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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.

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Vol. VIII. No. 387. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

The Russian Revolution 6th Anniversary

Great Workers' Rally
Selborne Hall,
JOHANNESBURG.
Wednesday, Nov. 7.
Tickets, 2/6.

Many Workers are Saying—

That it is most peculiar to find Lieut.-Col. F. H. P. Creswell, D.S.O., M.L.A., and leader of the Labour Party, closing his meeting in Stamford Hill with "God Save the King," whilst in Benoni last Sunday night he opened his meeting with the "Red Flag"; and

* * *

That this sort of business is typical of the political charlatans who are now in control of the S.A.L.P., and that it is high time they were ousted.

* * *

That although Creswell sings "God Save the King" in Stamford Hill it will not necessarily win him that constituency again, particularly as he has a reputation for never winning the same seat twice

* * *

That the Labour Party will never be held in esteem by the great mass of the workers as long as it is prepared to sacrifice their interests to a policy of toadying for votes from the other side.

* * *

That the Johannesburg Tramwaymen place too much value on recognition by the Council, and

* * *

That such recognition will be readily and anxiously accorded the moment they show their strength and prepare to use it.

* * *

That the "Guardian" should remember that any paper aspiring to become the expression of working-class interests will fail to achieve its object as long as it trims its policy to suit the susceptibilities of capitalist advertisers.

* * *

That the arrangements being made by Tom Mann for an Empire Conference of unemployed to meet in England is a fine idea, and

* * *

That they hope the unemployed of South Africa will be represented.

* * *

That they will be interested to hear whether the recent series of railway accidents in Natal was due, as many others have been, to excessive hours—in the country and the service to which even the League of Nations' eight hour day is considered "inapplicable."

* * *

That Mrs. Brandt, who claims to possess prophetic powers, and who had an advertisement of herself sprawled over a column of the "Daily Mail" this week, is rather belated in prophesying a world Communist revolution, because Karl Marx did the same thing on scientific grounds well over three-quarters of a century ago.

* * *

That no words are strong enough to condemn those members of the Labour and Nationalist parties who are deliberately splitting the anti-Smuts vote at the Provincial elections in several constituencies.

* * *

That with these politicians, evidently, office-seeking takes priority oevr the interests of the workers of the country.

The Stuff to Give 'Em.

A GLOZER AT THE PALLADIUM.

"Hallo, old beans! (You see I don't begin with 'Dearly beloved brethren,' because that's bunk and all my eye, and 'I want to be popular—popular—popular,' and you are all such dear naughty fellows, and we pi sky pilots always come it over hoi polloi with this slosh, like undergraduates who won't grow up; I call it d—d ripping of us to be so decent to the lower classes, seeing we're really gentlemen, eh?) It's piffling to be godless, you feel fed up, all horrid, and that sort of tommy-rot, doncherno. God is top-hole, Al, and when you decide on another little drink" (here beam with a worldly snigger) "he takes it just like a pal, what ho! Just you try a swig of my dope; when your skull is as empty as 'a tramp's little Mary, one of my no-heelers is just IT, it tickles you up, it touches the spot, tremendously umpidoodlum; and after umpteen more you can say 'to hell' with all your troubles, what's the matter with God, he's good enough for me; and the bosses think that's lovely, it suits them down to the ground. Ach sis, I've nearly given the show away, for there's more in this than meets the eye, as the monkey said, so no more tripe to-day, old birds, now let's warble and bray" (etc., etc. till all exeunt, vomiting—only to read in the "Daily Mail" yet another Brandt of dope, featuring the ultimate triumph of the Deity over Bolshevism. We wonder "Is God mocked"?)

Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden must be sorely chagrined at the news that the Menshevik party of their pet, Georgia, has decided to break up the party and recall its representative from the Bureau of the Second International; and that the Menshevik Congress of Menshevik is being held at which a similar result is fairly certain.

Release the Imprisoned German Working Class.

Edo Fimmen, secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, speaking at the British Trade Union Congress last month, said:—

"I appealed to the British workers last year to stand by the German workers in their need, and again repeat my appeal in the most emphatic way. Revolution must come. So stand by the German workers.

"Do not ask whether the methods will be democratic or not, as the conditions will not permit a consideration of democracy. The exploiting class has never cared a farthing for democracy, as may be seen in Italy and Hungary. They still possess arms, rifles, machine guns, etc., and they will show the German workers the meaning of 'national unity' by asking for help from France, Britain, Belgium, Turkey and Poland to assist them in crushing the German workers' movement. The bloodshed will be terrible then, and at that time the International must stand by the German workers, and I hope that the British workers will do their duty. Hoist the Red Flag! Keep it flying!"

Coming Out on Top.

Latest reports of Lenin's physicians note a sudden improvement in his health. They are convinced that very soon he will be able to resume work. For the moment, however, he still requires rest and special treatment.

* * *

The 1923 Russian harvest is completely adequate both for the internal needs of the whole Soviet Union and for the present export programme.

* * *

Russia has commenced the export of Russian manufactured machinery to foreign countries. A wrapping machine made in Petrograd has just been supplied to a Riga firm.

* * *

The Baku oil output now averages 20 million pud a month (about 10 million cases) and a great portion of it is being exported via Constantinople to England.

* * *

The population of Moscow has grown since last March from 1,500,000 to 1,630,000.

Our Duty to Working Class Germany.

The warnings of Karl Radek, of the Communist and of Edo Fimmen, of the Amsterdam International, published in this issue, and also a grave appeal by the Communist International executive for a "Hands off Workers' Germany" campaign especially among the workers of the countries encircling Germany, compel us too in this distant land to endeavour to master the position and SEE HOW WE CAN HELP.

It is fairly notorious now that the interest of the allied governments in "reparations" is a mere FIG-LEAF FOR PLUNDER. It is not a case of philanthropic ardour for the restoration of ruined villagers' homes, out of financiers' greed for coal, iron, steel and railway business, which, after an intense artillery preparation against the valuta, can be bought up cheap, just as a "mixed company," it seems, is buying up Delagoa Bay. British capitalists hope for a big slice of the swag, while France claims a first mortgage on everything, and has seized her pledge.

The German workers, hoping one day to inherit their "own" lands, are interested in excluding all foreign conquerors. But that alone will not satisfy them. They too wish TO WREST GERMAN CAPITAL FROM ITS GERMAN OWNERS, but their aim is TO DO IT BEFORE FOREIGN CAPITAL CAN DO IT.

The German capitalist policy is dog-in-the-manger; it is prepared to lose everything to the foreigner and scrap Parliamentary government for Fascist dictatorship, sooner than let the workers get possession, or, as they would say, sooner than admit "Bolshevism."

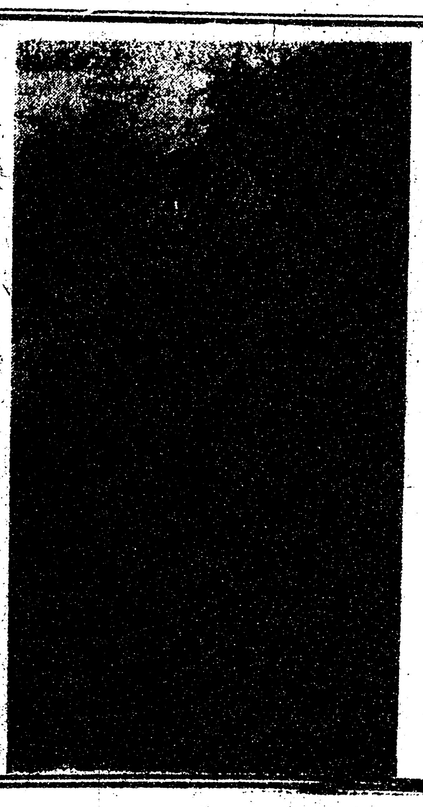
Even from a patriotic point of view, therefore, THE WORKERS' POLICY IS CLEARLY THE ONLY ONE WITH ANY HOPE FOR GERMANY. But the tragedy is that the German masses are in such a position of agony and danger, at the hands of both home and foreign bourgeoisie, that their natural policy seems just the one most unattainable thing. They are starving for bread, and at the same time hungering and thirsting to throw off their oppressors. They have at last got the Social Democrats out of the coalition. They are streaming into the Communist Party. They are already forming Soviets. But they are encompassed within and without by the most powerfully armed enemies in the world—within, by a violently hostile Government which, though weak, is ruthlessly suppressing them; without, by France, Britain, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and whoever else can be bought for the dirty work, all ready to pounce on the smallest sign of a rising. Meanwhile they are subjected to unheard-of tortures designed to provoke them into premature action so that they can be suppressed before their ranks are formed. NATURE CRIES OUT FOR REVOLUTION; CAPITALISM BLOCKS THE PATH OF NATURE

Russia, their only friend, cannot fight for them until the scales are more even; that is, until the workers of the other countries, especially those likely to attack Germany, show much greater DETERMINATION AND POWER THAN HITHERTO TO FRUSTRATE ATTACKS BY THEIR OWN IMPERIALIST GOVERNMENTS.

This then is our task too; to organise in South Africa too the utmost demonstration of force, political, industrial or otherwise, in support of the German working class. We may be sure the Imperial Conference in London is secretly planning the suppression of German Bolshevism; we must help to DEFEAT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. A DEFEAT FOR THE GERMAN MOVEMENT WOULD BE THE SEVEREST DEFEAT FOR THE MOVEMENT ALL OVER THE WORLD. BUT ITS VICTORY WOULD BE A WORLD VICTORY leaving the rest comparatively easy. It is the crisis of the Labour movement.

DOWN WITH CAPITALIST INTERVENTION AGAINST THE GERMAN WORKERS! LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!

In Memory of the first "judicial" victim (1922) of the murderers of the working-class of South Africa.



CARL CHRISTIAN STASSEN,

Rand Striker, March 1922.

Executed 12th Oct. 1922.

A Rattle in the Scabbard.

It was cabled the other day that Moscow had refused to intervene on behalf of the German Communists. Karl Radek, however, writing in "Isvestia" a month ago, wrote as follows:—

"Soviet diplomacy will in the present circumstances make every effort to impress on all whom it may concern the fact that the capitalist world must leave the question of Germany's future to the German masses themselves, and not attempt to cast a sword on the scales of history, as swords are not the exclusive possession of capitalist countries. They are also to be found in the hands of the proletarian state of Soviet Russia."

Parris' Patent Food.

While one page of the daily paper publishes something like a "Durban-by-the-Sea" poster of the idyllic happiness of Government forestry work, on another Mr. G. H. Parris, of the Government White Labour Department, shows in what small account he holds these official boostings by putting forward, as positively preferable, a scheme of agricultural "pioneer corps," "under strict discipline," liable to be sent anywhere at the Government's command, a scheme of which he admits "the full benefits would probably not accrue for a generation." In this, as in Mr. E. Cresswell's recent similar if slightly less forbidding proposition, the brutal bourgecis idea is discovered underlying, that unemployment is to be treated as a kind of crime like "vagrancy," to be met by penal measures. The unemployed have very properly refused to accept scab wage offers; they should also indignantly repudiate the pretension that just because they have been unable to get a job (often because they have been victimised) they have therefore come to deserve semi-convict treatment, and insist that, on the contrary, the man who has had to live for months through the worry and torture of trying to provide for his family without the wherewithal to do it is just the man who is entitled to most favoured treatment.

How Backsliding Breeds Backsliders.

We remarked the other day that the Labour-Nationalist pact was a higher piece of politics than its authors were aware of, too high indeed for their political and moral level. Recent local splits and resignations have confirmed this in the case of the Labour Party for one. A poor platform entails a poor personnel; and the further you backslide from a revolutionary objective the lower sink your party morals and morale until, absorbed in nothing better than dishing out seats to a jostling mob of place hunters, the party finds itself with no slogan, no rallying cry, no crucifix as it were, with which to discipline its disgruntled members, who in their turn can show no better "form" than to resign and lay bare their wretched grievances in the enemy Press! If there are any single-minded and class-conscious rank-and-filers, without ulterior office-seeking designs, left in the Labour Party, now is their time to assert themselves supreme over both head committee and self-seekers; to insist on the full exploitation of the pact, including its necessary de-imperialisation of the S.A.L.P. workers and "socialisation" of the Nationalist workers and small-boers; and to enforce, as only such a power can ultimately enforce, that iron discipline which, instead of relaxing, should in these days be tightened more than ever if organised Labour is to be ready to play its decisive part in history.

Greasing the Wheels.

We heard the other day that Abyssinia had been admitted into the League of Nations (which thus comes to resemble a "Joint Council"). The "Negro World" (New York) explains this "honour." There is mineral oil (as well as palm oil no doubt) in Abyssinia, and the Anglo-American Oil Co. has just concluded negotiations establishing exclusive rights to it in the northern half of the province of Harrar. Hence Geneva's welcome to the dusky potentate.

A Correction.

The Editor, "The International."

Comrade,—The article in last week's "International" under the caption "While Rome Burns," and over my name, was not written by me, but is an extract from an article in the Labour Monthly Magazine for March last written by Comrade R. Page Arnott.

The Labour Monthly edited by R. Palme Dutt, is an International Labour Magazine and may be obtained, at 7/6 per year post free, from The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.1.

Thanking you in anticipation for the correction.
—Yours, etc.,

HARRY HAYNES.

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Skin Plaster!

Jan Christiaan Smuts, by the Grace of the Corner House, is the Premier of South Africa.

Mr. Parris, by the Grace of Jan Christiaan Smuts, is the White Labour Inspector of the Witwatersrand.

Jan Christiaan Smuts swears blind, on all possible occasions, that there are no unemployed whites in South Africa who really want work.

Mr. Parris gives a special news page article to the "Rand Daily Mail," in which he says there are practically no "won't works" among the white unemployed, but that something really must be done for the thousands who, through no fault of their own, are unemployed and facing starvation.

So that Jan Christiaan Smuts says, in effect, that Parris is a liar, and Parris, in effect, says that Jan Christiaan Smuts is a liar!

"You pays yer money and you takes yer choice."

However, we are not much concerned with the internal politics of the White Labour Bureau or the Cabinet, but we are mildly concerned with the panacea put forward as a cure for unemployment by Mr. Parris—an excellent Christian gentleman by the way—who, it would appear, somewhat resembles the proverbial Bourbons.

He again trots out the old dope; village communes, agricultural settlements, etc., in practically the same terms as old Charlie Knowler (deceased) used to do in his leisure hours, when not worried with the affairs of the Durban Home. In fact these "social" schemes of salvation seem to be part and parcel of the make-up and stock-in-trade of the ex-social worker, and seem to have been absorbed from the old General Booth Salvation Army which, as a pioneer organisation of cheap labour, eventually obtained recognition from the biggest slum landlords in England, i.e., the Royal Family.

The economic tangle never seems to concern the "social worker" in the least. Production, the law of supply and demand, may look after themselves. Profits have nothing to do with poverty, and only potatoes matter. If every unemployed family is put on the land (at present they live in the air) all will be well. Only fancy! what a paradise this world would be if the three hundred millions in Christendom who do not get three meals a day from January to December were "on the land." The rest of Christendom would work to clothe and educate the "settlers" and take potatoes in settlement. Wealthy landowners and farming corporations would stop producing—to give the settlers a chance—and all the world would charitably work overtime yaffling spuds in order that the product could be consumed. Jevons and Rigout (spots on the sun the cause of unemployment) still stand supreme as dope artists in their particular line, but the Douglas crowd and the "social workers" tie with Henry George as very good seconds.

It is of course good of Mr. Parris to expound his views, and thereby risk his job. Usually the Government White Labour official has no views on anything or, if he has, successfully keeps them a secret and draws his salary. Freestone and Miller, f'instance, were one time Hell-fire-war-on-war-damn-Smuts-and-Botha-International Socialists, and both could expound the fact that, under capitalism, unemployment and poverty could never be abolished or even mitigated. They still have the same opinion, for the simple reason that an elementary truth, once grasped, is never forgotten, and the lesson of history is that systems of society go west as soon as the dominant class is forced to invent schemes to feed the slaves (workers) instead of being fed by them.

That is precisely what the world is witnessing to-day. The transition from modern capitalism is not taking place because of the consciousness and consequent intelligent struggle of the common people. By no means. It is happening IN SPITE OF THE PEOPLE, who still cling to their slavery as a drowning man clings to a straw. All the "schemes," mooted, Parrisian or other—and there are millions to-day—can have no effect upon economic law. Production for profit reached its apex prior to the great war, and now acts as a fetter upon further human progress. That fetter will be broken in accord with the law of Social Growth. Hence Mr. Parris and the rest are merely units in a vast mob of gentle souls who abhor misery because it's a nuisance, and so spend their lives poking their noses into other people's private affairs and manufacturing skin-plasters, in an attempt to cover the scabby legs of the FAT Colossus.

HARRY HAYNES.

Just as the worst slave-owners were those who were kind to their slaves, and so prevented the horror of the system being realised by those who suffered from it, and understood by those who contemplated it, so, in the present state of things in *England*, the people who do most harm are the people who try to do most good. . . . Charity creates a multitude of sins.

—Oscar Wilde.

* * *

A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realisation of Utopias.

—Oscar Wilde.

Another Frame Up in Australia.

On top of its exposure of fake letters, two of which (purporting to be written to the Press by "Miner's Wife," etc.) we published on the 7th ult., the Australian "Workers' Weekly" now publishes the following affidavit:—

"Mr. Reginald Weaver, M.L.A., notorious for his work as a police pimp in the I.W.W. trials, and Mr. C. McDonald, Secretary of the Northern Colliery Proprietors' Association, offered the sum of £500 (and future engagements) to me, W. J. Thomas, of the Communist Party of Australia, for the following purposes:—

"To provide or, if necessary, manufacture evidence to prove that the Communist Party was financing the Maitland lockout with Russian gold. Any bank transaction of individuals dealing with persons in Russia to be accepted as proof of 'Bolshevik Gold.'

"I to use my standing as a propagandist of the Communist Party to preach acts of violence throughout the coalfields. Weaver would then arrange for detectives to be present at the lectures. I was to be arrested, and on my person were to be found faked letters implicating the Communist Party in an attempt to seize the mines. Weaver promised that immunity from any punishment by law would follow. The letters previously mentioned were to contain inferences regarding money from Russia; also a supposedly secret organisation within the A.L.P., which was directed by Communists.

"Evidence to be submitted (manufactured or authentic) to prove that the Communist Party aimed at a violent revolution—the methods to be adopted were to be emphasised.

"All activities were to be directly connected with Moscow."

Safe for Democracy!

It is typical of the ghoulishness of Kapital that in Germany it is prepared to take advantage of the national extremity to extort a repeal of the eight hours' law. In other words, for an extra per cent. of profit, the exploiters, who roll in more money than ever while the masses "live" on less than ever, are prepared to break up the Reich and wipe Germany, as the leading state of Central Europe, off the map; to introduce the thoroughly un-German practices of Fascism; to let loose a White Terror and shoot down such of their starved working class as survived the great war. Germany is proving, if further proof were needed, that a Parliament is simply an instrument of the capitalist class who, if it fails to respond to their bidding, will not resign from Parliamentary power as constitutionalism demands, oh dear no, but will suppress the elections on the ground that "they would be attended with disorder," and just abolish Parliament. Creswell, if you should ever be really up against the capitalist class, look out for your "democracy"!

Fascism: Another Phase.

In the beginning the Fascist assaults upon the progressive unions had the complete backing of the employing classes. In many instances Fascist companies were openly in the pay of manufacturers and landowners. Under the joint attack, one union after another succumbed.

Then the strange thing happened. The "red" unions having been replaced by "black shirt" unions, the employers began to evince a desire to do away with the new brand too. They began to hire unorganised men, and to cut wages. By sheer force of economic need, the black unions began to go on strike, in some instances, imbued with the terror ideas of the Fascisti, taking an even more militant stand.

Now strikes are daily occurrences. Forty thousand building trades workers recently went on strike in Rome, despite the opposition of Mussolini, and remained out despite the arrest of hundreds of them.

In Turin, the bakers, failing to win a fight for certain demands, joined Fascist unions deliberately, and together forced those concessions upon the employers. Cases have also occurred in which Fascisti have OCCUPIED FACTORIES in the course of wage disputes. Considering that the Fascist movement started as a protest against such occupation, the phenomenon is truly remarkable.

The grand council of the Fascisti had declared, under stress of circumstances, that the strike was a legitimate weapon for Fascist unions, in "exceptional cases."

Lessons in Egg-Sucking.

That "Sunday Times" Musical Critic, after recovering, apparently, from a dose of White League, has started again at the bottom of his gamut with a revival of his year-old attack on the Moscow conductorless orchestra. First he said it simply could not be true; then he said it must obviously involve terrible discord; now it is "madness," "an academic idea." And he tells us about the utter "absence of principle" in the compositions of Prof. Miaskowsky, of Moscow—who surely, according to the "Sunday Times" must have been killed and eaten long ago by the bloodthirsty art-destroying vandals of Bolshevism. What a spectacle, to be sure—a little African newspaper man, well able, to give him his due, to report on the Zoo band, presuming to criticise the productions of one of the great, and, for musical beauty, probably the greatest school of music in the world—and in particular, to lay down the law about compositions and performances which (unlike the present writer) he has never heard! And forsooth, on reading the columns of the "Sunday Times," both Miaskowsky and the superb "Bolshevik" Conservatoire Orchestra will feel so crushed that they will take the next ship for Africa in quest of music lessons from the Red-struck maestro of Jeppe Street!

The Dupe of All the Ages.

(By Evelyn Sharp.)

It was the hour of ease in the old English castle. The great baron had eaten his fill of capon and lay back in his chair, drinking deeply from his goblet of Gascoigne wine. His dependents, from the half-witted domestic fool who made bad jokes in return for bad food, to the rough serfs from the farmyard, sat below, among the dirty rushes of the floor, and watched their lord in order to learn when to acclaim and when to curse the ballad singer, who knelt on the lowest step of the dias, as befitted his inferior status.

But the fellow was sure of board and lodging to-night, for was he not singing the last verse of Laurence Minot's latest popular song about the King's victories in France? This is how it went:—

"Philip de Valois fled full swift,
With the army that he had brought;
For to have Calais had he thought
All at his command, loud or still.
But all his wiles went for nought,
Edward won it at his will!"

"Marry!" cried the drunken baron. "Yon is the stuff to give unto these French knaves!"

"Truly," muttered his retainers fearfully among themselves, "did we not break the heads of these French caitiffs and take away their seaports, they would e'en come over here and lay waste our lands and carry off our women!" And they plied the singer with scraps of meat and a mug of mead.

The minstrel took what Heaven sent him and was silent.

II.

A woman sat by the fire in her little home at Nutting Barnes, and hushed her child to sleep. The wind, coming in great gusts, howled round the house like a demon on the prowl, and the rain beat like showers of pebbles against the casement.

"Go to sleep, wicked wench!" admonished the mother, as the child whimpered in her arms. "Would you have me fetch Bonaparty to you? Hark! here he comes!"

But it was not the great exile of St. Helena who rattled at the latch and entered, bringing with him for one wild moment a taste of the storm from outside. It was the woman's husband, returning from his day's work in Whitehall; and she greeted him with much relief and affection.

"So dark a night was it that I waited at Knightsbridge for a party to gather, before I ventured along the high road alone," he explained. "Now that Boney is said to have escaped——"

"Surely, 'tis impossible!" she cried in terror.

"Listen!" was the reply. "Who else can have burnt down the Haymarket Opera House for the second time?" And he read aloud the latest lampoon from St. James's:—

"Base Bonaparty, filled with deadly ire,
Sets, one by one, our playhouses on fire.
Some years ago, he pounced with deadly glee on
The Opera House, then burnt down the Pantheon."

The woman, shaking in every limb, got up and examined the fastenings of the door and the windows.

III.

"Daddy," said the little boy who had been allowed to sit up to supper as a great treat, "are all the people in Russia called Bolsheviks?"

"Yes, Ronny," answered daddy, absently, as he turned over the evening paper.

"And are they all dripping with blood, as the newspaper says?" pursued Ronny.

"Eat your piece of fat and don't worry daddy," said his mother in an undertone. "Yes. Bolsheviks are wicked murderers, who go about killing everyone they see, especially good people like bishops."

"But you said just now they were all Bolsheviks in Russia," objected Ronny, taking no measures with regard to the piece of fat. "Where do they find the good bishops to kill? And how can there be anybody at all left in Russia, if——"

"Listen to this, now!" burst out his father, and read aloud as follows: "We have no hesitation in saying that if the Government weakens one iota in its firm, its justifiably firm, attitude towards the Moscow assassins, Bolshevism, with all its blasphemy, its libertinism, and its robbery, will destroy our Empire and invade our shores. It will sweep religion from our churches and chastity from our hearth; it will defile our women and corrupt our innocent babes; in short, it is no exaggeration to say that this menace to God and home is already at our doors!"

"There, now!" remarked Ronny's mother. "Did anyone ever hear the like? Still, Moscow is a long way off, isn't it? That's one comfort."

* * *

Ronny tugged at her sleeve. "Mummy, may I sit up when Bolshevism comes?" he asked. "I wouldn't miss it for anything!"

Daddy laid down the paper and applied himself to the cold ham. "If Bolshevism comes," he said, darkly (with a feeling of confidence arising from the suspicion that he had heard a similar expression used elsewhere), "there will be nothing to sit up to. And nobody to sit up to it," he added in a burst of inspiration.

Ronny sighed feverishly. "Do, do tell me what Bolshevism is!" he begged.

"Ronny," said his mother, who was nothing if not resourceful, "eat your piece of fat, or—or I'll give you to the Bolsheviks!"

More Offensive.

In order, perhaps, to suppress criticism of the boosted Australian immigration policy, the "authorities" at Sydney, N.S.W., have embarked on a campaign of persecution of the unemployed movement, and are arresting the speakers at unemployed demonstrations wholesale, including several Labour M.L.A.'s and Trade Union officials and, of the Communists, Comrades C. W. Baker, J. S. Garden (secretary Trades and Labour Council), J. Howie and others, unemployed speakers, etc., who were sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment. A stirring Free Speech campaign has resulted, especially on the part of the Trade Unions.

The charge was apparently obstruction of traffic, although the meeting was held in a dead end; and the "obstruction" consisted in this, that the police attacked the meeting, and drove their own police cars again and again through the crowd! Meanwhile religious meetings are unmolested. But the campaign had been prepared for by the suppression and deportation recently of the Irish envoys in Australia.

It is noticeable that in this country too similar attacks are being developed, still on a small scale. In Capetown recently we have been prosecuted for selling the "International" on Sunday, although many other things are sold on Sunday there with impunity. Then in Johannesburg during the last couple of weeks a number of members of our party have been fined for "obstruction," not at meetings but during private conversations in the streets; and even certain tramway conductors seem to have accepted instructions from their bosses to make things uncomfortable for "Red" passengers.

Those taking signatures in the streets to petitions for the Release of Strike Prisoners have also been ordered off on pain of arrest, although no such obstruction was raised last year.

The workers are attacked by their enemies on every front. They must learn to treat them as enemies on every front, as a class with whom they have nothing in common, no, not even imperialism, "loyalty," or "national feeling."

For all kinds of Printing go to the I.S.L. Press.

The Terror in Portugal.

An anarchist bomb outrage in Lisbon, the two authors of which are known, was followed up by the arrest of a young Communist who had nothing to do with the outrage; and this again by the arrest of all the members of the Central Committee of the Communist youth. Most of them have been incarcerated in a fortress subject to frequent floods, cut off from both their families and from defending counsel, refined tortures being applied to extort "confessions" from them, failing which they will be deported to Africa. This, we read, is synonymous with a death sentence. If, however, they should ever find their way to this sub-continent, we hope they will get into touch with us.

Why the Moors Fight.

The Tangiers correspondent of the London "Daily Express" telegraphs that he has had an interview with the Moorish chief, Abd-el-Krim, who is now fighting the Spaniards. The chief said: "For two years I have sent delegations to Paris, London, and elsewhere, appealing for help in the struggle of my people for independence. I appealed to the League of Nations, but it was to deaf ears. I appealed to the world through diplomats living here. Now I am forced to repeat Kemal's words: 'We leave the spoken word and the paths of diplomacy to rely on the sword and the justice of our cause.' To the end we will depend on our own strong right arm to sustain our cause and obtain our independence."

Nicola Sacco's Tragic Fate.

Nicola Sacco, convicted of murder of two "pay-roll guards" in Massachusetts in 1920, sentenced to death, repeatedly reprieved, and removed to hospital after hunger-striking, has now been ordered to be confined in a hospital for the criminal insane, sent mad by the rottenest and most corrupt and brutal judiciary in the world.

What about Renewing Your Sub. to the "International"!

Our Race, Our Empire, & Some Pretty Things.

CHEF CRESWELL'S BIG DISH OF DOPE

The "Guardian" publishes, as a supplement, a "masterly" speech by Col. Creswell at Stamford Hill on the 24th ulto., and urges us to read every word of it.

We have done so, and also read the report of a speech evidently made from substantially the same notes at Benoni last Sunday and at Troyeville last Wednesday.

PUZZLE: FIND THE WORKING CLASS.

Lenin could as little make these speeches as Creswell could make any of Lenin's. We need not dwell on the iteration of "I" and "me," so marked that "Labourite" seems to mean "Creswellite." The most striking point is that the speeches never once refer to the working class, still less appeal to the working class to function as such. In all the "analysis" of the ills of society there is no word of its class division or struggle, or of the exploitation of labour by the owners of the "sources and means of production" from which springs the Labour movement itself—with its Socialist objective. And without the Socialist objective there is no Labour movement, for there is nothing to move to. Without Socialism a "Labour" speech is only a mild echo of a capitalist speech. It is even worse; for the capitalist class is fully conscious of its class position, whereas the Labour leader either cannot or will not face the facts, he even seems to go out of his way to conceal them or keep silent on them.

"LABOUR" DOPE IS BOURGEOIS DOPE.

Thus all we find is a mixture of racialism, imperialism and "pretty things to say from a public platform" (which Col. Creswell deprecates in others) hardly distinguishable from General Smuts' own dope. We find, postulated as religious dogma, the very stuff which Socialism calls in question, and which, slightly varied, forms the staple propaganda of the ruling class.

STILL "SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY"

Let us take the "pretty things" first. "Government and Parliament should exist to promote the welfare of the whole of the people and not the material interest or economic dominion of any group however powerful." Yes, yes; everybody has said that at one time or anotner. But "the danger to democracy is not TO-DAY any Kaiser in 'shining armour,' but the practical power which our economic process is increasingly vesting in hands NOT AVAILABLE TO ANY EFFECTIVE CONTROL in the public interest. . . . A gradually narrowing group . . . by their economic stranglehold of the sources and means of production . . . and of the channels of public information, are gradually EMASCULATING THE WHOLE SPIRIT OF OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS." Well then, is it not rather futile to appeal to the people "to make the powers of self-government they possess real and effective," IF THEY REALLY DON'T POSSESS ANY? As well still appeal to them, in this year 1923 when even formal democracy has been openly flouted or overthrown in half the countries of Europe, to "make the world safe for democracy"!

KAISER OR KAPITAL?

As for the Kaiser, does Col. Creswell mean that "to-day's" danger to democracy was not just as much the danger to democracy when the Kaiser was in the saddle? Presumably he does, for in those days his fervour was all against the Kaiser as the arch-enemy of democracy, and he has never recanted. And when the next war comes he will no doubt go off again on some similar tangent, and, Vicar-of-Bray-like, once more forget all about "Big Business" and "Big Finance"!

THE "PREVAILING" RACE.

Besides, four-fifths of the people of the world in general, and of South Africa in particular, possess no "powers of self-government" at all even on paper, and here we come to the imperialism and racialism. Imperialism means, in practice, seizing a country, dispossessing its inhabitants, and insisting that thenceforth they should exist and work for the benefit of the conquerors and, at best, conform to the latter's "ideas," or get out. Racialism means, in practice, advancing the interest, real or supposed, of your own race at the expense of other races; or rather, usually, the interest of a few of your own race at the expense of everybody else.

Now Col. Creswell earnestly deprecates "racial feeling"; but when his "welfare of the whole people" as against the "dominion of a powerful group" is defined, it comes to this: "the one fixed aim of our national policy should be to secure the future for an expanding population of OUR OWN RACE and civilisation in this country," or, as he said at Benoni, "it is a national duty to make South Africa a "white country"; and he quotes with approval a "pretty thing" of Sir Bartle Frere, to the effect that European (sic) ideas, not native (sic) ideas are to prevail in "the Government of the people"

"EUROPEAN" IDEAS.

And what, pray, are "European ideas"? Poincare's ideas, Mussolini's ideas, Gen. Smuts' ideas—for these are all European? Is Col. Creswell so blind to the class basis of society that he believes it is mere race that distinguishes one section of humanity from another? If this country contained only Europeans, as England does for instance, would not the same class struggle still be raging, with the same quest for cheap labour by the owning class, and all the other ills he denounces?

DEPORTATION AND SEGREGATION.

Referring to the "Asiatic menace that overshadows OUR future," again he says: "We must ransom this fine province FOR THE EUROPEAN"—although it is notoriously Asiatic labour that made it so "fine": and he wants the Asiatics to emigrate to their "race homeland," while the Europeans, who brought them here, and who are themselves also "alien" immigrants of only a couple of generations older standing if at all, and who in Natal (where the question is raised) are also a minority as compared with Asiatics and therefore, if anyone has to emigrate, should be the first to go—these Europeans are to remain in what is not their "race homeland."

(Continued at foot of next two columns.)

The S.A.M.W.U. and Native Mine Workers.

FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW PROPOSALS.

Since the remarkable announcement headed "The Peep of Day" in our last issue was printed, the S.A. Mine Workers' Union has published, through the "Star," an official report of its meeting of last week to consider the inclusion of non-European mine workers as a section of the Union. As THE RAND CAPITALIST PRESS HAS MOST SIGNIFICANTLY REFRAINED FROM ANY COMMENT ON THIS PROPOSED EPOCH-MAKING DEPARTURE, it is possible that the report is being withheld from circulation throughout South Africa while the Chamber of Mines is considering what it is going to do about it; and we therefore append its salient paragraphs.

A discussion on the colour bar is quite common at miners' meetings, says the report, but the unusual feature was a suggestion from all sides that the South African Mine Workers' Union should take an active part in the organisation of the natives, and form a coloured section for them.

This course, the report continues, has been strongly advocated for some months, and many requests have come from the leading mine natives for prominent members of the S.A.M.W.U. to come and help them, and also to use their influence at Union meetings towards getting a coloured section for mine natives under S.A.M.W.U. head office control.

In this connection the General Secretary reported at the meeting in question that a mine boy, representing himself as a delegate from his mine, called at the Union office with a request to be supplied with a quantity of membership cards for his friends who were ready to pay in right away.

The feeling of the meeting was that this question should be placed on the agenda of the annual General Council with a view to having the constitution altered so as to permit of a coloured section being formed.

One of the principal items was the serious retrenchment of miners during the past eighteen months, and the indication that many more were likely to be put out after March, 1924, when the 10.5 to 1 ratio comes to an end. Ways and means to meet this position were gone into

The report further mentions that it was stated that many men were working for wages less than December, 1921, rates.

(It should be mentioned that the revised ratio will allow of the retrenchment of a further large number of white miners because the "1" includes the Europeans on the staff, the clerks and other white elements as well as the miners themselves.)

* * *

We shall be forgiven for expressing a peculiar gratification of our own at this advance in the outlook of the white miners, so far as the meeting of the Central Section of the Union may represent it. Not indeed that there is anything particularly "Communistic" about it, although that will be said. We have certainly urged the drawing of the native workers into the class struggle, their recognition by the white workers, their education, agitation and organisation as workers. That has been one of our foremost texts since we left the Labour Party (WHICH, BY THE WAY, LIKE THE BOURGEOISIE, IS STILL SILENT, TO SAY THE LEAST OF IT, ON THE SUBJECT), although even we have never ventured to press particularly strongly for inclusion in the white Union, correct though such an eventual policy undoubtedly is, fearing that it was too strong meat for the passionate prejudice hitherto prevailing on the matter. Moreover, we have usually founded our appeal on the interest of the white miners themselves, not that of the natives. At best, our gospel in this connection has been hardly more than liberalism, humanitarianism almost; an indication of the essentially working class character of the black workers and an appeal for their treatment as fellow-workers—however unequal in "social standing" (an irrelevant, bourgeois matter) or even in wages—instead of as dogs to be kicked and shot down to the benefit of the common masters.

THE PROPAGANDA OF FACTS.

The facts of the economic situation, however, have, as usual, proved far more powerful propaganda than any mere preaching or arguing; and have apparently enabled the Central Section to CROSS WITH ONE STRIDE THE NO-MAN'S LAND OF MERE ACADEMIC RECOGNITION, to attack straightaway the problem of effective co-operation, and hence to realise, quite correctly, that this means not a parallel "Jim Crow" organisation but a single Union, thus reaching the point still unattained, except in theory, by most of the American Unions struggling with the more or less similar problem of the negroes in their country.

THE ENEMY HOIST ON HIS OWN PETARD.

If this policy finds favour, it means at once an enormous accession of power to the working class movement, not as a white movement as such, but as a CLASS movement. Particularly will this be so if the policy is brought into play RAPIDLY. The silence of the Mining House Press indicates that it has been TAKEN BY SURPRISE. The Chamber of Mines, the whole capitalist class of South Africa, yes, and of the world, has serenely relied on the assumption, which all indications hitherto have certainly justified, that oil and water would never mix, especially in this country where the whole machinery of Government and Native Affairs Department, and even such bourgeois agencies as the Churches, have devoted their energies to preventing any rapprochement on a proletarian basis. BUT THEY HAVE OVERREACHED THEMSELVES THIS TIME. In particular, in their anxiety to "capture" the natives on their side, they have established a practice of Joint Councils of Europeans and natives, and only a fortnight ago they organised the joint conference in Johannesburg to which frequent and lengthy reference has been made in the "International." That precedent has undoubtedly opened the eyes of the white workers. If it is now proper and "respectable" for white parsons and native leaders to meet, it can no longer be derogatory for workers of those races to come together on matters of common interest. THE BARRIER HAS BEEN BROKEN BY THE BOURGEOISIE, AND WITHIN A WEEK THEY ARE HOIST ON THEIR OWN PETARD.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

What will they do? The first thing will undoubtedly be a determined and cunning attempt to check this rapprochement, for THE MOBILISATION OF THE NATIVE WORKERS IS THE MOST MORTAL BLOW THAT CAN BE DEALT TO THE RULING CLASS OF SOUTH AFRICA. White prejudices will be inflamed wherever possible, even by the old stunt of a "native rising"; IF THOUGHT NECESSARY, A "RISING" WILL BE ACTUALLY ENGINEERED TO DIVERT THE WHITES FROM CLASS TO RACIAL PREOCCUPATION. Native prejudices will be equally played upon; the already well-thumbed tale that their worst enemies are not the capitalists but the white Trade Unions will be stressed more than ever, though probably with less effect than heretofore. Then again, NATIVE AGENTS OF THE C.I.D., NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT AND CHAMBER OF MINES OR MINE MANAGEMENTS WILL BE SENT IN TO FLOOD OR FOOL THE UNION; and it must be remembered that when all is said and done both the leaders and the rank and file of native workers, where not absolutely raw and ignorant, have been educated in bourgeois, not working class, ideas, and may provide quite a reactionary element in the Union, a defect which only experience and realisation of the common struggle will remedy. But THAT COMMON STRUGGLE ITSELF IS THE ONE THING THE OTHER SIDE CANNOT ABOLISH, and their efforts will therefore eventually be in vain.

NEW POLICY BRINGS NEW POLITICS.

The white miners themselves will, by the same schooling of the actual struggle, be compelled to widen their outlook. Their present move is compelled; of course, by the dire necessity of self-preservation. But the native workers too are interested only in their own preservation, and identity of interest will not always be readily discernible. Eventually the outlook of both elements will become broadened, or narrowed down if you like, to a single class outlook, involving, on the part of the whites especially, A RECOGNITION AND ADOPTION OF MANY NATIVE DEMANDS which they have hitherto ignored or despised, and which even native spokesmen themselves have usually failed to grasp or at least express in their fulness, although they are largely demands common to all the subject races exploited by modern imperialism.

OTHER UNIONS, JOIN UP.

But if this comprehensive outlook is necessary to the common mobilisation of both white and native workers all over the world, it clearly becomes the concern, not merely of white Unions whose members are in large proportion directly threatened by native competition, such as the miners and engine drivers, but of ALL THE OTHER UNIONS, IN SHORT OF ORGANISED LABOUR AS A WHOLE.

A REAL ALL-SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR UNION.

And this at once revives, more clamant than ever, the URGENT NEED FOR AN ORGANISATION OF LABOUR AS A WHOLE FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICA. Hitherto, with the native workers treated as taboo, there has been a certain unreality about the attempts at white working class unification. The other section has been ignored, but it has been there all the time; indeed its existence and functions have been directly or indirectly AT THE BACK OF NEARLY EVERY WHITE LABOUR OFFENSIVE OR DEFENSIVE FOR THE PAST QUARTER OF A CENTURY—in particular, of the miners' strikes of 1907, 1914 and 1922. Now, with the actual position frankly faced, the artificiality arising from exclusiveness will disappear, and WITH IT THE BOURGEOIS LEANINGS WHICH HAVE HITHERTO SO DISASTROUSLY EMASCULATED WHITE LABOUR MILITANCY, and the road is open to a real All-South-African United General Confederation of militant Labour.

THE AIR CLEARED FOR THE REVOLUTION.

Lastly, the same consideration applies to the propaganda and political aspect of the movement. We have said that the Communists' message on the matter has hitherto amounted to little more than mere liberalism, so much so that it has often been called just nigrophilism. Talk about "workers of the world uniting" has, as the "Star" has often taunted, rung false when the bulk of the workers were not even mentioned, or if mentioned, only treated as helots outside the aristocratic Labour pale. But with their recognition and inclusion, the "Star's" well-aimed shafts of the past cease to pierce. The burden has fallen from our shoulders; we can stretch our limbs freely at last. The whole propaganda of the class struggle, of the revolutionary action of all the working class, THE WHOLE PROLETARIAN PROGRAMME, BECOMES BOTH DIRECTLY APPLICABLE AND IMMEDIATELY PRACTICABLE. The word becomes flesh, and victory over the hitherto invincible enemy is descried not in Utopia but on our earth and in our time. The S.A. Mine Workers' Union, which superficial observers might have thought the least likely of all to take such a step, bids fair to prove, once more, as last year, the most militant. The example, IF FOLLOWED UP WITH VIGILANCE AND DEVOTION, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF MARTYRDOM FOR THE CAUSE ONCE MORE, will carry us quickly beyond the sphere of mere "sane trade unionism" into the zone of THE "FINAL CONFLICT," THE WORKERS' REVOLUTION, THE TRIUMPH OF THE PROLETARIAT.

and possess it to the exclusion of the others? Still less tenable is the S.A.L.P. demand, as between whites and blacks, for black emigration, which is what "segregation" really means!

EMIGRATE AND IMMIGRATE.

Yet again, in the same breath in which he demands emigration, Col. Creswell pleads, with Smuts and Burton, for an increasing stream of immigration—European, that is, not Mozambique! Why? What is the rational justification for assuming this cant dogma that a country must have immigrants? The Curzons and the Urqhuarts make the same demand to "penetrate" Russia; but Russia very properly imposes restrictions on their immigration, notwithstanding that from a material and bourgeois point of view the "civilisation" and standard of living of such "superior persons" is much higher than that of the inhabitants; for the Russian Government prefers to consult the interest of the mass of the people of Russia rather than the interest of imperialists who want to make it a Britishers' country.

"OUR" LEVEL OR THEIR OWN JUICE?

Sir Bartle Frere indeed added, according to Col. Creswell's quotation: "It is not by . . expelling the native races that anything can be done. . . . They must be taught to live among us and to rise to our level without expecting us to sink down to theirs." But the "Labour policy" is not so liberal. With its reservation of skilled and semi-skilled jobs for whites, and its relegation of natives to separate areas (and disproportionately small ones at that) with separate Bantu development, it offers even less prospect of "natives rising to our level" than the "pretty things" (we admit they have proved nothing more) of bourgeois Bartle Frere—or Jannie Smuts!

PAST ARGUING FOR.

That his "policy" is based on uncriticised, unquestioned, unreasoned assumptions and superstitions is indeed avowed by Col. Creswell in his only answer to Dutch Republicanism, viz., that the British connection in the eyes of "British descended people" is SOMETHING NOT TO BE ARGUED UPON! Exactly! We used to hear talk like that from Col. Creswell when (because at that time Allied Capital told him so) he discovered the chief enemy of mankind in the Kaiser! And what is the difference between this and the "racial feeling" he criticises in the Rooses and the Groblers, or the flag-wagging he condemns in the S.A.P.? It is all the same—and the very stuff that capitalism has always traded on so successfully to the detriment of the workers!

A "DANGER TO DEMOCRACY"

Are we not justified in saying that all this "Labour" dope reeks of imperialism and racialism? And remember, these petty bourgeois, "national" appeals can be made with far greater effect by Fascists than by Labourites; indeed Fascists have usually learnt their job in the Labour movement, and it is usually just by such appeals that the movement in nearly every country has been corrupted and has played into the hands of the enemy. Such appeals are themselves one of the greatest "dangers to democracy."

TO BE WELL SHAKEN BEFORE TAKEN.

"Don't swallow opinions," says Col. Creswell, "pumped into you at twopence a day." We agree. Honest and sound politics must be built on knowledge of facts and history, and on ruthless reasoning and dissection of current "ideas." Politics based on "something not to be argued upon," or upon bare racial premises, is of no use to the working class. We therefore strongly advise Col. Creswell to devote himself for a spell, with the aid of the great masters, to a study of the history of society, the meaning of the working class movement, the nature of the (essentially raceless) class struggle. A condition of his studies must be to take nothing for granted, especially if it coincides with what the other side are saying; to argue out everything without exception; and to purge himself completely from all the tainting superstitions and bourgeois postulates which in him, as in many working men too, "emasculate the whole spirit" of the struggle of the oppressed classes and races of the world for emancipation.

Thrift.

To recommend thrift to the poor is both grotesque and insulting. It is like advising a man who is starving to eat less.

For a town or country labourer to practise thrift would be absolutely immoral. Man should not be ready to show that he can live like a badly-fed animal.

He should decline to live like that, and should either steal or go on the rates, which is considered by many to be a form of stealing.

As for begging, it is safer to beg than take, but it is finer to take than to beg.

No; a poor man who is ungrateful, unthrifty, discontented, and rebellious is probably a real personality and has much in him. He is, at any rate, a healthy protest.

As for the virtuous poor, one can pity them, of course, but one cannot possibly admire them. They have made private terms with the enemy, and sold their birthright for very bad pottage. They must also be extraordinarily stupid. I can quite understand a man accepting laws that protect private property, and admit of its accumulation, as long as he himself is able under those conditions to realise some form of beautiful and intellectual life. But it is almost incredible to me how a man whose life is marred and made hideous by such laws can possibly acquiesce in their continuance.

—Oscar Wilde.

Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top;
When you grow up you can work in a shop.
When you are married your wife can work, too,
So that the rich will have nothing to do.
Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top,
When you are old your wages will stop;
And when you have spent what little you save,
It's rock-a-bye, baby—off to the grave!

—"The Maoriland Worker."

An Anarchist's Appreciation.

In a recent letter, Comrade L. A. Motler, a well-known journalist who visited South Africa a couple of years ago, indulges in a chatty survey of things as he sees them. Speaking of the Labour Press, he says:—

"Your possession of a party press is of itself an accomplishment. The editor of the 'Sunday Times' told me that Lionel Phillips spent some ten thousand quid on trying to run a magazine called I think 'The State.' Yet Communists 'cannot run a fried fish shop'!

"It is extraordinary how mere money fails where enthusiasm wins through, and the movement need never despair of ultimate success. I understand that the 'Daily Herald' may cease at the end of September. [Its term has since been renewed.—Ed.] This would be a serious blow to the leaders and bleeders who were counting on a 'good press' among such of the workers as believe in the 'forward movement.' It is not surprising, however, that the 'Herald' should feel a draught It not only wobbled over the dockers' strike, proclaiming itself (like the Irish Labour Party) neutral in this workers' struggle, but it played another game when, soon after, the boilermakers refused to be bound by an agreement, which they claimed was made by the Federation and not by the Union. Of course in this instance the hero of the boilermakers, John Hill, appeared as the Man of Right against the Men of Might. It is not Labour, but the leaders of Labour (to accept their own label) that the 'Herald' has stood for. Hamilton Fyfe, who 'made' the 'Daily Mail' and the 'Daily Mirror,' has failed to 'make' the 'Herald.' But even the almighty himself would have a job trying to fit our collection of bleeders with wings and halo complete.

"Ramsay Mac, I need not say, is not succeeding at the Sisyphian task of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. He strikes the workers too much as a gentleman with

'One foot in sea and one on shore,
To one thing constant never.'

It is only the Clyde left wing I.L.P. members that save his face. On occasional week-ends he will belch forth red-hot cinders, but the rest of the week he will be eating coke of his own manufacture.

"The unemployed workers' organisation has had a split recently, but they have hopes of mending the cleavage. It is certainly folly to leave a union because one disagrees with the policy of those who are responsible. It is in its way a form of cowardice and a shirking of responsibility that will do no good to make a new union a success. I agree with the 'Workers' Weekly' on the new union of dockers, lightermen and stevedores, arising out of the dock strike. These cleavages are nearly always led by men who have themselves ambitions to be ensconced in the safe places higher up about which they are so derisive when they themselves are not occupying such enviable (?) positions.

"I do not agree with so much mud-slinging of Russia by the 'Left Wingers.' It is quite right and proper to criticise the Marxians on their own ground, but to expect anarchism from professed Marxians is absurd. And to expect Communism served up like Johannes' head on a charger is ridiculous. Yet there still seem to be a great many of the armchair brigade who expect to find the revolution delivered with the morning's milk and a brand new Utopia by the subsequent first parcels' delivery.

'This Mrs. Jelliboy attitude of keeping one's eyes fixed on the revolution in Greenland instead of the revolution on one's own doorstep, so to speak, does no good. The worst critics are not always one's enemies but mostly one's own friends. If you cannot grow cabbages in your own allotment, it s sheer poverty of intellect to lean over the fence and be mirthful at the expense of one's neighbour who still sticks it out.

"For myself I remain an anarchist, but meantime the revolution first, last and all the time is a good motto to wake up in the morning with."

(A large section of Russian anarchists has recently acknowledged the correctness of the tactics of the Russian Communist Party.—Ed.)

The Terror in Bulgaria.

Of all the White Terror countries, Bulgaria seems to be the most fiendish in its treatment of the workers, especially under the regime which followed Stambulisky's. The imprisonment without charge of workers and poor peasants and their torture in prison with all the instruments of the inquisition is a daily occurrence. A law has been passed declaring anyone found guilty of robbery an outlaw, when anyone may kill him with impunity. Hundreds of Communists have been arrested on frame-ups of robbery accordingly, and frightfully ill-treated, even when the charges could not be sustained. Many have been just murdered outright. In Plevna, last July, 95 Communists came up for trial for "robbery." The barristers' council to a man refused to defend them, and eight lawyers from elsewhere who undertook their defence were promptly arrested by the police, and the trial proceeded without them. The verdict, and the fate of the Communists accordingly as outlaws, are a foregone conclusion.

Referring to the Witwatersrand Unemployed Committee's appeal for repatriation of the white workless of South Africa to "any white country in the world," the "Workers' Weekly," the British Communist organ, says:—

"Salvation does not lie in being repatriated to 'any WHITE country'—to starve there. It lies in the union of the forces of white and coloured workers against their common exploiters."

Fascist Chains and Prisons.

(By Edmondo Peluso.)

[Comrade Peluso, a Communist of bourgeois extraction, showed his international class fraternity at last year's Comintern Congress at Moscow when, while addressing the Congress on the subject of the execution of the Rand strikers, he interjected a fervent "Long live the revolutionary workers of South Africa." He has since suffered at the hands of the Fascists of his own country.—Ed.]

When Fascism came into power, it at once introduced a large number of perfectly ridiculous innovations, such as, for instance, the Roman greeting, the Greek "eia, eia, alala," etc. In the sphere of political persecution it not only introduced the compulsory administration of castor oil, and kept up a system of beating prisoners with the famous "manganello" (rubber truncheon) and of murdering them by means of knives, daggers, and guns, but has also given a place of honour once more to banishment, that is, to the expulsion of undesirable elements. As the complement of the banishment system it has also introduced the compulsory "return home." Fascist terror has thus forged for itself a two-edged sword which can be used, according to the political exigencies of the moment, either for banishing Communists from the place where they are living, or, should they become dangerous in a town which is not their home, for expelling them from here and forcing them to return home.

It is exceedingly difficult to form an actual conception of an Italian cell-wagon. There is nothing more frightful on earth. Menagerie cages are incomparably more comfortable, and permit the wild beasts much more air and freedom of movement than the sheet iron box, one square metre in floor area, in which the Italian Communists are imprisoned while they are being transported, with the additional torment of heavy fetters.

The cruelty of the Italian gendarmes, who are themselves frequently under the influence of their own fear of punishment, is such that when they handcuff the Communists, the wrists of the prisoners are rendered bloody and useless for a long time.

During the course of this month I had occasion to be transported from Milan, where I was arrested, to my native town of Naples. And this solely because I am a member of the Communist Party of Italy. I have been imprisoned in a dozen Italian gaols.

In some prisons the directors are the actual accomplices of the Fascisti. Thus in Ravenna Comrade Gambi was riddled by a number of revolver shots while lying on his bed of boards, unable to defend himself.

Never before have the Italian prisons been so overfilled as at the present time. The number of prisoners is estimated approximately at 800,000.

It must be emphasised that the present Government, in order to further increase its cruelty towards the political prisoners, treats them very much worse than the common law-breakers.

And yet I may say that neither the physical tortures suffered by our comrades, nor the thought of their misery endured by their families, is in the least able to shake their powers of moral resistance.

It will only serve to make them more determined and tenacious. They have earned high honours in the Third International. And as soon as they are free again, they will take up their posts without delay in the great army of Communist revolution.

Delivered.

A STORY OF THE RUSSIAN FAMINE FRONT, 1922.

(By R. W. Dunn, Quaker Relief Worker.)

This is a true story. It has no moral.

Her name was Yeyadokeva. Her age was eighteen. She was what the writers call "full-blown." She lived in Semyonovka, and was easily the belle of the village.

His name was Nicolai. He was seventeen and small for his age, unusually pinched like a famine-year sunflower. He lived in a smaller village a verst away.

She didn't like him at all. But her family gave their word, just as all peasant families used to before the Revolution—it is different now—and that was final. His family needed a husky female worker. She was the one they decided upon. The wedding was fixed for the ninth of April, the market-day before Palm Sunday. Nicolai's folks would be coming to Semyonovka anyway. They would even put a bell on the young horse, the horse they had not eaten.

Yeyadokeva was helpless. She could not run away. The roads were clogged with pitchy mud. Even if she could get to Buzuluk she knew no one there. There was nothing she could do. Her family needed the two poods of lebeda flour (lebeda is an edible weed) that Nicolai would bring them. They needed it desperately. Under stress of the famine many strange things were being done, things even worse than marrying Nicolai.

She waited for Doomsday, the ninth of April. While she waited something happened. It was April 7th. The American corn had just come to Grachovka, the volost capital. From the volost warehouse, Semyonovka received its share.

Her family received three of the adult corn rations. With these and the children's rations, distributed by the Friends' Mission, they could get along very well without the lebeda flour. They did not have to sell their eighteen-year-old daughter. So Nicolai, the little would-be husband, went back to his village disappointed. He carried with him a sack of lebeda flour.

(Continued at foot of previous column.)

Yeyadokeva was relieved. After that she prayed every night that she would be married to someone else before her family got into another tight squeeze. Nicolai still owns that sack of flour. He is waiting.

The Influence of Oil on Politics.

CAPITALIST INTRIGUE BEHIND THE SCENES.

In the "Economist" of 11th August last there is a remarkable article on "The Influence of Oil on Politics." The article is not only remarkable for the admissions it makes of the part being played and the influence wielded by the great capitalist oil magnates in international diplomatic affairs, but it is remarkable in that it should receive prominence in the staid columns of the "Economist."

The article says:—"Whenever Standard Oil, hunting for reserve sources of production, finds itself too late upon the foreign field, there is generally some political trouble. Is not this, coupled with the British Government's indirect participation in the oil business, a possible explanation of the influence of oil on foreign politics?

"Let us note two occasions when Standard Oil was too late upon the field and mark the political events which followed. The first is Russia. Before the war Royal Dutch-Shell was predominant in the Russian fields. It was not till 1920 that Standard Oil acquired an interest in Russia by the purchase of control of the important Nobel undertakings in Baku. YET THIS MINOR INTEREST OF THE GREAT OIL TRUST WAS APPARENTLY SUFFICIENT TO LEAD UP TO THE RUPTURE OF THE GENOA CONFERENCE. It will be recalled that the mere rumour of a deal between Royal Dutch-Shell and the Soviet Government set Standard Oil to work in Washington, in Paris and Brussels—in Washington to urge the State Department to reiterate its economic policy of 'the open door,' in Paris and Brussels to support French and Belgian interests in warning their respective Governments against 'British greed.' Is it not to be assumed that the insistence of the Belgians on the return of properties without the option of compensation, the amendments of the French to the Russian Memorandum, the final break up of the Conference under the deadly cloud of having a further meeting of experts at The Hague are so many indications of the influence of oil—and Standard Oil?

"The other occasion was, and is, Mesopotamia. Standard Oil had arrived too late upon the oilfields of the Middle East. It had a prospecting claim in Palestine, but not a single concession or claim in Mesopotamia. Indeed, American interests in that country were confined to the shadowy claims of Admiral Chester. Naturally, the policy which Standard Oil urged upon the American Government in this sphere was the policy of 'the open door.' How else could it get inside? One remembers the heated Notes that passed between the American Secretary of State and Lord Curzon ostensibly on the subject of 'the economic rights in Mandated territories,' but really on the oil rights of Mesopotamia. The British Government was roundly accused of partiality to British interests, of seeking to establish an oil monopoly in mandated territory. THE SAN REMO AGREEMENT INTENSIFIED AMERICAN FEELING AND SUSPICION. SO VIOLENT WAS THE LAST DIPLOMATIC NOTE FROM WASHINGTON ON THIS SUBJECT THAT IT WAS CONSIDERED UNFIT FOR PUBLICATION. The British Government were constrained to give way and pacify American oil interests; it agreed that Standard Oil should be admitted into the Turkish Petroleum Company. Here was outstanding evidence of the political influence of the American oil colossus.

"Much still remains obscure in the post-war history of oil. One does not yet know the full commitment of the British Government to the oil policy, or the complete machinations of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, or the full extent to which Mr. Secretary Hughes has earned his popular title of 'the Secretary for Oil.' The international influence of the big oil combines must inevitably be considerable in the nature of things economic and political, particularly that of Standard Oil on the occasions when it arrives too late upon any foreign field. One fact emerges clearly—namely, that the British Government appears subservient to the American whenever the pressure of Standard Oil is strong."

How Mars Mars.

"It will be seen that the general standard of the men presenting themselves for enlistment has been poor. This, no doubt, is largely attributable to the mode of life led by many of them during the war, and at a time when they were growing lads."

Thus, in melancholy retrospect, muses the General Annual Report on the British Army for 1921, dealing with the problem of recruiting.

Over 51,000 men were rejected for physical reasons, another tittle of evidence that the sacrifices which Mars demands are of no benefit even to him.—Labour Press Service.

There were two "Reigns of Terror" if we could but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood. The one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years. The one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions. But our shudders are all for the "horrors" of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak: whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared with the life-long death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty and heart-break? What is the swift death by lightning compared with death by slow fires at the stake? A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves.

—Mark Twain.

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COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Discussion Syllabus for Wednesdays in October at No. 4, Trades Hall:—

17th: "Plebs," on "Proletarian Education."

24th: W. Bloomberg, on "Religion and the Communist International."

31st: Election of Executive, etc.

* * *

Comrades and friends will please book Sunday, the 28th inst., for the picnic at the Zoo Lake.

* * *

The sixth anniversary of the Russian Revolution will be celebrated on Wednesday, November 7, at the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg, with a Workers' Social and Rally. Book the date and sell tickets (2/6 each).

* * *

BENONI BRANCH.

Comrade Bunting lectures to-night on "Russia, its Trade Unions and Soviets" at the Workers' Hall, Benoni, at 8 p.m.

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

The Dean of Johannesburg is to argue the point with the Young Communist League on Tuesday next, the 16th inst., at 8 p.m., at No. 4, Trades Hall.

Subject: "Dope."

* * *

BENONI BRANCH.

This branch of the Y.C.L. is active and growing. Its anti-Defence-Force propaganda is meeting with the approval of numbers of young workers on the East Rand. These young workers must join the branch and help it to carry on its work. Long live the revolutionary youth of the "Far East"!

Y.C.I. LITERATURE.

"From Isolation to the Masses"—An Analytical Study of Organisation, by Richard Gyptner. Price 6d.

"The Child of the Worker"—A Collection of Facts and the Remedy. Price 6d.

"Manual for Leaders of Children's Groups"—by Edwin Hoernle. Price 6d.

Post free, from the Y.C.L., P.O. Box 7599, Johannesburg.

* * *

The first meeting of the Communist Children's Group will be held this Sunday, October 14, at No. 4, Trades Hall, at 11 a.m. All comrades should let their children (under 15) know about it, and all prospective "leaders" should also attend.

Prisoners' Release Committee.

The names of the nine remaining Rand Strike prisoners, which have been incorrectly or incompletely given hitherto, are as follows:—

Life sentences: I. Brussouw, J. Garnsworthy, A. W. Lategan, L. M. Sanders.

Ten years: R. P. Erasmus.

Seven years J. S. Potgieter, H. Shaw, I. J. Viljoen, P. J. v. d. Merwe.

The Committee desires to extend the sphere of its task by coupling with the demand for the release of these nine a request for an amnesty in favour of Mike Rautenbach, formerly of Benoni, and B. v. d. Merwe, formerly of Boksburg.

And there are others, imprisoned as the result of the various brutalities of our rascally rulers, whose cause should also be taken up.

Eventually, no doubt, the movement may develop into a permanent "Red Aid" organisation, and may link up with the world-wide class war prisoners' relief and release movement described in our issue of last week.

Meanwhile, get signatures for the petition. Copies can be obtained from the Secretary, Box 6779, Johannesburg. Don't delay, the men have been in gaol for over a year and a half already!

Nos. 24 and 25 now on Sale.
Price 1/- per copy; postage 1½d. extra.
"THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL,"
Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, edited by G. Zinoviev and K. Radek.

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Clara Zetkin: Russian Revolution and 4th Congress.
Karl Radek: Hague to Essen.
M. Philips Price: Impressions of General Election.
J. T. Walton Newbold: The British Parliament.
E. Roy: Politics in Gaya.
V. Kolaroff: A Single International Workers' Party, etc.

No. 25.

G. Zinoviev: Address to the 12th Congress, R.C.P.
N. Bukharin: The 12th Congress of the Russian C.P.
K. Radek: Ruhr and Hamburg.
A. Losovsky: The Frankfurt Conference.
A. Thalheimer: Ruhr Tactics.
A. McManus: Education of Working Class in Great Britain; etc.

The Communist Party (S.A.), Literature Department, 4, Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

Notice is hereby given that the General Dealer's Business carried on on Stand 486, Brakpan, by N. Nochumson has been abandoned as from 8th October, 1923.

J. BACHARACH,
12/19/26. Agent for N. Nochumson.

NOTICE is hereby given that the General Dealer's Business carried on by B. Sischy on Stands 87/88, Knights Central, will be transferred to Stand 386, Germiston, as from the 2nd October, 1925.

J. BACHARACH, Agent for B. Sischy.

5/12/19.

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