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THE INTERNATIONAL

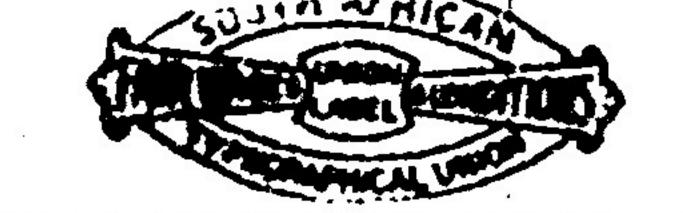
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

P.O. BOX 4179.

Neppe's Buildings, 54, Fox Street, Johannesburg.

Phone 6035.

No. 184



FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1919.

class, which has such remarkable in-

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

Free Speech Defence Fund.

The workers of South Africa are ereby reminded that a determined atack is being made by the capitalist coverning authorities on the right of public assembly, free speech and free irculation of literature.

The propagandists of the LS.L. have been bearing the brunt of these prosecutions. In Johannesburg a few months 130, and now in Benoni, Maritzlurg and Bloemfontein, our fellow-workers have been brought up on charges under the Moratorium Act (purely a war measure) and Riotous Assemblies Act.

It is not so much to keep our comades out of good that we have contestd these cases in the courts, and incured heavy legal expenses, as to vindiate the right, of all citizens to express heir views on public questions frankly and fearlessly—that is the essence of lemocracy. Fellow-workers, it may be our turn next.

The following resolution was passed manimously by the Trade Union Concress at Bloemfontein on 9th May: That this Congress strongly protests against the operation of certain laws nflicting violent and vindictive senences upon offenders under the Public Welfare Act. These laws and sentences nfringe upon and interfere with the political liberty of the subject and the eight of free speech, and, if not checked, will lead to violent public resentment and disturbance. This Congress alls urgently upon the Government to repeal such laws, and repeal or modify such sentences as those passed in the ases at Pretoria and Maritzburg."

We therefore ask trade unionists, Soialists and all workers for their moral and financial support in this crisis. Donations may be made to collectors holding lists or direct to the General Office of the I.S.L., 54, Fox Street, Box 4179, Johannesburg. The money releived will be acknowledged in the International weekly.

The Burning Question of Trade Unionism

So little done, so much to do 'in turthering Socialist propaganda among the organised workers is the reflection suggested by last week's proceedings of the Trade Union Congress at Bloemtontein; coupled with thanksgiving for small mercies and satisfaction at the signs of progress as compared with the similar gathering at Durban last Christmas.

JOINT BOARDS.

Precisely why so expensive a function was so early repeated is obscure; Mr. Crawford said it was to discuss reduction of hours, but probably the real explanation is the desire of the ruling

fluence in the Federation, to get a national Joint Board established to Check the more revolutionary demarches which, owing to the example of the rest of the world and the spread of enlights' ennent here, were threatening blocal capitalism; and in this the Government was successful, the proposal for an Industrial Advisory Board of five being nicely timed to supervene like a deus ex machina on the despair of a solution resulting from the first day's roving discussions. To this proposal or its corollaries most of the tall talk and small talk of the Conference really boils down, not excepting, as it appears to us, the Panest to the Government to "nationalise" certain industries by placing them under joint control of the unions concerned and the State. For though the old "preducers and consumers' dualism was exhumed, to justify the State's participation, Mr. Crawford more correctly looked to the State (not directly in this connection it is true, but can a leopard change his spots?) to "arrange for the employers" side '--as well as to pay train fares and £1 a day to the "loyal" workers representatives on the Board: and to detach the State from "the employers side' will require something more than Mr. Bain's resolution. That resolution probably appealed to some at least of the sapient delegates who said "we must go hand in hand with the Government of the country if we wish to progress"; or, "we can only do these things with a sympathetic (tovernment" (B./Pohl); or "the onus is placed upon the Government of taking the control out of the hands of the capitalists' (!); or, 'the capitalist system is necessary in the present state of society (A. Crawford); or, we must preach common sense to the capitalists"; or, "we must get the farmers." i.e., landowners, "educated to see eye to eye with us'; or, "Sir E. Wallers also works for his living '(A. (rawford). Anyway, the same Congress resolved in favour of "negotiating to the point of exhaustion" before striking—"proceeding on constitutional lines, 'the day of precipitate action being past "--and against sectional strikes; no doubt by way of benediction on the S.A.I.F. as against the Building workers. The conclusion is this that the only real "achievement' of the Congress was Mr. Crawford's. We hope we are wrong, and that both the National Advisory Board and the Joint Control Boad, if secured. consisting of 50 or 40 per cent. Labour representatives, may provide more effective opportunities for Labour than Parliament does, and may wen accelerate rather than retard the insistence on proletarian dictatorship.

PETTY BOURCEOISDOM.

Apart from increased wages and shorter hours, a whole gamut of pitiful

middle-class stuff gets discussed at these Congresses: e.g., creating or developing new industries; protection; taxing profits, incomes, wheritances and land values; "putting democratic men in Parliament : housing, returned soldiers, opening up the land, miners to take over a low grade mine; more schools; encouragement of efficiency and generous rewards for special skill (A. Crawford); "Increased production of wealth means more wealth to the workers; increased wages, or shoriened hours curtailing production, do not (do.): "if we demand seven days' pay for six days work many of the mines will have to close down : 'progressive reduction of hours as the efficiency of the workers increases "; and so on. One even said: "the first thing to look for is a Republican Government."

THE BURNING QUESTION.

The only live issue before the Congress, the solidarity of labour irrespective of colour, was not directly embodied in any resolution, but, just as all the ostensible activities of the Entente and their Press mask the campaign against Socialism, so it appeared as if there ran through all the Congress talk a thread of uneasy feeling that the ignoring of that live issue, or the failure to solve it, reduced the Congress to impotence and futility. Wildly reactionary and violeni sentiments were apparently uppermost, especially among the miners, who seem to think that combined action irrespective of colour or grade means just removing their colour-bar ("I came to this Congress," said one, "to fight the capitalist class, but find we have to fight the International Socialists, who wish to abolish the colour bar) whereas it means nothing of the sort. "Eliminates cheap labour "can pass; "organise according to local requirements inight tide over for a while; "fear not the organised but the unorganised type of coloured men, and raise them up is sound as far as it goes: "The capitalist system will compel us to take the I. dian and coloured workers into our Unions, or the capitalists will take them and use them to damn our unions" helps to explain the negrophil: ism of the 'Friend' and 'Star,' which are endeavouring, 100, to ingratiate themselves with the native labour now threatening to withdraw itself. But other delegates not only refused to be organised in company with the black man, and appealed for the expulsion of all coloured men now in white unions (the Telegraph and Telephone workers have decided to admit no more coloured members): they ever discountenanced, the organisation of natives by themselves. The white workers should be on top and the natives at the bottom --their footstool: "the sjambok" or knowt "is a good law for the coloured man: "I will have nothing to do with the native or

an industrial basis : "I would rather be in my grave than stand on the same level as a Kaffir' who, said another. quoting Biblical authority. " can never be on a social equality with the white; "the Kaffir is better organised to-day than the white man will be for another generation; if you insist on taking the coloured man into the unions the Dutch-speaking South Africans will have nothing to do with the trade union movement '-all this simply breathes the spirits of the Court House pogrom. Mr. Crawford, speaking sus usual like a "Star" article, said "an extra Is. to the Kaffirs would involve three millions sterling: 2s. would suvolve the emplovers' profits, and 5s. would mean coming to the white man for a share of his carnings. The native saw the white man doing Sho same work as the - natives and golding thice or even three or four times as much for it. If the matives went home the white nich would be in the sonn. Another speaken asked, apparently as a reductio ad absurdum, "what about gepresentation for natives on the Joint Bourd, especially in industries where there are eight natives to one white? Anyhow. Mosses, Forester Brown and Crawford were appointed the only representatives of the workers on the Board of Five: a resolution was carried unanimously demanding à levislative minimum wave for all white workers but an amendment to include coloured workers was negatived without a division; and finally a commission was asked for to investigate the carrying on of low grade mines and also "the position of the native so far as the industry is affected by native labour. And all this in a proletarian assembly, though to see it vou might not think so!

THE MARITZBURG SENTENCES.

We must therefore welcome the generous libertarian instinct overcoming race prejudices, rather than the logical consistency, of the Congress resolution condemning the victous sentences? in the Maritzburg case against Coms. Jones and Greene. It is true. that Mr. Pohl said "the man who preached Bolshevism to the natives (as distinct from the whites) was a murderer of the white races, and he would shoot him "; another was "against this poisonous propaganda being instilled into the minds of the natives, because on the Reef women were afraid to walk. the streets at night because of the native" (and so they were before Bolshevism was heard of); and again, "men who preached this were the pest of South Africa, and should be deported'': while one condemned Bolshevism for whites also: Nevertheless common sense prevailed, after the withdrawal as "undignified" and "squealing" (A. Crawford) of wording directly referring to that case and the substitution of the general protest proposed by Mr. Moore of the Railways and reproduced in the Defence Fund appeal appearing in this issue. The vote was unanimous, and was passed to the singing of the "Red Flag." It represents a slight advance on the Durban Congress, which passed a protest against the Allied war on Russia, but expressly excluded all coloured representation from its meeting, whereas this vote swallows the native propaganda and "Bolshevism" in general as well.

What does also emerge is the fact that discussion and advocacy on the whole matter of Bolshevism and native propaganda is a matter not of seditions conspiracy but of current poitical controversy of burning interest and importance. The resolution hints that it is not so much Jones and Greene who "excite public resentment and disturbance i indeed, one delegaie remarked that "the real criminals are on the bench.

League Notes.

DEFENCE FUND ACKNOWLEDG-MENTS.

Withank collection, 60s.; J.R., 10s.; M.K., 42s.: P.R.R., 20s.: L.A.S., 5s.; J.F. 10s.; Mr. B. 15s. 3d.; P.D., 10s.; H.G., 60s.; L.B. and V.W., 5s.; A.M., 5s.: W.C., 20s.: F.A.W.L. 20s.: W. 10s.: 1.17.(1.20s.: 1.18. 10s: A.B. 42s: A.M. 20s: S.S. 10s.6d.; A.S., 10s. 6d.; collected. R.B. Germiston, 120s. 6d.: F. B., 20s.

Collection sheets may now be obtained at the office, Box 4173, by comrades willing to assist further in this matter. Every labour body in South Africa will be communicated with and asked to help in the free speech fight.

A final meeting of the May Day Committee will be held in the Palmers. ton Hall, on Sunday, 25th inst., at. 10.30 a.m. Business: Financial state-

Building and P.P. Committee meets in the general office at 10.30 a.m. on Sunday, the 18th inst.

ment.

BENONI BRANCH.

A dance will be held in the Hoiel Cecil on Wednesday, 21st inst., when it is hoped that comrades will and up in numbers to enjoy themselves. Tickets. 2s. 6d.-Secretary. Com. N. Gershaw.

Conrade W. den Bakker, who was to appear on the 16th on a charge of assault connected with the Benoni I.S.L. open air meeting, is very unwell, and on the doctor's certificate was excused. The case is now set down for June 3rd.

BLOEMFONTEIN.

There are prospects that a branch will be opened at the Free State capital before long. We wish the efforts of the courades there every success.

CERMISTON BRANCH.

Branch meeting on Tuesday, 20th inst., at Colin Wade's Surgery, at 7:30 D.M.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

The adjourned Branch meeting will be held in the Palmerston Hall on the 20th inst., at 8 p.m. All members are urged to attend.

The Study Class meets every Friday at 8 p.m. in the Palmerston Hall.

JEWISH-SPEAKING BRANCH.

The adjourned Branch meeting will be held on Sunday, 18th inst., in the Palmerston Hall at 9 a:m. Business very important.

Study Olass every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m. in the Palmerston Hall.

PRETORIA BRANCH.

Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m. in the Federation Hall. Business and educational meetings alternately.

An International Macheuse

Some months have elapsed since the signing of the armistice. The dogs of war are supposed to be in leash and the dove of peace is expected to again hover over the scene. Alleged statesmen of mighty calibre have been for some time foregathered at the victor's banquet board, presumably for the purpose of refurbishing the dove's plumage and renovating the dove-coté that have been hadly ruffled and befouled by the ruling class family row of the last four and a half years. Sometimes this gathering at Paris is joduarly termed a Peace Congressi bui canious crities who claim to have neeked through the keyhole assert that the performance. thereat bears a much more striking resemblance to a conclave of pickpockets. porch climbers, bundits and burglars assembled for the protound purpose of dividing the loot and apportioning the plunder, than it does to a show having anything to do with 'peace' unless it is to demonstrate its uner impossibility.-- The Labour Star, 'Vancouver.

KOLTCHAK'S CAPITAL.

How hollow the pretext is that while Bolshevism means red ruin, Koltchakery brings freedom and plenty in its train, a "Times" message from Omsk makes only too plain. Omsk is the capital of the Siberian Dictator, who is maintained there by Allied troops and Allied support. Food is distributed by the Government, but iminor luxuries. such as sugar, are impossible to obtain.

. . Many articles of common use have risen 10,000 per cent... Typhus and cholera have already made their appearance... The ice-hound streets are perilous to pedestriaus, who have to beware of footpads." And so on.

A Canadian soldier adds these significant touches: "It is rumoured. that 75 per cent. of the population of Omsk are Bolsheviks. But if they start anything we are ready for them. We just go and search any house we think fit at any time we want to.... We are getting a little excitement, and have been in a few scraps, but they were nothing like the real thing. It is all street-fighting. . . We never, under any circumstances, go out unless armed.

A British soldier in Archangel in a recent letter to his family wrote: "One of our chaps is coming to England sick so I am giving him this letter to post in England." (Why does the truth have to be thus smuggled through if there is nothing for the authorities to be ashained of?) "This country is not fit to live in; the people here say it is worse than Siberia. .. . I think it is a damn shame that troops who have been in France should have to come out here to suffer this when the war is over... If the people in England only knew what the chaps are having to go through out here there would be some trouble. The people in England are told we are having a good time but it is all damn lies... we are almost forced to say we are going on all right.: The Russian people hate us" (their

"saviours") "and we have to be very careful how we go about. We have no right in this country and they know

"Bolshevismon its Trial."

Last week's evidence in the "Bolshevik" ase at Maritzburg included the following:

On a witness being asked what impression he pamphler had made on him the Magistrate said one witness could merely give a sersonal opinion but with numbers of such pinions the Court would be guided.

E. C. Somers of Nessurer said he tested the camphiet by reading it is his natives, and he head boys said they would die it such aws were brought for a This evidence was aled outly. The boys word very much distribed; he could see by their demeanour that her were approved. Wirness only had the contrapage of the paraphlet. He reckoned a would cause blookshed, the translated the rst paragraphet. The workers must rise and ut down the recallthy people. He could be translate to Bossey, sor that Zahn, but aplained what he presented by the word; the was impossible to readslate the paraphlet terally.

Justialia Commenter, sever comment of the Natural This is the thing one main a special property in dighami as a delegate of the S.A. Native Nawill Comme Secretary on the Bruth armers Association. Militer of a native ewspaper published in Mariezharg, and onchoved by Alliquin and Rime, solicitors of ; bat town, thought the pamphlet dangerous. ble headline gave him the idea that a big anger was coming to South Africa owing to ress statements that the Tear and nobles ad been murdered and their position usurpby the Bolsheyiks. The Bolsheviks he ask to be people fout to upset the governcent of the world and they belonged to the forking class and the peasantry, most of shom were ignorant and unenlightened, and y whom it was inadvisable that South Airica should be ruled. If the Government the country were upset and its place taken in the Bolsheviks "we natives should be "aade slaves." A Republic would reduce them o slavery, Since the Act of Union the naives had seen all sorts of laws made against heir colour, upholding republican views. If British militarism were destroyed it would nean the destruction of the natives, for they sould not longer have any protection. The atives had their grievances but he could at say they were oppressed. The trouble bout wages was all over South Africa, and the amphlet was intended to lead the natives to hink they could remedy this if they ruled he land. He had discussed the pamphlet with Mr. Wheelwright. He believed that Il men should be paid alike for the same ork. but it was noth so. The Bolshevists: build inake the natives understand the paniidet, and if so interpreted it was capable a marmless interpretation, especially the vierence to peasants farming under the soviets: that would be an attractive proposal o the natives. The whole thing was grash, at the hooligan class of raw natives, i.e.. hose who left their hames and lived in towns, aring no more for the authority of their hiefs, would be misled.

Another native said he gathered that the scople who were fighting in Russia, were oming here, and the natives would get silled!

Another, educated at Lovedale, holding an exemption pass, said the pamphlet alarmed nim; he thought it would rouse the natives to disorder resulting in riot and bloodshed. The "victory of the wage-earners" would nean there would be no government, and would bring them back to the days of Tshaka. The natives preferred the rule of the King to a republic. The natives were not oppressed, though underpaid, etc. At recent native unrest" meetings he had not heard the namphlet mentioned.

(It was remarked that these three native itnesses were all solicitors' clerks.)

An Indian said he was afraid at the news that the Bolsheviks were coming, but he lidn't really think they were coming.

THE ACCUSED'S REPLY.

Com. Greene read a statement which Com. lones, as a witness, was not allowed to read. Extracts appear below.

Com. Jones said: I wished all workers, irrespective of colour, to read the pamphlet. The dictionary definition of militarism is government by military force. Tshaka drilled his troops on approved civilised methods and so became dictator. The Bolshevism I support does not countenance murder, it will do away with murder, class distinctions and international conflict. I published the paniphlet in exercise of my political rights. claim no special knowledge of native tribal customs. Our appeal is however to industrial workers, and being interested in the workling class movemen: I have made a special study of conditions in industrial centres, where the great developments of modern society take place. The industrialised natives, breaking away from tribal connections, are not an unruly class, they are the hopeful element in the population. This breaking away and making a home in the industrial field is essential before the labour movement in South Africa can attain its object. The working class as a whole are the only class hi, to take control of the COUHILY i.e., of themselves). The white workers may stop industry but cannot "carry it on without the native workers. Tha movement is doing its utmost to develop the capacity to rule li.e., for self determination). But the workers will not be divided 3 into black and white; the majority, consisting, like the minority, of black and white, will rule by reason of the basic principle of the movement. The workers will never gain control until they realise that their interests are one. The natives are not yet prepared to rule the country, and that is why propaganda has to be carried on. It is most improbable that such propaganda will lead to any tribal uprising. Combining in the workshop does not mean inter-marriage. A Socialist Government of Maritzburg alone is an impossibility, but a Maritzburg Soviet. would inter alia control judicial functions. The working class movement is not responsible for the violence which attends strikes; that is to be laid quite as much at the door of the employer. The majority is not respousible if its will is opposed. Colonel Ward's leiter was written to please those in political power. "British Militarism" is exemplified in the Alked intervention against Russia, and the thanks of the Burgomaster of Coblenz to the British General for shooting down the local Soviet. Bolshevism in 9 South Africa will mean disfranchisement of landowners and hirers of labour for profit. Bolshevism means world-wide brotherhood, without country boundaries.

Mr. Stuart said there had been no exciterment or alarm. The witnesses could not even remember what they had read in the pamphlet. The Moratorium Act was just a war-time treasure. Labour was going to rule, and Bolshevism was just a union of unions. The pamphlet was socialistic, a political creed. Labour had taken control of the Johannesburg Municipality, and nothing said, but Jones only preached his views and

was charged as a criminal.

THE "JUDGMENT."

In his judgment, Mr. St. Pol said the idea that a South African Lenin might conceivably be a Bantu suggested lunacy. It was true there was no direct incitement to violence (distinguish the case of the "Witness" editor who was fined £5 under the same act); but "the fallacious and nefarious doctrines of Bölshevism have been denounced and condemned by Church' (the Magistrate is said to be a Roman Catholic) "and State, by the loyal and right-minded Press, and by all honest, right-thinking and level-headed individuals, as tending to . . . the perversion of morals, the destruction of society." (Hered followed a lurid description of Bolshevik Russia.) "Bolshevism stands selfindicted and self-condemned. This, for sooth, is the sort of regime it is now sought to introduce into our loyal and peaceful country. The pamphlet tries to kindle in the breast of the workman those sordid passions of hate and covetousness, by reviling other classes, . . by the highly suggestive innuendo that the Russian workmen had wrested the rich mines and factories from their owners, and lastly by telling them that they

had a world to win. It suggests an appeal to force, e.g., "the class war against Labour has openly begun," . . "they are taking over the control" (and we know that it is by force and violence that they are doing so); "down with British Militarism, down with the Capitalist Class"; "Bolshevism means the victory of the wage-earners "; "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win." How else but by force of arms: For it was impossible to conceive that individuals would allow their rights and liber: v to be taken away from them without resistance... The pamphlet is a libel on the British army and in on humanity, it is treasonable, because it; suggests the adoption of the doctrines and principles of the Bolsheviks with which England is at present at war. To address such 'a pamphlet to the white workers of Southe. Africa is criminal enough, but it is nothing? short of diabolical to appeal to the hordes of natives, scarcely yet rescued from barbarism. to throw off the yoke of the white man. It might well be construed by them as au invitation to renew the massacres... insidiously calling upon the black races to open rebellion." He quoted the minority judgment of Curlewis, J. in R. v. Bunting, "is case practically on all fours with this one. The "public feeling" has been proved: the three returned soldiers were highly incensed and intended to insult Mr. Greene. Disgust. dismay and alarm have been excited at the prospect of an attempt to introduce the Bolshevik regime in this country, though that seeling has not yet exhibited itself ontward ly, probably owing to the prompt action taken by the local authorities. Jones is a past master in dialecties, but far from logical in hiconclusions. His testimony was kaleidoscopic. The keynote of it all is the work of the UNSEEN HAND. Bolshevism is founded ou German philosophy, a "German-Russian-Hell-baby." Its whole labric rests on the German principle of Might, is Right. There is no constitution, no law court, no appeal It is despotism: 'l'etat, c'est moi' is practically Lenin's rule, with depths of criminal violence unknown under the Tsars. Such is the glorious "freedom" based on the Marxian manifesto of revelutionary communism drawn up in London chiefly by Germans. And when it is pointed out that it will lead to bloodshed they calmly deny responsibility for it. If that is not German again! I have perhaps somewhat digressed from my work as a justiciary, but then this is an extraordinary ease—the first of its kind in South Africa—in which Bolshevism stands its trial" (during the evidence the Magistrate had disclaimed this). "When an act has for its immediate object the cradication of the Constitution of the State, by force if necessary. as the accused themselves admit, it is preposterous to argue that such an act is not criminal."

The sentence, £75 and four months and £10 or a month, each, goes to review in any case; but an appeal is also pending to the Supreme Court at Maritzburg. Presumably the "Natal Witness" violent article in support of the conviction was written without notice of the appeal.

THE ACCUSED'S STATEMENT.

The statement handed in by Com. Greene to the Maritzburg Court, and endorsed by Com. Jones, epitomised the Communist Manifesto, and proceeded textracts only are given.

"It is with this ideal in view, and not from any freak incendiarism, that we appeal to all proletarians to unite in fields, factories and workshops, in order that their voice may be articulate politically. But this working class unity which we ask for is not the unity of a section. One section of the workers can never alone appropriate the fruits of their labour, or the control of their particular industry."

"The Communists hold that the emancipation of the working class must be the task of the working class itself, not of social welfare societies, charitable institutions or Native Affairs Departments: no matter how 'expert' the latter may be in its 'opinion of people who may have opinions of their own." 4

more than the Socialist movement is nothing all are so familiar. Why the furies have gathered round its head is only because Bolshevism' is Socialism become real, the word become flesh."

Revolution does not mean murder, anarchy and sudden doath. Revolution means a radical change in the Government of a country. As a Socialist category it means the wresting of political power from the hands of a hitherto dominant economic class by a hitherto subject class. A revolution not merely for political equality such as the French Revolution was, but a revolution for social and economic equality. Not merely a revolution giving votes to all, but a revolution giving bread to all.

Next, the Russian Revolution was explained.

"It will be seen that the Soviet Republic cannot be the tyranny of a clique, any more than a Trade Union can tyrannise over its members. It is the nearest approach so far found possible for giving true expression to the popular will. The loss of life, the murders, anarchy, executions, famine, pestilence and atrocities with which the Bolshevik - Party is charged, and which ignorant people identify as the Bolshevik idea---these are not to be laid, at the door of the Bolsheviks, but partly to the release from long bondage of an enslaved people; and mainly to the ferocity of the private interests that are affected by the change of government. The famine and postilence were their heritage from the cormipt mismanagement of the old regime, and from the devastation of war. The Bolshevik Rovolution was bloodless, because the Bolsheviks waited for a majority in the Soviets before attempting to put their ideas into action, thus showing their constitutional intent. The violence and strife began when the bourgeoisie, now deprived of power, endoavoured by force of arms and conspiracies backed by unlimited foreign capital to overthrow the proletarian regime. The Soviet Republic has been compelled to fight with its back to the wall against the whole world. Its enemies are not merely its civil opponents. They are the International Capitalists who control the cables and all the world's commerce and sources of supply. The Soviet Republic, it is not denied, has been compollod like other governments to tako drastic action against conspirators leagued with its foreign enemies, faced as it is with external hostile forces of a magnitude unprecedented in history."

"The International Labour Conference recently held at Berne, the results of whose deliberations were accepted by the Peace Conference; appointed a Commission to go to Russia to investigate. The British and French Governments have refused to hand passports to these delegates. But there is ample evidence from those who went to Russia with an open mind. President Wilson sont his friend Colonel Robins to investigate affairs in Russia. (Colonel Robins visited this country a few years ago as a Gospel missioner.) He has returned with glowing reports of the success, of the Bolshevik regime, returned in factan convert to Bolshevism. The same with numbers of newspaper correspondents who were previously neutral in their attitude towards the Socialist movement: Philips Price of the Manchester Guardian,' Ransome of the 'Daily News,' Rhys Williams, an American correspondent, all these have returned profoundly impressed, and indignantly deny the calumnies heaped upon the Soviet Republic. There are several instances of Consuls of the Powers in Russia who have declared wholelieartedly in favour of the Soviet Republic, the latest instance being that of M. Heilborn, Swedish Consul-General in Moscow, who has resigned his position because of his sympathy with Bolshevism. These correspondents assert that the violence' is neither due to the Russian proletarist nor to their Socialism, but to the fact that vast private interests have been affected by the change of Government, private interests, domestic- and international, which have not scrupled to conspiracies, armed invasion, civil strife and murder to crush the Russian Workers' Republic."

"We claim that the Bolshevik idea is the Socialist idea, and has nothing to do with the crimes charged against it. We claim that it is a political creed, a matter of public opinion which we have a right to discuss in common with the newspapers which so violently oppose it."

"The native worker has an inalienable right to pursue his aspirations and make them heard in the political life of the country. We claim the right to regard Labour as one and indivisible by colour demarcations. We do not subscribe to the fiction that there is a peculiar and mysterious thing called 'native mind,' removed from the laws that govern human psychology in general and only accessible to experts: a kind of holy of holies which only the priests of the Native Affairs Department are allowed to enter. The latest finding of the most competent educationalists such, as Loram and Sargant is that the mative mind is just ordinary human nature, under other customs of life and modes of thought. If Patliament is our representative, then all the affairs of Parliament, including native affairs. are open to discussion. We do not regard the disfranchisement of the native people as disqualifying them from making and receiving political appeals. Colour qualifications of voting, like property qualifications. cannot possibly mean that the disqualified members of society are excluded from the elementary rights of free speech and public discussion."

"It is only necessary to look back a hundred years and remember that demands for 'Annual Parliaments.' Universal Suffrage and 'No Corn Laws' were considered sedi-Etions: and these were the slogans of the great Manchester gathering in Peter's Eield in 1819, which gathering was broken up by the military and its promoters arraigned for sedition. At the trial of John Muir in 1793 for the seditions act of advocating parliamentary reform and publishing a book of Thomas Paine, the Lord Justice Clerk expressed himself to the jury as follows: 'I leave it to you to judge whether it was perfectly innocent or not in Mr. Muir at such a time to go about among ignorant country people and among the lower classes of people making them leave off their work and inducing them to believe that a reform was absolutely necessary to preserve their safety and their liberty, which had it not been for him they would never have suspected to have been in danger. You will keep this in remembrance and judge whether it appears to you, as to me, to be sedition. . . Mr Muir might have known that no attention could be paid to such a rabble (the petitioners for Parliamentary reform). What right had they to representation? How could they think of it? A government in every country should be just like a corporation. And in this country it is made up of the landed interest which alone has the right to be represented. As for the rabble, who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the nation on them? (Lord Cockburn's Scotch Sedition Trials."

1793.) "John Muir in the schegoing case was sentenced to 14 years' transportation. Thirty. years later a juror on being asked to account for the rerdict could only reply we were all mad.' In far less than thirty years we venture to predict that this will also be the opinion of those who to-day endeavour to place the native workers outside the pale of. political and civil rights. Their mass solidarity, their restraint and law abidingness under trying conditions, their communal spirit, their freedom from the property instinct-these qualities, in spite of intellectual backwardness, fit the native workers for the great task of their own emancipation and with their awn that of the whole working class from the trammels of wage-slavery."

"With reference to the charge of incitoment to violence we wish to draw attention to the methods proposed in the pamphlet, namely that of combination in the workshops. We believe that this solidarity of the workers on the industrial field is the most formidable power for good in modern society, and the most peaceful and elevating withal. It is the very reverse of mob action. Mob action leads to riot and repression. We decry monaction as futile, and point the way to that silent and ordered action of labour in the

workshops at the point of production as the way of peace. Modern representative institutions afford a means in theory at least of the workers achieving their emancipation. Where these fail in practice the combination of the workers on the industrial field is the power in reserve. On this plane of ordered and peaceful solidarity the Socialist movement carries on its propaganda, and has thereby incurred the hatred of the anarchists. Any departure from these methods leads to violent repression by police and military."

"We claim that our programme leads away from violence. We claim that the native workers, left to themselves, blindly groping in conditions that are increasingly trying, are liable to follow the mistakes of all inexperi enced workers by relying on crowds for strength instead of upon their labour. We maintain that such a policy of 'let things rip is a dangerous one for South Africa is the presence of a large Boer population whose traditional way with the native is that of the rifle, and who still live in the past, ignoran: of the modern development of labour. To avoid on the industrial field the territoria: strife of the pioneer and tribal days, that iour aim. When we ask all workers, Dutch Buglish and native to combine in the workshops on matters affecting their labour, those who object to this can only do so because the property interest is dearer to them than the welfare of the people."

Nove: The "New Europe's" "nationalistion of women" tanard had been published by the "Natal Witness" during the trial with notice of the recantation which a few days later was published in the "Star" in the same issue in which the judgment appeared: Ed.)

many hundreds of thousands of men mutilated and killed, there is only one national service that could be imposed upon women that would be even remotely commensurate to the service of fighting men. That would be consoription to become the mothers of sons for the State. I can hear the Suffragist shrick indignation: let her." This, gentle reader, is not from Russia, but from Sir Almroth Wright's letter in the "Morning Post" of 29th June, 1917; and the "Star" can" retract it, either!

The "S.A. Review" says: "That wing of the Unionist Party at Johannesburg which is known as the 'Comrades of the Great War, and whose interesting balance sheet we commented upon in our last issue, may not be doing much for returned soldiers; but as it continues to breathe fire and slaughter against some people there called International Socialists, no doubt the subscriptions from the mining houses and the big merchants will still come in. Such returned soldiers as the junta can command for these pogroms must surely realise that they are being exploited for purely Unionist Party?' (say rather, Capitalist) "purposes. Pogroms on Socialist meetings do not bring either employment for soldiers or increased pensions or allowances." As a matter of fact, these "pogroms" really develop, as they should, into attacks on the Government, to the great disgruntlement of their organisers.

Johannesburg Socialists will have an opportunity of crossing swords with that eminent economist, Professor Lehfeldt, on "The Need of Increased Production" at the Irish Club, this Sunday, the 18th inst., at 8.45 p.m.

This paper will be posted for four weeks only (a) to subscribers whose subscriptions have expired, from date of expire; (b) to persons recommended as likely subscribers.

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