THE INTERNATIONAL

THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

P.O. BOX 4179.

54, Fox Street, Johannesburg.

Phone 6035.

No. 199



FRIDAY, AUGUST 29, 1919.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

"The Kaiser Biffed" Again.

Judgment in the Maritzburg Case.

The Judge-President (Sir J. Dove-Wilson), the Hon. Justice Tatham and the Hon. Acting Justice Matthews at the Supreme Court. Maritzburg, upheld the, appeal of Comrades Ivon Jones and L. H. Greene. The sentence under the Riotous Assemblies Act was drop-ped, leaving only that under the Moratorium Act to be appealed against.

The judgment said they had to consider whether the publication before the Court was, in the kircumstances in which it was made, calculated to create alarm or excite public seeling of the nature to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war. In considing that, it was necessary to consider the circumstances in which the publication was made, because it was plain that if the publication had the least detrimental effect upon the proper prosecution of the war when it was made, or at a time of a serious reverse. and when the morale of the nation was impaired, it sell within the scope of the Act. If made when everything was going well with the prosecution of the war it might in those circumstances have no effect...

April of this year, at a time when active hostilities had ceased, and when in the minds of the people Germany was regarded as hopelessly beaten. . . It could have no effect upon the prosecution of the war, but merely excited public feeling in the way that public opinion was excited by the promulgation of political opinions. . .

He was bound to say with special regard to the circumstances existing at the time that he could find nothing in it which created, in his mind, either alarm or excitement, except that it labelled itself by the name of Bolshevism, but advocated nothing that one was not familiar with.

It was an attack on a social system whereby capital was employed for the purpose of making profit by means of the work of others. The system desired to be put in its place it called a "world-wide republic of labour," which appeared to be a system whereby work would be done by workers co-operating and independent of capitalists. Whilst that scheme was labelled "Bolshevism," which "meant 'labour on top,'" they went on to explain that/that was all that Bolshevism meant, and stated that the opposition to the Bolsheviks in Russia was due to the capitalists' money lent to crush the Russian people having been lost.

The successful outbreak of the workers in Russia was represented as being likely to spread to other countries, and also to South Africa. That sort of thing they were all very familiar with, and propaganda of that kind, apart from the provisions of the Act, was not in any way prohibited. The Act did not strike at free speech except where it strick against the provisions set forth, and in the circumstances. . . he could not the any contravention of the Act or regulations by the publication thereof.

It was not in his province to consider whether they were wrong in feeling that the carrying out of such propaganda to a logical conclusion would result in time in South Africa ceasing to be a place to live in for the white man, because of the predominance it would give the native worker. But that was an alarm and excitement which the propaganda would create in the mind of those

people entirely apart from whether there was a war or not; and not one of the witnesses had based his objection to the propaganda upon the ground of the effect it might have upon carrying on of the war. . . .

It was true that there was the evidence of those gentlemen who objected to the reference to British militarism, and who said it created such anger that they would possibly have indulged in violence if a suitable opportunity presented itself, but the excitement gaused, perhaps in super-excitable a individuals. could hardly be called public excitement. One did not judge that by their actions. They certainly did-nothing more than take from the native the pamphlet he was distributing, and express the view that if Mr. Greene had, handed one to them they would have insulted him, and perhaps have thrown it back in his face. That was poor evidence of such public excitement or alarm as that which the Act was intended to prevent.

With regard to the point that the pamphlet advocated armed insurrection of workers againstathe capitalists, he could hardly regard; that as' a fair reading of the document: it would appear that it advocated a totally different policy. It said in effect that the workers in Russia and Germany had to protect themselves by the shedding of their blood hecause the capitalists would sooner tear them to pieces with their cannon than allow them to rule. "Down with British Militarism: It is a weapon to erush the workers! Down with Allied intervention in Russia! Down with the capitalist class of all countries!" There was nothing in that of the nature of insurrection. The document went on to advise the workers to protect themselves from the shedding of blood by combining in their workshops as workers, not as soldiers, no matter what grade or colour. In fact it stated that the workers of Russia and Germany were suffering from trailt of organisation, and the want thereof had resulted in the shedding of blood.

Now, he had nothing to do with the intention or merits of such propaganda. He had to consider whether it struck at the Act, and he thought that in the Court below the real point at issue had been largely lost sight of, and the case had been treated as if it were a question whether Bolshevism, as expounded by the pamphlet, was an acceptable doctrine or not. That was not, he considered, the question for determination. They had heard a great deal of extraneous evidence, and there was a large quantity of the evidence inadmissible.

The Act dealt with the state of war, and what view the Court might have to take if the provisions of the Act were extended to a time of peace they did not have to consider.

The Fourth Anniversary of the International Socialist Leapue, S.A., will be colebrated on THURSDAY MEXT. Sept. 4th, at 8 p.m., at the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg. All Comrades, even these living at a distance, are urged to make bu effort to aisend this maliguration of our filly year of activity, with which coincides the comming of our Printing Fress and onlargement and new editorship of the "International." A fine programme of music, etc., is assured, but above all, with the stormy times ahead of us, it is more than ever essential that Comrades in the Socialist movement should become personally known to each other on the largest scale, and the conversazione provides an opportunity for this which should not be missed.

Tickets, 2s. 6d. (children, 1s. at the door), can be obtained at the Head Office and of Members of the Entertainment Committee.

Bandits v Bandits.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK CAMPAIGN METHODS.
APPLIED TO MEXICO.

The press and other spokesmen of American capitalists have started a systematic propaganda, of the kind we know only too well, concentrated upon preparing the ground for a speedy "intervention" in Mexican affairs.

The New York "Sun" started upon its. campaign immediately after the armistice. The "Sun" is no "wild fanatie." It has sound economic reasons to show why America should "do her duty" and do it quickly. Mexico is "enormously rich." "she is solvent." "she is a creditor nation" in current trade transactions, "the oil exports alone lasi year reached 14,000,000 dollars." "The mere commercial importance of Mexico is enough to show our vital interests in her prosperity and stimulate us to aid her in attaining stability." Last year she imported 164,470,600 dollars worth of foreign goods of which 141,157,000 came from us," etc., etc., showing what Mexico is "worth" to him who can take her.

An editorial from the Washington "Post" tells us that Mexico above described as greatly prosperous, "is in the throes of famine, revolution, and economic prostration." "Poreigners have been wronged, but not nearly as much as Mexicans. The horror of Mexico's strife has fallen upon the poor, the starving millions who would work if they could." "There is no hope for the Mexican people while they are the victims of villains of their own race. Help must come from some organised authority that is not organised robbery." "The Russians are not more sorely intimidated by the Bolsheviki than the Mexicans are intimidated by the Mexican Bolsheviki." Because of all this the Carranza Covernment must be overthrown. Francisco. Villa, either because he is really too vile to askociate with or actually too dangerous to be trusted is not a suitable tool. "But Villa's fighting quality is such that he may do much good by aiding a really intelligent and patriotic Mexican to gain control." Such a "patriotic Mexican" is found in Telipe Angeles, Villa's artillery officer. However, notice is already served upon Telipe: "The last nine years is a warning against placing too much hope upon any revolutionary movement." And the conclusion is that "the United States can not escape the performance of its duty to the Mexican people."

Mexico, says another of the Yellow press gang, is on the verge of Bolshevism, conditions in that tumultuous republic being worse to-day than ever before, according to American and British oil men who arrived here to-day on the Morro Cas to from Vera Cruz, Tampico, Progreso and Havana. April, they said, was the record month for executions—it being a period of almost whelesale slaughter.

There is a bill before the Mexican Congress, new sitting in Mexico Circ, which provides for the nationalisation of all property, according to John W. B. Milligue, a prominent American of man, who came up from Tampico.

The bandits have become so hold of late that they are even venturing into Mexico City on their raids said Mr. Milligan.

A prominent British oil man said: "If the United States would blockade Mexico for three months and not permit any foodstuffs or anything else to get in, Carranza would be forced to abdicate. The situation then could be quickly ironed out."

Buch is Democracy!!

The Concentration of Capital.

The word "profiteering" has come into vogue within the last few years. Many people use the word under the impression that it has heen recently coined to describe the patriotic behaviour of the capitalist class during the war. Profiteering, however, had its inception in the beginning of captialism, and is by no means the product of war conditions. Profit making is the motive behind production today and without the promise of profit, it has been said by economists, capital will not be invested. The flow of capital from one inrestment to a more lucrative one proves the correctness of this statement. But what is puzzling many is the intention of the British l'arliament to curtail profits.

Reform parties will give a big shout of triumph and declare a victory for Labour by reform methods. That is not the Socialist view of the matter. Last week's article showed the pressure forcing the legislation; this week it must be pointed out how the capitalist class have taken a long forward stride and are following their evolutionary course.

The capitalist mode of production called into existence in its early stages three forms of capital--sinancial, industrial and commercial. As the system developed a tendency towards a fusing together of these sections began to show itself. In different countries the order of concentration has been different. In England financial and industrial capital have become so closely interwoven that it is well. nigh impossible to distinguish them. Side by side with this concentration, the commercial element of England has remained practically untouched, but to-day its death knell is sounding. Capitalism; following its evolutionary course, is about to concentrate all the levers of production and exchange into lewer hands. In fact the process has already commenced.

The curtailment of the selling price of commodities as fixed by the anti-profiteering Bill will make it unprofitable for present commercial capitalists to carry on business. Their existence as a class has only been due to the competition between industrial capitalists and their anxiety to convert the products of labour into the medium of exchange as quickly as possible. That anxiety still exists, but the amalgamation of industrial capital, and the heavy taxation to be levied on industry in the future, will enable and compel the industrial capitalists to retain the whole of the surplus value created by labour. The industrial capitalists hold the key and they will not part with their share of the profits when there is no necessity for it.

Commercial capitalists will no doubt ondeavour to secure stocks from other countries, but they will find themselves fighting larger and more privileged capital in the form of industrial interests extended into the commercial sphere.

The amalgamation of capitalist political parties, and the investing by industrial magnates in the field of commerce, point to the gathering of strength for the impending truggle. On the other hand the petty trading interests, realising their position, are organising in unions, and have commenced to permeate certain political labour parties in England with the object of gaining the support of labour.

We as Socialists know that in that struggle commercial capital will sucoumb. The result will have tremendous effects on the working class movement. The concentration of capital will be the clearing of the field for the struggle between capital and labour, which will follow immediately or perhaps simultaneously if the workers are class conscious before the conflict between industrial and commercial capital takes place.

W.J.C.G.

of the terms gaining prominence in the trade unions. Barmining with whom? Why, with the people whe are exploiting them. The lamb largaining with the wolf to determine what part of the lamb's carcase the wolf shall feed on.—"Weekly People."

Educaling for Work.

We are often told that Socialism is simply an appeal to the won't works and loafers. But it is just this class that Russia's Sociallist Constitution has distranchised. And what is more, work is the very basis of the new education policy described in the annual report of A. V. Lunacharsky, the Soviet Government's Commissary of Education, for the year ending November 7, 1918: but it is work not for a boss' profit but for the use of a workers' community. (Compare the suggested programme in the Communist Manifesto: "Abolition of factory labour for children in its present form: combination of education with material production, etc.2"):—

"The labour character of the school consists in the fact that labour, pedagogical as well as, in particular, productive labour, will be made the basis of teaching.

work within the walls of the school, in the kitchen, in the garden, in special workshops, etc. The labour must be of a productive character—in this way in particular, that the children serve the needs of the school community so far as their strength will permit. It bears, at this grade, mostly the character of domestic and artisan labour; in the city, naturally, approaching more the type of a workshop, in the village the type of a farm. It is proposed, however, to transfer in the summer time all city school activities as far as possible to the village places.

"In the secondary schools the productive and the broad social character of labour is emphasised still more sharply. We deal herewith children from thirteen years up. From this age there is possible an easy but read labour outside of the schools; the participation in factory or shop work, the helping in serious farm work, the co-operation in some business enterprise, the co-operation in some social or state undertaking. From this age up we are uniting the labour of the children. the participation of the child in the social struggle for existence and its development, with its education. The school, without losing sight of the youngster, protecting it from harm, turning each act of its labour to the benefit of its general physical and mental development, will lead it into the very tangle of social productive work.

"Every time Marx happened to speak of education he turned to child labour, and laid stress upon the circumstance—that not the prohibition of child labour, but the regulating and transforming of it into a polytechnical basis of education by way of a rational coordination with science, physical exercises, and aesthetic development — will create a harmonious and truly modern man."

And while in Britain the Government is trying to coerce—should we say "nationalise"—women into domestic service, and proposes ending a girl's academic training at 14, as a measure of "reconstruction," in Russia after 1920 no one under 20 years of age will be working for a living, and education is compulsory up to 16 years.

There are 15 Socialist schools in New York, where the 1,500 boy and girl pupils are taught hero-worship of Lenin and Trotsky and political prisoners, according to the "Tribune."

But the "Tribune" is quite complacent about the hundred times as many capitalist schools, where the other 150,000 or so boy and girl pupils are taught here worship of Wilson and Clemenceau (not to say the Tsar and Kaiser) and political imprisoners and all the regues and rascals now usurping power over the world.

At a mass meeting of workers at Copenhagen on the 25th of May it was announced that not a bricklayer in Denmark would lay a brick towards the new Police Station, and that the carpenters and masons also refused to have anything to do with the building of such a damnable place. The announcement was received with enthusiasm and the capitalist Press of course shricked "syndicalists," "Bolsheviks," "Russian and German Gold"—no, Germany money is ganze good again, isn't it?

Zionism in Practice.

An article in the "Future" (New York monthly) shows up the class conflict in Jewry as being exactly the same as in any other nation.

In Palestine the Jewish troops were told that those who wished to remain in the country must have enough money to keep themselves in food for a year or else a written promise of a billet. Those who had neither must remain in the Army and be demobilised when the Government pleased and not before. Demobilisation has in fact been delayed to this date.

The Zionist Commission, which approved of the above, admitted its inability to promise the work or the billets. The Jewish settlers in Palestine declined to give jobs to the American Jewish soldiers because they considered them to be Bolsheviks.

The landowners in question prefer cheap Arabian labour to Jewish. They continue to draw grants from the "Zionist National Fund" (which was provided to support poor Jews and settle them in Palestine) and use these grants to pay Arabian wages which are practically nil.

When they went to fight in Palestine the Jewish soldiers were promised land there on which they would settle. But now owing to the hostile attitude of the present settlers of Palestine they prefer to go back to America rather than take up land, and the landowners are only too pleased to persuade them to abandon the idea of settling in Palestine. Hence, out of 1.300 American boys in the 38th (Jewish) Battalion, only 70 have signed on again for six months and 1,000 have applied to be sent back to America as soon as they are demobilised. Demobilisation however is delayed until their places can be taken by non-Bolshevik Jewish legions.

Thanks to the incitement of French agents and of Prof. Sylvan Lewis, the Zionist representative, there is a prospect of Arabian pogroms against the Jews. The fact is that the Jewish "settlers," i.e., landowners, see a great danger if the Jewish American soldiers settle in the country, for the National Fund would be used up on these soldiers instead of being distributed among the existing settlers. To cover this racial scabbery, they put it about that the soldiers are Bolsheviks and therefore deserve nothing.

Class Morals.

"We were promised that our troops would he withdrawn from Archangel—and straightway a new force of engineers was dispatched to Northern Russia. Now we read that American railroad troops are playing an important part in the rapid advance of the Allied troops southward along the Murmansk railway.' Meanwhile our troops remain in Siberia, and the War Department is recruiting 8,000 volunteers for service there. . . It is hard to believe that the American people, who are for the most part honest and kindly folk, can much longer stomach the Administration policy in Russia of combined burglary and starvation, coupled with pious phrases. There is surely honesty and courage enough in Congress to put an end to this iniquity."—"The Nation" (New York). Commenting on this, the "Industrial

Union News" justly remarks:---"We maintain, different from our worthy contemporary, that the above is not fundamentally a question of honesty and courage or iniquity, but one of class interests. We hold, furthermore, that political expression or conduct are not actuated by abstract ethicai values like honesty or equity, but that these are rather the children of procesic material conditions. In consequence, we wish to emphasise that the attitude which squares or dovetails with the economic class interests of. certain politicians is bound to be considered just and equitable by them; and, again, that any position at disticults with these interests will be loudly and indignantly rejected as

Bolshevism."

308b8

The most detestable object to the workers generally is the individual who deliberately lends himself as a tool to be used by the employing class to crush the workers when in revolt, for instance striking for higher wages, better conditions of labour, or the other palliatives that engross the energies and activities of craft unions—when they are not fighting amongst themselves, craft against craft, on lines of demarcation, or the selfish struggle of one craft to get the better of another.

The craft unions have never effectively been able to deal with the traitors within their ranks, nor yet with those scabs without who sell themselves as pimps and tools. In some instances they have been able to ostracise these individuals socially, or inflict fines ranging from a few shillings up to two hundred pounds, the amount imposed a few days ago on an individual who scabbed during the 1913 strike.

Whilst rightly dealing with scabs both within and without the ranks of the several unions, yet the very nature of these craft organisations has led many of them if not all at some period of their existence to scab one upon the other.

Society as at present formed lends itself to this scabbery both individually and collectively, nationally and internationally. The antagonistic groups making up human society as a whole are in many instances compelled to scab upon other groups or be scabbed upon; many groups deliberately lend themselves as scab groups to crush down some section in society who are fighting for interests considered vital to their existence.

Pailure to understand the importance of united working class action, as opposed to sectionalism, whether within the national boundaries or on the international plane, is leading to one of the greatest crimes within the labour movement, a tragedy that places all scabbery of the past in the shade—the crime and tragedy of scabbing upon Russia. Ignorance of the importance of united action is leading the workers of other countries to scab upon the Russian workers' republic. The greatest scabs of all are the workers in the munition factory, manufacturing arms - and munitions to crush the workers of Russia. Equally guilty are the transport workers whether on railway, wharf or ship, who handle the weapons of destruction to be placed in the hands of the pimps and servile tools of the capitalist class to crush the most glorious and magnificent effort on the part of a nation to free itself from class government and establish a form of society without class distinctions on the basis of social co-operation.

These scabs, whether in the munition factories, as transport workers, or on the battle-fields of Russia, will go down to posterity as the vilest of human beings, and the most despicable of scabs. Many we know are acting in ignorance of the result of their actions. Others amongst them, and especially their leaders, know perfectly well what the result of their scabbery may be. Consciously these are performing the dirty work of the capitalist class for their immediate selfish gain; but what of the aftermath when these vile scabs stand before the bar to be judged by a class conscious proletariat in all countries!

Scabe and scabbery are the product of the system, in a class society which sees no wrong in getting the better of opponents by fair means or foul. Individuals and groups set upon the principle that "if you don't blow your trumpet, charge and ride over somehody, somebody else will blow his trumpet and charge and ride over you." 'Tis the ethic of the system. Yet the new ethic, the morality of the co-operative commonwealth of the future is germinating within the present system. It is digging its roots deep into the sub-consciousness of the working class. Fach for all and all for each is gradually straightening out the mental kinks that lead to scabbery, giving the classer vision of solidarity as opposed to included action. co-operative common weelth of the future, the words "scab" and "scabbery" will become obsolete.

"20 to 1 Against"

WHAT TAKERS?

(A leastet issued by the People's Russian Information Bureau.)

Are you a sporting man? Every Briton has a bit of sporting instinct in him, of course! A boxer, or horse, that wins with "20 to 1 against" laid at the start, is a real sport. What, then, do you think of the 20 nations now furnishing soldiers to fight against Russia? Russia, "worn out," as the Anti-Bolshevik Kerensky said two years ago, has taken them on and looks like winning still.

20 NATIONS AGAINST 1.

1, French; 2, Senegalese, 3, Japanese; 4, Americans; 5, Italians; 6, Serbians, 7, Greeks; 8, Roumanians; 9, Czecho-Slovaks; 10, Canadians; 11, British; 12, Germans; 13, Chinese; 14, Swedes; 15, Finns; 16, Poles; 17, Esthonians; 18, Ukrainians; 19, Lithuanians; 20, Georgians. All these have sent soldiers against Russia.

Nos. 1 to 10 have, as soldiers, protested against the war against Russian workers; some have mutinied; French raised the Red Flag.

Germans allowed, encouraged, and helped by Allies to put down the Soviets...

Nos. 13 and 14 are not under own officers. but recruited as "volunteers."

Nos. 15 to 20 were originally subjects of the Russian Czar; Soviets allowed them independence; now under reactionary dictators or Allied pressure they are fighting (unwillingles against the Russian Revolution which set them free.

Russian workers are putting up a plucky fight in spite of the "20 to 1 against!"

Not under Bolshevism.

A full statement of conditions in India, described as "unparallelled elsewhere in the history of the world," was recently prepared and made public by the India Famine Fund Committee of Canada. It no sooner appeared than it was suppressed by the authorities:—

India. Thirty-two million deaths have occurred already, 150,000,000 are on the verge of starvation. Plague and famine are rampant. Death stalks through the land taking its toll. The existing conditions are unparallelled elsewhere in the history of the world.

The poor have eaten all their food and thousands upon thousands are reduced to such a state that they are nothing but living skeletons. The conditions are indescribable and ghastly.

The cities are peopled by emaciated humanity. Traffic has ceased, mails are undelivered, and business is at a standstill."

Added to these are the disasters of the Indian revolution, in which innumerable half-naked men, women and children, armed with nothing but bamboo sticks, have lost their lives before British machine guns. British aeroplanes have bombed them from the skies; in one city, states the London 'Herald,' twelve persons were flogged in the public square for destroying government notices; the London 'Times' of May 9th reported that even a thirteen-year-old boy of Delhi had been arrested for seditious utterances, and because he had said that he was a follower of Gandhi, the great passive resistance leader.

INCREASE PROD-, NO, DESTR-UCTION.

"Forward" quotes the "Manchester Guardian on the destruction of the 100,000 American motor cars in France: "The motor vehicles are now being burnt wholesale that the war profiteers of the French motor trade may exploit to the full the distresses of their countrymen"; and adds: "The sinking of the German Fleet will bring grist to the Armament Trust mills. Whoever else grieves, it will not be the chareholders in the British armament factories." . Similarly, four thousand demaged British motor cars, says the "Daily News," were deliberately burnt in a bonfire near Wissent in June.

The Freedom of our Press.

(From "Forward.")

M. Isvolski (Tsarist Ambassador at Paris) is having his secret documents published by the wicked Bolsheviks. In one of his documents Isvolski complains that Tittoni (now Italian Foreign Affairs Boss) got money freely from his Government for "working" the French Press, whereas he (Isvolski) was skimped in his efforts at buying leading articles and doped news.

"Tittoni," he says, "worked the leading French newspapers thoroughly and most liberally."

liberally."

Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, in 'Common-sense,' describes how the British Press is "worked." He gives instances. The Railway workers at Plymouth almost unanimously protested against the treatment of Conscientious Objectors, one delegate only opposing by speech. Needless to say this delegate's oration was reported, and the headline supplied was "Railway Workers Protest against the Reinstatement of Conscientious Objectors."

Capital is preparing for its defence, and will, if necessary, exert all its forces for its own preservation. It is bound to take this attitude or cease to exist. The situation has been forced upon it, and there is in our opinion, no alternative for it but to enforce its rights now or never.—"The Shoe Trades Journal."

It is believed in Paris that the next important development in Russia will be the despatch of a Japanese force to Siberia to relieve and assist Koltchak. Japanese in Paris frankly admit that the proposal is favourably considered owing to the unsettled conditions at home. It is thought that a military diversion would be a good political move.—Exchange Telegram in the "Glasgow Herald."

Give them foreign adventures, "glory"; beat the drums of war; out with the flags and the tom-toms; release the booze, and they'll forget their slums and their poverty and march off to the bloody carnival.

The trick is ancient, but it still works.—"
"Forward."

"NO INCENTIVE UNDER SOCIALISM."

Let us see. "The Economic Supplement to the Review of the Foreign Press," issued on 25th June by the General Staff of the War Office, says: "The Norwegian Socialist Committee of Enquiry report that the output of the Moscow mines under capitalism was 600,000 tons; under the Bolshevik Government it is 670,000 tons."

A police correspondent hopes that our enlarged "International" will make a special effort to reach and convert the limbs of the law in this country, namely the police and S.A.M.R. "As one of the former of 18 years" standing," he says, "I can assure you that the majority of the force only require a little leading to come into the fold of their own class and out of the claws of the exploiters' and profiteers' class who have used and who still try to use them in crushing and cudgelling the masses whenever the latter make an effort to get rid of their bonds, as in Johannesburg 1913, Dublin 1914 and 1916, Belfast, Glasgow, etc., 1919, and so on. Poor dupes, they cannot see the folly of it—the Capitalist class goading on one section of workers' to murder their own flesh and blood in order that class legislation and class rule may reign supreme and the masses, as heretofore, be the slaves of the ruling few."

We have not heard much lately about the trial of the Kaiser, which the 'Morning Post' said would be a 'profound mistake.' Why? A writer to that paper suggests the answer. 'This contemplated trial ... cannot fail to encourage in England a spirit of unrest."

Another Moscow Manifesto

The following are extracts from what seems to he a rival draft manifesto discussed or adopted at the Congress of the Communist International from the 2nd to the 6th March, 1919. We published the other version last Week: :---

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER. Chaos is the final result of the capitalist method of production, and it can only be overcome by the largest productive class-

the working class.

As against this, world-capitalism is making ready for the final contest. Under the guise of "a League of Nations," and with a host of pacifist phrases, it is making a last attempt to piece together again the parts-of the capitalist system, which are spontaneously crumbling, and to direct its forces against the ever-growing proletarian revolution. The proletariat must reply to this colossal conspiracy of the capitalist class by the conquest of the political power, direct that power against its class enemies, and set it in motion as a lever for the economic revolution.

It means the overthrow of the hostile State machinery, the disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, the White Guards, and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers, and of the Red Workers' Guards; the removal of all bourgeois judges, and the organisation of proletarian tribunals; the abolition of the rule of the reactionary State officials, and the creation of new proletarian organs of administration.

CIEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it a privileged position in society, is a temporary arrangement. In proportion as the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken and the hourgeoisie is expropriated and gradually becomes a part of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat will disappear, the State will die out, and classes will cease to exist.

So-called democracy, i.e., the bourgeois democracy, is nothing but the veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The famous common "will of the people" no more exists than does the "homogeneous nation." As a matter of fact, what exists is classes with anta-

gonistic, irreconcilable interests.

In bourgeois, democracy the centre of gravity lies in the purely formal declarations of rights and liberties, which, however, are quite unattainable by the working people—the proletariat and semi-proletariat—who possess no material means, whilst the bourgeoisie employs its material means in order to. deceive and gull the people with the aid of

its Press and organisations. In point of fact, the masses and their organisations are held completely at a distance from actual power and actual government. In the Soviet system, on the contrary, it is the organisations of the masses, and through them the masses themselves, that govern, since the Soviets associate with the State administration an ever-increasing number of workers. Bourgeois democracy and the Parliamentary system, by the separation of legislative and executive power and by the irrevocable Parliamentary mandate, widen the gulf between the masses and the State. Under the Soviet system the elections do not take place on the basis of artificial territorial areas, but on that of places of production.

In The temporary privileges, of the industrial proletariat must be made use of in order to withdraw the poorer lower middle-class masses of the countryside from the influence of the large farmers and bourgeoisie, and to organise and educate them as co-workers in the task of communist reconstruction. EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE

AND SOCIALISATION OF PRODUCTION. Proletarian dictatorship in no way carries with it any kind of distribution of the means of production and exchange. On the contrary, its object is to bring about a greater centralisation of the productive forces and to coordinate production as a whole, according to one uniform plan. As the first steps to the socialisation of the entire economic resources the following may be mentioned: The social. isation of the machinery of the great banking institutions which at present control produc-

tion; the capture through the Government of the proletariat of all the economic institutions managed by the State; the taking over of all municipal enterprises; the socialisation of the syndicates and trusts, as well as such industries where the concentration and centralisation of capital permits it; the socialisation of landed estates and their couversion into socially managed agricultural concerns. As regards the smaller concerns. the proletariat must unite them by degree, according to their size. But here it must be expressly emphasised that small property will in no way be expropriated, and that proprietors who do not exploit hired labour will not be exposed to any violent measures. This section of the population will be gradually drawn into the Socialist organisation by example and by practice which will demonstrate to it the advantages of the new order—the order which will release the small peasantry and the small urban producer from the economic pressure of usurious capitalists and landlords and from the burden of taxation (especially through the annulment of State debts). In the domain of distribution, the proletarian dictatorship must replace commerce by

a just distribution of products. To attain that the following measures need to be taken: The socialisation of the wholesale businesses: the taking over by the proletariat of the entire State and nunicipal machinery of distribution; the control of the large co-operative societies, whose organisations will yet play an important economic part in-the period of transition; and the gradual centralisation and conversion of all these bodies into one homogeneous whole, carrying out a rational distribution of products.

The proletarian dietatorship will replace the separation between manual and brain work, which capitalism has developed, by their combination, and in that way will unite science and labour.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY.

The revolutionary epoch demands that the proletariat should employ such fighting methods as will concentrate its entire energy, viz., the method of mass-action, and lead to its logical consequence—the direct collision with the capitalist State-machine in an open comhat. All other methods, e.g., revolutionary use of bourgeois Parliamentarism, will in the revolution have only a subordinate value.

A coalition is necessary with those elements of the revolutionary workers' movement who. though they did not previously belong to the Socialist party, now, on the whole, take up the standpoint of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of the power of Soviets, e.g., some of the sections among the Syndicalists.

International proletarian Communism, in contrast to the vellow Socialist-patriotic international, will give support to the exploited colonial races in their fight against Imperialism, so as to advance the ultimate overthrow of the imperialist world system. -

When Oxford Colleges, and particularly Magdalen, the resort of would-be feudalesque junkerdom, whose President successfully hunted the Prince of Wales tuft, begin to be specially "affected by Bolshevism," one begins to wonder what is the matter with Bolshevism. Beware of the thing developing into a cult like "aestheticism" (also formerly rife at Magdalen) or even being treated as a mere change in political machinery from Parliaments to Soviets: for it is hard to see how the attack on hourgeois property which is the foundation of Socialism can really catch on at such eminently bourgeois institutions as -Oxford or Cambridge colleges; and in saving this we do not forget the obvious thread of. sympathy with the Secialist Gaixe running through the valuable selection of newspaper cuttings in the "Cambridge Magazine."

Sir Anckland Geddes, in yesterday's paper, sums up the ludierous contadictions of capitalism when he says that the great task of the Empire is to find new markets and at the same time to increase production! That is the circle they have always been trying to square, and all we get for it is War and Starvation. Is it not time the curtain range down on the whole tragic farce?

League Notes.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Open air meeting, Sunday, September 7-

West end Town Hall, 7.30 p.m.

Sale of "Internationals."—Any comrades who have sons over 14 years old and would not object to let them sell "Internationals" in the streets, kindly send them to League office on Wednesday afternoon, between 3.30) and) 5 p.m. The time that they would be required is Friday night, Saturday and Sun-

Sunday School.—All comrades are requested to send their children to the Sunday School, which is held at 11 p.m. every Sunday at League Office. Music and songs.

Study Class.—Having secured suitable premises the Study Class Secretary has decided to resume classes from September 11th (Thursday), therefore all comrades roll up to League Office at 8 p.m. on that date.

Branch meeting, Tuesday, September 2th, at 8 p.m., League Office.

PRETORIA BRANCH.

A public meeting will be held in the Federation Hall, Church Street, Pretoria, on Suitday, 31st inst: Speaker: W. H. Andrews. Subject: "Some lessons from the Railway Strike."

LITERATURE FOR SALE. Socialism Made Easy, James Connolly, 64. Industrial Unionism: What it is and what

it isn't, 4d. Industrial Unionism, E. L. Pratt, 6d.

Red Russia, by John Reid, 9d. Russia and the Allies, by F. Seymour Cocks,

Questions and Answers about Russia, by Albert Rhys Williams, 6d:

The Socialism of Karl Marx, A. E. Cook, 6d. British Consul replies to anti-Bolshevik Slanders, 4d.

Compromise or Independence, J. T. Murphy,

The Workers' Committee: An outline of its principles and structure, J. T. Murphy,

Self-education of the Workers, by A. Lunacharski, 4d.

The Red Funeral in Vladivostok, by Albert Rhys Williams, 4d.

Maxim Gorki on the Bolsheviki, 2d. Maxim Litvinoff on Soviet Russia, 2d. Russian Workers and Control of Industry, 2d. Russian Plan for the League of Nations. 3d. British Soldiers in Russia, 1d.

Social Reconstruction in Russia, 1d.

Postage 1d. extra.

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A Marxian Study Club has been formed in Durhan "to be a weekly rendezvous for Labour men and Socialists for discussion on the economics of Karl Marx in the light of current events." Meetings are held at 3, Hollander's Buildings (ground floor), Field Street, and membership is open to all interested.

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Printed by the United Printing and Publishing Co., I.td., 148, Commissioner Street. for the International Societies League. 54, Fox Street, Box 4179, Johnnesburg.