Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

The Government has REFUSED to Release the Nine. What are you going to do about it?

Come to the Meeting at 8, TRADES HALL, SUNDAY, 16th inst., at 10.30.

The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

WORKERS! Look Out for an Appeal on behalf OF THE Starving Workers of Germany.

AND KEEP YOUR ENERGIES FRESH TO SUPPORT IT.

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. 396. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE

Many Workers are Saying—

Head—Many Workers are Saying:—

That they would like to know what has prompted certain branches of the S.A.M.W.U. to request the Executive to apply for recognition by the Chamber of Mines.

* * *

That when it is in fighting trim the Miners' Union will be recognised by the Chamber with great alacrity—not before.

* * *

That the latest example of Crawford's union-splitting tactics is his attempt to draw the Johannesburg Power Station mechanics into his precious "Industrial Union"; and

* * *

That they hope those mechanics will keep their eyes skinned for "funny business."

* * *

That the discharge of some seventy men from the New Goch has come as an unpleasant reminder of the Chamber's black labour policy; and

* * *

That, incidentally, the time is almost ripe for a revival of the activities of the Witwatersrand Unemployment Committee.

* * *

That the present situation in Britain would seem to indicate a drift towards the same state of chaos that exists in Central Europe; and

* * *

That in England, as elsewhere, the only hope for the mass is a Workers' Government.

* * *

That in view of the imminence of a general election here next year it behoves the opposition parties to get busy at once; and

* * *

That as, usually, the workers are led away by election cries, those which Smuts has in stock should be exposed right away.

* * *

That it is as well that it should be known that Smuts is not being banqueted to-night by the citizens of Johannesburg, but by a "select" section consisting of snobs and White Guards—in short, the enemies and bludgeoners of the working class.

1924.

YOUNG MEN OF THE WORKING CLASS!

The beginning of 1924 marks the reintroduction of compulsory registration for the Defence Force. The Government of this country, not satisfied with its past record of murder, prepares for new murders by reorganising its army. The blood of a thousand martyrs cries out against this: the workers who were shot down in July, 1923; the men who died in Flanders and German East to make the world more fit for parasites to live in; the natives who were massacred at Bulhoek; the Rand strikers of 1922; the Bondelswarts; Labuschagne; Japie Fourie; Spendiff and Fisher; the Hanekoms, Dowse and Smith; Stassen; Long, Hull and Lewis. Truly the crime sheet of the Smuts-Chamber-of-Mines Government is a long one!

YOUNG WORKERS OF THE TOWNS! You have been called upon in the past to shoot down your fellow-workers. What do you say now when they call you again?

Young Railwaymen! You have presented the Government with a beautiful new regiment—the Railways and Harbours Rifles. The Government has presented you in turn with a beautiful new reduction in wages.

YOUNG FARMERS! YOUNG NATIONALISTS! Many of you refused to be conscripted in March, 1922. In this you showed your solidarity with the town workers. We ask you to keep this united front and extend it, and fight all the time to smash the Smuts' Government.

At the present moment there lie in prison nine of your fellow-workers. Jan Smuts released twenty-eight strikers last August in an attempt to win the Turffontein by-election (which he did not). He probably intends keeping the remaining nine for the coming general election. But we must not leave this matter in the hands of these unscrupulous hirelings of Big Business.

THE WORKERS AND FARMERS MUST DEMAND THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF THE MEN STILL IN PRISON.

The fight against imperialism in South Africa has been a long and bitter one. The struggle is not yet over; it is becoming fiercer every day. The anti-imperialist parties are beginning to unite against their common enemy. The young workers and farmers, however, have not yet entered into the fight. LET THE YOUNG NATIONALISTS ANR THE YOUNG LABOURITES COME FORWARD TO HELP THE YOUNG COMMUNISTS IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MURDER POLICY OF SMUTS AND THE CHAMBER OF MINES!

Published by the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League, P.O. Box 7599, Johannesburg.

Smuts Hissed on the Film.

Whilst a picture of the greatest statesman laying a foundation stone at the Empire Exhibition was being shown on the screen at the Vaudette Theatre, Germiston, last Saturday, the audience, resenting the presence of this unsavoury company even in picture, showed their feelings by freely booing and hissing, shouting "Hired assassin," etc. A few of the toadies and snobs in the front seats made a feeble attempt to counteract this spontaneous outburst by clapping, but the picture was quickly changed.

Strike Prisoners' Release Committee

As already announced, the Government has refused any remission of the sentences of the nine men still in gaol.

A full meeting of the above Committee will be held at the S.A.M.W.U. Offices, No. 8, Trades Hall, THIS SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16, at 10.30 A.M., to consider further steps to be taken.

All interested, whether previously on the Committee or not, are invited to attend.

L. P. SHERIDAN, Secretary.

Last Week's Nasty Knock.

WHAT WE SHALL LIVE TO SEE IN BRITAIN.

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY.

Military force, says the "Workers' Weekly," has deposed the Workers' Government of Saxony against every constitutional and parliamentary right—a lesson to all who dream to build on a constitutional basis a Workers' Government. White Terror reigns through every part of Germany. The Social Democrats, their work of treachery done, have passed out of the Coalition Cabinet to make way for the forces of the Right.

The fall of the Workers' Government in Saxony was the result of the weakness of the Left Social Democrats, who did not understand what the Communist Ministers proclaimed—that the only basis of a Workers' Government can be the force of the working class (just as the only basis of a capitalist Government is the force of the capitalist class).

But the eyes of the workers are now opened, and in the depths of the masses the United Front is preparing for the coming struggle.

A PRINTERS' APPEAL.

The printing workers of Germany have issued an appeal to those of Britain which should also arrest members of the craft in South Africa.

"German heavy industry," it says, "has given up parliamentary methods, and is in undisguised alliance with the Fascisti. Their attack is coming now, at once . . . .

"We are engaged in a desperate defensive struggle, and to win it we need your help . . . .

"Printers, compositors, typographers! The White Guard government that we are going to fight will try to get German bank notes printed in Britain. You must stop them—these notes will be used to crush us, the printing workers and all the workers of Germany.

"Comrades! YOU CAN STOP THE SPREADING OF LIES ABOUT THE GERMAN WORKERS. We are starving now—but the British papers say nothing. If we German workers take power, the papers will be full of lies about us and our workers' government. You can stop this.

"Remember! bank notes will pay those who shoot us down; lies will persuade the British troops and navy to help starve us. In this struggle we ask for active and energetic help from all of you."

A RAILWAYMEN'S APPEAL.

The International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers have also issued an appeal to all railwaymen and transport workers on road or sea. On behalf of the German transport workers, and particularly the railwaymen, they ask that:

Not a pinch of powder, not a single carload of soldiers shall go to aid the German capitalists.

"The ten-hour day and coolie wages in Germany," their appeal runs, "MEANS THE TEN-HOUR DAY AND COOLIE WAGES ALL OVER EUROPE.

"We appeal direct to the rank and file transport workers: Comrades, if your leaders fail, start action from below and force unity!

"At junctions, ports, and manufacturing centres, set up workers' organisations to PREVENT THE TRANSPORT OF TROOPS AND WAR MATERIAL TO GERMANY.

(Continued at foot of next column.)

German Famine Relief.

We have been asked to publish, as we gladly do, the following notice of a meeting to be held this (Friday) afternoon, and trust that all our readers whose eye this reaches in time will attend:—

2, Trades Hall,
Rissik Street.
Johannesburg,
10th Dec., 1923.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Recent news from Germany, confirmed by a cablegram in last Friday's "Rand Daily Mail," makes it clear that that country, and particularly the German working class, has, almost suddenly, been plunged into a state of terrible famine, MORE SERIOUS, IT IS ESTIMATED, THAN EVEN THE RUSSIAN FAMINE OF 1921, and this not through the workers' own fault but largely that of their rulers both home and foreign.

Within the past month or so a world-wide famine relief movement has been set on foot by the International Workers' Relief Organisation of Berlin, and we feel strongly that AS A MATTER OF HUMANITY AND SOLIDARITY the people of South Africa, and especially its working class and liberal elements, are called upon to undertake their share in the movement by organising collections, etc., among the more prosperous sections of the community.

With a view to considering the steps to be taken we have ventured to constitute ourselves into a convening committee for the purpose of inviting, as we do, all those in sympathy, whether connected with the Labour movement or otherwise, and whether in an official, representative or individual capacity, to attend a meeting at the OFFICE OF THE S.A. ENGINE DRIVERS' AND FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, 2, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG, ON FRIDAY NEXT, DECEMBER 14th, AT 5.30 P.M. SHARP, and we trust that you will make a special effort to attend.

Yours faithfully,

R. TENNENT (S.A.A.E.D. & F.A.).
IVAN L. WALKER (S.A. Typo. Union).
C. B. TYLER (B.W.I.U.).
J. M. HUME (A.E.U.).

In this connection we notice the following in the "S.A. Review":

"We want the good people behind the 'Feed the Starving Poor of Germany' movement to enlighten us as to the countless millions hoarded away by Stinnes and other multi-millionaires. We want Professor Bohle, Dr. Hamman, Mr. F. W. Reitz, the Rev. J. G. de Bruyn and the Messrs. Battenhausen to explain to us to what extent they (the Stinnes' vultures) are to be made to disgorge for the relief of their own starving 'nationals.'

"Surely this is the first 'movement' required!"

If our contemporary means that it is up to the capitalists to feed their victims, we agree. that is the crux of the whole class position in all other countries no less than Germany, and is no reason for withholding efforts such as the above in the meantime: on the contrary this movement, by helping their victims, is also calculated in the long run to weaken the victimisers.

"In your hands lies the power to bring the plans of the capitalists to nought."

A CLARION CALL FROM RUSSIA.

The fourth session of the All Russian Council of Trade Unions has adopted a resolution calling on the sister organisations of France, of Britain, of Czecho-Slovakia, of Poland, of Jugo-Slavia, of Roumania, and of Italy not to let the bourgeoisie of their respective countries strangle the German revolution.

"The workers of all countries," it says, "bear a great responsibility in face of the German revolution. It must never be forgotten that THE CRUSHING OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY THE DEATH OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION; and then would come such a spread of Fascist terrorism as WOULD THROW THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN ALL COUNTRIES RIGHT BACK FOR MANY DECADES.

"To defend the German revolution is, for the workers of all countries, TO DEFEND THEMSELVES against future disaster. The workers of every country must prepare their organisations for struggle, and be ready for the sacrifices they must make to help the German workers in their fight."

WHY NOT GIVE YOUR PRINTING ORDERS TO THE I.S.L. PRESS?

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, S. P. Bunting.)
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Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1923. No. 396.

Nothing Fails Like Failure.

Last week we published an article on the series of failures which constituted General Smuts public career to date. The article was written a week too soon. For the effect of the most recent events oversea is, among other things, to reduce Smuts' trumpeted visit to Europe, his "great speech" on European affairs, and his alleged achievements in the direction of Imperial preference (that's all isn't it?) to so much waste time and waste paper, and to add to the list of his miscarriages one more which, being on the "Great World" scale this time, must therefore be reckoned as the most ghastly of them all. Hailed as the "greatest statesman of our time," his proposed "conference" (the only point, and a humdrum and hackneyed one at that, in the said great speech) came to naught before even the speech was printed. His preference schemes, with expected armfuls of Christmas boxes for the wine, fruit and crayfish bosses of South Africa, have been upset like an apple-cart, and "experts" are now speculating only whether any of the wares are still marketable. His world-shaking statesmanship has shaken Baldwin's Government out of office, leaving Poincare more secure than ever, and more, it has brought into practical politics the possibility of the "Imperial Government" being in the hands of a Labour Party. What a particularly silly figure to cut! From his point of view, what a series of clattering catastrophes!

And on this record a banquet is being given to the returned "victor" in the Town Hall of Johannesburg! That there is some fear of yet another fiasco is proved by the fact that the mining houses are giving hundreds of guinea tickets away to their friends, while in order to give a "national" character to the occasion Labour leaders are being implored to attend, even exclusion of "politics" from the proceedings being offered as an inducement!

A banquet, with thousands workless and starving! A "triumph," with a country going "blacker and blacker" (that is, the workers' standard going poorer and poorer), his own Government Department leading the way! A hero, daring to stand rampant, insolent, on the field he has himself stricken and drenched with blood! A welcome, to the darling of his country's real enemies, whose "following" can be counted by the hundreds of police who have to guard his abhorred person from the indignation of the people! "Conspuez" Smuts!

"Wonderful, Counsellor . . ."

"And the government shall be upon his shoulders."

"A WONDERFUL ORGANISATION; A STRICT AND IRON DISCIPLINE; AN INCESSANT STRIVING AFTER THE CREATION OF A NEW MENTALITY IN THE PEOPLE"—these are the main impressions of Soviet Russia formed by Mevr. A. Wegerif, who visited the recent Moscow exhibition with a view to introducing a handicraft industry for which she has become famous in Holland, and an interview with whom is published by the eminently bourgeois Amsterdam paper "De Telegraaf." She describes how in that heterogeneous population of 160 millions a new society is developing; how the strong hand of a powerful organisation, ordering and managing everything from a centre, is untiringly creating a new Russia; and how this process was exemplified in the Exhibition itself, especially in those two outstanding problems of Russia today, the housing question and agriculture. The conversion within two months of a piece of waste land by the river, formerly an outfall site, into the imposing lay-out of the exhibition itself (in the foreign section of which the largest exhibits were the English and the German, especialy of agricultural machinery) proves that the Soviet Government knows HOW TO GET THINGS DONE and how to organise in a truly masterful manner, giving an impression of a sleepless, almost a feverish POWER OF WORK, coupled with a systematic well thought-out and enthusiastic effort on the part of the present leaders of the people to develop and educate the masses and RAISE THEIR PLAN AND STANDARD OF LIFE TO A HIGHER LEVEL. This was seen too in the provision of lecturers and guides who conducted the visitors in groups from exhibit to exhibit explaining everything—for it was above all an educational exhibition rather than, like so many, a collection of side shows and amusements, although here too scientific lectures were interspersed with first-rate musical and dramatic performances and displays of folk-dances. The supreme lesson taught was for the younger people, that UPON THEIR KNOWLEDGE, THEIR HARD WORK, THEIR GOODWILL, THEIR ENERGY DEPENDED THE WELFARE AND THE FUTURE OF THE NEW RUSSIA. Nor was physical culture and cleanliness forgotten. There were gymnastic displays in which thousands of young people from 12 to 18 years old took part, not heavily dressed according to the old Russian tradition, but suitably to their activities; while the fatherly care of the Government is also shown in the already largely successful national campaign for the suppression of dirt and vermin. As for public safety, says Mevr. Wegerif, a visitor is far more secure from molestation in the streets of Moscow than in the most fashionable streets of Berlin in its palmiest days.

Here then is another testimony, confirming what "partisans" have reported, from a visitor who, previously at least, whatever she may think now, was anything but a political sympathiser of Soviet Russia.

Ho, Mr. Policeman!

Ho! Mr. Policeman, you who really think you are a public benefactor. Just a word with you!

Can you answer us this?

If you can, and still remain what you are, you are a rogue, and we'll have nothing further to do with you.

If you have never considered what we are going to ask you, now is your chance. No one knows better than you that pleading ignorance cuts no ice.

In the first place, you say you serve the people; and who are the people?

Allow us to inform you, Mr. Kop, you serve the people "Nothing," except of course smacks on the head.

The people are that huge mass that have had everything pinched from them already; so do not need anyone to look after that which they haven't got.

Then whom do you guard and what are you looking after?

On your beat you can't help seeing the misery of the people of this town, who are living in hovels that pigs would be ashamed to live in, and are eating food or rather muck that any decent dog wouldn't sniff at.

This is the lot of the people, the workers, who have worked untiringly to make this country an orchard, abounding with all the luscious fruits one can think of, and you, Bobbie, are on guard in this orchard keeping the people starving, and if they ask for the veriest taste of the things they produce, you shoot them.

You are a tool in the hands of the biggest gang of thieves and murderers that has ever been known, and what do you get for your trouble?

Nothing but the curses of the people, whom you keep oppressed, and the kicks from your masters when you ask for something more than husks. SEE your brother policemen in Melbourne, who were recently shot down because they refused to allow their herders to take more away from the little they got.

Fellow! you come from the workers, you are of the workers.

Your children are looking for jobs they can't get; are you going to help murder them by starvation or worse?

We are sick of our continual misery and we hope you are.

We want your help. We need it now. It is your hope as well as ours to gaol these thieves.

You must organise with us. Line up in the big stunt to down the robbers of Human Life.

Forward into one union and one solid front for the Workers' Commonwealth.

Drawn up by the Benoni Branch of the Young Communist League, and published by the National Executive Committee, Y.C.L., P.O. Box 7599, Johannesburg.

An Obsolete Issue.

The alleged issue of the British elections, never too engrossing for the working class, and least of all for the working class of the "dominions," is now disposed of. The pretence was put forward that the proposed "protection" policy aimed at protecting the English "higher standard of life" against the "lower standard" of other competing countries. If that was the point, charity might well begin in those colonies or dominions of the British Empire itself which depend for their "prosperity" on "lower standard" labour. As, however, Britain's "wealth" is largely contributed by this cheap labour, to exploit which thousands of millions of British capital are exported, that would never have done at all. And if you leave the labour of the colonies, or of Germany, at coolie level, where is the sense of pretending to counteract its effects by tariffs?

As a matter of fact, the "British" standard of wages is by no means the highest. The British motor-builder gets £3 a week to the American's £12; the Norfolk farm labourer gets 25/- (confirmed by Ramsay Macdonald's "settlement") to the £3 earned by the peasant of Denmark. Baldwin indeed resisted all attempts to "protect" these English standards up to that foreign level, or even to equalise lower English standards up to higher English standards. Of course he did. Who ever heard of a capitalist party fighting for higher wages? On the contrary, it will always protect sweating, at home as well as throughout the Empire, whether it flies the Free Trade or Protectionist flag. Both these aim at protecting, not the British workman, but the British employer, profiteer and landlord against him.

The voting showed not a victory for "Free Trade" so much as a general refusal to be fobbed off with such a disingenuous and irrelevant controversy in an age when everyone, more or less, has some inkling at least of the impending fall of capitalism itself.

The Real Heart of France.

One of the French towns recently visited by M. Poincare for his weekly war memorial oration was Nevers. Here, ignoring the dissuasions of reformist leaders, the rank and file of the workers turned out en masse to voice their disapproval, and violently hooted the official procession, with its armed police escort. The local troops too, evidently not loyal enough to be trusted to line the route, were confined to barracks, but as the cortege passed by there were heard from behind the barrack walls, loud enough for all concerned to hear, the voices of the soldiers singing the "Internationale." Later in the day an open-air mass meeting of the opposition was arranged. The police prohibited it, and bayonets barred all the approaches. It was held elsewhere, and then a procession of 1,500 persons, headed by a red flag, repaired to the war memorial, defiled a few moments before by the presence of Poincare, and laid on it, under the nose of the gendarmes, a wreath inscribed "To those who died for a cause which was not theirs."

Mystery or History?

MILESTONES IN THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

Capitalism, having no philosophy of modern history, resorts to magic, religion or superstition to explain it. The "Star" sees in the British election only a "mystery"—an act of God as it were, "God" being a convenient name, like Mesopotamia, for anything you don't understand, and so being credited, for instance, with the creation of the world or the Japanese earthquake.

ACCORDING TO COCKER.

There is nothing mysterious about the British situation at all. For the first time in English history, we are told, no party has a majority. What does that mean? That capitalism breeds its own dissolution, of which THIS DEADLOCK IS A NORMAL SYMPTOM. The same position has already been reached long ago in Germany, and it will soon be reached in this country too.

"THROUGH DEMOCRACY TO DICTATORSHIP."

If these thieves did not fall out it is doubtful whether the working class would ever come into its own. Of course the Labour Party's 191 seats are far from representing the imminence of that consummation. But experience has shown that wherever imperialism and bourgeois ideas have been so rubbed in by generations of capitalist "education" as to become part of the blood of even the most oppressed elements of the working class, the path of that class to victory leads through a stage of "Social Democracy" with all its weaknesses, its snobbery, its compromises, its treacheries. It was for that reason that the Comintern years ago advised British Communists to drop "childish" Utopianism and assist the Labour Party to power as rapidly as possible, not merely in order the more quickly to convince the workers of its futility, but because HISTORY POINTED NO OTHER WAY BUT THROUGH THAT NECESSARY WILDERNESS, even though it last, as in Germany, close on the Biblical forty years.

IS LABOUR GOING LEFT?

It may be said that the gain of 50 or so Labour seats means only that the Labour Party has become more "respectable," not that it has advanced leftwards. Certainly a Labour leader photographed with a golf stick, AS MUCH AS TO SAY "AFTER ALL I AM A GENTLEMAN," or a "future Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer" (as Winston Churchill called his successful opponent) who runs a slap-up motor car with a smart chauffeur in uniform, and a town and country establishment, suggests justifiable misgivings, as does also the elimination, notwithstanding an increased total vote for the C.P., of all Communist members of Parliament.

THE TWILIGHT OF THE SNOBS.

But this election showed another phenomenon "for the first time in history." What was called "rowdyism" and "hooliganism" was really the expression of what is no longer a staid choice of policy but a PASSIONATE HATRED AND CONTEMPT on the part of the masses of the British workers for the insolent pretensions of the British ruling class. In particular, the singling out for "tweaking" of "titled" persons, including even the "Labour" Countess of Warwick, showed that "for the first time in history" THE ENGLISHMAN DEARLY HATES A LORD. Even the agricultural labourers, on whose bucolic support the reaction has (not creditably to its claims to intelligence) hitherto reckoned, have learnt this time to vote against "the squire and his relations" (especially the new-rich), while "townees" plucked up courage to mimic Mr. Chamberlain's monocle to his face. Snobbery, the curse of Labour M.P.'s, is visibly decaying among their constituents, and the outlook is good for a cry of "CONSPUEZ" THE KING HIMSELF when even London goes red.

A SMACK IN FASCISM'S FACE!

Capitalism, which says Labour cannot rule, is beginning to show in England too that it itself cannot rule. And while it has resorted in consequence to Fascism in Italy, Spain and Germany, this election perhaps amounts to a blow (following significantly hard on the Ludendorff fiasco) to the hope of Fascism in Britain. The "disappointed middle class" which has bowed to a Fascist dictatorship elsewhere veers in England rather to "Labour," to which even the bourgeois parties now fawningly proffer "reasonable support": indeed IF THERE IS A FASCIST PERIL IN ENGLAND IT MUST PERHAPS BE LOOKED FOR IN THE LABOUR PARTY ITSELF. But if so, the dissolution of that party, necessary to real working class emancipation, will only be accelerated.

FOR REALISTS, NOT FOR UTOPIANS.

Thus the setting and conditions, without which revolution is impossible, are seen grouping themselves in the correct and expected direction. While those pedants who see only betrayal in supporting any candidate except one exactly conformable to their own views are disappointed, we who think NOT OF WHAT "WOULD BE" BUT OF WHAT "WILL BE" under Socialism, and who are prepared to support whatever movement or party, even a bourgeois or agrarian one, for the time being most effectively threatens "the existing social and political order of things," can see in the British Conservative failure and Labour Party success, as we hope to see in the success of the Nat-Lab pact in this country, a distinct milestone on the road to the social revolution.

CRY "HAVOC!"

"Stability," so far from being desirable, is reactionary under capitalism, whether in the form of a "Labour Government" or otherwise. The political instability of the reaction is as good an omen in Britain and South Africa as anywhere else. A Nat-Lab Government, for instance, will be entirely unstable—ALL THE BETTER; and all the more backward those Cape Labour politicians who loudly repudiate the "pact" because they "have nothing in common with" the Nationalists. The greatest asset of the revolutionary movement in South Africa at this juncture is the Pact, notwithstanding that its senior partner has no virtues whatever except anti-imperialism, while the junior partner violently disclaims even that (and the test will come when the Prince of Wales, Smuts' last card, arrives: TO CHEER OR TO BOYCOTT). But the pact, having served the immediate purpose, will lead to more deadlocks, more splits, more elections, more "trouble." So be it, until the rotten capitalist edifice finally collapses.

WORLD INTERDEPENDENCE.

Moreover, these overseas affairs interest us not only by way of comparison but because we in South Africa are not a watertight compartment. To think of the revolution in South Africa by itself is fanciful. The whole world moves simultaneously, and though we play our part here never so bravely, the COMMUNIST SOLUTION OF OUR PROBLEMS, especially those arising out of the present incongruity of white and black labour, absolutely POSTULATES GREAT CHANGES ABROAD. In South Africa white labour still cheerfully scabs, it seems, on black strikers, as for instance last week in the Durban fisheries. Black labour, for want of any connection with the world labour movement, still regards all whites, whether capitalists or workers, as enemies, and is encouraged by the former to scab on the latter, though admittedly it can hardly help itself. And while the approximation of white to black standards proceeds apace, yet the gulfs may still be unbridgeable without European example, although action here is also necessary to make that example possible in its turn. Only a world movement will have the effect of convincing all concerned in this country that the TRUE DIVISION IS NOT ONE OF BLACK AND WHITE STANDARDS but of the capitalist imposed standard and the workers' own standard, with all that each involves.

THE MARCH OF HISTORY.

The Labour movement is not merely a case of revenge on oppressors. That melodramatic, bioscope motive is present of course, especially to-day when not only can the masters no longer feed their slaves but they are, as in Germany, deliberately trying to starve them out. But the real reason why the workers must overthrow their oppressors is because the oppressors CAN NO LONGER FUNCTION, EVEN AS OPPRESSORS. It is almost an impersonal matter. Capitalist "property relations have become so many fetters. They have to be burst asunder: they are burst asunder." The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The great fact in the march of history to-day is the actual overthrow of the oppressors in Soviet Russia. The value of that fact is more appreciated now than ever. And Soviet Russia is not the end but only the beginning.

Die-Hard Religion.

"Why do they continue to live," asks Hermann Gorter, "these old religions, when the old conditions of production have given place to new? The answer is not difficult. Firstly, the old means of production do not die all at once. In previous centuries this dying process took place with extreme slowness, and even now, when the old technique is being pushed aside so rapidly by the great industries, a long time will pass before small production will disappear. Consequently there will be enough space for the old religion for a long time to come. Secondly, the human spirit and mentality displays itself in inertia. Even when the body finds itself in new working conditions the mind adapts itself only with the amount of quickness that is absolutely necessary, to the new forms. Tradition exercises great pressure on the brains of environment. There are two people in the same factory, with the same requirements, with the same poverty oppressing them, and yet one is a dull weak creature who will hear nothing of struggle, who cannot liberate himself mentally, and who follows the clergy in religion, in politics, in trade unions. The other, full of life, thinks constantly of the struggle; he speaks, he agitates, he incites others. 'Neither God nor Capitalism,' that is his solution."

Class Struggle Through History.

"The history of all societies up to now has been the history of class war," wrote Marx in 1848 in the "Communist Manifesto" (and Engels added later: "except the history of primeval society"). "Free men and slaves, patricians and plebeans, barons and serfs, guild citizens and journeymen, in short, oppressors and oppressed have always stood in opposition to one another, have carried on an uninterrupted struggle, at times open, at times concealed; a fight which invariably ended with a revolutionary reformation of the whole society, or with the common decay of both fighting classes. In earlier epochs of history we find almost everywhere a complete stratification of society into various classes, a multitudinous graduation of social positions. In ancient Rome we see patricians, plebeians, knights, slaves; in the middle ages—feudal lords, vassals, guild citizens, journeymen, serfs; and within almost all of these classes a still further graduation. The modern bourgeois society which has arisen out of the decay of feudal society has not annulled class antagonisms. It has only replaced the old classes by new ones, created new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, however, is distinguished by having simplified class antagonisms. The whole of society splits up more and more into two large hostile camps, into two large classes directly antagonistic to one another: bourgeoisie and proletariat . . ."

A Glimpse at Southern Russia.

(By W. H. Andrews.)

I.

Although shorn of some of its most valuable provinces, Russia-in-Europe is still a big country and contains a variety of races and climates. A modest journey from Moscow to the Crimea and back through the Eastern Ukraine demonstrated that fact to me. One found even second-class railway travelling very comfortable, there being more room than in the same class in South Africa, partly owing to the larger size of the coaches and also to the fact that there are only four berths in a compartment. The trains run exceedingly smoothly and to time. The arrangements for refreshments either in the dining cars or at the stations by the way are ample, and the food good and reasonable in price. The fare from Moscow to Sebastopol, a distance about equal to the Johannesburg-Capetown run, is just under £2.

As one approaches the city of Kharkov the typical north and central Russian scenery gives place to wide flat stretches of veld unbroken by trees or fences but relieved at intervals by large peasant villages which stretch for miles along the banks of the streams. The houses and buildings in these communes are primitive—wood with thatched roofs sometimes plastered outside as well as inside; but as one proceeds south the type of dwellings tends to improve.

The church is a distinctive feature of all villages. Sometimes there are more than one, and rising above the humble homes of the peasants, with trees surrounding them, they add a touch of the picturesque to the rather sordid surroundings. Food appears to be plentiful here, fruit of all kinds, including grapes and vast quantities of water-melons, and good white bread. Cooked chickens are brought to the wayside stations by the peasant women and children, and amusing incidents are frequent in the process of bargaining without the medium of a common language.

Around Alexandrovsk the colouring and general appearance of the country resembles the South African veld in mid-winter—minus the kopjes. The train runs through one vast brown plain which stretches away to the horizon unbroken by a tree or the slightest undulation. These are the steppes, the region of cattle and horses.

PEREKOP AND THE CRIMEA.

Approaching the Crimean isthmus late in the evening everyone was straining to obtain a view of the famous field where the heroic Red Army hurled itself against the almost impregnable fortifications of the Wrangel lines which barred the entrance to the Crimean peninsula. The actual scene of the fighting was further to the west; however, the salt marshes and morasses could be seen similar to those through which the Soviet troops plunged amid the storm of shot and shell, shouting "Give up the Crimea," and hurled themselves in endless waves against the most perfect field defences that French military science could construct. Time after time they were beaten back with hideous slaughter, but at last Budenny's cavalry found a weak spot and poured through it in an irresistible flood, hewing right and left at the White assassins of the workers' republic; and then the human dam broke and the Reds pursued them remorselessly to Sebastopol and drove them into the awaiting British and other transports. Many a comrade in Moscow, the Crimea and Odessa has told me the story of how the flower of the Communists were mown down in the preliminary frontal attacks, but no battle of the whole war is so exultingly alluded to as Perekop, which gave the Crimea to the Soviets and procured a breathing space for the tortured Russian workers and peasants.

Sebastopol was reached in the early morning, and here one was surrounded by the evidences and memories of an older fight, the Crimean war of 1854-6. The old town and harbour is much as it was then, and driving towards Yalta through the mountainous scenery of the celebrated peninsula one sees, as in the district round Ladysmith, monuments to various regiments and generals which mark the scenes of the old battles around the town. Amid fine mountain scenery the road winds until on topping a final ridge the blue expanse of the Black Sea bursts into view. A church perched on a jutting promontory shows up surpassingly beautiful against the azure background, and we descend on the other side by a wonderful road to Yalta, past chateaus, mansions and pleasure palaces built by the Czars, princes and nobles of old Russia.

RUSSIAN WORKERS AT PLAY.

The climate here is almost semi-tropical, and thousands of Russian working men and women are bathing and enjoying their annual release from field, office, factory and workshop. Russian, Tartar, Greek and all the nations of the Black Sea coast are here, and the buildings, climate and general atmosphere are as foreign to the conventional conception of Russia as Naples is to London. It is particularly attractive to a South African, for the mountains, the town and its inhabitants are strangely like those of the Muizenberg-Simonstown coast, but on a grander scale.

The weather is glorious, and amid the vine-covered hills the air of holiday-making is quite unexpected in view of the tremendous crisis from which the country has so lately emerged, and the struggle which still engages it. The best hotels, sanatoria, and pleasure palaces are occupied either by workers on holiday or by Soviet institutions. Everyone is gaily dressed and in festive mood, and with a few comrades we sit on the verandah of the Centralia Hotel round a samovar and drink in the charming scenery and tea at the same time.

We drive along a road on the mountain's side in queer little four-wheeled lorries with padded deck (the common mode of locomotion here) to the botanical gardens, which were established by one of the Czars. Here are gigantic cork trees and hundreds of specimens of such trees as will thrive in this temperate climate.

(To be continued.)

Problems of the German Revolution.

By G. Zinoviev in "Inprekorr."

In Germany the working class forms the numerically decisive power. The German proletariat holds the fate of its country in its own hands. WHY THEN HAS POWER REMAINED IN THE HANDS OF THE BOURGEOISIE up to now?

THE MASSES ON THE FENCE.

In the year 1918/19, only a minority of the German workers followed Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. And at the opposite pole, IT WAS ONLY A MINORITY OF THE GERMAN WORKERS WHO FOLLOWED THE BLOODHOUND Noske. The main mass, the kernel of the German proletariat, stood irresolute. This kernel—the real mass of the workers—sought peaceful paths. This "middle" mass, which in reality determined the course of the struggle, did not want civil war at that time, it feared the revolution, it calculated upon being able, gradually but surely, to improve its position by legal methods—through the trade unions, through universal suffrage, through the Social Democratic Party—and to secure itself its piece of bread and its work on peaceful lines.

The Spartacists, the vanguard of the workers, were numerically still very weak in the year 1919. The prestige of the Spartacists was extremely great among the working people in the years 1918-19. Many of even the average workers tacitly recognised the courage of the Spartacist minority, and their splendid loyalty to the cause of the working class, for it was the Spartacists who received the cruellest blows of the counter-revolution, and who steadfastly pursued their object of DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS. But although the Spartacists were accorded the respect due to them, still THEY WERE NOT FOLLOWED. The body of the working class regarded the bold Spartacists with a certain degree of sympathy, but when it came to action, THEY SUPPORTED SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' SABOTAGE.

This trend of feeling in the main mass of German workers, seeking feverishly for a peaceful way out, and shrinking above all from civil war, was SKILFULLY UTILISED BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, who managed to secure a four years' pause for breath for the German bourgeoisie, from 1919 till 1923. We must not forget that in the year 1919 the German Social Democrats convened the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, and that at this Congress they succeeded in having a resolution passed DISSOLVING THE COUNCILS and transferring all power into the hands of the National Assembly.

In March of the year 1921 the Spartacist advance guard of the working class again joined battle. The Communist advance guard attempted to replace the main body of the working class by itself alone, since at that time the main body was almost exclusively under the influence of Social Democracy, and permitted itself to be kept quiet by the counter-revolutionary dope and foolish hopes of the Social Democracy. And once again there were many German workers who looked on with increasing sympathy whilst the daring revolutionists received once more the blows of counter-revolution. But once again these courageous few received NO SUPPORT FROM THE MAIN BODY OF THE WORKERS. The avant garde had ADVANCED TOO EARLY and was beaten back.

THE C.P.'S PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS.

At the present juncture, everything depends upon whether Social Democracy will again succeed in saving the German bourgeoisie, if only for a short time. THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THIS TIME IT WILL NOT SUCCEED.

The lesson has not been in vain.

The German Communist Party, aided by the Third World Congress of the Comintern, has been able to correctly estimate the errors of the past. THE QUESTION OF INSURRECTION, OF IMMEDIATE FIGHTING FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER, WAS SET ASIDE IN THE YEAR 1921, and the accomplishment of another task was immediately resolved upon: THE CONQUEST OF THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKERS.

The German Communist Party has solved the problem set it by the Third World Congress. Or it is at least not far distant from its solution. The German Communists have conquered the Factory Council movement, and this, as we shall subsequently see, plays to a great extent in present-day Germany THE ROLE WHICH WAS PLAYED IN RUSSIA BY THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' COUNCILS (SOVIETS). In more than 2,000 towns in Germany, in the most important industrial centres, the Factory Councils movement is exclusively under the influence of the German C.P.

The German C.P. can also record great advances in the trade unions, although it has not yet gained control of the trade union apparatus, and it is probable that it will not do so until after the victory of the Proletarian Revolution. During the great strike in August, 1923, which overthrew the Cuno Government, the political leadership was entirely in the hands of the Communists. The leaders of the strike movement in Berlin (where about 800,000 workers went on strike), belonged for the most part to the C.P. of Germany. In another important German centre, Hamburg, the Strike Committee was composed of 5 Communists, 2 Left Social Democrats, and a Revolutionary Syndicalist.

SPLIT IN THE S.D.P.

At the illegal Factory Council Congresses held in Stuttgart, Berlin, and dozens of other towns, hundreds of workers, still formally members of the Social Democratic Party, conspired with the Communists against their own leaders, and surely this is sufficient proof that though these workers still call themselves Social Democrats in obedience to tradition, IN REALITY THEY ARE ALREADY OUR COMRADES. And when many thousands of Social Democratic workers join forces with Communist workers—against the will of their own leaders—for the formation of proletarian "Hundreds" (THE GERM OF THE RED GUARD); when hundreds and thousands of workers "belonging" to the S.P.D. JOIN FORCES WITH US, and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, declare a political strike in contradiction to the resolutions of the S.P.D., then all this proves that the time is not far distant when a considerable section of the Social Democratic workers will finally break with their counter-revolutionary leaders, and follow the Communists unreservedly.

THE "LEFT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS" DANGER.

And the differences of opinion and beginnings of a split between the Right and "Left" Social Democrats—how are these to be estimated?

The appearance of a "Left" undercurrent in the S.P.D. is naturally of immense importance as a symptom. The "Left" S.P.D. REFLECTS IN A DISTORTED FORM THE REVOLUTIONARY SENTIMENT spreading among the broadest masses of the German proletariat. But this is only a symptom. Should the so-called "Left" leaders of the S.P.D. really seriously entertain the idea of playing an independent political part, this might prove a tremendous source of danger for the German Revolution, IT MIGHT EVEN SPELL DISASTER for it. As soon as these gentlemen enter into a Revolutionary Government, they are perfectly certain to try and convert it into a debating society at some decisive moment. When the moment comes for iron dictatorship and determined action, they will be found vigorously applying the brake to the Revolutionary Government. Too much "support" on the part of the "Left" German Social Democrats might prove fatal for the Proletarian Revolution. Left Social Democracy is one of the last delusions of a considerable section of German workers. One of the most important prerequisites for the success of further decisive action on the part of the Communists consists in the ability to HELP THIS SECTION TO RID ITSELF OF ITS ILLUSIONS. It would be a piece of sorry political cowardice to avoid the risk run by the entry of Communists into the Saxon Government. None the less it would be childish to fail to recognise the ENORMOUS POLITICAL DANGERS involved in this experiment.

WE REFUSE TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH A "UNITED FRONT" WHICH OBLITERATES THE REAL TASKS OF REVOLUTION. The main task of the C.P. of Germany consists in convincing the majority of the German workers, by means of actual deeds, that the Communist Party of Germany is NO LONGER A MERE VANGUARD of the working class—as in the years 1919/21—but is beginning to carry the mass of the workers along with it.

[The events which have occurred in Saxony since the writing of this article, involving the dispersal of the Communist-Socialist Government and the formation of a Right wing Social Democrat Government, serve to justify the warning given by Comrade Zinoviev as to the vacillating nature of the so-called Left wing Social Democratic leaders, and will certainly facilitate the desirable process of disillusioning the minds of the Social Democrat workers.—Ed., "Inprekorr."]

In the Clutches of the Jvalgiba.

THE LITHUANIAN SECRET SERVICE.

By a Member of the Lithuanian Y.C.L.

For the first time the workers of Lithuania (where all Labour organisations have been broken up) were just making ready to celebrate the International Day of Labour Youth, a day for consolidating and strengthening their ranks under the banner of the Young Communist International.

Late in the evening of August 22nd I was arrested, to the accompaniment of some very brutal treatment at the hands of the detectives, who also stole whatever they fancied of my belongings.

From the very first questions put by the searchers I guessed that my arrest was due to the discovery of our secret press.

The discovery of the printing press was likely to result in others.

Arrived at the police office, I was dragged upstairs into the presence of the chief. I was subjected to a cross-examination by him and his assistants.

Assuming a sympathetic air, the chief tried to persuade me to confess. I was young, and misled by wicked people, if I named the "real culprits" I would be released, etc. etc. The old, old police story.

I answered the question as to my name, age, etc. I said I was a Communist and would not be a traitor. I declined to answer all other questions. This aroused their fury. They hurled themselves at me, striking me with their whips and fists. They struck blindly, dragging me about the room. They hit me until they were tired. Suddenly, the police agents moved aside, and the chief, cursing brutally, approached me, put a revolver to my forehead and shouted: "I'll count six. If you don't answer my questions, I'll shoot you like a dog."

The cold muzzle was pressed against my forehead.

A voice counted sharply . . . one . . . two . . . three . . .

Farewell life, work, party!

An angry determination was aroused within me . . . I would let him have his way and shoot.

I remained mute and closed my mouth firmly. I looked straight into the eyes of my tormentors.

Five . . . six . . .

Something burst in my head, and I fell. Even as I fell, I understood that I had received a brutal blow on the head from the butt of a gun.

Next day, while I was in a state of semi-delirium, the chief of the Jvalgiba conducted me to the room of the procurator. Again I was cross-examined, this time by the procurator himself, but I met all their cunning questioning with a "I don't know; I won't tell." With a diabolical smile the attorney assured me that no harm would be done to me. I would only be sent to the frontier. Here he quickly added: "A a party man you probably know what this means. You know Kaplansky, don't you?" Gruesome cynicism. Comrade Kaplansky, on the pretext of being sent to the frontier, was shot near Murianpol in March, 1921. He was recorded in the "Jvalgiba" as "missing."

At last the attorney went out. I thought that I would now be able to rest. But no, within five minutes I was led to the chief of the Investigation Department, A. Chaplas.

On my entering his room Chaplas locked the door and slipped the key into his pocket. A revolver lay on the table. In a corner of the room stood a sabre. He deliberately went to the corner, drew the sabre out of its scabbard and came up to me.

"Well, my dear sir, let us have a little chat. Only I warn you! Answer all my questions or it will go bad with you."

"I have already stated that I would not become a traitor."

A fresh manhandling began in silence. I was beaten on the back, the neck and the chest with the blunt edge of the sabre. This went on for five minutes. Chaplas, red in the face, with bloodshot eyes, paused to take a rest. He replaced the sabre and fell to musing. Suddenly, his face distorted with fury, he dashed at me and began to beat me once more. I clenched my teeth. My strength began to leave me. I made up my mind to hold out at all costs. I know not how long this "sport" would have lasted, had not Chaplas' nose begun to bleed. He gave me a final kick and ran out of the room. I was dragged almost unconscious to a solitary chamber on the third floor and left there with two guards.

I shall not now describe the torments that followed. Let it suffice that I was led to be examined twice a day during the first five days, and each time the same thing was repeated.

(Continued at foot of next column.)

I was detained in the Jvalgiba for seventeen days before being taken to the Central Gaol at Kovno, where I still am, first in a solitary dark dungeon, then, eight days later, in the political ward. All that time I occupied a filthy room (the dirt was an inch thick), bare of furniture. There was not even a stool to sit on. The last four or five days I lived literally on water alone. An order had been given to issue to me one pound of bread a day, but my guards apparently found a better use for it.

Why Indeed?

The native king had a remarkably intelligent and clever son. The native king was also tolerably rich. The missionary had been trying for months to persuade the cute old heathen to send his son to England to be educated and trained.

"What for?" queried the black potentate.

"Why then he will easily pass through college and obtain his degree," said the missionary.

"And then?"

"Why then you could have him taught a profession—engineering for instance."

"And then?"

"Why then, with your financial assistance, he could buy a partnership or establish a business for himself."

"And then?"

"Well then," said the exasperated missionary, "he could make a lot of money, of course."

"And then?"

"Then, in time, he would perhaps be able to retire."

"Now look, O white man!" said the old king, "my son has already retired. Why go to all this trouble?"

No answer, and the ancient black warrior is still wondering if all white men are as mad as missionaries.

Ancient Wisdom.

Said Confucius (550 B.C.):

To see what is right and not to do it is want of courage.

Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue.

By nature men are nearly alike; by practice they get to be widely apart.

At first my way with men was to hear their words and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words and look at their conduct.

The superior man blushes with fear lest his words should exceed his actions.

Contemporary Critics of Revolutions.

An anonymous writer in the "Socialist Review," an I.L.P. organ, calls attention to the similarity between criticisms, now reduced by history to absurdity, of past revolutions and criticisms of the Russian revolution.

For instance, one pamphleteer, reviewing the republics of history, assures us that all are pastoral, or city communities, and, closing his eyes to the vitality of American republicanism, asserts that when Washington dies, America will become a limited monarchy. Another, seeing the violence and confusion of the French Revolution, foretells "a civil war, and, perhaps, a series of civil wars for 20 years to come, and ultimately a dismemberment of the country (which is too large to be governed in a republican mode) or a return to a monarchy of some sort." So does the wisdom of the past view the forces of evolution, the finger of God in history.

Even a statesman of the standing and reputation of Burke found it, in 1790, "not easy to determine whether she (France) could ever appear in the political system of Europe again as a leading power." He says:—

"Our present danger from the example of a people, whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from ANARCHY, a danger of being led through an admiration of successful FRAUD and VIOLENCE, to an imitation of the excesses of an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, CONFISCATING, PLUNDERING, FEROCIOUS, BLOODY, AND TYRANNICAL DEMOCRACY; on the side of religion, the danger of their example is no longer from intolerance, but from a DIRECT SYSTEM OF ATHEISM, a foul, unnatural vice, foe of all the dignity and consolation of mankind."

And again:—

"With them the question was not between despotism and liberty. The sacrifice they made of the peace and power of their country was not made on the altar of freedom. Freedom and a better security for freedom than that which they have taken, they might have had without any sacrifice at all. They brought themselves into all the calamities they suffer, not that through them THEY MIGHT OBTAIN A BRITISH CONSTITUTION; they plunged themselves headlong into those calamities to prevent themselves from settling into that constitution, or into anything resembling it."

(From this it is clear what was the crime of the French. They had not adopted what was to Britons the standard of all excellence—then the British constitution, now the capitalist system.)

These writers were mostly haunted by a common dread lest the French Revolution should be compared to the English Revolution, the corner-stone of the flawless constitution which these barbarians had slighted. Burke told Parliament:—

"He felt some concern that this strange thing called a Revolution in France should be compared with the glorious event, commonly called the Revolution in England; and the conduct of the soldiery on that occasion compared with the behaviour of some of the French troops in the present instance. At that period the Prince of Orange, a prince of the blood royal in England, was called in by the flower of the English aristocracy to defend its ancient constitution, and NOT TO LEVEL ALL DISTINCTIONS. To this prince, so invited, the aristocratic leaders who commanded the troops went over with their several corps, in bodies, as to the deliverer of their country."

As an antidote, the writer quotes Renan:—

"There are even some persons who regret that the French Revolution departed more than once from "principles," and that it was not brought about by "wise and moderate" men. Let us not impose our petty and commonplace ideas on these extraordinary movements so far above our everyday life. Let us continue to admire the "Morality of the Gospels," let us suppress in our religious teaching the chimera which was its soul; but do not let us believe that with simple ideas of happiness and individual morality, we stir the world."

"Faith," according to Renan, "is the watchword of all popular movements. It is clear that none of these movements would take place, if it were necessary that their author should gain his disciples one by one by force of logic. Reflection leads only to doubt. If the authors of the French Revolution, for instance, had had to be previously convinced by lengthened meditations, they would all have become old without accomplishing anything."

These, says the writer of the article, are the great creative forces—faith, enthusiasm, and the violence which they beget, or which, at least, they develop, if opposed. Yet these, too, are the phenomena which the belauded moderate man sneers at, fears, and hates. Worst of all, he misunderstands them. Renan clearly was no admirer of them, but he appreciated their significance, and the futility of blind opposition.

Another Failure.

Since the inception of the system of compulsory military training in New Zealand, there have been 30,000 prosecutions for "offences" which prior to the introduction of the system were not recognised as such under any code.

Many of the victims have been boys of 14.

In the official New Zealand Defence Report the admission is made that the scheme has been a failure.

"The Workers are always right" and "The Workers, right or wrong," which I proclaimed as maxims amid general disapproval during the great coal strike of 1893, have remained to me as useful guides, during all the subsequent controversies, strikes, and social disturbances. For however wrong the workers may be, they cannot possibly be as wrong as the masters, the owners, or the "people of independent means." After all my opponents are only simpler forms of Teufelsdröckh's devil: "The Curse of the Poor, in God's name and the Devil's!"—H. W. Nevinson.

Dictatorship.

(By J.M.G.)

Those persons who are blind to the significance of the chaos in capitalistic society should be in a graveyard with a tombstone planted firmly on their chest. Mental paralysis has obscured their vision to such an extent that they cannot see the writing on the wall, standing out clear and distinct, showing that our present phase of society is doomed, pointing out that it has reached a point in its development where the ruling class have to feed the starving millions. Sops to stave off the inevitable collapse are tactics that have always been resorted to in past phases of society by the ruling class and have failed, as the present efforts to save society to the capitalist class must also fail.

THE PRETENCE OF DEMOCRACY.

These mental paralytics still harp on the time-worn shibboleth of "democracy." They are so blind and obsessed with the craze of democracy that they cannot see that democratic rule has never existed and has very little hope of ever existing whilst the capitalist class are able to control political power either by insidious dope or open force.

In Europe, the dope of parliamentary action as a means of democratic control of the state, having become a menace to the capitalistic class, is being scrapped, and in its place military dictatorships are being imposed. In the past, owing to the blindness of the masses to their economic slavery, they by their votes or inaction allowed the nominees of big capitalists to have control of political power, enabling them to exercise a dictatorship that was always used against the working class when any action on their part menaced the economic power of the capitalist class.

AN OBSOLETE DOPE.

The breakdown of capitalistic production has resulted in a reduction of the measly standard of life of the working class. This standard of life was, more or less, meekly accepted in the past by the worker. The dope that has enabled the capitalist class to retain its power has become useless. There has been an awakening of the workers to a vague consciousness of their slavish status, and this has caused the ruling class to drop the pretence of democratic rule. The fear of a square deal in the parliamentary arena, placing the reins of government in the working class, has torn the mask of hypocrisy aside and revealed the brutality of the capitalists as a class.

The military dictatorship openly maintained by the capitalist class in Europe to-day, and the brutal manner in which they are using their power, are a revelation of the extent to which that class will go to maintain their stranglehold upon the economic forces to enslave the masses. Their actions reveal the hollowness of the parrot phrase "The world safe for democracy," and should open the eyes of the masses to the hopelessness of attaining salvation by the reforming tactics of the misleaders of the several parties, whither labelled Labour, Nationalist, Middle Class Unions or otherwise, who hold out promises of reform within the capitalistic system.

"EXCEPT THE BRITISH EMPIRE."

"But hold!" exclaims the Henry Dubb, "these military dictatorships may be imposed in other countries, but the British or South African Government would not do such a beastly thing, you know. Thank God we are not like those bally foreigners, so there is no fear of a military dictatorship within the British Empire; we are so democratic and sportsmanlike, you know."

The childlike simplicity of this type of individual is typical of the surface-skimming attitude taken up by the mass generally. They accept promises and phrases at their face value, unable to see the ulterior motive underlying the hypocritical promises made by the capitalist class during the war, promises endorsed by the misleaders of Labour, promises which, even if made in good faith, could not be realised in a system of society in which the many are wage slaves without the assurance of the chattel slave. He was at least assured food, shelter and clothing; this is denied to the wage slave.

FLAPDOODLE AND BOMBS.

The system of capitalistic production is the same in all countries. The capitalists within the British Empire, whether in the "Mother" Country or in the Colonies, are as keen for their pound of flesh as capitalists in any other country, and will use, and have used, drastic means to ensure that they get it. They are more slimy and hypocritical generally than those in most other countries, but there is not the least doubt that they will, when the opportune time comes, scrap all pretence of democracy, and rule with the iron hand of militarism. The miners had a sample of what to expect from these hypocritical parasites last year—a mere flea-bite of what these unctuous scoundrels will do. During the war Sir Evelyn Wallers delivered an address at Boksburg if I am not mistaken—the usual flapdoodle about humanitarianism. "No longer were the workers to be treated as cogs in the wheels of industry, in future they were to be considered as human beings," etc. The speech was such good dope that it was printed in booklet form and distributed free to all mine workers. The mine workers have had a sample of the humanitarian spirit of capitalism since the issue of the booklet. The South African Government is a dictatorship under the control of the mining magnates, and used its political power to crush the mine workers in order to ensure profits to those in control of the gold industry.

PREPARE FOR FORCE.

A military dictatorship, open and avowed, is what the working class must be prepared to face even within the British Empire, if the working class should by chance gain a majority by the ballot box. Rather than allow political power to pass out of capitalistic hands, force of the most brutal nature will be used to maintain that power. To combat the capitalist class the working class must organise industrially. To gain political power by means of the ballot box without industrial organisation to enforce the holding of the reins of government will be fatal to the working class. It will not be a peaceful surrender on the part of the capitalist class, and the working class should take no risks but get busy now, and by a class conscious organisation be able to bring pressure on the capitalist class and compel surrender of the political machinery.

WIN THE STATE.

An industrial organisation must, to be of any service to the working class, recognise that all class struggles are political struggles. The failure to recognise this fundamental principle has been fatal to working class struggles in the past. The possession of political power with control of the military, police and other machinery enables the capitalist class to enforce its will upon the masses. Whether the working class gains control of the political machinery by way of the ballot or by direct force if an opportunity should occur for doing so, the objective should be kept well in view that control of the state is essential to the working class in order to hold the power to establish a form of society based on co-operation of all the forces in human society for the benefit of each and all.

What Trades Councils Can Do.

(By Harry Pollitt, in the "Labour Monthly.")

Trades Councils are peculiarly well fitted at the present juncture for the task of Trade Union revival. Face to face with the local experience of every problem and struggle, they see in direct contact the working out of every mistake and weakness of the movement. Forced to deal with the domestic problems of the movement in every locality, they alone are in the best position to see what the present sectionalism and disunity and lack of policy mean in living practice. They are in a very much stronger position to voice the direct needs and demands of the workers than harassed officials amid the routine of a head office, unable to look outside the blinkers of their particular union. The opportunity is in the hands of the trades councils if they can see the position clearly and show the path ahead.

The First National Conference of British Trades Councils a year ago was very definitely given the cold shoulder both by the General Council and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, because they saw in this conference the nucleus of an organisation that could, if it would, definitely challenge their leadership and be responsible for a big drive forward towards the greater unity and fighting power of the whole Trade Union Movement—something that the "big men" always call for, but never work for. The general criticism levelled against this attempt of the Trades Councils, the Cinderellas of the working-class movement, was that there was no need for them to take this action, as everything was satisfactorily looked after by the General Council and the Labour Party Executive.

Since then a year has passed, every event of which has gone to confirm the correctness of the need which the Trades Councils Conference was trying to fulfil. The confusion and stagnation of the British movement has become patent to all, and the crowning exhibition of the Plymouth Trades Union Congress has revealed the helplessness of the existing official leadership even to attempt to tackle the problem. When it comes to organising a national campaign, everything has to be put on the Trades Councils. Only the Trades Councils can supply the body and the life-blood. They are also compelled to take the initiative in endeavouring to force a lead upon the central organs. The first conference did not yet succeed in getting beyond the details of a scheme of organisation to the full scope of its task in facing the immediate needs and problems of the working-class movement to-day, and in making clear its own role in relation to those problems.

A national programme must be of such a character as to rally the whole movement, and to bring into play all the forces of the movement equally on the political and the trade union side. Our aim must be to bring the whole of the working-class movement into play on the issues most urgently affecting the working class.

On all the issues that confront the working class the central need is united action which can bring the whole power of the movement into play. For this reason any programme that is to rally the working-class movement at the present point must deal with the biggest weakness of the movement—the lack of any central direction or authority. A real General Council must be established with power to direct the whole movement, and not only with power, but under responsibility to Congress to use that power and direct the movement on the lines laid down each year by Congress.

It is evident that the trend of the movement generally is towards creating a General Council with greatly increased powers. Some of the things aimed at are foreign to the average conceptions of many trade unionists. It will more and more devolve upon the Trades Council machinery to carry out the plans and campaigns of a centrally directed trade union movement, and it is because of these facts that the need for a reorganisation of the present Trades Council machinery is so necessary.

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH SOCIAL.

The Johannesburg Y.C.L. is holding an informal social on New Year's Eve (31st December), at 104, Kerk Street.

The League has been making steady progress during 1923, and at the close of this year stands in a much better position than ever before. All members of the Y.C.L. are asked to come and give the movement a good start off for 1924.

* * *

YOUNG WORKERS' SPORTING ASSOCIATION.

BOXING SECTION: Young workers are reminded of the first meeting of this section to take place at 18a, Lovers' Walk, Fordsburg, on Sunday, December 23rd, at 10 a.m.

* * *

WHAT'S WRONG WITH BOKSBURG?

The question asked in this column last week has been answered by the "East Rand Express" as follows:—

"We also had some visitors to the Park who carried their red banner with them, and pitched their camp with the banner pitched between two trees.

"'Young Communist League' was the title inscribed on the banner, with a hammer and a scythe or sickle.

"They can't hammer Communism into Boksburg, although the scythe may come in handy in cutting down any rank growth following the planting of Communistic seed."

It is pleasing to learn that "this poor plant" may possibly germinate even in the dry-as-dust atmosphere of the bourgeois quarter of "Beautiful Boksburg."

P.S.—We have not yet received the threatened summons from Councillor Baker.

"Defence Purposes."

It seems that at a Socialist Congress recently held in England a resolution was moved recognising the duty of workers to organise a democratic force for defence purposes alone. All very well if it is recognised that the force, when organised and when a Labour Government secures power in England, will be used exclusively in the struggle for the control of industry, but if this force is for the defence of the Capitalist State, it should be interesting to know why the representatives of Labour trouble themselves about it.

—"Australasian Seamen's Journal."

Candid.

Commenting on the change from Governors like Gladstone and Buxton to Prince Arthur of Connaught, the Prime Minister said: "No longer were we to be guided by gentlemen of great experience and wisdom, but our destinies were to be presided over by a member of the Royal Family."

COMRADES SAY:

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NOTE THE ADDRESS:

6, MORLEY HOUSE,

(First Floor), Cor. KERK & JOUBERT STREETS, Place your Christmas order now—don't wait for the rush.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the General Dealer's Business carried on by Israel Winer on Stand No. 93, 34, Beit Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg, has been abandoned as from the 1st December, 1923.

7/14/21.

Notice is hereby given that the business of General Dealers, carried on in co-partnership by Max Blieden, John Blieden and Louis Caplan at Eloff Station, Transvaal, under the style or firm of Blieden and Caplan, will be dissolved as from the 1st January, 1924, and that the said Business will in future be carried on by the said Max Blieden and Louis Caplan under the same style.

Eloff, 10th December, 1923.

J. BACHARACH,
Agent for Blieden and Caplan.

14/21/28.

Notice is hereby given that the General Dealer's and Tea Room Business carried on by Solomon Sachs at 10, Fox Street, Johannesburg has been transferred to Ebrahim Sally as from 1st December, 1923.

14/21/28.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the General Dealer's Business carried on by Israel Winer on Stand No. 93, 34, Beit Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg, has been abandoned as from the 1st December, 1923.

7/14/21.

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