertainment Committee will meet at No. 4, Trades Hall, TO-MORROW (Saturday), at 8 p.m.

The Writing on the Wall.

The "chain gang" returned to Johannesburg on Wednesday night, being met at the station by a large well-disciplined commando of unemployed bearing a large white banner on which were the words in red lettering:

"WE WANT WORK OR MAINTENANCE."
"WE WILL NOT STARVE ANY LONGER."

As the train came in hearty cheers were given, the ranks were formed and the procession marched in splendid order to the Trades Hall, where the three Comrades made short speeches.

As we expected, the newspaper report of the speeches in the House, while chained securely to the gallery bar, has had the sting carefully removed, and the suggestion that the "stunt" had not worked "according to time-table" was totally false. It had been arranged beforehand that until Harry Haynes had been downed and obviously could get no further, the other comrades should sit still and do nothing, and this was carried out to the letter. At the moment Haynes decided to cut Col. Reitz' speech short he found his chain stuck, and had to relinquish a favourable position and retire to the back of the gallery in order to adjust matters. From there he made a flying rush down the steps, and before anyone could interfere, he had securely locked himself on to the bar and commenced his harangue to the House. Had a bombshell been thrown the consternation could not have been greater. Smuts was livid with rage, and when Haynes, sarcastically referring to him as the "world's greatest statesman," bluntly told the assembled gas-workers that his only achievement worthy of recording in history was that of capturing a Fordsburg lavatory with 60,000 troops, Smuts got up, put his papers down, and stalked out of the House. With four policemen and two attendants at him Haynes continued his harangue until throttled off, and then Victor Woudberg's voice boomed out (in Dutch) from the extreme left: "I have come a thousand miles on behalf of thousands of starving men and women on the Witwatersrand," began Woudberg, and, realising the helplessness of the situation, the Chairman adjourned the House, when all the Government supporters, with the exception of Marwick, got up and left the House. Woudberg continued his address to the Nationalist and Labour members. He was unmolested, as Mr. Madeley had by this time arrived in the gallery and stopped further attempted brutality, and Woudberg, speaking calmly and clearly, got the "Hoor, Hoor's" of many strangers in the gallery and even from the Nationalist benches.

Harold McCarthy then appeared on the extreme right, and his voice rang forth. "I have been sent here for and on behalf of the starving returned soldiers on the Witwatersrand to emphasise their lack of confidence in your lousy Government for the wonderful promises made to us which you never had the guts to fulfil. You have adjourned this House because you are too ashamed to hear us, but the time will come when you will want us to fight for you again, and then we shall know what to do with you. You promised us a land 'fit for heroes to live in' and you have made it a land fit for nothing but kaffirs to live in, and you are breeding only murderers and criminals in our ranks."

He was quickly removed as he had failed to get his chain secure before the attendants reached him.

The police now began to arrive in force—every available policeman, on and off duty, had been rushed to the Ouse, and attempts were made by some to release the self-made prisoners while a bigger number were told off to search the basements, drains and precincts for dynamite. At last a mechanic was obtained from a local garage who with a hack-saw succeeded in cutting through the padlocks. After a long wait, a funny little fellow called the "Sergeant-at-Arms," who carried a desperate-looking sword and was escorted by six policemen, a sergeant, a head-constable, and Inspector Soul, had the three desperadoes brought before him, and, reading from a paper which trembled although there was no breeze, he informed the miscreants that Mr. Speaker had considered the matter carefully and had decided that as they were evidently "respectable" men whose fervour for their cause had allowed them to be misled by others, and who were undoubtedly ignorant of the penalty, which was £1,600 fine or two years' hard labour, it had been decided to have them removed by the police and prohibit them ever again entering the sacred precincts of the Ouse for the rest of their natural lives.

That ended the episode. The result was shown at the enthusiastic welcome the "chain gang" have since received at the various meetings they addressed before leaving the Cape. On Sunday night the Grand Theatre was totally inadequate to accommodate the attendance, and thousands failed to get in. The enthusiasm was electrifying, and when Harry Haynes called upon everyone present to stand and give three rousing cheers for the World Revolution the response was deafening. (A reporter from the "Cape Times" was present, but no report appeared in Monday's paper.)

At Salt River Railway Shops on Monday (lunch time) a farewell meeting was held. It was most enthusiastic, and the Railwaymen took up a penny-a-man collection which realised 27/7. The send-off from Capetown Station was something to be remembered. The Communist Choir, led by Com. Pereira, led the singing of the "Red Flag" and "The Internationl," speeches were made, and Harry Haynes was carried shoulder high to the train to the strains of "He's a jolly good fellow."

The three men have received letters of congratulation from all sorts and conditions of men and women, so, even if only a "stunt," the object aimed at, namely, drawing public attention to the evil in our midst, has been attained, and the lesson has been learned that Jannie can always be seen and spoken to when men are determined that he shall. The farce of Parliament has been shown up in its true light, and a fillip has been given all round to the general forward movement about to take place.

D. B.

The Parliamentary "Chain Gang."

H. J. McCARTHY, HARRY HAYNES, V. C. WOUDBERG.

Indians Champions of Africans.

A NATIVE VIEW

The struggle in Kenya is the struggle of two ideals—white domination of the world or equality of the races of mankind. The problem of Kenya is the problem of the "colour line." It is not the question of European versus Indian but of white versus black. This is our view of the whole affair. . . . . The triumph of the claims of the white settlers will be the triumph of white domination in Africa. We are fully convinced that the cause of Indian settlers is the cause of humanity; it is a great pity that since the deportation of Harry Thuku by the Kenya Government, the Africans in Kenya have not been able to produce a leader with sufficient vision to enable him to realise that the Indian cause was primarily the cause of all black men. . . . . It is well known that there is a violent agitation to get the Asiatics out of the country; and the repressive legislation that has been directed against the Africans is a tragic proof that white domination of Africa is the end in view. The only way to check this ambition and inhuman movement is for the non-Europeans to combine their forces and launch a constitutional attack upon them: we therefore take the liberty to suggest the calling of a conference of non-European leaders in this country to discuss the matter of co-operation." "Abantu Batho."

[Another view, voiced in the native press we believe, is that of the I.C.U. organ, the "Workers' Herald," for July, which says baldly: "For the mutual benefit of all concerned, complete segregation between the two races is the only solution of this burning race question." This, alas, presumes too much. A separate native state would be simply the slave at the mercy of its white neighbour, if the latter could survive when deprived of native labour. Again, Russia is segregated from capitalist countries, but the burning question between them and Russia is as unsettled as ever, and will be until they fall into line with her—i.e., until the segregation is in effect abolished.—Ed.]

Great is Truth & Shall Prevail.

Anti-Soviet propaganda lies seem to be thickening again, but they have been found out so often before that they may serve only to defeat their own purpose. Year after year, month after month, the number of honest men of working class sympathies who have visited the country increases; their reports, and those of trusted correspondents in Russia itself, are gaining an ever widening circulation; and everyone of them comes away with a feeling of disgust at the unfavourable comparison that capitalist society offers to that of Russia, and enthusiasm for the greatness, the spiritual exaltation, the magnificent aspirations and efforts of the leading elements in the present life of that country, as well as its intoxicating political freedom for the working class. In a few more years these reports will so completely prevail over the present lies that the workers of other countries, pricked with shame and disgust at the backwardness and meanness and ignobleness of the regime of their own countries in comparison, will rise like one man and insist on its immediate abolition.

From Dungeons Dark.

Com. Donald Snowdon, No. 986, writes from Central Prison, Pretoria, to Com. W. H. Andrews:

"Dear Comrade, The spirit moves me to send you these few lines by way of encouragement. All who are actuated by "the true proletarian spirit" must be having a strenuous, anxious time. The promise however is great. It rests with those who are outside to carry on the war for true working class liberty. I am feeling physically very fit. Emerson says: 'Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles,' which means that my accusers must be feeling pretty rotten just now, that is, if they possess sufficient intelligence to feel any mental pang. As for me, singing 'Peace, perfect peace' on Sunday evenings my spirit goes out to you. My most sincere greetings to yourself first and to all dear comrades and friends. History tells of a 'Star Chamber' in the days of Charles I. Now we have the 'Star' and the 'Chamber.' Which, may I ask, is the worse?"

"Almost all the fundamental, vital work of the world is done by people who are not working for profit."

—H. G. Wells.

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Biblical motto for the Labour Movement: "Faith, hope, and solidarity, and the greatest of these is solidarity."

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Down With Smuts.

Uitenhage, though coinciding with the prorogation of Parliament and the impending oversea flight of Smuts, has nevertheless given us a first taste of blood for the coming continuous campaign of elections, Municipal, Provincial, or Parliamentary, from now on for the next year or so. A Pyrrhic victory for Smuts, who no doubt feels with the "Daily Mail" that a few more Uitenhages will leave him dead as mutton or Lloyd-George, it foreshadows the coming of a positive tornado of bluff, bribery, and corrupt practice, a hundredfold intensification of all the vices of South African electioneering in the past, but for all that a grim fight on a grim and vital issue.

Elections being in the air, then, what is the duty of the working class? To "cut them out" because "politics is such a dirty game"? To nark back to that rejection of "political action" beloved of "Leftists" who have been "left" behind in the rush of events? By no means. In the political arena capitalism can actually both deal and be dealt the deadliest blows, and the working class would be foolish to wait until the perfect weapon and the perfect combination of circumstances fall into its lap. A working class party should "everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things," taking current history as it finds it and pushing it in the direction demanded not merely by its party interest or "purity," but by the destiny of the working class itself.

Imperialism—British, French, American, Japanese, Dutch, or Belgian—is the cardinal enemy to be overthrown by the working class of the world, and especially of the colonies and dependent or subject peoples. The defeat of a thoroughly imperialist government like ours, and especially the defeat of Smuts who is boosted as a world apostle of imperialism, becomes the foremost duty of the working class, white and black, of South Africa, whether or not some of them are still too parasitic—or too scared for their pensions—to realise it.

We may think the British Empire, doubled in area during our generation, invincible. In point of fact it is quaking with nervousness. It is whistling in the dark. In spite of its apparent military power it is threatened by something that cannon cannot shoot nor Bristols bomb: the fast awakening consciousness of its millions of slaves. Every subject race now aspires to liberty, every subject class hopes one day to have its foot on the exploiters' neck. Curzon can snap his fingers at the Red Navy, but he is terribly upset because Soviet ambassadors at Cabul and Teheran win the friendship of those peoples; and Baldwin is only too glad to seize the first excuse to patch up matters hastily with Chicherin. Col. Truter can shoot Israelites, but he is mortally afraid of "native propaganda," which persecution only strengthens, and for that matter he cannot even prosecute notwithstanding all the fulminations of the Martial Law Commission. Imperialism and capitalism rest largely on "prestige," they depend more on bluffing and dividing and deluding their slaves than on crushing them by force. Once race and class consciousness and enlightenment becomes general their doom is at hand before ever a shot is fired.

That is why an election blow to Smuts' prestige becomes a first-class revolutionary task, and the question what government may succeed him, or whether it will be any improvement, is comparatively irrelevant. Such a blow must be thought of as likely to coincide with a fall of Poincare, Curzon, Mussolini, and others of that kidney. It is easy to see how, with the revolutionary forces of the world what they are, even in this back block of the world, we can take a hand in world history-making by **BEATING SMUTS.**

Workers, at the sacrifice of all else, BEAT SMUTS.

For the sake and in support of our comrades in and out of gaol, here and all over the world, BEAT SMUTS.

No matter what stunts or red herrings or bribes (for money will flow like water) are offered to you by "the man of the hour," remember that the Empire, the doings of the Royal Family and High Society, or the prosperity of the Chamber of Mines, are absolutely nothing to you. Remember only the war and its frightful sequels, the age-long oppression of your class which Smuts has intensified right up to date, remember the Ruhr, the 1922 strike, the executions, the political repression, the cost of living, the unemployment, the relief works, remember the UTTERLY HOPELESS OUTLOOK which no election cries can affect, and realise that this monster must be destroyed first, before it becomes worth while even discussing alternatives: or, if you wish to have it cut and dried beforehand, realise that Communism, the only alternative in the long run, is no bogey, no nightmare, but is exactly the expression of what you, the working class, white and black, want and need.

DOWN WITH SMUTS AND HIS GANG, AND CLEAR THE WAY FOR THE WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

What about renewing your subscription to the "International"?

Schools for Natives: Communist & Capitalist.

Col. Truter is reported to have informed a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, in answer to Mr. Merriman, that the "Bolsheviks" "were getting half educated natives and educating them in a school they had in Johannesburg and then sending them out as apostles to spread the propaganda."

On this juicy item appearing in the "Star," the Secretary of the Communist Party was rung up by what purported to be the "Rand Daily Mail," asking whether the story was true. The reply was that it was not: but the "Mail" did not publish the denial, showing once more the close connection between that paper (or its purported spokesman) and the police, who in their turn were closely connected with a similar frame-up (the "Luko Messina" case) by agents of the Native Affairs Department in 1917-8. Col. Truter had better not try his hand at anything of that sort: we warn him he will make a mess of it, just as Detective Henley made a mess of himself when he climbed into an attic where he had "unimpeachable information" that "native meetings" were held, and came down smothered with the undisturbed dust of fifteen years!

But it is a great pity that no such school exists. Such schools were of the heart of the patient propaganda which contributed so much to the success of the revolution in Russia. Col. Truter's dread is father to his thought. The ruling caste of S.A. fear the enlightenment of their slaves more than anything. Unless they are altogether mistaken in their estimate, therefore, we can deduce from it how valuable such enlightenment will be to any body set to overthrow that caste.

But we also make a counter-"charge." The bourgeoisie are "getting half educated natives and educating them in a school they have in Johannesburg" and all over the country: the school of hard experience of capitalist exploitation. Trotsky, addressing a Young Communist gathering in Moscow last year, pointed out that for the younger generation in Russia the nature of capitalism had largely to be learnt out of books, as a historical study, for they no longer worked for the profit of masters; they knew not the Joseph of Russia's pre-revolutionary production, or production as still carried on in capitalist countries, and thus, he said, they were at a disadvantage for lack of personal experience of its lash, as compared with their contemporaries elsewhere, whose elementary education in the meaning of the class struggle arose naturally in the course of their ordinary experience of the workshop—there was the boss, whose interests were against theirs, it was natural to strike against him. The native workers of South Africa, like any other workers in this or any other capitalist country, thus "enjoy" that education in the school of life which is more "dangerous" perhaps than all the training of "intellectuals" (as General Smuts puts it) or "half educated natives" (as Col. Truter puts it) which might be imparted in a Communist school, and the beauty of it all is that the "guilty" educators in the school are not the Communists, but Col. Truter and his friends themselves: and the more they shudder at its effects, the more they put the screw on and so redouble them instead.

However, if Col. Truter wants to "make a case," let him provide us with suitable premises ("in Johannesburg" will do), equipment, interpreters (for the Government has got them nearly all), and of course funds to pay the teaching staff: we will provide the staff (which will have to include some interpreters of our own to see that his don't falsify) and the pupils. Then let him approach the Attorney-General again and see if he can persuade him to prosecute, or the Minister of Justice for legislation against educating natives in what! In the facts of society, in the fact of the class struggle throughout history, in the fact of the labour movement to abolish that struggle in its latter-day forms, in the fact of their own position in the imperialist economy, in the fact of the self-emancipation of the population of one-sixth of the earth's surface from imperialism, in the fact of the aspiration of hundreds of millions more towards similar emancipation in short, in all the facts that Communists and Communists alone have to teach. We admit it is most unusual to teach facts in schools; we admit that men have been hanged and shot and assassinated and crucified for stating facts. Nevertheless we will take our chance of defying either Truter to prosecute or De Wet to legislate without occasionally, if accidentally, being hoist on their own petard against the dissemination of facts, and we would guarantee that our propaganda, unlike that of our enemies, would consist of facts, the whole facts, and nothing but the facts.

The Stuff to Give Us.

HOW THE UNTRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA IS SPREAD.

A Miss Valentine has been lecturing in Johannesburg on her "experiences in the Russian Revolution." Dressed in the cap, apron and red crosses of the amateur army nurse, she tells us that she was born in Petrograd. Her father was an Irishman, her mother a Russian aristocrat. She was brought up in the city but spent her holidays in the country, and thus came to know the peasantry. She described some of the more interesting characteristics of the Russian people, their habits and customs, the nature of the countryside, etc., and then she goes on to deal with the Revolution.

As far as any real knowledge of Russian politics, either before, after or during the Revolution is concerned, Miss Valentine seems to be entirely ignorant. Like the bourgeois youths on the Rand who helped to suppress the Rand workers last year, she fought blindly on the side of the reaction, enjoying the thrills and the hair-breadth escapes but not taking the trouble to probe into the inner meaning and significance of the Revolution.

In her eyes, the fall of Tsarism was not due, as all students of history (and even Mr. Lloyd-George) know it to be, to a whole host of social factors, but simply and solely to the hypnotic influence of Rasputin over the Czarina! During the Kerensky period about the duration of which she has a very hazy idea—Miss Valentine fought against the Germans in the famous "women's contingent," and was one of the four sole remaining survivors.

"Then," she says, "Lenin and Trotsky took power." She does not say why. Apparently she does not know why. Lenin, Trotsky, and Kerensky are lumped together as equally mad and objectionable people. Such things as classes and political parties do not exist as far as Miss Valentine is concerned.

The Bolsheviks are simply a pack of bloodthirsty fiends, she says in effect, and proceeds to illustrate this with lantern slides. There follow photos of human beings who have been tortured to death in various ways. These are the same pictures that were circulated some three or four years ago (including the results of the famous rat-and-bowl torture). Other pictures equally repulsive and equally liable to deceive the ignorant were shown.

How does Miss Valentine explain the fact that this gang of torturers has become the most popular government in Europe? Why, if Denikin in his advance on Moscow was rescuing the Russian people from worse than death, did revolts break out in the rear of his army? Why is Miss Valentine not acquainted with the fact (known to everyone in Russia and all well-informed people outside) that the pogroms in the Ukraine were committed by White troops? Does she not know that it was on account of the hideous cruelty of the hired bands of Denikin that the people of the Ukraine welcomed the Red soldiers as saviours and deliverers?

A significant thing occurred in Johannesburg not so long ago, when a number of Jewish orphans arrived here from the Ukraine. Some of the visitors remarked to the children how sad it was that their parents should have been murdered by the horrid Bolsheviks. The children replied, "Oh, no! The Bolsheviks are good people; it was the others who killed mammy and daddy."

Let Miss Valentine put that in her pipe and smoke it!

(Continued at foot of next column.)

Upton Sinclair Arrested.

A report from New York states that Upton Sinclair, the well-known Socialist writer, has been arrested in America. Sinclair is a member of the International Workers' Relief, which body has sent the following telegram of protest to President Harding:

Mr. Harding, President U.S.A., Washington.

Receive with indignation the news of the arrest of our member Upton Sinclair. Protest. Demand immediate release.

International Workers' Relief.
Maxim Gorki, Clara Zetkin, Willi Munzenberg, Anatole France, Andersen Nexo.

The International Workers' Relief has addressed the following telegram to Upton Sinclair:

Upton Sinclair, Los Angeles, California.

Hear with indignation of arrest. Have protested to Harding. Brotherly greetings from us all.

International Workers' Relief.

Upton Sinclair has replied to the above telegram of sympathy in the following manner:

"Do not bother, quite usual in America. Upton Sinclair."

In spite of the grim humour expressed in the reply of Upton Sinclair, which reveals the true character of the "Government with the greatest democratic freedom in the world," the advanced revolutionary American workers will let Mr. Harding know that they will not for a moment think of putting up with Pinkerton justice in this case.

Clifford Allen, Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, writes to the Workers' International Relief British Committee: "I am delighted to hear of your splendid efforts to establish the Keir Hardie Home in Orenberg. Like all visitors to Russia, I WAS PROFOUNDLY MOVED WITH ADMIRATION BY THE MAGNIFICENT ATTEMPT THE RUSSIANS WERE MAKING TO SAVE THE CHILDREN FROM THE IGNORANCE, SLAVERY, AND DISEASE THEIR PARENTS HAD SUFFERED. I cannot imagine a more noble work than your own."

The pictures she showed were either deliberate frauds, i.e., dead bodies were cut up and then photographed, or they illustrate the work of counter-revolutionary assassins. And it is rather late in the day to trot out the "nationalisation of women" yarn. Let Miss Valentine read "The Natural History of a Lie," a pamphlet which gives the facts. The trouble with lies of this sort is that you have to keep on exposing them: one exposure does not seem to be enough.

Miss Valentine brings personal testimony to prove the good character of Wrangel. It is true that Wrangel was the only counter-revolutionary General who retained the faith of his followers to the last. The others were cut-throats, nothing more nor less, and Koltchak met a well-earned death at the hands of his own troops. Wrangel was a misguided but honest counter-revolutionary (if such a combination is possible).

"The Russians are a great people," says the ex-aristocrat. "One day their greatness will rise superior to this Bolshevism." She fails to see that their greatness is actually expressing itself to-day and that the form which it is taking is Bolshevism. Russia has risen superior to "this Capitalism," and only when a nation does that has it any hope of becoming really great.

E. R. R.

The Workers Hit Out.

The Soviet Government has put a ban on Swiss goods entering Russia. The reasons appear in this manifesto of the Communist International and the R.I.L.U.:

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

The plenipotentiary representative of Soviet Russia in Lausanne, Comrade Vorovsky, has been murdered by a Swiss agent of the Entente. The diplomats at the Lausanne Conference did not murder him themselves, they did not organise this murder openly. They arranged it with all the diplomatic art of secrecy. They first made the reactionary capitalist press spit Fascist poison against the Russian representative, and afterwards they sent the bloodhounds of the Swiss "National League" against him.

A single word from the powerful organisers of the Lausanne Conference would have been sufficient to prevent the infamous murder. A single secret hint from them has been sufficient to get it carried out. BY ITS DIPLOMATIC COLLABORATION IN THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE ASSASSINATION THE SWISS GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN ITSELF TRUE TO ENTENTE IMPERIALISM.

The Entente Governments hoped that Soviet Russia would not send representatives to the Conference when it reopened. And when Comrade Vorovsky arrived in the name of the Russian Government he was refused admission to the Conference. Now he has been assassinated.

This is capitalist diplomacy. Maybe the Turkish representatives, who are only representatives of the

Do you agree with us?

THEN JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

proprietary classes of Turkey, will fall to their knees before diplomacy of this sort, and will deliver the national future of the Turkish people to the capitalist magnates of the Entente countries.

What would be the result of this? Through the Straits the way for British Imperialism leads not only towards the seizure of Russian oil in Baku and Russia's vast resources in the Urals, not only towards domination over Constantinople, but also towards the colonisation of the whole of Turkey. And if Turkey is ruled by the Entente, there will be an end also to the independent existence of Persia, Afghanistan and of all the nations from the Mediterranean to India. The hopes of liberation for the Egyptian and Indian nations would disappear, with even the hope of an independent development of China.

Thus the Straits are the key of the freedom of the Asiatic nations, and Soviet Russia is the only great power which will defend this key to their freedom. THE SHOT AT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF RUSSIA WAS AIMED AT THE NATIONAL FUTURE, AT THE MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA, AND IT WAS WELL AIMED.

Lord Curzon has revealed in his Note to Russia the purpose for which this shot was fired. He sees that the interests of British rapacity are countered everywhere by Soviet Russia, there is not even freedom of movement in Moscow for the spies of the Entente; the interests of the British Fleet are not recognised either in the White or in the Black Seas. Lord Curzon demands that there should be no representatives of Russia in Persia and Afghanistan, to recognise the rights of national independence of the Asiatic nations. In India there must be only slaves; no fighters for national freedom and no friends of Russia.

BUT THE SHOT AT LAUSANNE WAS NOT AIMED ONLY AT THE ASIATIC NATIONS. IT WAS DIRECTED ALSO AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT OF EUROPE AND OF THE WHOLE WORLD. It was a declaration of war by the ruling Fascisti against the fighting workers of all countries.

This murderous challenge cannot remain unanswered by you. You will answer it by closing your ranks, by increasing your energy in the class war, by strengthening your revolutionary alliance with the victorious Russian proletariat and with the oppressed hundreds of millions of slaves in Asia.

ON WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE UNITED FORCES OF ALL THE EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED IN THE WORLD!

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST MURDERERS!
DOWN WITH THE FASCIST BLOODHOUNDS!
LONG LIVE THE VICTORIOUS RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT!
LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.
The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

The only British demand which the Soviet Government has not complied with is the recall of the Russian Ambassadors from Kabul and Teheran as well as the member of the Russian Delegation in London, Comrade Klishko. All the charges raised by the English Note against these comrades are pure fiction, and there is no doubt whatever that, just as in September, 1921, Com. Chicherin proved that all the evidence brought up by Lord Curzon originated from the notorious spy bureau of the Baltic Baron Uexkul, so in the same manner will every investigation reveal that not a single citation upon which Lord Curzon bases his present charges is derived from a genuine Russian document. The whole thing is an invention of English espionage.

"OUT OF THE MOUTHS . . ."

Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the Amsterdam International, speaking at Prague last month at the Railwaymen's Congress, declared that Soviet Russia was the great bulwark of the Labour movement, and that if Russia were beaten the whole movement would be crushed.

THE CHILD OF THE WORKER.

WE DEVOTE THIS PAGE TO AN "ANTHOLOGY" (NECESSARILY OMITTING THE ILLUSTRATIVE DETAIL, THE MOST INTERESTING PART) OF A FINE PAMPHLET JUST ISSUED BY THE PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE "YOUNG INTERNATIONAL," WHICH HAS ENGLISH-SPEAKING AGENCIES IN BRITAIN, THE U.S.A., CANADA, AND SOUTH AFRICA. A CONSIGNMENT OF THESE PAMPHLETS HAS ESCAPED THE USUAL WEEKLY SEIZURE AND DESTRUCTION OF OUR OVERSEA NEWSPAPER MAIL AT THE HANDS OF THE G.P.O. AUTHORITIES, AND IS ON SALE AT THE PARTY OFFICE AT 6d. PER COPY POST FREE. IT CONCERNS ALL WORKING CLASS CHILDREN, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE OR COLOUR.

The Home of the Worker's Child.

The capitalist system, hard enough to endure for the very strongest worker, is especially hard upon the working class children. They have nothing to expect from it except marytrdom and suffering. From the first day of its existence capitalism brought to its victims, the children, under-nourishment, disease, death. Each day of its continued existence increases the number of its sufferers. Especially since the war have these wretched conditions been intensified. There is no longer any doubt as to the cause of misery, especially child misery. There is no longer any doubt that all the good bourgeois "charitable" relief organisations can do nothing to relieve the working class children; to protect them from starvation and degeneration. The working class must help its own children and must itself struggle with all energy and ruthlessness until capitalist society is overcome and destroyed, until the working class builds its own society and frees its own children from the horrors of present-day slum life.

"Suggestions," "possibilities," "bridging difficulties," "the public good"—how vague and how helpless are all these administrators of the British Empire before the situation they have themselves helped to create! Does the working class have anything to expect from the capitalist class? Must it not take over the cities and countries of the world and itself build its own houses, destroy the slums in which it has to live at present, and create for itself and its children a world and a life where the sun and the air can enter?

It is not only in imperialist England and its dominions and vassal states that such conditions exist. They exist in all the capitalist "democratic" republics" of the world, in every industrial city, small town, or village in America, Austria, Asia, Africa, and Europe. They existed long before the war. They are worse now! THEY WILL CONTINUE TO EXIST AND GROW WORSE UNTIL THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF PUTS AN END TO THEIR HORRORS; UNTIL THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF RESOLVES THAT ITS CHILDREN MUST AND SHALL HAVE DECENT HOMES AND PURE AIR AND SUNLIGHT AND FOOD AND CLOTHING.

The Worker's Child in the Capitalist School.

Lloyd-George said in a speech made December 5th, 1918: "I say to Labour you shall have justice. You shall have fair treatment, and your children shall have equal opportunities with the children of the rich."

Did you get your justice, your fair treatment, and did your children get the "equal opportunities," you British working men? Or are your children continuing to go hungry to school because your capitalist government cannot "afford" to feed them?

* * *

A few kind sentimental souls send a donation and then forgot the whole matter. But let anyone suggest a different order of things, a society in which children do not need to go hungry to school nor to depend upon private charity for their food, and hear the shouts that go up! "Bolshevik Plots! The Communists would break up the homes! The Bolshevists would destroy society!"

Certainly the Communists would and intend to destroy the system of society that permits such horrors and that perpetually increases and intensifies such horrors. That is the work of the revolutionary movement. THAT IS WHY WE CREATE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S GROUPS.

The Capitalist School.

What are the children taught in the capitalist schools, if they are not too hungry to learn; if they are sufficiently well fed to be able to attend and retain in their memories the lessons they hear?

The ruling class is not content with starving the bodies of the children of the workers. It strives to poison their minds. To-day more than ever before does the ruling class endeavour to estrange the proletarian children from the proletarian class; to teach them to oppose their own struggling parents, their brothers and sisters. All schools, public and private, in the capitalist countries are strongholds of patriotic and nationalistic propaganda and training. And we cannot deny nor ignore the fact that the governing class is well equipped with all the knowledge and all the teachers it needs to fill these fresh young minds with the germs of nationalism, with bourgeois sentiments.

What is, then, the character of the present-day school? It is an institution of the ruling classes for the poisoning of the working class children, an institution for the training of servile and submissive wage slaves, a nursery for future scabs and white guards. In their history lessons the children are taught to respect the present system. They are taught patriotism, submission, respect for "law and order." They are taught to hate the workers, and to learn to glorify their own capitalist countries.

And the composition lessons! And the slurs of the teachers against revolutions, against Communists, against striking workers, against Soviet Russia! The unemployed are pictured as being "too lazy to work." The children of bourgeois parents are favoured in the schools. Reactionaries are glorified. The children are told that anyone who is modest and industrious and hard working is "sure to succeed in life."

The school teaches the children nothing about the true situation of present-day society, nothing of the conflict of interests between capitalist and proletarian; nothing of the real economic and social causes of wars and revolutions. Carefully ignoring the results of such social upheavals, the schools continue to teach the old worn-out fairy tales of religion and nationalism. They fill the minds of the children with the lies and illusions that every intelligent teacher knows are lies and illusions.

The school is intended to prepare the young for life. But it does not prepare the young proletarian for his proletarian life. It seeks to prepare him to become the servile subject of his exploiters.

A capitalist paper published in London indulges just before Christmas, 1922—in the following interesting speculation on the effect which the window displays may have on the children of the workers:

"One of the most pathetic sights in London at this season is to be found in the small circles of pale, wizened, child faces gazing in at plate glass windows where the magnificent displays of children's toys and Christmas presents are shown. Does not the suggestion arise that in this ostentation of wealth it is possible that dangerous seeds of class jealousy may be sown, seeds that are productive in a far more insidious degree than the teaching of Socialist songs?"

You will observe that this writer is not at all concerned about the fact that the "pale, wizened child faces" must do without the things that are displayed in these windows. His sole worry is that these children may grow up into little Communists who would "rob" OUR CLASS of these things.

One writer in a Scotch (Conservative) paper suggests that all cinemas should be closed because IN MOVING PICTURES THE LOWER CLASSES WITNESS THE JOYFUL LIVES OF THE RICH!

Wretched in his home, hungry and cold, the child goes to the capitalist school to be dosed with mental poison. On the streets he sees more wretchedness and viciousness. If he pauses to look longingly into a shop window the ruling class takes alarm and sees a menace in his wistfulness. He dare not go to a moving picture show, because he may become envious of the lives of the rich shown there. What, then, shall the proletarian child do? Where shall he spend his time? From whom shall he learn the facts of life? By whom shall he be prepared for his life as a worker?

The Worker's Child at Work.

The children who have managed to survive the miseries of their earliest childhood are being steadily, in greater and greater numbers, brought into the factories and shops and mines and mills and streets of the world. Under the capitalist system the human animal lives upon its young.

"No fledgling feeds the father bird,
No chicken feeds the hen;
No kitten mouses for the cat.
This glory is for men
"We are the wisest, strongest race,
Loud may our praise be sung!
The only animal alive
That lives upon its young."

The Worker's Child & the Capitalist Laws.

The capitalist law makers who "cannot" protect the children are constantly being appealed to for legislation which will restrict the children. One patriotic Englishman writes in the Sunday "Times" of November 27th, 1922, the following letter:

"About two weeks ago I asked the Home Secretary in the House of Commons whether his attention had been drawn to the seditious doctrines taught in the Proletarian Sunday Schools, and whether there was any legislation under which these schools could be closed, and if not whether the Government would introduce legislation for this purpose. The reply I received was most unsatisfactory—to the effect that nothing could be done.

"Having regard to the fact that there are thirty-seven at least of these schools in Great Britain, of which 16 are in England, 13 in Scotland, and the rest in Wales, and that at these schools there is deliberately taught revolution and rebellion, it seems to me, and probably it will occur to a great many other people as well, that the Government should take some notice of these schools and arm themselves with such powers as will enable them to deal with them."

The British Empire Union has produced a moving appeal to "save the children from Socialist and Proletarian schools." After giving specimens of the teaching those same old specimens that appear in every tract of this kind the general secretary, one Reginald Wilson, addresses a letter of warning to all and sundry about this terrible menace in which he states:

"Apart from the present harm done to the children, THE FUTURE IS FULL OF MENACE TO DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT . . . Such teachings are NOT ONLY FALSE BUT WICKED . . . Our plan of campaign, which it is not advisable to publish, for attacking these schools is complete. Only helpers and funds are required."

Be sure, proletarian parents, that the capitalist world is waiting for your children. It will allow them to live in hovels, to run the filthy streets and the dark alleys. It will put them to work before they are out of baby dresses, and if they manage to live and grow up, it will give them guns and send them to be shot. But there is one thing it will not do. It will not treat them as human beings, who must have a chance to grow, to learn, and to think, to play, and to enjoy life. Nor will it permit you to do these things for your children. It will carefully see to it that your own wages are kept at the barest existence level, and that your children must help you to maintain this existence if indeed it does not take your jobs away from you and give them to your children. And when some other country threatens not your country, but the commercial supremacy of the capitalists of your country your boys will be put into uniforms and given guns, and when they are brought back to you you may bury them and you will not even have time to grieve over their loss. The capitalist system demands your time and your energy and your strength. You had not time to love them and care for them when they were small. You will not have time to weep when they are shot or gassed or drowned.

The Misery of the Worker's Child in the Capitalist World.

As long as the capitalist system exists, with its wretched homes, its foolish useless schools, its millions of labouring children, its laws and its juvenile courts, just so long will the children of the working class suffer. Nor will they learn, of themselves, how their conditions may be altered. Everywhere in life the child sees the rich and the poor, the hungry and the well fed, the slave and the master. On the streets and in the small parks he sees the children of the rich, well and beautifully dressed, rosy and plump and clean, with their wonderful toys and playthings, their nurses and attendants. He realises that he has none of these things which are so fascinating. He realises that he is shabby, ragged, and dirty. He understands that he will not be permitted even to play with these children of the ruling class, although to him they are only children far more fortunately born and reared than he is. He does not understand that they are the children of the ruling class, and that he is a child of the worker. His natural instinct is to long for the things the other children have; to think, "If only I had such nice warm clothes, such pretty playthings, such good food. If only I could ride in a car and live in a pretty house." The streets have already begun to educate him to greed and selfishness. Who shall tell him the truth about these things? His parents are too busy or too worn-out from labour or from worry to even listen to his questions. They are too tired and depressed to think out things for themselves. They cannot explain to the child that these things exist because it is a capitalist world, ruled by the few for their own welfare, sacrificing the many. He grows up to accept as quite natural all the things he sees about him. If his parents are religious he will even be told that it is a sin to question or to complain. He grows up as the bourgeois class would have him grow up to become a slave, crawling to the master for a job and grateful for a chance to work, suffering silently and without protest the active miseries of hunger and cold and disease, not even being aware that there are greater blessings beyond the full stomach and the warm and healthy body, not even dreaming that the world might be a beautiful place for every human being.

Parents, your children are in danger. Do not listen to the complaints of the governments that they have no money for schools and homes and for food and clothing for your children. They have plenty of money. In the financial year that ended March 31 1921, the English Government spent three hundred and twenty thousand pounds for free milk for children, but a single man-of-war costs over eight million pounds, and in that same year the English Parliament voted to construct four such ships. Three hundred and twenty millions for battleships—three hundred and twenty thousand for children's lives!

The Organisation of the Workers' Children.

What shall we do, then? Shall we, the struggling class, refrain from explaining to our children why we must struggle and why they too will have to struggle, some day. Shall the proletarian mother not explain to her hungry child the reason why he is hungry. Shall we remain silent and ashamed when our children ask: "Father, why are you on strike? Mother, why do you go to meetings and demonstrations? Brother, why are you out of work?" Shall we remain silent when our children repeat to us the lies and the slanders and inciting phrases of their bourgeois schoolmates? When our children read lies and abuse of the workers, in the papers, and ask us about them, shall we say: "You do not understand that." No, we say to our children: "Be proud of the strikers; proud of the demonstrations; proud of the comrades who languish in jails, of the parents, brothers, acquaintances who have fallen in the battles for the World Revolution."

And again we shall say to our children: "Be proud when you are called a Communist. Do not be afraid of hearing that name. It does you honour."

We Communists do not intend to make the children in the Communist groups serve our ends. We do not intend to lead them into ways which will not benefit them. On the contrary, we wish them to participate in the work and in the struggle, in the inspiring ideas, and in the triumph of our class. Their self-confidence and their characters are to be strengthened, their horizon to be widened, and their lives given a purpose and a future. In this way we can best protect them from the rude and dangerous influences of the street and of the slum homes.

But how can the children participate in the struggles of the adults?

The children must attend protest meetings and demonstrations, along with their parents and elder brothers and sisters. They must take an active part in all such demonstrations, with their red banners and their own posters, made by themselves. They must display on these posters their own demands against corporal punishment, for free meals in the schools, for better school buildings, etc. Everywhere the children can take part in the distribution of leaflets and in house to house agitation. They can make speeches at meetings, can recite, and sing.

Do not wait until the minds of the children have been stuffed with reactionary teachings. Do not be scared by the warnings of would-be pedagogues. Recognise the proletarian children for the working class. Make sure of a vigorous reserve for the Proletarian Revolution. Work and do your utmost, that the coming generation may be better fitted for its work than we have been fitted for ours.

Proletarian parents, the decision of the fate of yourselves and your children lies within your own hands.

HE WHO HAS THE YOUTH HAS THE FUTURE. LET US WIN AND HOLD THIS FUTURE!

"I HEAR THEY WANT MORE."

Do the proletariat want a new war? If there are any in whom the horrid memories of the four years of the great war have faded, they should cast a glance at some of the preparations being made by the capitalist world for the next war. According to a speech by Lloyd-George, had the last war continued, the Allies would have been able to employ a gas—lewisite—by means of which, experts declare, the whole population of Berlin could have been exterminated within 24 hours. In the meantime even this gas has been surpassed. Thus the American State laboratory, in which more than 4,000 investigators are engaged every day in experimenting for fresh means of chemical destruction, has produced a liquid poison of which the amount to be carried by one aeroplane would suffice to annihilate every living creature within seven miles. There are similar laboratories in almost every country in the world.

A French expert, speaking with regard to experiments made with sinapic and other gases, declared that there was one gas among them "whose employment causes temporary incapacity to think, converting human beings into idiots or rendering them intoxicated for the time being." (Extract from Finnmen's speech at the Hague Peace Conference.)

Moroccan troops served and are serving by their tens and hundreds of thousands in the French imperialist army. In return, the French are undertaking against Morocco the biggest military campaign since 1857. Moral—as our natives too have learned—to go soldiering to help your boss enslave someone else means that you only become more enslaved to him yourself.

THE WRIGGLES OF REFORMISM.

The moment a Labour Party takes up the attitude that the interests of the workers of one country are more closely bound up with the bourgeoisie of that country than with the interests of the workers of another country—which is in fact the attitude taken up by the reformists—it deprives the proletariat that follows it of the possibility of having its own movement, and robs it of historical independence. The workers will become a political appendage to the bourgeoisie; an inconvenient, irksome and troublesome appendage, but an appendage for all that. The actions of the Labour movement will become dependent upon the movements of the bourgeoisie. A bourgeois-proletarian united front is also a nationalist united front. This means that the reformists in the various countries will be able to play at proletarian internationalism only so long as the bourgeoisie of these particular countries maintain some kind of intercourse with each other.

Soviet Russia is about to snatch out of the hands of the reformists the last weapon against the revolution. When to-day the social-democratic leaders, even during the smallest strike which they are endeavouring to strangle, find themselves hard pressed, their press undertakes a divertive offensive by opening an attack on Soviet Russia. The more impatient the workers become with the labour leaders, the longer and more numerous become the articles on Bolshevik atrocities. Soviet Russia is the bogey with which the social-democrats try to scare the workers away from the revolution. But this game is becoming played out. The truth about Soviet Russia is becoming known. It is becoming known that Bolshevism which has defeated its external enemies is also mastering its internal difficulties, great as they are.

To Stop War.

THE GENERAL STRIKE IS THE ONLY WAY. By TOM MANN.

At the time of writing the war clouds are black to breaking, deliberately encouraged by the reactionaries of various countries, and primarily by Curzon and Co. in this country. The hatred of Russia by the diplomatic crowd—largely because of Russia's exposure of the methods of secret diplomacy, is savagely bitter and venomous; and for this alone they have vowed vengeance. On the top of this is the continued success of the Soviets brought into existence by those who WORK ONLY, and not by those who exploit workers—in itself an explanation as to why all upholders of capitalism should seek to destroy Soviet Russia. The arrogance of Curzon in his dealings with Russia stands out so prominently that any fat-headed Henry Dubb can see it. Secret telegrams are still used, and deliberate efforts made to precipitate war without the matter being brought before Parliament. See the following from the "Manchester Guardian" of May 21st:

* * *

SECRET TELEGRAMS.
THE VATICAN AND POLISH IMPERIALISM.
(By our own Correspondent.)
Berlin, May 13.

To-day's "Rote Fahne" devotes its front page to the Amadori telegrams published in the "Manchester Guardian" last Monday. Having quoted them in full, the "Rote Fahne" goes on to say that "the telegrams from the Italian representative in Moscow to his Government are undoubtedly authentic. In the "Echo de Paris," the well-known publicist "Pertinax" supplements them with a commentary in which he expressly supports the Anglo-French plan. The plan is clear. To begin with some excuse will be used to break off relations, then existing treaties will be dissolved, then the isolation of Russia, then blockade. England will begin, then Italy, then the United States of America, France, and Japan. The anti-Bolshevik elements in Russia are to be encouraged to revolt and to provoke terror on the part of the Soviet Government. At the same time war-like conflicts between Soviet Russia and her neighbours, Poland and the Baltic States, are counted on—a repetition of 1921."

The organised workers of Britain stand committed to oppose war being forced on Russia, and we count upon loyalty on the part of all workers to honour the understanding. The Labour Party and the trade unions are under an obligation following upon the attitude in 1920: to refuse to assist a Government in any way to make war on Russia, and to oppose this being done by a UNIVERSAL STRIKE.

By no other means can the workers exert the power to interfere with the machinations of an arrogant ruling class. By no other means than the refusal to render service can the workers actually kill the power of the boss class. Mad for war! For ourselves, like all who agree with the aims and objects and methods of the "RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS," we shall be ready at any hour to participate in any action necessary to thwart the war-mad plutocracy, whose real aim and object is to impose themselves upon the workers in future as in the past, as an exploiting, dominant, ruling class.

Come now to our position as workers and the trend of events in the industrial world. We have declared and continue to declare that there is no hope of a stop being put to the humiliating conditions under which work is being done by the men in work, and the starvation conditions that overwhelm those who are out short of a GENERAL STRIKE. The workers in the unions, managed as they are, functioning sectionally only, can offer no effective resistance to the boss class, therefore, to be successful, the appeal must be to ALL workers, organised and unorganised, skilled and unskilled, men and women. And it will not be necessary to ask permission of any union, because no strike pay will be needed, there will be no coming on the funds of the unions. What is advocated is a GENERAL STRIKE of All Workers in Britain, as evidence of discipline among ourselves, and that we are alive to the fact that we must USE POWER, and hurt the Boss Class by refusing to perform every service for them as we always have done, and by this means compel adjustments in the industrial conditions.

It is not proposed to indulge in or to attempt a long stoppage, a series of short stoppages of one day's duration would force the changes necessary.

The Hamburg Congress.

A KNOCK-KNEED FIASCO.

The cabled reports of the Hamburg Congress of the London and Vienna International gave the impression of a distinct move towards the left, but mail accounts are utterly disappointing. The sole result of the Congress, says Karl Radek, consists in the fact that the open and the disguised reformists have amalgamated. But they have not formed an international. The broken pitcher cannot be mended, and the Second International, shattered by the war, cannot be set up again.

It is true that it employed revolutionary phrases in its resolutions, but it rejected not only the idea of the approaching proletarian revolution but even the idea of the mental preparation of the proletariat for coming revolutionary struggles, because it assumed capitalism to be the only possibility within any calculable time.

Here, met under the colours of the various capitalist powers, including those of the Hapsburgs and the Tsars, and guarded by immunerable police, were assembled ministers and ex-ministers of the world bourgeoisie by the dozen. During the first year following the war, they shrieked "never another war," and even recently the Amsterdamers declared for a general strike against the danger of a new war. But now the situation has become so threatening that they do not venture to repeat the joke this time. They declined to answer the question how the proletariat is to defend itself against the fresh war danger, but they formed an International of nationalists "victors and vanquished, each upholding "his own side."

They dare not even vote for coalition with the bourgeoisie now, for "the bourgeoisie is swinging the Fascist cudgel," and "democracy" and "mass form" are back numbers.

They declare that all nations are to blame for the war, but that Germany still has to pay till the reparations to France; nothing about reparation to the Ukraine, because France has its army in possession, whereas the Ukraine has not. And so they passed a reparation resolution without ever hearing it. "The conference was so hopelessly divided, and nationalism so rampant, that they did not dare to discuss the questions that faced them."

Wels and Noske, with the blood of twenty-four thousand revolutionary workers on their conscience, Henderson, who as "royal minister" agreed to the shooting down of Connolly and the Dublin workers, they curse Soviet Russia, following the curse with a whimpered "hands off"; while they reject the appeal of the Frankfurt Committee to be heard in the cause of a United Front against Fascism and war, on the ground that the Communists do not acknowledge democracy and the right of self-determination! One united front alone was displayed, the united front against the Communists and every revolutionary party! A Second International which pretends that no Russian revolution has intervened since it last functioned is only a ghost of its former self.

In this setting, the couple of revolutionary phrases cabled to our papers lose all importance. Some of the British Labour leaders and German Social Democrats even wanted to leave out the phrase "that the object of the International was to establish a Socialist Commonwealth." It was even proposed to include the Fascist "Labour" organisations with idea of achieving "unity," and this was supported by some of the British delegates, though Bauer on the other hand was prepared to meet Fascist force with force if need be.

The locale of this rickety structure is to be London, which means that it will be dominated largely by British Labour Party officeholders, who have also just secured a second rejection of the Communist application for affiliation, though a larger minority supported it than last year, and on a clearer issue.

It is perhaps some indication of the character of this element that in the "Socialist Review," edited by Ramsay Macdonald, there is actually published, without editorial comment, a panegyric like Crawford's, published by us last week of Mussolini, and of Fascism as an improved form of Socialism!

The militant elements, however, are already beginning to repudiate this drawing-room Labourism. A Second International may have arrived, but only as a re-hash, with eyes turned to the past, not the future; it is out of date before it has fairly got going, and will only hasten the inevitable splitting of and ranging together of the really proletarian elements.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

CAPE BRANCH.

A most interesting and instructive lecture was given last week in the Communists' Hall by Comrade Buirski on "Women and Socialism." I may state that we had the right man for the subject, our Comrade having little to learn about women, and less about socialism. Many prickly points were raised, and amongst them the oldest profession in the world was discussed, and, according to the lecturer, only became "sinful prostitution" when money was passed between buyer and seller. Although sin, in the biblical sense of the word, is a back number in these enlightened days, prostitution is still looked upon by the majority of women as a blacklegging on the trade union of marriage.

The speaker dealt in a masterly way with all the questions, and I came away with the impression that we cannot judge between the abilities of the sexes until that time when we are equally free and when we shall expect from each according to their ability and give to each according to their need.

A. E. H.

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JEPPE BRANCH.

Meetings on Wednesdays, July 4 and 18, at 227, Fox Street.

On July 4, Com. W. F. Ward will open discussion on "The A.B.C. of Communism." The public are cordially invited.

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JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Following the example of Jeppe Branch, Johannesburg Branch has inaugurated a series of lectures or discussions open to members AND THEIR FRIENDS, WHETHER MEMBERS OR NOT, but introduced by members. The need has been felt for a certain amount of internal propaganda, and the discussions, the first of which took place last night, on "Unemployment in S.A." (led by C. F. Glass), will be of so informal and homely a nature that no member should feel any diffidence either in opening one as "lecturer" or in participating as debater. Johannesburg Branch will spend EVERY THURSDAY EVENING in this way except the first Thursday in each month when the "business meeting" will be held. Members and supporters keep Thursdays open, roll up and take part, and help to secure that the matters discussed shall be not debating society topics of no importance, but topics with which the working class is actually and directly concerned, whether industrial or political, theoretical or practical, but always of proletarian interest. The syllabus for July, viz., Thursdays, July 12, 19, and 26 is as follows: 12th, Com. M. Goldsmith, "Propaganda experiences and methods"; 19th, Com. Dambe, 26th, Com. S. Barlin, "The native as a revolutionary factor."

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Johannesburg comrades will "present" another of their attractive Socials and Dances at the Selborne Hall to-morrow (Saturday) week, July 7th, from 8 to 12 p.m. Tickets at 2/6 are selling like hot cakes. A rousing house is assured. The proceeds are for the International Delegate Fund, i.e., to take Com. W. H. Andrews and any subsequent delegates or executive members from the S.A. Communist Party to Moscow. Among other artists will be Messrs. Argoll and Christian (tenor and baritone), Mr. M. Green (descriptive vocalist), and well-known demonstrators who will give exhibitions of the newest dances.

Com. Jack Allen, Mayor of Springs, will preside.

Christianity and Criminal Law.

This "Christian" South African Party-cum-Unionist Party-cum-Chamber of Mines Government is notable for one very particular feature, namely, its glaring inhumanity.

The Stock Thefts Bill lately before the House, being a "property" measure, also received the support of the landed Nationalist Party who, in their efforts to protect their stocks of sheep and cattle, are prepared to resort to the most barbarous punishments imaginable against the half-starved natives in their employ.

First, they starve their workers on ten shillings a month, then torture them with the knout for satisfying their hunger.

The landed class of Britain treated their slaves (white) a few centuries ago in a similar way. They first forced the serfs from the land, then hung them on gibbets on the roadside because they neglected to work for the rising merchant class on their terms.

Let me hasten to assure our coloured brothers that the Stock Thefts Bill is not RACE legislation but CLASS legislation. This class legislation has been a feature as long as private property has existed.

For instance, we are told by Professor J. B. Bury, author of "Freedom of Thought," that "during the early period of the Roman Empire a difference was drawn between different classes of Freemen." There was one law for the crimes of the rich, another for those of the poor. The privileged class (which included persons of senatorial and equestrian rank, soldiers and veterans, decurions and their children) was in general EXEMPT from degrading punishments. The severest penalty next to death was servitude in the mines, this horrible fate was NEVER inflicted on members of the "better" classes, who would be deported to an island or an oasis for the same crime which sent a humble Roman to a living death.

Professor Bury then says: "If the Christian Church, when it rose to power, had exerted itself to put an end to this injustice it would have performed an action which would weigh heavily in its favour."

There would be a bad time in store for the ruling class if one of, say, Justinian's laws were in force to-day: "Tax-gatherers falsifying their accounts incurred the penalty of amputation of the hands!"

But the ruling class make their own laws to-day, and naturally take care that the punishment fits the crime, and a bit over when applied to the working class.

Neither natives nor coloured can expect any hope from the ruling class, be they black, yellow or white. Obviously their only salvation is that of the white, black and yellow "proletariat" the world over. We have all got the same basis of agreement. We are propertiless. Some of us receive a higher price for our "labour power" than others, nevertheless we must find a master to buy it or starve. Let us all unite in bringing forward the time when we shall all socially engage in producing useful commodities for our OWN use, thus hastening the time when we shall have neither master nor slave.

W. GREEN.

Where to get 'The International'

The "International" can be purchased as follows:

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Peace Still in Peril.

The Frankfurt "Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism," in an appeal to the "International Socialist" Congress at Hamburg, which the latter spurned, says:

Lord Curzon is waiting for the moment when, Parliament having risen, he will have a free hand to bring about a fresh intervention against Soviet Russia. . . . The telegrams which the representative of the Italian Government, Amadori, sent from Moscow to Mussolini in the middle of April state that for some time conversations had been taking place between the British and Italian Governments over the joint recall of their representatives from Russia and over the commencement of a blockade. The telegrams prove that the British Government calculates that the damage done by the blockade to the slowly improving economic situation in Russia will compel the Soviet Government once again to have recourse to the defensive means of the Terror and to break through the blockade by means of an attack on the border states. Thereupon a fresh intervention would begin under the pretext of "defending civilisation" against Soviet Russia. Lord Curzon and the British Foreign Office consciously deceive the English proletariat and English public opinion when, through the mouth of their parliamentary representative, Ronald McNeill, they assert that the breaking off of the trade relations does not mean war, because England did not enter into war with Venezuela when she broke off relations with that State. Soviet Russia is not Venezuela; Soviet Russia is a State with 150 million inhabitants, with which one must either be at peace or at war, but which cannot be ignored. Soviet Russia is only divided from British territory by a narrow frontier, and this rouses the hate of British imperialism. The adventurers of world counter-revolution will therefore see to it that a guerilla war on the frontiers of Russia begins which will lead to a new war. . . . New interventions against Russia mean, in view of the existing and every-day-intensifying world political differences, a new world war.

Press Amenities.

"Star" headline: "Bolshevism only an episode." The article itself by Lloyd George: "The Soviets have come to stay."

* * *

A letter to the "Star" criticises as "inaccurate" a statement published in that paper that £5 = £1,000,000,000. The "Star" editor, on his own, without saying anything, alters "pounds" to "roubles," and thus makes the criticism meaningless.

* * *

The press publishes the story about General Brusiloff's daughter as a cablegram. It was actually published in a magazine over three weeks earlier.

* * *

The "Daily Mail" yesterday published an "interview" with Com. Harry Haynes, of the Parliamentary "Chain Gang." No such interview ever took place: the reporter was just told that it took two hours to cut the padlocks. The rest of the matter was cribbed from the "Cape Argus," except the passage about "less unlikely" (sic) things happening than going to Parliament as an M.L.A. which is the journalist's characteristic invention.

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The General Dealer's Licence granted to Lena Jaffe trading as Madame Jay at Stand 635, 3, Albemarle Street, Kensington, Johannesburg, will be transferred to Freda Dahm as from 1st July, 1923.
15-22-29

REGISTRATION OF BUSINESS ACT, 1909.
Notice is hereby given that the Auctioneer's Business carried on by Robert Edwin Lagerwall at 95, President Street, Johannesburg, under the style or firm of Geo. Saunders and Co., was sold on the 23rd day of June, 1923, to Robert Joseph Lundie, together with the assets and liabilities, who will continue to carry on the said business under the above style or firm for his own account from that date. Johannesburg, this 29th day of June, 1923.
A. S. MALAN, Solicitor for the Parties, 45, Asher's Buildings, Fox Street, Johannesburg. 29-6-13

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