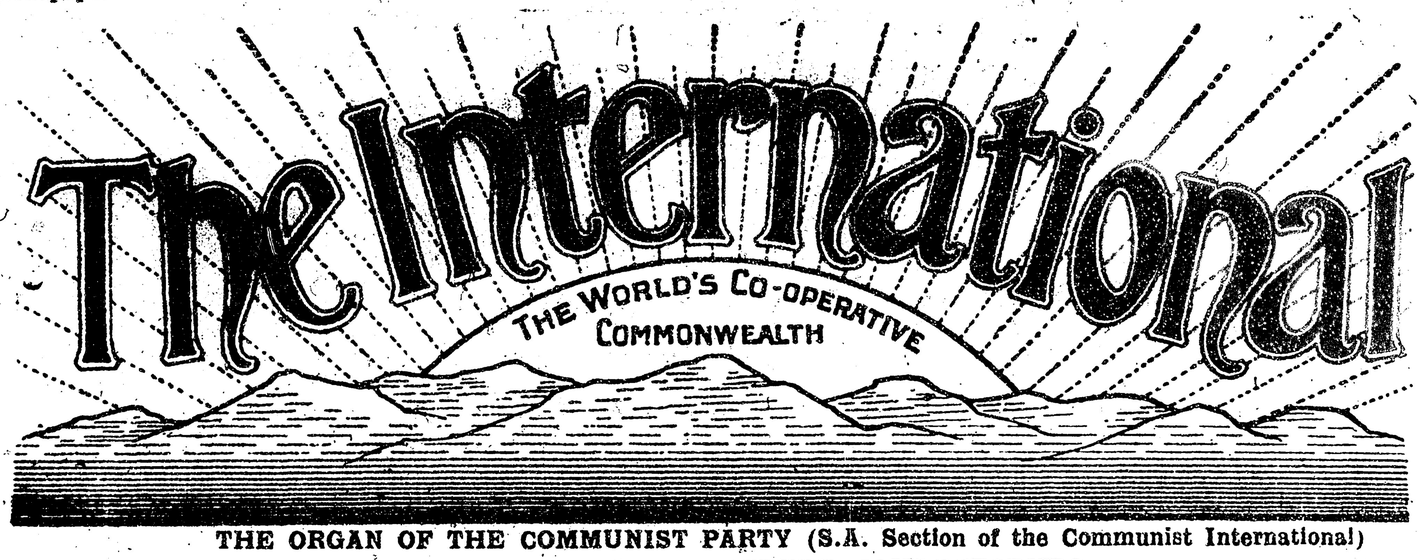
Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

**Elections ! Elections !**

**WORKERS !**
**VOTE COMMUNIST**
**In Hanover Street.**

Elsewhere
VOTE LABOUR
Failing which
VOTE NATIONALIST.




**The Russian Revolution 6th Anniversary**

**Great Workers' Rally**
**Selborne Hall,**
JOHANNESBURG.
**Next Wednesday**
(NOVEMBER 7th).
Tickets, 2/6.
Children 1/- at Door.

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

Vol. VIII. No. 390. FRIDAY. NOVEMBER 2. 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE

## Many Workers are Saying—

That the six years of persistent progress and growing power, completed next Wednesday by the Russian Workers' Republic, is the brightest page, or rather the one bright page, in modern history.

* * *

That active support of that great workers' garrison in a hostile capitalist world is to the interest of the working class in every clime.

* * *

That poor old George R. belongs to a rapidly dwindling species, and with even Turkey going republican he will soon have to go to savage countries to find consorts of royal blood for his children.

* * *

That this week's cake should go to the Bishop of London, who says that it is the spirit of Christ that underlies Smuts' "great speech."

* * *

That, incidentally, the said speech has carried matters not a bit further, and only the political superstition so prevalent to-day could have expected otherwise.

* * *

That the South Africans whose opinion of Smuts has gone up because of the Press boostings they read are looking particularly silly.

* * *

That what they are really boosting is "One Punch Smuts," the bomb-anarchist and political hooligan of Fordsburg and Bondelswart fame, just as the French are boosting a professional boxer as President of the Rhineland.

* * *

That the need for a United Front against Kapital is well illustrated in Saxony, whose stand for Labour against brute force is being weakened by Trade Union and "Socialist" dissension with Communists—the old story.

* * *

That as Mr. Roos proposes to fix minimum prices for commodities, let him start off by publishing his tariff for that most universal of commodities, human labour, for approval by the working class, his necessary allies (pace Lomax) if he is to accomplish anything.

* * *

That although a majority of the workers of Benoni Ward III. still prefer blacking their bosses' boots to supporting a Communist, yet elsewhere they have put the schismatics in their place, and in dealing with the Y.C.L.'s "scurrilous" leaflets against Dope, Councillor Reich and others showed a fine class-conscious spirit.

* * *

That shooting down the unemployed and starving in Germany is practised just as much in Cologne under the British flag as in the Ruhr under the French or the "Free" (!) state of Saxony under the German.

* * *

That if Baldwin's sole reason for "protection" and cruiser-building is really to relieve the unemployed, he had better go the whole hog and sweep them all up in another war; but

* * *

That they doubt his sincerity when the chairman of his Party Congress blurts out his policy: "Wherever you see a Socialist head, hit it"; and

* * *

That these are the people who complain of Russia!

## Our Martyred Dead.

On November 16, 1922, our fellow-workers Long, Lewis and Hull were executed for the part they played in the strike last year. The workers of South Africa will not forget this outrage, but add it to the long list for which in their hour of victory they will exact the uttermost reparation from the guilty bourgeoisie. In the meantime the memory of our martyrs will be kept alive by a demonstration of organised Labour, probably on Sunday, the 18th inst., particulars of which will be published next week.

## Japanese Relief.

The Executive of the International Workers' Relief organisation, originally formed to unite the various working-class organs for relief of the Russian famine of 1921-2, now appeals to its constituent bodies to devote their efforts to alleviating the terrible lot of the working class and peasantry of Japan due to the earthquake.

The Russian Famine Relief Committee will accordingly revive its activity to this end. Contributions in money or kind will be received by the Secretary of that Committee, 19, Asher Buildings, Box 1779, Johannesburg.

## Release the Nine.

The Strike Prisoners' Release Committee, having secured, in spite of the official obstacles put in its way, some 11,000 signatures so far to the petition for the release of the nine men still "held by brigands," has decided to put in these signatures as a first instalment, and a deputation will call upon the authorities forthwith to back up the request contained in the petition. Meanwhile the movement has received support from the Nationalist Congress at the Cape and also from the Labour Party at Durban, and as the signatories to the petition include a number of S.A.P. men as well, it seems pretty clear that the mass of South African opinion is in favour of an immediate release and amnesty.

## Soviet's Sixth Anniversary.

At the Selborne Hall Demonstration next Wednesday it is expected that the following, among others, will speak: Comrades Harry Haynes, Geo. Mason, J. Righthouse, and E. R. Roux. Of artists, the following among others have been invited: The Balcony Trio, The Baker Trio, Mrs. E. Green, Miss E. Epstein, Miss A. Bottomley, Messrs. Griffith, Paul, Christian and Finestone.

Admission 2/6; children 1/- at the doors.

Readers, roll up in force. This affair is not confined to Communists; everyone is welcome—Labourite, Nationalist, non-party Trade Unionist, what not—who recognises the good work done by Soviet Russia for the working class and the Labour movement. Elections announced at the Hall.

**7th November, 1923.**

# The Workers of S. Africa

SEND HEARTIEST

**GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS**

TO THE

**Russian Union of Soviet Republics on the Completion of the SIXTH YEAR of Proletarian Rule.**

**LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' COMMONWEALTH !**
**SPEED THE WORLD REVOLUTION !**

At next Wednesday's Rally at the Selborne Hall, the Workers of the Rand will demonstrate support of their champion and solidarity with their comrades hounded and done to death in every land by the Beasts of Capitalism.

## News of Jones and Andrews.

We are indebted to the "Sunday Times" and "Mail" for quite a budget of accurate information about our two comrades in Russia, and in deference to the superior authority of the Yellow Press we have, as all good Dubbs should, corrected accordingly what we had hitherto believed to be facts. Letters by last mail from the comrades in question, our direct knowledge of their respective life and activities in this country, based on our own senses—these we shall henceforth discount, and after a few more Levy-Chilvers articles we shall all find ourselves vividly describing Jones' house (he was always a property owner) in Norwood, where the Red Flag always flew; or assembling on the quay at Capetown to meet Ivon the burly agitator, bursting with health, vigour and fat, and accompanied by a posse of native South African students from the "Kaffir and Oriental University" (discarding the evidence of our own eyes that there was—unfortunately—nary a negro student in Moscow last year at any rate); also welcoming Bill Andrews who, we now know, has been spending all his time in Russia with wet towels round his head plotting with Lenin, Trotzky and "the notorious" Radek how to get the natives of South Africa to rise and massacre all the whites, including of course ourselves, but excluding of course—we had almost forgotten that—our sisters and daughters whom we "want to marry a Kaffir." The travellers will bring with them a number of secret "permeating" machines of the latest and most sinister pattern, etc., etc.

We note that the "Sunday Times" "carefully confirms its information from several sources." Well, it very carefully avoids going to what is obviously the best source of all, the office of the Communist Party, just over the way. But then, it would get the truth there (if it get anything at all) and that would be most unpalatable to the "Sunday Times."

## Payment by Results.

"Individual wages should be proportional to actual output," says Trotzky, triumphantly quoted by the "Star" as supporting payment by results and the present system generally. But the fault of the present system is that the workers' wages are totally disproportionate to output; they amount to no more than one-fifth of it. There is no payment by results to-day; there is only gross underpayment by results.

# How Capitalism has bred Revolution in Germany

Ever since the Great War, into which the German workers were manoeuvred and dragooned by the ruling class of Junkers, Big Capitalists and Financiers clustered around the Kaiser, the workers have suffered all the woes and tribulations it is possible to conceive.

During the war they underwent all the tortures and oppressions of a murderous militarism. They gave to the cannon of their best—and death knocked at more doors in Germany than in any other country. They endured privations. When the Allies ringed Germany with flame and steel, they went hungry and fed on bad potatoes and noxious food substitutes. They underwent the moral breakage of military defeat. They rose in revolt, and were betrayed on every hand by the Noskes and Scheidemanns into the clutches of the counter-revolution. They continued to be half-starved. They continued to suffer. They found that the loss of the war had given them work, but work which was tantamount to slavery.

From this there was no respite.

The pressure of the Versailles Treaty—the pressure of the Allies for reparations—was felt most by them.

With the occupation of the Ruhr, the attempts of German big-capitalism to avoid being squeezed by France and Britain, the deflation of the currency, the descent of German society itself—their position has grown worse and worse.

The wages they received were always far behind the changes in the value of the mark. And with every drop in the mark, their difficulties in securing the most elementary necessities increased, not merely in the sense that they had not money enough to buy them with, but that those who had them to sell—such as, for instance, the German peasants in regard to foodstuffs—became more and more disinclined to part with their goods for what became increasingly to be regarded as worthless paper money. They forced their Trade Unions to make demands. They repeatedly struck work and still more often threatened to strike—fighting inch by inch, day by day, as it were, a deadly struggle to live, all the time being pressed down and down.

And now—

In the big cafes of Berlin—round about the Friedrichstrasse and the Unter den Linden—at night, the lights are brightly lit, sumptuous meals are served, wine flows, riotous orgies are indulged in by mixed gatherings of German and foreign plutocracy, speculators, financiers, captains of industry, commission touts, all the banditti of capitalism, mixed with Junker officers out of commission and remnants of the once prosperous German middle-class, making a spree on the remains of their fortunes.

On top there is this wild bacchanalia—while in the working-class districts there is stark want and misery. Skilled mechanics earn sufficient in a week to buy a pound of margarine. Decent underwear—shirts—are almost things of the past with the workers. Everyone is ragged. Everyone is unhappy. Everyone is practising the most elaborate artifices to appear decent, a horribly pathetic farce. The stomachs of the people are swollen as a result of eating bad food. "WE HAVE HAD HUNGER IN RUSSIA," said a Russian comrade, "BUT NEVER SUCH AS THIS. WE DO NOT THINK THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE TOLERATED THE GAY CAFES AND SWELL HOTELS." The streets swarm with prostitutes—and it is no uncommon sight to see girls of fifteen clutching at the arms of drunken men evicted from the restaurants.

The "Lancet" states that the children of such towns as Stuttgart, Leipzig, Munich, Mannheim, Mullhouse and Spandau have lost in height and weight. Everywhere one sees rickety children, with large heads, skeleton frames and swollen bellies. Suicides are common. Long "bread lines" form up in the principal cities. . . .

The German workers have been reared in a Marxian school. They have a clear knowledge of the forces they have to contend with. They are, in the main, class conscious. To half starve and suffer, to drag on—such seemed possible. But now, for the workers, the position is impossible. THEY MUST DO SOMETHING. Sudden pressure, here or there, does infuriate some to make bold clashes with the enemy—but now, all over, they are organising, swiftly, secretly, strongly, FOR THE REVOLUTION.

Amidst all this welter Stinnes and his fellow-capitalists move like big black spiders, weaving their webs, intriguing with French and British capitalists, subsidising the old German strategists and generals, like Ludendorff, to mass the forces of counter-revolution. THEY, TOO, KNOW THAT THE FINAL STRUGGLE IS AT HAND.

In Germany there is a great people, capable, industrious, intelligent. They have contributed much to science and invention. They can carry on industry, build machinery, and do the thousand and one things, with the greatest efficiency, that modern life demands. In Germany the land is still there, and is as fruitful as ever it was. NOTHING, IN A MATERIAL SENSE, IS LACKING TO ENABLE THE GERMAN MASSES TO LIVE HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS. . . . The present ruin, this incalculable suffering, this infinite misery, has been brought upon Germany by the ghastly plotting and mismanagement of the Junker-Capitalist class. And to-day the German masses have definitely made up their minds TO RID THEMSELVES OF THIS CLASS INCUBUS.

The revolution is coming in Germany, and we workers of other countries must rally to the support of our German comrades—those workers who were no more responsible for the war than were the masses elsewhere.

The workers of the British Empire can begin helping them by demanding, and insisting upon, the withdrawal of the British troops who are now in Germany.

There can be no question as to which side the ruling class of the Empire will be on—THE SIDE OF LUDENDORFF and the capitalists. And when the conflict begins, as begin it inevitably will, every effort will be made by our class enemies in this country to RUSH THE BRITISH TROOPS TO THE AID OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION. We must insist upon their withdrawal now. When the guns begin to roar it will be too late.

—"All Power."

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, S. P. Bunting.)
Annual Subscription, 10/-; Half-yearly, 5s.
Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.
Crossed P.O.'s will not be accepted. Cheques should include commission.
Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, NOV. 2, 1923. No. 390.

# The Meaning of the Sixth Anniversary.

Next week will see, in every country where there is a conscious working class, a celebration of yet one more anniversary of the Russian Revolution and foundation of the Workers' Republic, now the Union of Soviet Republics. Or rather, we celebrate not a historic event of the dead past, but a continuous and living victory, a pillar of hope and promise for the oppressed masses of the rest of the world, which seems to grow every year more real and human and at the same time to rise ever loftier above all other countries. Out of the sordid welter of Western and Central European capitalism the Soviet Union towers proudly like a glistening Matterhorn out of the sombre and misty valleys; unshakable, incorruptible, a higher world on earth.

It is more than ever the duty and the interest of the workers still struggling against capitalism in their own countries to rally round their champion. For though Russia has, by years of effort, won and maintained her independence, it is only by the utmost vigilance, not of Russia alone but of the working class of other countries, that she can expect to guarantee it beyond fear of disaster. The enemy is in a military sense more powerful than ever, and military power is still supreme IF IT HAS BEHIND IT AN APATHETIC WORKING CLASS.

Trotzky has been criticised for declining to embark at present on war in support of the German proletarian revolution. But it is easy to see that it is more important to maintain Soviet Russia than to risk its whole existence on the chance of a Soviet Germany emerging. That will come sooner or later; but meanwhile it is for the working class in the countries of the critics to do their bit to hasten it rather than to criticise Russia, which cannot yet plunge into what will be a far "greater" war than even the last. It is for us in South Africa too to raise such an agitation against British or any other intervention to the detriment of the revolutionary German working class that neither Britain, Poland, France or any of the other armed anti-Soviet powers dare break the promise Poincare has already given for France—that she "will never dream of interfering with decisions freely taken by the inhabitants of the German states." He refers to separatism, but the workers must HOLD HIM TO IT WHEN A GERMAN STATE DECLARES FOR COMMUNISM!

In the particular matter of defence of "Class War Prisoners" a great effort is being made, led by Russia, to internationalise the movement and the relief funds. The "International Red Aid" organisation reminds us that the great rally of workers and peasants that will take place throughout Russia on Wednesday next will be a rally in support of all victims of the class struggle throughout the world, and especially those in Germany, Bulgaria, Italy and Finland whose proletariats are faced with heavy tasks and dread sacrifices if victory is to be won. In the like international spirit let us rally our small and still only half-awakened forces to the aid not merely of our own local organisation but of our comrades facing hell in Europe. Let us make the most imposing possible demonstration of present working-class solidarity and determination to assist our fellow-workers to win out in every land.

# Poverty.

The trials and worries of financiers and captains of industry are becoming so acute that we are daily told that they can only be saved from starvation by reducing wages. The following list shows how near the bread-line our bosses are getting:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Henry Ford is worth ... ... | 110,000,000 |
| J. D. Rockefeller ... ... ... | 100,000,000 |
| The Rothschild Family ... | 100,000,000 |
| The Astor Family ... ... ... | 80,000,000 |
| The Vanderbilt Family ... | 50,000,000 |
| Duke of Westminster ... | 30,000,000 |
| Andrew W. Mellon ... ... | 30,000,000 |
| Sir Basil Zaharoff... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| Hugo Stinnes ... ... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| Percy Rockefeller... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| J. B. Duke ... ... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| G. F. Baker ... ... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| I. B. Walker ... ... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| Baron H. Iwasaki... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| Baron H. Mitsui ... ... ... | 20,000,000 |
| The Gaekwar of Baroda ... | 20,000,000 |
| Solly Joel ... ... ... ... ... | 12,000,000 |
| J. B. Robinson ... ... ... | 10,000,000 |
| Lionel Phillips ... ... ... ... | 8,000,000 |
| Abe Bailey ... ... ... ... ... | 4,500,000 |

There you are! All on the verge of starvation.

As was perhaps to be expected after his recent utterances (several of which have been reproduced in the "International") Edo Fimmen has resigned from the secretaryship of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

# "Put 'Em on the Land."

A country correspondent writes:—This "Back to the Land" is a fine cry. This land that promises so much and takes everything. Many people were rich and became paupers on the land; now they have nothing left, the Government advocates bringing them back to it. Why? It is horrible to see how many poor white people live up country, worse than Kaffirs. The only advantage is that when those people are up country on some isolated farm, they are not an eyesore and they can do no harm and are not even a nuisance. They die quietly. My neighbour recently engaged a returned soldier. He said to me: "After all, we owe a debt of gratitude to these returned soldiers." Later he informed me that he was paying the man £1 per month. This is bad. Many families have less income. I know of a man with a large family who got a share of the crops for his work for a year's work, 12 hours a day and no Sundays. It was a bad year, the share worked out at three bags of maize (he to pay thrashing, bags and transport). By paying a share the owner has no risk. True, in a good year it may be worth £50, but then it is a good year and the owner can afford it; in a bad year the owner loses nothing.

# Whatta Life! Whatta Life!

(By Walt Carmon.)

A well-known Canadian professor has declared that this world is going crazy. That in the short space of the next twenty-five years everything in this world will be nutty, cuckoo, loony—will more or less have bats in their belfry.

In more scientific lingo, this was the joyful news the professor had to tell the world.

Unquestionably—he is wrong. Let us look at our world.

They who don't work—get the most to eat.

The workers who slave and toil and burn up energy—get just enough to keep on working.

They who have so much money their clothes need not last long—get the best and strongest materials.

The workers who through lack of money need clothes that last long—wear shoddy garments that wear out quickly.

They who don't toil, need least rest—yet always have plenty.

The workers who do the world's work and need rest—don't get it.

They who have rested all day—ride in their cars.

The workers who are on their feet all day at their labour—must walk.

They who don't work—get two vacations, six months each, every year.

The workers are lucky to get one of two weeks.

They who have least children—give them the best of advantages

The workers who have most—can give theirs none.

They who make wars and like them—never fight.

The workers who dislike them and have nothing to say in their making—do all the fighting.

They who have all the advantages to give the world knowledge—are useless to society.

The workers who supply the world's muscle—contribute the brain.

They who can't make this world go—own it.

The workers who do not own it—make it go.

These are just a few features of this world of ours.

Now professor, to use unscientific language, on the level, and only between you and me and the lamp-post—you know you are wrong.

You know that this world of ours is NOT going crazy in the next twenty-five years.

You know dang well—or you ought to know—

IT HAS ALREADY GONE!

—"The Young Worker."

# Marching Song.

(Tune: "When the great red dawn is shining.")

Long have we been held down in poverty,
Rich men have gloated o'er our slavery,
Now comes the day—the day that ends our pain,
Comrades unite! the victory's ours to gain.

Chorus:

When the great red day is dawning,
When the fighting days are done;
When our heart-beats pulse with gladness,
For the victory nobly won.
We shall live in a world of sunshine;
Free from anguish and misery,
While the grand red flag waves o'er us
As our emblem of liberty.

Over the seas we hear the glad shouts rise,
In mighty volume to the reddening skies,
Millions haste on to join the marching throng,
Come, comrades, rally! don't you hear their song?

# The British Labour Party.

Like all other parties, the Labour Party in Great Britain is the reflex of those who compose it; but if the assertion of Mr. Philip Snowden is to be accepted as a fair general analysis of the ideas pervading the mass of organised workers in the old land, it would seem as if we are yet a long distance from the day when man will secure for himself the full product of his toil. In a "Manchester Guardian" interview, Mr. Snowden is reported to have said: "The British Labour Party is certainly not Socialist in the sense in which Socialism is understood on the continent. It is not based upon the recognition of the class struggle; it does not accept the teachings of Marx." If this should be so, it is only to be deplored by the working class outside England But after all, it would be too much to expect people to accept a doctrine or teaching they do not understand. When the working class is educated, it will not need the Snowdens to act as its mouthpieces.

—"Australasian Seamen's Journal."

# ". . . The Twain Shall Meet"!

"IMPERIAL" SOLIDARITY IN HOLLAND.

The big demonstrations in Holland against the increase of the Dutch navy, resulting in the fall of the Government last week, were marked by the presence of a native deportee from Java, the strike leader Semaun, and a number of his countrymen, WHO THUS CONTRIBUTED TO THAT SUCCESS.

In May last, at the very moment when a railway strike had been called in Java, Semaun was arrested. He was arrested, to quote the manifesto of his successor, because he had had the moral courage to organise the slaves of the railway and tram services against the brutal oppression of capitalism, and had proved himself fearless in the face of brute force, incorruptible, true to his ideals and to the cause of the under-dog.

The reactionary Government hoped, by putting him out of the way, to break the movement of the colonial slaves once for all.

They failed. The arrest only fanned the feeling of the native population against their European overlords who deny them all rights. (There is practically no European working class proper in Dutch India.)

The Communists, who were of course prominent in the strike movement, have a very large following among the toilers of the Dutch East Indies, who are denied education and free speech much as are those of Africa. A prominent figure at the Fourth Congress as Moscow last year was another deportee from Dutch India, Malaka, whose keenness, vivacity and humour gained him a most enthusiastic hearing when he told of the great struggles and victories of the workers of those islands, and the great influence of the Communist Party among them.

The Dutch Government of oil barons and sugar kings have not ventured to condemn these leaders to anything worse than banishment, fearing that a death sentence would cause too great an outcry. But they dig their own graves whatever they do. The blood of an executed martyr becomes the seed of revolution; the deportee still lives as an inspiration to his followers. And this is THE MORE SO WHERE THE CLASS STRUGGLE COINCIDES WITH THE STRUGGLE OF A SUBJECT RACE FOR EMANCIPATION, and where the exploiters, as AT ONCE A RULING RACE AND A RULING CLASS, attempt to suppress a movement thus DOUBLY INSPIRED. Banishment too has been the fate, perhaps the making, of most of the great revolutionary leaders from Marx downwards . . .

The anti-navy-law demonstration in Amsterdam was one of the biggest ever held. It was a protest against THE RULE OF OIL above all—the oil kings who demand a fleet to convoy their oil—and incidentally to burn it. The presence of Semaun, who was supported by a number of Dutch-Indian seamen, crews of ships then at Amsterdam, seemed to indicate the COMBINED OPPOSITION OF BOTH THE HOME AND THE COLONIAL, BOTH THE WHITE AND THE BLACK WORKING CLASS to the exploiters who oppress both, the one in India, the other in Holland. It indicated the UNITED FRONT OF ALL THE WORKERS OF A MODERN EMPIRE; and the cheers of the vast crowds at the appearance of Semaun and his dusky fellow-workers and fellow-fighters showed that the point was appreciated. "Long live Semaun," they cried, to which his response was "LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL." The significance of this demonstration of solidarity is heightened when it is remembered that the affair was got up by the orthodox Trade Union movement of Holland. "De Tribune," the organ of the Dutch Communist Party, from which we have taken the foregoing, sums up as follows:—

"The struggle of our fellow-workers in Indonesia must be supported by us in Holland. Our demand must be for the deportation of all robbers and sweaters from the colonies. We must accustom the transport workers to co-operate with those struggling in the colonies. The oil kings must be attacked, and their criminal war-aims frustrated, ON TWO FRONTS. HERE WITH THE WHITE FIST, THERE WITH THE BLACK, we will smash the monster of reaction. Long live the revolutionary fight in East and West! Long live the World Revolution!"

# "Not This Man, but Barabbas."

The ruling class got the fright of their lives when they read of the proposal to organise native mine workers, and they have set their C.I.D. and its Press organs to do their damnedest to scare the miners from following this plain lead of common sense—for they see well enough that that proposal, if courageously and promptly carried out, would go a long way towards breaking their power. Unfortunately for them, the C.I.D. and its organs have failed to evolve any new stunts. We have had nothing but the old appeals to ignorant prejudice served up again; "agents of Moscow," "sinister" and secret "permeations," "setting blacks against whites" (we thought the complaint was BRINGING THEM TOGETHER), house-boys' impertinence attributable to Red influence, etc. (can't you see us creeping round kayas telling Jim to cheek missus?), black revolutions, etc., etc. The Martial Law Commission is once more quoted, as if the Commission's report had brought up fresh evidence, instead of in its turn serving up just the same stale Marshall Square hash we had all got tired of before. Even the story of Ivon Jones as the "stormy petrel" returning from Russia to raise Cain in South Africa is very ancient; it has been applied many times before both to him and to the present editor of this paper—so long as he was not in the country (it collapsed as soon as he arrived), and it will be applied again when Comrade W. H. Andrews' time comes to return. The mere fact that in the case of Ivon Jones it is a complete mare's nest, very laughable to those who know the man and his present movements, is, in comparison, an unimportant detail. Any old bogy will do to terrorise Dubb, and THE GREATER THE LIE THE GREATER THE BOGY.

But seriously, does anyone think it possible for a large section of the workers to go on being exploited and held down without any reaction unless a Jones happens to blow in? The idea is ridiculous. Everybody knows what Jones cites, that capitalism itself produces its own gravediggers. By its very act of exploitation, it develops the class of proletarians, whose "struggle against the bourgeoisie begins with its birth." Even when it comes to the dread of indiscriminate violence on the part of natives, upon which the ruling class play with a scant skill proportionate to the blind passion and gullibility of their dupes, let us remember that not in South Africa especially but IN EVERY COUNTRY the primitive efforts of unorganised but discontented workers have hit out wildly at misconceived enemies—and it is not for the exploiters to complain of that, THEY ARE THE GUILTY PARTIES; and besides, THEY ARE FATHERING FASCISM, and in this country HAVE ALWAYS ORIGINATED THE VIOLENCE. Again, South Africa has only exemplified the normal course of things when its bourgeoisie have "set the (native) proletariat in motion to fight the enemies of its enemies," such as the white workers or the Nationalist anti-imperialists. Things do not, however, remain for ever at that stage. "The interests, the life conditions within the proletariat, become always more equalised as machinery more and more obliterates all distinctions of labour and reduces wages almost everywhere to the same low level"; and "as their whole livelihood becomes increasingly insecure, the workers begin to form combinations against the bourgeoisie," until eventually they struggle for mastery and for a proletarian co-operative system of society. So-called "stormy petrels" are not causes but only symptoms of the storm.

That is the normal course of events under capitalism, whatever the race or colour of the particular workers. In the past few years we have often made the other side a present of this argument, that it is better even for them that all this inevitable development should be an organised rather than a mob movement. THEY CANNOT HAVE IT BOTH WAYS. IF THEY WANT TO AVOID UNCIVILISED OUTBREAKS THEY MUST NOT IMPEDE INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION, but rather welcome it in the interest of their own skins. If they really think their lives in danger, then it becomes a case of their money or their life; better save their lives, even if the ultimate outcome is the loss of their money. The Ku Klux Klan outcry against Labour propaganda and organisation among natives simply offers, as alternative, a vista of lynchings, massacres, and brutal enslavement, a policy too reactionary to be taken seriously even by the bourgeoisie.

The real cause of "trouble" in the modern world is not the rebellious worker. THE "STORMY PETREL" TO-DAY IS THE RULING CLASS ITSELF; the cause of all the "unrest" and "strife" is the capitalist system. THIS SYSTEM AND CLASS IS REPRESENTED, AS REGARDS SOUTH AFRICA, BY JAN SMUTS. If we are to look for scapegoats to keep out of the country, whether under the law or, as the "Mail" pleads, in defiance of it, let the right one be chosen. The "Mail" "does not know Mr. Ivon Jones." But we do know Jan Smuts; and to adopt the "Mail" language, "we suggest that the Union Government should see whether it cannot, by hook or by crook, prevent Jan Smuts landing on these shores again: . . . We think that South Africa holds that he is not the right man for it. Let it tell Smuts quietly but firmly that it does not regard this country as a suitable spot for his 'missionary' efforts. . . . PREACHING CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM SEEMS TO US TO BE RATHER LIKE PLAYING WITH MATCHES ON A BARREL OF GUNPOWDER. . . . And in the name of peace-loving South Africans we call upon the Government to keep him out, no matter what trouble the process of exclusion may involve."

And after all, the Government will have a very good reason for so acting. At "home," they are shrieking for General Smuts to stop in Europe and save it. Let Europe have him. "KEEP OUT" —NOT IVON JONES BUT JANNIE SMUTS!

Sir Julius Jeppe says communism is a condition "when no one obeys and everyone commands, when everyone pays his debts with others' money, sits at their tables, drinks their wine, shares their clothes; when everybody mows but no one sows, when no one has anything but everybody spends money." Surely he has made a mistake; surely he is describing something much more like the society not of Communism but of his own parasitic Johannesburg!

Simple Simon met the sly man
Of an army corps,
Who talked to him of "scraps of paper,"
Guns and Huns and war.
Simple Simon took for "gospel"
All the sly man said—
Now there ain't a Simple Simon;
Simple Simon's dead.

—John S. Clarke.

## Vestments as Investments.

In his book "Americanism," published by the Labour Publishing Co., London, with a preface by Tom Mann, Mr. W. T. Colyer quotes from capitalist sources some frank admissions as to the value of the Church to the investing and employing class. One is as follows:—

"The value of our investments depends not on the strength of our banks but on the strength of our Churches. The underpaid preachers of the nation are the men upon whom we really are depending rather than the well-paid lawyers, bankers and brokers. The religion of the community is really the bulwark of our investments. And when we consider that only 15 per cent. of the people hold securities of any kind and less than 3 per cent. hold enough to pay an income tax, the importance of the Churches becomes more evident.

"For our own sakes, for our children's sakes, for the nation's sake, let us business men get behind the Churches and their preachers! Never mind if they are not perfect, never mind if their theology is out of date. This only means that if they were efficient they would do very much more. The safety of all we have is due to the Churches, even in their present inefficient and inactive state. By all that we hold dear, let us from this day give more time, money and thought to the Churches of our city, for upon these the value of all we own ultimately depends!"

Mr. Colyer cites an appeal issued by the National Committee, Northern Baptist Laymen, 200, Fifth Avenue, New York, which reads as follows:—

"INVEST IN A PREACHER TO-DAY.
"RETURNS GUARANTEED.

"Why, man dear, there are thousands of preachers working night and day to make your city and your employees better, who are getting less than a thousand dollars a year. Your business would be in a fine way, wouldn't it, if it were not for the stabilising influence of the Church and its preachers, who put ambition and determination and love of honest service into the hearts of your working men?

"Now, then, no unbusinesslike delays; write to-day and get the facts about this great investment from business men. Think of the good workers who will receive no pay envelope to-day or to-morrow—unless you remit 'for services rendered.' We are waiting to hear from you."

(N.B.—Lloyd George is also a Baptist.)

The Bishop of Bloemfontein will feel his ears tingle when he reads that—

"Clergymen have special schools for the study of mass-psychology where they are informed that they are not 'selling Christianity' to the public as efficiently as they would do if they studied the general principles of advertising. Consequently there is an ever-growing sensationalism in pulpits and Churchism is rapidly becoming another name for 'patriotism' and 100 per cent. Americanism. Campaigns for the increase of Church membership are handed over to advertising experts. The high-water mark has been reached by the Rev. Billy Sunday, who has turned the Church into a kind of circus, but there is evidence from many quarters that Billy can extract large contributions of money from the captains of industry on the plea that his antics divert the attention of the workers from wages, hours, and conditions of labour."

## Trying to Purchase Immunity.

The workers employed by the Fuji Cotton Mills in Japan received an offer of £100,000, if they refrained from taking union pledges or joining unions. This proposition was debated by the workers, and a resolution was adopted condemning the company for trying to sabotage the union movement through bribes. The boss in Japan must be feeling shaky, when he comes at such a crude thing as offering to buy out a whole union of cotton operatives.

—"Australasian Seamen's Journal."

# The Functions of Trade Unions in Russia.

(From a lecture given at the Workers' Hall, Benoni, on the 12th ult., by S. P. Bunting.)

The Russian Trade Unions of to-day are hardly older than the native trade unions, such as they are, of this country. Both began, more or less, in 1917; we may almost say it was the "Red Light in Russia" that showed the South African native workers the way to some attempt at industrial organisation. However, the Russian rudiments with which these Bantu attempts are more comparable date from long before 1917. They developed, originally out of benefit or burial societies, especially in the western border provinces now cut off from Russia. In those days strikes, and in fact Trade Unions, were illegal, and the only unions tolerated were scab unions formed by the police (like the Italian Fascist unions to-day) or those which, like the Rand Underground Officials' Union according to its former reputation at least, kowtowed to the employers—electing them as honorary members, for instance, as a Russian shop assistants' union did early in this century. Nevertheless strikes occurred—even among these tame unions—and strike funds were built up, with illegal organisations for that purpose; and the great strikes of 1905 bred quite a big family of Trade Unions, though a short-lived one, for it was soon afterwards practically exterminated by the Tsar, and did not come to life again until he was deposed in March, 1917.

### REVOLUTIONARY FROM THE OUTSET.

The outstanding feature of this history of Russian industrial organisation, which distinguishes it from the classic British type, is that it was throughout A PRODUCT AND EXPRESSION OF THE DELIBERATE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AS A WHOLE AGAINST CAPITALISM. It never confined itself to the mere reformist demands of particular sections. It was always a class movement, born of conflict and nurtured in class consciousness. In particular the idea of a "non-political" trade union was from the first foreign to it. On the contrary, ITS INSPIRATION WAS ALWAYS POLITICAL. Instead of a "Labour party" being formed out of existing trade unions, in Russia the trade union movement was the child of the pre-existing party, the Social Democratic Party, out of which the Communist party eventually sprang. Hence too it always laid stress, and spent a big proportion of its funds, on THE EDUCATION, BOTH LITERARY AND POLITICAL, OF ITS MEMBERS; and note that Russian political education has always been facilitated by a comparative ABSENCE OF POLITICAL DOPE—the ruling class preferred ruthless repression to sinister sophistication—and especially, among the working class, by a complete absence of loyalty to the Throne; the workers never dreamt of singing the Tsar's "national" anthem, they just CORDIALLY DETESTED HIM and all his gang.

### INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

From one other weakness of the British unions the Russian unions were also free. They were always FORMED ON THE BASIS NOT OF CRAFT BUT OF INDUSTRY. They were unions of the workers who worked in a given factory, irrespective of grade or tools used. It was one industry—one union, and one factory—one factory-committee or branch of the union, with no overlapping or "poaching."

### WORKERS' CONTROL, WORKERS' OWNERSHIP.

The Menshevik revolution of March, 1917, finally lifted the legal ban, and Trade Unions sprang up all over Russia, with a huge membership, and an All-Russian Council, within a few months. It was not long before the doctrine of agreement and negotiation gave way before the demand for WORKERS' CONTROL of factories, mines, etc., and those who declared that the workers were incapable of exercising such control were overborne by the vast majority who maintained that they COULD AND MUST LEARN TO EXERCISE IT—AS THEY ARE NOW DOING. The control first contended for was control by factory committees over the appointment and dismissal of "hands." Against this, an "abomination" to them as the shop stewards were to our Chamber of Mines, the owners resorted to sabotage, closing down "their" factories rather than let the workers "usurp" such power. But the only effect of this was to increase the workers' demands politically to a cry for "all power to the Soviets" and industrially for "workers' OWNERSHIP of all the means of production." On these slogans huge strikes took place throughout industrial Russia; the conflict became, as it is becoming in Germany to-day, a national conflict between Labour and Capital; the workers took up arms and seized the factories, and simultaneously avoided the error of the Italian workers in 1920 by seizing political power. The outcome was the "Bolshevik" revolution of November 7, 1917. Except for a few unions like commercial and bank employees, printers, and higher grades of Government employees, THE WHOLE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WAS BEHIND THIS REVOLUTION.

### THE NEW UNIONISM: NO BOSSES.

The revolution entailed a complete change in the function of Trade Unionism. Capitalism having been deposed from power, trade unions ceased to be concerned principally with the struggle against employers. Indeed, it became the workers' turn to condemn strikes. It was a workers' state, and all industry had in principle become the workers' concern. Consequently strikes in their turn came to be looked upon as so much sabotage on the working class. The "Star" the other day thought it had scored quite a point by quoting Trotzky in favour of more and cheaper production; but of course this means one thing when the working class is struggling against a capitalist exploiting class in power, and quite another when it is itself in power, and is as it were EXPLOITING ITSELF. In the former case the greater efficiency is obtained at the EXPENSE of the workers; in the latter, for their BENEFIT. So it was in Russia. The forecast of the "Communist Manifesto" was verified. Democracy—real democracy, not the bourgeois fake of that name with which we are familiar—having triumphed, "the proletariat used its power to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State (i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class) and to increase as rapidly as possible the total mass of productive forces"—especially in view of the collapse of production bequeathed by the old regime.

### HOW THE BOURGEOIS FORCED THE PACE.

It had indeed been the intention of the triumphant revolutionary party, as Marx and Engels had laid down, to wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie "BY DEGREES"; but the sabotage of the owners compelled them, in order to continue production, to take over everything at one gulp rather than allow factories to remain closed down. The reversion, since peace has been restored in Russia, to a modicum of private enterprise, under the "new economic policy," is thus, as Lenin stated at the Fourth Congress, really only a closer approximation to THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CAMPAIGN, to take over "by degrees" as the proletarian state found itself able to do so; which is broadly the policy now being carried out, under "proletarian state capitalism."

### THE TRADE UNION STATE.

In any case, experience proved, what had always been maintained by Socialists, that owners as owners (a different thing from administrators or technical experts) turned out to be SUPERFLUOUS in modern industry. But that did not mean that industry ran itself. On the contrary, the greatest task of the revolution has been the building up of public bodies to manage, direct, and develop industrial production. In this task the Trade Unions, SO FAR FROM IN THEIR TURN BECOMING SUPERFLUOUS WITH THE END OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, have played, and still play, a very leading part. Although no longer directly entrusted with the task of administration of industry, they are strongly represented in all the Government Departments and organs—the Council of National Economy, the Factory Management Boards, the "Trusts" and so on—which now fulfil that task. After all, the state itself, the supreme administrator of production, might almost be called A TRADE UNION STATE—and it is the only state in the world so far which in an industrial dispute takes the side of the workers and PUTS THE PRIVATE EMPLOYERS (instead of "the niggers") "IN THEIR PLACE"!

### THE UNION AS GENUINE "NEGOTIATOR."

The factory committees have become branches or units of trade union organisation, as well as centres of the political and educational life of the workers concerned, maintaining libraries, clubs, schools, restaurants, etc., etc They are under the centralised control of the union as a whole, which in turn is under the direction of the All-Russian Trade Union Congress and the "state" as such. The direct task of the unions and their branches is to champion the interests of their members in case of conflict with the interests of the workers as a whole or the state as such. For instance, if a particular body of workmen want more wages, the question has to be settled between them and the Government Department concerned (to omit intervening arbitration stages), how much can the industry, or the state, afford to pay, with due regard, NOT TO PRIVATE PROFIT AS THE "STAR" WOULD LIKE TO REPRESENT, but to the requirements of all OTHER WORKERS equally "deserving," as well as of the advancement of industry and the population generally, state enterprise, public services, army, education, etc.—things which, in modification of the individualist slogan "to every worker the full product of his labour," have to be provided out of the general labour of society for the general benefit of society. The strike is still an available weapon, but except where the employer is a private capitalist, it is, BEING A STRIKE AGAINST FELLOW-WORKERS, little likely to be used. On the other hand, "NEGOTIATION" BECOMES FOR THE FIRST TIME A GENUINE AFFAIR BETWEEN EQUALS HAVING THE SAME PARAMOUNT INTERESTS AT HEART, and in a milieu where yellow unions or leaders cannot exist.

In short, Trade Unionism in Russia to-day, with its 8,000,000 (nearly 100 per cent.) membership, has undertaken the function of socialist reconstruction, organisation and administration, with the special direct task of improving the conditions of labour and the material as well as cultural level of the workers (INCLUDING PROMOTION OF LABOUR LEGISLATION), as distinct from the technique and responsibility of management or inspection.

The unifying and inspiring force behind all has unquestionably been the Communist Party. THE HARMONY BETWEEN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE RULING PARTY IS THE KEY TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. IF THE TRADE UNIONS OF BRITAIN, GERMANY, OR SOUTH AFRICA WENT EQUALLY HAND IN HAND WITH COMMUNISM, THE WORKERS' VICTORY IN THESE COUNTRIES TOO WOULD BY THIS TIME BE AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT.

# THE SUCCESSFUL WAR.

Let us look at the chief items in the balancesheet of the war to end war!

ACHIEVEMENTS.

| (1914-1919) | (1919-1923) |
|---|---|
| Destruction of German military and naval power. | Substitution by French military air and naval power. |
| Destruction of balance of forces in Europe. | Substitution by French military and economic hegemony. |
| Destruction of German economic life; paralysis of German trade and industry. | 1,200,000 unemployed; expenditure about £2,000,000 a week in keeping them alive; enormous loss of trade. |
| Defeat of the Turks and virtual disappearance of Turkey in Europe. | Triumph of the Turks and re-establishment of Turkish power in Europe. |
| "Mandate" for Mesopotamia, for Palestine, for German East and West Africa. | Cost to date, £156,000,000. |
| Military, air, and naval expenditure (1913-14), £86,000,000. | Military, air, and naval expenditure (1923-24), £123,000,000 (exclusive latest additional air estimates for doubling the existing Air Force). |
| Casualties, 800,000. | |
| National debt, £7,000,000,000. | |

### THE PEACE WHICH PASSETH ALL UNDERSTANDING.

Four years and a half of war. Four years of "Peace." Our expenditure on armaments bids fair in the next twelve months to be double the figure of 1913-14. We are building feverishly against France in the air . We are establishing a naval base against Japan at Singapore. Parliament discusses the potentiality of a war with Japan as it discusses housing, mining, old age pensions, or any other topic. Soon it will be doing the same in regard to France. Republican Russia we still treat as a pariah among the nations. Four million men are under arms in Europe alone, and three more million are in the course of being drilled and prepared for war. The resources and inventions of science are wholly at the service of militarism and new infernal machines and substances, more potent destructive gases, more effective tanks, submarines, and aircraft are being experimented with in all the Government workshops and laboratories of Europe, Asia, and America. Such is the result of a "war of liberation" and of a "peace of justice."

—"Foreign Affairs."

## Russian Railways.

According to the "Manchester Guardian Commercial" of September 13, the railways of Russia have been revolutionised during the last two years under the energetic administration of Djerjinsky, better known in Western Europe as the head of the Cheka, or political police, than as railway administrator. The magnitude of the task he had to undertake is indicated by the fact that the length of line operated, 65,000 versts, in 1913 had fallen in 1919 to 23,770 versts owing to damage done in the war and civil wars. Now the whole pre-war length is reported to be in order. The track is on the whole in good condition, but though the length of line operated is normal the intensity of traffic is nothing like it was before the war. There is not yet the trade to demand it.

Moreover, much of the rolling stock is still awaiting repair. Of the 120,000 trucks needed to transport the estimated grain surplus only 55,000 are ready; the cost of repairing the rest must come out of receipts. It was necessary to repair or rebuild 2,000 railway bridges destroyed during the war and civil war.

## Russia and France.

The Russian Government is doing increasing business with French firms, perhaps as an insurance against French attack. A French wireless firm has just made an agreement to assist the Radio Electric "Trust" of Russia to establish wireless stations and other plant throughout the Soviet Dominions, receiving 40 per cent. of the takings.

## Soviet Elections and Parties.

Your old-fashioned "democrat" is shocked at the reversion in Soviet elections to something more like the direct procedure of the early Roman Assembly. The fact is of course that with the political extinction of the propertied and exploiting class, an election, which under "democracy" is just an instrument for camouflaging the rivalries of bourgeois interests and also camouflaging class rule itself, and which therefore requires secrecy, ballots, etc., now loses that character and approximates rather to an election by a Trade Union of delegates to a Trade Union Congress, which can as often as not be done by acclamation or show of hands—it is left to local choice—for there is no longer any fundamental conflict of class interests. This change in the centre of gravity of "politics" is after all emerging even while the class struggle still rages in capitalist countries. Lord Morley, in one of his latest political writings, said:

"Questions of hours, wages, strikes, holidays, sanitation, and still more boldly, questions between Parliament and property, are taking the place in active interest of old political issues like ballot, electoral qualification, Second Chamber, and the rest. The social question has at last come out in a light familiar enough elsewhere in Europe."

In the Workers' Republic the election is a means of direct popular participation in administration, and "parties" have no further reason for existence; it is a case of "best man rule" becoming genuinely possible for the first time in history, and what lingers of a desire for bourgeois democracy is merely an academic survival of pre-revolutionary controversies. The party system has not been killed by "tyranny"; it has died out in favour of something more like a nation-wide "family party," with a hierarchy of debating assemblies where the issue is thrashed out all along the line.

HARRISON FOR HANOVER STREET.
VOTE ON NOVEMBER 14th.

FOR ALL KINDS OF PRINTING GO TO THE I.S.L. PRESS.

WHAT ABOUT RENEWING YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO THE "INTERNATIONAL"?

# What is Kuzbas?

A RUSSO-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.
(By Frank Kennell in "Kuzbas Bulletin.")

"Kuzbas" means the Soviet State Coal Mining Enterprise in the northern part of the Kuznetz Basin in Siberia. There mines are being managed and operated by a group of American engineers and workers in co-operation with the Russian workers and technicians who have remained with the enterprise.

The mines are the property of the Soviet Government and the management at present is in the hands of officers appointed by the Government. The supreme authority is in the hands of a Managing Board of three members consisting of the local managers at Nadejdinsky, Zavod and Kemerovo and a member appointed by the Council of Labour and Defence (S.T.O.). The chief director at Kemerovo, S. J. Rutgers, has under him the Chief Engineer and the heads of the technical departments, who together compose the Technical Staff. The Technical Staff have complete authority to manage the industries and no direct interference with their authority is possible.

The workers are members of the All-Russian Workers' Industrial Union and through the Union they have a very considerable and very real influence. For example, let us say that a worker has some grievance. He may apply for redress to his foreman or to the head of the department in which he works, or he may take the matter up with the secretary of the Union. If the action of the management is unfavourable the Union may carry the case to higher organs until at last it is referred for final decision to Moscow. The same procedure may be followed in any matter that comes up in the relations between the workers and the Technical Staff. The ideal of industrial democracy is being worked out through the Union.

Another thing that may easily be misunderstood is the payment of wages in Kemerovo. Under the New Economic Policy in Russia the workers are divided into seventeen categories of labour and wages. There are over 2,100 employees in the enterprise at Kemerovo of which about 200 are Americans. The practical difficulties involved in maintaining two entirely different systems of remuneration for labour, one for the Russians and one for the Americans, led to a decision by the management that the same wage system should be used for all. After a lengthy controversy in which I was myself one of the most active members of the opposition the whole matter was finally settled at a meeting of the American section of the Mine Workers' Union at Kemerovo when the management was almost unanimously sustained.

The American Group, however, still maintains all the essential features of the communal life. Sixty per cent. of the basic income of each American, irrespective of category, is deducted and placed in the "American Colony Fund." This fund maintains the American kitchens and the laundry in which all men, women and children alike, share equally. The remaining 40 per cent. plus all bonuses, overtime and special allowances is paid in cash. This cash payment constitutes in effect the payment of bonuses which were promised in the Kuzbas Prospectus. In this way a very great practical difficulty arising out of the existence of two groups of workers, American and Russians, has been solved without sacrificing the original colony idea, and the results have been very satisfactory.

The social life of Kemerovo centres very largely in the dining rooms and the library. Two days before I left Kemerovo the beautiful new dining room in the Community House was opened. This is a big, airy, light and cheerful room. In the kitchen are big ranges with baking ovens. The radio news, notices, kicks, newspaper clippings, letters from America and other items of interest are posted on the bulletin boards in the dining rooms. Here also we joke, discuss, argue, call each other names and enjoy ourselves generally.

The library is in the main office building in a spacious room on the second floor. The windows overlook the River Tom and the mountains to the east. There we have a library of about 3,000 volumes in the custody of a trained professional librarian. The latest papers in all languages are on the racks, the mail is here to be distributed and those who tire of the argumentative atmosphere of the dining room may come to the library for quiet reading and meditation.

---

A "Star" correspondent says: "By throwing open the Trade Unions to natives you automatically abolish the colour bar." Surely it is the other way round. It is because the ruling class has abolished the colour bar in industry that the Trade Unions, if they are to be realists and reflect the facts of industry, will automatically have to abolish it in their organisations.

---

The General Dealer's Business of Grace Wilson Gourlay carried on at 80a, Commissioner Street, Boksburg, has been transferred to Arthur Board as from the 17th September, 1923.
26.2.9.

The General Dealer's Business carried on by Israel Barlin, trading as the "Wellworth Boot and Shoe Repairing Shop," has been removed from St. George's Buildings, 78a. Harrison Street, to 27a, Rockey Street, Bellevue, Johannesburg, from 1st November. 1923.
2/9/16.

---

This paper will be posted FOR FOUR WEEKS ONLY (a) to subscribers whose subscriptions have expired from date of expiry; (b) to persons recommended as likely subscribers.

Printed by the I.S.L. Press, 64, Fox Street, Marshall Square, and published for the Communist Party of South Africa, No. 4, Trades Hall, Rissik Street

# "Progress" and Poverty.

By Karl Marx.

Being portion of the inaugural address of the International Workingmen's Association delivered to the public meeting in the St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, on 28th September, 1864, at which the Association was founded.

Workers, Comrades: It is an extremely momentous fact that the misery of the working class in the years 1848-1864 has not lessened, in spite of the unexpected development of industry and growth of trade during this period.

In the year 1850 one of the conservative organs of the British bourgeoisie, one of the best informed papers, predicted that when England's imports and exports rose by 50 per cent. PAUPERISM WOULD FALL TO THE VANISHING POINT.

Very well! On 7th April, 1864, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone, charmed his parliamentary hearers with the information that the total import and export trade of Great Britain in 1863 had grown to the sum of £443,955,000 sterling: "an astonishing sum which amounts to nearly three times the total trade of the not distant epoch of 1843." Then he proceeds to enlarge somewhat upon "poverty." "Think on those," he continues, "who stand continually on the verge of pauperism," . . . "on the stationary wages . . . on the human life which . . . in nine cases out of ten is simply a struggle for existence."

He did not repeat what the highest representatives of the upper ten thousand in a sudden access of fear had divulged, when with official facts and figures it was proved that the worst criminals, the convicts of England and Scotland, endured less hardship and were much better nourished than the agricultural workers of these two countries. When the Civil War in the United States threw the factory workers of Lancashire and Cheshire on the street, the same House of Lords despatched a doctor into the industrial areas with the mission of discovering the smallest quantity of carbon and nitrogen, in the form of the cheapest and simplest foods, which was necessary on the average to "prevent hunger sickness." Dr. Smith, the medical authority employed, discovered that the sparse diet to which the cotton workers, through the pressure of dire need, had been brought, almost equalled this minimum, and that the silk weavers, the dress makers, the hand shoemakers, the stocking knitters and other workers did not enjoy, on the average, even the famine ration of the cotton workers, did not obtain even the minimum of carbon and nitrogen "just sufficient to prevent famine fever. In addition," we quote from the official report, "it was found among the families of agricultural labourers in which enquiries were carried out, that their diet was deficient by over a fifth part of the necessary carbon and by over a third of the necessary nitrogen and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Somersetshire) the average fare of whole parishes did not contain the required quantities. . . . The labour which is recompensed with insufficient rations has actually to a boundless extent expanded. . . . Of the four parts of the United Kingdom, England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the agricultural population of England, the most fertile portion, is by far the worst nourished"; nevertheless, that even the agricultural workers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Somersetshire are BETTER FED THAN THE GREAT MASS OF SKILLED HOME WORKERS in the East End of London.

These are official data, published by command of Parliament in the year 1864, during the "thousand year" reign of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer communicated to the House of Commons the fact that "the condition of the average British worker had improved to such an extraordinary degree as had never before been witnessed in the history of all times and all countries." "The intoxicating increase of wealth and power," adds Mr. Gladstone, however, "IS EXLUSIVELY LIMITED TO THE CIRCLE OF THE PROPERTIED CLASSES."

You well know under what conditions of shattered wealth, damaged morals and spiritual ruin "this intoxicating increase of wealth and power exclusively for the propertied classes" was produced by the working class.

The tax lists expose the fact that some 3,000 persons share a yearly income of some £25,000,000 sterling, very nearly as much as the whole income of the entire body of agricultural workers in England and Wales. Take the statistics of 1861, and it will be found that the number of the male landlords in England and Wales has fallen from 16,934 in 1851 to 15,066 in 1861, so that the concentration of the ownership of the land in ten years has advanced by 11 per cent. Let the concentration of the ownership of the soil in a few hands continue to go forward at the same pace as hitherto, and soon the land question will be simplified in the same remarkable way that it was in the time of the Roman Empire, when Nero with scornful laughter made the discovery that half of the province of Africa was the property of six lords.

We have dwelt so long upon these facts "that are so astonishing that they appear incredible," because England stands at the head of commercial and industrial Europe. It will be fresh in your minds, that only a few months ago one of the exiled sons of Louis Philippe congratulated the English agricultural labourers upon being in a position SO MUCH BETTER THAN THAT OF THEIR LESS FAVOURABLY PLACED COMRADES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE CHANNEL. And in fact with somewhat altered local dress and in a more diminutive setting the English phenomena are repeated in all the industrial and progressive lands of the continent. In all of them is to be found since 1848 an unheard-of development of industry and a never previously equalled increase of exports and imports. In all of them was "the increase of wealth and power exclusively in the circles of the possessing classes truly intoxicating." With them all we find as in England in the case of a minority of the working class a trifling rise of the real wages, that is to say, the quantity of means of existence that can be purchased for the money wage; in the most of cases, however, the rise of the money wage means little real increase in well-being. Throughout the great mass of the working class sink down well into still greater misery, at least in relation to the rise of the upper classes in the social scale. And so in every country it has now become a truth, demonstrated to be so for every unprejudiced person, denied only by those who have an interest in misleading others by raising false expectations, that NO PERFECTING OF MACHINERY, NO APPLICATION OF SCIENCE TO INDUSTRY, NO IMPROVEMENT OF THE MEANS OF COMMUNICATION, NO NEW COLONIES, NO EMIGRATION, NO OPENING OUT OF NEW MARKETS, NO FREE TRADE AND NOT ALL THESE THINGS PUT TOGETHER CAN DO AWAY WITH THE MISERY OF THE TOILING MASSES, but rather on the contrary that upon the present false basis EVERY NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE POWER OF LABOUR MUST LEAD TO THE WIDENING OF THE GULF BETWEEN THE CLASSES AND TO THE HEIGHTENING OF SOCIAL ANTAGONISMS.

# COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

A crowded meeting on Wednesday night resulted in the election of Comrades S. Barlin as Chairman and E. R. Roux as Secretary, with R. Gelblum as Treasurer and eight other members of the Executive. Much leeway has to be made up, and the Executive will have no lack of work to do.

Next Wednesday being taken up with the Russian Revolution celebration at the Selborne Hall, the next discussion night will be Wednesday, November 14, at No. 4, Trades Hall at 8 p.m. (not 9 as seems to be supposed) when Comrade J. Neppe will open on "The Ants' Republic."

Particulars of fixtures on November 21 and 28 will be announced later.

Choir: more volunteers are wanted to make up a satisfactory "quorum."

# 'Women and Children" Again.

The ex- (we hope) Mayor of Johannesburg claimed in his election address to have protected women and children in the strike last year. Against what and whom? When were women and children attacked and by whom, and when did Mr. Allan defend them? Did he not on the contrary assist the attack on their husbands, sons and brothers, resulting in the death of many of them (yes, and of "women and children" too), the imprisonment of others, the victimisation of yet others, the unprecedented increase of unemployment, poverty and starvation, the permanent reduction of the openings for white men and youths in the country, the permanent lowering of the wages of those still fortunate enough to get jobs—all to the desolation of the lives and homes of hundreds and thousands of "women and children"? Yes, we have heard this "women and children" cry too often before in South African history; it has become notorious as the slogan of men concerned in an anti-social and treasonable attack on their fellow-citizens and the safety of the state.

# "Civilisation."

"My husband is earning £6 per week. We are heavily in debt, and have NINE children in rags." Thus pleaded Mary Ann Doran in the Magistrate's Court, Johannesburg, last Wednesday. She was charged with having sold a bottle of wine to a native woman. The worthy magistrate sentenced her to EIGHTEEN MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT. One can well appreciate the woman's motive in committing the "crime" in view of her declaration in the court. Under a sane system the same woman would not find liquor-selling necessary. Does the magistrate imagine that by imposing savage sentences he will succeed in stamping out the illicit liquor trade? Capitalism manufactures liquor-sellers and almost every other type of "criminal" and then it punishes their "crimes." Capitalism is the source—the cause—of nearly all crime, and if crime is to be abolished capitalism must obviously, of necessity, go as well.

---

Sam, the coloured driver of an ox team, saw a little lizard crawling up a tree. He flourished his long whip and deftly snapped off the lizard's head. Farther along the road, with skilful precision, he picked a horsefly off the fence with the same weapon. His skill as a marksman was next exhibited on a chipmunk that showed its head above the ground.

A white companion finally said: 'Sam, take a crack at that hornet's nest."

Sam grinned and replied: "No, suh; no suh, boss; them fellahs is awganized."

# "The Best Club in the World."

The following is a translation published by "Forward" of one of a series of articles appearing in "Het Vaderland"—a newspaper published in The Hague—from the pen of their correspondent in Russia:—

QUALITIES OF THE SOVIET LEADERS.

"The most remarkable and wonderful rumours have been long going the rounds respecting the men who rule Bolshevik Russia. The fact that, in whatever light we look at them, the Bolshevik leaders are more than mediocrities, easily leads to an unjust or exaggerated conception of them in our minds. . . . Whoever has had the opportunity of meeting personally the principal Russian Communists, and of observing them at their work, is struck by several qualities of character that they all possess in a greater or less degree; qualities which, through their having acted in concert, have bestowed extraordinary strength on them, and have had an enormous influence on the results they have so far been able to obtain. Yet they are quite common human qualities that these 'heroes' possess; only there are but few people who possess them all at the same time. All the Bolshevik leaders—such as Lenin, Trotsky, Chicherin, and Radek, to mention but a few—are at once highly-gifted and widely learned, possess an incredible capacity for work, and live most simply.

THEIR YEARS OF STUDY.

"Gifted and Learned.—These words say more in the Kremlin than anywhere else in the world. It must not be forgotten that the Soviet Government is composed of men most of whom have devoted upwards of 20 and 30 years to their task. The Russians, who, during the time of the Czar, had the spirit to stand up in open opposition against the powers that were; who, of good family, as they often were, voluntarily renounced riches, comforts, and career for the sake of their ideals; who accepted the prospect of imprisonment or exile with cold-blooded equanimity—these were no common everyday men. They were men of extraordinary strength of mind and great talents; who, moreover, during their weary exile . . . did nothing else, year in year out, throughout these long days and still longer nights, but work, study, and read; just steadily accumulating knowledge.

THEIR VERSATILITY.

"The extraordinary power of the Soviet leaders lies especially in the fact, too, that each of them possesses such liberal learning. Trotzky, the organiser of the army, could at any time write a brilliant treatise on French literature. Radek, the Communist agitator, could hold his own in debate on the science of warfare with the most talented German General. And so one could continue. . . .They could never have brought to a successful conclusion the great work of the revolution, and the still more difficult task of maintaining their ascendancy, if they had been nothing but barricade stormers, adventurers, and insurrectionists, and not men of science and spiritual heroes at the same time.

THEIR PLAIN LIVING AND HARD WORKING.

"The Bolsheviks possess an extraordinary capacity for work. This does not apply to the army of Soviet officials who do practically nothing, and only pretend to work. But . . . most of the Soviet leaders work from 14 to 18 hours a day. In Chicherin we have a peculiarly characteristic example of this practice which is almost, if not entirely, unknown in countries with a bourgeois organisation. He even sleeps in his office, and works from 5 o'clock in the evening until 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and the amount of work he accomplishes in that time is stupendous. Trotzky, Zinovieff, Bucharin, and others, divide their day in the same way. . . . The Bolsheviks lead a simple life. One often hears it said that the Russian people are dying of hunger, while the Bolsheviks spend their time in carousals and orgies. That may be true if by Bolsheviks is meant the countless horde of officials, commissars, and members of the Chekas, who joined the Soviet Government out of sheer opportunism and gross material self-interest, and now live as vampires on the country and the people. . . . But it is impossible to say too emphatically that the hopes and desires of Lenin, Trotzky, Kameneff, and Chicherin are by no means directed towards luxury and an easy life. . . .

THEIR MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

"In conclusion, attention must be drawn to a fact that is usually overlooked, but which is, nevertheless, of the highest importance, as it explains how the Soviet leaders are able to face the world with such a united front. (It is precisely herein that their great strength lies). The Soviet Government is, as a matter of fact, nothing else but a club: the members of that club have known each other for 30 years and longer, and, in addition, have the same ideals which, throughout that long time of waiting, they have thought over and debated together. The strength of this Government lies in the fact that it is the most united ruling body in the world! This immediately strikes one on comparing the Soviet Government with any other Cabinet whatsoever. In England, America, France, Germany, and other countries, there are men at the helm now who have been called there in connection with their party leadership, patronage, social position or other accidental cause. Very often the members of these bourgeois Ministries do not get to know each other well until the Cabinet sittings. It stands to reason that such men have not the same training as the Bolsheviks with regard to co-operation and singleness of purpose. . . . Co-ordination and discipline are much stricter here than in capitalistic countries, where practically every individual Minister seeks to pursue a policy of his own.

THE SECRET OF IT.

"This unanimity may be partly explained by the fact that all the Bolshevik leaders feel themselves equally seriously threatened by the capitalist foe; and, further, by their having spent their exile in the same country. There they formed a firm bond of friendship and prepared for their enormous enterprise, the revolution and the seizure of power. The strength of this bond had often been tested before the war, and when the great day came everything was ready indeed. This and the above-mentioned qualities of the leaders explain the secret of the power of the Bolsheviks.