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The International

THE WORLD'S CO[redacted] COMMONWEALTH

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

No. 3. FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

[redacted] Pars.

Handicapped.

Said the Hackney Coroner recently: "Negroes seem to be peculiarly liable to lockjaw."

That is why we bar them from Parliament, Henry.

* * *

Two Items.

(1) A Supplementary Army Estimate of £340,000 to provide for a grant towards the relief of Army officers who have suffered by the failure of the Sir C. R. McGrigor and Co., Army agents and bankers, was circulated yesterday. This brings the total Army Estimates for the year up to £62,640,000.

(2) Samuel Moore, the young Longford ex-soldier, who was sentenced by the Coventry magistrates on October 6th to two months' hard labour for sleeping out, has been released only a few days before his time.

Moore, who served in the Army at Salonika, contracted malaria, and one of his distressing symptoms is that he is constantly getting bad heart attacks. During these he has difficulty in breathing indoors. Hence his habit of sleeping out, which got him into trouble with the police.

True, he was out of work, but this was not due to want of trying.

And yet Colonel Creswell persists in the statement that there are no class distinctions in present-day society.

* * *

[redacted]

[redacted] standing in the Parliamentary Central Hall one night when the Speaker and members of the House of Commons passed through on their way back from the House of Lords after the ceremony of the Royal Assent to the Irish Bills.

The procession had just got clear of the hall when some of these men began to sing sotto voce the "Red Flag." Policemen intervened, and the men then raised their voices.

The police immediately bundled eight or nine of them out into the street, the strains of the "Red Flag" sounding louder and louder as they moved down St. Stephen's Hall into the vestibule.

* * *

A Brain Worker.

Charged with attempted murder at Clerkenwell, Charles Sabini said he had only carried a revolver on one occasion.

Counsel: "What is the last day's honest work you did?" Sabini: "I am always honest."

What is the last day's work you did?—Two years ago.

How do you live?—By my brains.

He'd be a useful member of the Labour Party under the new constitution, Henry!

* * *

The Living Wage.

The undertakers still charge exorbitant rates for funerals, Henry, so as your 'ickle Labour Party can't get you a "living wage." Why not get Creswell to discover another brain wave and demand a dying wage for you?

* * *

Outdoor Relief.

Mr. Sexton was informed by Mr. McNeill in the House of Commons that the Government was considering the extent to which it should render financial assistance to the Sultan at Malta. Mr. Jack Jones: "Fifteen shillings a week and one shilling for each wife." (Loud laughter.)

* * *

Arcadia.

Sli Phi and his old woman have taken up their residence in the future Jewish Orphanage, "Arcadia."

If all the orphans these two parasites have battened on could be collected in one place, Henry, they would outnumber the Red Army.

* * *

Bioscope Stars.

The picture of the Prince of Wales, walking with a stick, putting flowers on the heroes' graves was very pathetic, Henry.

Of course, the State paid for the flowers—and for the stick.

How long will the Dubbs stand feeding with pictures of these useless, degenerate, club-footed, humpbacked monstrosities?

* * *

Law and Order.

Donald Snowdon notes with glee that three Pretoria policemen are "up" on a number of charges of housebreaking and theft.

The Mystery Man.

Sir Basil Zaharoff, the "mysterious" Greek who, during the war, was used by our delectable press to help keep Henry Dubb guessing, turns out now to be no mystery, but just a very ordinary bloodsucker of an oil pirate. Though elevated by the dirty press-gang of Britain to the wonderful nationality of a "British-Greek" (whatever that hybrid may be), he is just an ordinary milk-shake Henry, so don't fancy any more that he is a sort of super Jack-the-Ripper.

* * *

Monuments.

It is one of the little ironies of life that public monuments are only erected, under the capitalist system, to men who have successfully fleeced or deluded the nation. This thought occurs to me on hearing a rumour that the two plinths in front of the Johannesburg Town Hall are being reserved for General Botha and General Smuts when he is dead—God rest his soul as—soon as possible.

* * *

The Proceeds.

Florrie Harris (24), a young white girl, was fined £10 by Mr. Henkel in D Court to-day for loitering in Johannesburg on January 2 for the purpose of prostitution. Mammie Arnold (23) was also fined £10 for a similar offence.

AND THE COURT TOOK THE MONEY, HENRY.

The Last Straw.

Says Mr. Calvin Coolidge, Vice-President of the Benighted States:

"As to how our national habit of overloading children with money, which comes to have no value to the children, is affecting us as a people, I think that it is hurtful to us. It brings thrift into contempt. It induces too many young people to seek the 'white collar' jobs rather than honest, respectable, well-paid manual employment of which the country stands in so much need."

So now you know, Henry!

* * *

Yankee Dope.

From that spawning ground of freak religions, the Benighted States of America, comes another wonderful story of the discovery of a Babylonian clay tablet, which has been deciphered and is supposed to tell the truth about how Adam left the Garden of Eden. Of course the Yanks, having now become God's chosen people (by kind permission of the British Navy), are entitled to make a few "discoveries" of this nature.

* * *

Sequestration.

Lord Lee, of Fareham, raises hell about the British Navy slowly going out of existence.

The trustee of the British Empire, Ltd. (U.S.A.), will not allow the estate to purchase more ships, so be content, Henry—WE won the war.

> NOWHERE IN THE WORLD HAS THERE EVER EXISTED SO CONCENTRATED A FORM OF CAPITALISM AS THAT [redacted] BY THE FINANCIAL POWER OF THE MINING HOUSES IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND NOWHERE ELSE DOES THAT POWER SO COMPLETELY REALISE AND ENFORCE THE NEED OF CONTROLLING POLITICS. . . . RECOGNISING THAT THE SUCCESS OF THEIR FINANCIAL OPERATIONS AND OF THEIR POLITICAL ADJUNCTS WAS DEPENDENT UPON THE MOVEMENT OF POLITICAL OPINION AND PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND GREAT BRITAIN, THEY BOUGHT THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS, SUBSIDISED POLITICAL PARTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND GREAT BRITAIN, AND ORGANISED A MORAL PROPAGANDA AMONG THE CHURCHES AND PHILANTHROPIC BODIES, THEN BY A CONCENTRATED EXERTION OF ALL THEIR MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE THEY ENGINEERED A CATASTROPHE, FROM THE RUIN OF WHICH THEY HAVE EMERGED WITH A FIRMER GRIP THAN EVER UPON THE SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS GOVERNMENT.
>
> J. A. HOBSON, England.

The Mondains.

The Irish limit has been reached by the demand of Sir Alfred Mond—Sir . . . Alfred . . . Mond—that Britain's unemployed should be emigrated to Central Africa and Northern Queensland—where they would be sure to die or develop into ape men. The "demand" would be bad enough if it came from a British politician, but coming from a pure German (naturalised) whose family first left Germany for Britain in 1880—well, I ask you!

L. Macneill Weir, M.P., describing Mond a few weeks ago in "Forward," says:

"A raucous gutteral growling from the Chamber stopped me at the door. A remarkable figure was standing below the gangway making snarling noises. I turned back to see how the Speaker would deal with the acoustic phenomenon. As I came nearer I made out some articulate sounds, and got for the moment an impression that the gentleman with the extravagant nose was addressing the House in German. Wrong again!

"It was Sir Alfred Mond—'One-Room Alf'—the late Minister of Ill-Health, doing his best with the vernacular."

That a "British" House of Commons stood such a "demand" from such a specimen of God's handiwork should teach even you, O. Henry Dubb, that Kapital is really, really international.

* * *

Profit and Loss.

Alexander Herbert Muller, phthisis pensioner, blew his brains out at Lyndhurst on his 33rd birthday.

"Lady Phillips was charmingly attired in dovegrey silk, and she wore a wonderful necklace of emeralds which attracted great attention."

Competent.

At the house of Mr. Walters, Malvern—a one-time great "demokrat"—the dope artists recently foregathered to form a branch of the Junior S.A.P. The chief speaker said, amongst other tripe:

"The white boys of South Africa of both races had an undesirable reputation for laziness and telling untruths."

That, I suppose, is why he was anxious to get them all into the Junior S.A.P.—the rising generation of S.A.P.-ers.

* * *

No Classes!

"London, Sunday.—A most impressive demonstration was witnessed on the occasion of 'Unemployed Sunday.' Fifteen thousand people crowded into Trafalgar Square, there being 200 demonstrations representing the whole country.

"The crowd overflowed into the adjoining streets, and the sea of faces was interspersed with banners. Bands played while the crowd sang the 'Red Flag.'"

"London, Tuesday.—The late Earl Spencer, formerly Lord Chamberlain to the King, left £1,198,000, of which £170,000 was net personalty.—Reuter."

"Durban, Wednesday.—By a fortunate chance the matron of the Durban creche at dusk last night rescued a five-months-old baby, abandoned in Bulwer Park. The baby, a healthy boy, had been left just opposite the creche, and was provided with 'rations.' No inquiries have been received for it.—Special."

The only comment is that 200 "demonstrations" of only 75 persons per "demonstration" wouldn't be called "most impressive" by the press pimps. The 15,000 unemployed was more like 150,000, I'll wager.

S.A.L.P.

Graham Maceurtan, Natal's leading £awyer, having gathered around him a few youngsters of the £aw who are anxious to "work their way up," has founded another little junta of semi-demi-cratic politicians.

Mr. Foley, of Benoni, a somewhat lesser £egal £ight, is on the same racket.

Judas Iscariot, another £awyer, was the original expert in political splits. So a South African £awyers' Party is quite in accord with judasial procedure, and as they'll all be in agreement with Smuts when it comes to a United Front against the working class you needn't worry your head about it, Henry, old dear—IT'S ONLY A SMOKE-SCREEN.

* * *

Poor Pet.

Since young Windsor-Wettin got paralysis in the right hand from shaking hands too much (vide press tripe), the "Daily News" and other capitalist rags have been forcing the pace to get the little fellow married. They're finding him a new "queen" every other day, so it's plain his master Fat is getting impatient, and if the young noodle doesn't make the plunge soon, Henry, he'll lose his job. Of course, it may only be a form of blackmail. The press gang may be keeping their eyes on the gay little chap and letting him know it, but in any case our own little snobocratic "Star" says:

"It is understood that the continued selection by one newspaper after another of a bride for the heir to the throne is causing much annoyance in court circles."

From which it would appear that the ink-slingers of Fleet Street have got Big Mary's goat, and she's made her little Geordie send along a "dignified protest."

Did 'ums!

* * *

Wolves and Workers!

Driven by cold and hunger from the Apennines, which were covered with snow, wolves appeared in villages almost at the gates of Rome last month. The inhabitants received them with shotguns.—Press report.

The workers on similar occasions are treated in like manner—that's jungle (and Fat's) law.

* * *

Honours.

"De Volkstem" suggests a Union Order, and supports the suggestion by a lot of journalistic tripe about having "honours" of our own so that the real South African may not have to refuse a British gegaw.

I hope they'll inaugurate the hire-purchase system with it, Henry, as most South Africans of the "honourable" type don't like parting in a lump sum.

* * *

By Conversion.

"London, Thursday.—One of the things which angered the French most to-day was the revelation that £40,000,000 of gold on behalf of France and £16,000,000 on behalf of Italy deposited in the Bank of England during the war had been sent to the United States to purchase war material for the Allies."

What would YOU get, Henry, for this little job. . . . "And so are they all—all honourable men."

* * *

City of Delight!

In Peking (writes Lucy Calhoun in the "New York Times") you see him against a rich and sumptuous background, a background planned in the T'ang dynasty and built upon the ruins of earlier cities, enlaged by Genghis Khan and his famous grandson, enriched by the Mings, and embellished with the fine instinct for beauty possessed by the two great Emperors of the Manchu dynasty, Kang Hsi and Chien Lung.—Press Tripe.

And in the same "wonderful" city (Pekin) Professor Woodruff records (Expansion of Races) after every frosty night the carts go round the streets in early morning and pick up the frozen bodies of the working class. As many as 3,000 bodies have been collected in one day, but, of course, the tender, fragile, feminine FAT—I mean the Calhoun woman—wouldn't know anything about this, and really we Communists are too awfully awful for always looking on the black side of things, dontcherknow—at least the editor of the "Natal Advertiser" once said so.

* * *

The Bashful Limit.

That political cough-drop, Mr. Tielman Roos, in loyal Natal, said he was against the Communists because "Bolshevism was an attempt to subvert the Government by force, and the Nationalists were totally opposed to the use of force."

Shades of Beyers, Maritz, Fourie, Delarey, and De Wet!!!

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The United Front and Labour Parties.

It is over two years since Lenin formulated the special tactic to be applied to Communist Parties functioning side by side with Labour Parties, with special reference to the British Labour Party. This form of political working class organisation is uniquely British. Its Australian counterpart is a still more perfect example of a trade union party. Before the war the South African Labour Party was also of the same type. Up to the special Conference in August, 1915, most of the important trade unions were affiliated to the Labour Party. After the adoption of the See-It-Through policy and the expulsion of the Internationalists, the trade unions, for various reasons, one by one dropped away from the Party, until it finally became a mere election apparatus. There was a period when it revived as a machine, sported a club—indeed, a sporting club—for was it not endowed by a well-known racecourse sport for favours received or yet to come, I know not which, in regard to Betting Legislation in the Provincial Council. Why, I remember very well on the never-to-be-forgotten evening of the debate in the Special Conference on the See-it-through Policy in the Selborne Hall, how Creswell used the racing element newly arrived in the Party to move the closure—there was the "Evening Chronicle" racing scribe and the bucket shop delegate of Auckland Park, and the white-waistcoated straight-from-the-horse's-mouth man, all jumping up to make the longest speech they were ever capable of: "Move the question be now put"; and how they voiced their glee at the motion which put Andrews, the old trade union warrior, out of the chair, while Creswell played the Tin Napoleon over a party of the workers in the interests of the war-mongering capitalist class. Since the exodus of the trade unions, Creswell and a few electioneering agents are still exploiting the prestige of Labour for election purposes, quite uncontrolled by any real Labour organisation.

When Lenin wrote his treatise we thought that the absence of the trade union element from the Party made a difference in our case. We thought that we could break the remnant of the Labour Party and substitute a revolutionary party in its place. But one thing we overlooked; the people, the working masses, did not know that the Labour Party was no longer the labour movement. They gave long credit to the Party for its work in the past. They also attributed the prestige of the British Labour Pary to its South African counterpart. The very name made it impossible for the ordinary worker to conceive working class political action except in the Labour Party. And so a few men in possession of the electioneering machine filled in just what they liked into the blank cheque given them by the working people; while the trade unions, the rightful owners of the cheque, the rightful controllers and promoters of the machine, allowed it and still allow it to be used by uncontrolled politicians. Here is the situation in South Africa to-day.

We cannot liquidate the Labour Party because the people think it is the trade union party. The first step, then, is to insist that the trade unions shall control it. A Labour Party seems to be part of the flesh and blood of the Anglo-Saxons. The Americans are just beginning to talk about forming one, and it is part of the task of the Communist Party there to throw itself into the movement and be in the swim at the start. So long as the Labour Party stands in the mind of the people as the only form of political action, and that party is in the hands of a private junta, our slogan should be "Trade unions back into the Labour Party." Then we should have a chance, while retaining our distinctive revolutionary character, to co-operate in the daily political struggle of the masses.

We have somewhat neutralised our sound position on the native question in the past by our horror of partial demands. We should have no difficulty in finding planks of common interest for both black and white workers, provided only the workers are sure of our loyalty to their tangible interests as distinct from what appears to them a revolutionary theory of their interests. And here it seems to me the old Labour Party platform: "Abolition of indentured native labour," is an excellent plank upon which the whole gamut of the United Front Movement from Jim Sixpence to Creswell can find a common aim. Even the white miners will now be not averse to it. For what is this but the old bourgeois democratic principle of equal rights thrown away by the bourgeois themselves and now picked up by Labour in the interests of the revolution. This sort of thing is happening everywhere as an incident of the revolutionary class war. The German workers are the only real defenders of the German bourgeois republic, etc. And in the fight for it they will set up a Soviet Republic. However, that is another story.

Now, I have dilated at far greater length than the limits of an article. My chief desire was to modify the attitude of good revolutionists like Comrade Lopes, rather too prone to find reasons for not taking action. All political action is action among shoals. If we point out dangers it should be in order to navigate better, not to keep our ship rotting in harbour. We do not admire the goodness of the monk who never moves in the crowd, nor the superlative revolutionary who stays at home to read Karl Marx in the middle of a strike.

Another point about the United Front it is necessary to make, because Daniel Renoult and others of the French Opposition (now liquidated) persisted in regarding the break up of the Council of Nine as the failure of the United Front. Nothing of the kind! Whether we make or break with the leaders, the United Front tactic contemplates some gain, some forward march, for our Party, because thousands of German workers were disillusioned by the action of their leaders, especially the refusal to put the cancellation of the Versailles Treaty on the programme of action. As Trotsky said in his great speech on the French question in the Enlarged Executive: "It is not the repetition of the same ideas, marking time on the same spot of ground, but the tactic of struggle that will swell our forces." Don't let us wait for an apocryphal revolution. This is the revolution now here. And those who are with the masses in their daily struggles will guide the revolution.

Aloopka, Crimea, 31st October, 1922.

A General Amnesty.

Now that the panic has subsided, and Cabinet Ministers, Judges, Editors, and Parsons have got over their hysteria and find themselves again able to sleep o' nights, it is perhaps possible to discuss the question of the martial law trials and sentences without causing any trembling or foaming at the mouth. In the first place, a number of the men were convicted and sentenced upon the evidence of Pienaar, the King's Evidencer, who gave evidence in ten or eleven cases and eventually pleaded guilty to deliberate perjury in the Green trial. His reason for perjury given being that he was starving and wanted money for bread for his wife and children opens up a whole field of enquiry. How did deliberate perjury procure him money? Who paid him for it? And, on his own confession, is it not reasonable to suppose that he committed perjury in every case he gave evidence in?

Then there is the case of Jolly and others found guilty of damaging railway lines and sentenced to four-and-a-half and four years' imprisonment. The Chief Justice himself had the following remarks to make on this case. Said he: "They had been rightly convicted, but the form of the charge ought not to affect the measure of the punishment. As the scale of punishment laid down by the Act had probably not been brought to the notice of the trial court, the Appellate Division now drew attention to it in order to enable the matter to be suitably dealt with."

Under the statute the maximum penalty is two years' imprisonment or a fine of £200.

Again, there is the case of John Garnsworthy and others found guilty of participating in the attack on the Brakpan mine. Apart from the fact that the doctrine of "common purpose" is quite a novel form of prosecution which is dangerous to the liberty of the citizen, and also that the Judges who tried the case concluded that no actual charge had been proved against any one individual in the affair, the sentences passed are certainly not in accord with reason or common sense. Garnsworthy received a life sentence, whilst the others received sentences varying from six months to ten years' penal servitude, yet the Judges all agreed, and expressed the opinion emphatically that if justice were to be done the two chief King's Evidencers, Ferreira and Van Vuuren, should be the men on trial.

The distinction in the sentences reminds one of the massacre of the Communards, in which prisoners were picked out by Gallifet and shot for no apparent reason, or, as one historian remarks, "a crooked nose, or any facial mark out of the ordinary, procured the owner thereof a death sentence."

With regard to all the remainder we have Erasmus sentenced to ten years' penal servitude and others sentenced to varying terms from one year upwards, yet at the same time the later prisoners charged with offences equally, and more, serious are being chased—yes, actually chased—out of court in batches with a fine of £10.

The excuse that the Court's time can no longer be occupied with the trials cannot appeal to reasonable people. The mere statement that the latter-tried prisoners are lucky is by no means just. If bourgeoisdom demands justice let ALL the prisoners get this justice. The differentiation in itself is a complete negation of even capitalistic justice, and if it is considered reasonable to dismiss treason charges with a fine of £10 then it is certainly not reasonable to sentence other treason prisoners to terms of ten years and downwards.

The cases of Lategan and Saunders are so notorious that they need little comment. Originally sentenced to death on the flimsiest evidence (and it is common talk in Fordsburg wrongly) these two men, as an "act of clemency," got their sentences commuted to penal servitude for life. This case seems to be the worst of the lot if we do not include Long, Hull, Lewis, and Stassen, who have already paid the full penalty.

Public agitation has saved the lives of "Garnsworthy and others," and only by further public agitation can a review of all the cases be brought about. Let it be commenced in earnest from now and carried on without slacking until common fairness has been obtained for every man jack now serving a totally absurd sentence.

SEN YAH.

Capitalism, Communism & Colour.

By HARRY HAYNES.

As far back in history as we have any really authentic record the enemies of progress have invariably carried on their campaign of suppression along the same lines. The progressive movement in its infancy has been treated with silent contempt; in its childhood with ridicule; in youth with vilification and abuse; and in full-grown manhood with bloody opposition. Nevertheless, all attempts to stay the wheel of progress have failed and always must fail. The Communist movement in Russia is winning out, and its counterpart in other countries has reached various stages which can be gauged by a study of the tactic at the moment in vogue among the reactionary, anti-progressive forces. Here in South Africa it is clear enough that Communism has lived through its infancy, childhood and early youth. The forces of reaction—press, pulpit, platform and pictures—by their lying and slanderous attacks, point clearly to the fact that South African Communism has entered the period of late youth. Its wonderful growth in the country during 1922, with indications of greater developments in the present year, causes Capital to unmask its batteries and, through its hired tools beforementioned, prepare the way by propaganda of the dirtiest conceivable kind for the inauguration of the last procedure, i.e., bloody suppression. THIS IN ITSELF IS A CLEAR ADMISSION THAT COMMUNISM HERE, AS ELSEWHERE, IS WINNING OUT, AND HAS BECOME A POWER TO BE FEARED BY THE MAGNATEOCRACY OF THIS COUNTRY.

In following the stereotyped procedure of all previous systems when they had become a fetter upon progress, the South African defenders of outworn, obsolete, brutal and degrading capitalism, have explored every avenue of prejudice—Bolshevik Atrocity, Nationalisation of Women, Immorality, General Depravity, etc., etc., etc.—but have failed all along the line, because not a word they could say, not a thing their highly-trained imaginative artists (pictorial and verbal) could suggest, about Communism and the immoral Communists, did not apply to themselves and their precious "system of society."

Thus, having failed at all points, they return, like a dog to its vomit, to the colour question, and are busy trying to work up an agitation—if a pogrom so much the better—on the old-time parrot-cry that Communism would make this a black man's country. This time, however, they have badly handicapped themselves even upon this question. THE MOST UNINTELLIGENT DUBB AMONG US CAN SEE FOR HIMSELF TO-DAY, WHAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE FAILED TO MAKE HIM SEE BEFORE, THAT THE CAPITALISTS THEMSELVES ARE SUPPLANTING DEAR WHITE LABOUR WITH CHEAP BLACK LABOUR, AND THUS GRADUALLY FORCING THE WHITE POPULATION OUT OF THE COUNTRY, OR INTO A CONDITION FAR BELOW THAT OF THE SAVAGE TRIBESMAN.

For sixteen years at least the Socialists have received nothing but abuse from the white workers "by hand and brain" for pointing out the inevitability of this development of capitalism, and the tactic the white workers should employ to combat it. The phrase, "we told you so," however, does not help either the Communist Party or the masses who are suffering to-day, and are doomed to suffer still more in the future as the process of white-labour elimination from South African industry goes on. Even the S.A. Labour Party begins to see the trend of events, as witness the suggestion of Mr. Briggs, the Chairman at the recent Durban Conference, to organise the black and coloured men. In fact, it is safe to say that all sections of the white working class, and even the petit-bourgeois shopkeeper, view with alarm the future which, if capitalism be allowed to "develop normally," can only hold the sinking of their progeny down to the level of, and in cases lower than, the black races of this country. The old taunt, flung at Communists from many a meeting, "You would like to see my daughter marry a black kaffir," has to-day lost its point against Communism. IT IS, HOWEVER, FULL OF PREGNANT MEANING WHEN APPLIED TO CAPITALISM AND ITS PRESENT-DAY PROCEDURE, because unless the white population act now, act quickly, and act altogether, the future holds nothing for South Africa in this connection but a "virile COLOURED race eminently fitted to survive and reproduce its species," as one high bourgeois authority writes.

The issue, then, has been clarified. No argument is necessary. The development under capitalism proceeds apace, as anyone with a spark of intelligence can see for himself or herself. Not Communism, not even colour as colour, is the enemy. Capitalism, which seeks to make all, irrespective of creed, race, sex, or colour, automatons—mere unthinking profit producers FOR IT—there lies the enemy. Capitalism, with its control of the schools, the press, the bioscopes, even the priests, and with its armed "forces of the crown" to back up its ukase, has decreed that henceforth only the black man shall be allowed, in South Africa, to follow the biblical injunction to "earn his living by the sweat of his brow."

Communism faces capitalism on this question! Communism since its inception has published the awful truths of the matter! Communism points the way to salvation!

Capitalism, with dripping fangs, urges on its intellectual press prostitutes, its politicians, its "statesmen," its comedians and its tools of the police to slander, vilify, and, upon any pretext, to bash, bludgeon, lynch and shoot the Communists who have dared, and still dare, to face the bloody monster, demand and openly fight for a future for our children and

THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS.

Greetings!

TO THE WORKERS' CHAMPIONS IMPRISONED BY CAPITALISM.

Prisoners of capitalism! Champions for the emancipation of the working class, thrown into chains by the capitalist governments. The representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, assembled in the fourth congress of the Communist International, send their greetings to you first of all.

Comrades! From year to year the world congresses do honour to the revolutionary vanguards when they count the victories of the working class, the victims of the struggle, who have perished beneath the hand of the executioner or have been thrown into prison. And this year, now that capital is attacking with united front, the merciless cruelty of the attack is more plainly revealed. Again the blood of the proletariat flows over the whole capitalist world, everywhere where the proletariat is fighting its "last fight" with its class enemies; the best forces decay in the prisons, the waves of the white terror flood all capitalist countries.

In Italy the Fascisti overpower the proletariat with fire and sword, destroy the trade union buildings, the buildings of the workers, co-operative societies and of the party organs; in fact, they do not shrink from destroying the private dwellings of those fighting for the emancipation of the working class.

Those heroic sailors of France, who refused to fight against the Russia of the workers and peasants, are still languishing in captivity. And during the rising in Le Havre the defenders of capitalism again reaped their bloody harvest.

The streets of Berlin are again red with the blood of workmen, and the fighters who opposed the monarchist bands have been thrown into prison.

The leaders of Soviet Bavaria are still languishing in the prisons, although three years have passed since the fall of the Bavarian Soviet Government. Despite the amnesty, many participators in the March action have not yet been liberated from prison.

In Finland the prisons are overflowing, there is no end to arrest and torture.

In Esthonia, before and after the execution of our memorable comrade Kingissepp, the prisons have been kept filled with representatives of the revolutionary proletariat.

In Latvia once more the gallows have been erected. Comrade Kliaws-Klijawin is condemned to death, and the fate of hundreds of arrested workers is not yet decided.

In "democratic" Poland the champions of Communism are condemned to penal servitude under the old Czarist legislation. The bourgeois law courts trample on their own laws. The "immune" deputy, Comrade Dombal, has been condemned to penal servitude and is already serving his term. The election committees are arrested without exception. More than 500 men lie in prison for having taken part in the election campaign, and in the border countries a state of siege and martial law are declared.

In Roumania people are murdered on the oft-cited excuse of "attempted flight." The tortures employed in the prisons during the hearings are such as to arouse protest and indignation even in the bourgeoisie.

In Jugoslavia arrests, tortures in the prisons, derision and insult for the workers are the order of the day.

In Greece the leaders of the proletariat are still languishing in the prisons, even after the so-called revolution.

In Hungary the bloody Horthy government does not cease with executions and torture.

In South Africa the English bourgeoisie rages against the workers' risings with the utmost cruelty.

In democratic America, so proud of its liberties, the severest punishments are meted out to those suspected of belonging to the Communist Party. The police of the American bourgeoisie destroys the trade unions, arrests hundreds of workers, disperses the strikers with swords and rubber truncheons.

In India, Egypt, and in all colonies, the very slightest sign of discontent, the very slightest attempt to resist the unbridled exploitation, is suppressed by force of arms.

Comrades, in all these bloody transactions the Social Democrats are the accomplices of the bourgeoisie. It is they who hold the working class back from fighting by their deceptions, and promises of reforms without fighting. It is they who undermine every action of the proletariat. It is they who distract the attention of the masses in one country from the ruthless treatment of workers in other countries by the bourgeoisie. It is they who make breaches in the united front of the workers.

Comrades, workers! The Communist International does not have to be initiated into making sacrifices. Every revolutionary conquest is bought with the blood of the fighters and founded on their sacrifice. The acuter the struggle, the greater the number of victims. But even when human beings fall, the idea cannot die. Comrades, prisoners in the capitalist prisons! To-day, the day of our great festival, the great fifth anniversary of the Russian revolution, we share with you our conviction, our firmly rooted faith, that the hour is drawing near when the revolutionary proletariat will throw off the yoke of capitalism, and free itself from bondage and exploitation, when it will shatter the locks of your

(Continued at foot of column 2.)

prisons and welcome you again into its ranks—you, its pride, its most highly honoured comrades.

DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST EXECUTIONERS.

LONG LIVE THE FIGHT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS!

LONG LIVE THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION—THE LIBERATOR OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

—"International Press Correspondence."

The Moscow Congress.

DOWN TO BRASS TACKS.

By S. P. BUNTING.

This year's congress has not been of a sensational character. There is something about it that reminds one of Lenin in his more recent moods; for that matter, Lenin as he has always been. Others may vent hot air, tub-thump, sway the sentimental crowd: he aims always at doing the right thing, avoiding error, pitfall or premature conflict, making sure of each step of ground before advancing further, and winning not so much a spectacular or dramatic success as a hold on the deepest convictions of the masses concerned. When others were for fighting the Kaiser again, he did what everyone later acknowledged to be the only thing to do, signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty. When others were for perpetuating "war communism" at any cost, he persuaded them that the necessary support of the peasantry required the "new economic policy." When the "infantile" pedants of the Left wanted to boycott parliaments and keep themselves unspotted from the world, he showed the necessity—quite apart from the "armed uprising" (a false quotation, of course), of which Detective Atkinson's Martial Law Commission has so much to say—of penetrating wherever you can get, at the workers, not boring like white ants to destroy, but to win over the majority, looking to mass pressure as the prime weapon. It is in that spirit that the Fourth Congress has been conducted. Thus, before anything else, party disputes in France, Czecho-Slovakia, and other countries have had to be smoothed out; the plodding tactic of the United Front has had to be so abundantly vindicated that no leg would be left for doubters to stand on; the revolutionary movement all over the world has had to be taught not to look for miracles or wait for "Lenin and Trotsky" to descend in a fiery chariot and bring off the revolution like an air-raid in Berlin, London, or—Johannesburg, but to cut the cackle and get to the 'osses, to redouble local agitation, propaganda, and organisation, however humdrum, until the majority of the workers, convinced at least of the failure of capitalism, become disposed to follow or at any rate acquiesce in a revolutionary lead. Can we not already trace the first rapid effects of such a policy on the British Parliamentary Labour Party—for in these days you don't have to plod long before you see results? The doctrines of the Fourth Congress have not been new. The purpose of the Congress has been to get them only more thoroughly applied in practice. Indeed, if all goes well but a critical situation is still postponed, it may be unnecessary to hold a Congress every year, especially as the new Constitution provides for frequent meetings of an "Enlarged Executive."

MEANING BUSINESS.

I have nothing to report, then, in the way of thrills. You in South Africa, with your huge funeral demonstrations of surging hate against bourgeois terror, and with Creswell choosing that occasion of all others to trim sails, have had more excitement than we in the Kremlin. To be frank, it may be "subjectively" piquant to hold proletarian congresses in the Tsarist halls of gilt and marble, but "objectively" the Kremlin Palace is not the ideal place. The acoustics are bad; and though it is true that whatever language happens to be used is foreign to two-thirds of the delegates, involving protracted translations in any case, still the whole proceedings would have been more effective if even the other one-third could always have heard properly. As it is, the less powerful factors, being accommodated towards the back, have been more or less out of earshot of the "tribune." Delegates used to fresh air, too, would have liked more ventilation than Russian ideas of winter permitted; a defect which in some circumstances might have considerable political importance! Lastly, it would be idle to deny that Lenin's non-appearance, except to make one speech, has had something of a subduing effect, even though we all know it must be so. Well, the enemy may try to make capital out of these details. I can see the "Times" talking of a "spiritless congress," "Third International on its last legs," etc. They are welcome to say the worst, it seems to comfort them. As a matter of fact, the C.I. is rather getting its proper sea legs for the first time. Without having been at any of the previous ones, I daresay the Congress has meant more real business and less mere show and excitement than any of its predecessors. Superstitious expectation of an immediate "Second Coming" has given place, as with those early Christians, to a more practical determination to conquer the world for the cause, with a juster and therefore more truly sanguine estimate both of the available revolutionary forces and of the extent of the revolutionary war-map. There has been, more than ever, a sense that the Communist International is at least all that the capitalist class fears in it a "conspiracy" (by the exploited majority) against the present social order, an enemy far more formidable than any "national foe" within the capitalist camp itself. The Congress feels itself to be the embryo of the coming proletarian "Parliament"—executive, not just deliberative—of the world. It has on its order of the day a more colossal task than any Genoa or Lausanne Conference. Those are just capitalist intrigues to devise means of tiding over and spoofing the masses until the next crisis. But the C.I. is out to build up solidly, unerringly, according to plan, and in the teeth of the capitalist world offensive, the world force which will serve not merely as a Defence Force but as an army of attack, and not merely as an army but as a World Executive of the will of a victorious working class.

CLOSING THE RANKS.

Thus the Congress, especially in "Commission," that is, sub-committee work, devotes the utmost attention to securing unity in every corps and every regiment of its political army. The tradition of earlier socialists which rather welcomed party divisions as "healthy" is absolutely barred at Moscow. Splits among class-conscious proletarian parties are objectively unfounded and cannot be tolerated. The whole weight of the Congress is brought to bear on eliminating them more and more, so that the C.I. may be not merely a bureau concerned with holding annual pitsos, but a single-minded executive body conducting the world campaign continuously, daily, on behalf of all its component parties, and through them as trusty local weapons. The leading men, for instance, have all been busy in committee straightening out tactical discussions in the ranks of one or another party, or within one or another country, which had been emboldening the enemy press to boast that in those countries at any rate a "Red Dusk" had set in. When we left, these "commissions" were succeeding beyond expectation, largely owing to the prestige due to the Executive's sound judgment, as against local parties, in the past; e.g., the Italian Maximalists, led by Serrati, now acknowledged that they were wrong, and the C.I. right, in 1920. And in the same harmonising spirit Zinovieff, in his reply to the debate on the Executive's report for 1921-2, cleared up various misconceptions on the United Front tactic and "Workers' Government" slogan—incidentally giving us for an hour or two one of the most masterly, brilliant, rapid and withal closely woven pieces of logical, critical, practical argument that I for one have ever heard.

THE CHIEFS.

I see, by the way, that Detective Sir Paul Dukes calls Zinovieff a "gutter demagogue." Just the one thing he is not. Low-grade men could not fill such positions, just as high-grade men could not be in the C.I.D. Trotzky (who spoke one day for 7½ hours on end, i.e., made his speech in three languages in succession), Zinovieff, Bukharin, Radek, Losofsky, and of course Lenin, although he was taking a less active part in the Congress this year, constitute a bunch of political genius in comparison with which the delegates of other countries, although including many of the leading men in their respective local labour movements, will I know readily forgive me for saying they seemed of quite mediocre calibre; a Big Six or so, making it easy to understand why the Communist Parties of the world are not merely content but well advised to "take orders from Moscow," in other words to elect these great Russians to their Executive. These men, though nearly all Russians, are elected and re-elected by the world parties because they are far and away the most able and trustworthy men in the whole labour movement, the men best qualified to direct the world-wide proletarian struggle for power, and, in the day when power shall have been won, to wield it in the name and on behalf of all the conquerors. That sense of confidence in the leaders, not hero-worship, but the result of seeing their work at the Congress, is one of the strongest impressions I carry away from Moscow. Of course, they also make mistakes, especially for lack of information, for there are far too few of them to master between them the problems of the whole world, requiring greater all-round up-to-date knowledge than Lloyd-George and all his secretariat could ever command. Indeed—so grossly is our Martial Law Commission in error in imagining that "Moscow takes a special interest in South Africa"—my chief regret is that during all the time I have been in Moscow the "Presidium," i.e., in effect this "Big Five," have never found time to discuss South African affairs either with me or without me; not, indeed, for want of interest, but because other matters are even more engrossing; delegates from countries with a bigger party and more immediate prospects are more important—Moscow soon takes the conceit out of a fellow! At the same time, having failed to get an audience with them, one feels that no one else is worth consulting!

THE POLITICALLY CHOSEN PEOPLE.

Undoubtedly the Marxian mantle to-day rests on Russia. Technically, industrially, in most respects culturally, or from the point of view of "business" efficiency among the most backward of European nations, the Russians are politically quite the most enlightened and advanced. You have only to compare the intelligence of a well-trained Communist Party member in Russia with the corresponding type elsewhere; or the keenness of the audience at a political meeting, and the high level of subject and treatment it exacts in Moscow with, say, that in London; the political talk of the man in the workshop at Petrograd and, say, at Chicago; the sound clean stuff in "Pravda" with the muck of divorce cases, racing and police news that goes to fill up even Labour papers in other lands. Granted, you may see half the population still crossing themselves whenever they pass within sight of any of Moscow's 1,600 churches, and inside these you may find men and women prostrate on their faces kissing the dirty floor: yet with all that they seem free from those far worse superstitions, the snobbery and servility to "rank" of a nation of shopkeepers, the shame at being a proletarian, the petty bourgeois' (and boozers') desire, if not to be taken for lords or masters, at least to ape their accent and conventional chatter, or else the flunkey's pride in the existing social hierarchy and accordingly his pride in any "proper station" therein, however menial, to which it may have pleased God to assign him—all these characteristics of millions of tame Britishers at any rate (I cannot speak with knowledge of others), they offend you every time you walk the streets of London and sometimes make you half despair of the revolution at "Home"; but you find hardly a trace of them among the masses in Moscow.

THE "NEGRO QUESTION."

It is this greater self-respect, this respect for the working class and contempt for bourgeoisdom, that has pre-eminently fitted the Russian Labour movement to take the leadership of an International which, unlike the Second, embraces not only Western Europeans but also Asiatics and Africans. One of the "diplomatic triumphs" of the Soviet Government is its success in turning towards itself as deliverer the eyes of all the oppressed, subjected or exploited nationalities of the East; and correspondingly, one of the achievements of the Communist International is the formation of Communist Parties, however small, accompanying the swift awakening of anti-imperialist and national feeling and the growth of working-class organisation during the last two years, in nearly every country in Asia. A permanent Committee at Moscow dealt with "Eastern and Colonial questions" comparatively and scientifically (though a little inclined to premature universalisation, a besetting sin and yet virtue of Russian political students inherited from days when all revolutionary point had to be buried under a mass of theoretic talky-talky. Well, the presence of two negro delegates at this year's Congress, as I mentioned in my last article, plus the interest in the awakening of the negro shown by white delegates from America, Holland, and South Africa, and also by delegates from Java, Japan, Egypt and Tunis, brought the "negro question" to the fore, though it had not been even contemplated on the agenda; and the Congress adopted, with perhaps less discussion than the subject deserved, a proposal which had already been mooted for some months before, to hold a Negro Congress at Moscow—something with more real emancipation about it than any of your Garvey or Dubois Conferences at New York, Paris, Brussels, or London. What ho! I can almost hear the Rand C.I.D. press screaming about "Bolshevist emissaries to foment revolution among kaffirs"—rather glass-house talk after recent revelations of Britain's fomenting activities in Greece. I shall write more fully on the subject another time: meanwhile I venture to think this policy of bringing the Toilers of Africa (and their American cousins), as the toilers of the Far East have already been brought, within the scope of the world revolutionary proletarian movement, is perhaps the most important piece of new ground covered, "new money," as it were, brought in at the Congress; a policy which it will be the task of, among others, our Party to further to the best of our ability.

THE "LOOK AT RUSSIA" ARGUMENT.

One point was made by more than one leading speaker at the Congress. Trotzky had suggested that whereas Russia suffered AFTER the proletarian revolution, in other countries the counter-revolution shows signs of exhausting itself BEFORE the working class takes power, leaving comparatively smooth waters for the revolutionary government to sail in thereafter. Again, in reply to those who point to the present admittedly poor plight of Russia as a triumphant warning against Communism, it had been urged that more advanced countries will avoid such a plight ensuing on their revolution. "Don't be too sure of that," said Zinovieff. "In other countries too the dictatorship of the proletariat may cause a famine." And in his same speech Trotzky, admitting that "we have not yet proved by facts that Socialism is a better economic method than Capitalism, for Russia is poorer than before the war and even than before the revolution," added: "Revolution as a method of economic transformation is a costly affair. . . The revolutionary conflicts that entail devastation simultaneously entail the birth of new epochs"—or rather vice versa. The conquest of capitalism is no picnic anywhere. To reach the Promised Land even the Chosen Race could not avoid forty years in the wilderness. It would be the worst propaganda to tell the workers of other countries that they are sure to escape the sufferings of Russia, and need not fear being called upon to pass through tortures or make sacrifices perhaps equal to or worse than Russia's, before they can definitely say they have established the New Order. Even in the best regulated households revolution is likely to be a "gruesome affair."

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I date this article on the day of our departure from the only free country in the world, although I shall post it in Darkest Bourgeoisland. We leave Moscow, as we expected, with great regrets and strong desires to return some day. And, having learnt something more than we knew before of the grave defects under which Soviet Russia is still labouring, we leave feeling more loyal to her than ever, more convinced than ever of the correctness of our Johannesburg banner—"Follow the lead of Soviet Russia."

P.S.—London, December 14. I see the "Times" comes out with a typical story of the train we travelled by being filled with 70 secret Bolshevik emissaries falsely travelling as diplomatic couriers. Seventeen would be nearer the actual number of passengers, and they consisted not of couriers but of ourselves and other delegates returning from the Congress! It is amusing to see with your own eyes the process of manufacturing lies about Russia!

Moscow, November 30, 1922.

THE TIGER.

Violence is in the blood of the capitalist class. It turns to it instinctively when its interests are threatened.

When all goes smoothly, when its supremacy is unchallenged, when it rules as by right divine, the capitalist class can be real nice. It can purr delightedly, and look extremely pleasant.

But always the claws are ready to be thrust forth from the velvet sheath, and the lips to be drawn back from bared teeth, sharp and cruel.

The regime of the capitalist class is founded on force. If it can attain its ends by law, well and good. It will then talk unctuously of "constitutional methods," though all the time the instruments of violence are in reserve, prepared for any emergency.

Let it fail, however, to get the law on its side, and the capitalist class reverts at once to the savage logic of the jungle.

Isn't that the state of things in Italy?

The Fascisti in that country are the armed emissaries of Capitalism. They take the pay and they do the will of the capitalist class.

They are organised to forcibly break up the industrial unions and the socialist movement. They go about their work as the Black and Tans in Ireland did—shooting and burning and destroying.

Half the trades halls in Italy have been burnt to the ground by them. Socialist newspaper offices and meeting places have succumbed to the Fascisti's firesticks, and hundreds of the working class have been murdered by their ruffian bands.

A reign of terror prevails in Italy. No man of radical tendencies is safe from these pampered desperadoes, behind whom, sooling them on, stand the manufacturing magnates and the big landowners.

The Italian people have suffered terribly since the war. So intense is their misery, so black the prospect before them, that the spirit of revolution, quickened by hunger and pain and tragic losses, flames in their hearts.

Here and there the famished multitudes have broken out, and the Government has temporised with them, negotiated with them, made them promises which were never kept. The Government in Italy is susceptible to democratic pressure, for the Socialists are the strongest party in Parliament, and the peasants of the south are in sympathy with them.

These diplomatic methods do not suit the capitalist class. The rending tooth and claw are what it wants.

All over the world the capitalist class is the same—sleek and shiny and agreeable so long as the workers quietly submit to exploitation, but when its path is crossed as fiercely fanged as the tiger on the trail of its "kill."

International Solidarity.

On December 11th, Henri Treint, the representative of the French C.G.T.U. (affiliated to the R.I.L.U.) appeared at strike headquarters, and handed over to the Strike Committee 2,000,000 marks. Comrade Treint declared: "When we read of the heroic struggle of the German workers in Ludwigshafen, our Central Committee met to take action in the struggle that affects all of us. With indignation we received the news that the German trade union 'leaders' not only refused to recognise the struggle, but that they also had the audacity to launch a campaign against strike relief collections. In any other country where trade union 'leaders' would dare to stab striking workers in the back in such an outrageous and shameless manner, and so openly to serve as lickspittles to the capitalists, they would be thrown overboard in a fury.

"Accept 2,000,000 marks from our trade union treasury with our sincerest fraternal wishes for success."

Without justice society is sick, and will continue sick until it dies.

—Froude.

* * *

History is the serial obituary of the men who thought they could drive men.

—H. D. Lloyd.

THE WORKING MAN.

"They feed the fires on all the seas."
—Ernest Poole, in "The Harbour."

All the fires on all the seas
Are fed by working men,
All the timber and all the trees
Are cut by working men;
All the iron and all the gold,
All the cargoes the steamers hold,
All the freight on all the trains,
All the harvests on all the plains
Are made by working men.
All the buildings and all the drains
Are made by working men,
All the power in all the mains
Comes from the working men.
All the roads and all the trails,
All the winds in all the sails
All the metals from all the mines,
All the cornfields and all the vines
Sing of the working men.
All the blood of all the wars
Comes from the working men;
Brothers, brothers—all is yours,
You sons of working men.
All the world with all its mirth,
All its beauty, all its worth,
Made by you, with work and pain,
Take them, keep them, hold the gain
You toiling working men.

A. FREDERICK.

Save the Children Fund.

A meeting is announced to take place in Benoni on the 23rd, when a Mrs. Ruxton is to be the speaker. This lady is reported to have stated in a letter to ministers and others that the organisation she represents is feeding 250,000 children in the Russian district of Saratov alone, and she declares that the famine this winter will be as bad as last year, and that the harvest of last year will not meet the bare requirements of half the population.

These are gross exaggerations, not to say downright lies, the object of which is quite clear when the lady proceeds to make the monstrous assertion that the Government tax will absorb 20 to 30 per cent. of the total corn harvested.

We do not know who Mrs. Ruxton's authorities are, but the latest number of "Russian Information and Review," issued weekly by the Russian Government Office in London, contains the following information: The price of bread has fallen 12 per cent. in ten days, sugar 24 per cent. in the same time. The State Grain Products Trust is arranging to EXPORT to Germany 15,000 tons of wheat and 30,000 tons of barley.

This does not look like a scarcity of food. Regarding next year's harvest prospects, the same authority says that the area sown last autumn is considerably higher than that of last year. The prospects for next year's harvest are exceedingly good, and if favourable weather conditions continue, 1923 should bring in an even more substantial harvest than the good harvest of 1922. If this hope is realised, it will be of incalculable importance in accelerating Soviet Russia's general economic recovery.

Very 'Umble.

At the second annual conference of the S.A. Association of Municipal Employees, the Pretoria Association, in a pamphlet on "strike" action, gave expression to the following:

"The S.A.A.M.E. must give up the idea that progress is to be obtained by forcing the various Municipal Councils to conform. It must relinquish the idea of arbitrary force. PUBLIC SERVANTS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO GO ON STRIKE. Such a strike becomes a mutiny. It is unconstitutional."

Slaves hugging their chains are always a sorry spectacle.

Trade Union Congress (S.A.)

The following suggested subjects for discussion have been circulated amongst the Unions by the Associated Trade Unions of South Africa, with a request that the unions will forward suggestions or complete resolutions based thereon, which will be incorporated in the final agenda for the Conference, which will be held in Bloemfontein this year:

(1) Unemployment.
(2) Continuity of Industries.
(3) Re-organisation of Trade Unions on lines of Industry.
(4) The International Labour Conference and the International Relationship of S.A. Trade Unions.
(5) The Development of a National Organisation of Trade Unions.
(6) The Establishment of a Permanent Trade Union Congress.
(7) Old Age and Invalidity Pensions.
(8) Amendments to Workmen's Compensation Act.

J. WALLACE, Secretary.

Keep It Up!

Strikers in large numbers, originally charged with high treason, have had their charges reduced to sedition, and their cases have been remitted to the Magistrates' courts. Large batches have thus been dealt with, most of them being fined £10 with the alternative of one month's imprisonment. In the meantime, Erasmus, Colraine and others of our comrades are sentenced to serve terms up to ten years.

How ridiculous! And what a striking example of selective treatment! AS IF ALL WHO TOOK PART IN THE REVOLT ARE NOT EQUALLY GUILTY! But Fat's vengeance, as always, is directed mainly against those considered to be leaders with "courage, intelligence and ability." It is this policy of selection, however, which gives the workers a firm and reasonable platform of appeal for the release of all strike prisoners. We must keep the agitation going at full swing. Our success in obtaining reprieves for the Brakpan strikers is no excuse for "resting on our oars" now. Our slogan must be, "Similar treatment for all the 'guilty' ones," and this, logically, means a GENERAL AMNESTY. Short of the realisation of this as an immediate aim the workers must not rest.

Correspondence.

The Editor of "The International,"
Johannesburg.

Sir,—I am living on a rather isolated farm in the O.F.S. To break the monofony of my existence, I beg to ask through your paper a few lady comrades who are interested in Communism, and can occasionally spare thirty minutes to become my "pen friends" and to correspond in a friendly way, principally on this interesting subject.

I know almost nothing of Communism, and want to know much, so that the correspondence may become of interest to both sides. The correspondence should be direct between the parties, so that prospective friends must not forget to give name and address, as I will do, of course.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,
PARADISE LOST.

If any comrade desires to accept the above invitation letters in the first instance must be sent to this office.—Ed.

Afraid!

Signs of the fearsomeness of the Government at its probable fate at the next general election are becoming increasingly numerous.

Pressed by the volume of public opinion, aroused by the agitation of the Communist Party, and fearing to carry its policy of vengeance to further extremes, it bottled up its feelings of vindictiveness and spared the lives of John Garnsworthy and his companions. This was the first sign of the "climb-down." Hard upon it came the decision to remit the cases of large numbers of the awaiting-trial prisoners to the magisterial courts and to reduce the charges, irrespective of their gravity, to sedition. Many of the prisoners have thus been disposed of during the last three weeks, having merely gone through the rigid and ridiculous procedure of pleading "guilty" and being fined £10 or one month's imprisonment.

This more lenient and conciliatory attitude has not been embarked upon without due consideration.

The brutal suppression of the workers in March last witnessed the almost complete disintegration of the Labour Movement in the industrial field, the dissipation of all organised expression of working-class opinion. As if temporarily stunned, the workers lay faintly grovelling in the dust with the iron heel of Smuts planted firmly on their necks. But, as is always inevitably the case, the reaction had to come. Recovering from their stupor, a revulsion of feeling against the bloody tyranny of the Government became manifest among the workers, a desire for action to remove the weight. This feeling was but a faint murmuring at the commencement; it was isolated and sporadic. Gradually it grew, becoming more cohesive. It gathered strength and became general, rising like a tidal wave. Ignore it Smuts could not! Suppress it—he dare not! To compromise with it was the only practical course, and this, as we have seen, he has done. The compromise, in all instances, when boiled down, is but part and parcel of a general policy aiming at drawing off the righteous anger of an outraged working class, a political "move" designed to catch working class votes at the next general election. The workers, however, should not allow themselves to be deceived, as there is no reason to believe that the Smuts Government would be any the less bloodthirsty and ruthless if allowed to remain in office for a further period of five years. Apart from this, there is a more important consideration. In 1913 the workers vowed "NEVER TO FORGIVE AND NEVER TO FORGET." How much more sacred has this pledge become when viewed in the light of the experiences of the past year! The blood of those who went down in the fire of battle and of those who died for the Cause on the scaffold cries out for vengeance. Their memory can best be honoured and the solemn pledge redeemed by the workers nursing the fire of their hatred of the present Government, and by a grim determination to oust it at the first opportunity as a step in the direction of their economic and social emancipation.

Realising the bitter feelings of the workers, and having learnt by past experience that it will be a difficult if not impossible task to placate them, the Government is taking more precautionary measures in the hope of securing success at the polls. In Benoni, numbers of the most active participants in the strike are having their names removed from the voters' roll, thus being deprived of their civil rights—Comrade T. Chapman being one of the first victims. It is highly probable that similar action will be taken in the other Reef centres and in Johannesburg proper. If allowed to proceed, this will result to a large extent in emasculating the protesting voice of the Rand workers and possibly see Smuts in power for a prolonged period. The answer to this action must be an INTENSIFICATION OF THE AGITATION FOR A GENERAL AMNESTY coupled with THE COMPLETE RESTORATION OF CITIZEN RIGHTS TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THEM THROUGH THE STRIKE.

It is interesting to note, also, that the Delimitation Commission has recommenced its work. As in the past, it is scheming to so divide the constituencies as to split the Labour vote. This Commission is deserving of a watchful eye, and a prompt protest should it bring in any schemes calculated to reduce the workers' solidarity to impotence at election time. The activities of the enemy call for a corresponding activity on the part of the workers. They seem, somehow, to suggest the possibility of an election in the very near future, and the workers would do well to keep on the alert, in the meantime assiduously preparing themselves for action.

C. F. G.

The Factory in Russia.

The factory has begun to play a very important part in the whole life and outlook of the Russian worker of to-day. This does not merely mean that the factory is the place where the worker spends a great deal of time earning his daily bread—but that, since the Revolution, it has become the centre of education, of culture, and of the general life of the worker.

Thus, we find in most factories—indeed in all factories where the workers are keen and the management sympathetic—workers' clubs, libraries, either fixed or travelling, adult schools, and very often kindergartens for the workers' children. At holiday times it is in the halls of the factories that the workers arrange concerts, theatricals, and social gatherings. A writer in the Moscow "Pravda," describing the anniversary celebrations of November 7 at one of the most important factories in Moscow, the "Dynamo," says:

"And on the day of our greatest fete, where did the workers of the 'Dynamo' spend their time? From seven o'clock in the morning they were on their feet marching from the outskirts of the town to the Red Square, and then back. Dead tired, where did they seek rest for body and soul? In their factory—it was there that they found the rest and entertainment they needed."

The small motor hall at the Dynamo workers had been transformed into a theatre and concert hall. The workers, their wives, sisters, mothers, their children, were all there. The first four rows were occupied exclusively by children—the scholars of the local model school, attached to the factory. The hall was, of course, decorated with flags, but the most striking and instructive thing was a diagram hung on the wall showing the committees upon which workers of the Dynamo were serving. These included:

(1) The managing committee of the factory.
(2) The district committee of the metal workers' union.
(3) The ward Soviet.
(4) The ward executive committee.
(5) The Moscow Soviet.
(6) The Moscow consumers' society.
(7) The Electrotrust.
(8) The All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Thus the workers at the Dynamo have representatives in every organ of the State, from the lowest to the highest, in every kind of organisation, political, economic, and social.

It is this living interest and activity in the affairs of the country which is reflected in the faces of the workers, in spite of their comparatively rude and insufficient food, their shabby clothing, their bad housing conditions.

An American, witnessing the scenes in the streets of Moscow on November 7, remarked on the keen and vigorous appearance of the workers:

"I come from America, but in recent years I have lived off and on in most countries of Europe, and this is my impression—there the faces of the masses bear an old, tired, unhealthy look—here, however, in spite of all your suffering and agony, the faces of the masses look young, hopeful, full of life. You seem to be only on the threshold of life, and because of your youth and your vigour you have become the pioneers of the workers of the world."

Mr. Chamberlain, an American journalist who was in Kharkov during the November 7 celebrations, writes as follows:

"In America our working man, after the day's work is over, flees from the factory as from some fiery Gehenna. It is for him the embodiment of an evil fate which has overtaken mankind. With you in Russia the factory is the centre of your social life. There you have your library, your school, your club, and your theatre as well as your work. Your workers do not flee from their factory or workshops; on the contrary, they deliberately RETURN to their factory or workshop, after the day's work is over, in the quest for enlightenment and the more beautiful things of life. This has made a tremendous impression on me. With us in America, the factory is a burdensome yoke; with you in Russia, it is the centre of social life, the embodiment of the dignity of labour."

—"Russian Information and Review."

Heroes.

It was Armistice Day. A dense crowd gathered round the Cenotaph in Whitehall to honour those men who "thought not their lives dear to themselves," but gave them up for their country. Suddenly the crowd sways to one side and the quick, sharp footfalls of marching men are heard above the murmur of the multitude. Four deep, they come, hundreds of men, shoulder to shoulder. A gaunt, careworn, civilian company, sad-faced and threadbare, they come alongside the monument. Instantly every head is bared in silent tribute. It was a march of the ex-Servicemen—Regaled in 1917; Repudiated in 1921. But it was the Dead that were being honoured—that day there was no time for the living.

But stay! What are those pieces of white paper pinned on their breasts? I found out afterwards. THEY WERE PAWNTICKETS FOR THEIR MEDALS!

—L. Macneill Weir, M.P., in "Forward."

The Guarantee Fund.

The response to our appeal to our readers and friends for monthly donations to the International Guarantee Fund has not yet justified the Central Executive in reverting to a weekly issue of our paper. The position is reviewed at each weekly meeting, and no time will be lost in satisfying the increasing demand for a weekly paper when finances allow.

We have gratefully to acknowledge the following amounts which have been received since the last list was published:

J.M. 10/-, S.M. 5/-, I.I. 20/-, F.B. 100/-, Friend 2/6, J.C. 2/6, K.W. 2/6, R.G. 2/6, C.S. 20/-, H.G. 10/-, R.R. 2/6, D.L.D. 2/6, J.Z. 20/-, J.H 20/-, W.M. 5/-, S.K. 10/-, M.D. 2/-, W.F. 5/-, A.M.M.B. 10/-, J.M. 20/-, A.G. 2/6, F.R. 30/-, V.B. 5/-, M.G. 4/-, A.A. 2/6, J.A.A. 10/-, M.B.M. 8/-, G.M. 10/-, M.P. 2/6, Lone 2/6, W.C. 10/-, H.S. 20/-, H.M. 10/-, A.B. 20/-, C.F.G. 2/6, E.R. 10/-, M.M.L. 10/-, J.E.A. 10/-, R.B. 32/6, J.W. 20/-

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

SELBORNE HALL SOCIAL.

All arrangements have been completed for the first Johannesburg Communist Reunion in 1923, which will be held in the Selborne Hall on the 20th inst. Comrades and friends are invited to spend a pleasant evening. Tickets, 2s.; children at door, 1s.

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REDUCED SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The Central Executive has decided to reduce the subscription to "The International." As from January 1st this year it will be 10/- for 50 copies, 5s. for 25. The necessary adjustments will be made in the accounts of current subscribers. It is hoped that this reduction will result in an increased number of annual subscribers.

New Branches.

A meeting was held at Pretoria, last Sunday, for the purpose of re-forming the branch of the Party there, and Springs is taking similar action. Visitors from Bloemfontein and Durban state that the time is ripe to re-organise these districts, and we hope the time is not far distant when we shall once more see flourishing branches in these centres.

Propaganda.

The immediate object of the mass meetings along the Reef having been accomplished, namely, the commutation of the death sentences passed on Garnsworthy and other members of the Brakpan Commando, they are being continued by the Communist Party for the purpose of demanding a general amnesty for all martial law prisoners.

The Town Hall meetings in Johannesburg are as well attended as ever, the crowds averaging at least two thousand. Benoni Branch continues its activity and holds meetings at Perry's Corner every Saturday evening.

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

STUDY CLASS PART PROGRAMME FOR 1923.

Classes in Economics and Politics to be held at No. 4, Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on Tuesdays, commencing at 7.30 p.m.

Tuesday, January 23rd.—Production of Absolute Surplus Value. The Feudal State in Europe.

Tuesday, January 30th.—The Working Day. The Feudal State in England.

Tuesday, February 6th.—Production of Relative Surplus Value. Co-operation and Division of Labour. Growth of the Modern State.

Tuesday, February 13th.—Machinery and Modern Industry. Functions of the Modern State and Future Possibilities.

Tuesday, February 20th.—Wages. The Rise of Democracy and Liberalism.

Tuesday, February 27th.—Accumulation of Capital. National Movements in the 19th Century.

Tuesday, March 6th.—History of the Growth of the Capitalist Method in Production to the present day, and general conclusions. Imperialism and Colonial Expansion.

The above parallel classes in Economics and Politics will be open to the public. All interested in working class education invited to attend. Time will be allowed for discussion.

The Red Revolt?

On Monday, 15th inst., in "E" Court, Johannesburg, before Mr. Bovill, Comrades George Mason and W. H. Andrews were committed for trial on a charge of inciting to public violence. Bail was reduced from £150 to £50 each.

Comrade SAM BARLIN

Invites all Comrades and Friends to call at his office before ordering their suits or costumes elsewhere.

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

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