Registered at the General Post Office as a newspaper.

Ask Your Friend to Join the COMMUNIST PARTY.

CALL AT No. 4, TRADES HALL.

The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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

Vol. VIII. No. 355. FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

MAY DAY.

All interested are invited to attend at 4, Trades Hall, This Sunday, 4th March,
AT 3 P.M.

The Indemnity Habit.

In an article on the administration of native affairs, Mr. E. H. Brookes, of the Transvaal University College, asks: "Are we not perhaps contracting the indemnity bill habit too freely in South Africa? Legalising illegality is a process which should only be resorted to in cases of the utmost and direst necessity."

Such remarks as this border on Lese Majesté, as the Smuts-Corner House idea of government is based on a supreme contempt for the rights of anyone who opposes them.

The professor will lose his job if he is not careful.

* * *

Benoni Fascisti

We understand that the proprietor or manager of the Hotel Cecil, Benoni, has been threatened by some of the white guards in the district that if he allows the Communist Branch to hold the Social and Dance on March 10th to commemorate the anniversary of the martial law proclamation there will be trouble.

It will be remembered that something of the kind happened a year or two ago, and the local branch brought an action for breach of contract and won it.

We feel sure that the workers of Benoni will not allow a few scabs and white guards to prevent the celebration of the events of last March, and that if any attempt is made to create disorder the offenders will be promptly dealt with.

* * *

Freedom.

Chicago.—Three I.W.W. war-opinion prisoners ordered deported to Sweden by the United States Government after serving five years in Leavenworth Penitentiary, were put on board the liner Drottningholm at New York, January 13th, by agents of the Department of Justice. The three were Carl Ahlioen, Siegfried Stenberg, and Ragnar Johampsen.

* * *

Tampico (Mexico).—Thousands of Mexican working men and women have pledged themselves not to buy any more products from the United States until the Government of that Republic has released the 61 men still held in prison for refusing to support the world war. They will no longer go to see moving pictures from the United States, will refrain from wearing clothing made in that country, and will eat nothing that is prepared there.

And these Mexican workers gave vent anew to their resentment against moving pictures made in the United States which so often portray Mexicans as evil men.

Loyalty.

The capitalist press continues to screech maledictions on the heads of the Johannesburg Town Council because it has had the audacity to re-employ men who went on strike last year.

The "Sunday Slimes" sheds crocodile tears over "the men whose loyalty to the community" was unquestioned, which, of course, is another way of complimenting working men on being traitors to their class and false to everything that the word loyalty used to stand for. The "loyal" worker who stands by the "community" means to the working class a "scab" who stands by the capitalist when his fellows are engaged in a life and death struggle for a bare existence.

Capitalism, it has been shown, pollutes all that it touches. Such words as loyalty, patriotism, honour, and gentleman have lost all meaning in the morass of meanness, hypocrisy, cant and cunning which is miscalled modern civilisation.

* *

Catch 'Em Young.

In an article with the caption, "Catch 'Em Young," the "Sunday Slimes" gets going again on the "poisoning the minds of the young" stunt, and proceeds to boost the junior S.A.P., which, of course, has no other object but the dissemination of the purest distilled truth.

The Junior S.A.P.'s are not to be turned into "fierce politicians," but are to be given a "broad and sane idea of the political situation in the country" (with the "Star" and "Sunday Slimes" and the Chamber of Mines reports as text books, we presume).

It is all very delightful, but the organisation of White Guards and Fascisti was effected under the same high-sounding bunkum.

* * *

All history has been the struggle on the part of those who made bread and did not have it, against those who had bread and did not make it—the word bread here symbolising all the things that go to make up bread and privilege.

—Professor G. D. Herron.

Justice!

The two farmers, Christiaan Oberholzer and Johannes Colliers, as we predicted last week, were acquitted on the charge of beating their Hottentot servant to death with sjamboks whilst he was tied to the wheels of their wagon. Immediately after their acquittal they were further charged with beating four other native servants, to which they pleaded guilty. They were found guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and the former was fined £100 or twelve months' hard labour and the other £75 or three months. This is justice meted out as between master and servant in the South-West Protectorate.

One of these men was a government official, and no doubt has acquired his estimate of the value of a native's life from Mr. Hofmeyer, the Administrator. On charges bearing no comparison to the incredible brutality shown by these Windhoek farmers, workers on the Rand have been hanged or imprisoned for life. Such incidents as these will have an infinitely greater effect on the native workers of Africa than any alleged Bolshevik propaganda that may be done among them.

* * *

The Unfit.

Mr. Justice Roche, of Durham, England, said that the medical faculty should consider very seriously whether the practice in certain States of America of sterilising the unfit should not be imitated in the case of persons liable to commit unnatural and indecent offences.

There is something in the idea, but who is to be the authority on unfitness. The workers' idea of fitness would probably differ radically from that of, say, General Smuts or Lionel Phillips.

The Heaven-Sent "State."

On Monday last fellow-worker Wilson of Benoni was "found guilty" (sic) of sedition during the revolt, and sentenced to 21 months' imprisonment with hard labour. Mr. Justice De Waal, in passing sentence, said: "It cannot be too much or too frequently emphasised that when people have grievances, real or imaginary, whether of an industrial or economic or political nature, no organised State could for one moment tolerate them, in their endeavour to redress those grievances, using force and violence against the constituted authority of the State. If it did tolerate such violence all government would cease to function, and anarchy would supervene. Where, therefore, people indulge in any unlawful and wicked enterprises, courts of justice before which such acts are enquired into are obliged, in the interests of law and order, to take a serious view of those acts."

Now then, you constitutionalists of parliamentary fame—when the workers have grievances and cannot get them rectified by constitutional means, what are they to do? How about unemployment, how about capitalism itself? These are permanent working-class grievances and cannot be removed constitutionally. Would you, then, have us permanently submit to them? If not, can you offer us an alternative to the forcible overthrow of the present system?

* * *

Royalty.

London, Monday.—According to a New York cable, Mrs. Edith McCormick, a daughter of Rockefeller, declares that she is the reincarnation of the first wife of Tutankhamen.

The United States has at last discovered its royal house.

Crawford on Politics.

In a leaderette entitled "Our Politics," in the "Weekly Herald" of last week, Archie Crawford, one-time revolutionary socialist and labour champion, displays the level of degradation to which he has sunk in the working-class movement. The gem of the article runs as follows: "That the country will have to get on without Smuts some day we realise, but when it has ceased to have need of him we hope the country will HONOUR HIM FOR HIS SERVICE TO THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE." Honour him for what? If by "people" is meant the "workers" the "service" referred to is most difficult of discernment. Presumably, then, Smuts should be honoured for shooting the Rand workers back to work last year on the terms of the Chamber of Mines, for the slaughter of many, for the legal murder of some of the best militants, for the imprisonment and maltreatment of hundreds of others; for the vicious life imprisonment and other long-term sentences, for thousands of unemployed and starving workers and their families and the placing in their jobs of cheap native workers! How comical! Whilst every decent and honest working man and woman holds Smuts up to contempt and execration, Crawford would HONOUR him! Heavens! Among most workers Crawford has become a back number they know that on countless occasions he has betrayed them to the other side. Let those who still believe him to be with them ponder well on his proposal to do h-o-n-o-u-r t-o S-m-u-t-s!

Further on in the same article we read the following: "Politicians should realise that by their own acrimony they are reduced to low levels—(could they be lower than Crawford?)—in the eyes of the people. IF WE ALL TRY TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERN WISELY AND WELL, WHETHER IT BE LABOUR, NATIONALIST OR S.A.P. GOVERNMENT, WE WILL NOT ONLY BE DOING OUR DUTY AS TRUE CITIZENS, BUT WE WILL ALSO BE ELEVATING THE PLANE OF POLITICS, AND WILL BE IN A POSITION TO JUSTLY CONDEMN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH FAILS US." Dear, dear! Apparently, then, we are not in a position to "justly condemn" the Smuts Government because we did not help it to "govern wisely and well." On the contrary, we are told that we must HONOUR him. What hypocritical nonsense! In what, may we ask, does "wise government" consist when the party in power is a capitalist party? The function of the capitalist class in society is to exploit and profit by the labour of the workers, and the policy of its government must needs be in conformity with and calculated to facilitate and further that function. Contrarily, as in Russia, the policy of a working-class government must be to legislate and administer the affairs of society in the best interests of the workers. In both cases, the policy of the Government is calculated in every detail to SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE RULING CLASS WHICH PLACED IT IN POWER. But Crawford wants the workers to help the capitalist government of Smuts to "govern wisely," which logically can only mean that they should help him in his policy of subjugating them to the interests of Corner House finance. According to him the workers should never have struck work last year and fought to preserve their status, as such action was inimical to "wise government." What traitorous piffle to dish out in a paper calling itself a workers' paper! The business of the workers in all countries, South Africa included, is not to help capitalist governments to function, but to try by every means at their disposal to break them up, and prevent them from functioning again by instituting a government of workers, to the exclusion of all who will not do an honest day's work.

* * *

With no knowledge of the teachings of Marx I went to Russia and, on the basis of what I saw, I am prepared now to interpret the events in Eastern Europe as the first phase of a Social Revolution which will be world-wide.

M. PHILLIPS PRICE.

Awkward.

It is stated that the Castle Brewery Company has informed its employees, who were members of Crawford's union, that they must leave the job or the union, and that after anxious deliberation the assistant S.A.L.F. Secretary decided that it was better to lie low and say nuffin', lest the liquor adverts. in his weekly paper be withdrawn. I wonder whether it is true? Thirty-six pounds per month is a serious matter, Henry.

* * *

A Hint.

The match dope by the page columns of drivel about Tutankhamen's tomb and his toilet arrangements, and other columns of Winston Churchill's account of how he understudied the immortal Bill Adams and won the war, have been the features of the daily press for some weeks past.

Why not a Bolshevik scare for a change? To many it would be a positive relief.

* * *

Jig-Saw Puzzles.

The world-shaking news has been flashed over a thousand wires that Messrs. Lucas and Mace, the prospectors for and snatchers of antiquated corpses, have managed to piece together the cellar—all but a bit—of old King Tutankhamen's shirt or some other article of apparel.

One suspects they get better paid for this job than those who make shirts for live men.

* * *

Sabotage.

Brussels, Sunday.—The miners' central committee has passed a resolution calling on the strikers to resume work.

How like our own trade union executives, whose one business seems to keep the workers quiet.

* * *

A fair exchange is no robbery, but there are no fair exchanges under this system of rent, interest, and profit.

Our Aristocracy.

Mr. Furness, cousin of Viscount Furness, testified that his butler was the only man who was able to manage his wife when she was under the influence of drink. In cross-examination he admitted that they had many Bohemian friends in London, and that he and his wife had spent £120,000 in three years.

* * *

Liars!

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs denies the repeated statements that it contemplates shortly resuming diplomatic relations with Russia, and says there is no question of despatching a political mission thither.

Nevertheless, the denial is regarded as unconvincing in some quarters.

Counterfeit.

New York, Thursday.—Sixty-four men and women have been arrested who are alleged to be members of a gang which has been circulating immense quantities of counterfeit money during the past eight months.

The authorities expect to arrest no fewer than a thousand persons in various cities.

One wonders whether the members of the various European Governments who have been reducing the standard of living of the working classes by flooding the countries with almost worthless paper money are among those arrested?

* * *

Murder.

Washington, D.C.—Accidents in the nation's coal mines killed 1,950 miners in 1922, the Federal Bureau of Mines reports. This was 23 less than in 1921. But this does not mean a lowering of the fatality rate, as the coal-diggers were largely on strike from April 1 to late in August. So the 1922 figures cover approximately seven months, compared with twelve months in 1921.

Obliging.

The British Government, out of courtesy to Turkey, and with the object of assisting the Turkish Government to overcome the opposition of the extremists, has ordered the withdrawal of warships from Smyrna, except the cruiser Calypso.—Reuter.

Of course, this withdrawal has nothing to do with the rather forcible request by the Turkish Government to get out. Like President Wilson, they were too proud to fight. And, by the way, how useful the "extremists" are; almost anything, from a mosquito bite to an earthquake, can be laid at their door.

* * *

Fascisti Promises.

Mussolini, speaking at the headquarters of the Fascist Trade Unions, foreshadowed that an eight-hour working day would be adopted shortly, together with other measures advantageous to the workers.

His speech was loudly cheered. It would be!

* * *

There are limits to what a mule or an ass will stand, but man will suffer himself to be degraded until his vileness becomes so loathsome to his oppressors that they themselves must reform it.

—G.B.S.

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, W. H. Andrews.)
Annual Subscription, 10/-; Half-yearly, 5s.
Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.
Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1923. No. 355.

Getting Up Steam.

The agents of British capitalism are busily and cunningly engaged in working up an anti-French sentiment in case it may be needed in the future. Public opinion is being manufactured by all the well-known devices, and there are already a large number of highly respectable Dubbs in the British Empire who are convinced that it will soon be necessary to have another "last war," another "war to end war," but not against the unspeakable Hun this time, but against the detestable Frenchman, who is getting too big for his very baggy breeches.

"Strafe Raids," "Black Horrors," and "French Vandalism" are now becoming familiar to the headline feeding Dubb, and the Germans are gradually being transformed into patient and heroic martyrs in the cause of humanity, and the general strike and sabotage policy, for which men are hanged here, a virtuous and legitimate form of protest. Of course the advance of the French army into the Ruhr Valley and the occupation of the heart of industrial Germany by brutal military force is a monstrous thing, which no honest man could or would seek to justify, but there have happened so many other monstrous invasions of practically helpless people since the war started in 1914, to go no further back in history, that one is inclined to doubt the disinterestedness of the criticism of French policy on the part of British capitalist propaganda agencies.

The fact is, of course, that the policy of French capitalism is dangerous to big industrial interests in Britain, and therefore our sympathy is sought to be enlisted on the side of the suffering Germans. If the interests of French capitalism coincided with the British variety, as little would be heard of the injustice to the German people as was heard of the rights, e.g., of Turkey when it was—rather prematurely as it has since turned out—parcelled out between France, Britain, and Czarist Russia a few years ago.

So abject is the faith of the average man in what the newspapers tell him that it seems idle to expect that where the press has always been successful it will fail on this occasion. But we as a Communist organ register our protest against the rapidly growing anti-French propaganda, as we did the anti-German propaganda during the war. The enemy, as before, is capitalism, whether French, German, British, or any other brand, and we demand that class-conscious workers hold themselves in hand and refuse to be stampeded into an insane hatred of any nationality at the behest and for the benefit of their own exploiting class. The test may come at any time, and it is only by preparing in advance that the workers can escape from a repetition of the melancholy betrayal of all their ideals which disgraced their movement in 1914.

"Never again" is an expression often heard, and the disillusioned soldier really believes that he will never again fall a victim to the blandishments of the master class and its well-paid and cunning agents as he fell before, but even if HE escapes the contagion, his sons and the new generation generally, unless carefully fortified against the propaganda of the enemy, will fall into the trap. The old soldier is not likely to be wanted again, hence the callous indifference to his distress of those who used him. The young generation is the potential cannon fodder in the next "last war," and they are being well looked after so far as their mental outlook is concerned by all the capitalist agencies for "poisoning the minds of the young." Scouts, cadets, sports, Y.M.C.A., young S.A.P., and we have reason to believe more secret and sinister organisations exist in embryo, which, when the time comes, will function as the nuclei of Fascist terrorism if such a policy is found necessary.

We are neither anti-French, anti-German, anti-white, nor anti-black. We proclaim that we are anti-capitalist all the time and everywhere. Whether in peace or war, we recognise only one fight, one allegiance, and one flag, and that is the class war, the working class, and the Red Flag of international working class brotherhood.

The Church Butts In.

The Roman Catholic Bishop Cox has, in his Lenten pastoral, which is another name for a political pamphlet, been warning the R.C. congregations of the Transvaal against "secret and open workings ESPECIALLY AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES, of a revolutionary character." This is delicious. Did the dear old gentleman expect to find revolutionaries among the millionaires and their parasites? His reverence goes on to specialise, and proceeds:

"Such workings are of several kinds, and they seem to have for object some to undermine the Christian religion, and bring in a system of freethought"—as if the conduct of the churches during the war has not already undermined what little was left of respect for the venerable imposture. The reverend apologist of the monstrous tyranny of capitalism, which pays him, then fulminates against Communism, "with its cruel inconsideration of individual rights"—meaning, of course, the rights of bishops and other well-fed parasites.

There seems some flaw in the reverend gentleman's reasoning. He is violently opposed to freethought, and would have all men bow to the authority of an infallible church. When it is suggested that society should be so organised that all should receive the full fruits of their labour, and that useful work should be the only title to share in the common wealth, the Bishop shrieks about individual rights, which of course means the right to exploit others. Has the reverend bishop never heard of the Jesuits and similar orders? And if so, how dare he prate about individual rights. He calls on all faithful people and those who understand the value of religion and social order to offer uncompromising opposition, and then proceeds to assert that "the speeches, lectures, and pamphlets advocating these movements promise results which will never be realised, and why? Because God will not permit the final success of evil machinations." Then why is his reverence not content to leave it to God?

The answer is given by the history of the church. It has always had a shrewd suspicion that God wanted a little assistance, and so the bloody record of the Christian church has been written with rack, thumbscrew, the stake, and the lidly inquisition, with their thousands of victims tortured to death, to say nothing of the millions of lives sacrified in the "religious" wars. The hypocrites!

The Writing on the Wall.

The appearance of Sydney and Beatrice Webb's new book, "The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation," seems to have come as a bit of a bombshell in bourgeois society. These eminently safe Fabians have at last arraigned capitalism at the bar of history, and coming from such a source the smug reformist liblabs have to sit up and take notice. Quite a number of respectable bourgeois writers have been saying similar unkind things about capitalism lately, and the Communists are in danger of becoming embarrassed by finding themselves in such company.

The Webbs write: "Capitalism will die by violence and civilisation will perish with it from exhaustion." Of course the writers are unable to visualise any civilisation which will replace that produced by capitalism, but the new society is being built up in the womb of the old by millions of obscure proletarians. The coral insect labours silently and secretly under the sea, but one day it reaches the surface, and lo! one of Nature's marvels, a coral island, appears.

H. G. Wells says: "I now realise the stupendous instability of the Western World. The system is breaking up. It has neither recuperative nor reconstructive power." Frederick Harrison, the great publicist, wrote just before his death a few weeks ago, "Every board in civilisation is cracking. The British Empire is melting away, just like the Roman in the year 300, and from the same causes.

Again we find civilisation and capitalism used as if they were synonymous terms. Another intellectual, Professor Graham Wallas, in an address to women teachers at Bedford College, says: "The material world, the world that slowly and painfully created itself upon the fragments of Roman civilisation, is falling to ruins." Right across from the Pacific to the Atlantic, the old system has fallen in ruins, and the danger we have to face is greater and more intense than the danger with which the world was confronted at the fall of the ancient civilisation."

"We," of course, refers to the bourgeoisie. Whilst the capitalist class view with increasing alarm the crumbling of the edifice it has reared on the atrocious suffering of uncounted myriads of humble toilers and their heroic leaders, the workers regard these symptoms calmly and even with satisfaction. The more enlightened welcome the impending catastrophe, and brace themselves to new efforts to hasten and complete the destruction. The beacon light of Russia, whilst it appals the pampered parasites of society, inspires the oppressed of the earth with new hope and urges to new efforts and new heroisms in the cause of the liberation of humanity from the chains of prejudice, ignorance, and selfishness which have bound them through the ages.

The Irish Front.

(Latest from the Irish "Workers' Republic.")

THE CLOVEN HOOF.

A number of Freemasons, who apparently have the wind up, are clearing out. This notwithstanding the recent gloat of the "Irish Times" in a leader exulting in the appointment of a "heretic" to the position of Secretary to the Post Office, and regretting the fact that there were not more heretics in the Civil Service. Apparently the "Irish Times" is afraid that the Molesworth Street proteges are not in sufficient numbers to hold the fort for posterity, and its flimsy compliment to the Post Office Secretary only betrays its anxiety to see the Civil Service continue under the domination of the manipulations of the square and compass—in other words "heretics"—to the exclusion of the Papish "idolators!"

Other and more enterprising devotees of the Black Chapter are not, however, allowing any grass to grow under their feet, and may frequently be seen "swotting" O'Growney or "Gaedhlig sa Bhaile." Have they been given the grip and the password, and the assurance that everything will be all right?

It is not generally known that the arch scabs have received blood money (bonus they call it) to the tune of £100 per head for (strike-breaking) services rendered, the amount in the case of smaller fry of similar kidney having been placed at £25. This presumably has been paid out of public funds, and in the sacred name of the Will of the People!

* * *

GRIFFITHS.

It is inconceivable that the workers should ever follow men with a history such as Griffiths (one of the most despicable types of men it has been the unfortunate lot of an Irish mother to bear) earned for himself. His attitude during the heroic days of 1913 should have been sufficient justification for a lamp post and a halter.

* * *

COLLINS.

It has been asserted in reliable quarters in London that Collins was blind drunk at the time when, obeying Griffiths' orders, he signed the surrender.

Reconstruction in Russia.

THE UKRAINE.

The Yiddish daily, "Der Weg," published in Riga, gives the following account of the rapid recovery of the important town of Kiev, which suffered probably more than any other town during the war, it being captured and recaptured time after time, first by the Germans, then alternately by the Whites and Reds. "Der Weg" is a capitalist paper, which makes the statement more interesting:

The most amazing and most interesting thing now taking place in the Ukraine is surely the remarkable recovery which we have to witness. The country has been so terribly ruined that neither friend nor foe could have believed it possible to see it rebuilt in such a short time. They have been thinking of decades, and all of a sudden, hardly a year, and the country is unrecognisable!

Townships and cities, villages and settlements are being rebuilt. Especially is the process of recovery noticeable in Kiev and the townships which have suffered from pogroms. Kiev underwent a great change during the last summer. It has again become a large centre of commerce and culture. The Kreszatic and the other principal business streets have again attained their former briskness. Again you find large shops crammed with goods. And the sight of the buildings! Entirely new. The empty windows have gone for good, all the shops have been repaired, and many of the houses.

All over the town the pavement and the sidewalks have been repaired. Trees are being planted in front of the houses even in places where a tree was never before. The streets are swept several times daily. Kiev was never so clean as it is now, and the movement in the streets is surely not less than in the pre-war days. There are trams and motor-cars and trollies laden with merchandise, grain, coal and timber, and multitudes of people crowding the sidewalks the whole day long. It is a long day since Kiev has seen so many people in her streets. The grey military overcoat which the majority of the people used to wear has entirely disappeared, and its place taken by the neatly tailor-made coat. The restaurants, billiard rooms, bioscopes, theatres, and other amusement places, lit by electricity, are packed nightly.

Galoshes, silks, linen, and so on which were not to be seen a short while ago are now amongst the cheapest things to be had, and hardly anyone in Kiev is now without galoshes. Large bookshops have been opened, mostly by the Government. Kiev has again become a centre of learning full of students. Early in the morning and noontime the streets are filled with crowds of noisy children briskly marching to their schools and gymnasiums. All the old schools have been repaired and a good many new ones have been added. But the most outstanding feature in Kiev's progress remains the reconstruction of her ruined buildings. By order of the Municipal Soviet all the houses have been repaired; new roofs, staircases, halls, yards everything has been put in order, burnt down houses rebuilt, and in many cases the central heating system has been installed. The canals which serve the whole town, the water supply, telephone service, and electric light is now extended to the remotest parts of the town.

All the old tram-lines are repaired and many new ones opened, the latter serving the working men's quarters. During the summer 23 new bridges were constructed in and around town. The sewerage system has been overhauled, and the Podel, a place of perpetual mud, has been reclaimed by erecting dams, so that a walk in the Podel is now quite pleasurable. All the municipal buildings, museums, libraries, fire stations, and so on are rebuilt. The theatres look like new, and the large Liebknecht Theatre is a magnificent sight. Great attention is paid to the working men's quarters, places which have always been neglected and left in a shockingly unhealthy state.

It is also remarkable the great number of Jews which one meets everywhere, quite an impossible state of affairs under Nicholas. And there is also a great industrial revival; a good many factories are already at work in Kiev. The same revival is also noticeable in the district towns, Kharkow, Jekaterinoslaw, and Odessa, and still more in the little towns. Many industrial centres like Korotzew, Masiekow, and others have changed beyond recognition.

* * *

TRADE UNIONISM IN RUSSIA.

Up to February, 1922, membership of a trade union was made compulsory by the Soviet Government. With the introduction of the new economic policy the voluntary principle was re-introduced. Although officially this new policy was only promulgated in February, 1922, in actual practice it had already been introduced in many unions during the last quarter of 1921.

VOLUNTARY MEMBERSHIP.

The first great campaign was carried out on the question of voluntary membership. At these meetings, which were held all over the country, 96.7 per cent. of the members who attended voted in favour of voluntarily joining the unions. Of the total union membership 97.3 per cent. rejoined the unions on the new basis, 1.8 per cent. refused to join, and 0.9 per cent. could not be reached owing to absence through illness, etc.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE.

When the new economic policy and the new policy in the trade unions were first introduced the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who had all along denounced the "tyranny" of the Bolsheviks, boasted that with the introduction of these changes the influence of the Communists would be overthrown, and that their own day in the trade unions had come. However, during the first year of the new policy the workers held thousands of meetings, conferences, and congresses at which they re-elected their various executive organs. These are the figures:

	Communists.	Non-party.	Other parties
April	70.8	27.6	1.6
June	74.2	24.4	1.4

Similarly, the provincial and the county trade union bureaux, covering eleven provinces, consist of 1,145 Communists, 1,078 non-party workers, 1 Menshevik, 1 Socialist Revolutionary, and 5 members of other parties (Anarchists, Bundists, etc.)

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE.

The actual membership of the trade unions has fallen from 8,000,000 (in May, 1921) to 5,500,000.

When the unions first had to depend upon the members' subscriptions for their funds, they went through a serious financial crisis, but this has now been practically overcome.

At the same time, the staffs of the central and local offices have been cut down considerably—the former by about 67 per cent., the latter by about 50 per cent. At the present time the staffs are increasing slightly, in consequence of the greater activities of the unions.

The main object of the new policy was to improve the material conditions of the workers, and the reforms in organisation were only undertaken as a means to attain that end.

THE INCREASE OF WAGES.

From the beginning of 1922 the trade unions began to pass from the system of State regulation of wages to that of fixing the latter by collective agreements. In spite of many difficulties and obstacles, collective agreements have now been reached in most industries, and the real wages, although still very low, show a steady increase. At the same time, as a result of the new economic policy, the workers in the heavy industries, working mainly for the State, were at a great disadvantage as regards wages on account of the general financial crisis, but their situation is rapidly improving. The wages of the metal workers are now gradually reaching the level of wages in other industries, and in many cases, as in Moscow and Petrograd, are higher than those of the workers in the lighter industries.

As a result of the decision of the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, wages in kind are being abolished, so that 85 per cent. of the wages in Moscow and Petrograd and 76.5 per cent. in the provinces are paid in money. In general, wages are now on an average 50 per cent. of the pre-war amounts in real values, but in some towns and industries they reach as much as 80 per cent. This is very low, it is true, but in view of the ruined state of the country as a result of the imperialist and civil wars, the famine and blockade, and the fact that in January, 1920, the wages were only 10 per cent. of pre-war wages, the progress shown is very considerable.

OTHER UNION ACTIVITIES.

The trade unions have been very active in improving the housing conditions of the workers and in organising social insurance, committees for which now function throughout the Republic, administering medical, sickness, unemployment, and other forms of relief. Lastly, and most important, the trade unions work in close touch with the Commissariat for Education, and have developed a large and increasing volume of cultural work among their members.

* * *

CHURCH BACKS THE WINNER.

At the conclusion of the Diocesan Conference of the "Living Church" at Kiev on December 1st, the following resolution was passed unanimously: The Russian Socialist Revolution is recognised to have been just and in consonance with the spirit and character of Christ's teaching, as well as with that of the apostles and of the early Christian Church. The resolution further pledges the conference to abstain from any counter-revolutionary activities whatever, and to help the Government to realise the aims of the revolution.

* * *

The Reading Room of the Russian Historical Museum in Moscow, accommodating 500 people, has now been opened. In connection with the Reading Room there is a permanent exhibition of newly published books on history, economics, polites, art, etc. New additions are being made to the library continuously.

* * *

The autumn fishing season in Astrakhan ended on December 15th with a total catch amounting to 55,000 tons, exceeding last year's autumn catch by 11,000 tons.

* * *

On July 1, 1922, there were in Petrograd 2,000 industrial enterprises; by September 1st the number was 2,700, and by December 1, 3,900. The trading enterprises increased from 7,000 on July 1st to 16,000 at December 1st.

* * *

In the summer of 1922 an understanding for the exchange of news was concluded between the Russian Telegraph Agency and the German Wolff Agency; on December 26th last a similar understanding was concluded by the Russian Telegraph Agency with the American United Press Association.

* * *

The Putilov works in Petrograd are successfully substituting Russian bituminous shale for foreign coal as fuel in their furnaces.

* * *

To make insurance more readily accessible to poorer farms, the State Insurance Department is making arrangements for collective insurance—the minimum number of farms to take part being twenty-five. In such cases ten per cent. discount on insurance premiums is granted.

* * *

During December the State Bank opened ten new branches. The total number of branches is now 160.

* * *

The North-Western regional bureau of the State Bank has despatched its first consignment of 3,000 tons of grain to Finland.

THE REPORT ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

By BILLINGS.

The following interesting statement was given by Billings, a coloured worker and organiser from America, before the International Communist Congress last December:

Comrades, — The colonial question was recognised as an important question in relation to the world revolution by the Second Congress of the Communist International, but it is a general complaint among the oriental comrades, and also among some of the colonial comrades, that this matter has been treated rather in the form of a step-child than as a part of the general world revolutionary problem. In the negro question we have before us another phase of the racial and colonial question to which no attention has been paid heretofore. I mean by that that, heretofore, the Second International has not paid any particular attention to the negro question as such. Therefore we find that in the thesis of the Second Congress there is a statement that the Second International was an International of white workers, while the Third International was an International of the workers of the world.

THE COLONIAL QUESTION.

Both Comrade Zinoviev and Comrade Bukharin in their speeches referred to the colonial question as one of the most important questions with which we have to deal at the present time. However, now that this important problem is being discussed, I expect this Congress to take cognisance of the lessons learned and the tactics applied relative to the colonial question. The Congress must have, at least the Third International must have, gained certain experiences in dealing with the Far Eastern people and also with the Near Eastern question, and it ought to have crystallised some knowledge out of this particular problem. It will find that in dealing with this question certain mistakes (mistakes made inevitably) occur which must be taken into account, and when we begin with the negro question, we must begin from the very start in the proper direction.

In considering the negro question as such, we must also be prepared to take into consideration the psychological factors which enter into the negro problem. Therefore, we must realise that different peoples at certain given times reaching a special stage of development must of necessity have certain different psychological reactions towards the world in general. When we attempt to carry on the work amongst these masses, to carry our agitational propaganda to them, we must perforce take into consideration these factors that we find in the particular question at issue.

AN ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

Although the negro problem as such is fundamentally an economic problem, we find that this particular problem is aggravated and intensified by the friction which exists between the white and black races. It is a matter of common knowledge that prejudice as such, although born from the class position that any group takes in society, that notwithstanding, the question of race does play an important part. Whilst it is true that, for instance, in the United States of America the main basis of racial antagonism lies in the fact that there is competition of labour in America between black and white, nevertheless the negro bears a badge of slavery on him which has its origin way back in the time of his slavery. Hence you find that this particular antagonism on the part of the white workers to the black workers assumes this particular form because of this very fact.

There are about 150,000,000 negroes throughout the world. Approximately 25,000,000 of them reside in the New World, and the rest live in Africa. The negroes in America and the West Indies are a source of cheap labour supply for the American capitalist, and we find that the capitalist class has always used and will always continue to use them as an instrument in order to suppress the white working class in its everyday struggle. THEY WILL BE THE SOURCE FROM WHICH THE "WHITE GUARD" ELEMENTS WILL BE RECRUITED IN THE EVENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING ANYWHERE AND EVERYWHERE.

AFRICA.

In Africa the exploitation of the negroes has afforded opportunities for the continuation of the accumulation process of capital. The capitalist class as a class has recognised the valuable aid that the negro masses will be to it. Therefore, for years it has made it its business to cultivate a bourgeois ideology in the mind of the negro populace. This, of course, was done in its own interests, and not in those of the negroes. It has carefully planned out and planted organisations amongst the negroes to carry on agitation in favour of the bourgeoisie as against the white workers. It has what is known as the Rockefeller Foundation, it has the Urban League. The first organisation supplies grants of money to negro schools; the second is a notorious strike-breaking institution. It has been on the job while most of the revolutionaries have been asleep. Facing this condition, it was inevitable that the negro population would have some sort of reaction against the oppression and the suppression to which they were subjected throughout the world. Their first reaction was, of course, in the forming of religious institutions, the only forms permitted at certain times for their own enjoyment, but later we find that there has been a continuous development of organisations on the part of the negroes, which, although purely negro, are to a certain extent directly or indirectly opposed to capitalism.

NEGRO ORGANISATION.

Three most important negro organisations operating to-day are, firstly, what is known as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, an organisation which is composed of a large proletarian element led by bourgeois intellectuals, an organisation that to-day bases its action upon the principle of seeking redress from the capitalist class by means of petitions and what practically amounts to begging that something may be done for them. Then we come to the other more interesting form of organisation which is known as the Garvey Association, an organisation that is ultra-nationalist, yet composed of a rebel rank and file element. It is an organisation which, in spite of the fact that it has drafted on its programme various cheap stock schemes, is influencing the minds of the negroes against imperialism. This organisation came into existence after the world war. Of course it did not take any definite radical form, it was saved in time by its own leader, but notwithstanding this, the race consciousness has been planted and used to a very large extent far into the interior of Africa, where hardly anyone could expect that an organisation could be planted which had its origin in America. The third organisation is the African Blood Brotherhood, a radical negro organisation which bases its programme upon the abolition of capitalism. It was the one organisation which, during the time of a race riot in Tulsa Oklahoma, put up a splendid and courageous fight, and the one to which the capitalist class in America is going to turn its attention next.

We have also in Africa certain small organisations which get their direct inspiration from America, the headquarters and centre of political thought among negroes. These organisations are stretching out and developing as far as the Soudan. These can be utilised by Communists if the means of propaganda are carefully, deliberately and intensively used to link up these movements. We see already that there is a sort of organisation which will react against imperialism throughout the world.

NEWSPAPERS.

There are in the United States about 450 negro newspapers and magazines, and, while they are mostly strictly racial, nevertheless they have a great influence upon the negro masses everywhere. There is, for instance, the "Chicago Defender," which issues 250,000 copies weekly which are spread out all over the world, wherever there are large groups of negroes. Then there is the "Crisis," a monthly magazine which has a circulation of over 600,000. These papers, and especially the "Chicago Defender" and others with a smaller circulation, have constantly used radical propaganda material that we sent out.

The negroes feel the impending crisis which will break out in the south between black and white. It was in the South that the seed was sown, and the results are bound to come in some way. It will probably take the form of race rioting on a very large scale.

The negro question, comrades, is of very great interest and of very great importance to us. For example, you find that in the United States, of the approximate number of twelve million negroes who inhabit that country, two millions live in the northern industrialised part of the country, and the other nine or ten millions in the South. I suppose that all of you have a picture in your mind of what the South is like.

DANTE'S INFERNO.

When you enter there it is like Dante's Inferno. Sometimes you feel like giving up hope altogether. It is almost a country all by itself. Eighty per cent. of the negroes live on the land. They are discriminated against and disfranchised, and it is there that the class struggle is waged in its most brutal form. You find the relation between blacks and whites to be one of constant conflict and of fighting to the death. You find there lynching and race riots. You find that the lynching of a negro is something to be enjoyed in the South as a picture show is enjoyed elsewhere. When you find that the white population in the South is so saturated with this idea of white domination over the negro, you see that this question must engage our attention. At the present time, when there are big strikes in the north United States, you find that the capitalist class and its hirelings hurry to the South in order to draw the Southern negroes into the Northern districts as strike-breakers. They promise them higher wages and better conditions, and so induce them to enter those areas in which strikes are in progress. That is a constant danger to the white workers when on strike.

TRADE UNIONS.

Of course, the entire blame for this must not be placed upon the negroes. The labour unions in America—and I am speaking of the bona-fide trade unions—have for the last few years insisted that, although a negro is a skilled worker, he cannot, by virtue of the fact that he is a negro, enter the trade union. It is only recently that the American Federation of Labour has made a weak attempt to try to get negroes into the regular trade unions. But even to-day, such an organisation as the Machinists' Union still has, if I am not mistaken, the assertion in its programme that the qualification of membership is that every white brother shall introduce for membership other white men, or something to that effect. This means that the negroes are permanently excluded from the unions simply on account of the fact that they are black; and the capitalist class and the reactionary negro press uses this to the fullest extent in order to prejudice the minds of these black workers against the labour unions. When you speak to a negro about his joining a trade union, or about the necessity of his becoming radical, the first thing he throws at you is the assertion: "Don't preach to me. Preach to the whites. They need it and I do not. I am always ready to fight alongside of them so long as they agree to take me into the trade unions, but as long as they do not I will scab, and, by God, I have a right to scab. I want to protect my own life." That is one of their arguments, and it cannot be ignored. While theoretically we may use all the beautiful phrases that we know, nevertheless these are hard concrete facts in the everyday struggle.

PRACTICAL PROPOSALS.

The Negro Commission has prepared a thesis on the negro question which I shall read to you presently. While going into the negro question, we also prepared certain definite proposals which we think should be carried out by the various sections of the Communist International who have negroes in their territories and colonies. We have prepared these proposals, of course, not to have them left merely on paper, but to be carried out by the various sections, and we will request the Communist International to see to it that the proposals are carried out in the letter and in the spirit in which they are written. We have prepared an outline for the work, a proposal for the immediate carrying on of the work amongst negroes throughout the world. We have also made a proposal for the establishment of a Negro Bureau as part of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The reason we did this was because we wanted this work co-ordinated and centralised, and we thought the best place for this Bureau or section, or whatever you like to call it, is Moscow. The negro question is to us of very great importance, and therefore we have endeavoured to consider carefully the situations as they actually exist in Africa and in America especially. We have not gone into any dreams about a programme, although we have made certain definite suggestions as to what should be included in a plan for a negro organisation, taking into consideration the peculiar mental reactions of the negro at the present time.

THESIS ON NEGRO QUESTION.

The thesis on the negro question reads as follows:

"The basis of the process of accumulation which existed for the development of capitalism before the war has, as a result of the war, been completely revolutionised as regards the relationship between advanced capitalist countries exporting capital and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples under their domination. At the same time there has developed among these peoples a movement of revolt, which is still making successful progress against the power of world capital as embodied in British imperialism, so much so that the penetration and intensive colonisation of regions inhabited by black races is becoming the last great problem on the solution of which the further developrent of capitalist accumulation itself depends. French capitalists clearly recognise that the power of French post-war imperialism will only be able to maintain itself through the creation of a Franco-African Empire, linked up by a Trans-Sahara Railway. America's financial magnates (who are exploiting 12,000,000 negroes at home) are now entering upon a peaceful penetration of Africa. How keenly Britain on her part dreads the menace to her position is shown by the extreme measures taken to crush the Rand strike. Just as in the Pacific the danger of another world war has become acute owing to the competition of imperialist powers there, so Africa looms ominously as an object of their rival ambitions. Moreover, the war, the Russian Revolution, and the great movements of revolt against imperialism on the part of the Asiatic and Mussulman nationalities have aroused the consciousness of millions of the negro race whom capitalism has oppressed and degraded beyond all others for hundreds of years, not only in Africa, but perhaps even more in America, where the movement of revolt has grown more and more intense, with a reflex effect on the whole negro race. Consequently the negro problem, on subjective no less than objective grounds, has become a vital question of the world revolution, and the Third International, which has already recognised what valuable aid can be rendered to the proletarian revolution by coloured Asiatic peoples in semi-capitalist countries, likewise regards the co-operation of our oppressed black fellow-men as essential in the revolution of the proletarian masses and the destruction of capitalist power. The Fourth Congress accordingly declares it to be a special duty of communists to apply the" Thesis on Colonial Questions " to the negro problems.

1. The Fourth Congress recognises the necessity of supporting every form of negro movement which tends to undermine or weaken capitalism or imperialism, or to impede its further penetration.

2. Negro workers should everywhere be organised, and if and when negro and white working masses co-exist, a United Front should be formed at every opportunity.

3. Work among the negroes should be carried on more particularly by negroes.

4. Immediate steps should be taken to hold a negro conference or congress in Moscow.

Well, comrades, in closing, I want just to make this remark, that I hope the comrades who come from the various sections of the Communist International where there are negro workers will take cognisance of the negro problem as it exists to-day, and that they will carry on, not in the form of a New Year's resolution, but actually and directly, this work, in order to arouse the consciousness of the negro masses, so that we may be able to link them up for the proletarian revolution.

Labour's Delegates.

WHOM DO THEY REPRESENT?

We understand that Messrs. George Brown, J. Wallace, Jackson, J. George, and E. Creswell have been selected to proceed to Capetown for the purpose of giving evidence before the Select Committee on the Industrial Conciliation Bill. It may be asked who these gentlemen represent, and by whom they were appointed? We can give the answer pretty correctly to these questions. We have every reason to believe that they were selected, and that all their expenses are being paid by the Government, i.e., the S.A. Party. These gentlemen are among the loudest critics of Mr. Crawford's methods, but seem to be only too ready to follow his lead when an opportunity occurs.

The Government may be given credit for sufficient acumen to select those men who are likely to be the most amenable to reason—capitalist reason, of course—but even if it is conceded that the above mentioned are the most fearless, able, and incorruptible trade unionists to be found in the Transvaal, we may be permitted to examine their claims to represent the great body of trade unionists.

Mr. George, who we believe has not been able to accept the invitation, was formerly the general secretary of the Reduction Workers' Association, but has ceased to hold that position for a considerable time. Mr. Geo. Brown represents the Boilermakers, Mr. Wallace the carpenters and Mr. Cresswell the shop assistants. The larger unions, such as the S.A.M.W. Union, the A.E.U., and N.U.R.A.H.S., and others equally important, appear to be totally unrepresented. But even if the delegation carried proper credentials from the unions, the only effect of their presence at the sittings of the Select Committee would be to give an appearance of official sanction to its findings.

Seeing that the parliamentary committee has no authority to alter the preamble of a bill which has passed its second reading, or, in other words, can only amend it in minor details, the bill must emerge from the committee with the main features intact. That these are evil and calculated to hamper the activities of the unions, with no corresponding advantage, we have pointed out in our previous issues, and even the memorandum drawn up by the Associated Trades and other organisations gives expression to the following criticism: "We recognise also that by so agreeing that there shall not be a strike until the conciliation machinery has been used and for a fortnight afterwards, WE ARE DEPRIVING OURSELVES OF OUR MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON, VIZ., THAT OF IMMEDIATE STRIKE."

In the face of such a statement one fails to understand why the unions should coquette with such a bill. They should rather devote all their energies to denouncing it. Further on, in par. 3, the memorandum states quite truly: "On most questions on which strikes occur there is a direct conflict of interest between the employer and employee, and in such cases the question in dispute is one to which NO PRINCIPLE CAN BE APPLIED WHICH IS AGREED TO BY BOTH PARTIES or established by law." This statement is a pretty clear recognition of the class struggle, of the essential antagonism between the exploiting and exploited classes, the fundamental doctrine of communism.

If the signatories really mean what they have written, then to allow half-a-dozen of their number to be selected and paid by the Government to proceed to Capetown and tinker with the details of a bill which they acknowledge to be, if successful, a grave curtailment of the workers' rights and power, seems to be an absurd thing, not to say a treacherous action. The majority of the workers will one day awaken to the fact that whilst they were not looking a few men, obsessed with their own importance, if not animated by baser motives, have sold them into even worse economic slavery than they suffer under to-day. There is only one sane, honest, and sensible thing to do with the bill; repudiate it, and as the Reef workers did in 1913 with the Transvaal Industrial Disputes Bill, refuse to recognise it.

Our Martyred Dead.

The demonstration at Boksburg on Sunday last was an unqualified success. Long before the time appointed for the procession to move off the Market Square was alive with vehicles of all kinds, the banners of the various organisations, and demonstrators mounted and on foot. The Putfontein Commando attended, strengthened by a contingent from Benoni.

As the weather was threatening the procession moved off a little before 3.30, and proceeded through the main streets of the picturesque town. On passing the jail near which the three victims of police violence were killed the Red Flag was solemnly sung for the benefit of those inside and cheers given for the prisoners. The procession then turned to the left and wended its way to the cemetery, a distance of a couple of miles. The S.A. Mine Workers' Union banner was in the van, followed by the Building Workers' Industrial Union; then came the Communist Party banner, followed by a good muster of comrades on foot. Then came the mounted men, and after them the Benoni comrades on trolleys behind the old I.S.L. Benoni banner.

At the cemetery the whole of the demonstrators proceeded on foot to the graveside of Krause the only one of the three victims who was buried in the cemetery, and many beautiful wreaths were laid on the grave by relatives and friends, conspicuous among them being the Communist Party floral tribute in the form of the Soviet Star in red immortelles. The Red Flag was sung by the graveside, and on leaving the cemetery addresses were given from an improvised platform by Comrades W. Price, W. H. Andrews, C. B. Tyler, and Potgieter.

The ceremony concluded with the Red Flag, and the various contingents dispersed east and west across the veld to their various homes, having renewed their determination to

Raise the scarlet banner high,
Beneath its shade to live and die.

"The Bishop of Worcester says that it is not right that a man should take money without having earned it. Yet, I suppose quite a number of Bishops, including the Bishop of Worcester, accept their salaries."

"The British authorities seem to think that the execution of Irish rebels will kill the prevailing unrest in Ireland. It may do so; but, all the same, it is worth remembering that the people who crucified Christ didn't quite kill Christianity."

The public buys its opinions as it buys its meat or takes in its milk, on the principle that it is cheaper to do this than to keep a cow. So it is; but the milk is more likely to be watered.

—Samuel Butler.

Crabbed.

A gentleman rejoicing in the suggestive name of Crabbe has been delivering himself of words of wisdom in Johannesburg this week on poverty and its causes. Appropriately enough, he addressed his remarks to the Rotary Club, which name vaguely suggests a squirrel in a revolving cage or a convict on the treadmill, or some equally futile expenditure of energy. Mr. Crabbe is the assistant secretary of the Rand Aid Association, and therefore should be an authority on the subject above-mentioned. Here are some of the pearls of wisdom which he cast before—we will not finish the sentence, but say his hearers, and through the columns of the "Star" to the general public.

He first of all deplored that many men were on the books of his institution because they were not taught a trade, and he conveniently overlooked the fact that hundreds, if not thousands, of skilled men of all kinds have been vainly seeking work for the last twelve months. How would it help his clients were they thrown into the already overstocked labour market? Mr. Crabbe throws the usual sneer at the "won't works," as in duty bound, and then proceeds with the well-worn statement that "drunkenness was probably by far the greatest cause of poverty." One would have thought that the happenings of the last few years would have taught even officials who are well paid to hand out niggardly doles to the unfortunate the utter absurdity of such a statement. Not even an editor or prime minister would commit himself to such a statement to-day.

Drunkenness the greatest cause of poverty indeed, in face of the 100,000 poor whites living below the subsistence level, the thousands of unemployed, black and white, in the towns directly thrown on the scrap heap by the ruthless policy of the Chamber of Mines, and forced into relief camps at three and sixpence a day. Mr. Crabbe might ask himself whether the poverty in Germany, in Eastern Europe generally, to say nothing of England and "dry" America, is not attributable to some deeper and more fundamental cause than drunkenness? But of course he is not paid to deal with and study causes, but to deal with the EFFECTS of poverty.

But when Mr. Crabbe addresses himself to the problem of a permanent solution he surpasses himself. All that is needed, it seems, is to instil into the minds of the boys and girls the dignity of labour. Perhaps he will start teaching that recognition of the dignity of labour to Fat and his family in Parktown and similar districts, or in the colleges and universities. But it is in these institutions that boys and girls are taught to do anything and anybody rather than do useful work. They are not only taught to loathe work, but to look with contempt and hatred on those who work for them, and so Mr. Crabbe, as is usual with his tribe, edges off the stage sideways by way of labour colonies and municipal model villages, and such-like futility, and he and the Rotary Club continue to rotate and, like the squirrel in the cage, get nowhere.

A Revolutionary Red Cross.

At the Fourth International Congress it was decided to establish in Moscow the headquarters of an organisation with the object of giving material and moral aid to comrades incarcerated in the prisons of the capitalist countries, or being subjected to other forms of persecution for their revolutionary activity.

The movement was initiated by the society of "Old Bolsheviks." Committees of Red Relief will be formed in every country and keep the central committee informed of all arrests, ill-treatment, assassinations, and all sentences passed on members of the party, as well as on non-party workers and members of other working class parties who have suffered under the capitalist order.

The R.R.C. committees may consist of non-party comrades or of members of other revolutionary parties, with the proviso that Communists play a leading part in them.

AN INTERNATIONAL DEMONSTRATION.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the International Red Aid Organisation has decided to call upon all Red Aid organisations to organise the first international demonstration for aid to revolutionary fighters now languishing in bourgeois prisons, on March 18th, the anniversary of the Paris Commune, in conjunction with the celebration of the Paris Commune anniversary. The celebration of the anniversary of the Paris Commune this year should take the form of an international protest against the imprisonment and persecution of all revolutionaries and political prisoners. In order that this action may bear a real international character, it is necessary that all Red Aid organisations energetically set to work to make preparations for its organisation and execution.

The aims of the demonstration must be first to rouse and mobilise the masses by intense propaganda, to be prepared to make sacrifices for the class struggle; secondly, to lay stress on the demand for the release of political prisoners and amnesty for revolutionaries; and thirdly, to secure greater financial aid than hitherto for political prisoners and persecuted revolutionaries and their dependants. Furthermore, its aims should be to give moral encouragement to our convicted comrades.

Financial aid on an international scale becomes all the more necessary in view of the fact that the support of persecuted and convicted revolutionaries in countries where the class war is becoming very acute (Germany, Italy, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Spain) is beyond the means of the parties in the respective countries. It is therefore the duty of the workers in those countries where the number of imprisoned and persecuted comrades is not very great, and where the standard of living of the workers is higher than in Germany, for instance, to come to the aid of these comrades.

Freedom of speech and of the Press, freedom of meeting and association are indispensable if the ideal of the free man and woman in the free State is to be secured.

The Oudtshoorn By-Election.

An Oudtshoorn correspondent writes: If you could only see the terrible and degrading poverty existing amongst the poor whites and coloured people here, it would stagger you. To compare the position of the working classes here to-day with that of fifteen years ago (when I first arrived here) is appalling. The people have lost everything they then possessed, and are sinking daily lower in the scale of existence to a position of civilisation not far removed from that occupied by our Simian ancestors.

The by-election campaign is in full swing here. As you may imagine, both the S.A. and National Parties are making the most frantic efforts to capture the seat. The S.A. Party have nothing to hope for from the European electorate, and now, in order to retain the vote of the coloured electorate (about six hundred strong) they are using the most sordid arguments to obtain their ends. Owing to the limited education of the class of coloured person existent in these parts, arguments like the following are being used: "The Nationalist Party wish to reduce the coloured races to slavery" and "Stick up for the British Flag, the Union Jack"; for it is extremely easy to hoodwink and bamboozle 99¾ per cent. of the coloured people by appealing to their patriotism, and this the S.A. Party are not slow to do. It has been said that "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel," and this has become a truism.

I am sending you a circular received from Johannesburg. This town, and probably South Africa, has been flooded with these circulars, which are intended as a counter-blast against the Communist Party, and one is naturally led to presume that the Chamber of Mines or some other financial concern is financing the crusade.

Education and the Gas House.

On the debate on the "Additional Appropriation, 1922-23, Bill"—the ruling class are knuts on the appropriation stunt—many points were raised, including one by Mr. Stewart (Labour), who said, inter alia, that "many fathers of families were at their wits' end to know what to do with their boys. The chairman of the 'General Botha Training Ship' stated that 15,000 boys left school each year, and that there were no openings for them." Exactly; and there must be an equal number of girls. Still, we have our labour men contesting provincial council elections with, most prominent on their programme, INCREASED FACILITIES FOR EDUCATION, not caring a damn about the real education necessary to the social revolution.

The capitalist class are constantly engaged in raising the standard of efficiency of their wage slaves, in order to more successfully compete industrially with other countries. Education under capitalism counts for nothing, and the Labour members should know that if the workers' children attended high schools free up to 100 per cent., the competitive system still operating, only those children would have a chance who could successfully compete or who had influence behind them. The proportion of unemployed would be the same, the blind alley jobs would be the same, and what is more important, the ruling class being in control industrially and politically, would control the kind of knowledge which they desired should be imparted to the children.

Education does not touch the fringe of the subject, that is, that kind of stuff trotted out by our professors to-day; it is specially cooked and prepared to order, and is not worth a moment's consideration from the point of view of tending to solve the economic disabilities of the working class.

Bourgeois Publicists Learning.

Can it really be that our most respectable bourgeois publicists have awakened from the state of mental somnambulance into which the peaceful development of capitalist society lulled them. It appears that the last few years have provided such abundantly plain evidence of capitalism's inevitable break-up that they are compelled, at risk of being ridiculed by every observant person, to take cognisance of it in their writings.

The fear of what will happen when capitalism finally topples, recently expressed by Mr. and Mrs. Webb and Professor Wallas, and referred to in our leading columns, is typical of the pitiful timidity which is such a patent feature of the bourgeois mind. As if the lazy parasites who to-day run society, and who have made an unholy mess of things, are the only people capable of carrying on the work of administration! Said Bernard Shaw, in reply to Winston Churchill's declaration that Labour was not fit to govern: "We are all equally amateurs in government, and any man pretending to be any better is either a humbug or a walking monument of inconsiderate self-satisfaction." Said Trotsky: "The art of government is learnt by governing." And so it is. Capitalism has revolutionised the processes of production and has ushered in the period of social production, whilst leaving the control in the hands of groups and individuals. Capitalism is now in the stage of decadence, and its grip of industry is a fetter on further development. It is the mission of the workers to establish the social ownership and control of social production, and to do this it will have to break the power of the present rulers of society. As for what will happen after the acquisition of power by the workers there need be no apprehension. Communism has now passed the stage of mere theorising, and its possibilities are being shown in the Russian Revolution. There the Soviet Government is carrying on the work of administration into which the broad masses of the workers are being drawn. The new system is increasingly successful, and it can be said that Russia to-day is a living example of the workers' capability to govern. Whilst bourgeois theorists and politicians may tremble at the prospect of a workers' revolution, the workers themselves can get on with the task of making themselves the rulers of their own lives, confident that whatever may happen after the final battle they cannot make a bigger mess of things than our present-day rulers have done and are still doing.

Red Metal Workers Confer.

REVOLUTIONARY UNITY DEMANDED.

The International Conference of Revolutionary Metal Workers, which included representatives from the organised metal workers of eighteen countries, met in Moscow last December, and the programme of action decided upon included:

The welding of the craft and semi-industrial unions into single national unions of metal workers; the establishment of factory and workshop committees and the strengthening of the shop steward movement; the international union of the metal workers to be promoted by every means possible, including the tactics of the United Front.

It recommends the red unions not to refuse to negotiate with the Berne Reformist International, and in fact goes so far as to urge the revolutionary unions to join the Berne International in so far as the representation of the latter will refrain from putting any preliminary conditions for admission outside the recognition of the constitution and the discipline of the International. Questions of wages and the eight-hour day, collective agreements, etc., must be handled in accordance with the actual conditions of the country. A single international programme of action is most essential. The name of the organisation is altered to the International Committee of Organisation of Revolutionary Metal Workers, and it will publish a periodical dealing with the work of the organisation.

AGAINST SPLITS.

The report states that "to-day as hitherto, we are opposed to splits. We are for the unity of the trade union movement. . . . In all the industrial countries the metal workers are the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, and while we have only a small number of unions entirely under our influence, we have everywhere a constantly growing very influential opposition which in itself creates the necessary conditions for the further development of the influence of the Red Labour Union International over the masses of the workers."

Although there are in all the unions of South Africa members who have the revolutionary outlook these elements have so far failed to co-ordinate and organise their efforts. The time is ripe for this to be attempted, in order that a concentrated and co-ordinated propaganda may be launched among the members of the unions.

McDonald the Menshevik.

Mr. R. W. Postgate, writing in the "Liberator" on the features of the last British elections, says: "Another group of the Labour Party has benefited very greatly by the elections, and now has control largely because of its presumed 'Leftism.' This group is the intellectuals, mostly of the English I.L.P. who were elected because of their record in opposing the war. In Newcastle, Trevelyan; Ponsonby, for Sheffield; Ramsay MacDonald in Wales, E. D. Morel—the much-abused pro-German—for the other seat in Dundee, and many others. Both groups coalesced to put Clynes out of the leadership of the party in the House of Commons, and replace him by MacDonald.

"But this group, though it has the reputation of being left wing, is not so in fact. Indeed, they are really more dangerous, being intellectuals, than the trade union group. Ponsonby was once page to Queen Victoria, and secretary to Asquith; Trevelyan is one of the famous Whig family of that name; MacDonald is the leader of the Second International and slanderer of Soviet Russia—and so with the rest of them.

"They have an exact and thought out Liberal capitalist programme, and they are consciously counter-revolutionary where the old crowd were ambitious and stupid. Of MacDonald, a warm if discredited admirer, Mrs. Philip Snowden, writes in her usual medium, a coalition newspaper.

"'He will uphold a constitutional government as rigorously as any Conservative, and one can imagine him seconding the suspension of a Labour member from the Clyde with a dignity and a reverence for the House of Commons which even Mr. Asquith could not surpass.'

"This is perfectly true; he is bitterly anti-revolutionary, and he is also a born intriguer. But his appointment is a fine thing for the capitalist press. Their open praise has killed the old leaders, but MacDonald's war record enables them while praising his 'great gifts' to express horror at his 'extremism.' This, of course, makes it all the easier for MacDonald to make his party believe him a left winger; and he is now pretty securely seated in the leadership."

May Day.

A meeting of all those interested in the May Day celebrations will be held in No. 1, Trades Hall, on Sunday, March 4th, at 3 p.m. Owing to the fact that the Town Hall, Johannesburg, is not available on May 1st, it has been decided to hold the annual social on April 30th (May Day Eve), in the Town Hall.

A strong committee is necessary in order to make the function a success, and the May Day Committee will welcome any help and suggestions from class-conscious workers, even if they are not actually members of the party.

Roll up, fellow-workers, and give the May Day celebrations a good send off.

* * *

There is no record of the ruling class ever making a concession to the working class, unless such concession was in some way in the interests of the ruling class. In other words, whenever the ruling class concedes anything to the workers, you can depend upon it that back of it there is one or two motives—it is either a case of self-preservation or fear; there is a catch somewhere; that is, the concession is in reality no concession at all, and is made simply to hoodwink the workers and hold their attention while the masters pick their pockets in some new way.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

BENONI ANNIVERSARY SOCIAL.

It is intended running motor buses to Benoni on Saturday, 10th March, to attend the Social and Dance arranged by the Benoni Branch. Bus to leave Trades Hall at 6 p.m., leaving Benoni on return journey at 12 p.m. (midnight). Particulars as to fares can be obtained from J. Oates, 4, Trades Hall.

* * *

CHANGES OF ADDRESS.

Subscribers to "The International" are requested to notify this office of changes of address without delay.

* * *

BRANCH.

Members are asked to advise the Secretary, 4, Trades Hall, of any change of address.

* * *

SPRINGS.

On Wednesday, the 28th February, the remains of Comrade O'Gorman, who died as the result of an accident underground on New State Areas, was laid to rest, and the comrades who attended laid a wreath on the grave.

The Branch meeting will be held in the Council Chamber on Monday, March 12th, 1923, at 7.30 p.m. All intending members are requested to roll up.

Young Workers of the Rand.

The following appeal was widely distributed by the Young Communist League at Boksburg on Sunday last:

YOUNG WORKERS OF THE WITWATERSRAND!

A year ago the Smuts Government, acting under orders from the Chamber of Mines, shot down your fellow-workers in the streets of Boksburg. The capitalist class of this country, in their mad greed for profits, are attempting to reduce the standard of living of the white worker, and to make it equal to that of the native. They intend reducing the Transvaal to the level of a coolie colony.

THE FIRST PART OF THIS PROGRAMME HAS ALREADY BEEN CARRIED OUT.

In spite of the heroic resistance of the Rand workers the Chamber has succeeded in throwing thousands of white miners out of employment, replacing them by natives and reducing the wages of the rest. The same thing has happened in every trade and industry.

WHILE CAPITALISM LASTS IN THIS COUNTRY THE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE.

The mass of young workers have nothing to look forward to but grinding toil and kaffir wages, and many of them will be lucky even if they find work under these conditions.

There is only one thing that will stop the rot, and that is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' control of mines and workshops.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE YOUTH!

Are you prepared to accept the conditions laid down for you by Butcher Smuts and the Chamber of Mines?

We call upon all young workers from 15 to 25 to enter the ranks of the Young Communist League and help carry on the fight against Capitalism and the Smuts Government. All young workers willing to join or assist in the formation of branches should communicate with the Secretary, Young Communist League, P.O. Box 7599, Johannesburg.

* * *

The economic forces of society are the determining factors in the production and distribution of the world's wealth, and the political phase of government is the instrument with which those forces are directed.

A. Goldman & Company
(Late of Norman Austey and Longfield & Co.)
Has started LADIES' TAILORING, at
No. 1 Goch Buildings,
(OVER CAREY'S BOOT SHOP),
Eloff St., Johannesburg.

Comrade SAM BARLIN
Invites all Comrades and Friends to call at his office before ordering their suits or costumes elsewhere.
FIT AND STYLE GUARANTEED.
It will pay you to give him a chance by calling at
20, ROYAL ARCADE,
(Pritchard Street).

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.

To ensure receipt of paper thereafter Postal Order for 10/-, being one year's subscription post free, must be sent DURING THE FOUR WEEKS to "The International," Box 4179, Johannesburg.

Printed by the I.S.L. Press, 54, Fox Street, Marshall Square, and published by the Communist Party of South Africa, No. 4, Trades Hall, Rissik Street (Box 4179), Johannesburg.