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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. 388. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19, 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 even in Municipal elections they should take good care to record their vote solid and undivided against the ruling party and class of the country.

* * *

That it is a scandal that party egoism has deprived them of the chance to do this in, among other places, Ward II., Benoni, but they hope to make good in Ward III.

* * *

That the S.A.M.W.U. Central Section's proposal to enrol a native miners' section is being hotly debated, but is meeting with far less bitter opposition than might have been expected in many quarters.

* * *

That bitterness is more properly aroused in connection with 1922 scabs, as appears from the "faction fight" at Randfontein, and

* * *

That such bitterness is one of the "every little helps" towards a return to 100 per cent. Trade Unionism, for no man is entitled to abuse a scab and stay outside his Union.

* * *

That as a further stimulus to that end, the formation of Trades and Labour Councils in every industrial centre is being mooted.

* * *

That Creswell complains that the S.A.L.P. are charged in the towns with disloyalty to the Union Jack and in the country with Bolshevism, and that they can't have it both ways; but

* * *

That the sooner they learn to have it both ways, swearing loyalty to the Red Flag only, the better.

* * *

That the "Slum Fighters' Committee," in appealing to ladies to organise Christmas cheer for poor whites, rather gives itself away by basing that appeal on the motive of "defeating the machinations of Bolshevism."

* * *

That Minister Malan once more recalls that picture of the Tsar and the peasants when he tells the natives clamouring for more land that there is no more land for them, and also that it would never do to "force on them" the Native Councils enjoined by law over three years ago!

* * *

That when Mr. Waterston, M.L.A., says we shall soon have black mine captains "and a Black Premier" he might ask himself whether we are likely to get anything (politically) blacker than the present article.

* * *

That not all the bowing and scraping to Smuts at "Home" deceives anyone in South Africa, it only makes them think the Empire all the more poverty-stricken for men.

* * *

That if the best that Smuts can do for Germany is to reduce it to the state of Austria and detach the Rhineland, then God help Germany—and Smuts.

* * *

That an explanation of why the Corfu incident was ever possible, and on which side the British Government's sympathies in the matter really lay, is revealed in the argument "that a too complete rebuff to Mussolini might have led to his overthrow and a revolution in Italy."

* * *

That the proposed company for turning locusts into human food foreshadows the day when "mealie-pap level" will be moved down a peg to "locust level" as the "white standard of South Africa."

* * *

That they wonder how the "Mail," with its cartoon depicting cheap labour as lowering the standard of living, ever expected anything else?

Another Disenchantment.

We have several times referred to the leftward movement of Edo Fimmen, secretary of the Amsterdam Federation. Now even Emil van der Velde, the Belgian Social-Patriot, is having to eat his war-time fulminations and disown his erstwhile heroes, the Entente bourgeoisie. The French Ruhr policy, he is now constrained to admit (and he was party to the Peace of Versailles), threatens the entire working class movement of Europe. "Belgian workers" he says, "must resist the abolition of the 8-hour day and the reduction of the German proletariat to famine and despair." Let him set the example of Allied working class resistance to the devastation of workers' Germany by leading the Belgian workers, even to the length of the revolution before which he still trembles, against not the French only but the whole European capitalist (including the German capitalist) attack on not German workers only, but the whole working class of Europe, including Russia.

Friends of Democracy.

Mr. Lloyd George's comparison of Bolshevism with Fascism is made ridiculous by his own quotations from Lenin. For his statement "Lenin does not attempt to conceal his opinion that the people are not fit to govern" he can of course quote no authority from Lenin; it is based rather on his own partisans' query whether Labour is fit to govern. But he says that Lenin wants to replace democracy "by the mechanism of the proletariat WHEN THE LATTER IS STRONG ENOUGH TO CARRY OUT SUCH A TASK"; and he quotes Lenin as saying that Parliamentarism is the illusion that the people control when really the power is in the hands of a small section of the bourgeoisie, whereas "the Soviet regime is bound up with THE TOILING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE." So it looks as if George, not Lenin, were the enemy of real democracy.

* * *

Sir Frederick Moor is another who no doubt poses as a champion of democracy. But he betrays the true contempt in which his class, secure in their property power, really hold democracy, when he declares at the South African Agricultural Union Congress: "The power of eviction (of natives) is the most powerful weapon in the possession of the landowner. If we exercise it we can dispense with magistrates and pass laws and all that paraphernalia." A FIG FOR YOUR LAWS; possession—and dispossession—is nine points of the law!

* * *

In Germany the same contempt prevails, and indicates very clearly what the bourgeoisie everywhere will do with "democratic constitutions" when its position is threatened by them. Under the democratic constitution of the Reich the "United Front" Government of Saxony is perfectly entitled to allow the workers to form themselves into Hundertschaften (commandos) in defence against Fascism; and the workers are perfectly entitled to form Workshop Councils and call Congresses of Workshop Councils. But these are units capable of being used to good purpose under a Soviet regime. So HEY PRESTO, AWAY GOES DEMOCRACY, up starts a dictatorship, and the Reichswehr forbids both Saxon Government to allow commandos and workers to form Councils

Comrade W. H. HARRISON, Communist candidate for Hanover Street (Capetown) in the Provincial Council Election, November 14, 1923.

Comrade MRS. JESSIE CHAPMAN, Communist candidate for Ward III., Benoni, in the Municipal Elections, October 31, 1923.

Strike Prisoners.

In response to a numerously signed petition in the usual form, calling upon the Mayor of Johannesburg to convene a citizens' meeting in the Town Hall to consider a resolution calling for the release of the strike prisoners, that functionary has replied refusing the request. No reason is given.

Mr. Forsyth Allan, the Mayor in question, is standing for re-election to the Town Council, and is associated with a number of other candidates for election or re-election who are no doubt behind him in the above refusal, and who may be distinguished as a rule by the fact that they are opposing Labour or Nationalist candidates.

Electors who resent this churlish attitude have thus a quick retort available. Turn him out! He called a policeman to eject a Councillor; be policement and eject him! Let the defeat of Forsyth Allan and his friends on October 31 show what Johannesburg thinks of their partisanship, and open the way for A NEW MAYOR who will not only convene the desired meeting but preside at it as a sympathiser and supporter.

The Mayor of Benoni, with more respect for his constituents, called a meeting for last Wednesday night, at which the resolution was carried with acclamation by a packed house after speeches from Messrs. Madeley, M.L.A., Everwel, Hills, C. L. Henderson, Glass and others. The resolution has been sent to the Government. Similar meetings are in contemplation in all the other Reef municipalities. Workers, Remember the Boys in Gaol!

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!

"Property is made by labour"—other people's.

The Soviet Elections.

The regular annual elections to the Soviets have now begun in most parts of Russia. These elections to every village and town Soviet, followed by the election of delegates to the district and provincial Soviet Congresses, are the prelude to the meeting in December of the Soviet Congresses of the Republics and the Union Soviet Congress. Thus every twelve months the legislative and executive bodies, from the village to the Union, receive a fresh mandate.

* * *

Both internally and in her relations with the outside world, Soviet Russia stands to-day in a position which gives the utmost confidence to the electors. To them, it is not an abstract matter of statistics but the experience of everyday life. In the towns the industrial workers during the last twelve months have experienced a steady rise in real wages, better and more regular food supplies, and innumerable other improvements in housing and transport facilities, lighting and heating, etc. In the villages the area under cultivation has been extended, largely thanks to State assistance; the crops are relatively good, and taxation has been made less burdensome by the introduction of the single agricultural tax. Both in the industrial centres and in the country, the workers and peasants realise the extent to which the improvement in their conditions during the last year has been due to the courageous policy and energy of their Government.

* * *

In such circumstances, the result of the elections is not in doubt, and the reports so far to hand show the almost unanimous election of the lists put forward by the Communist Party. The reports also show the keen interest of the electorate, a very high proportion of which is taking part in the elections.

—"Russian Information and Review."

The Church's Childish Chatter.

The much-discussed discussion on "Religious Dope" between the Rev. Dean Ponsonby and the Young Communist League last Tuesday was a reminder to those who had been through the religious mill, and a revelation to those who had not, of how almost unimaginably silly and childish the whole affair is and how utterly undeserving of "reverence."

Denying that the church and clergy are tools of the workers' oppressors, the Dean declared that they were free agents serving God only, sincerely bent only on the good and beautiful. We can't all have everything good on this earth, however, he said; the typist, for instance, who would rather be playing the piano than flogging a Remington all day—she will have her chance in heaven, and therefore she should not be discontented here below, but should watch and pray in patience for the golden harps. The clergy, he said, are always with the poor and for the poor who, but for Christianity, would have an aimless life, "feeding on hay" without hope of "pie in the sky when they die." On the other hand, the all seeing Creator would punish the wicked capitalists in the next world. He urged his hearers to try and kneel, or failing that, sit down every morning and evening and pray God for enlightenment which he was sure would be granted; then they would find something to die for!

One really wonders if it can possibly be true that in this twentieth century, when man has conquered the world and holds all the forces of nature in his hands, the clergy can still be so ignorant and stupid and don't know it—perhaps don't want to know it, and can have the nerve to come before Communists with such chatter as above. The audience, still infected it is to be feared with a tinge of either superstition or snobbery or both, applauded the Dean when he sat down. They should have roared with laughter, and made him feel that he is as ignorant of economics, of science, of human society and politics, as a child, nay worse, for a child is open to learn, which he is not. A child from a Convent School will say: "Mummy, there is a God who made everything, I know it's true, the Sister said so." The Dean says the same, only his authority is the Bible.

It was pointed out in reply that recent events on the Rand sufficiently proved how, when it comes to taking sides, the parsons are after all not found on the side of the poor but on the side of the "wicked capitalists."

But even if the clergy believe themselves sincere and out to help the poor, we may recall the words of the Russian poet: "A fool who tries to make himself useful is worse than an enemy." Perhaps the best thing the parsons can do is to leave the poor alone to help themselves.

R.B.

Lenin on Education.

"Our progress in stamping out illiteracy has so far been relatively small, and in this respect we have not made a sufficient advance on Tsarist times. The educational work before us is still enormous, and we must not limit ourselves to merely theoretical considerations—we must deal with the matter practically, when reviewing the budget for the next quarter. Undoubtedly it is not the expenditure of the Commissariat for Education that should be cut down, but rather that of other departments, the money thus set free being used for the needs of education.

"The work now being done in the sphere of education cannot, generally speaking, be termed too narrow. We are doing much to remove the influence of the old ideas in teaching, to interest the teacher in the new problems before us, to put before him the new pedagogical point of view, and the new ideas in such questions, for example, as religion. But we are failing to do what is most important. We are not making sufficiently strenuous efforts to place the national teacher on the high level which must be secured for him if we are to speak of culture at all—proletarian or even of bourgeois culture.

"We shall not get rid of our semi-Asiatic barbarism without very strenuous efforts; and yet in one respect the conditions in Russia are more favourable than anywhere else. For nowhere in the world are the working masses so deeply and intensely interested in cultural questions as are our workers. In no other country have the workers the State power in their hands, and nowhere do they so well understand the limitation and misfortune of their lack, I will not say of culture, but even of bare literacy. Nowhere does the worker make so many sacrifices to improve his position in this respect as here in Russia. Our whole State budget must be so constructed as to give first place to the needs of primary education—whatever else we may have to go without."

The Prince of Wales travelled incognito in Canada as Lord Renfrew, we are informed by the Press. A Prince by any other name is just as ——; well, we'll let you finish the sentence according to your taste.

—"Forward."

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Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1923. No. 38.

Hands off Workers' Germany!

OPEN LETTER TO THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL AND TO THE AMSTERDAM TRADE UNION FEDERATION.

To the Executive Committee of the 2nd International.
To the Executive Committee of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation.

The Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions address the following open letter to you:—

The events in Germany confront the international labour movement with a most serious historical task. (Twenty million German proletarians, the flower of the international proletariat, are entering into the struggle against the German capitalists and against the imperialists of the Entente. The approaching struggles will fill the whole political history of the next period. The outcome of these struggles will decide the fate of the international labour movement for many years. All the events of the political history of the next epoch and in particular the whole labour movement of the world will turn upon the face of the German crisis which is now developing.

The events in Germany have, in the most obvious manner, an enormous importance outside of Germany In no country can the workers hold aloof from happenings in Germany. Every proletarian whose heart beats true for his class must hasten to the help of the German proletariat fighting under the red flag. The cause of the German workers is the cause of the workers of the whole world.

We approach you with the proposal to consider in common all practical measures which can, shall and must be undertaken by all international organisations of the proletariat for the support of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. And this support can take many forms.

1. In Germany, Fascism is rearing its head. The international organisations of the proletariat must help the German revolutionary workers in repelling Fascism;
2. The German capitalists are flinging thousands of revolutionary workers upon the streets. These workers are left without a crust of bread.

The task of the international labour organisations consists in hastening to the aid of these proletarian victims of the class struggle.

To-morrow, perhaps, the French and Polish bourgeoisie will attempt to afford open assistance to the German capitalists in the armed overthrowing of the German labour movement. The international workers' organisations must be ready to render all these attempts unavailing. The fight for peace is the chief task of everyone to whom the life and well-being of the workers is dear.

The international proletarian organisations must be on the watch. At your Hague conference you issued the call to fight against war and for the preservation of peace. The danger of war is now undoubtedly imminent

In view of all this we suggest to you to hold along with us a joint international conference which shall be devoted to the following questions: 1, Organising of all-round support of the German workers by the international proletariat; appropriate measures for conducting the struggle for peace.

The crisis is developing with such rapidity that every day is precious. We suggest that the place of the conference be Moscow, but we are ready to hold this conference in any other suitable town.

Moscow, 25th August, 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.
The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Farewell to Scotland.

Land o' ancient bloody tyrants,
Sneaking traitors, deep and sly.
Land o' thievin' Hielan' devils,
Kilted rogues an' stolen kye.

Land o' bibles, kirks, and hymn books,
Saints an' lassies, awfu' frail;
Drunkards, shebeens, Godly deacons,
Parritch, whusky, brose, and kail.

Land o' carefu' cunning buddies,
Foes to all ungodly fun;
Those who sum up man's whole duty,
Heaven, hell, and number one.

Land o' psalms and drowsy sermons,
Pawky wits an' snuffy bores;
Faur faun chiels sae proud o' Scotland,
That they leave it by the score.

Land o' strikes and Bolshie rebels,
Labour yappers, quacks galore;
Puir auld Scotland, God forgive you,
MAY I NEVER SEE YOU MORE!

—Quoted by "Forward."

"The Kinnoull family, whose present head has just become engaged," says a daily paper, "were originally ploughmen—a long time ago, of course." A chap called Darwin suggests that they were originally apes—also a long time ago, of course!

—"Forward."

A Summons for Perpetual Silence

Recently A. Crawford wrote to the "Star" that the South African Communist Party were financed by the Russian Government. This was denied by those best qualified to deny it, and Crawford, who of course had no evidence whatsoever, had to drop it, though he left the field still muttering that the denial "wouldn't wash," and that he was sure some other parties were so financed. Langley Levy is now chanting his arm to the same discredited effect. You see the kind of people who make such charges. They pretend to fail to understand a cause being supported from the mites of poor men for the sake of poor men. Yet they have, in their earlier days, had experience of such things, and to-day that mantle falls on the Communist parties of the world. We challenge Levy to produce the grounds of his "belief" that the "International" is "financed from Moscow"—or be for ever dumb. And we declare that he knows as well as we do that he has no grounds for such a belief, and that if he still believes it, he believes a fabrication, as he would have people believe the "Sunday Times."

Without Honour in their own Country.

The Underground Officials' Association is one of those "Master's Pet" unions which have been formed in every country, even Russia, by the bosses, often with police aid, to neutralise and compete with bona fide workers' unions and scab on them in strike time. And to-day when the Chamber of Mines, having been severely stung by the Dutch Africander nettle from the country, is looking elsewhere for its supply of white miners, the pupils of the mine training school, on becoming fledged, are encouraged to fight shy of the S.A.M.W.U. and to join the U.O.A. Nevertheless, as with the Tsarist Unions and the Fascist Unions in Italy, you cannot create any body of workers but it feels the nip of the class struggle sooner or later, and the Underground Officials were evidently feeling it in some form, there was evidently a strong rebel element even in their select ta-di-da ranks, when at their smoking concert last Saturday in the Johannesburg Town Hall they talked if not howled down Minister Pat Duncan and President Buckle, the guests of the evening, with no better hearing than Smuts at Turffontein! If this is the best Old Guard the Chamber has to rely on next time, God help the Chamber!

Practical Red Aid.

The Red International of Labour Unions, dealing with the German situation, says:—

It is the duty of the Red International of Labour Unions, and of all organisations affiliated to it, as well as of all class conscious proletarians, to hasten to the aid of the fighting workers of Germany before it be too late We must not permit the vanguard of the revolutionary movement to be shattered; we must not allow the thousands of workers discharged from the factories and workshops on account of active participation in protest demonstrations to be abandoned to the hazards of fate and the Fascist bands.

THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS, IN THE NAME OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, CONTRIBUTES ONE MILLION GOLD MARKS TO THE SUPPORT OF THE LOCKED OUT AND PERSECUTED WORKERS OF GERMANY. THIS MONEY WILL BE PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE CENTRAL OF THE FACTORY COUNCILS OF GERMANY.

The Red International of Labour Unions calls upon all organisations and all workers sympathising with it to hasten to the aid of the workers of Germany.

Black Trade Unionists.

The approval of the "Guardian," in view of the past policy of the S.A.L.P. in this matter, is sufficiently remarkable to warrant reproduction of its article which so disconcerts the "Sunday Times" and "Rand Daily Mail." Here it is:—

In a brief paragraph in the daily papers there is recorded what may be one of the most important and far-reaching changes in industrial outlook that has occurred for many years. It is stated that the South African Mine Workers' Union are about to organise the native mine workers on trade union lines. It is not before time.

Too long have the lower castes of workers been allowed to be the pawns of the masters, to be advanced when the play suited it, and ruthlessly sacrificed when desirable. Too long have the white workers ignored and despised the lower castes, and allowed them to remain unorganised and unrecognised, a danger to the white standard and a weapon to be used against civilisation.

We are of the deliberate opinion that every worker in an industry should be a member of the trade covering that industry. That every one from the paid general manager down to the native piccanin who runs messages for the native gangs should belong to the Union, and every one in between. Only when this is achieved will it be possible for the workers to prevent the masters playing off one section against the other, and make the organisation scab proof.

It has taken a long time to make some sections of the workers see that the native must take his part in industrial organisation, but their eyes are being opened. There are some who are blind yet but they are growing few. There are undoubtedly many difficulties in the way of native organisation, but none of them are greater than those encountered in organising the white workers in the past, and experience makes the task easier.

We wish the S.A Mine Workers' Union success in their task.

The Transition.

IMPERIALISM, ENSLAVER OF ENSLAVERS.

"When men of first-rate ability turned from a consideration of the good, the true, and the beautiful, and of the precise relation of the three members of the Trinity to one another, and began to wonder what makes milk sour quicker in hot weather than in cold and why an object seen through a glass bottle is magnified, they had already made the transitions from the old to the new attitude of mind."

When certain men of ability in the South African Mine Workers' Union begin to realise that the old "damn the nigger" policy of white trade unionism in the Transvaal is not exactly in harmony with conditions as they exist to-day (from the point of view of the white worker), when they begin to consider the advisability, even perhaps the necessity, of admitting native miners to membership of their union, when they begin to take steps to get their fellow-white workers to discuss this problem, they have "already made the transitions" (rather painful transitions perhaps) "from the old to the new attitude of mind."

The sun has not come up yet; it is still sunk below the horizon. But those who have eyes to see have not much difficulty in observing the signs in the sky, which declare in no uncertain terms that the dawn is at hand. There was a time when no Communist could express his views on native organisation to an audience of white workers without being howled down. Those days are past. The Communist is listened to nowadays. He meets with no applause when he mentions the native. His remarks are received in painful silence. But he is listened to; he is not howled down.

The most powerful obstacle in the way of the S.A.M.W.U. will probably be, not the Government (although they will undoubtedly meet with opposition from the state), but the race prejudice of the vast majority of the white miners

* * *

The Dutch-speaking worker on the Rand to-day occupies a strange ideological position. A hundred years ago his ancestors, unable to tolerate any longer the rule of British Imperialism, trekked away from the Cape. Their material objection to British rule was that it REFUSED TO ALLOW THEM TO KEEP SLAVES. Not that the new power of capitalism which was conquering the world had any real objections to slavery. On the contrary it was itself already the largest slave-owner in existence with its millions of men, women and children slaving their lives away in the industrial towns of northern England and its further millions of slaves, just beginning to be systematically exploited, in Africa and Asia.

No, Imperialism does not object to slavery. It replaces the old slavery by the new. It makes men free only to relieve itself of the responsibility of feeding them during periods when it cannot exploit them It replaces chattel and serf-slavery by wage-slavery.

British Imperialism did not worry about a few thousand slave-owners in the Cape of Good Hope. It freed the slaves, and was not particularly concerned whether the owners were compensated or not. The Africanders left the Cape to find a place where they could exploit without being exploited.

They conquered the Bantu inhabitants of the interior by means of an expert combination of audacity and gunpowder. They possessed themselves of the land and reduced the natives to the level of serfs. The native was compelled to work for a white master for the privilege of living in the land of his fathers.

But British Imperialism was following them up. The interior of Africa was a prize not to be let go lightly. The feudal republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State were found to possess valuable mineral assets in the form of gold and diamonds. The Boer war was but an episode in the triumphant march of the British bourgeoisie. In the fight between feudalism and capitalism it is inevitable that the latter should conquer.

Our feudal lord, who regarded the natives as so much dirt beneath his feet, who thrashed his native servants when they showed the least sign of insubordination, whose outlook was not very much different from that of the baron of the middle ages, our feudal lord himself became a serf.

There was a time when the Africander, if a magistrate's court were established within a day's journey of his farm, could pack his wife and chattels on his wagon, inspan his oxen, trek a hundred miles, and settle down beyond the reach of any government. But those days are past now. The Transvaal is all divided up, and half a dozen land companies in Johannesburg own very nearly the whole of the province

The Dutchman has been forced to work in the mines. He has became a wage slave. Working together with him is his former slave—the native. Capitalist evolution is rapidly bringing the two sections of the working class, black and white, to the same economic level. It is becoming painfully evident that "colour pride" and the "history of our race" will not prevent white men from starving "in the land which their fathers fought for." But the ideology of the ruling caste still remains. It survives in all its strength long after the conditions which produced it have begun to disappear. There will perhaps be large vestiges of it left when those conditions have entirely gone.

One thing the white miners are beginning to learn: the Chamber of Mines cannot be beaten by a mine workers' union which excludes from its ranks the ninety per cent. who are native miners.

Another thing they have still to begin to learn: you cannot fight successfully against those who are oppressing you, while you in turn are oppressing somebody else

E.R.R.

An "Ugly Duckling" of Diplomacy.

By A. Lozovsky (Sec., R.I.L.U.).

What do the former owners of factories and works in Russia think about when they cannot get to sleep at night? They think about how they can manage to have these factories returned to their "rightful" owners. This is the root of all Anglo-Russian conflicts, and this was the explanation of the recent Rakovsky incident. Everything seemed to be quite settled, when that dirtiest of reactionary newspapers, the "Morning Post," dutifully reported to the authorities: "Your Excellencies! They are making communes, preaching proletariat, spreading proclamations!"

A WOULDN'T-BE RENEGADE.

The English Government would, of course, not have the slightest objection to raise against Rakovsky's distant past, or the past of other Russian diplomats. Was not Briand a socialist of the extreme left at one time, a propagator of the general strike, and did he not begin speaking and acting in exact opposition to his former tactics as soon as he was seated on the ministerial benches? At one time Millerand was also a member of the Socialist Party, but as President of the French Republic he has become more sensible, and is transformed into a raging reactionary and imperialist. "Socialists" of this type are naturally acceptable to the honourable and godfearing English exploiters. But that a minister or ambassador, after holding office in a high state position for six years, should stick to his old socialist convictions this is an unheard-of scandal for the whole diplomatic world. And then, this Rakovsky's calling is perfectly inexplicable. Here is a man who has occupied himself for thirty years with revolution, has had power in his hands for several years, and STILL goes on occupying himself with such matters! How can anybody feel confidence in a man who does not possess any property, an obviously frivolous person who has not managed to scrape something together in the course of fifty years?

"FILL YOUR POCKETS, MAN!"

Other ministers and ambassadors are so very different! There is for instance the French ambassador in Germany, Laurent, representative of the well-known association of French metal industrialists which is determined to gain possession of the Ruhr basin at any price Or let us take English diplomats and ministers. For example, there is in England a law prohibiting ministers from being directors of private commercial and financial companies. This law is, of course, loyally obeyed. Every joint stock company is naturally broad-minded enough to grant its directors sufficient leave of absence to enable them to fill their ministerial duties. Thus Sir Robert Horne leaves his post as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Stanley Baldwin succeeds him, and Horne is immediately chosen for the position of chairman of a commercial company controlled by Stanley Baldwin, and possessing a capital of over nine million pounds sterling. Sir Eric Geddes, head of a ministry in the coalition cabinet, resigns his post at the same time as Sir Robert Horne gives up his, and is at once converted into a director of the Marconi telegraph company. A safe wire connects this wireless telegraph with certain ministers. McKenna, after giving up his ministerial post, became chairman of directors of one of the great banks. For all these gentlemen, politics are the continuation of their commercial transactions.

"AN AGITATOR—UGH!"

How is it possible to draw any comparison between such important (in millions sterling) ministers and diplomats and the Soviet diplomat Rakovsky, who has not even had enough sense to pilfer a few millions for himself? What kind of minister or diplomat does he think himself, that he does not even know the most elementary rules of civilised diplomacy? Did anybody ever hear of a minister or diplomat who wrote pamphlets and made speeches in favour of revolution? Is it not one of the sacred traditions of international diplomacy that when ministers and ambassadors write anything, it is invariably against revolution and against the emancipation of the masses?

"NO GENTLEMAN."

And then this Soviet diplomat possesses another exceedingly disagreeable characteristic—the lack of any court-bestowed title of nobility. In place of the pleasing designation of Lord, Baron, or Marquis, we find the sinister title—Comrade! Can the Bolsheviki, who are their own ancestors, tell us anything about what their grandfathers and grandmothers were doing one or two hundred years ago? No doubt their forefathers were toiling at the work of tilling other people's ground, bending their backs under the yoke of slavery. But if their ancestors had been flunkeys or ostlers to the ruling house, if these had evinced, at the time of Catherine the First, Elizabeth or Catherine the Second, those characteristics which were regarded at that time as proving their ability to become a "capable guardsman," and had been rewarded for this by offices, orders, and estates, then they would have been held in high esteem by their English colleagues for their "services" to their native country, for their origin would also have been "noble," and they could have been acknowledged as worthy to hold a high diplomatic position. But the recognition as ambassador of a person who cannot change his convictions like his gloves, who has not accumulated millions by devious stratagems, and who, above all, cannot boast of ancestors who were flunkeys to the ruling parasites of their day—how can a hypocritically pious, pedantically sanctimonious English gentleman, raising his eyes to heaven and feeling in other people's pockets, be expected to put up with such a violation of all human and divine rights? Certainly he cannot be expected to do so. Let but the slightest opportunity occur, and these titled knights of straw utter a fervent prayer to sacred democracy, and then whisper threateningly: "Bolshevik, you give those factories back again!"

MILLIONAIRE MUGS.

Do those ministers who are imitating the ink-slingers of the "Morning Post" really think they can regain the irrevocably lost by these means? We had a better opinion of the good sense of the directors of that joint stock company, with unlimited non-liability, which is called the British Empire.

The Plunder Called Reparations.

Great Britain and North America did not enter the war for the sanctity of treaties, the freedom of small nations, the claims of international law or any of those noble causes of which propaganda made such fatal play in the years of slaughter. These war cries were devised to get the unthinking millions to fight for the real objects which the wirepullers had in view. We now know that these objects were the well-known aims of all belligerents from the beginning—money, territory and markets.

The Peace Treaty and its history have revealed what the politicians were able skilfully to conceal until their purposes were achieved. The comfortable word "reparations" was used to conceal the sordid aims of the Allies and North America in regard to Germany.

What proved fatal, however, to their greedy purposes were their rival ambitions. Not only did this cause bad feeling among the looters, when they began to carve Germany up and to share even the bread of her children, but they were obliged to record in their clauses of the Treaty their quivering distrust of one another.

The Ruhr adventure has one compensation, perhaps only one; it has brought the whole question to the stage where it can be discussed honestly, shorn of the hypocrisies which could only last as long as they were common to all the Allies and North America.

Whilst each of the principal associates was ready and willing to bleed Germany white in its own interests, each was opposed to the special plunder of the others which did not benefit itself.

Meantime German women and children are dying of starvation, as has been the case for five years, because the saviours of "Christian civilisation" cannot agree about their respective shares of the plunder called Reparation, or about the method of extorting it.

"The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants," said Count Brockdorff Rantzau, head of the German Peace Delegation, "who have perished since the 11th of November by reason of the blockade were killed with cold deliberation, after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them."

This was on the 7th of May, 1919. Within a week, after the Germans had read the peace terms, the same Count Brockdorff Rantzau replied that the same desire to murder for purposes of loot was apparent in these terms. "Those who will sign the Treaty," he said, "will sign the death sentence of many millions of German men, women and children."

—From the "Catholic Magazine" (Capetown).

Militarism.

The following table gives the total population, size of army and percentage of yearly income spent for armies in nine European nations

Countries.	Population.	Army.	% for Army.
France	37,000,000	690,000	31.3
Italy	40,000,000	356,000	1.42
Great Britain ...	47,000,000	256,700	15.2
Spain	21,000,000	253,000	34.0
Poland	25,000,000	250,000	59.5
Denmark	3,000,000	27,500	26.5
Netherlands	6,800,000	20,000	18.7
Sweden	6,000,000	19,500	31.2

The summary shows that the military establishments referred to were larger and more expensive in 1923 than they were in the same countries in 1913. The new nation of Poland is expending almost two-thirds of its total income to support an army much larger than that of the United States.

What for? Clearly to fight the workers on the East and on the West.

The "Death Knell" of the Chamber of Mines.

The "Sunday Times" and the "Rand Daily Mail" have at last broken w— beg pardon, silence, on the S.A.M.W.U. scheme for native membership, and belch disapproval of the idea of the native worker being organised.

Of course! Likewise Good! The record of these papers, their year-long hostility to the cause of the workers, white no less than black, should be enough to convince the doubters on the working class side that condemnation from their breath is in itself high COMMENDATION.

* * *

These notoriously and unblushingly capitalist-financed organs, which have throughout, despite all their affected yearnings for a white South Africa, IN EFFECT SUPPORTED THE WHOLE CAMPAIGN OF THE RULING CLASS AGAINST ONE, these lickspittles of Smuts and his masters, the miners' arch-enemies, these abettors of the destruction of the white standard which, THANKS LARGELY TO THEIR SINISTER PROPAGANDA, stands to-day, in the case of the majority of working whites, little above and sometimes below that of natives—these gentry, having "accomplished" (like those criminals whose exploits they so relish publishing) "their nefarious purpose," THE RAPE OF THE COLOUR BAR, now have the effrontery to taunt and dare the white miners nevertheless to maintain the colour bar in their own organisation! They have abolished it IN REAL LIFE, and now forsooth they creep up behind us and ask us to please them, dear pals of ours as they are, by not abolishing it in our Unions! Having driven all the workers, white and black, to the gutter and the gallows, they bid us maintain our "status" as "gentlemen" and "aristocrats of labour"!

* * *

They are too late in the day. Mr. Toomey, as President of the Union, with a Provincial election pending too, only states the truth when he says the S.A.M.W.U. is still very far from having agreed to anything. But of course he cannot prevent the subject from being discussed, and discussed on its merits, with a seriousness commensurate with the serious position to which the white workers have been driven, and their SERIOUS LACK OF FIGHTING POWER with the great majority of the workers disorganised, if not organised, against them.

* * *

On such a matter the old bogeys of "Moscow gold," "an emanation from Communist extremists," "insidious Bolshevist penetration," "secret instructions from Lenin and Trotzky," "long known to Marshall Square," "carefully watched by the authorities," etc., etc., fall as flat, stale and unprofitable as a fool's chestnuts or a shepherd's cry of "Wolf." We have heard them too often before to be frightened by them. They are out of date, they are discredited to-day, when the Communists all over the world (and not least in Germany) are recognised by all as the PIONEERS OF WORKING CLASS EMANCIPATION from capitalist tyranny, home and foreign; when the "Look at Russia" gag has had to be quietly dropped (except by antediluvians like the "Sunday Times" musical critic) BECAUSE THE SPECTACLE IS TOO INSPIRING; when every worker knows that the Russian Government is THE ONLY GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD THAT LAYS ITSELF OUT FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE WORKING CLASS, and that "MOSCOW" IS ACTUALLY LEADING THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. What is more, the capitalists who want to scare you with "Moscow" are themselves, for their part, tumbling over each other to secure agreements with this same Moscow!

For that matter, the South African Communists have been agitating for the organisation of the native workers ever since they, as the "I.S.L.," left the Labour Party in 1915—LONG BEFORE "MOSCOW" WAS EVER HEARD OF

And note that not only "certain extremist sheets on the Rand" (the "Sunday Times" wriggle to avoid naming and so advertising "The International"—the "Mail" had to give it up!) but also "the moderate Labour Press" approves the proposal for "Black Trade Unionism," partly because Black Trade Unionism exists already, partly because the prejudice is after all largely local to "the North." You see, even those who are in such a hurry to disclaim connection with Moscow, like the S.A.L.P., which has opposed us for years on this matter of native workers, are sometimes obliged to YIELD TO COMMON SENSE when the facts of the situation are so irresistible as they are in this case.

* * *

The "Times" and "Mail" have been selected to lead the attack on the S.A.M.W.U. proposal, while the "Star" is kept silent about it, because the only kind of attack possible is the SLIME THROWING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE RISSIK STREET PRESS AND ITS COLLABORATORS, THE C.I.D. Appeals to race hatred, to prejudice, to bourgeois and agrarian slaver instincts, to fear of any new thing, these (LIKE APPEALS TO HOOLIGANISM AND MOB LAW) can be manufactured with tolerable skill in those foetid shades; but of argument they can produce not a vestige. Or was that supposed to be an argument—the idea that with the native workers unorganised the white himself is as safe as a house, and that only when they are organised does their competition become "dangerous"? Argument! The ostrich buries his head in the sand—there is nothing to fear! Pretend we're gods, and we are gods!

* * *

That has certainly been the way of some doomed dynasties and classes of society in past history. But it is not the way of keen, militant trade unionists to-day in any part of the world. No doubt there are still many workers who kiss the feet of the capitalist press and bore for hours over its lying "sheets" as against minutes, at best, over their own true class organs. But THOSE ARE NOT THE MEN WHO MAKE THE LABOUR MOVEMENT; they are the men who, willingly or unwillingly, help the masters to break it. Such men may try to split the Union over this very issue. With the help of a certain class of Labour leader they may even succeed for a time. But "great is truth and shall prevail."

* * *

The "Sunday Times" speaks of "the white miners' death-knell." What has in fact been the death-knell of the white miners? The Chamber of Mines policy, every time, and don't we know it! "The Unions declined," says the "Sunday Times," "because the men felt they had been misled." No; they have declined because of the unprecedented UNEMPLOYMENT AND LOWERING OF WAGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CHAMBER OF MINES, WITH ITS BOMBS AND BAYONETS, and because of the consequent unbridled VICTIMISATION AND FASCIST TERRORISM practised by the mine managements, so that many men cannot afford to keep up their dues, and indeed dare not call themselves members of the Union!

But the "Sunday Times" may rest assured that there is no weakening of hostility to the Chamber among the workers. It is all there, and this very proposal, which prepares a rod for the Chamber's castigation, proves it. We are as class-conscious as ever. We hate the boss and his class and system more than ever. And now that we are finding out the right way to organise the whole forces of labour against him, we look forward, with a confidence till now impossible, to RINGING, IN OUR DAY, THE DEATH-KNELL NOT OF THE WHITE MINERS BUT OF THE WHITE AND ALL OTHER SLAVERS AND EXPLOITERS both in South Africa and throughout the world.

Confiscation in Russia.

A STORY OF THE RUSSIAN FAMINE FRONT, 1922.

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

Comrade Shubin's wife had already tried three possibilities of illumination but all of them had failed her. First a taper, then a small porcelain lamp, then a big brass boulder lamp with a smoking chimney. All three had gone out, for lamps seem to require kerosene, and the bottom of the kerosene tank was dry in the headquarters of the Raycom (Communist Party Headquarters for 8 volosts). Finally a candle was dug up out of a drawer and the conference of the Famine Mutual Aid Committee continued.

The question concerned a new Children's Home, the third one to be established in Grachovka, capital of the "raycom." The two existing homes were crowded, the condition of the Patronats (Receiving Homes established specially for the famine orphans) much worse. There must be a fifth institution for the parentless children of this district, one of the hungriest in the whole famine area.

It was agreed that the new Home should be established. But where? Houses that will serve as modern institutions for children are rare in a town of 3,000, even though the population has been almost halved by the hunger. The peasants and workers live in two or three roomed houses. The former bourgeoisie were few, and their houses have long since been turned into theatres and courts and hospitals and libraries.

Some one suggested the long green-roofed house, on Trotsky Street, that had stood vacant for over a year except for two rooms occupied by the titular landlord. This house has a broad verandah enclosed in glass, an ideal sun-parlour or children's playroom. Its original owner fled during the summer of Kerensky's regime, deeding his mansion to a sharp-witted old speculator, Ivan Dovteff, who was willing to stay and chance the hazards of the peasant revolution.

This evening Ivan Dovteff is called before the Famine Committee. He comes. Comrade Shubin tells him his house would be very desirable as a Children's Home. Ivan gulps and begins to object: "You are too hard on me. There is a limit to all things. The kitchen is cold. Some panes are out of the windows. It will not suit you. You have no right to treat me so." He blinks and splutters his indignation against the impending atrocity of Bolshevism.

"Whose house is it?" The mild, good-natured face of the Comrade Chairman suggests that he knows the answer to that question.

The landlord stalls a second too long. Then: "Mine—or my wife bought it." The committeemen look genial, firm and unimpressed.

"You know whose house it is," declares the chairman with decision, as he traces a picture of the dom on a paper in front of him. "Old man Bateshevi handed it over to you and your wife with a fictitious deed when he fled to Roumania. It's yours in trust for him, for he hopes to strut back if the Government should ever fall. Well, we say,"—he looks around for the approval of the committee—"that until that time it's yours in trust for the children of this volost. It belongs to them and will be used by them. Anyway, it was nationalised in December, 1918. It's about time it was put to some useful purpose."

Ivan Dovteff looked a dagger; then grew resigned. "But where am I to live? Are you going to turn me out?"

The Chairman continued as though he had not been interrupted: "You will live in the rooms you now occupy. You will cultivate the garden, you will keep the place in order, you will work for the community and we invite you not to sabotage! That is the policy of the Soviet. That is fair."

The Committee agreed. Anne Herkner of the Mission turned to me and whispered something about landlords who objected to having children in their houses "just like Baltimore or New York." Then she reiterated the promise of the Quakers to supply the food, clothes and bedding for the Home if the Committee would "pane" it, staff it and provide fuel and a few other essentials. Ivan Dovteff subsided, smiled mechanically and left the room. The meeting adjourned.

Two days later . . . They are putting panes in the windows of the big house with the long green roof. The neighbours stand in their low doorways in the sun and talk. They do not call it "confiscation." They remark: "The Quakers are helping the Famine Committee open a new Home for Children. They say they are going to give the food and everything. Good."

"Thus the brave soldier, in the wars,
Gets empty praise, and aching scars,
Is paid with Fame and wooden legs,
And starv'd: the glorious vagrant begs!"

—Wm. Broome, 1727

The Materialist Conception of History.

We take from The Proletarian (Australia) the following anthology of quotations from the writings of Karl Marx on the above subject:—

EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE.

Upon the several forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence, a whole superstructure is reared of various and peculiarly shaped feelings, illusions, habits of thought and conceptions of life. The whole class produces and shapes these out of its material foundation and out of the corresponding social conditions. The individual unit to whom they flow through tradition and education may fancy that they constitute the true reasons for the premises of his conduct. . . . As in private life, the distinction is made between what a man thinks of himself and says, and that which he really is and does, so all the more must the phrases and notions of parties in historical struggles be distinguished from their real organism, and their real interests, their notions and their reality.

CAPITAL, VOL. I., P. 606

A critical history of technology would show how little any of the inventions of the eighteenth century are the work of a single individual. Hitherto there has been no such book. Darwin has interested us in the history of Nature's technology, i.e., in the formation of organs of plants and animals, which organs serve as instruments of production for sustaining life. Does not the history of the productive organs of man, of organs that are the material basis of all social organisations, deserve equal attention? And would not such a history be easier to compile, since, as Vico says, human history differs from natural history in this, that we have made the former but not the latter? Technology discloses man's mode of dealing with Nature—the process of production by which he sustains life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions which flow from them. Every history of religion, even, that fails to take account of this material basis, is uncritical. It is, in reality, much easier to discover by analysis the earthly core of the misty creations of religion than it is, conversely, to develop from the actual relations of life the corresponding celestialised forms of those relations. The latter is the only materialistic, and therefore the only scientific method. The weak points in the abstract materialism of natural science, a materialism that excludes history and its process, are at once evident from the abstract and ideological conceptions of its spokesmen, whenever they venture beyond the bounds of their speciality.

CAPITAL, VOL. I., P. 919.

It is always the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers, which reveals the innermost, secret, the hidden foundation of the entire social construction, and with it of the political form of the relations between sovereignty and dependence, in short, of the corresponding form of the State. The form of this relation between rulers and ruled naturally corresponds always with a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and its productive power. This does not prevent the same economic basis from showing infinite variations and graduations in its appearance, even though its principal conditions are everywhere the same. This is due to innumerable outside circumstances, natural environment, race peculiarities, outside historical influences, and so forth, all of which must be ascertained by careful analysis.

THE HOLY FAMILY.

Do these gentlemen think that they can understand the first word of history as long as they exclude the relations of man to nature, natural science and industry? Do they believe that they can actually comprehend any epoch without grasping the industry of the period, the immediate methods of production in actual life? Just as they separate the soul from the body, and themselves from the world, so they find the birthplace of history not in the gross material production on earth, but in the misty cloud formation of heaven.

POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY.

The social relations are intimately attached to the productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production, their manner of gaining a living, they change all their social relations. The windmill gives you society with the feudal lord, the steam mill, society with the industrial capitalist. The same men who establish social relations conformably with their material productivity, produce also the principles, the ideas, the categories, conformable with their social relations. Thus these ideas, these categories, are not more eternal than the social relations which they express. They are historical and transitory products.

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch.

WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

In the process of production, human beings work not only upon nature but also upon one another. They produce only by working together in a specified manner and reciprocally exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations to one another, and only within these social connections and relations does their influence upon nature operate, i.e., does production take place. These social relations between the producers, and the conditions under which they exchange their activities and share in the total act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production. With the discovery of a new instrument of warfare, the firearm, the whole internal organisation of the army was necessarily altered, the relations within which individuals compose an army and can work as an army were transposed, and the relations of different armies to one another were likewise changed. We thus see that the social relations within which individuals produce, the social relations of production, are altered, transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, of the forces of production. The relations of production to their totality constitute what is called the social relations, society, and moreover, a society at a definite stage of historical development, a society with peculiar, distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois (or capitalist) society, are such totalities of relations of production, each of which denotes a particular stage of development in the history of mankind.

Note.—See also Marx's preface to "Critique of Political Economy."

Seize Power—And Then?

DICTATORSHIP NEEDS MAJORITY.

(By N. Lenin.)

How can the State power be used by the proletariat, as a tool in the class war, for the conquest of the non-proletarian working masses; as a means of bringing these masses into our ranks, withdrawing them from the influence of the bourgeoisie?

The first step in that direction is the destruction of the old State apparatus, by the proletariat, so that no trace of it remains. (This must be done in spite of the threats of the frightened petty bourgeoisie and the sabotagers.) A new State must be created.

THE OLD AND NEW STATE POWER.

The weapon best adapted to win over the non-proletarian masses is the dictatorship of the proletariat. This new State apparatus is not an invention of the intellect; it arises naturally out of the necessities of the class struggle, and from the spread and intensification of that struggle. This new form of State power is the SOVIETS.

Immediately after the Russian proletarian had taken the power into his own hands, he declared the old State form (which, as Karl Marx shows, represented only the class interests of the bourgeoisie even in the most democratic republics) dissolved, and gave over the whole power to the Soviets. In the Soviets only the workers and the exploited were represented: all exploiters were excluded. Thus the proletariat, immediately after the conquest of power, robs the bourgeoisie of its strong support from the petty bourgeoisie and from the "socialist" parties.

SATISFY THE PETTY BOURGEOIS.

Secondly—the proletariat must, as soon as possible, by satisfying the economic demands of those masses which still adhere to the bourgeoisie, estrange and separate them from the bourgeoisie. The means to this end are, of course, the expropriation of the large land owners and the industrial bourgeoisie.

This is one thing which the bourgeoisie cannot do, whatever its power. For the proletariat, on the other hand, it is an easy matter, when it possesses the necessary apparatus—the Soviets and the economic means of expropriation.

This was the way in which the proletariat estranged the peasants from the Social Revolutionaries, literally a few hours after the seizure of power. Shortly after the defeat of the bourgeoisie in Petrograd, the victorious proletariat issued a land decree. This decree, once and for all, with revolutionary thoroughness and energy, satisfied all the important economic demands of the peasants and expropriated the large land-holders completely, and without compensation.

MAKING DEEDS OF OTHER'S WORDS.

To prove to the peasants that the proletariat did not intend to hold them in bondage, but wished to help and befriend them, the Bolsheviks took the land decree, word for word, from the most revolutionary peasant programme, as published by the Social Revolutionaries in their press.

The Social Revolutionaries were indignant. They protested that the Bolsheviks were "stealing their programme." They were laughed out of court. What sort of party is it that must be driven from power before all the useful, revolutionary sections of its programme can be carried into effect? This is one thing that the Second International could never understand; that the proletariat cannot win before it has won to its side the majority of the population. But to limit this conquest of a majority to "democratic means" under bourgeois rule testifies to either an incorrigible intellectual limitation or a conscious betrayal of the working class.

HOW TO WIN THE MAJORITY.

To win over the majority of the population the proletariat must first overthrow the bourgeoisie and take into its own hands the State apparatus; secondly, it must erect the Soviet power after destroying the old State form. In that way it undermines at once the influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois opportunists over the non-proletarian masses. Thirdly, it must give a death blow to any influence the bourgeoisie may retain over these masses by granting the economic demands of the masses at the expense of the exploiters.

IMPORTANCE OF CITIES.

The possibility of such action depends, naturally, upon a certain degree of capitalist development. Without this basic condition there can be no distinct proletarian class. Neither can we unmask and drive out the opportunists without long years of preparation, education, conflicts, strikes, demonstrations, and uprisings. Without this development the central cities cannot acquire sufficient economic and political importance so that the proletariat, with the conquest of these cities, conquers also the State power, or, better, the heart and the nerve system of economic and political life. Without this basic condition there cannot exist this relation, this bond, between the proletariat and the non-proletarian masses, which is indispensable for the influence of the proletariat upon these masses, and for its final victory.

The Glut.

The workers delve in the dangerous depths, amidst the poisonous fumes,
They slave half-naked, and wet with sweat, in the fever-foetid spumes.
They slave where Death is forever near, with all agonies in store;
But what of that to sardonic Fat—there are millions of workers more!

One man owns a machine which does the work of five hundred men. Five hundred men are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and, having no work to do, become hungry, and take to thieving. Were that machine the property of all, everybody would benefit by it.

—Oscar Wilde.

The League Very Much Exposed

The whole world now knows that the League of Nations is a bankrupt concern. Italy's miserable attack upon a small nation like Greece destroyed the last shred of credit that the League possessed even amongst its friends. But this was only the culminating act of a long series of similar acts on the part of all the principle sponsors of this "scrap of paper." France had already invaded the Ruhr as well as Russia, Hungary and several other countries. Great Britain had invaded Ireland with the unspeakable Black and Tans and had helped in the invasion of Russia. Japan had invaded both China and Siberia. All the rag-tag and bob-tail of the Balkans had been let loose to invade cultured people like the Austrians, Hungarians and Germans. And in no single case did the League of Nations make the slightest attempt to restrain the armed bullies. Its only acts were to legalise the retention of a bit of the loot for the benefit of the armed Leaguer against the unarmed nation.

LEAGUE PRUSSIANISM.

In 1919 the "Cape Times," in one of its mad attacks on the great German people, even rebuked General Smuts for seeming to have somewhat changed his war orthodoxy about Germany. "There is no evidence (in Germany) of any but purely selfish motives, of any disposition to abandon the old false ideals of world-domination, or of any desire to work sincerely with the rest of the civilised Powers for the realisation of the aims embodied in the scheme for the League of Nations."

Surely those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. This "Cape Times" language described to perfection, under the name of Germany, the very traits of national policy which have made a complete fiasco of the League of Nations, designed by those nations which considered themselves the paragons of all the national virtues. "Fabula de te narratur."

THE LEAGUE MOCKED FROM BIRTH.

The ink was not dry on the signatures of the British delegates to Paris, when Mr. Churchill expressed his peaceful conviction that the League could never be an effective substitute for the supremacy of the British fleet. The bellicose electors of the United States of North America made it quite plain that they were not going to submit their quarrels for money or territory to the decision of any other nation or their claims to any protection but that of the biggest army and navy that the high rate of exchange would enable them to acquire with their swollen dollars. The inscrutable Japanese said next to nothing, but they began to erect a new naval base a good deal nearer the Suez Canal.

Italy was the first to avow the methods which all had pursued. Her "security" required that the Adriatic should become an Italian lake. To effect this, the finishing touch would be the acquisition of Fiume. With England weakened on land and sea, and France with her hands full in Central Europe, Italy was free to defy the public opinion of Europe. The pretext for the occupation of Corfu was easily found, and it need hardly be considered as it is the same sort of pretext that the Powers have used so frequently. Corfu was the foil for Fiume.

ANGLO-SAXON STUNT.

General Smuts has frequently of late professed his profound belief in the moral supremacy of the Anglo-Saxons. We know by our experience of the last ten years what "moral" means in such a connection. It is a polite word for "material." In the mouth of the "handyman of the Empire" these expressions of zeal for the League would seem to indicate that he imagines that the Anglo-Saxons have got a good thing in the League, and mean to use it.

A DEBAUCH OF GREED AND HYPOCRISY.

It was only because the rival imperialisms of Europe, Asia and America were bent on a common task for the moment, that they were able to draw up a covenant at all. That task is now completed in the outraging of Germany.

But it is a dangerous thing to let loose the greedy passions of such imperialisms. It is a far more dangerous thing to present their naked ambitions as an impulse to save the world, in the way that Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and General Smuts have done. That is the method of debauching public opinion which brings its own penalties.

The day of judgment has arrived. After such a long debauch of greed and violence, it is not wonderful that the world is in delirium tremens. If it is to be cured, we must realise that the intoxicating liquor was provided by our militarists and imperialists who wanted "to see the war through." It looks as though Italy were to administer "the hair of the dog that bit them," which is to sober them up.

—From "The Catholic Magazine" (Capetown).

Class War Laid Bare.

Since the great French revolution, European history has revealed in a number of countries, with special clearness, the real fundamental of events, the class war. Even during the epoch of restoration there were a number of French historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers), who could not but designate—when forming a generalisation on events—class war as the key of French history as a whole. And the latest epoch, the epoch of complete victory of the bourgeoisie, of the parliaments, of extended if not general suffrage, of cheap daily newspapers read by the masses, the epoch of mighty and ever growing labour organisations and employers' unions, etc., has shown even more graphically, though often in a very peaceful constitutional form, class war as the motive force underlying events. In a number of historical works, Marx has given us many brilliant and profound examples of materialist historical writing, analysing the position of each separate class and even of the various groups and strata within the class, and thus demonstrating why and how every struggle of class against class is a political struggle.

—N. Lenin.

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

CIGARETTES FOR SOLDIERS.

Y.C.L. propaganda leaflets were distributed among the Defence Force units on their departure from Johannesburg for Potchefstroom last Monday. Leaflets were placed in the train, and other leaflets, enclosed in cigarette boxes, were handed to the troops as the train moved off. This was found to be an excellent means of avoiding the interference of officers and station officials. One officer, all unconscious of the contents of the boxes, shouted, "THAT'S THE STUFF TO GIVE 'EM." We wonder what he said when he found out what was inside!

In view of the fact that the Government notices calling for registration for the Defence Force have been published, the Y.C.L. wishes to intensify its anti-militarist activity. The meeting at 4, Trades Hall, next Tuesday, 23rd October, will be devoted to a discussion on anti-Defence-Force propaganda. Young workers, roll up! This matter affects you personally.

"DOPE"

There was a crowded meeting at the Trades Hall last Tuesday when the Rev. M. Ponsonby discussed "religion and dope" with the Johannesburg Y.C.L. In spite of the various arguments brought forward by Communists to prove that the power of the Church is declining, the meeting itself was proof that the clergy have still considerable influence. Many old members of the Johannesburg branch of the Communist Party turned up—members whom we have not seen either at Y.C.L. or C.P meetings for many a long day. We hope this will help them to understand that there is still plenty of propaganda work waiting to be done, and that the best way of doing it is by taking an active part in Communist Party activities

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN BENONI.

The Young Communist movement in Benoni is developing rapidly. Already the local branch bids fair to rival the Johannesburg branch in point of view of numbers. The pasting up of Y.C.L. leaflets on schools and other public builings is causing the Benoni powers-that-be "considerable annoyance." The success of the Benoni comrades shows that there is a real demand for a political party of the working class youth. Other Reef centres, Pretoria, Durban Capetown, please copy!

"MY FLIGHT FROM SIBERIA"

A further consignment of this work of Trotzky's, published by the Printing House of the Young International, has arrived by this week's mail. Price, 1/-, from the Y.C.L., P O. Box 7599, Johannesburg. Postage 2d. extra.

Workers Long by Tyrants Bled.

(Adapted, to meet the needs of the class war, from the famous Scotch song: "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled.")

Workers long by tyrants bled,
Workers long by traitors led,
Rouse ye from your slumber-bed!
Rouse to victory!

Now's the day and now's the hour.
See the front of battle lower,
Wield your millions' mighty power;
Be free from slavery!

Who will be a traitor knave,
Who would fill a coward's grave,
Who so base as be a slave,
Let him turn and flee!

Who would end this despot law,
Who would breath of freedom draw,
Who will fight the workers' war
For freedom—follow me!

In oppression's woes and pains
Shall our sons wear servile chains?
No! We'll drain our dearest veins
But they shall be free

Come then! Let us crush the foe!
Strike but one united blow!
Lay with might the mighty low!
Let us do or die!

Useful Work or Useless Toil?

I read the other day in a weekly paper that "poverty cannot be abolished by formula; it can be abolished only by hard and intelligent work."

But when I looked round for proof of this seemingly profound truth, one glance sufficed to show it up as plausible piffle.

Hard and intelligent work does not abolish poverty; it creates it and confirms it.

The poorest people on earth are those who work the hardest, and put all their faculties into their work.

There is a class in the community known as the "working class," because it is absolutely devoted to work, because there is no work, however difficult, however dirty, however dangerous, that it will not tackle.

And it is just among that class that poverty prevails. It is among that class that the wolves of want go prowling and howling, and striking down their victims.

It is astounding how hard the workers work, but more astounding still how little they get for it.

They will sacrifice their health and risk their lives for a few shillings a day. For little more than a bare subsistence they will toil in the death-haunted depths of the earth, or in the hell-holes of ocean liners, or in the infernos of the steel works.

Hard work and intelligence do NOT abolish poverty. Some day they will, I believe, but first they'll have to abolish the rich who do no work at all and consecrate their intelligence to profiteering and tennis.

—"Australian Worker."

Printed by the I.S.L. Press, 54, Fox Street, Marshall Square, and published by the Communist Party of South Africa, No. 4, Trades Hall, Rissik Street

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

Wednesday, November 7 next, is the sixth anniversary of the Russian revolution which becomes more clearly recognised every year as the one forward movement, the one bright spot, the one hope of the workers of the world amid the welter of morbid capitalism. It becomes a greater landmark of history the longer it stands and grows in strength and stature; and equally we have an ever greater interest in celebrating not the past event of 1917 only but the present and continuing triumph of to-day and to-morrow.

A Great Workers' Rally will be held on that evening at the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg. Every worker and every supporter of the workers' cause should make a point of joining in. Tickets, 2/6, including refreshments. An attractive programme, suitable to the occasion, will be presented. Roll up!

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Next Wednesday, October 24, at No. 4, Trades Hall, Comrade W. Bloomberg will open a discussion on "Religion and the Communist International," at 8 p.m. Punctuality please; bring friends.

The last Wednesday of the month, October 31, will be the November branch meeting, at which a new Executive will be elected and other important business dealt with. A big attendance is requested.

On Sunday week, October 28, all comrades and friends are invited to come to the Zoo Lake picnic, bringing their own food and cups.

BENONI BRANCH.

Mrs. Chapman will hold public meetings outside the Town Hall, Benoni, to-morrow, Saturday the 20th inst., and to-morrow week, Saturday the 27th inst., at 8 p.m.

Workers of Ward III., there can be no question, in view of all you have suffered and still suffer, of voting for any other than the Communist candidate. She is standing, not for "mere propaganda," as the "Mail" and "Star," with their affected patronising air, declare, but to win, to beat Balfour, to beat the Chamber of Mines, to beat Smuts, to beat the capitalist class.

STRIKE PRISONERS' RELEASE COMMITTEE.

A General Meeting will be held on Tuesday, October 23, at 8 p.m., at No. 8, Trades Hall, to consider ways and means of strengthening the Committee's campaign.

L. P. SHERIDAN, Secretary.

Box 6779,
Johannesburg.
17/10/23.

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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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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 87/89, 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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